THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MIDDLE EAST WARS

THE UNITED STATES IN THE PERSIAN GULF, AFGHANISTAN, AND IRAQ CONFLICTS

SPENCER C. TUCKER, EDITOR

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THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
MIDDLE EAST WARS

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THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MIDDLE EAST WARS

The United States in the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Conflicts

VOLUME I: A–D

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Dedicated to the brave U.S. military personnel who have given their lives in conflicts in the Middle East, which they and most Americans have so little understood.

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Spencer C. Tucker, PhD, graduated from the Virginia Military Institute and was a Fulbright scholar in France. He was a U.S. Army captain and intelligence analyst in the Pentagon during the Vietnam War, then taught for 30 years at Texas Christian University before returning to his alma mater for 6 years as the holder of the John Biggs Chair of Military History. He retired from teaching in 2003. He is now Senior Fellow of Military History at ABC-CLIO. Dr. Tucker has written or edited 36 books, including ABC-CLIO's award-winning *The Encyclopedia of the Cold War* and *The Encyclopedia of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* as well as the comprehensive *A Global Chronology of Conflict.*

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Preface

American contact with the Middle East began in the 18th century, when trading ships plied the Mediterranean even before the establishment of the United States. Morocco was the first country to recognize the new United States, but troubles with the Barbary States led to the Barbary Wars and the creation of the U.S. Navy. Significant U.S. involvement in the Middle East, however, did not develop until after World War II, abetted by the Arab-Israeli conflict and a growing world demand for the region's oil. Today, the Middle East remains one of the primary loci of U.S. foreign policy, including efforts to preserve the West's oil supply, halt acts of violence by terrorist organizations, and resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Middle East remains perhaps the most volatile of the world's regions.

This encyclopedia is by far the most comprehensive of U.S. involvement in the region. We have chosen a somewhat looser definition of the Middle East and have thus widened the focus to include such countries as Somalia, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, which are geographically located in East Africa and Central and South Asia. The encyclopedia not only deals with military and diplomatic developments but also treats societal, political, economic, and cultural issues that undergird these. There are entries on leading individuals; overviews of the histories of the states in the region and their military establishments; wars and battles; weapons and technology; doctrines; diplomatic treaties; international organizations, including those dedicated to the perpetration of terrorism; the Global War on Terror; and even the climate of the region.

I am especially grateful to associate editor Dr. Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr. Dr. Pierpaoli and I have worked together for the past five years on a variety of encyclopedias for ABC-CLIO but chiefly the encyclopedia project that, when completed, will have treated all of America's wars. It is both daunting and demanding, and I am grateful for his counsel and hard work. I am also grateful to assistant editors Jerry Morelock, David Zabecki, and Dr. Sherifa Zuhur. Jerry Morelock, PhD, editor in chief of *Armchair General* magazine, is a retired U.S. Army colonel whose 36-year career included a combat tour in Vietnam, two Pentagon assignments, and the head of the History Department of the Army's Command and General Staff College. He was formerly the executive director of the Winston Churchill Memorial and Library. Major General Dr. David Zabecki, Army of the United States retried, is an honorary senior research fellow in war studies with the University of Birmingham (England) and the senior historian of the Wieder History Group. In 2003 he served in Israel as the senior security adviser of the U.S. Coordinating and Monitoring Mission, an interagency team charged with advancing the Road Map to Peace in the Middle East initiative. Sherifa Zuhur, PhD, is an expert on Middle Eastern security issues and politics. She is the director of the Institute of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and was formerly research professor of national security affairs (Islamic and regional studies) at the Strategic Studies Institute of the Army War College. Each of the three brought a particular expertise to the project, and I am grateful for their insightful and significant contributions. All three read and edited the entire manuscript, each of them suggesting changes. U.S. policy in the region in recent years has been hotly debated both here and abroad, and some of the writers and assistant editors had strong and often conflicting viewpoints that needed to be reconciled. I carefully studied their arguments, which were sometimes strenuously advanced, and made the final decisions. I am grateful for their insight and the passion of their arguments. I am also grateful to one of this nation's most distinguished military leaders, General Anthony Zinni, U.S. Marine Corps (retired), for his splendid introduction.

Of course, such a project would not be possible without the work of many competent historians who have written the individual entries. I would like to thank them for their work. I would also like to thank Pat Carlin, director of the military history program at ABC-CLIO and the fine staff at ABC-CLIO, and especially Andrew McCormick and Maxine Taylor, who have been a great assist throughout this project. All three greatly eased what would otherwise have been a far more difficult project. As usual, I am especially grateful to Dr. Beverly Tucker for her patience and encouragement. I take full responsibility for any errors in the final copy.

Spencer C. Tucker

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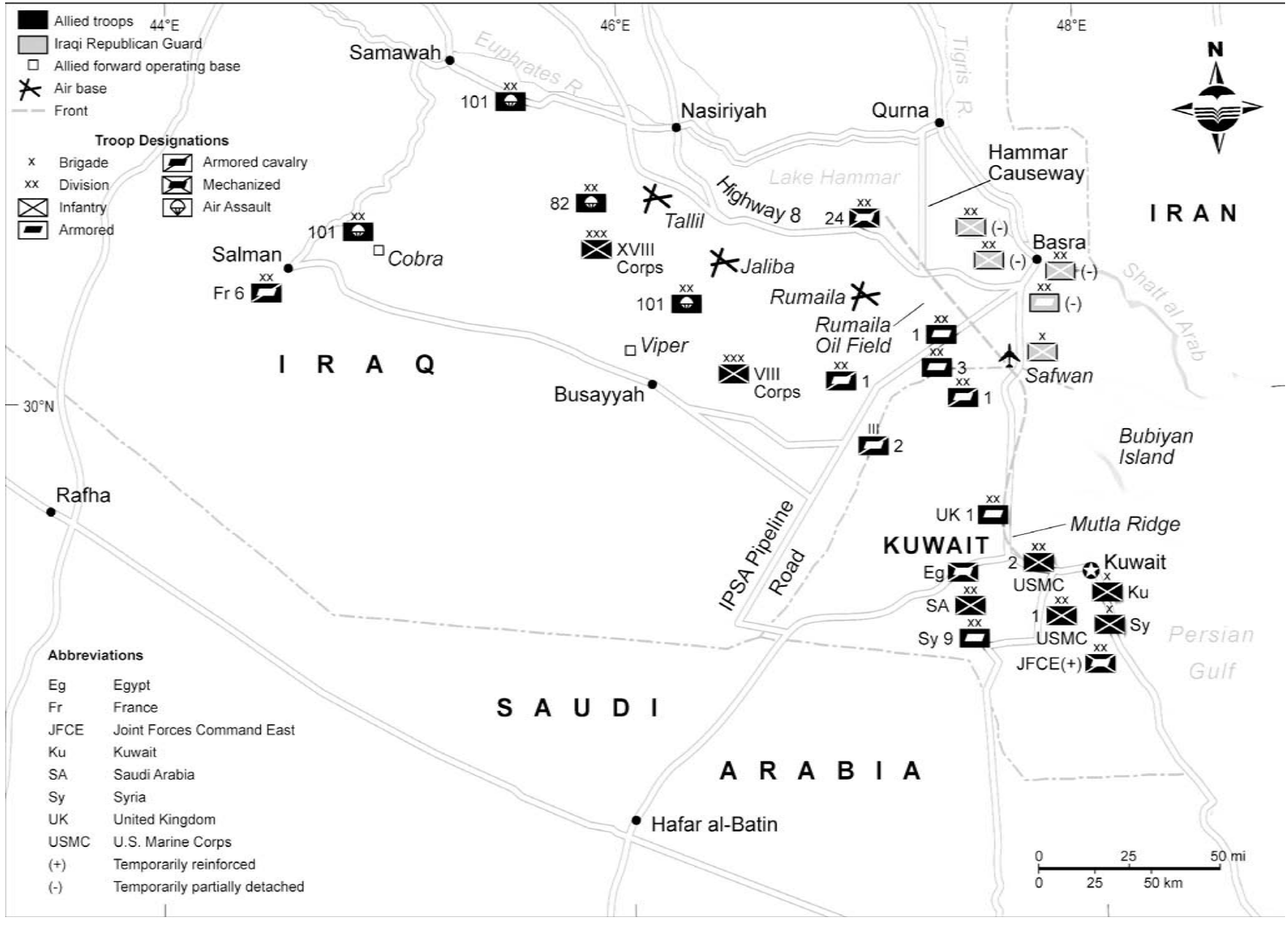
Topography of the Middle East

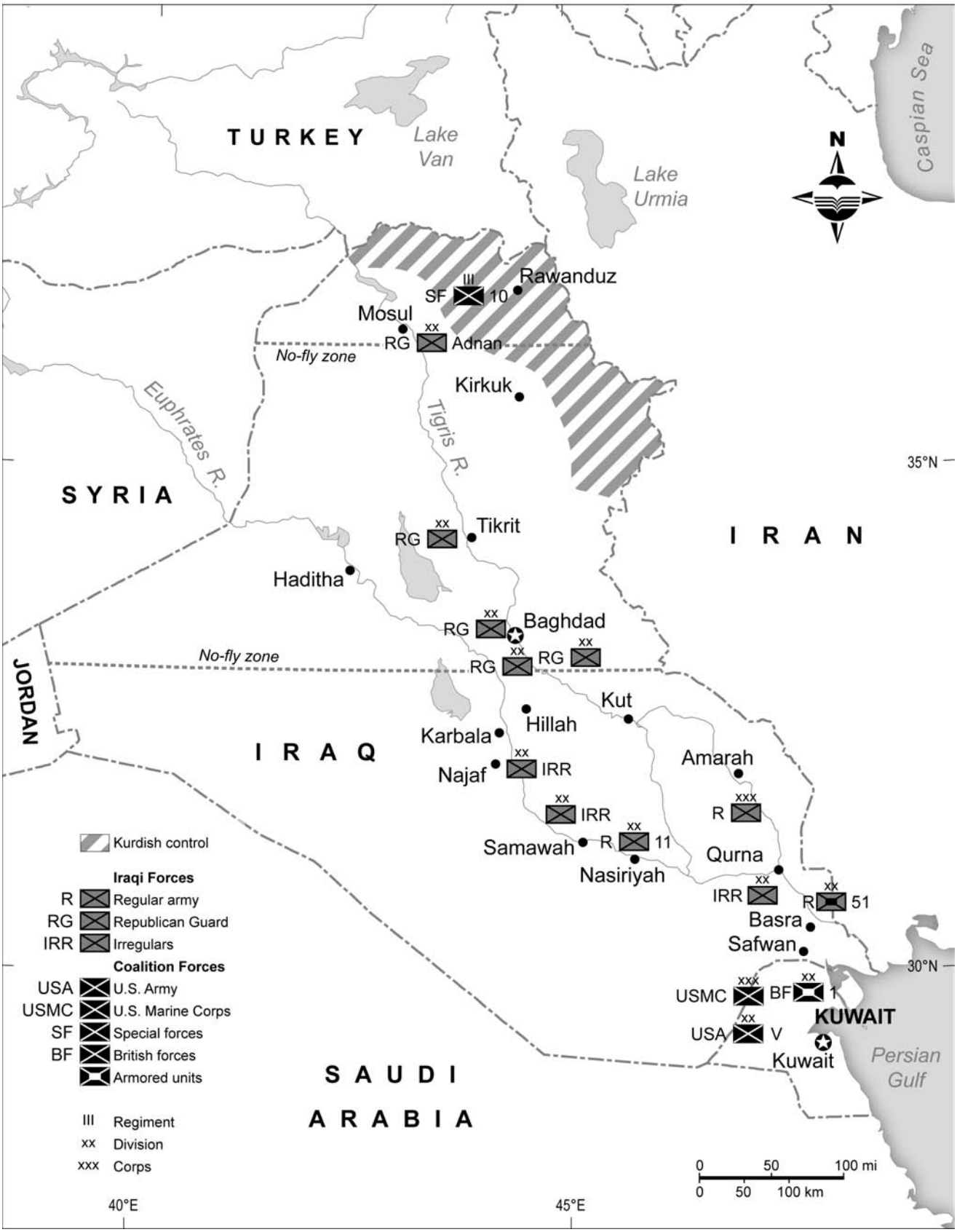
Coalition against Iraq, August 2, 1990–February 28, 1991

Troop Positions at the Close of Operation DESERT STORM



Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, 2001

Disposition of Forces on the Eve of the 2003 Iraq War



2003 Iraq War

Introduction

Since the end of World War II the United States has had a troubled relationship with the Middle East. The superpower competition of the Cold War, the establishment of the State of Israel, the rise of militant Islam, the aggressiveness of authoritarian regimes, the dependency on Middle East oil, and a host of other factors have caused the United States to become involved in numerous regional confrontations, containments, sanctions, interventions, and wars over that period. The protection of our vital interests in the region has required a military presence and commitment that have steadily grown over that time. As former colonial powers, such as the United Kingdom, withdrew from the international policing of the region, the United States assumed that role, and that role has grown in size, complexity, and controversy.

The creation in 1980 of the U.S. Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force (RDJTF) by President Jimmy Carter acknowledged the vital national interests that we believed we had to protect and preserve from perceived Soviet threats during the Cold War. President Ronald Reagan elevated the RDJTF in 1983 to become the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), a full-fledged unified command. Many strategists thought that the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 would mark the end of the need for Central Command and that it would be eliminated or at least absorbed as a lesser command element under one of the other regional commands. The instability that came after the Cold War, however, did not see the diminishment of the threats to our interests or to the role of CENTCOM, which has actually expanded. That unified command has seen more conflict since its creation in the mid-1980s than any other of its sister regional commands during that same period.

The Middle East is the heart of an Islamic culture that stretches from North Africa to the Philippines and from Russia to Central Africa. That culture includes well over 1 billion Muslims. Globalization has generated migrations that have expanded the locations where Muslims have settled to include North America and Europe. Holy places such as Mecca, Medina, Karbala, and Jerusalem remain the focal points of their religious belief system. This region is also the heart of the two other Abrahamic religions, Judaism and Christianity. This confluence of religious geographic and historic focal sites has resulted in long-standing tensions and conflict between East and West that have been heightened by the greater intermingling of Muslims, Jews, and Christians in the Middle East and throughout the world. This built-in source of historic cultural conflict has been exacerbated by more modern developments that have evolved over time.

Today, the importance of the Middle East is clear to most of us beyond religious implications, namely for political, security, and economic reasons. It begins with geography. The Middle East is the hinge plate of three continents. Since the establishment of the Silk Road and the East-West sea and land trade routes over the past millennium, this region has been vital to global trade and world economies. The discovery of energy resources there in the last century made the region even more strategically important. President Franklin Roosevelt foresaw this as he arranged the historic meeting in 1945 with Saudi king Abdul Aziz aboard the U.S. Navy heavy cruiser *Quincy* in the Great Bitter Lake in Egypt's Suez Canal. That meeting launched a cooperative energy and security relationship that lasts to this day, despite many strains along the way. The oil and natural gas reserves in this region remain unmatched anywhere else in the world. For these geographic and energy resource reasons, any threat that might destabilize or deny access to the Middle East has been deemed unacceptable to the United States and other world powers.

Instability and violence in the Middle East have never confined themselves to the region. On the contrary, they have drawn in

international intervention and, at times, threatened global conflict between superpowers. The world's dependency on this region has made it critical to ensure free access and transit through the region's maze of sea and land choke points and to ensure and promote stability there.

Since the defeat and collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I, the Middle East has lacked cohesion. Despite many attempts to create a regional security arrangement that would ensure stability, the nations of the region have failed to develop a credible collective security structure. Internal disputes, failed attempts at peace agreements, and disparate systems of governance have worked against regional security coherence. Security agreements and bilateral relationships with outside powers, such as the United States, have been tenuous and, at times, severely strained or quickly broken.

The lack of a consistent view on common threats and mutual interests and the political volatility of the region have made collective defense or viable alliances an illusive goal. The struggle to come to grips with modernity by religious conservatives and the rapid modernization and secularism of some elements of Middle Eastern cultures have compounded this problem as well. The West has also contributed to the regional problems by certain objectionable policies that have been met with resistance and hostility. The collective result of these factors over the last century has been the creation of an environment that has made the Middle East a breeding ground for conflict and violence, much of which I have personally witnessed and been involved in.

My first involvement in the Middle East came as a result of one of the many conflicts that have plagued this region, the Persian Gulf War in 1991. I was the deputy operations director at the U.S. European Command, and we supported CENTCOM's efforts during Operation DESERT STORM. Our supporting operation was called Operation PROVEN FORCE. Our command conducted air and special operations missions out of Turkey to attack targets in northern Iraq. We also provided Patriot missile batteries to protect Israel from the Scud attacks unleashed by Iraqi president Saddam Hussein in an operation dubbed PATRIOT DEFENDER. I was involved in the planning and coordination of these activities for our command and visited Turkey and Israel to check on the conduct of operations. It was my first exposure to the complicated politics in the region as we tried to restrain Israel from attacking Iraq, get cooperation from the Turkish government for our basing and operations needs, and adhere to the delicate command relations being established by CENTCOM with allied Muslim forces.

After the termination of hostilities, our command was again thrust into conflict in the region as Hussein attacked the Kurds in the north of Iraq after their failed revolt. I was assigned as the deputy commander and chief of staff for Operation PROVIDE COMFORT. Our mission was to rescue and return the traumatized Kurds who had fled into the mountains on the Turkish border during horrendous winter conditions and brutal Iraqi attacks. We eventually established and policed a security zone in northern Iraq that lasted until the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

Despite being assigned to the U.S. European Command, I found that the vast majority of our operational attention was focused on Middle East conflicts. Even more amazing was the fact that this came at a time when the Soviet Union was collapsing and when we did not want for important business in our own area of responsibility. It was a testimony to the chronic conflicts in the region and how they can consume and distract our attention and commitment even as other strategically critical events require our focus. For me, 1991 was only the beginning of an involvement in Middle East conflicts that would last right up to the present.

Over the years that followed, I served three tours of duty in Somalia and commanded the U.S. Marine Corps operational forces assigned to CENTCOM. I became familiar with the many war and contingency plans and participated in their development and in the exercises that followed. My command responded to several of the crises that always seemed to be part of the CENTCOM routine following the Persian Gulf War. In 1997 I became the deputy commander of CENTCOM, and the following year I was appointed as the commander in chief.

Before assuming my duties as deputy commander and commander, I read more than 50 books on the Middle East in preparation for my assignment. I had come to know the region somewhat, but I believed that there was so much more to know about the history and culture of this complex and fascinating region. I also reached out to regional experts for insights.

Like all great civilizations of the past, the ones from the Middle East had their periods of greatness and their periods of decline. What struck me was how rare periods of peace were in the region. Historical fault lines determined by religion, tribalism, or ethnicity have continued into the present, making the region prone to conflict. False borders inflicted on the region by outside imperial powers and internal struggles also continue to exacerbate their problems with identity and affiliation. It was clear to me that my tenure at CENTCOM would be interesting if the past was any indication of the future I faced.

I inherited a CENTCOM that was implementing the dual containment policy, established in the wake of the Persian Gulf War and focused on Iraq and Iran. It involved enforcing United Nations (UN) resolution sanctions on Iraq that consisted of ensuring no-fly and no-drive zones set up in the north and south of Iraq. It also required the enforcement of maritime sanctions against oil and gas smuggling. Enforcement of sanctions on Iran was also part of our mission. Iraq's lack of cooperation with the UN inspectors and the hostile action that Hussein directed against our planes resulted in several air operations striking Iraqi air defense assets and targets that could support a weapons of mass destruction (WMD) program. Iran continued hostile actions directed toward our ships until the 1997 election of President Mohammed Khatami, at which time the Iranians' hostile bridge-to-bridge communications and ship-

bumping incidents ceased. They continued, however, to protect Iraqi boat-smuggling efforts that made it to their national waters.

Although Iraq and Iran were our primary concerns, other threats were growing in the region. A number of terrorist attacks occurred in the region immediately prior to, during, and immediately after my tenure. These included the Khobar Towers bombing in the eastern province of Saudi Arabia; the bombing of our embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; and the bombing of the U.S. Navy destroyer *Cole* in Aden, Yemen.

I left CENTCOM in 2000. It remained a military area of responsibility that was tense, prone to crisis, and violent. After my retirement, the September 11, 2001, terror attacks occurred, and our interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq followed. I was sent by the George W. Bush administration to engage in the Middle East peace process but once again saw it fail and degenerate into the violence of attacks and counterattacks. Recently, I went to Iraq at the request of our military commander and ambassador to conduct an independent assessment of conditions there as the United States prepared its plans for the future drawdown of forces and a handoff to the new Iraqi government.

For two decades, I have been directly or indirectly involved in the wars and violence of the Middle East as a military officer and as a diplomat. I have come to know the culture, leadership, and nature of the region. I do not agree with the inevitable "Clash of Civilizations" theory between the West and the Islamic world to which some people subscribe. However, we do seem to continuously fail to find common ground and mutual approaches to solving regional problems without resorting to the use of force, despite a strong desire on both sides to avoid conflict. I believe, however, that the strong desire for peace will eventually prevail, but it will take a degree of dedication, commitment, and political will that has been absent in the past. I am also convinced that a closer study of past conflicts is essential so as to not repeat mistakes and to better understand the causes of conflict. History, I have found, provides a great guide for the future. Too many political, diplomatic, and military leaders have attempted to do business in this region without an understanding of the past. They are thrust into this complicated environment and repeat the same mistakes of their predecessors or fail to see the depth of the complex issues that have long historic roots.

The study of the causes, conduct, and outcomes of Middle East conflicts is critically necessary for anyone who wants to understand how current attitudes and conditions have been shaped. Obviously, there have been conflicts in the region that have shaped events that have not directly involved the United States. The series of Arab-Israeli wars and conflicts that have plagued the Levant since 1948 have created an environment that has negatively impacted relations and attitudes throughout the Muslim world. These conflicts were addressed in ABC-CLIO's *Encyclopedia of the Arab-Israeli Conflict,* an excellent companion reference to this work. The *Encyclopedia of Middle East Wars: The United States in the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Conflicts* serves as another excellent reference on the many conflicts in which the United States has engaged throughout this volatile region. This encyclopedia offers a superior single source for understanding the conflicts that we have been thrust into in this troubled region.

General Anthony C. Zinni USMC (Retired)

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A

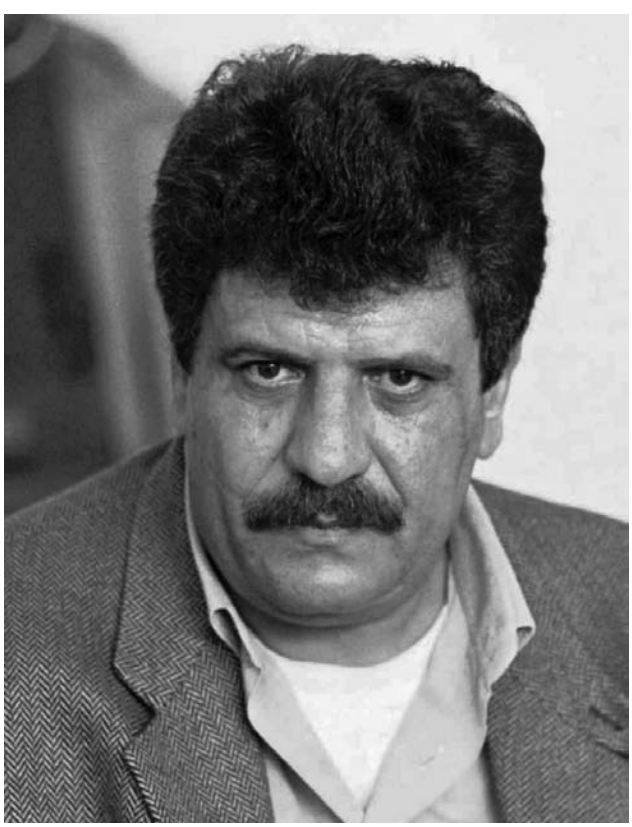
Abbas, Abu
Birth Date: December 10, 1948
Death Date: March 8, 2004

Leader of the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF). Abu Abbas, the nom de guerre of Muhammad Zaidan, was born in Safed, Palestine, on December 10, 1948. His family fled to Syria that same year along with 12,000–15,000 Arab residents after the Haganah attacks. In 1968 he joined the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine General Command (PFLP-GC) led by Ahmad Jibril. Abu Abbas disagreed with Jibril over the PFLP-GC's strong support for Syria and its failure to criticize Syrian support of the Lebanese Phalangist Party against the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Lebanon. In April 1977, Abu Abbas and Talat Yaqub left the PFLP-GC to form the PLF.

During the 1970s, Abu Abbas advocated armed struggle against Israel, chiefly in the form of attacks mounted from southern Lebanon. He was wounded in fighting during the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The following year, when the PLF split into three factions, he led the largest pro-Iraqi group. In 1984 he became a member of the PLO Executive Committee.

On October 7, 1985, Abu Abbas masterminded the PLF's most dramatic terrorist action, the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro,* which at the time was steaming from Alexandria to Port Said, Egypt. The hijacking resulted in the death of U.S.-born Jew Leon Klinghoffer. Although the Egyptian aircraft carrying Abbas and the other three hijackers to asylum in Tunisia was diverted by U.S. aircraft to a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air base in Sicily, the Italian government allowed the passengers to depart, and Abu Abbas escaped among them.

There was, however, much criticism of Abbas for the PLF's attempted terrorist attack on Nizamim Beach near Tel Aviv on May



Abu Abbas, leader of the Palestine Liberation Front, carried out a number of terrorist actions, including the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro*, resulting in the death of American-born Jew Leon Klinghoffer. Captured by U.S. forces in Baghdad in April 2003, he died in prison in March 2004. (AP/Wide World Photos)

30, 1990, which was designed to torpedo the possibility of PLO-Israeli peace talks. Nonetheless, the Israeli government alleged that the PLF had regularly received funding from PLO chairman Yasser Arafat. Indeed, in January 1996 the PLO agreed to provide an undisclosed sum to finance the Leon and Marilyn Klinghoffer Memorial Foundation of the U.S. Anti-Defamation League, in return for which Klinghoffer's daughters dropped a lawsuit brought against the PLO. In 1989, Abu Abbas had supported the PLO's acceptance of United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 242, therefore these militant actions betrayed that stance.

Following the 1993 Oslo Accords, Abu Abbas returned to Gaza. He then moved to Iraq. There was a standing U.S. warrant for his arrest, and in 2003, during the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, he was taken into custody by U.S. forces. He died in Iraq, reportedly of natural causes, on March 8, 2004, while in U.S. custody.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Achille Lauro Hijacking; Arafat, Yasser; Palestine Liberation Organization; Terrorism

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Abbas, Mahmoud

Birth Date: March 26, 1935

First prime minister of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) and minister of the interior during March–October 2003, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) since November 2004, and president of the PNA since January 2005. Mahmoud Abbas (known as Abu Mazen) was born on March 26, 1935, in Safed, Palestine. When Safed was attacked in the 1948 Israeli War of Independence, his family fled Palestine and settled in Syria. Abbas taught elementary school and then graduated from the University of Damascus and studied law in Egypt and Syria before earning a PhD in history in 1982 from the Oriental College at the People's Friendship University in Moscow.

Abbas was the director of personnel for Qatar's governmental civil service when he began his involvement in Palestinian politics in the mid-1950s. He was a founding member of Fatah. While in Qatar, Abbas began to recruit Palestinians into Fatah and also became part of the leadership of Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). In 1977, he led negotiations with Matityahu Peled, which resulted in the issuance of the "principles of peace" as based on a two-state solution and began dialogue with certain Israeli left-wing and pacifist groups. Abbas had joined the Palestine National Council in 1968 and was responsible for fundraising.

Abbas assumed the leadership of the PLO's Department of Arab and International Relations from 1984 to 2000. In May 1988 he was elected chair of the division responsible for the occupied territories, succeeding Khalil al-Wazir. When PLO support for Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait harmed relationships with Arab states that joined the United States–led coalition in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, it was Abbas who repaired the damage, apologizing to the Gulf states in 1993. Abbas coordinated the 1991 Madrid Conference and was a major architect of the 1993 Oslo Accords between the PLO and Israel. In 1996, Abbas was elected secretary-general of the PLO Executive Committee, headed the first session of the Israeli-Palestinian final status negotiations, led the Central Election Commission for the Palestine Legislative Council (PLC), and then was elected to the PLC in the Qalqilya district.

On March 19, 2003, Arafat appointed the more moderate and pragmatically perceived Abbas as the first prime minister of the PNA under strong pressure from Israel and the United States. However, Abbas faced divisions within the PNA and resigned from his position as prime minister on September 4, 2003, effective October 7, 2003, primarily because of a struggle over control of the PNA security forces. Ahmad Qurayya replaced him.

Following Arafat's death, Abbas became chairman of the PLO on November 11, 2004. He survived an assassination attempt at a memorial service for Arafat only three days later. His authority and attempts to reengage the Road Map to Peace (a plan to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict proposed by the quartet of the United Nations, the European Union, Russia, and the United States) were challenged by most of the militant Palestinian groups, as well as by factions within the PLO and Fatah itself. On January 15, 2005, Abbas became the president of the Palestinian National Authority. A May 2005 pledge of $50 million and continued support of a free Palestinian state from the United States coupled with the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza on August 23, 2005, led Abbas to set PLC elections for January 20, 2006. However, when Hamas fared well in local elections in December 2005, Abbas sought to postpone the PLC election. He nevertheless proceeded with the January elections in which Hamas won a majority of seats in the PNA parliament. This reduced Abbas's Fatah party to a minority.

Although Abbas remained as the PNA president in agreement with Hamas, Hamas retained control of the parliament, governmental services, and the security forces in Gaza, whereas Abbas controlled parallel services in the West Bank. Israel insisted that Abbas and the PNA fulfill all agreements made prior to the 2006 elections, including the agreement to disarm Palestinian militants. The United States and certain European countries withdrew their financial support of the PNA in view of the participation of Hamas in the PNA. The financial crisis created through months of boycott of basic services and withholding of PNA salaries was expected to bring down Hamas, but that did not occur, and Abbas's leadership

Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas. The chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) since November 2004, he has been president of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) since January 2005. (European Community)

came under challenge as he moved extralegally and in cooperation with the Israelis.

With tensions between Hamas and Fatah virtually paralyzing the PNA, Abbas called for a unity government between the two factions, which was effected in March 2007. By June, however, Abbas had dissolved the coalition government in the wake of violence between Hamas and Fatah in Gaza when Hamas preempted Fatah's plans to retake Gaza by force. This resulted in a brief period of fierce fighting between the two parties. Abbas declared a state of emergency, and on June 14 Hamas seized control of all of Gaza. Abbas's move, which denounced Hamas, resulted in the restoration of economic aid—but solely to Abbas's West Bank government—from the European Union and United States. Israel followed suit on July 1, 2007, although it restricted the transfer of funds.

Abbas refused to recognize the PNA government and appointed his own officials, including economist Salam Fayyad as prime minister. The Fayyad-Abbas government attacked Hamas sympathizers in the West Bank, and was accused of various corrupt practices there. Meanwhile it was locked in contentious peace negotiations with Israel, and Abbas several times threatened to resign if a peace deal were not arrived at "within six months." The Israeli incursion into the Gaza Strip beginning in late December 2008 and continuing into January 2009 was designed to punish the Gazan population for its support of Hamas and end militant rocket attacks on Israel. The attack was followed by Israel elections and establishment of a right-wing Israeli government that has further widened the chasms between Fatah and Hamas, and between the PNA and Israel. In January 9, 2009, Abbas's presidential term ended, but he extended it for another year, arguing that he needed more time to better prepare the PNA for forthcoming elections. Hamas and other Palestinian groups have argued that Abbas's tenure extension was illegal under the constitution.

Richard Edwards and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Arafat, Yasser; Fatah; Hamas; Intifada, Second; Islamic Jihad, Palestinian; Palestine Liberation Organization

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Abdullah, King of Saudi Arabia
Birth Date: August 1, 1924

Saudi crown prince (1982–2005), acting ruler of Saudi Arabia (1995–2005), and king of Saudi Arabia (2005–present). Abdullah ibn Abd al-Aziz al-Saud was born in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on August 1, 1924. He was educated privately, chiefly at the Princes' School in the Royal Court. He became acquainted with governmental and administrative work at a young age and became mayor of Mecca in 1950.

In 1963 Abdullah assumed the post of deputy defense minister and commander of the National Guard. In 1975 he began serving as second deputy prime minister. He became the crown prince as well as first deputy prime minister in 1982 when Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz al-Saud, his half-brother, became king.

Abdullah's power increased dramatically after Fahd was incapacitated by a stroke in 1995, becoming the nation's de facto ruler. Abdullah began his formal rule when he ascended the throne on August 1, 2005. A devout Muslim, he is known in Saudi Arabia as a somewhat liberal monarch who leads a modest lifestyle. The challenges confronting him have not been easy ones, given both rising demands for reform and the activities of radical Islamic groups in the Middle East and within the borders of his own country.

Abdullah walked a diplomatic tightrope following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States. Although he strongly condemned the attacks, critics in the West pointed out that more of the 9/11 terrorists were Saudis than any other nationality and that Saudi Arabia was a major funding source for terrorist networks. He cooperated with international agencies in closing down numerous Islamic institutions and charitable associations, but he also had to take into account the sentiments of Saudi Arabia's very conservative population, which opposed Western criticisms of the kingdom's Islamic lifestyle and laws. Saudi Arabia had, nonetheless, provided financial support for Islamic educational institutions, including some of the madrasahs in Pakistan and Afghanistan that the West claimed to be breeding grounds for Islamic fundamentalism in many Islamic nations.

Abdullah was interested in making peace with Israel and devised a plan known as the Arab Peace Initiative in March 2002. It called for the creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza with its capital in East Jerusalem, in return for peace with all Arab states to be formalized in a peace treaty with Israel. Israel would then receive diplomatic recognition and exchange diplomats with all Arab states. Many in the Arab states and Israel opposed the plan, however. In January 2004, Abdullah produced an addendum to his plan that addressed the problem of Palestinian refugees. His plan still met with much skepticism.

Abdullah has not fundamentally changed the foreign policy of Saudi Arabia, and he continues to maintain cordial relations with the United States in spite of occasional strains. Having visited the United States many times before becoming ruler, Abdullah enjoyed a solid personal relationship with President George W. Bush and his immediate predecessors.

Since September 11, 2001, the Saudi government has been successful in eliminating terrorist cells operating inside Saudi Arabia that are themselves a threat to the survival of the Saudi regime. It has also eliminated from within the kingdom many sources of terrorist funding. The Saudi Arabian government has been the target of numerous attacks by Islamic militants. In May 2003, some 100 people were killed in one such attack on a compound at Riyadh.

During 2003 Iraq War operations, Abdullah did not permit U.S. forces to use Saudi air bases for coalition combat operations, but he did permit the use of Saudi Arabia's extensive command and control facilities. Tanker aircraft from these bases provided critical in-flight refueling for coalition fighter aircraft flying combat missions in Iraq. Despite ups and downs, the Saudi-U.S. relationship has remained largely unchanged under Abdullah. While Abdullah has remained rather diffident toward the Iraq War and resultant insurgency because the Saudi population overwhelmingly opposes U.S. actions in Iraq, he has been careful not to offer too much in the way of public criticism of the conflict.

Since 2004, when world oil prices began to soar, in some cases almost tripling, Abdullah has remained committed to the production and price quotas set by the Organization of Oil Exporting Countries (OPEC). In early 2008, while President George W. Bush paid a visit to Riyadh, he pointed out the difficulties that oil prices posed to the United States and the international economy. Abdullah acted to increase output and lower the price, although this action had little impact owing to a variety of other factors.

Patit Paban Mishra

See also

Bush, George Walker; Saudi Arabia; September 11 Attacks; Terrorism

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Abizaid, John Philip
Birth Date: April 1, 1951

U.S. army officer and commander in chief of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) from July 7, 2003, to March 16, 2007. John Philip Abizaid was born on April 1, 1951, in Coleville, California, into a Christian Lebanese family that had emigrated to the United States in the 1880s. He graduated from the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, in 1973 and was commissioned as a second lieutenant. He served initially in a parachute regiment as platoon leader before moving to the Rangers as a company commander.

Commanders of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), 1983–Present

Name	*Rank*	*Branch*	*Dates of Command*
Robert C. Kingston	General	U.S. Army	January 1, 1983–November 27, 1985
George B. Crist	General	U.S. Marine Corps	November 27, 1985–November 23, 1988
H. Norman Schwarzkopf	General	U.S. Army	November 23, 1988–August 9, 1991
Joseph P. Hoar	General	U.S. Marine Corps	August 9, 1991–August 5, 1994
J. H. Binford Peay III	General	U.S. Army	August 5, 1994–August 13, 1997
Anthony C. Zinni	General	U.S. Marine Corps	August 13, 1997–July 6, 2000
Tommy R. Franks	General	U.S. Army	July 6, 2000–July 7, 2003
John P. Abizaid	General	U.S. Army	July 7, 2003–March 16, 2007
William J. Fallon	Admiral	U.S. Navy	March 16, 2007–March 28, 2008
Martin Dempsey (acting)	Lieutenant General	U.S. Army	March 28, 2008–October 31, 2008
David H. Petraeus	General	U.S. Army	October 31, 2008–present

Abizaid won a prestigious Olmsted Scholarship, which entitled him to study at a foreign university. After a year of training in Arabic, he enrolled in the University of Jordan–Amman in 1978. Political tension in Jordan resulted in the shutdown of the university, however, so Abizaid used the opportunity to train with the Jordanian army instead. In 1980 he earned a master of arts in Middle Eastern Studies from Harvard University.

Abizaid led a Ranger company during the U.S. invasion of Grenada in 1983. During the Persian Gulf crisis he commanded the 3rd Battalion, 325th Airborne Infantry Regiment. In 1991 the battalion was deployed in northern Iraq during Operation PROVIDE COMFORT, which immediately succeeded the end of Operation DESERT STORM. Abizaid subsequently studied peacekeeping at Stanford University's Hoover Institution and commanded the 504th Parachute Infantry Regiment of the 82nd Airborne Division before serving as assistant division commander of the 1st Armored Division in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Numerous staff appointments along the way included a tour as a United Nations observer in Lebanon and several European staff tours.

In 1997, Abizaid became commandant of cadets at West Point as a newly-promoted brigadier general. There he played a major role in reforming some of the more egregious requirements of the plebe system. Promoted to major general in 1999, Abizaid assumed command of the 1st Infantry Division, which

U.S. Army general John P. Abizaid, commander of the United States Central Command (CENTCOM), the unified combat command with responsibility for the Middle East. Abizaid held this post during 2003–2007. (U.S. Department of Defense)

contributed troops to Operation JOINT GUARDIAN, the NATO campaign in Kosovo.

Abizaid's appointment as director of the Joint Staff brought with it advancement to lieutenant general. In January 2003, he became deputy commander of the U.S. Central Command, which has responsibility for covering 27 countries of the Middle East and Central Asia. During Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, which began in March 2003, Abizaid served as deputy commander (Forward), Combined Force Command. Abizaid succeeded General Tommy Franks as CENTCOM commander when the latter retired in July 2003. At the same time, Abizaid was promoted to full (four-star) general. When he took command of CENTCOM, insurgent violence in Iraq was escalating rapidly. Abizaid had already expressed reservations about poor planning for the postwar era in Iraq and the competence of Pentagon officials in charge of the arrangements. He believed that most Iraqis would not welcome a U.S. occupation of their country and that widespread terrorism and guerrilla activity would likely follow a U.S. invasion.

Abizaid used the opportunity of his first press conference to state that the United States was now fighting a classic guerrilla insurgency in Iraq, an opinion directly opposite the views held by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, who bristled at Abizaid's comments. The contradiction quickly made headlines and resulted in Abizaid receiving a private reprimand from Rumsfeld.

Abizaid also disagreed with the decision by Paul Bremer, head of the Coalition Provisional Authority, to disband the Iraqi Army, and he advocated rehiring select Sunni officers. Abizaid was also critical of Bremer's de-Baathification policy. In addition, Abizaid realized that the U.S. intelligence apparatus in Iraq was in total disarray. On October 1, 2003, he issued orders reorganizing intelligence operations so that in the future all reports would be passed through a single intelligence fusion center.

During the summer of 2004, Abizaid informed his superiors that a military victory in Iraq was unlikely. Instead of pursuing an elusive victory, Abizaid favored a policy of shifting the burden of the war to Iraqi security forces and minimizing the U.S. presence. Abizaid also supported research into the situation in Iraq and on the Global War on Terror. However, publicly and in interviews with the press Abizaid presented an optimistic version of events, despite having privately expressed doubts. In keeping with his public optimism, Abizaid appeared before the Senate Armed Services Committee on March 16, 2006, and gave another positive review of progress in Iraq. During a break in the proceedings, Abizaid approached Congressman John Murtha (D-Pa.), a former marine who had been highly critical of the Iraq War, and indicated to Murtha that Murtha's views were close to his own.

Abizaid's retirement as head of CENTCOM was announced in December 2006. On March 16, 2007, he was replaced by Admiral William Fallon. On May 1, 2007, Abizaid retired from his 34-year army career to take up a post as research fellow at the Hoover Institution.

PAUL W. DOERR

See also

Baath Party; Bremer, Jerry; Fallon, William Joseph; Franks, Tommy Ray; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; PROVIDE COMFORT, Operation; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; United States Central Command; United States Congress and the Iraq War

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Able Danger

A highly classified military intelligence program whose leaders have claimed to have identified Muhammad Atta and three other members of the plot to hijack U.S. airliners and use them as weapons well before the September 11, 2001, terror attacks. General Hugh Shelton, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, issued a directive in early October 1999 to establish an intelligence program under the command of the U.S. Special Operations Command (SOCOM) of the Department of Defense to be directed specifically against the Al Qaeda terrorist organization and its operatives. The commander of Able Danger was Navy captain Scott Philpott, who headed a unit of 20 military intelligence specialists and a support staff. The chief analyst of Able Danger was Dr. Eileen Priesser.

The purpose of Able Danger was to identify Al Qaeda members and neutralize them before they could initiate operations against the United States. The data-mining center was located at the Land Information Warfare Activity (LIWA)/Information Dominance Center at Fort Belvoir, Virginia. In the summer of 2000, the LIWA was transferred to Garland, Texas.

Members of this unit began intelligence operations seeking to identify Al Qaeda operatives both in the United States and abroad. Its computer analysts set up a complex computer analysis system that searched public databases and the Internet for possible terrorist cells. One of the terrorist cells so identified contained the name of Muhammad Atta and three others who were later implicated in the September 11 plot. Atta's name was supposedly placed, along with those of the others, on a chart of Al Qaeda operatives. Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Shaffer, a reserve officer attached to the Pentagon, and Able Danger's liaison with the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), as well as others, decided to inform the FBI about the threat posed by the Al Qaeda operatives. Three potential meetings with the FBI were postponed because of opposition from military lawyers in the Pentagon. The apparent reason for the opposition from SOCOM was fear of controversy that might arise if it were made public that a military intelligence unit had violated the privacy of civilians legally residing in the United States. Another possible reason was that the lawyers believed that

the program might be violating the Posse Comitatus Act, which prohibits employing the military to enforce civil laws.

The leaders of Able Danger then decided to work their way up the military chain of command. In January 2001, the leadership of Able Danger briefed General Hugh Shelton, still the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on its findings. Shortly afterward, the Able Danger unit was disbanded, its operations ceasing in April 2001. Defense Department lawyers had determined that the activities of Able Danger violated President Ronald Reagan's Executive Order 12333, intended to prevent the Pentagon from storing data about U.S. citizens. A direct order came from the Defense Department to destroy the database; as a result, 2.4 terabytes of information about possible Al Qaeda terrorist activities were destroyed in the summer of 2001. A chart identifying four hijackers, including Muhammad Atta, was produced by Able Danger and presented to the Deputy National Security Advisor, Jim Steinberg, but nothing came of it.

Able Danger was a classified program until its story surfaced shortly after the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, or the 9/11 Commission, issued its report, which stated categorically that the U.S. government had no prior knowledge about the conspiracy that led to the September 11 attacks. Keith Phucas, a reporter for the *Norristown Times Herald* in Pennsylvania, broke the story of Able Danger on June 19, 2005, in an article titled "Missed Chance on Way to 9/11."

When the story about Able Danger became public, it erupted into a political controversy. On June 27, 2005, Representative Curt Weldon (R-Pa.), the vice chairman of the House Armed Services and House Homeland Security committees, brought the Able Danger issue into the national limelight. In a speech before the House of Representatives, Weldon accused the U.S. government of negligence in its failure to heed the information gathered by Able Danger.

Despite some lapses of information (and a tendency to blame the William J. Clinton administration for the lapses), Weldon summarized many of the features of Able Danger without disclosing its nature as a secret military intelligence initiative run from within the Department of Defense. Weldon also disclosed that the information about Able Danger had been reported to the staff of the 9/11 Commission.

Members of the 9/11 Commission responded to these charges with a series of denials. Lee H. Hamilton, former vice chair of the 9/11 Commission, admitted learning about the Able Danger program, but denied hearing anything credible about a possible identification of Atta or other skyjackers in the 9/11 plot. This argument contradicted the testimony of Shaffer that he had communicated Able Danger's findings about Atta in a meeting with the commission's executive director, Philip Zelikov, at Bagram Air Base, Afghanistan, in late 2003. Leaders of the commission then requested and obtained information about Able Danger from the Defense Department, but there had been nothing about Atta in the information provided. They also admitted that Captain Philpott had mentioned something about Atta only days before the final report came out.

This denial of prior knowledge by members of the 9/11 Commission drew the attention of Lieutenant Colonel Shaffer. In an interview on August 15, 2005, Shaffer told the story of Able Danger, and he indicated that he had been at the "point of near insubordination" over the refusal to pursue the information about Atta. Furthermore, Shaffer insisted that he had talked to the staff of the 9/11 investigation in October 2003, in Afghanistan, where his next tour of duty had taken him. Captain Philpott and civilian contractor J. D. Smith confirmed Shaffer's claim about Able Danger's awareness of Atta.

The controversy has continued because the participants have felt left out of the investigation of the events surrounding September 11. Many of them have placed their careers in jeopardy by countering the government's version. Shaffer had his security clearance revoked by the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) and his personal records of Able Danger destroyed. In September 2006, the Defense Department's inspector general issued a report denying that Able Danger had identified Atta by calling the testimony of witnesses inconsistent. Weldon criticized the report and investigation as incomplete. Although Weldon was an effective spokesperson in Congress who kept the story alive, his defeat in the 2006 elections deprived him of that important forum. Nevertheless, the last word has not been said about Able Danger and about whether information about Atta and others had been stored in a government database.

Stephen E. Atkins

See also

Atta, Muhammad; September 11 Attacks; September 11 Commission and Report

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Abrams, Creighton Williams, Jr.

Birth Date: September 15, 1914
Death Date: September 4, 1974

U.S. Army general, celebrated combat leader, and army chief of staff (1972–1974). Born in Springfield, Massachusetts, on September 15, 1914, Creighton Abrams graduated from the U.S. Military

U.S. Army general Creighton W. Abrams Jr. (1914–1974) commanded U.S. forces in the Vietnam War during 1968–1972. As chief of staff of the army during 1972–1974, Abrams worked to rebuild the army and lay the foundation for its later success. (Herbert Elmer Abrams/Center for Military History)

Academy, West Point, in 1936 and was posted to the 7th Cavalry Regiment at Fort Bliss, Texas. When World War II loomed, he volunteered for the newly formed armored force.

Abrams first rose to professional prominence as a lieutenant colonel and commander of the 37th Tank Battalion, 4th Armored Division that often spearheaded General George Patton's Third Army in the drive across Europe. He led the forces that punched through German lines to relieve the encircled 101st Airborne Division at Bastogne during the Battle of the Bulge, earned two Distinguished Service Crosses and many other decorations, and received a battlefield promotion to full colonel.

After World War II, Abrams served as director of tactics at the Armor School, Fort Knox (1946–1948); was a corps chief of staff late in the Korean War (1953–1954); and from 1960 to 1962 commanded the 3rd Armored Division in Germany, a key post during the Cold War. A year later he took command of its parent V Corps. In mid-1964 Abrams was recalled from Europe, promoted to four-star general, and made the army's vice chief of staff. In that assignment (1964–1967) he was deeply involved in the army's troop buildup for the war in Vietnam.

In May 1967 Abrams was himself assigned to Vietnam as deputy commander. In that position he concentrated primarily on improvement of South Vietnamese armed forces. When, during the 1968 Tet Offensive, those forces gave a far better account of themselves than expected, Abrams received much of the credit. Abrams formally assumed command of U.S. forces in Vietnam in July 1968. A consummate tactician who proved to have a feel for this kind of a conflict, he moved quickly to change the conduct of the war in fundamental ways. His predecessor's attrition strategy, search and destroy tactics, and emphasis on body count as the measure of battlefield success were all discarded.

Abrams instead stressed population security, the new measure of merit, as the key to success. He prescribed a "one war" approach in which combat operations, pacification, and upgrading South Vietnamese forces were of equal importance and priority. He cut back on multibattalion sweeps, replacing them with thousands of small unit patrols and ambushes that blocked communist forces' access to the people and interdicted their movement of forces and supplies. Clear-and-hold operations became the standard tactical approach, with expanded and better-armed Vietnamese territorial forces providing the "hold." Population security progressed accordingly. Meanwhile U.S. forces were incrementally withdrawn, their missions taken over by the improving South Vietnamese.

Abrams left Vietnam in June 1972 to become U.S. Army chief of staff. There he set about dealing with the myriad problems of an army that had been through a devastating ordeal. He concentrated on readiness and on the well-being of the soldier, always the touchstones of his professional concern. Stricken with cancer, Abrams died in office in Washington on September 4, 1974. But he had set a course of reform and rebuilding the U.S. Army such that General John W. Vessey, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, could later recall: "When Americans watched the stunning success of our armed forces in Desert Storm, they were watching the Abrams vision in action. The modern equipment, the effective air support, the use of the reserve components and, most important of all, the advanced training which taught our people how to stay alive on the battlefield were all seeds planted by Abe."

Lewis Sorley

See also

AirLand Battle Doctrine

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Abrams, Elliott
Birth Date: January 24, 1948

U.S. attorney, foreign policy/national security official, and leader in the neoconservative movement. Elliott Abrams was born in New York City on January 24, 1948, the son of an immigration lawyer. He earned an undergraduate degree from Harvard University in 1969, an MA in international relations from the London School of Economics in 1970, and a law degree from Harvard Law School in 1973. He practiced law briefly with his father and then with a Wall Street firm but became involved in politics when he worked on Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson's unsuccessful presidential campaign in 1976. The following year, he joined Democratic senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's staff. He began serving as Moynihan's chief counsel, but was later elevated to chief of staff.

Despite the fact that he worked for a Democrat, the incoming Ronald Reagan administration tapped Abrams to become an assistant secretary of state, first for human rights and humanitarian affairs, and then for inter-American affairs. By now, Abrams had already begun to move to the right politically, a development that coincided with his marriage to Rachel Decter, who was the stepdaughter of Norman Podhoretz, considered the father of the modern neoconservative movement. Abrams joined the Reagan administration in 1981 and did not leave public office until 1989, at which time the Reagan administration ended.

Abrams quickly became a lighting rod for detractors of the Reagan administration's foreign policies, especially its aid to the Nicaraguan Contras and its support of oppressive regimes in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras. Abrams steadfastly supported the president's position in these areas, a fact that outraged such groups as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. In 1985–1986, Abrams became involved in the infamous Iran-Contra Affair, which sought to skirt congressional prohibitions on funding to the Contras by clandestinely selling arms to the Iranians, the proceeds of which were funneled illegally to the Contras. The unmasking of Iran-Contra proved a great embarrassment to the White House. In 1987, Abrams, now assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, led the charge in declaring Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega's regime corrupt and undemocratic, essentially making it official U.S. policy to work for his ouster.

During the official criminal investigation into Iran-Contra in 1988–1990, Abrams came under intense scrutiny for his role in the debacle and was nearly indicted on multiple felony charges. After negotiating a deal with the prosecutors, he agreed to plead guilty to two misdemeanor counts of lying to Congress. He received a $50 fine, was placed on probation for two years, and was ordered to complete 100 hours of community service. In January 1992, only days before leaving office, President George H. W. Bush pardoned Abrams, along with several other Iran-Contra figures. From 1996 to 2001, Abrams was president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center.

In January 1998, Abrams joined other fellow neoconservatives by signing the Project for a New American Century's open letter to President William Jefferson Clinton. Among other things, the letter argued forcefully for the overthrow of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein.

When the George W. Bush administration took office in January 2001, it wasted little time in tapping Abrams to join its retinue of neoconservatives. In June 2001, Abrams became special assistant to the president and senior director for democracy, human rights, and international organizations (National Security Council, NSC). Given his role in Iran-Contra and controversial dealings in Latin America in the 1980s, some human rights groups took umbrage at his appointment. Nevertheless, Abrams had a hand in crafting the Bush Doctrine, the neoconservatives' homage to preemptory war, and he was among those pushing consistently for regime change in Iraq.

In December 2002, Abrams became senior director for Near East and North African Affairs of the NSC; in February 2005, he became deputy national security adviser for global democracy strategy. As such, he traveled frequently with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and took part in the talks surrounding the July–August 2006 Israeli-Lebanon War.

In this post, Abrams once more became embroiled in controversy. Although such allegations cannot be definitively proven, Abram's detractors asserted that he has been a consistent roadblock in fostering dialogue between Israel and the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). When Hamas won a majority of parliamentary seats in the January 2006 Palestinian elections, Abrams was at the forefront of a campaign to discredit Hamas, strengthen Hamas's chief political opponent Fatah, and ultimately unseat the Hamas majority. It has been posited that the Bush administration began providing arms and other support to Fatah within days of the elections.

In addition to his many years in public service, Abrams has authored 10 books.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Walker; Bush Doctrine; Fatah; Hamas; Iran-Contra Affair; Neoconservatism; Rice, Condoleezza

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Abu Daoud
Birth Date: May 16, 1937

Palestinian militant and mastermind of the Black September Organization (BSO) terrorist attack on Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Summer Olympics. Muhammad Daoud, more commonly

known as Abu Daoud, was born in the Jerusalem community of Silwan on May 16, 1937. Little is known of his early life, but from the time he was a youth he demonstrated a penchant for militancy.

Black September refers to a violent struggle in September 1970 when Jordan's King Hussein expelled the Palestinians and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) from the country. In the process, many Palestinians were killed or imprisoned before the conflict ended in July 1971. The PLO was then forced out of Jordan to Lebanon. Daoud was first an operative and then a leader of the BSO, named in commemoration of this event. The organization's original goal was to avenge the events of Black September and to gain the release of Palestinians imprisoned in Jordan.

The alleged purpose of the Munich attack was to protest the exclusion of the Palestinians from the 1972 Summer Olympic Games. Daoud planned the attack and led it during its initial phases. In response to the attacks, Israeli prime minister Golda Meir authorized, in Operation WRATH OF GOD, the assassination of those known to be responsible for the Munich massacre, and the 1973 Operation SPRING OF YOUTH, led by Ehud Barak, carried out an attack on Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) headquarters in Beirut. Daoud's role in the event was well known to the Mossad Israeli intelligence agency, and he contends that it was Mossad that inflicted 13 wounds to his left wrist, chest, stomach, and jaw when he was shot at close range in a Warsaw, Poland, hotel on July 27, 1981.

Immediately following the 1972 Munich attack, Daoud went to Eastern Europe. He was arrested late that same year while leading a team into Jordan with the goal of taking hostage the Jordanian prime minister and other members of the cabinet. They were to be exchanged for Palestinians imprisoned for actions committed during Black September. Daoud was convicted and sentenced to death in March 1973. King Hussein commuted the sentence to life in prison and later released Daoud along with 1,000 other prisoners in a September 1973 general amnesty. Daoud then moved to Lebanon and remained there until the onset of the civil war in 1975, at which time he returned to Amman.

In January 1977 Daoud was arrested in Paris. Although the Jerusalem Magistrates Court issued a warrant on January 10 seeking his extradition on charges stemming from the Munich attack, a French court released him when the government of West Germany failed to expeditiously request his extradition. Daoud then returned to Jordan again. He was allowed to move from Jordan to the West Bank city of Ramallah in 1993 following the Oslo Accords. He became a member of the Palestinian National Council (PNC) in 1996, and in 1999 he publicly and unrepentantly admitted his role in the Munich attack in his book *Palestine: From Jerusalem to Munich.* In the book and interviews, Daoud claimed that his direct participation was limited to preoperation planning and to helping the eight-member commando team gain entry to the Olympic Village. The commandos were not to kill the Israeli athletes but instead were to hold them hostage in exchange for Palestinians in Israeli prisons. Daoud blamed the ensuing massacre on the Germans. In addition to admitting his role in the Munich massacre and in the ensuing Lufthansa hijacking, Daoud also asserted that PLO chairman Yasser Arafat had granted prior approval for the Munich attack, which Arafat and others denied.

Daoud's admission led to the issuance of a German arrest warrant that resulted in the revocation of his Israeli VIP travel card. He was denied reentry into the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) territories on June 13, 1999. He protested the revocation of his VIP card and asserted that the warrant was null and void because so many years had passed since the Munich attacks. Nevertheless, he moved to Syria, the only country that would allow him residence.

RICHARD M. EDWARDS

See also

Arafat, Yasser; Meir, Golda Mabovitch; Palestine Liberation Organization; Terrorism

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Abu Ghraib

Prison facility located about 20 miles west of the Iraqi capital, Baghdad. Known during the regime of Saddam Hussein as an infamous place of torture and execution, Abu Ghraib prison later drew international attention when photographs of inmate abuse and reports of torture at the hands of coalition troops were made public in 2004.

Abu Ghraib, officially called the Baghdad Central Confinement Facility (BCCF) under the Hussein regime, was built by British contractors hired by the Iraqi government in the 1960s. Covering an area of about one square mile, the prison housed five different types of prisoners during the Hussein regime: those with long sentences, those with short sentences, those imprisoned for capital crimes, those imprisoned for so-called special offenses, and foreign detainees. Cells, which are about 51 square feet in area, held as many as 40 people each.

During the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War, the Iraqi Baathist regime used the facility to imprison political dissidents and members of ethnic or religious groups seen as threats to the central government. In particular, hundreds of Arab and Kurdish Shiites and Iraqis of Iranian heritage were arrested and housed in the BCCF; torture and executions became routine. Among the tactics used by prison guards was the feeding of shredded plastic to inmates, and it has been speculated that prisoners were used as guinea pigs for

Cell block in Abu Ghraib prison, Iraq. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Hussein's biological and chemical weapons. Although the Iraqi government kept its actions within the complex secret from Iraqi citizens and the international community alike, Amnesty International reported several specific incidents, including the 1996 execution of hundreds of political dissidents and the 1998 execution of many people who had been involved in the 1991 Shiite revolt. The prison, which contained thousands of inmates who were completely cut off from outside communication and held without conviction, was also used to house coalition prisoners of war during the Persian Gulf War.

With the 2003 U.S.-led Iraq War and subsequent fall of the Hussein government in Iraq, coalition troops took control of Abu Ghraib prison. The U.S. military used the complex for holding Iraqi insurgents and terrorists accused of anti-U.S. attacks, although by 2004 it had released several hundred prisoners and shared use of the facility with the Iraqi government. Because of the disarray in the Iraqi criminal system, many common criminals uninvolved in the war were held at the facility as well. Abu Ghraib became a household name in April 2004, when the television program *60 Minutes II* aired photographs of prisoner abuse at the hands of coalition troops. Just two days later, the photographs were posted online with Seymour Hersch's article in *New Yorker* magazine. The photos, which showed prisoners wearing black hoods, attached to wires with which they were threatened with electrocution, and placed in humiliating sexual positions, sparked worldwide outrage and calls for the investigation and conviction of the military personnel involved.

The abuse was immediately decried by U.S. President George W. Bush and by Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, who, on May 7, 2004 took responsibility for the acts occurring during his tenure. The Pentagon, which had been investigating reports of abuse since 2003, launched a further investigation into the acts documented by the photographs. Previously, detainee abuse had been investigated by U.S. Army major general Antonio Taguba, who had been given digital images of the abuse by Sergeant Joseph Darby in January 2004. Major general Taguba concluded in his 53-page report that U.S. military personnel had violated international law. More than a dozen U.S. soldiers and officers were removed from the prison as a result of the internal investigation.

More details emerged following the *60 Minutes II* broadcast. Photographs that the U.S. government would not allow to be released earlier were circulated in 2006. Most importantly, it appeared that the senior U.S. military officer, Lieutenant General Ricardo Sanchez, had authorized treatment "close to" torture, such as the use of military dogs, temperature extremes, and sensory and sleep deprivation, thus making it more difficult to locate responsibility for the general environment leading to abuse. However, in addition to charging certain troops and contractors

with torture, the United States made an effort to reduce the number of detainees—estimated at 7,000 prior to the scandal's outbreak—by several thousand. However, many argued that the measures taken were not harsh enough to fit the crime, and some demanded Rumsfeld's resignation. Meanwhile, in August 2004, a military panel confirmed 44 cases of prisoner abuse at the facility and identified 23 soldiers as being responsible. Since the so-called ringleader of the operation, Army Specialist Charles Graner, was convicted and sentenced to 10 years in prison in January 2005, Abu Ghraib has twice been attacked by insurgents, who have attempted to undermine U.S. security at the facility and set prisoners free.

The United States currently holds detainees in the portion of the prison known as "Camp Redemption," built in 2004. In September 2006, the United States handed over control of Abu Ghraib to the Iraqi government. The Iraqi government holds convicted criminals in the older area known as the "Hard Site," although efforts are being made to release those who might be innocent.

Jessica Britt

See also

Bush, George Walker; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Karpinski, Janis; Kurds; Miller, Geoffrey D.; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Taguba, Antonio Mario

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Abu Nidal

Birth Date: May 1937
Death Date: August 16, 2002

Radical Palestinian and founder of the Fatah Revolutionary Council (FRC), also known as the Abu Nidal Organization (ANO), a notorious international terrorist group. "Abu Nidal," which translates as "the father of struggle," was the nom de guerre of Sabri Khalil al-Banna, who was born in May 1937 in Jaffa, Palestine (now Tel Aviv-Yafo), which was under the British Mandate at the time. In 1948, the Arab nations in the region rejected the United Nations (UN) Partition Plan, which ultimately led to war between Israelis and Arabs. Jaffa soon became a battle zone. During the conflict, the new Israeli government confiscated Abu Nidal's father's expansive orange groves, and Abu Nidal and his family fled to refugee camps in Gaza. He later moved on to Nablus, which was under Jordanian governance.

While in Jordan, Abu Nidal joined the Arab nationalist Baath Party. He soon landed in a Jordanian prison for his political views. When Baathists were suppressed by Jordanian King Hussein in 1957, Abu Nidal fled to Saudi Arabia. There, in 1967, he founded the Palestine Secret Organization (PSO). After the Israelis won the 1967 Six-Day War, he was jailed again, this time by the Saudis, for his radical views.

In Saudi Arabia, Abu Nidal joined Fatah, Yasser Arafat's faction within the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), whose stated objective was to free Palestine from Israeli control. Abu Nidal, apparently dissatisfied with certain members of Fatah who sought diplomatic solutions, including a two-state solution to the Jewish problem, left Fatah in 1973. He became enamored with the rejectionist position held by the Iraqi government, which opposed any solution to the Palestinian problem that allowed for the existence of a Jewish state. Abu Nidal soon accused the PLO of treason, formed the FRC, and became Arafat's bitter rival. Meanwhile, Fatah sentenced Abu Nidal to death in absentia.

The FRC, operating out of Iraq, burst onto the international scene on September 5, 1973, when FRC gunmen took control of the Saudi embassy in Paris. This was followed by a number of spectacular acts of violence that were remarkable primarily because they seemed to show no concern for their effect on innocent civilians. The FRC has also assassinated a number of key PLO diplomats.

In 1981, Abu Nidal switched bases from Iraq to Syria because Damascus was interested in utilizing his brand of terrorism. Just one year later, the FRC critically wounded Schlomo Argov, Israel's ambassador to the United Kingdom. The Israelis wasted no time in retaliating and, only three days later, used the failed assassination attempt as a justification to invade Lebanon and attempt to destroy the PLO there.

By the mid-1980s, Abu Nidal was considered the world's most lethal terrorist and was a top target of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and other counterterrorist organizations. At the same time, he became increasingly paranoid, subjecting his followers to endless security checks and bloody purges.

In 1985 Abu Nidal moved his base to Tripoli, Libya, where he became close friends with Libyan strongman Muammar Qaddafi. As with the Syrians, Qaddafi also found many ways to employ Abu Nidal's services. After U.S. warplanes struck Tripoli in April 1986 as punishment for a West Berlin nightclub bombing, Qaddafi convinced Abu Nidal to strike the United States and Britain. The result was staggering. After a kidnapping that left 3 hostages dead, an FRC team hijacked Pan Am Flight 73 in Karachi, Pakistan, in September 1986, killing 22 people. The FRC also provided the explosives that brought down Pan Am Flight 103 en route to New York City over Lockerbie, Scotland, on December 21, 1988, killing 270 people.

The FRC was also responsible for the 1988 attack on the Greek cruise ship *City of Poros* that killed 9 people and left 80 others injured. The attack was roundly criticized in Arab circles because its savagery did not serve either the Palestinian or the Arab political cause. As a result, some theorists accused Abu Nidal of being

a Mossad agent or at least being on the Israeli payroll. Some have even argued that the FRC was Arafat's supreme deception in that it allowed Arafat to pose as a moderate while Abu Nidal carried out all of the PLO's truly violent acts.

In 1999, after being expelled by Qaddafi when the Libyan leader began to mend relations with the United States, Abu Nidal returned to Iraq, where he lived in open defiance of the Jordanian government that had sentenced him to death in absentia. He was living in a Baghdad home owned by the Iraqi Mukhabbarat (Secret Service) when on August 16, 2002, he allegedly committed suicide, suffering multiple gunshot wounds, after being detained by Iraq's internal security force.

From a Western perspective, Abu Nidal's violence may have seemed to be targeted at only Israeli interests. However, most of his victims were Arabs. In fact, most of his killings were not even ideologically driven per se in that he served as a mercenary for such states as Iraq, Syria, and Libya, killing these nations' political enemies for financial gain. Abu Nidal's activities tended to put Palestinian demands in the worst possible light and diminish any hope of gaining broader international support. As a result, it should come as no surprise that the FRC was never popular among most Palestinians. Abu Nidal and the FRC were believed to have carried out some 90 terrorist attacks in 20 nations that may have killed as many as 1,000 people.

B. Keith Murphy

See also

Arafat, Yasser; Baath Party; Fatah; Palestine Liberation Organization; Qaddafi, Muammar; Terrorism

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Achille Lauro Hijacking

Start Date: October 7, 1985
End Date: October 10, 1985

The *Achille Lauro* was an Italian passenger liner hijacked by Palestinian terrorists in the eastern Mediterranean on October 7, 1985. Construction of the ship began at Vlissingen in the Netherlands in 1939 but was interrupted by World War II. Launched in 1946, the ship entered service in late 1947 as the *Willum Ruys.* Sold to the Italian Lauro Line in 1964, the ship was rebuilt, modernized, and returned to service in 1966, named for the former mayor of Naples. Displacing about 21,100 tons, the *Achille Lauro* could accommodate 900 passengers.

On October 7, 1985, the *Achille Lauro* was steaming from Alexandria to Port Said off the Egyptian coast when four armed members of the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF) led by Abu Abbas seized control, apparently in retaliation for the Israeli destruction of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) headquarters in Tunis on October 1.

Freed hostages disembark from the passenger ship *Achille Lauro* following the surrender of their Palestinian hijackers; photographed on October 10, 1985, at Port Said, Egypt. (Bernard Bisson/Corbis Sygma)

The terrorists had been surprised by a crew member and were forced to act prematurely, but they demanded that the *Achille Lauro* steam to Tartus, Syria, and threatened to blow up the ship if Israel did not release 50 Palestinian prisoners held in Israel. The sole casualty of the affair was U.S.-born Jewish passenger Leon Klinghoffer, who was confined to a wheelchair. Reportedly, he confronted the hijackers and was shot by them, and his body was thrown overboard.

Syrian authorities refused to allow the ship to dock, and it returned to Port Said. Following two days of negotiations, the terrorists agreed to release the ship and its passengers in return for safe conduct aboard an Egyptian airliner to Tunis. On October 10, U.S. aircraft intercepted the Egyptian plane and forced it to fly to a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) base in Sicily. Disregarding U.S. government appeals, Italian authorities released the passengers, reportedly including Abu Abbas, although he

was subsequently sentenced in absentia by an Italian court to life in prison.

Some sources state that it was the close relationship between Abu Abbas and the PLO that caused the U.S. government to deny a visa to PLO chairman Yasser Arafat to enter the United States in order to speak to the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in November 1988. Abu Abbas had been a member of the PLO Executive Committee during 1984–1991. Arrested in Iraq following the U.S.-led invasion of that country in 2003, he died, reportedly of natural causes, while in U.S. custody on March 8, 2004. The other three hijackers served varying terms in Italian prisons.

On November 29, 1994, the reflagged *Achille Lauro* was steaming off the coast of Somalia when a fire broke out. All 1,090 passengers and crew abandoned ship. Other ships were soon on the scene, but 2 people died in the lifeboat transfers. The fire totally consumed the ship, and it sank on December 2.

On January 19, 1996, the PLO agreed to provide an undisclosed sum to finance the Leon and Marilyn Klinghoffer Memorial Foundation of the U.S. Anti-Defamation League. The foundation is dedicated to combating terrorism through peaceful means. In return, Klinghoffer's daughters dropped a lawsuit brought against the PLO. The *Achille Lauro* hijacking has been the subject of a 1990 television docudrama and an opera, *The Death of Klinghofffer* (1991), that appeared as a film version in 2003.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Abbas, Abu; Arafat, Yasser; Palestine Liberation Organization; Terrorism

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ACHILLES, Operation
Start Date: March 6, 2007
End Date: May 31, 2007

A North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)–led military counterinsurgency operation in Afghanistan during March 6–May 31, 2007. In response to increased Taliban and Al Qaeda activities in the Helmand Province in southwest Afghanistan, NATO sought to expand its area of operations into the region and to disrupt a growing insurgency network there. Over the previous two years, the Taliban had launched annual campaigns in the area each spring, and NATO planners wanted to strike the insurgents before they were able undertake another springtime operation. Furthermore, poppy production in the region had expanded dramatically, and Helmand Province was responsible for as much as 40 percent of the world's total heroin production. The NATO action was also designed to suppress the narcotics trade and undermine the power of local warlords, many of whom were allied with the Taliban.

Operation ACHILLES was the largest NATO-led ground offensive in Afghanistan to date. The campaign was a follow-on to Operation VOLCANO of February 2007, during which British forces had dislodged a large Taliban force of approximately 700 fighters in 25 compounds near the Kajaki Dam in the province. The dam was one of two major hydroelectric producers in the country and the major source for irrigation for the region. However, only one of two turbine generation units were operable by the end of 2006, and the facility faced constant attack by the Taliban. An internationally-funded $100 million plan to upgrade the plant and add a third turbine had been repeatedly delayed by fighting. One of the specific goals of Operation ACHILLES was to create a secure environment for the dam to be brought up to full operational capacity. British and Australian economic and Provincial Reconstruction teams were slated to support the military effort.

NATO deployed 5,500 troops during the campaign. The majority were British, with smaller contingents from the United States, Canada, Denmark, and the Netherlands, along with 1,000 troops from the Afghan National Army. ACHILLES would be one of the largest operations undertaken by the Afghan Army and would provide coalition commanders with an assessment of the capabilities of its troops. The NATO-led forces were opposed by approximately 4,000 to 5,000 Taliban fighters. The NATO forces were initially commanded by Dutch major general Ton van Loon; British major general Jonathan "Jacko" Page assumed command of the region on May 1, 2007.

Operation ACHILLES began on March 6, 2007. The NATO-led forces moved into the more lawless northern areas in the province, including Musa Qala, Washir, Nawzad, Sangin Kajaki, and Grishk. Initially, two large Taliban compounds were attacked and captured by coalition forces near Garmsir. A combined Dutch-Afghan group, Task Force Uruzgan, was deployed along the border between the Helmand and Uruzgan provinces to block the escape route of Taliban forces. In addition, on April 30 NATO and Afghan forces attacked a large Taliban force at Gereshk, killing approximately 130 enemy fighters and forcing the Taliban from the area. Coalition forces employed air assets against the Taliban in Gereshk and surrounding villages.

Civilian casualties from the engagement led to protests among villagers in the region. Reports indicated that as many as 50 civilians were killed in the fighting. This created renewed tensions between the local populace and the NATO-led coalition. Nonetheless, by the end of May Taliban forces had been effectively removed from both Gereshk and Sangin.

The majority of fighting involved small-unit action, with bands of 10–50 Taliban fighters conducting small-scale attacks on coalition forces and posts. In most of these engagements, the NATO forces were able to use a combination of air power, precision-guided munitions, and artillery to overwhelm Taliban resistance. The Taliban also increasingly resorted to terrorist-style attacks

A leaflet drop over the mountains of southeastern Afghanistan, part of Operation ACHILLES, March 2007. The leaflets warned the Taliban not to interfere with coalition activities. (U.S. Department of Defense)

similar to those used in Iraq, including the use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) to attack convoys and the use of car bombs, especially against Afghan police or civilian targets. During one week in April, eleven NATO troops were killed by roadside bombs, while none died in combat operations.

While the main thrust of the campaign was to destroy concentrations of Taliban fighters, the operations also included tactical air strikes and special operations forces' actions against Taliban leaders. On May 13, Mullah Dadullah, the military operational commander of the Taliban and a member of the organization's 10-member central committee, was killed in a raid by NATO forces, becoming the most senior Taliban figure killed in Afghanistan to that point. In addition, coalition air strikes were credited with killing a number of midlevel Taliban leaders during the campaign.

Operation ACHILLES ended on May 31. During the campaign, NATO leaders reported that Afghan troops performed well and undertook a number of missions independent of coalition personnel. Casualties included 19 Afghan National Army troops and 16 NATO soldiers. Taliban casualties were estimated to be between 700 and 1,000. In addition, some 39 Taliban fighters were captured. In order to support the continued presence of Afghan National Army forces, a series of bases were built by NATO engineers, and patrol stations were established throughout the region for NATO and Afghan forces. In an effort to capitalize on the relative success of Operation ACHILLES, NATO launched a series of smaller campaigns and raids throughout the summer. One result was that the Taliban failed to mount an offensive in the spring of 2007. However, ACHILLES was unable to restore large areas of Helmand to Afghan government control, and the campaign did not significantly disrupt the region's poppy production. In addition, in 2008, the Taliban launched renewed attacks on the Kajaki Dam; nevertheless, in September, British forces were able to deliver the planned third turbine at the hydroelectric plant, and work began on dramatically increasing the facility's power output.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan; Provincial Reconstruction Teams, Afghanistan; Taliban

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Addington, David
Birth Date: January 22, 1957

Attorney, government official in the Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush administrations, legal counsel for Vice President Richard "Dick" Cheney (2001–2005), and Cheney's chief of staff (2005–2009). David Addington was born in Washington, D.C., on January 22, 1957. He attended Georgetown University and earned a law degree from Duke University. Admitted to the bar in 1981, he served as an assistant general counsel for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) from 1981 to 1984. During 1984–1987, he acted as counsel for the U.S. House of Representatives' committees on intelligence and international relations. Also in 1987, he served as a special assistant to President Ronald Reagan, and then as deputy assistant until 1989. During this time, Addington suggested that Reagan's signing statements, or written statements made upon the signing of a bill into law, should exempt the president from wrongdoing in the Iran-Contra Affair.

From 1989 to 1992, Addington was special assistant to Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney. By this time he had firmly established his bona fides as a rightist Republican and a war hawk. From 1992 to 1993, he was general counsel for the Department of Defense. Addington had unusual sway over policy matters, and he became a close confidant of both Cheney and the elder Bush. Addington was reportedly deeply involved, along with Cheney, in developing contingency plans for the continuity of the U.S. government in the wake of a nuclear attack or other catastrophe. The plans Addington envisioned called for a paramount executive, in whom most power would be invested and who would work with the "cooperation" of Congress and the courts. Several sources indicate that since that time, Addington has carried with him a copy of the U.S. Constitution. Some have argued that both Addington and Cheney became obsessed by such doomsday scenarios. During 1993–2001, Addington practiced law privately and spearheaded a political action committee that attempted to lay the groundwork for a Cheney presidential campaign, which never panned out.

In 2001, Addington became Vice President Cheney's legal counsel. As such, he played a major role in setting policy during the George W. Bush administration, especially in areas pertaining to national security. After the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, Addington was the principal architect of Bush's numerous signing statements, and he helped shape U.S. policy concerning enemy combatants and detainees. He has consistently argued that the executive branch holds almost unlimited power in wartime, a stance that has angered and concerned Americans on both sides of the political spectrum. In 2002, Addington helped craft the Justice Department's opinion that in certain cases, the torture of detainees during wartime may be justifiable, and he also helped shape the Bush administration's controversial policies at the Guantánamo Bay Detainment Camp. Indeed, Addington's role in national security affairs has been so consistent and central that the magazine *U.S. News and World Report* termed him "the most powerful man you've never heard of." In 2005, when I. Scooter Libby was indicted for his role in the Valerie Plame Wilson incident, Addington took his place as Cheney's chief of staff.

In 2007, Addington, in reply to a U.S. Senate inquiry on the use of classified information, informed Senator John Kerry that the vice president's office was exempt from the U.S. National Archives' oversight of classified material because of national-security imperatives. Prior to that, he had called for the elimination of the oversight office. Addington allegedly was also involved in the Bush administration's controversial activities involving the tapping of phone calls between U.S. citizens and those abroad, which had been pursued without the requisite court orders.

In June 2008, Addington was compelled to testify under a subpoena to the House Judiciary Committee, which relentlessly grilled him about the treatment of enemy combatants and other detainees; the use of torture and questionable interrogation tactics; and the extent of executive powers in wartime. Addington remained firm in his commitment to sweeping executive powers, and saw no wrongdoing in regard to detainees and enemy combatants. In 2008, Jane Mayer published *The Dark Side: The Inside Story of How the War on Terror Turned into a War on American Ideals.* The book is a highly critical study of the George W. Bush administration, including an indictment of Addington's central role in what the author sees as the trampling of civil and constitutional liberties.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also
Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Global War on Terror; Libby, I. Lewis; Wilson, Valerie Plame

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Adl, Sayf al-
Birth Date: April 11, 1960 or 1963

Senior Al Qaeda operative, strategic planner, and commando trainer, considered by some to be number three in the Al Qaeda hierarchy. He is currently wanted in connection with the 1998 bombings of U.S. embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya. Sayf Al-Adl is a nom de guerre meaning "sword of justice." His identity has been confused with Sayf al-Din al-Ansari, a different jihadist ideologue, but he has also used the

names Ibrahim al-Madani and Umar al-Sumali at different times. According to some sources and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), he is Muhammad Ibrahim Makkawi, born in Egypt on April 11, 1960 or 1963, but this point too is disputed. If he is not Makkawi, then that individual was probably killed, and there are some theories that he was a plant, or connected with the CIA. Makkawi's history is nevertheless given as that of Adl.

Makkawi/Adl has written that he turned toward Islam in the 1980s. He attained the rank of colonel in the Egyptian Army's Special Forces in 1987. That same year, he was arrested along with thousands of other Islamists who were attempting to revive the illegal Jihad Islami (Islamic Jihad) organization, a cell of which had assassinated Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat in 1981. He was allegedly part of a plot to drive a truck bomb and an airplane into the Egyptian Parliament building, and he was imprisoned with more than 400 others from Islamic Jihadist operatives.

In 1988, Adl left for Saudi Arabia and was then based in Peshawar, Pakistan, from which he moved into Afghanistan and conducted military training for its operatives near Khost. If Adl is not Makkawi, then he may have traveled to Pakistan a year or two later. In 1992, Adl went to Khartoum and also conducted military training for Al Qaeda in vacant areas of Damazin Farms. He was part of Al Qaeda's expansion into other areas, and by then he was a member of its military committee. Subsequently, he sent an important operative into Somalia to begin activities there. In 1993 and 1994, he was engaged in activities in Somalia and wrote a letter recommending the establishment of an Al Qaeda base in southern Somalia along with a detailed description of the route from there to Nairobi, which featured tourist areas and other local sites. He may have been in Yemen in 1995 before returning to Afghanistan, where he trained commandos at the Mes Aynak camp near Kabul in 1999; he likely remained there until 2001.

During this period, Adl came to know Jordanian militant Islamist Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, helped him establish his training camp, which was near Heart, and provided points of contact for mujahideen coming from Iran into Afghanistan. A split developed among Al Qaeda leaders over the wisdom of attacking U.S. interests, and Adl was reportedly, like the Taliban's Mohammed Omar, opposed to such an operation. However, once the United States attacked Afghanistan after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, he directed Al Qaeda operations there. He led one contingent into Iran with assistance from Gulbuddin Hekmetyar's Hizb al-Islam. From there, he planned to move back into Afghanistan to fight, while Abu Musab al-Zarqawi's group was to move into Iraq. Large numbers of both groups were arrested by Iranian authorities, and it has been asserted that Adl was still in custody or under house arrest in Iran as of 2005, along with others including the son of Osama bin Laden. He was last heard from in a 2005 memoir of Zarqawi solicited by journalist Fuad Husayn.

In Iran, Adl remained active in Al Qaeda's information activities and planning operations, perhaps in the truck-bombing of a synagogue in Djerba, Tunisia, and definitely in actions of al-Qaida fi jazirat al-arabiyya (QAP) in Saudi Arabia. That group began publishing an Internet journal, *Muaskar al-Battar,* in December of 2003, to which Adl contributed a regular section, "Security and Intelligence Operations." In 2004, he published an Internet manual on jihadi planning ("The Base of the Vanguard") to which other Al Qaeda members contributed. Although Adl may not initially have approved of attacking the United States, he later provided the strategic rationale for it, arguing that attacking the United States on its own soil was like smashing the head of a snake. Such attacks, he continued, would lead to the emergence of a new and "virtuous" world leadership that would vindicate the downtrodden around the world.

Adl further explained how the United States could reorient its foreign policy objectives, which were costly and would lead ultimately to its defeat. U.S. objectives, as he saw them, included (1) ending the Palestinian intifada (meaning a cessation of all resistance to Israel), (2) gaining control over Hezbollah in Lebanon, (3) forcing Syria to withdraw from Lebanon, (4) promoting successful elections in Iraq, and (5) maintaining security over the oil fields in the Persian Gulf and "maritime crossing points." Jihadists engaged in a lively debate on the impact of 9/11 and the U.S.-led Global War on Terror. Adl's whereabouts remain very much in dispute.

Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Al Qaeda; Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula; Al Qaeda in Iraq; Bin Laden, Osama; Dar es Salaam, Bombing of U.S. Embassy; Jihad; Nairobi, Kenya, Bombing of U.S. Embassy; Somalia, International Intervention in; Sudan

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Afghanistan

A landlocked nation of 252,000 square miles in South Asia with a 2008 population of 32.738 million people. Afghanistan borders Iran to the west; Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan to the north; China to the northeast; and Pakistan to the east and south. This geographically forbidding nation, almost half of which is more than 6,500 feet in elevation, with extensive desert regions and mountains exceeding 16,000 feet, has been no stranger to international intrigue throughout its long history.

Afghanistan became a center of the so-called Great Game, an imperialist rivalry between Britain and Russia, in the 19th century. The struggle ended before the turn of the century, however, with

A crowded downtown area of Kabul, Afghanistan, in November 2006. (AP/Wide World Photos)

the establishment of an independent Afghanistan that divided the regional ethnic groups in the area among Russia, British India, and Afghanistan. As elsewhere in the world, artificial borders mandated by European empires left residual problems that festered throughout the twentieth century.

The Cold War caught Afghanistan between the Soviet Union, naturally interested in a country on its southern border with ethnic connections to Soviet Central Asian republics, and the United States, which was fearful of communist expansion. The U.S. containment policy sought to encircle the Soviets and Communist Chinese with an interlocking system of alliances including the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO); thus, Afghanistan found itself wedged between the West and the East.

After 1933, Afghanistan's king, Mohammad Zahir Shah, had tried to enhance his position by dealing with the Soviets as a counter to the British in India. Following World War II, the United States displaced Britain as the principal Western force in Asia, and Afghanistan continued to court the Soviets as a counter to perceived Western imperialism. An agreement with the Soviets in 1950 provided Afghanistan with substantial economic support and promises of oil shipments, albeit interrupted by disputes over the Pashtun border with Pakistan.

At the time, proponents of containment envisioned an interlocking system of alliances to surround the communist world. NATO was the first in 1949 to secure Western Europe. In 1954 CENTO and SEATO surrounded the southern and eastern flanks of the communist bloc. Never fully realized, the idea was to link the three through multilateral collective security guarantees. CENTO included Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, and the linchpin, Turkey, which was also a NATO member. Pakistan was also a member of SEATO and thus tied to NATO through Turkey. Afghanistan was not included in any of these mutual-defense mechanisms.

In 1953 Mohammad Daoud Khan, a member of the Afghan royal family, became prime minister. Daoud secured a Soviet economic development loan of $3 million in 1954 that preceded a 1955 visit by Soviet leaders Nikita Khrushchev and Nikolai Bulganin, who promised another $100 million. The United States refused military aid to Afghanistan but did assist in improving the Kandahar airport. The Soviets then promised military aid and a military aircraft facility at Mazar-e Sharif. For a time, it seemed that Afghanistan was the fortunate beneficiary of Cold War rivalries.

Daoud's tenure ended in 1963, however, when Zahir resumed direct rule. The details of Daoud's fall are not entirely clear, although several factors were involved, including high inflation in the country, continued tensions with Pakistan, popular opposition to Daoud's secular government, and the king's desire to broaden participation in government.

The king ruled directly for a decade, during which time a leftist political opposition movement gained momentum, led by Babrak

Afghan Ethnolinguistic Groups

Karmal of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDA). Political unrest and a severe drought resulted in a military coup in 1973 that placed Daoud back in power, now as head of a republic with support from Karmal. Daoud, a moderate leftist, surprised many by seeking U.S. financial aid through Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran. The Soviets were also providing aid; Daoud visited the Soviet Union in 1974 and again in 1977.

Daoud continued to endeavor to play the two superpowers against each other and also developed closer ties with both Iran and Saudi Arabia. By 1978, Daoud lost Karmal's support on the Left and the Islamist fundamentalists' support on the Right. That same year, Daoud's government was overthrown. Karmal and Nur Muhammad Taraki now led a new government with strong ties to the Soviets. The two Afghan leaders soon split, however, and in 1979 the Soviet Union sent troops to support Karmal. This began a bloody war of attrition for the Soviets that would not end until 1989.

Meanwhile, local tribal leaders took advantage of the turmoil, as did Islamic fundamentalists who feared that Soviet rule would result in a wholly secular regime. This dynamic forced the Soviets to back Karmal's regime with 150,000 troops and massive military aid. Sensing Soviet vulnerability, the United States provided arms and covert aid to the Afghan mujahideen (guerrilla insurrectionists). The parallel to Vietnam is not without merit. During the Vietnam War the communist powers, principally the Soviet Union and China, provided sufficient aid to the North Vietnamese and their Viet Cong allies to keep the United States bogged down in a protracted struggle until 1973. In Afghanistan, the United States ultimately supplied aid to keep the Soviets pinned down until 1989, when they gave up and withdrew. The Afghanistan-Soviet War played a sizable role in the collapse of the Soviet Union just a few years later.

After the Soviets' exit, Afghanistan was plunged into a long civil war that finally ended in 1996 when the repressive Taliban regime came to power, cultivating ties to the terrorist Al Qaeda movement. Ironically, the Taliban and Al Qaeda had received training and arms from the United States during the Afghanistan-Soviet War. The Taliban quickly went about installing an Islamic fundamentalist regime that severely repressed basic civil liberties and used frequently barbaric means to "cleanse" Afghanistan of all things secular and Western.

The country's economy was in shambles, but opposition groups were effectively stymied by the Taliban's heavy-handed rule. The Taliban's fortunes changed after the Al Qaeda–inspired terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001. The George W. Bush administration immediately demanded that the Taliban hand over Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden and other Al Qaeda operatives, who had sought refuge in Afghanistan, or face military reprisal. Having established a close relationship with Al Qaeda, the Taliban leaders refused, and in October 2001 the United States led a small coalition of NATO nations to invade the country and aid the indigenous Northern Alliance in defeating the Taliban and ousting it from power by year's end.

In 2002, Hamid Karzai, a prominent Pashto who was viewed favorably by the United States government, became interim president of Afghanistan. Elected in his own right in 2004, Karzai had the unenviable task of trying to rebuild his nation, keeping Taliban fighters and other Islamic extremists at bay, and maintaining a close working relationship with Washington. In the meantime, Afghanistan's economic problems proved to be quite intractable, with much of the nation mired in grinding poverty. Afghanistan is the world's major source for heroin, and Karzai has refused to get tough with opium (poppy) producers, despite much pressure from Washington, because such cultivation provides badly-needed revenue for the Afghan economy. It also is a chief source of income for the Taliban insurgency. This and other issues, especially Karzai's 2007 offer to reach out to moderate elements of the Taliban, have caused friction in the U.S.-Afghan relationship.

By 2007, however, the Taliban insurgency was clearly on the rise, despite the continued presence of NATO troops in the country working with the Afghan National Army. Karzai promised to help stem the tide of the insurgency, but he had few means with which to do this. This in turn led the United States and NATO to insert additional resources into the country to battle the insurgents. Afghanistan's future remains uncertain, with conditions not likely to improve unless the insurgency can be neutralized and the economy strengthened.

Daniel E. Spector

See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Containment Policy; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Karzai, Hamid; Middle East Regional Defense Organizations; Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan; Pakistan; Soviet-Afghanistan War; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; Taliban; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan; United States

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Afghanistan, Climate of

The term "climate" refers to decades-long patterns of weather conditions based on average as well as minimum/maximum ranges of temperature, precipitation, atmospheric pressure, and other variables. In contrast, weather refers to daily variations in such variables. The interaction of several climate variables contributes to climatic variations in Afghanistan and elsewhere around the world. These include latitude and seasonality, altitude,

maritime influence and continentality, semipermanent pressure systems, prevailing winds, ocean currents, storms, and topography. Latitude and altitude apply to regions everywhere, but other variables impact some regions more than others. For example, ocean currents are relatively insignificant for Afghanistan, which is landlocked, whereas topography plays an important role.

Afghanistan's latitude extends from 29° to 38° north, about the same as from southern New Mexico to northern Utah. Thus, it receives substantial solar radiation, but temperature and precipitation vary significantly between summer and winter. This is a latitude range prone to desert formation because of the Hadley Cell. That is, warm moist air rises at the equator to produce convectional precipitation. The drier air then descends at about 30° north and south to produce a series of deserts in both hemispheres, including the Rigestan Desert in southwestern Afghanistan.

As altitude increases, temperatures over land generally decrease at the rate of 3.3° Fahrenheit per 1,000 feet of elevation. Thus, the Rigestan Desert, with an average elevation of 3,000 feet, is about 10° cooler than deserts at the same latitude (but lower altitude), such as in Iraq and Jordan. Nevertheless, temperatures in the region can surpass 110° Fahrenheit in the summers. Elevations in the Hindu Kush mountain range vary substantially across short horizontal distances. Abrupt changes in altitude produce equally abrupt changes in climate zones. Climatologists include these mountains in the category of "Undifferentiated Highlands" due to their mosaic of climate zones.

Afghanistan's remoteness from oceans and large water bodies, which could otherwise moderate daily and annual temperature changes, makes continentality more important than the maritime influence. Thus, daily and annual temperature ranges show greater fluctuation than coastal countries such as Israel. For instance, some British and Indian troops perished from heat exhaustion during the 1839 invasion of Afghanistan, while extreme cold killed many more during their disastrous 1842 retreat.

Semipermanent pressure systems, prevailing winds, and storms are related variables that play an important role in Afghanistan. Continentality contributes to substantial heating of the Asian landmass during summer. Whereas neighboring Pakistan receives substantial rain during the summer monsoon season, Afghanistan experiences dry conditions, as northerly winds and mountains usually keep this precipitation at bay. In the winter, however, the Siberian high causes westerly winds carrying storms from the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea, and the Caspian Sea to veer into Afghanistan, producing substantial rain and snow throughout the Hindu Kush and its highland margins.

Topography is very important for Afghan climate zones. Moisture-laden air may blow across the northern plains without producing precipitation. When that same air rises to cross a mountain, however, rapid cooling and condensation produce orographic (mountain-induced) precipitation on the windward side. As the air mass moves down the leeward slope, however, evaporation replaces condensation in an air mass that has less water vapor. If wind direction remains relatively constant, the leeward side will experience a rain shadow of drier conditions than the windward side.

The Hindu Kush occupies a wide swath from the Tajik and Chinese borders into central Afghanistan. In the winter, deep snow often closes the high mountain passes for extended periods, and prolonged cold frequently brings military operations to a virtual halt. Summer melting, however, provides the runoff to sustain agriculture throughout numerous valleys while allowing military operations to increase in tempo.

The foothills of the Hindu Kush form two parallel U-shaped transition zones on its margins, extending from the Tajik border toward Herat in the west before looping back toward Pakistan. The inner belt exhibits characteristics of a Mediterranean climate based on average temperatures and a pattern of wet winters and dry summers. The outer belt features semiarid steppes that serve as a transition zone to the Rigestan Desert in the southwest and the edge of the Kara Kum Desert near Turkmenistan. Much of Afghanistan's production of opium poppies occurs in these steppe regions. Most of this outer belt can be classified as semiarid/hot with one exception. In the valleys between the Hindu Kush and the mountains of neighboring Waziristan, the steppes near Kabul are at higher elevations, qualifying them as semiarid/cold, like those of Kazakhstan.

Although Afghanistan is often considered a desert country, its climate is far more complicated and varied, making classification extremely difficult. Indigenous and foreign military forces alike have found that they must prepare for a wide variety of weather patterns when operating there.

CHUCK FAHRER

See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; Defense Meteorological Satellite Program; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Topography, Afghanistan

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Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present

A series of U.S. and coalition military campaigns occurred against the Taliban, the Al Qaeda terrorist organization, and other anti-government and anti-Western factions in support of the Afghan government of President Hamid Karzai. In October 2001, a

U.S.-led coalition launched Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, an invasion of Afghanistan to topple the Taliban regime after its refusal to take action against Al Qaeda, which had been responsible for the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States.

By December, U.S. forces and those of its allies had worked in conjunction with the Afghan Northern Alliance to overthrow the Taliban. A pro-Western government was then installed. Beginning in the winter of 2001–2002, coalition forces launched successive operations to expand the areas under government control and suppress a growing antigovernment insurgency.

Operation ENDURING FREEDOM and the International Security Assistance Force

Initially, allied forces were divided between two parallel missions. The first was the ongoing Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (OEF). The United States–led coalition forces were involved in direct combat and counterinsurgency operations to counter the Taliban, Al Qaeda, and powerful regional warlords. On average, the United States maintained 15,000–20,000 troops, supported by 2,000–5,000 allied forces mainly from such North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) partners as the United Kingdom and Canada. In 2007, 22 countries provided troops to OEF.

The second major mission was the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). The ISAF was created by United Nations Security Council Resolution 1386 in December 2001 and initially commanded by the United Kingdom with forces from 18 other countries. ISAF was subsequently reauthorized by a succession of UN resolutions. Its main missions were to provide security assistance for the Afghan national government, undertake reconstruction and humanitarian operations, and train Afghan security forces.

In August 2003, NATO assumed command of ISAF. At first ISAF's operations were concentrated around Kabul, but it gradually expanded its area over the next four years, taking control of provinces that had been under the geographic area of operations of OEF forces. By 2007, ISAF counted about 40,000 troops from 37 NATO and non-NATO states.

In 2007, U.S. General Dan McNeill became the first U.S. officer to command ISAF. He was succeeded by U.S. Army general David McKiernan in 2008. In October 2006, ISAF began to transition to assume command of all of Afghanistan. The majority of OEF forces, including U.S. troops, were transferred to ISAF command. By 2007, OEF had been reduced to about 8,000 troops, mainly from the U.S., who continued designated combat operations with different rules of engagement from the ISAF forces.

In both OEF and ISAF operations, combat missions were affected by national "caveats" placed on troops by their home governments. Such caveats were designed to limit casualties among the troops and typically came in one of two forms: limitations on the geographic areas where troops could be deployed, and restrictions on missions. By 2007, there were more than 100 such restrictions among the nations contributing troops. For instance, the German government limited their forces to missions in the relatively stable areas of Northern Afghanistan (with some notable exceptions for German special operations forces). Republic of Korea forces were not allowed to participate in combat operations. Such caveats dramatically reduced the flexibility of coalition operations and meant that the majority of combat missions were undertaken by U.S., Australian, British, Canadian, and Dutch forces.

Coalition operations were also constrained by the limited number of troops. The U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003 limited the number of U.S. forces available for deployment to Afghanistan. The great demands of the Iraq War also limited U.S. spending to support both combat and reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan. Allied nations faced similar constraints. For instance, the deployment of forces to Iraq by Australia, the United Kingdom, or Italy limited the forces available for Afghanistan. Other NATO partners, including Belgium, France, and Spain, had forces deployed in peacekeeping missions in the Balkans, Lebanon, and Africa, which prevented deployments to support ISAF. During a succession of NATO summits, leaders agreed in principle to increase combat forces in Afghanistan, but they were unable to secure commitments from individual states to fully meet these pledges. Nonetheless, by 2008, ISA included 50,700 troops from 40 NATO and partner countries.

The First Phase of Major Operations (2002–2004)

Following the fall of the Taliban and the Battle of Tora Bora in December 2001, the first major coalition offensive was Operation ANACONDA. It began in March 2002 when U.S.-led OEF forces launched a campaign to dislodge Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters from bases in the Shah-i-Khot Valley, south of Gardez. Insurgent forces numbered approximately 2,000 and had occupied a series of caves and bunkers in the area from which to conduct operations against Afghan government and coalition targets.

Coalition forces included 1,000 U.S. troops; 1,500 Afghan soldiers; and about 200 troops from Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, and Norway, most of them special operations soldiers. Allied forces were able to dislodge the Taliban after intense fighting that included the use of AC-130 gunships and heavy aerial bombing (more than 3,500 bombs were dropped by the end of March). Despite the considerable firepower advantage enjoyed by the coalition, the operation suffered from a lack of coordination and communication among the different units. Eight U.S. and seven Afghan soldiers died in the operation, along with an estimated 340 Taliban/Al Qaeda fighters. The majority of insurgents were able to avoid capture by coalition forces and escape into Pakistan, where they soon established new bases and from which they launched crossborder incursions into Afghanistan. The following year coalition forces conducted a smaller campaign, Operation DRAGON FURY, in the same region to prevent the reemergence of the Taliban, but it involved only minor combat.

Through the summer of 2002, the Taliban conducted small-scale raids on coalition and government targets, especially against convoys and outposts. The majority of these attacks were undertaken by small groups of 10 to 50 insurgents each and employed

A U.S. Marine Corps corporal guards a CH-53E Super Stallion helicopter in preparation for a mission in support of Operation ANACONDA in Afghanistan, March 2002. (U.S. Department of Defense)

tactics similar to those employed by the Afghans against the Soviets in the 1980s. An estimated 1,000–1,500 insurgents were actively operating in Afghanistan at the time. Insurgents fired mortars and rockets at coalition bases and convoys and set up increasingly sophisticated ambushes against patrols and convoys. In an effort to decrease the effectiveness of coalition air power, the Taliban-led forces emphasized quick, hit-and-run attacks that allowed them to disperse before they were targeted by missiles or aerial attack. The insurgents attacked both OEF and ISAF forces, in addition to Afghan security troops, government targets, and humanitarian operations.

To counter the guerrilla-style warfare, the coalition endeavored to deny the insurgents supplies and bases from which to launch attacks. U.S.-led forces initiated a series of missions to dislodge the Taliban from their bases and interdict supplies. In April 2002, U.S. troops launched Operation MOUNTAIN LION in conjunction with a British offensive, Operation PTARMIGAN, in the areas around both Gardez and Khost. Operations continued through July and were marked by minor skirmishes between coalition and insurgent forces. Afghan, Australian, U.S., and United Kingdom forces engaged a large Taliban force during Operation CONDOR, May 16–22. The bulk of the fighting was undertaken by Australian and British forces, supported by U.S. helicopters and airplanes. Meanwhile, the British-led Operation SNIPE in May resulted in the capture and destruction of a major Taliban base that included extensive caves and a large weapons cache in southeastern Afghanistan.

In what emerged as a continuing pattern, during the later fall and winter of 2002–2003, the Taliban and Al Qaeda regrouped and prepared for new offensive action in the spring of the next year, using bases in Pakistan to resupply and train new recruits. The Taliban increasingly sought out Pakistanis and other foreign fighters to bolster its ranks. Concurrently, the coalition increased its preventative strikes against the insurgents. Allied forces attempted to disrupt the Taliban's ability to undertake large-scale operations by searching out and destroying potential bases and weapons caches.

In January 2003, intelligence indicated the presence of 60–100 Taliban fighters in a cave complex in the Adhi Ghar Mountains (which had previously served as one of the main areas of operation for the anti-Soviet mujahideen). U.S. forces conducted air strikes and cave-by-cave searches. Twenty-two insurgents were killed and 13 captured in this Operation MONGOOSE, while the U.S. had no casualties. The 300 U.S. troops involved in the attack also destroyed significant insurgent stores of weapons and explosives.

In March 2003, the U.S. launched a preemptive mission east of Kandahar concurrently with the invasion of Iraq. Operation

VALIANT STRIKE was in response to the capture of top Al Qaeda leader Khalid Sheikh Mohammed in Pakistan. Utilizing information gleaned from Mohammad's capture, some 600 coalition forces seized and destroyed three large weapons caches and captured a number of suspected Taliban fighters among villages outside of Kandahar. U.S. troops, supported by U.S. and Norwegian air units, began Operation DESERT LION the day VALIANT STRIKE ended. That four-day operation resulted in the destruction of two Taliban facilities near the coalition's main air base at Bagram.

During the late summer of 2003, U.S. forces led two campaigns designed to interdict the movement of Taliban and foreign fighters into Afghanistan. Operation WARRIOR SWEEP included U.S., Italian, and Afghan troops in the Ayubkhel Valley, one of the main supply routes for the Taliban. There, coalition forces destroyed a number of weapons caches and bases but only faced minor opposition from insurgents. WARRIOR SWEEP lasted from July into September. Meanwhile, in Operation MOUNTAIN SWEEP, U.S. Army Rangers and units of the 82nd Airborne, along with coalition special operations forces, targeted suspected Taliban hideouts and supply routes.

In September 2003, U.S. forces and Afghan national troops launched Operation MOUNTAIN VIPER following a series of attacks against Afghan security posts in the southeastern part of the country. Taliban forces were supported by warlord Gulbuddin Hekmetyar, a former anti-Taliban leader who had turned against the Karzai government. Approximately 70–100 Taliban and militia forces loyal to Hekmetyar were killed in the campaign, which lasted into December.

The growing threat from insurgents led to a parallel campaign, Operation AVALANCHE, which began in December 2003 and was the largest U.S.-led offensive since ANACONDA. More than 2,000 U.S. troops conducted strikes and patrols in eastern and southeastern Afghanistan. The operation resulted in the capture and destruction of several large weapons caches. About 20 insurgents were killed and more than 100 wounded. No coalition troops were killed.

In January 2004, the coalition initiated another preemptive offensive to disrupt the ability of the Taliban to undertake significant operations in the spring. Operation MOUNTAIN BLIZZARD included more than 1,700 armed patrols and more than 140 specific raids and search-and-destroy missions. Twenty-two insurgents were killed and scores captured, while no coalition forces were killed. The campaign also resulted in the capture and destruction of large stocks of weapons and ammunition.

MOUNTAIN BLIZZARD ended in March 2004 and was immediately followed by Operation MOUNTAIN STORM. The new offensive involved more than 13,000 coalition troops, the majority of which were U.S., and was conducted concurrently with a Pakistani offensive against the Taliban in that country's northwest provinces and with a new effort by ISAF to deploy provincial reconstruction teams in the more stable areas of Afghanistan. MOUNTAIN STORM lasted into July and was undertaken in an effort to stabilize the country ahead of the October presidential elections. Meanwhile, the Taliban and its allies increased their use of terrorist tactics, including suicide bombings and assassinations of Afghan officials and progovernment figures.

The Second Phase of Major Operations (2005–2008)

Operation LIGHTNING FREEDOM was initiated by OEF forces in December 2004 and continued through the winter of 2005. It included a succession of minor operations and was similar to earlier campaigns designed to preempt offensive action by the Taliban in the spring of 2005. However, the operation occurred at the same time as an offer of amnesty for insurgents from the Afghan government. The United States hoped to reduce its forces in Afghanistan following the legislative elections on September 18, 2005, if the amnesty was successful. However, relatively few Taliban took advantage of the offer and the organization instead increased its terrorist attacks. By the end of the year, the Afghan National Army numbered 20,000 men, of varying quality, with plans to expand their number to 70,000.

Narcotics production expanded dramatically in the post-Taliban era. By 2005, Afghanistan was the world's largest producer of opium; at least 20 percent of the population was economically dependent on poppy production, which accounted for approximately 60 percent of the country's gross domestic product. Although President Karzai declared a "jihad" against opium, efforts to suppress poppy production were resisted by some within the Afghan government for fear of alienating progovernment militia leaders. Meanwhile, the Taliban and antigovernment insurgents became increasingly involved in the narcotics trade, which they used to finance their operations. It was estimated that at least 70 percent of their expenses were paid for through drug sales. Coalition military leaders initially resisted pressure to undertake counternarcotics operations, arguing the need to instead concentrate on anti-Taliban efforts. However, in 2004, the OEF forces were authorized to conduct operations against narcotics, including the destruction of production and arresting drug traffickers and turning them over to Afghan security forces. Nonetheless, between 2005 and 2006, poppy production rose by almost 60 percent, and it continued to increase through 2007 and 2008. In October 2008, NATO agreed to increase its counternarcotics activities, following a decision by the Afghan government to take greater steps to suppress poppy production.

The Taliban and other antigovernment factions dramatically increased their attacks in 2006. During 2005 there were approximately 1,500 strikes against coalition forces, but that number rose to 5,000 the following year, while the number of roadside bombings doubled to more than 1,650 and suicide attacks increased more than 500 percent to 139. The Taliban established new bases and a new presence in regions that had not been stabilized by OEF or ISAF. In response, the coalition increasingly relied on air power to attack suspected Taliban bases and formations. During 2006, the coalition conducted more than 2,000 air strikes, the most since the initial invasion of Afghanistan. Although many of these were carried out with precision-guided weaponry, there was

also a dramatic increase in the number of civilian casualties. This served to undermine popular support for both the coalition and the Afghan national government.

The coalition also launched a new series of campaigns in 2006. In April, U.S., British, and Afghan national forces initiated Operation MOUNTAIN LION in the Kunar, Nuristan, and Nangahar provinces along the northwest border with Pakistan. Although there was heavy fighting, casualties were light among both coalition and Taliban forces. Significantly, the 2,500 troops of the Afghan National Army who participated were widely praised for their performance during the offensive, which destroyed a number of Taliban bases. MOUNTAIN LION was followed by Operation MOUNTAIN THRUST, which began on June 15, 2006. The largest coalition action to date, it included more than 11,000 U.S., British, Canadian, and Afghan troops. MOUNTAIN THRUST was the first major coalition operation in the Uruzgan and Helmand provinces in southern Afghanistan. Coalition forces suffered 24 killed, while at least 1,000 Taliban were killed and more than 400 were captured. The campaign lasted into July.

In 2006, ISAF launched its first significant offensive missions. In September, NATO began Operation MEDUSA, which included about 2,000 ISAF troops from Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Afghan army. Twenty-seven coalition troops were killed, while an estimated 400–500 Taliban lost their lives. The campaign was undertaken to extend government control over rural areas near Kandahar and allow the construction of a road system. Soon after the operation ended on September 17, large numbers of Taliban returned to the area and initiated attacks on construction works. As MEDUSA ended, OEF forces, including 3,000 U.S. and 4,000 Afghan troops, launched Operation MOUNTAIN FURY in the eastern central provinces of the country. British and Canadian units also participated in the fighting in what was dubbed Operation FALCON SUMMIT. In one of the fiercest battles of the campaign, on December 5 British forces were forced to retreat under heavy fire from the Taliban before aerial support destroyed the enemy positions. On December 19, Mullah Akhtar Mohammad Osmani, the Taliban commander in the south, was killed by a NATO air assault. MOUNTAIN FURY ended on January 17, 2007. The coalition suffered 107 killed, 71 of them Afghan soldiers. The Taliban sustained more than 1,100 killed and 179 captured.

In February 2007, British forces in ISAF began Operation VOLCANO to secure territory around the Kajaki Dam in the Helmand Province. There were some 700 Taliban in 25 separate compounds around the dam. The campaign was successful, but NATO undertook a broader offensive mission to stabilize areas in the Helmand Province and remove the approximately 4,000–5,000 Taliban and antigovernment militia forces in that region. Operation ACHILLES

U.S. marines of the 2nd Battalion, 8th Marine Regiment, firing on attacking Taliban forces at Patrol Base Bracha in the Garmsir District of Helmand Province, Afghanistan, October 9, 2009. (U.S. Department of Defense)

began in March 2007 and was the largest NATO offensive operation to date. It involved 6,500 troops from Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Afghan National Army. The majority of combat involved running battles and ambushes between NATO troops and bands of 10–50 insurgents. Mullah Dadullah, the operational commander of the Taliban, was killed in a NATO attack on May 13. He was the most senior Taliban killed in Afghanistan to that time. Achilles ended on May 31. There were 34 coalition soldiers killed during the fighting and an estimated 700–1,000 Taliban casualties.

The British launched Operation PICKAXE HANDLE as a follow-on to ACHILLES. Some 2,000 NATO troops continued operations against the remaining 2,000–3,000 insurgents in Helmand. Twelve ISAF soldiers were killed and approximately 150 Taliban died. Significantly, ACHILLES and PICKAXE HANDLE preempted an anticipated large-scale Taliban offensive in the Helmand Province. In October, coalition forces engaged the Taliban in two separate battles after detecting large formations.

By 2008, there were approximately 10,000 Taliban and other antigovernment forces in Afghanistan or in bases in Pakistan. As coalition forces continued to endeavor to expand government control, more frequent clashes with insurgent forces occurred. In addition, the Taliban launched more significant operations. For instance, in June a Taliban operation against a detention facility in Kandahar freed more than 1,000 prisoners, including 400 fighters. In April, a Taliban ambush killed 10 French soldiers and wounded 21, the most significant losses suffered by France to this point in the war. In late 2008, the United States began conducting special operations forces missions and bombing of suspected Taliban bases in Pakistan in an escalation of the Afghan conflict through an effort to disrupt insurgent attacks.

By the end of 2009, coalition forces had lost 1,567 killed in Afghanistan since 2001, with 946 of these being U.S. personnel. The total for 2009 (520 coalition troops killed, of which 316 were U.S. troops) was nearly double that of the previous year (295 and 155, respectively). In addition, at least 5,500 Afghan security forces troops have been killed. Overall insurgent losses have been estimated to be between 25,000 and 30,000, with 20,000 captured. There are no reliable statistics on civilian deaths attributable to the war, but these are believed to be at least 25,000.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

ACHILLES, Operation; Casualties, Operation ENDURING FREEDOM; Hungary, Role in Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Wars; Italy, Armed Forces in Iraq and Afghanistan; New Zealand, Role in Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Wars; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan; Norway, Role in Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Wars; United Kingdom Forces in Afghanistan

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Afghanistan, Economic Cost of Soviet Invasion and Occupation of

On December 24, 1979, Soviet troops began an invasion of Afghanistan. The invasion and occupation of Afghanistan ended up a costly affair that lasted nearly nine years, until February 1989. The Soviets found themselves involved in a frustrating military conflict with Afghan mujahideen, resistance fighters backed primarily by the United States and Saudi Arabia.

Meanwhile, rising military expenditures, dwindling oil revenues, and an inflexible centrally planned economy had led to economic stagnation in the Soviet Union. An anemic Soviet growth rate of 1 to 1.9 percent from 1975 to 1980 fell further: from 1980 to 1985, the annual Soviet growth rate averaged between 0.6 percent and 1.8 percent. By 1980, nearly one-third of the Soviet Union's gross national product (GNP) went to capital investment, mainly in military expenditures. Soviet involvement in Afghanistan was a major catalyst for the economic malaise and eventual collapse of the Soviet Union.

While it is difficult to gauge the exact economic costs of the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, the U.S. State Department has estimated that Soviet expenditures ran from about $3 billion per year in the early 1980s to as much as $8.2 billion per year by 1988–1989. A 1987 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) report came up with a much higher estimate, for military costs alone, of approximately $48 billion from 1980 through 1986.

To some extent, these spiraling expenditures resulted from U.S. policy, particularly after the election of President Ronald Reagan in 1980. The so-called Reagan Doctrine, aimed at supporting anti-Soviet and anticommunist resistance movements around the world, helped to fund the mujahideen. With the support of its ally, neighboring Pakistan, the United States covertly assisted in training and equipping the mujahideen. With the insurgents now armed with heavy machine guns and U.S. Stinger

antiaircraft missiles, Soviet forces suffered crippling losses. From 1980 to 1985, more than 700 Soviet aircraft were destroyed, along with more than 7,000 armored vehicles, trucks, tanks, and artillery pieces. By the mid-1980s, about 90 percent of the direct Soviet expenditures for Afghanistan went to replacing destroyed aircraft.

Additionally, the cost of training, transferring, and maintaining a total of some 120,000 Soviet occupation troops was exacerbated by defections and the black-market sales of arms to rebel insurgents. Other less-tangible economic costs of the Soviet foray into Afghanistan are more difficult to determine. The effects of an increasingly unpopular war on Soviet labor productivity and production quality was substantial. In addition, increasing drug abuse among Soviet soldiers and interethnic tensions that pitted Muslim against non-Muslim republics within the Soviet Union had negative economic repercussions for the Soviet Union. Indeed, the interethnic strife hastened the process that led to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Even after the Soviet troop withdrawal, the cost of postoccupation support, particularly in military hardware, was estimated at $4 billion in 1989. From a nonmilitary perspective, Afghanistan also consumed an increasing percentage of Soviet foreign aid. In 1983–1984, Afghanistan received less than 10 percent of Soviet foreign aid, adding up to a total of about $1.5 billion during the first five years of the conflict. By 1991, however, Afghanistan was the recipient of 70 percent of the Soviet Union's foreign aid budget.

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See also

Afghanistan; Cold War; Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Reagan, Ronald Wilson; Soviet-Afghanistan War; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy

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Afghanistan, Soviet War in

See Soviet-Afghanistan War

Afghanistan Freedom Support Act of 2002

Comprehensive legislation authorizing the provision of economic, democratic, and military assistance to Afghanistan subsequent to the removal of the Taliban from power. The act was sponsored by U.S. senator Charles T. "Chuck" Hagel (R-Neb.) and passed by Congress on November 14, 2002. President George W. Bush signed the act into law on December 4, 2002.

The year 2002 witnessed the continuation of decades of violence and conflict in Afghanistan. Fighting against the Soviet Union in the 1980s and civil war during the following decade had wrought human suffering and the destruction of infrastructure throughout the country. The rise of the Taliban to power in 1996 brought further suffering to the Afghan people. These decades of constant conflict spawned the emergence of four intertwining economies. They included a war economy based on arms trafficking, looting, and black market activity; a drug economy focused on the poppy trade; a humanitarian economy driven by drought, poverty, and violence, and dependent upon foreign aid for survival; and an agricultural economy that had sustained the country prior to the civil war of the 1990s. Inherent conflicts resonated within this economic mosaic, further prohibiting any chance of stabilization and growth.

Throughout the decades of violence, the United States contributed huge amounts of aid, either directly or via international relief agencies. The 1990s witnessed the United States contributing the largest amount of assistance to Afghanistan than any other foreign provider. However, the emergence of Taliban rule from 1996 to 2001 forced the United States to contribute aid through relief agency intermediaries. Even then, the United States provided $500 million in emergency aid to the Afghan people.

The removal of the Taliban from power in late 2001 during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM and the subsequent formation of an interim government favorable to international assistance providers opened additional and more substantial avenues for the flow of aid. The U.S. complement of humanitarian assistance in fiscal year 2001 amounted to $184.3 million. Fiscal year 2002 appropriations increased to $530 million, and fiscal year 2003 funding amounted to $295.5 million. These allotments did not include military costs incurred through continued U.S. involvement in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM and other military activities.

The most significant U.S. aid legislation in the post-Taliban era, however, was the most far-reaching and targeted other than humanitarian needs, including the negative consequences stemming from the drug economy and Taliban treatment of women. The Afghanistan Freedom Support Act of 2002 authorized two major forms of assistance totaling $3.7 billion over the fiscal year 2003–2006 period. First, the economic and democratic development assistance portion of the act focused on a host of emergency humanitarian needs and economic development aid in the amount of $1.7 billion, including repatriation and resettlement of refugees and Afghans displaced internally in the country, as well as basic needs for water, food, health care, and shelter. The economic aid focused on the cultivation of a market economy with the promotion of small industry, establishment of financial institutions, development of trade relations with other countries within the region, and reconstruction efforts. Congress also recognized the impact of the drug economy by authorizing $60 million in counter-narcotics assistance over a four-year period, to include poppy eradication programs, training of Afghan enforcement agencies in drug interdiction, and the disruption of heroin production.

Assistance for political development to coincide with efforts to stabilize the Afghan economy included a $30 million outlay for national, regional, and local elections. Additional areas of aid focus included the reestablishment of such basic infrastructure elements as transportation, health, sanitation, and urban services, and the stabilization and development of the agricultural economy. The act also provided a total of $80 million to Afghan agencies responsible for providing health care and educational services to women, and for monitoring of rights for women and children. These provisions augmented the educational and health care benefits embodied in a previous authorization bill, the Afghan Women and Children Relief Act of 2001.

The second major title of the act addressed military assistance for Afghanistan. Congress made it clear that the goal of transitioning to a fully representative government in Afghanistan required U.S. support of a trained Afghan army and police force dedicated to human rights, civilian control, and a broad representation of Afghan society. Accordingly, $300 million was devoted to the core needs for developing such an army and police force: defense materials, equipment, and services; and military and counternarcotics training and education. An additional $1 billion was also authorized to expand the International Security Assistance Force responsible for peacekeeping in Afghanistan and led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Military costs associated with the ongoing Operation ENDURING FREEDOM were not included in the act.

Recommendations made by the U.S. 9/11 Commission prodded Congress in 2004 to promulgate amendments to the 2002 act to strengthen the oversight and monitoring mechanisms of U.S. assistance activities in Afghanistan. The initial act and its subsequent amendments highlighted a U.S. history of active support for Afghanistan, and telegraphed a firm U.S. future commitment to the war-torn country.

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See also

Afghanistan; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; International Security Assistance Force

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Afghan National Army

Military force charged with carrying out Afghanistan's national defense and the fulfillment of international mutual defense responsibilities. Active since the 1880s, the Afghan National Army (ANA) is also known as the National Army of Afghanistan. Its strength in October 2008 was about 80,000 men, although its numbers have been steadily increasing.

Afghan National Army forces and U.S. marines moving to establish a patrol base in the Garmsir District of Helmand Province in Afghanistan, October 2009. (U.S. Department of Defense)

The ANA is commanded by General Bismillah Khan Mohammadi, chief of staff since 2002, and is currently being trained by coalition forces to take the lead in land-based military operations in that country. In January 2003, slightly more than 1,700 soldiers in five *kandaks* (Pashtun for battalions) had completed the 10-week training course; by June of that year, a total of 4,000 soldiers had been trained. However, desertions have consistently plagued the ANA, with the desertion rate estimated to be some 10 percent.

At present, the ANA encompasses five corps, each serving as a regional command. The 201st Corps is based in Kabul, the 203rd Corps in Gardez, the 205th Corps in Kandahar, the 207th Corps in Herat, and the 209th Corps in Mazar-e Sharif. During 2002–2003, soldiers in the army initially received $30 per month during training, and $50 per month upon graduation; pay for trained soldiers has since risen to $120 per month. Many recruits were under 18 years of age and could not read or write, while those who spoke only Pashto experienced further difficulty because instruction was given through interpreters who spoke Farsi.

Since 2001, the United States has contributed more than $2 billion worth of military equipment and facilities to supply the ANA.

This figure will be supplemented by a further $2 billion worth of military aid, to be delivered perhaps in 2009, which will consist of 2,500 Humvees; tens of thousands of M-16 assault rifles and body armor; and the construction of a national military command center. The army's current equipment comprises a range of small arms, including the AK-47, AK-74, and M16A2 rifles, and the RPK light machine gun. The ANA also has more than 800 armored vehicles of varying types, T-55 and T-62 tanks, RPG-7 antitank weapons, and both the D-30 122-millimeter (mm) and M114 155-mm model howitzers. The basic unit in the ANA is the *kandak,* comprising 600 troops, of which at least one is mechanized and one is a tank battalion. An elite special forces unit modeled after the U.S. Army Rangers is in development, with plans to include 3,900 men in six battalions under French and U.S. tutelage. As of September 2005, 28 of the 31 ANA battalions were ready for direct combat operations and a great number had already been appropriately trained. By March 2007 almost half of the planned army of 70,000 soldiers had been raised, with 46 Afghan battalions operating alongside North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces.

The ANA has also benefited from genial relations with India, as highlighted by the 2001 Bonn Agreement, in which governments of other nations were asked to support the rebuilding of Afghanistan. Deliveries of military goods from other nations commenced in June 2003; India has already contributed 50 four-and-a-half-ton trucks, 300 other trucks, 120 jeeps, and 15 ambulances.

Despite enjoying cordial relations with India, Afghanistan has endured fraught relations with neighboring Pakistan, and the ANA has sporadically engaged in cross-border fire exchanges with Pakistani troops. On March 2, 2007, the ANA fired rockets on a Pakistani army border post in the Kudakhel area, while in a separate incident a border clash erupted between Afghan soldiers and Pakistani troops, who overnight had seized areas in the border region of Paktika Province in the southeast of the country.

Relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan are especially strained on the issue of border security, and President Hamid Karzai has accused the Pakistanis of doing too little to restrain Islamist militants. On June 15, 2008, Karzai insisted that Afghanistan retained the right to pursue Taliban fighters who flee into Pakistan tribal regions after executing attacks in Afghanistan. Shortly thereafter, on June 21, 2008, artillery shells launched from Pakistan engaged the Afghan military and NATO troops. Karzai's threat to send Afghan troops into Pakistan in pursuit of militants has generated heated debate on cross-border military incursions and international law. In return, Pakistani prime minister Yusuf Raza Gillani responded that his country would not allow Afghan troops in, although he stressed that Pakistan wished to maintain friendly ties with Afghanistan.

Since the commencement of the ANA's collaboration with coalition forces in 2002, a number of successful military operations have been conducted. On March 7, 2007, Afghan soldiers captured the senior Taliban leader and expert bomb-maker, Mullah Mahmood, near Kandahar. Perhaps the most notable maneuver was Operation ACHILLES, executed on March 6, 2007 by the ANA and International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) against Taliban insurgents. Over a 24-hour period, 1,000 ANA troops and forces from Britain, Denmark, Canada, the United States, and the Netherlands successfully engaged Taliban extremist strongholds in addition to enemy compounds used as arms and ammunition storage facilities in the Garmsir area in Helmand Province, in the southwest of the country.

Approximate Troop Strength of the Afghan National Army, 2003–2009

Date	*Approximate Number of Troops*
September 2003	6,000
June 2004	13,400
January 2005	17,800
February 2006	26,900
June 2007	50,000
May 2008	76,600
April 2009	82,800

The ANA's goal to increase troop strength has to date proven fruitful, with figures estimated in December 2007 at 57,000. While the objective in recent years has been to bring the strength up to 70,000 troops, the Afghan defense ministry has stated that a 200,000-strong ANA would be in the interest of both Afghanistan and the international community.

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See also

ACHILLES, Operation; Bonn Agreement; Global War on Terror; International Security Assistance Force; Karzai, Hamid; Pakistan; Pakistan, Armed Forces; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

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Aflaq, Michel

Birth Date: 1910
Death Date: June 29, 1989

Syrian attorney, writer, proponent of Arab Nationalism, and cofounder of the Baath Party. Michel Aflaq was born into a Greek Orthodox family in Damascus in 1910. He was educated at the Greek Orthodox Lyceum in Damascus and attended the University of Paris during 1928–1934, graduating with a degree in law. During this time, he met Salah ad-Din al-Bitar, a fellow student from Syria. Aflaq's education exposed him to the ideas of the European Enlightenment and French revolutionary periods and the rise of nationalism in the 19th century.

Returning to Damascus, Aflaq taught history and published short stories, a novel, and a play. He and Bitar flirted with Marxism for a time, but were disillusioned by Soviet support for the Franco-Syrian Treaty of 1936, which gave Syria only limited independence. They then organized Syrian students within a framework of Pan-Arab nationalism and published pamphlets. In 1941, they established the Syrian Committee to Help Iraq, sending arms and volunteers for a rebellion against British rule. The committee soon evolved into the Baath (Arab Resurrection) Party.

By 1944, the Baath Party had an office and newspaper in Damascus, and in April 1947 it adopted a constitution. Aflaq was the head of the party. The constitution asserted 3 fundamental principles and 48 articles. The fundamentals were unity and freedom for the "Arab Nation"; basic freedoms for the Arab Nation, which included freedom of speech, assembly, and religion; and repudiation of colonialism. It further declared the Baath Party was the universal Arab party that would lead a socialist revolution and secure equal rights for all, including women; an elected parliament; an independent judiciary; and a legal code based on the spirit of the times and Arab history. The constitution was profoundly secular.

In a 1940 essay, Aflaq defined nationalism as "love before everything else. It is the very same feeling that binds the individual to his family, because the fatherland is only a large household, and the nation a large family." Aflaq's ideology was an amalgam of European ideas overlaid on Arab culture. It embodied the secular nature of the Enlightenment, 19th-century European nationalism with a strong hint of Romanticism, the ideals of human rights as voiced in the French "Declaration of the Rights of Man" and the U.S. Bill of Rights, and the economic doctrines of socialism. Socialism, however, was subordinate to the needs of the state.

Aflaq and Bitar were well-respected members of the Syrian educated class, but they had to appeal to other Syrian leaders to advance their ideas. These alliances became important in Syrian politics and the development of Arab nationalism in the post–World War II period. Although Aflaq was unsuccessful in a run for parliament in 1943, the founding of the party led him to hope that he would become a national and Pan-Arab political figure. After losing a run for a seat on the constitutional assembly, he became involved in intraparty conflicts and moves to cooperate with other parties in elections.

Aflaq worked with Akram al-Hawrani, a military officer and leader of the Arab Socialist Party, to merge their parties into an Arab Socialist Baath Party to compete for power in Syria. When this failed, Aflaq went into exile in 1953. Five years later in 1958, he returned to support the union of Syria and Egypt into the United Arab Republic (UAR).

Perceiving that Egypt might dominate the smaller Syria, Aflaq again went into exile in 1959, but continued to be secretary general of the Baath Party even after its official dissolution by the UAR. When Syria seceded from the UAR in 1961, the Baath Party resumed its activities and extended them to Iraq. By the time the Baath came to power in Syria in 1966, Aflaq's influence had declined even more as he vocally opposed those who placed Syria ahead of the Pan-Arab movement. This led to his dismissal from the party and another period in exile. (In 1971 Syrian president Hafiz al-Asad sentenced Aflaq to death in absentia.)

Nevertheless, the burgeoning Iraqi Baath Party continued to recognize Aflaq as secretary general, but this did not lead to a leading political role for him when the party launched a successful coup in Iraq in 1968. In 1980, Aflaq moved to Baghdad, where he was revered as a senior statesman and Pan-Arab secretary-general of the party, but he had no actual power. With his health deteriorating, Aflaq underwent heart surgery in Paris, where he died on June 29, 1989. His death was reported in Baghdad, but ignored in Damascus.

Daniel E. Spector

See also

Arab Nationalism; Baath Party; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Pan-Arabism and Pan-Arabist Thought; Syria; United Arab Republic

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Aidid, Mohammed Farrah

Birth Date: December 15, 1934
Death Date: August 2, 1996

Somali military officer, politician, and warlord. Mohammed Farrah Aidid (Aideed) was born in Beledweyne, the central region of Somalia, to the Habar Gidir clan, on December 15, 1934. The nickname "Aidid" means "rejecter of insults" and was given to him by his mother when it was imputed that he might have been conceived out of wedlock. Through family connections, Aidid learned Italian and became a member of the Italian-trained colonial police force, the Corpo di Polizia della Somalia. In 1954 the police force chose to send him to the Italian infantry school in Rome. After this, Aidid held a series of government positions in Somalia. In 1959 he returned to Italy for additional professional training. He returned to Somalia in 1960 and became an aide to Major General Daud Adbulle Hirsi, commander of the Somali National Army. After this, Aidid underwent staff training for three years at the Frunze Military Academy in Moscow.

Aidid spent five years in prison during 1969–1975 when Mohamed Siad Barre overthrew the democratic government and made himself head of state. Upon his release, Aidid served in a series of unimportant posts, but when the Ogaden War of 1977–1978 with Ethiopia began, Aidid became a brigadier general and an aide to Barre. He later became head of the Somalia intelligence service. In 1984, Aidid became Somali ambassador to India.

Throughout his regime, Barre faced significant opposition from Somalia's clans. In 1989 Aidid moved publicly into the opposition and became head of the United Somali Congress, which had been founded in Rome to oppose Barre's leadership. In this position, Aidid played a key role in forcing Barre from Mogadishu in 1991.

With Barre's removal, Somalia quickly degenerated into a state of civil war. Ali Mahdi Mohammed outmaneuvered Aidid to become president, whereupon Aidid again moved into opposition to the government. The conflict between Aidid and Ali Mahdi Mohammed divided the capital city of Mogadishu, with Aidid controlling the south and Mahdi the northern half. The ensuing civil warfare and escalating clan conflicts impoverished the nation and resulted in widespread famine, which international relief organizations and the United Nations attempted to address. By this time, many observers had begun referring to Aidid as a "warlord."

Aidid opposed the presence of United Nations troops in his nation, and his forces were responsible for the deaths of UN troops in ambushes in June 1991. These attacks and the worsening humanitarian crisis resulted in United States troops being dispatched to Somalia for Operation RESTORE HOPE, which commenced in December 1992. The United States withdrew completely from the venture after the October 3, 1993, incident that saw the shooting down of two U.S. Black Hawk attack helicopters by Somali rebels. The deaths of 18 U.S. soldiers (84 more were wounded) and hundreds of Somalis, perhaps as many as 1,500 people in all, prompted the United States to terminate the operation.

Aidid cleverly evaded capture during the Battle of Mogadishu (October 3–4, 1993), invaded Baidoa, and in September 1995 made himself president of the Somali Republic. Once he was president, however, his base began to disintegrate and his regime faced the same sort of armed internal dissent that Barre and Ali Mahdi Mohammed had endured. On August 1, 1996, Aidid was shot in the Mogadishu suburbs; he returned to his home where he died on August 2, 1996. Several prominent newspapers reported that the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) or Special Operations were involved in Aidid's death.

MICHAEL BEAUCHAMP

See also
Somalia, International Intervention in

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Airborne Warning and Control System

A modified Boeing 707/320 (known in this configuration as E-3 Sentry) commercial airframe with a rotating radar dome that provides integrated command and control battle management (C2BM), all-altitude and all-weather surveillance, target detection and tracking, and early warning of enemy actions during joint, allied, and coalition operations.

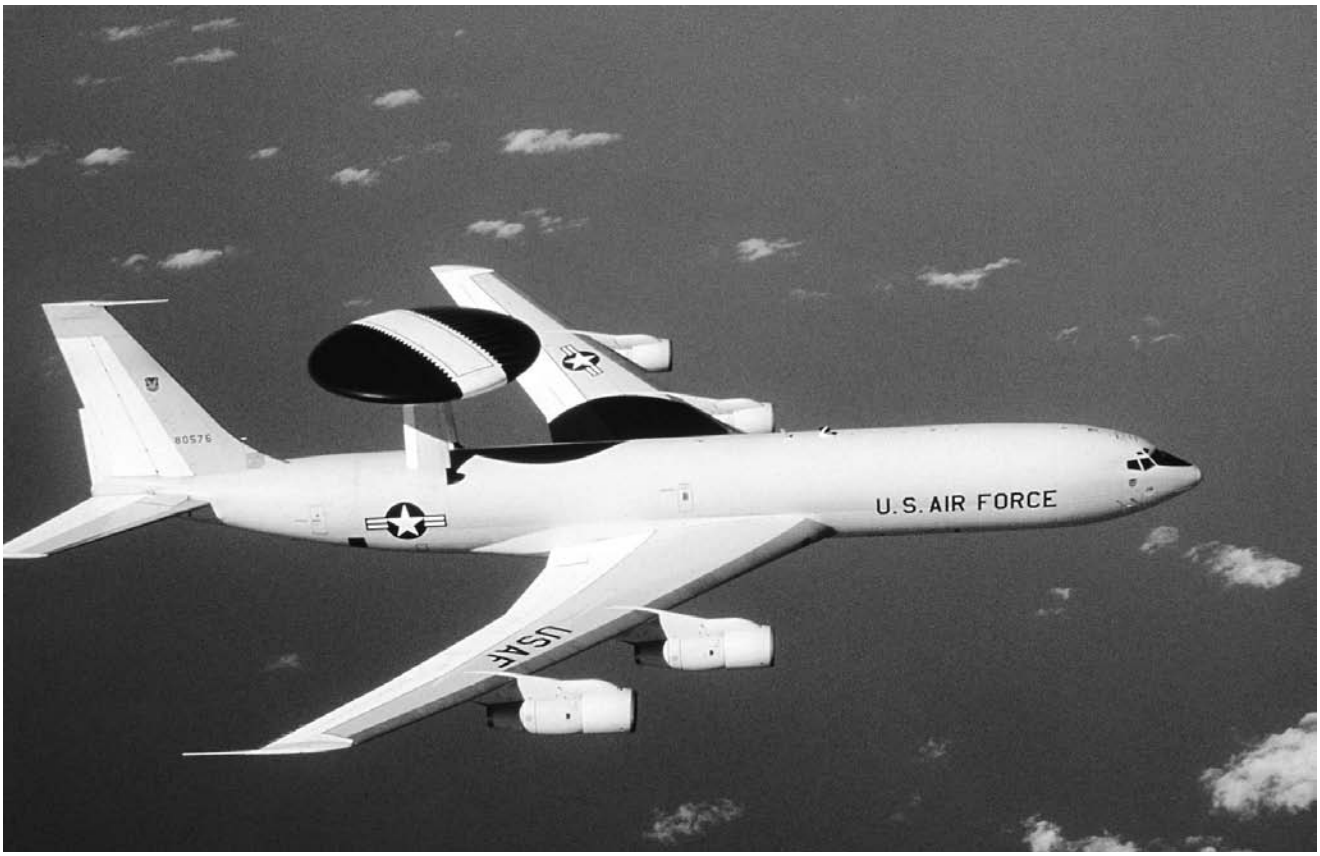
The E-3's radar dome is 30 feet in diameter, 6 feet thick, and is positioned 11 feet above the fuselage by two struts. It contains a radar subsystem that permits surveillance from the earth's surface up into the stratosphere, over land or water. The radar, with a range of more than 250 miles and an identification friend or foe (IFF) subsystem, can look down to detect, identify, and track enemy and friendly low-flying aircraft by eliminating ground clutter returns that confuse other radar systems. Major subsystems in the E-3 are avionic, navigation, communications, radar, and passive detection sensors. The mission suite includes consoles that display computer-processed data in graphic and tabular format on video screens.

The radar and computer subsystems on the E-3 Sentry can gather and present broad and detailed battlefield information that includes position and tracking information of potentially hostile aircraft and ships and the location and status of friendly aircraft and naval vessels. The information can be sent to major command and control centers in rear areas or aboard ships and can also be forwarded to the president and secretary of defense in the United States. The Sentry can provide direct information for interdiction, reconnaissance, airlift, and close-air support for friendly ground forces. It also provides information for commanders of air operations so that they can gain and maintain control of the air battle and can direct fighter-interceptor aircraft to enemy targets. It can detect threats and control assets below and beyond the coverage of ground-based command and control (C2) and can exchange data with other C2 systems and shooters via data links.

As an airborne warning and control system (AWAC), the Sentry can change its flight path to meet changing mission and survival requirements. It can stay aloft for about eight hours without refueling and has in-flight refueling capability to extend its range and on-station time.

The U.S. Air Force began engineering, testing, and evaluation of the first E-3 Sentry in October 1975. In March 1977, the 552nd Airborne Warning and Control Wing (now 552nd Air Control Wing), Tinker Air Force Base, Oklahoma, received the first E-3s. The air force currently possesses 33 such aircraft. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) obtained 17 E-3s and support equipment. The United Kingdom has 7 E-3s, France has 4, and Saudi Arabia possesses 5. Japan has 4 AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System) housed on a Boeing 767 airframe.

Between 1977 and 1991, the E-3 Sentry registered numerous significant achievements. Air Force E-3s provided surveillance for an ongoing border dispute between North and South Yemen and assumed an ongoing commitment to support the North American Aerospace Defense Command in defense of North America. In October 1979, E-3s provided surveillance of the Korean peninsula after the assassination of President Park Chung-hee. In September 1980, U.S. Air Force E-3s began Operation EUROPEAN



The E-3 Sentry Air Warning and Control System (AWACS) can detect, identify, and track enemy aircraft from great distances and direct fighter-interceptor aircraft to the enemy targets. AWACS has been a critical tool for allied forces during the U.S. wars in the Middle East. (U.S. Department of Defense)

LIAISON FORCE (ELF) I, an eight-year deployment to Saudi Arabia during the Iran-Iraq War.

The E-3 Sentry provided airborne surveillance and battlefield management during Operation URGENT FURY, the invasion of Grenada, in November 1983; and for Operation JUST CAUSE, the invasion of Panama, in December 1989. The E-3 Sentry also provided airborne surveillance of the Caribbean Sea and Central America as part of the Department of Defense's participation in counternarcotic operations. In September 1994, the E-3 Sentry supported Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY, which ousted Haitian military leaders and returned the elected leader, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, to power.

After the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1991, E-3s deployed to the Persian Gulf region. When Operation DESERT STORM began on January 17, 1991, four Air Force Sentries were airborne at all times. A typical DESERT STORM E-3 mission lasted 16 to 18 hours, and each E-3 carried at least two full crews. The Sentries controlled more than 3,000 combat sorties per day and achieved a mission-capable rate of 98 percent. E-3 aircrews flew more than 7,300 combat hours with an average 91.36 percent mission-capable rate. They controlled almost 32,000 strike sorties without losing a single allied aircraft in air-to-air action and controlled 20,400 aerial refueling sorties.

After the Persian Gulf War, E-3s at Incirlik Air Base (AB), Turkey, provided surveillance support for Operation PROVIDE COMFORT and, later, Operation NORTHERN WATCH, enforcing the UN-sanctioned no-fly zone north of the 36th Parallel in Iraq. E-3 aircraft in Saudi Arabia provided postwar surveillance for Operation SOUTHERN WATCH and guided several air strikes against Iraqi targets in response to Iraqi violations of the no-fly zone imposed by the United Nations. E-3s of the United States Air Forces in Europe (USAFE) took part in Operation ALLIED FORCE against Serbia, which began on March 24, 1999.

Immediately after the terrorist attacks on the United States of September 11, 2001, Air Force E-3s were quickly airborne to patrol the airspace over the eastern United States for Operation NOBLE EAGLE, which has continued to the present. For Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, which began on October 7, 2001, U.S. Air Force and Royal Saudi Air Forces E-3s provided air surveillance and battlefield management over Afghanistan.

The air campaign for Operation IRAQI FREEDOM began on March 21, 2003. The U.S. Air Force provided six E-3s, operating from Prince Sultan AB, Saudi Arabia, and three from Royal Air Force (RAF) Akrotiri, Cyprus. The RAF also operated nine E-3s from RAF Akrotiri. The E-3s worked closely with the E-8 Joint Surveillance Target Attack Radar System (JSTARS) and RC-135 Rivet Joint aircraft throughout IRAQI FREEDOM to direct strike aircraft against emerging ground threats and to keep commanders informed of the current battlefield status. To date, E-3 Sentry

crews have provided 24-hour surveillance of battle space in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The worst incident involving an E-3 Sentry occurred on April 14, 1994, during Operation PROVIDE COMFORT. Two McDonnel Douglas F-15 Eagle pilots, under the control of an E-3 Sentry, misidentified two U.S. Army Sikorsky UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters as Iraqi Mil Mi-24 "Hind" helicopters violating the no-fly zone. The two pilots fired missiles at the helicopters, destroying both and killing all 26 military and civilian personnel aboard.

The U.S. Air Force has regularly upgraded the E-3's radar systems, sensors, other electronic equipment, and mission software to improve the aircraft's network-centric capabilities. These modifications allow greater use of AWACS mission data, better access to external Web services data, an enhanced suite of battle-management tools, and improved connections to other assets throughout the airborne battle space and with battle managers on the ground.

Since its introduction in the air force inventory, the E-3 Sentry has demonstrated that it is the premier C2BM aircraft in the world through the provision of unrivaled radar surveillance and control and time-critical information on the actions of enemy forces to senior leaders.

ROBERT B. KANE

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, U.S. Air Campaign; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Air Campaign; Joint Surveillance and Target Radar System Aircraft; Network-Centric Warfare; NORTHERN WATCH, Operation; PROVIDE COMFORT, Operation; SOUTHERN WATCH, Operation

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Aircraft, Attack

By the late 1960s, the Middle East had become the primary arena for U.S.-Soviet competition, making its conflicts a crucible in which the contending superpowers' air warfare doctrine, tactics, and aircraft were employed, evaluated, and adjusted. While successes in air-to-air combat drew the headlines, strikes delivered by attack aircraft shaped the ground wars of the Middle East.

The Middle East's oil wealth ensured that most of the region's nations could afford their choice of aircraft and weapons platforms. Pro-West countries acquired Western-made aircraft that focused on precision weapons delivery, good range, and, after 1970, maneuverability and defensive countermeasures equipment. The cheapest and among the most versatile of these aircraft was the single-seat, single-engine, Douglas (later McDonnell Douglas) A-4 Skyhawk. Originally designed in the 1950s as a light U.S. Navy attack aircraft, the A-4 initially cost less than $1 million each. However, the advent of surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) drove the Navy to add several thousand pounds of electronic warning and countermeasures equipment, as well as engine power (the J-52-PW20). The resulting aircraft carried nearly 5,000 pounds of bombs and two AIM-9 infrared-guided Sidewinder missiles in addition to its 20-mm nose cannon. It was light, agile, and simple to fly and maintain. Once it dropped its bombs, its maneuverability proved equal to that of the Soviet-designed Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-17 fighter. In fact, the U.S. Navy used it as a simulated adversary aircraft at the famed Fighter Weapons School in the late 1970s and 1980s. The Royal Kuwaiti Air Force had nearly 40 in its inventory when Iraq invaded the country in August 1990; 24 of them escaped and later participated in Operation DESERT STORM.

The twin-engine two-seat Grumman A-6E Intruder was the U.S. Navy's all-weather heavy bomber for most of the last four decades of the 20th century. Entering service in 1963 as the A-6A, the Intruder carried the AN/APQ-148 Norden multimode navigation and bomb-aiming radar, an inertial navigation system, and a vast array of electronic warning and countermeasures systems that were operated by the bombardier/navigator. It carried an impressive 18,000 pounds of bombs and other ordnance. Its two Pratt and Whitney J-52 nonafterburning turbojet engines provided 18,600 pounds of thrust. By 1984, the A-6E also carried the instrumentation and guidance systems to guide laser and electro-optically–guided precision weapons onto targets as well as Harpoon antiship cruise missiles. The A-6E also had a Forward Looking Infrared (FLIR) and Target Recognition and Attack, Multi-Sensor (TRAM) system. The last A-6s left naval service in 2003.

The A-6's sister attack aircraft, the Chance Vought A-7 Corsair II replaced the Skyhawk and F-105 Thunderchief in Navy and U.S. Air Force service. Like those earlier aircraft, the A-7 was a single-seat attack plane but had a more powerful and fuel-economical TF-41 P-6 turbofan engine generating over 14,500 pounds of thrust, better avionics, and electronic countermeasures equipment. It also had greater range, carried a heavier bomb load (20,000 pounds), offered more precise bomb aiming, and featured a very accurate inertial navigation system. It carried two AIM-9 AAMs for self-defense. It was also the first U.S. aircraft to have a Heads-Up-Display (HUD) to ease the pilot's cockpit workload. Entering service in 1970, the A-7's AN/APQ-116 radar and digital bombing system enabled pilots to deliver their ordnance more accurately, more than compensating for its reduced maneuverability as compared to the A-4. Its M-61 Vulcan 20-mm cannon also delivered three times the firepower of the A-4's Colt Mark 12.

This aircraft proved very successful in the Vietnam War, but the postwar period saw the introduction of better radar and electronics. The U.S. Air Force transferred all its A-7s to the Air

A U.S. Marine Corps AV-8B Harrier II of Marine Attack Squadron 513 in Operation DESERT SHIELD. (U.S. Department of Defense)

National Guard before 1976, replacing them with A-10s and, eventually, F-117s Stealth bombers. The navy retained theirs, adding improvements to accommodate lessons learned from Vietnam. By 1988, the A-7 had the more powerful and accurate AN/APQ-126 radar and an integrated digital navigation-bombing system with a projected map display system that gave the pilot the plane's precise present and future locations. U.S. Navy A-7Es saw action in the retaliatory strikes over Lebanon in 1983, in Libya in 1986, and in Operations EARNEST WILL and PRAYING MANTIS in 1987–1988. The Navy's last two A-7 squadrons participated in Operation DESERT STORM in 1991 before transitioning to McDonnell Douglas (now Boeing) F/A-18s two years later.

The U.S. Marine Corps (USMC) introduced the Hawker Siddeley Vertical/Short-Takeoff or Landing (V/STOL) AV-8A Harrier in 1970. The single-seat AV-8A is powered by a single Rolls Royce Pegasus nonafterburning turbofan engine generating 21,000 pounds of thrust. The USMC deployed about 72 AV-8As as quick-reaction, short-range light attack aircraft for immediate close air support of expeditionary operations. It carried up to 4,000 pounds of ordnance and drop tanks as well as two AIM-9 AAMs, and could be equipped with a 30-mm cannon pod. The AV-8As were used off the coast of Lebanon in 1982 but had been withdrawn from service by 1988.

These planes were replaced by the improved AV-8B Harrier II, which entered service in 1985. The AV-8B carries FLIR, the AN/APG-65 radar; a GAU-12U 25-mm cannon; and, if it uses a short takeoff roll, up to 13,000 pounds of ordnance, including Harpoon, HARM, and Maverick missiles, as well as two AIM-120 advanced medium-range air-to-air missile (AMRAAM). If it takes off vertically, the ordnance load drops to approximately 4,000 pounds. The Harrier II served with USMC and Italian forces during Operations DESERT SHIELD, DESERT STORM, ENDURING FREEDOM, and IRAQI FREEDOM. The AV-8B Harrier II and new variants remain in British, Italian, and USMC service through 2008.

The U.S. Air Force's A-7 gave way to the Fairchild-Republic twin-engine A-10 Thunderbolt II by the late 1970s. Universally known as the Warthog, the A-10 was developed specifically for close-air support (CAS) and antitank attack. It was intended to conduct both deep strikes against Soviet-era mass tank formations and provide CAS support to army ground units. Its two GE TF-30 GE100 turbofan engines provide 9,065 pounds of thrust each and are located in armored nacelles high above the tail to protect them from runway rocks, dust, sand, and ground fire. The pilot sits in an armored "tub," and the plane's controls also have armor protection. The A-10 can take multiple direct hits from 23-mm cannon fire and even withstand hits by shoulder-fired surface-to-air missiles under some circumstances. It is equipped with a HUD; inertial navigation and precision-guided munitions instrumentation; and infrared and electronic warning and countermeasures

systems. Its light wing-loading gives it exceptional maneuverability at low speed, and its GAU/8 30-mm cannon can destroy any armored vehicle in service. More importantly, it can carry up to 16,000 pounds of bombs or missiles.

The A-10 proved devastating against Iraqi tanks and air defense systems during Operations DESERT STORM and IRAQI FREEDOM as well as against Taliban units during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. A-10 units reportedly destroyed more than 1,000 Iraqi tanks and 1,700 artillery pieces during Operation DESERT STORM, and the 60 that deployed against Iraq in 2003 proved equally effective. Some 20 squadrons, or over 400 aircraft, remained in service with U.S. Air Force and Air National Guard units as of June 2008, and the plane is expected to remain in service at least through 2026.

The Lockheed Martin F-117 Nighthawk Stealth "fighter" was the most technologically advanced U.S. attack aircraft to see service in the Middle East. The single-seat attack aircraft entered service in 1983 and first saw combat in Panama in 1989–1990 during Operation JUST CAUSE. Its design was derived from the lessons learned during the Vietnam War and the newly-emerging research into technologies that either absorbed or deflected radar signals to reduce the plane's radar cross section. As a result, its radar cross section is less than that of a single-engine Piper Cub light plane. It carries two bombs in an internal bomb bay for a total bomb load of 4,000 pounds. It is powered by two nonafterburning GE-404 turbofan engines generating 10,600 pounds of thrust each. The plane's odd angular construction reduces its radar cross section, but necessitates a computer-assisted flight system to ensure safe flight. It has a Global Positioning System (GPS) and inertial navigation system as well as bomb aiming and electronic warning systems to deliver precision weapons.

The F-117A's stealth characteristics and instrumentation made it the key strike asset during all major U.S. bombing operations from 1990 to 2003. For example, F-117s were committed against 40 percent of the key strategic targets destroyed during Operation DESERT STORM, even though they constituted less than 2 percent of the total sorties launched in that war. Unfortunately, the plane's aging technology, particularly its complicated stealth coatings, requires intensive maintenance. The last F-117As were retired from service in August 2008.

The Panavia Tornado was the predominant European-built attack aircraft to serve in Operations DESERT STORM and ENDURING FREEDOM. Designed and built by a trinational consortium consisting of British, West German, and Italian manufacturers, the twin-engine two-seater Tornado entered service in 1978. Britain also purchased an air defense variant, but Italy deployed a dozen IDS (Interdiction/Strike) variants to Saudi Arabia during Operation DESERT SHIELD and employed them during DESERT STORM. Intended as a supersonic fighter-bomber, the Tornado employs a variable-geometry-wing to provide good slow-speed maneuverability and landing characteristics without compromising supersonic performance. Its two Turbo-Union RB-199-34R afterburning turbofan engines generate 19,700 pounds of thrust. Armament includes a single Mauser BK-27 27-mm cannon, two AIM-9 AAMs, and up to 19,800 pounds of bombs or guided munitions. The Tornado carries a full suite of electronic warning and self-defense countermeasures equipment, an integrated GPS-inertial navigation and digital weapons system, a terrain-following radar, and all-weather guidance systems for the full range of Western guided munitions. In addition to the Italian and RAF Tornado contingents, Saudi Arabia possessed 48 of the planes in service during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, employing them against Iraqi airfields and air defenses.

Two-ship formation of Lockheed F-117A Nighthawk Stealth fighter aircraft. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Britain also deployed the Fleet Air Arm's Blackburn Buccaneer attack bombers during Operation DESERT STORM. The single-seat, carrier-capable Buccaneer entered service in 1962, and the 12-plane detachment that served in DESERT STORM marked its last operational employment. It carried up to 12,000 pounds of ordnance and was equipped with electronic warning and countermeasures equipment. It could laser-designate bombs and carry a variety of air-to-ground missile systems. Its two Rolls Royce Mark 101 nonafterburning turbofans provided 22,000 pounds of thrust. The last Buccaneers were retired in 1993.

Attack aircraft employed by the U.S. opponents in the Middle East wars were primarily of Soviet design. The Sukhoi series attack

The Soviet Sukhoi Su-17 (NATO designation Fitter) fighter aircraft. (U.S. Department of Defense)

planes were the most commonly encountered attack aircraft. Initially designed and introduced into service as a fighter interceptor in 1959, the single-seat, single-engine Su-7 Fitter A proved a dangerous plane to operate. Its high landing speed and poor cockpit visibility gave it a high accident rate, and its lack of maneuverability made it a poor dogfighter when compared to the MiG-19 and MiG-21. As a result, it was quickly transitioned to a ground attack aircraft that became the first export jet fighter-bomber sold to the Soviet Union's allies. It suffered a high loss rate in Indian, Egyptian, and Iraqi service. Afghanistan had about a dozen on its airfield in late 2001 when ENDURING FREEDOM began, but none was in flying condition. The Su-7 had two 30-mm cannon in the nose and could carry up to 4,400 pounds of bombs. Its AL-7F afterburning turbojet engine provided up to 22,150 pounds of thrust, giving it good acceleration; however, the lack of electronic countermeasures equipment and poor maneuverability made it vulnerable to modern air defense systems.

The Su-17 Fitter employed a variable geometry wing to give it a lower landing speed and better maneuverability. It was also equipped with a more powerful and less maintenance intensive AL-21F-3 afterburning turbojet engine that produced 24,675 pounds of thrust. Armament was improved to 8,800 pounds of bombs and two AA-8 Aphid infrared-guided air-to-air missiles. The addition of electronics countermeasures and precision bombing equipment resulted in the designation of Su-22 for the export versions that served with the Iraqi, Afghan, and Libyan air forces. U.S. Navy F-14s shot down two Su-22s in the Gulf of Sidra in 1986, and the U.S. Air Force destroyed 19 during Operation DESERT STORM. The remainder of Iraq's 70 Su-22s fled to Iran in January 1991, just prior to the beginning of the air war.

The best ground attack aircraft in the Iraqi inventory in 1991 was the two-seat Sukhoi Su-24 Fencer. The twin-engine variable-geometry-winged attack aircraft entered Soviet service in 1972. Iraq had 25 in service when it invaded Kuwait in August 1990. The Fencer's two AL-21F-3A afterburning turbojet engines provided a total of 49,350 pounds of thrust, enabling it to carry 17,600 pounds of bombs and two AA-8 Aphid AAMs. It was also equipped with a 23-mm cannon in the nose and a primitive ground mapping radar. The Fencer was Iraq's only supersonic attack aircraft, with a top speed of Mach 2.1 in a clean configuration. More importantly, unlike Iraq's Su-7s and Su-22s, it was equipped with electronic countermeasures equipment, as well as

flare and chaff pods. It could also employ the AS-7 Kerry air-to-surface missile. Eighteen of Iraq's Su-24s flew to Iran in January 1991. None now survive.

The Sukhoi Su-25 Frogfoot rounded out Iraq's ground attack force. The twin-engine single seat Frogfoot was specifically designed for CAS missions. Like the A-10, its cockpit and critical flight systems were protected by titanium armor. Its two R95Sh nonafterburning turbojet engines provide 18,960 pounds of thrust. Armament includes a 30-mm cannon and up to 9,700 pounds of bombs and guided missiles. It is also equipped with radar warning systems; chaff and flare pods; and a guidance system for the AS-7 Kerry ASM. The Afghan Air Force also had about a dozen Su-25s in its inventory at the beginning of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, but none was in flying condition. Neither Iraq nor Afghanistan operates the Su-25 today.

Attack aircraft with crews specifically trained in bombing and precision weapons employment have been critical to the conduct of military operations since World War II. Air supremacy nets the military commander little if it does not lead to decisive strikes against key enemy positions or support forces on the ground or sea. The success of the United States and that of its allies in the Middle East largely can be attributed to the successful integration and employment of all facets of air power, in which attack aircraft play a sizable role. High technology attack aircraft have constituted a major component of western air power and will remain such for many years to come.

CARL OTIS SCHUSTER

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Electronic Warfare; Aircraft, Manned Reconnaissance; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, U.S. Air Campaign; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Air Campaign

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Aircraft, Bombers

Middle Eastern nations have never acquired large numbers of specialized bombers. Regional opponents have been sufficiently close geographically that the longer ranges offered by strategic bomber aircraft were not required, and none of the combatants seriously envisioned a strategic bombing campaign.

Iraq possessed Soviet-built bombers that played no meaningful role in either Operation DESERT STORM or Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. The United States, on the other hand, committed its strategic bombers extensively in conventional roles during the Middle East wars. The United States used B-52 bombers against Iraq in the 1991 Persian Gulf War and used B-52, B-1, and B-2 bombers against terrorists in Afghanistan in 2001 and against Iraq in 2003. U.S. bombers were especially valued for their heavy payloads and ability to remain aloft for long periods.

Coalition nations in the Middle East wars did not operate dedicated bombers. The British and French, for example, used fighters capable of dropping bombs, but their aircraft are not considered bombers. Afghanistan possessed no strategic bomber aircraft at all.

Iraqi Bombers

Iraqi bombers played virtually no role in that nation's wars with the United States, principally because they were either hidden or sent to neighboring countries before hostilities began (as in the Persian Gulf War) or were destroyed on the ground in the opening air campaign. Nevertheless, Iraq possessed three types of bombers.

The Ilyushin Il-28 is a two-engine straight-wing Soviet-inspired medium bomber that used Soviet copies of the Rolls Royce Nene turbojet in nacelles under each wing. Some 3,000 Il-28s were built, and about half were exported. The Il-28 was sturdy and reliable, handled easily, and was equipped with both optical and radar bombsights. Iraq received its first Il-28s in 1958 and used them successfully against Kurdish rebels in the 1970s and against the Iranians in the 1980s during the Iran-Iraq War. In the 1990s, derelict Il-28s were parked on runways as decoys to lure American air strikes away from more important targets.

The Tupelov Tu-16 bomber (the Soviets built 1,509 between 1953 and 1963) is a swept-wing twin-engine aircraft. Iraq first received them in 1962 and used them in the June 1967 Six-Day War but not the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War. They were used against the Kurds in the 1970s and against Iran in the 1980s. Iraq bought four H-6D bombers (a Chinese-built Tu-16) equipped with C-601 antiship missiles in 1987. The U.S. Air Force destroyed three Iraqi Tu-16s on the ground in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, and the remaining Tu-16s never flew again.

The Tu-16 had a maximum speed of 615 miles per hour (mph) and a 49,200-foot ceiling. Maximum range was 3,680 miles. It had four crew members. Armament consisted of six 23-millimeter (mm) cannon (two each in dorsal and ventral turrets and two in the tail turret). It also carried up to 24 250-pound or 18 500-pound

A U.S. Air Force Boeing B-52G Stratofortress bomber of the 1708th Bomb Wing takes off on a mission during Operation DESERT STORM. (U.S. Department of Defense)

A U.S. Air Force Northrop Grumman B-2 Spirit (also known as the Stealth Bomber). (U.S. Department of Defense)

bombs internally or two KSR-2 supersonic air-to-surface cruise missiles carried under the wing. The aircraft weighed 82,000 pounds empty and 167,100 pounds loaded.

The Tupelov Tu-22 is a swept-wing supersonic Soviet bomber with two engines on the rear fuselage on either side of the tail fin. The Tu-22 was difficult to fly and maintain and frequently crashed. Iraq ordered 16 in 1973 and had received 10 Tu-22B bombers and 2 Tu-22U trainers by 1979. They were employed against the Kurds in 1974 and suffered heavy losses against the Iranians during the Iran-Iraq War. Coalition forces destroyed the surviving Iraqi Tu-22s in 1991 during Operation DESERT STORM. The Tu-22B had three crew members. Cruise speed was 516 mph, and maximum speed was 1,000 mph. Combat radius was 1,522 miles unrefueled, and ceiling was 48,228 feet. Armament consisted of one 23-mm cannon in the tail and up to 20,000 pounds of bombs or one Kh-22 missile. The Tu-22 weighed 86,000 pounds empty and 188,495 pounds loaded.

U.S. Bombers

The United States was the only nation to operate strategic bomber aircraft during the Middle East wars.

The Boeing B-52 Stratofortress was designed in 1948 for intercontinental nuclear strikes on the Soviet Union. Boeing built 744 between 1952 and 1962 in numerous variants. Extensively used for conventional bombing during the Vietnam War, the B-52 returned to combat against Iraq in 1991. B-52s flying directly from Louisiana began Operation DESERT STORM with cruise missile attacks on Iraqi air defenses. Other B-52s pounded Iraqi troops with a total of more than 25,000 tons of bombs. In 1996 and 1998, B-52s struck Iraq with cruise missiles in punitive strikes designed to coerce the Iraqi government to abide by United Nations (UN) sanctions and weapons inspections. B-52s based in Diego Garcia provided precision close air support to coalition troops in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan in 2001 and Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in Iraq in 2003. The B-52 has a maximum speed of 650 mph and a 55,773-foot ceiling. Unrefueled combat radius is 4,480 miles. The B-52 has a crew of five; carries up to 60,000 pounds of cruise missiles, bombs, and other munitions; and weighs 185,000 pounds empty and 265,000 pounds loaded.

The Rockwell B-1 Lancer resulted from the search for a new manned strategic bomber in the late 1960s. It first entered service in 1985. The swing-wing aircraft was designed to take off and land at low speed and penetrate enemy air defenses at low altitude and supersonic speeds. The B-1B force transitioned from a nuclear to a conventional strike role in 1993 and participated in the December 1998 punitive attack on Iraq. In autumn 2001, eight B-1Bs supported Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan. During Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in 2003, 12 B-1Bs dropped half the total number of 2,000-pound precision-guided bombs expended. With four GE F-101 engines, B-1B maximum speed is 950 mph, with a cruising speed of 600 mph and a 60,000-foot ceiling. Unrefueled range is 7,457 miles. The B-1B has a crew of four and is usually armed with 24 2,000-pound Global Positioning Satellite (GPS)-guided bombs. The aircraft weighs 190,000 pounds empty and 477,000 pounds loaded.

The Northrop B-2 Spirit ("Stealth Bomber"), a flying wing design, emerged from classified studies in the mid-1970s into stealth technology, or the use of shapes and composite materials to reduce the aircraft's visibility to enemy radar. The B-2 was originally designed to conduct nuclear strikes on the Soviet Union. Intended production was drastically curtailed (from 132 to 21) when the Cold War ended in 1991. The remaining aircraft were given the capability to deliver conventional precision-guided munitions. Six B-2s served in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in 2001, including a mission that began in Missouri and ended in Afghanistan that lasted 44 hours. Four B-2s served in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in 2003, dropping 583 JDAM (Joint Direct Attack Munition) precision bombs. The B-2 has a maximum speed of 475 mph and a 50,000-foot ceiling. Unrefueled range is 7,457 miles. The B-2 has a crew of two and carries up to 80 2,000-pound GPS-guided bombs. It weighs 100,000 pounds empty and 400,000 pounds loaded.

JAMES D. PERRY

See also

Aircraft, Fighters; B-2 Spirit; B-52 Stratofortress; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; Diego Garcia; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, Air Force; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Air Campaign

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Aircraft, Electronic Warfare

The American-led electronic warfare effort during Operations DESERT STORM (Iraq, 1991), ENDURING FREEDOM (Afghanistan, 2001), and IRAQI FREEDOM (Iraq, 2003) rendered enemy air defense and command and control systems virtually ineffective. In a campaign that involved more than destroying radars, command bunkers, and communications, coalition electronic warfare aircraft jammed sensors and communications when required and often allowed enemy systems to operate so that allied intelligence services could glean critical information about enemy operations and intentions. In effect, coalition forces controlled the electronic spectrum during those conflicts and determined whose military forces could use it and when. Their success coined a new phrase, "information dominance," to characterize superiority in the movement and use of battlefield information. Originally developed as part of an effort to defeat large armies in the field, the concept has evolved tactically in the Global War on Terror to attack terrorist groups that have a lower reliance on and less structured use of electronic warfare.

Although U.S. work in electronic warfare can be traced back to World War II, it was the experience of the Vietnam War, supplemented by Israeli lessons learned during the Yom Kippur

(Ramadan) War that drove the United States to make electronic warfare superiority a strategic and tactical imperative. In those wars, electronic warfare shortcomings cost aircraft and lives. Therefore, as America's involvement in the Middle East increased, electronic warfare aircraft constituted a key, if not numerous, component of its air operations.

Because air defense systems rely most heavily on the electronic spectrum, aircraft have become the most important assets in any electronic warfare operation. With their altitude extending their electronic signals' reach and in some cases their speed, electronic warfare aircraft are the ideal electronic warfare weapon.

Jamming radars, data links, and communications systems require intimate knowledge of the equipment and of their signals and how they are used. For most of the 1970s through Operation DESERT STORM in 1991, the United States relied on three primary electronic surveillance aircraft: the U.S. Air Force's Boeing RC-135 and the U.S. Navy's Douglas EA-3B Skywarrior and Lockheed EP-3 Shadow aircraft.

The air force aircraft is based on the C-135 Stratolifter cargo plane, itself derived from the Boeing 707 commercial airframe. Its four CF-801 turbofan engines give it a top speed of 415 knots, and it has a maximum range of more than 3,200 nautical miles. It has a three-person flight crew and up to 27 mission personnel operating the electronic surveillance equipment. First entering service in 1964, the RC-135 has remained current through several modifications over the years, and its latest variants are expected to remain in service through 2015.

The navy's EA-3B is the largest aircraft ever designed to operate from an aircraft carrier. Essentially, a modified A-3/B-66 Skywarrior bomber carrying four mission personnel and an array of electronic monitoring equipment instead of targeting systems and bombs, the EA-3 Skywarrior (affectionately called the "Whale") entered service in 1956 and served with the navy through Operation DESERT STORM, retiring from service on September 27, 1991. Its two J-59 turbojets gave it a top speed of 400 knots, and it had a maximum range of nearly 2,000 nautical miles. At peak strength,

A U.S. Air Force Lockheed Martin EP-3 Aries II electronic surveillance aircraft in flight. (U.S. Department of Defense)

the navy had three squadrons of EA-3s, but the aging aircraft began to be replaced in the late 1980s by the ES-3 Shadow.

The ES-3 Shadow was a modification of the S-3A Viking, in which electronics surveillance equipment replace the aircraft's antisubmarine warfare systems. It had a two-person flight crew and two systems operators. Advances in computer technology and data link systems enabled the Shadow to provide the same level of collection coverage as the older aircraft. The U.S. Navy had two squadrons of ES-3A aircraft in service by 1991 but never expanded the force beyond that. With a maximum speed of 410 knots and a range of 1,200 nautical miles (seven-hour endurance), ES-3s deployed in 1–2 plane detachments aboard carriers in the Persian Gulf. Only two served in Operation DESERT STORM, but detachments served aboard carriers and ashore in support of Operation SOUTHERN WATCH until 1998. However, the squadrons were decommissioned and their aircraft placed in storage on October 1, 1999.

The retirement of the ES-3 leaves the EP-3 as the navy's last remaining electronic surveillance aircraft. Similarly to the ES-3, the EP-3 was derived from an antisubmarine warfare aircraft, the P-3. The land-based EP-3 Aries is a four-engine turboprop with a four-person flight crew and up to 24 operator stations. First flying in 1969, EP-3s have flown missions in support of every U.S. contingency and combat operation in the Middle East from 1974 through 2008. Three 9-plane squadrons were operational in 1991, and two remain in commission in 2008.

The U.S. employed two electronic countermeasures aircraft during its Middle East operations, the navy's EA-6 Prowler and the air force's EF-111 Raven. Of these, the Prowler is the oldest and the only one remaining in service. Manufactured by Grumman (now Northrop Grumman Aerospace) and first entering service as an updated EA-6A in 1974, the Prowler is built around a heavily altered A-6 Intruder airframe. Its four-man crew operates a wide variety of advanced jamming and deception equipment. The control systems are operated from the cockpit, but the actual jamming/deception equipment is carried in wing pods. The pod load-out varies with the mission and targeted portion of the electromagnetic spectrum. For example, EA-6Bs operating over Iraq and Afghanistan are configured with systems that jam the frequencies over which terrorists remotely detonate their improvised explosive devices (IEDs). The U.S. Navy currently retains 12 four-plane EA-6B squadrons, and the U.S. Marine Corps retains 3 such squadrons.

The longer-ranged and faster General Dynamics/Grumman EF-111 Raven first entered service in 1981. Carrying the same electronic countermeasures avionics as the EA-6B, the Raven's first combat mission came in April 1986 when the United States conducted retaliatory air strikes against Libya for that country's involvement in a Berlin terrorist bombing. The Mach 2.5 swing-wing EF-111 has a maximum range of 1,740 nautical miles and is credited with being the only electronic warfare aircraft to have downed another fighter in combat (an Iraqi Mirage F1 on January 17, 1991). The EF-111 served through Operation DESERT STORM and was retired from service on October 1, 1998.

Finally, in September 2006 the first Boeing EA-18G Growler came off the production line, destined for the U.S. Navy. The long-awaited replacement for the EA-6B is the fourth major variant of the F/A-18 family. A derivative of the F/A-18F Super Hornet, the 2-seat Growler uses high-speed computer processing and data links to provide the same electronic warfare capabilities as the EA-6B in a supersonic (Mach 1.8) platform. Its speed and range (1,500 nautical miles) enable it to accompany strikes deep into enemy territory and conduct integral or standoff electronic jamming and other countermeasures, including air defense suppression using high-speed antiradiation missiles (HARMs). The EA-18G has the ability to conduct soft or hard kills of enemy sensor and communications systems. The first full squadron of EA-18Gs is scheduled to enter service in 2010 and replace the last EA-6B before the end of the next decade.

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See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Aircraft, Helicopters; Aircraft, Manned Reconnaissance; Aircraft, Suppression of Enemy Air Defense; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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Aircraft, Fighters

The Middle East conflicts provided the primary combat arena for the world's fighter aircraft in this period. For the United States, the Middle East was a region of constant conflict but one in which most U.S. leaders wanted to avoid involvement. However, those conflicts were also the crucible in which American air warfare doctrine, tactics, and aircraft were employed, evaluated, and evolved against that of their Soviet counterparts. This was particularly true after America replaced France as Israel's primary weapons supplier. American fighters didn't engage in aerial combat during the Arab-Israeli wars or during Israel's occupation of Lebanon, but its pilots benefited from the lessons learned in those conflicts and applied them during the 1991 Persian Gulf War and later.

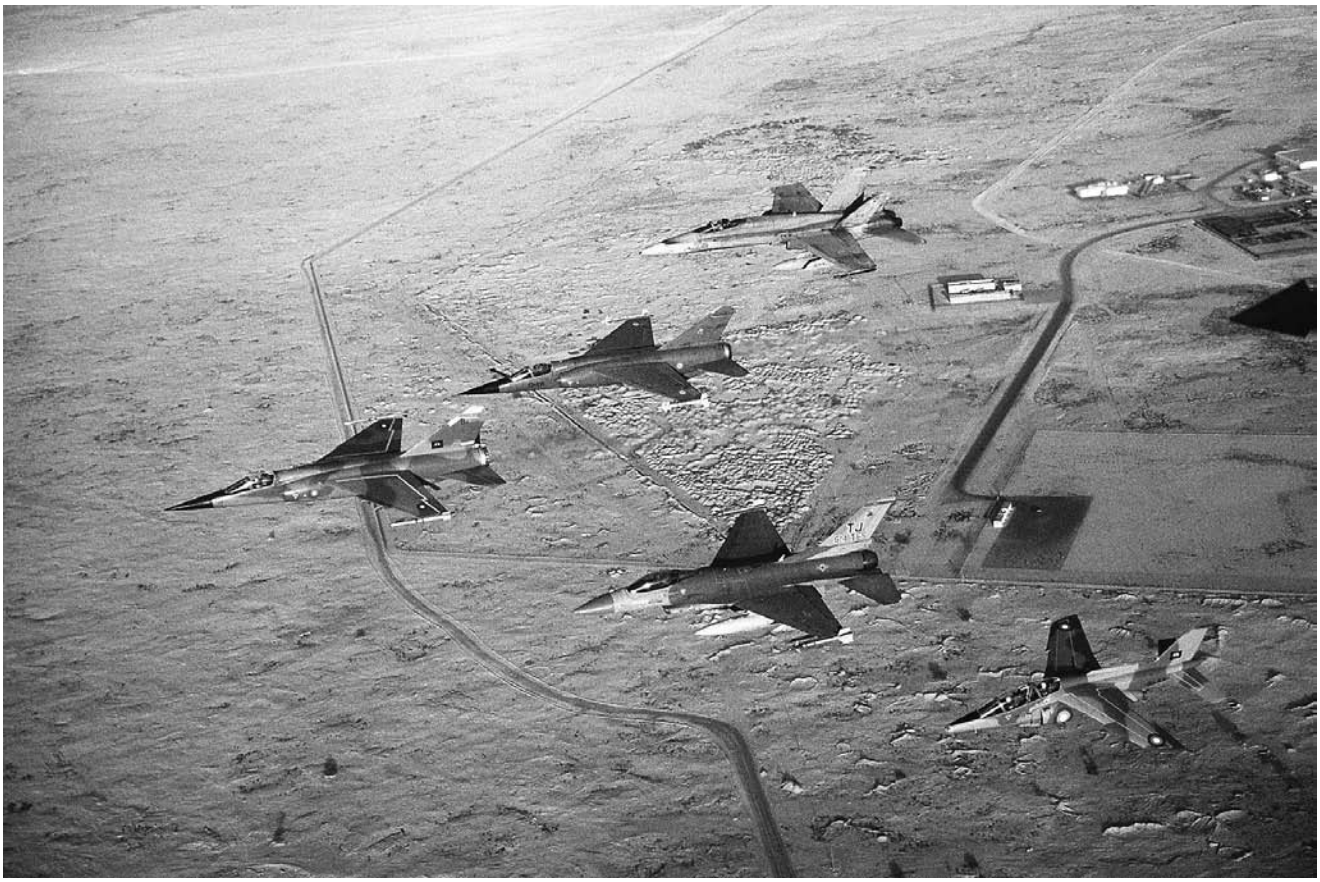
The primary driver in America fighter design was its experiences in the Vietnam War. Aerial combat in that war exposed the fallacy of overreliance on guided missiles and the need for highly

maneuverable fighters that provided good pilot visibility. As a result, U.S. fighter aircraft, more than those of any other nation, emphasized high thrust-to-weight ratios (the weight of engine thrust versus the aircraft's weight), composite construction materials to reduce weight, fly-by-wire flight controls to accelerate responsiveness, and the use of lift-body fuselage designs to reduce wing loading. All of these facilitated horizontal and vertical maneuverability.

America's primary fighter aircraft for most of the 1970s through mid-1980s were the McDonnell Douglas F-4 Phantom II, Grumman F-14A Tomcat, McDonnell Douglas F-15 Eagle, Lockheed Martin F-16 Fighting Falcon, and McDonnell Douglas F-18 Hornet. The first of these, the Phantom, was a Vietnam War–era aircraft that initially entered service in 1958. The twin-engine two-seater Phantom is one of the few fighters to serve in both the U.S. Air Force and the U.S. Navy. The air force version, the F-4E, carried an internal cannon and more electronic countermeasures equipment. Because of their carrier landing equipment, the U.S. Navy F-4J and U.S. Marine Corps F-4S had to carry their cannon and electronic countermeasure equipment in pods mounted in the nose and on the wings, respectively. Typically, they had to leave the centerline drop tank behind to compensate for the additional weight. All F-4 variants carried up to eight air-to-air missiles (AAMs), four radar-guided AIM-7 Sparrows, and four AIM-9 infrared-seeking Sidewinders. Additionally, for a ground attack role, the F-4 could eschew its AAMs to carry up to 12,000 pounds of bombs, or it could carry a mixture of AAMs and bombs. Although the F-4 had good acceleration and climb rates, its heavy wing loading and poor cockpit visibility placed it at a disadvantage in low-altitude aerial dogfighting. Experienced Phantom pilots employed the plane's superior vertical performance when facing more maneuverable enemy fighters.

The F-4's replacement in U.S. Navy fighter squadrons, the twin-engine swing-wing F-14A Tomcat, first entered service in 1972. Also a two-seater, the F-14A originally was envisioned as a fighter-bomber much like the F-4, but budget cuts precluded the installation of bomb-aiming equipment. The F-14A therefore became a fleet defense fighter. It had an improved 140–nautical mile range radar and combat system that enabled it to track and engage up to six targets simultaneously. More importantly, its AIM-54 Phoenix AAMs could engage bombers at ranges up to 60 nautical miles away, over three times that of the AIM-7. Its variable geometry (VGW) or swing wing also gave it a stable and slow landing and takeoff speed, a critical consideration with carrier aircraft. However, its 52,000-pound full-load weight limited it to service aboard USS *Forrestal* and later classes of carrier. The carriers *Midway* and *Constellation* had to be modified, with a reinforced flight deck and new catapults, to handle the Tomcat.

A Grumman F-14 Tomcat prepares for refueling during Operation DESERT STORM. (U.S. Department of Defense)



The Qatari F-1 Mirage, French F-1C Mirage, U.S. Air Force F-16C Fighting Falcon, Canadian CF/A-18A Hornet, and Qatari Alpha Jet were all employed by coalition forces during Operation DESERT SHIELD. (U.S. Department of Defense)

The first upgraded F-14s were the F-14Bs that entered service in 1987. Equipped with more powerful GE F-110-400 engines, the F-14B was the first navy fighter to enjoy a thrust-to-weight ratio above 1.0:1.0. The U.S. Navy had approximately 86 F-14Bs in its inventory in 1990. The final F-14 variant, the F-14D Super Tomcat, entered service in 1991. It was equipped with the same engines as the F-14B, but its digital avionics and combat systems were lighter, faster, and more capable. It also had a glass cockpit with improved all-around vision and an infrared search and tracking system, and it had the capability of conducting attack and air defense suppression missions. It could carry up to 13,000 pounds of ordnance and drop tanks. Only 37 were produced, while another 18 F-14As were upgraded to F-14Ds. The navy employed 144 F-14s in Operation DESERT STORM. The F-14 was phased out of naval service by October 2006.

The U.S. Air Force F-15 was the second post–Vietnam War aircraft to enter service. The prototype's maiden flight came in 1972, and the production model F-15A entered service in 1976. The first improved F-15C left the production line in 1978. Powered by two Pratt and Whitney F-100 fan jet engines, the single-seat F-15 was the first American-built fighter aircraft to enjoy a thrust-to-weight ratio exceeding 1.0:1.0, giving it the best acceleration rate of any fighter in the world when it entered service. Employing a lift-body and single-piece all-around cockpit, the F-15 provided superior pilot visibility. It also enjoyed a higher climb and turning rate than its Soviet-era opponents and was the world's first fighter to have a look-down/shoot-down capability, provided by its AN/APG-63 radar. That radar, with its supporting computer processing capability and heads-up display, enabled the pilot to sort out low-flying targets from among ground clutter. In addition to eight air-to-air missiles, the F-15 was also equipped with a 20-millimeter (mm) Vulcan cannon, firing more than 3,000 rounds per minute. The combination of its radar, weapons, and horizontal and vertical maneuverability made the F-15 one of the 20th century's most capable fighter aircraft. It first saw combat in Israeli service, where Israeli captain Moshe Melnik downed a Syrian MiG-21 over Lebanon in 1979. By the time Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in 1990, the U.S. Air Force had more than 800 in its active and reserve unit inventory. U.S. ally Saudi Arabia also had two 25-plane squadrons.

In 1989 the U.S. Air Force introduced a fighter-bomber version, the two-seater F-15E Strike Eagle. The all-weather F-15E is probably the world's most capable aircraft in service. Designed to replace the General Dynamics FB-111 Aardvark, the F-15E's primary mission is to serve as a long-distance all-weather attack and air-defense suppression aircraft, but it is also an equally capable fighter. Its AN/APG-70 radar can be used for aerial and surface targeting, and the plane carries Low-altitude Navigation Targeting

Infrared for Night (LANTIRN) for nocturnal attack missions. The U.S. Air Force had approximately 150 F-15Es in service during DESERT STORM.

Like the F-15, the single-seat F-16 Falcon entered production in 1976. Intended as the U.S. Air Force's economical low-technology fighter when it achieved initial operational capability, the F-16 Fighting Falcon ("Viper") is actually a high-technology single-engine aircraft. It has a 1.1:1.0 thrust-to-weight ratio, light wing loading, and a lift body, giving it exceptional acceleration and maneuverability at all altitudes and regimes. Initially a daytime fighter equipped with infrared-guided AIM-9 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles (AAMs) and capable of carrying up to 8,000 pounds of bombs, by 1989 frontline F-16Cs were all-weather aircraft carrying both radar-guided AIM-120 advanced medium-range air-to-air missile (AMRAAM) and AIM-7 Sparrow missiles as well as Sidewinders.

The F-16 employs the same F-100 engine as the F-15. It uses the AN/APG-66 radar that has less range but the same look-down/shoot-down capability as the F-15's AN/APG-63 and AN-APG-70. Late-model F-16Es carry the AN/APG-80 Actively Electronically Scanned Array Radar. The F-16's high-performance characteristics and comparatively low cost have made it the most popular jet fighter of the post–Vietnam War era, with more than 4,400 produced through 2007 and serving in the air forces of more than 40 nations.

The twin-engine single-seat McDonnell Douglas (now Boeing) F/A-18 Hornet was the last American fighter aircraft of the 20th century. Designed as an all-weather multipurpose aircraft to replace the U.S. Navy's and U.S. Marine Corps' A-4, A-7, and F-4 aircraft, it was produced as the navy's low-cost counterpart to the F-14. It has a lighter wing loading than the F-14 and uses a lift-body design, and its two F-404 engines provide 35,550 pounds of thrust in afterburner, giving the F/A-18 a thrust-to-weight ratio of 0.95:1.0 when fully loaded. Its AN/APG-73 radar and combat systems have the same range and target-handling capacity as the F-14. Armament includes a Vulcan 20-mm cannon in the nose and up to 13,000 pounds in external equipment (a combination of electronic countermeasure pods; drop tanks; bombs; AIM-7, AIM-9, and AIM-120 AMRAAMs; AGM-45 Shrike antiradiation; AGM-84 Harpoon; or AGM-85 Maverick air-to-surface missiles). The U.S. Navy employed 120 F/A-18s in DESERT STORM, as did the Canadian Air Force (24) and French Navy (24). The Canadian F-18s were F-18Ls, a land-based variant that weighs some 4,000 pounds less than its carrier-based counterpart.

The Northrup single-seat twin-engine F-5E Freedom Fighter was the oldest American-built fighter to serve in DESERT STORM. Saudi Arabia had more than 70 of them in its inventory, but they also equipped Bahrain's Air Force (12). An upgraded model of a lightweight fighter-intercept first built in 1960, the F-5E had an AN/APQ-159 20-nautical miles–range radar and two M-39 20-mm cannon in the nose and carried two AIM-7 Sparrow and two AIM-9 Sidewinder missiles. It could also carry up to 6,000 pounds of bombs or drop tanks. Its light wing loading gave comparable horizontal maneuverability to that of the Soviet Union's MiG-21, and its two J-85 jet engines gave a thrust-to-weight ratio of 0.7:1.0.

The French Dassault-built Mirage 2000 and Mirage 5 also saw service in DESERT STORM. France and Bahrain each deployed 12 single-seat single-engine Dassault Mirage 2000 fighter aircraft. The delta-winged Mirage entered service in 1984. Its high wing loading inhibited the Mirage's maneuverability, particularly at low altitude, but its fly-by-wire flight control system gave it superb flight response, and its roll rate was superior to that of all other Western-built aircraft. Its SNECMA M-53-P2 turbofan engine gives it a thrust-to-weight ratio of 0.8:1.0, the best of any European-built aircraft. The Mirage is equipped with two DEFA 30-mm cannon, two Matra 530 radar-guided and two Matra Magic missiles, or AIM-9 infrared guided AAMs. It can also carry up to 4,000 pounds of bombs or drop tanks.

The United Arab Emirates' 29 single-seat Mirage 5s also participated in the 1991 allied air campaign against Iraq. First introduced into service in 1968, it was the foundation design for the Israeli Kfir fighter. The delta-winged Mirage 5 was powered by a single SNECMA Atar 09C turbojet that provided a maximum thrust of 13,230 pounds in afterburner, giving the 29,700-pound Mirage a thrust-to-weight ratio of 0.4:1.0. Armament included two DEFA 30-mm cannon, two Matra Magic or AIM-9 Sidewinder AAMs, or up to 4,000 pounds of bombs.

Iraq and Libya have engaged U.S. fighter aircraft. The latter lost two Soviet-built Sukhoi Su-22s in 1986 when they tried to engage a flight of U.S. Navy F-14As in the Gulf of Sidra and never challenged U.S. air operations there again. The same cannot be said for Iraq. Its air force included a mixture of Soviet and Western fighter aircraft, with Soviet-era models constituting the bulk of its inventory. The oldest were its 150 Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-21 Fishbeds (North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] designation) and 40 Chinese-built F-7 variants, 1960s-vintage single-seat fighters that carried up to four AAM-2 Atoll missiles (either infrared or radar-guided variants). Equipped with a twin 23-mm cannon for dogfighting, the MiG-21's roll and turning rates were superior to the American F-4, but its thrust-to-weight ratio was only 0.6:1.0, giving an inferior acceleration and climb rate.

Iraq's 90 single-seat swing-wing Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-23 Flogger (NATO designation) was based on Soviet design that entered production in 1972. It had a slightly higher thrust-to-weight ratio (0.7:1.0) than the MiG-21 and a better radar. Its armament included a 23-mm cannon and two radar-guided AA-7 Apex and two infrared-guided AA-8 Aphid AAMs. Its swing wing gave it a very low landing/takeoff speed, but the MiG-23's cockpit visibility and vertical maneuverability were inferior to its Western opponents.

Iraq's 25 twin-engine Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-25 Foxbats (NATO designation) also suffered from poor cockpit visibility but had a far higher operational ceiling (72,000 versus 55,000 feet) and a top speed faster than any other aircraft the West had ever faced. It had entered Soviet service in 1964 as a high-altitude high-speed interceptor to counter America's Mach 3.5 Lockheed SR-71

The Soviet-made Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-29 (NATO designation Fulcrum) was the Iraqi Air Force's top air-superiority fighter. (George Hall/Corbis)

Blackbird reconnaissance aircraft. Carrying four AAMs (two AA-2 Atoll and two radar-guided AA-6 Acrid), the Foxbat had a top speed above Mach 3.0, but its low thrust-to-weight ratio (only 0.41:1.0) and heavy wing loading made it much less maneuverable than any other fighter aircraft in the Middle East.

Iraq also had approximately 30 Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-29 Fulcrums (NATO designation) in service by 1990. Iraq's only fourth-generation fighter had entered Soviet production in 1983. Designed specifically to counter the expected capabilities of the F-16 and F-18, it has a lift body, light wing loading, an airframe stressed a gravity force of up to 9, improved cockpit visibility, and a heads-up display, and most importantly, its two RD-33 turbofan engines give it a thrust-to-weight ratio of 1.13:1.0. In terms of pure aerodynamic performance, it can outmaneuver any Western aircraft vertically and horizontally. However, its cockpit visibility remains inferior to Western designs, and like all other MiGs of that era, its radars are inferior in range and tracking ability compared to Western models. Moreover, in Iraqi hands the MiG-29s did not fare well in combat against American fighter aircraft, losing over a dozen of their number without inflicting any losses.

The Iraqi Air Force was also equipped with 94 Dassault Mirage F-1 single-seat fighter-bombers, as were two coalition members' air forces, that of Qatar (12) and Kuwait (32). An upgrade of the F-1C that entered French service in 1974, Iraq's F-1EQ could carry up to 14,000 pounds of ordnance (e.g., two Exocet antiship missiles or a single missile and drop tank for antishipping missions). For aerial combat missions, it carried four infrared-guided AAMs, either French-built R-550s or American-made AIM-9Ls. It was equipped with two 30-mm cannon in the nose and Thomson-CSF Cyrano IV monopulse radar. The Cyrano IV was outranged by the American fighters' radar, but it was better than that of Iraq's Soviet-built fighters. The F-1 had a good initial turn rate, but its low thrust-to-weight ratio (0.45:1.0) placed it at a disadvantage against American-built fighters.

During America's 1982–1984 participation in the United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operation in Beirut, Lebanon, U.S. Navy F-14s flew aerial reconnaissance missions and provided combat air patrol missions over Lebanon, but the Syrian Air Force never challenged their operations. U.S. Air Force F-15s and F-16s deployed to Saudi Arabia in the late 1980s to provide air cover for

U.S. Navy ships protecting tankers from Iranian and Iraqi air and missile attack.

Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 triggered Operation DESERT SHIELD, a massive U.S. and allied deployment into the Middle East. Fighter aircraft constituted the leading elements of that deployment. They had two purposes: to ensure that the incoming transport aircraft would not be intercepted and shot down and to protect the receiving airfields from Iraqi air attack. America's NATO and Arab Middle Eastern allies joined in the UN-authorized force buildup to liberate Kuwait. The primary European-built fighter was the twin-engine Panavia Tornado. A variable geometry or swing-wing two-seat aircraft similar to the American F-14, it was built by a British/Italian/West German consortium and became operational in 1979. Designed as a fighter-bomber, the Tornado IDS (Interdictor/Strike) fighter-bomber version was employed primarily for ground attack missions, but Britain's Royal Air Force deployed its Air Defense Version (Tornado ADV) to the Middle East. The Royal Air Force's Tornado F-3 ADV carried four British Skyflash, AIM-9L, or AIM-120 AMRAAMs. Entering service in 1989, only 18 F3s were built in time to participate in Operation DESERT STORM. All Tornado variants carried a 27-mm cannon in the nose. The Tornado's were effective interceptors, but their high wing loading and low thrust-to-weight ratio (0.38:1.0) limited their effectiveness in aerial combat.

The Iraqi Air Force did not challenge the allied aerial bridge that delivered troops, equipment, and supplies into Saudi Arabia. Moreover, once the coalition initiated combat operations in January 1991, American-made F-14, F-15, F-16, and F/A-18 and British Tornado aircraft enjoyed a massive superiority over Iraq's Soviet-built fighters and limited number of Mirage F-1s that were employed using Soviet-era close control intercept tactics. As a result, Operation DESERT STORM's aerial operations consisted almost entirely of offensive air strikes against Iraqi targets. The F-15E Strike Eagle and F/A-18 made their operational debut in that war, employing a wide range of precision-guided weapons to destroy high-value targets. In one highly publicized incident, a U.S. Navy F/A-18 shot down an Iraqi MiG-21 and then accurately bombed a target and shot down a second MiG-21 as it pulled away.

A decade later, these same aircraft were employed to great effect over Afghanistan during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (2001) and alongside the Italian Tornados and French-built aircraft in the 2003 Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). There was no serious aerial opposition to the American-led operations in any of those campaigns, freeing the coalition's fighters to focus on ground attack and suppression of ground-based air defense systems.

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See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Electronic Warfare; Aircraft, Manned Reconnaissance; Aircraft Carriers; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, U.S. Air Campaign; Iran-Iraq War; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Air Campaign

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Aircraft, Helicopters

Helicopters have constituted a key component of virtually all U.S. military operations since the Vietnam War, and America's involvement in the Middle East is no exception. U.S. Navy and U.S. Marine Corps operations in Lebanon during the early 1980s were heavily reliant upon helicopters, albeit primarily for logistics and antisubmarine warfare missions. More importantly, helicopters participated in every aspect of all American-led military operations in the Middle East, from the 1987 Operation PRAYING MANTIS through Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM. America's opponents were slow to adopt helicopters, but Iraq had a significant fleet of Soviet- and European-made helicopters during Operation DESERT STORM in 1991. Given their importance in modern military doctrine, helicopters will remain a ubiquitous presence on America's battlefields and those of its allies for some years to come.

The primary transport helicopters employed in Lebanon were the U.S. Boeing CH-46E Sea Knight and Sikorsky CH-53D Sea Stallion twin- and single-rotor helicopters, while the single-rotor Bell AH-1S Cobra attack helicopter equipped the marine strike helicopter detachments, although they were used primarily as combat escorts for transport and combat search and rescue missions. Of these, the CH-53 Sea Stallion is probably the most famous. Best known for its involvement in the ill-fated April 1979 attempted rescue of the U.S. embassy hostages in Iran, the CH-53 is America's most powerful and longest-ranged helicopter. The early models could carry up to 32 fully armed troops or lift 12,000 pounds of cargo; the latest variant, the CH-53E Super Stallion, can lift up to 16,000 pounds of cargo and transport it more than 100 nautical miles. It can also refuel in flight from Lockheed Martin KC-130 Hercules tankers, giving it almost unlimited range.

The first CH-53A Sea Stallion entered U.S. Marine Corps service in 1967, and the latest variant, the CH-53E Super Stallion, is expected to remain in use well beyond 2015. The Super Stallion's

A CH-53E Super Stallion helicopter lands on the flight deck of the amphibious transport dock USS *Raleigh* as other ships of the task force steam in formation behind. (U.S. Department of Defense)

powerful lift capability has proven particularly useful in the thin air and high altitudes of Afghanistan. The U.S. Air Force Combat Search and Rescue (CSAR) and its other Special Operations detachments have been using specially modified Sikorsky HH-53 Pave Low helicopters—equipped with armor, refueling probes, and special electronic warning and countermeasures equipment as well as 7.62-millimeter (mm) electronic Gatling guns and other armament—since 1970. U.S. Air Force transport helicopter squadrons received the standard CH-53C. The U.S. Navy modified Sea Stallions for minesweeping, giving it the designation RH-53 (later MH-53).

The CH-46 Sea Knight has been the U.S. Navy and U.S. Marine Corps standard transport helicopter since 1964. Early models carried up to 26 fully equipped troops or 4,000 pounds of cargo, but later models could transport an additional 1,000 pounds of cargo under some conditions. Armament is optional but can include two M-60 7.62-mm or Browning M-2 .50-caliber machine guns. The U.S. Navy retired the last of its UH-46s in 2004, but the U.S. Marine Corps plans to retain its Sea Knights until they can be replaced by Bell Helicopter's MV-22 Osprey.

The Bell/Textron UH-1 Iroquois "Huey" light utility helicopter was America's first gas turbine–powered military helicopter. Entering production in 1963, it was the U.S. Army's primary troop transport helicopter during the Vietnam War but had been supplanted in that role by the Sikorsky UH-60 Black Hawk by the mid-1980s. Its capacity was limited to six fully armed soldiers or about 2,000 pounds of cargo slung beneath it, but it could carry the same armament as the CH-46E. The U.S. Navy and U.S. Marine Corps continued to use UH-1s until 1992. Its small radar cross-section and agility made it ideal for covertly delivering small Special Forces elements near their objectives. Italy produced a license-built version called the Augusta-Bell 204 that is serving with the International Security Assistance Force, led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), in Afghanistan.

The U.S. Marines Corps' final Vietnam-era helicopter, the Bell AH-1 Cobra (models AH-1J and AH-1T through AH-1Z Super Cobras) attack helicopter, has been the backbone of that service's attack helicopter force since 1969. The Super Cobra variants presently in service have a top speed exceeding 190 knots, are equipped with a 3-barreled 20-mm cannon in a nose turret, and can carry two AIM-9 infrared-guided air-to-air missiles in addition to its normal load out of eight AGM-65 Maverick and AGM-114 guided air-to-surface missiles.

By the time Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, the U.S. Army had five helicopters in its inventory: the Hughes OH-6 Cayuse and Bell OH-58 Kiowa reconnaissance and observation helicopters, the

Boeing Ch-47 Chinook Heavy Lift and UH-60 Black Hawk transport helicopters, and the Hughes/McDonnell Douglas AH-64 Apache attack helicopter. Of these the OH-6 was the oldest, having entered service in 1966. In the 1980s the OH-6As modified for Special Forces transport and attack were assigned to the army's elite 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment (Airborne) as MH-6C Little Birds and AH-6Cs. They were still serving with the 160th during Operations DESERT STORM and IRAQI FREEDOM. The MH-6 can carry up to six soldiers, while the AH-6 is armed with two 7.62-mm Miniguns, two .50-caliber GAU-19 electrically driven Gatling guns, four AGM-114 Hellfire missiles, and two 70-mm rocket pods.

The OH-58 Kiowa began to replace the OH-6 in 1985. Essentially a more robust version of the venerable Bell 206 Jet Ranger, the single-rotor OH-58 was equipped with a sensor mast above its rotor so that it could detect, track, and designate targets while remaining hidden below the tree line. The OH-58C was also equipped with an infrared suppression and countermeasures system. Also, it was the U.S. Army's first helicopter to carry radar warning equipment. Early OH-58s were armed with a 7.62-mm Minigun, but the M-129 automatic grenade launcher was added after experiences in Operation PRIME CHANCE (1987–1989) in the Persian Gulf indicated a need to upgrade its weapons capabilities. It can also carry two Stinger infrared-guided missiles for air-to-air engagements. The armed OH-58D Kiowa Warrior serves with U.S. Army Air Cavalry units in Iraq and Afghanistan, where the flexibility provided by its universal weapons pod enables local commanders to tailor its weapons load to specific missions. In addition to the Minigun and 30-mm grenade launcher, the Kiowa Warrior can carry a load of AGM-114 Hellfire missiles, two Hydra 7-tube 70-mm rocket pods, a M-296 .50-caliber machine pod, or four AIM-92 Stinger air-to-air missiles. Despite the upgrade, the helicopter's primary employment is for armed scouting and reconnaissance.

The AH-64 Apache has been the U.S. Army's attack helicopter since it replaced the AH-1 Cobra during the 1980s. The single-rotor two-seat Apache was designed originally by Hughes Aircraft, which was subsequently purchased by McDonnell Douglas. The Apache entered production in 1981 and incorporated all the lessons learned from the Vietnam War and the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War. The two-person crew compartment and fuel tanks are armored against 23-mm antiaircraft fire, and the helicopter carries a 30-mm chain cannon for antitank engagements. Additionally, it is equipped with a helmet-mounted display that enables the gunner to aim its weapons by turning his head toward the target. The Apache is equipped with Global Positioning Systems (GPS), electronic and infrared sensing systems, and infrared suppression and countermeasures equipment.

A U.S. Army UH-60 Blackhawk flies off the drop zone of Joint Security Station War Eagle, near Baghdad, Iraq, on July 16, 2009. (U.S. Department of Defense)

The Apache first saw combat in the 1989 Operation JUST CAUSE in Panama and has served in all U.S. East African and Middle East operations since 1990. During Operations DESERT STORM and IRAQI FREEDOM, the Apache went beyond its originally intended antitank role to air defense suppression, where its low-altitude all-weather capabilities and advanced electronic sensor suite enabled it to destroy key portions of Iraq's radar network. Its versatility and robustness have made it a popular weapons system. The British Army operates a license-built Westland variant, while the Dutch Air Force owns 30 Apaches, which have deployed in 6-aircraft detachments to Iraq, Djibouti, and Afghanistan.

The twin-rotor Boeing CH-47 Chinook and single-rotor Sikorsky UH-60 Black Hawk are the U.S. Army's primary cargo and troop transport helicopters. The former has been in service since 1962, enjoying many upgrades over the years. The CH-47D constitutes the mainstay of the U.S. Army's and British Army's heavy helicopter transport squadrons. With a maximum lift capacity of 26,000 pounds, it can transport a 155-mm Howitzer, its 11-man crew, and up to 30 rounds of ammunition over 100 nautical miles in a single lift. Its navigation systems include GPS and instrumentation for all-weather flying. It has terrain-following radar to support nap-of-the-earth flying in poor visibility.

The U.S. Air Force flies the CH-47, designating it the HH-47. There is also a specially modified MH-47E serving with the U.S. Army's 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment. The MH-47E has in-flight refueling capability, infrared suppression systems, and electronic warning equipment. It has a greater fuel capacity and range than the MH-47D. Other upgraded versions, the CH-47F and MH-47G, entered production in 2007. The newest models have upgraded avionics, more robust engine transmissions, and better high-altitude performance based on lessons learned from operations in Afghanistan.

The UH-60 Black Hawk is the U.S. Army's most numerous transport helicopter. A maritime variant, the Sikorsky SH-60 Sea Hawk, also serves with the U.S. Navy. The Black Hawk entered service in 1979 and replaced the UH-1 as the army's light transport helicopter by 1989. The Black Hawk can carry up to 11 passengers or 6,000 pounds of cargo slung below the fuselage. It also comes in command and control versions, designated the EUH-60C and EUH-60L, as well as an electronic warfare version, the EH-60C, that was employed during Operation DESERT STORM and was retired shortly thereafter. The MH-60K and MH-60L Direct Action Penetrator equip the 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment. The MH-60s have in-flight refueling capabilities, special navigation systems, infrared warning, suppression and countermeasures equipment, and electronic sensor systems. Finally, the MH-60L carries a 30-mm chain gun, an M134D Minigun, and 70-mm rocket pods.

U.S. Army Black Hawks saw action in Somalia (1992–1993), the Persian Gulf (1987–1989), Afghanistan (2001–present), and Iraq (1991, 2003–present). The Australian Army also employed the Black Hawk in Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM. Black Hawks will remain these services' primary troop transport aircraft through 2020.

The Sikorsky SH-2 LAMPS and SH-3 Sea King were the U.S. Navy's mainstays for most of the Cold War era. Their primary mission was antisubmarine warfare and search and rescue operations, but they were used occasionally for fleet logistics. Both could carry a single Mark 44 or Mark 46 antisubmarine torpedo, while SH-3s in British service were also equipped to carry two Sea Eagle antiship cruise missiles. For search and rescue missions, the Sea King could carry an M-60 7.62-mm machine gun slung in the cargo door. These Vietnam War–era helicopter types were used in Operations EARNEST ENDEAVOR and PRAYING MANTIS, augmented by the SH-60 LAMPS II helicopters then entering service. The SH-60 eventually replaced both the LAMPS I and Sea King helicopters by 1990 and 2003, respectively. Sea Kings remained in Italian, British, and Australian service through 2005.

The single-rotor Aerospatiale SA-321 Super Frelon heavy-lift helicopter served with French and Iraqi forces during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. It can carry up to 38 fully armed troops or about 10,000 pounds of cargo. The French Navy's version carried a dipping sonar, up to four antisubmarine warfare torpedoes, and two Exocet antiship cruise missiles. In French Air Force and Iraqi Air Force service, it carried a 20-mm cannon. None of Iraq's Super Frelons are operational today, and they have been retired from French service. However, China produces a license-built variant, the Z-8, for the People's Liberation Army.

The single-rotor Aerospatiale SA-330 Puma is a medium-lift transport helicopter that has served with French, Iraqi, and Kuwaiti forces as well as Britain's Royal Air Force through the 1990s. Entering service in 1968, the Puma was the French Army's primary troop transport helicopter during Operations DESERT SHIELD, DESERT STORM, and ENDURING FREEDOM. The U.S. Coast Guard also used them for search and rescue operations. It can transport up to 16 soldiers or 4,000 pounds of cargo. Armament in French and Iraqi service consisted of a coaxial 7.62-mm machine gun and side-firing 20-mm cannon. It was replaced after 1990 by the more powerful Eurocopter SA 332 Super Puma, which has better avionics and can carry more weight (24 troops or 6,000 pounds of cargo). The Netherlands deployed its Super Pumas to Iraq and Afghanistan, where they supported NATO/International Security Assistance Force operations through 2008.

The Aerospatiale SA-341F Gazelle was France's primary attack helicopter during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. The attack variants were equipped with a 20-mm nose cannon and carried four HOT (Haut subsonique Optiquement Téléguidé tiré d'un tube) French-developed wire-guided antitank missiles; it was in that configuration that French forces employed them in Iraq. British forces also employed the light utility transport version to support the Special Air Service. In that role it carries four soldiers or about 2,000 pounds of cargo.

The Soviet-supplied single-rotor Mil Mi-6 Hook helicopter dominated Syria's and Iraq's helicopter forces during U.S. operations in

Members of the 82nd Airborne Division inspect a Soviet built Iraqi Mi-24D Hind assault helicopter abandoned by Iraqi forces during Operation DESERT STORM. (U.S. Department of Defense)

the Middle East. All of Iraq's were destroyed during Operations DESERT STORM and IRAQI FREEDOM, but they remain in the Syrian inventory to this day. In some cases, they installed rocket launchers and heavy machine guns and employed them as attack helicopters. However, for the most part Syria used them for rear-area transport duties. Iraq, however, employed Mi-6 helicopters in Kuwait City when it invaded Kuwait in August 1990. The Mi-6 entered Soviet service in 1957, and the later models serving in Syria and Iraq could lift up to 26,000 pounds of cargo or transport up to 61 troops.

The Soviet Mil Mi-8 Hip entered service in 1967, but Iraq did not purchase its first Hips until 1978. Slightly smaller but faster than the Hook, the Hip could carry 24 passengers or 6,600 pounds of cargo. The Iraqis employed them primarily as rear-area troop transports, but they were employed in the vertical assault role during the 1990 invasion of Kuwait. They are no longer in service in Iraq.

The Soviet Mil Mi-24 Hind constituted Iraq's only attack helicopter. Although it could carry six passengers, the Soviets intended it primarily as an attack helicopter, which was its primary role in Iraqi service. Iraq used it extensively against Iranian forces attempting to break though its lines during the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War, where it worked in tandem with Iraq's French-built Gazelle helicopters. Hinds are heavily armored. They can carry up to 1,100 pounds of bombs, S-24 240-mm rockets, UB-32 rocket pods, or two AT-2 Swatter wire-guided antitank missiles. They are equipped with door-mounted 7.62-mm machine guns and nose turret containing two 23-mm cannon. This is altogether a formidable array of weaponry, but the Hind sacrificed agility, maneuverability, and altitude for its firepower. It did not fare well in combat against Iranian Bell AH-1T Sea Cobras and American attack helicopters. None survived Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

America's large helicopter inventory has enabled it to conduct vertical envelopment operations that far exceed that of any other country. For example, during Operation DESERT STORM the U.S.-led coalition conducted the world's largest mobile air assault, landing the bulk of the 101st Air Assault Division in the Iraqi Army's rear. Helicopters served a similar role in degrading air defenses and ground force cohesion during Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM. The helicopter's ability to deliver troops, equipment, and weapons quickly and directly onto an objective has made them an indispensable platform for tactical operations in the difficult terrain and complex political environment of the Middle East.

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See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, U.S. Air Campaign; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Air Campaign

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Aircraft, Helicopters, Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM

Both coalition and Iraqi forces deployed helicopters during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM in 1991. Helicopters were used for transporting supplies and equipment to units in the field, in search and rescue operations to recover downed pilots and ground troops, for moving ground troops into and out of the field, for medical evacuation of wounded troops, and in a ground-attack role.

The U.S. Army also deployed helicopters in the Persian Gulf War; the majority of these helicopters moved the 101st Airmobile Division around Kuwait and southern Iraq. Attack and observation were conducted by the AH-64 Apache attack helicopter and the OH-58 Kiowa observation helicopter. The U.S. Army also deployed medium-lift helicopters, including the CH-47 Chinook, for the movement of troops and supplies.

The U.S. Marine Corps and U.S. Navy deployed helicopters as well. The Marines deployed CH-46 Sea Knight and CH-53 Sea Stallion helicopters in the logistics and troop transport role. AH-1 Cobras, Marine attack helicopters, also supported Marine forces in the Kuwait theater of operations. The Navy deployed SH-3 Sea King medium helicopters in a variety of roles, including logistical support and troop transport. Two Sea Kings were deployed on a U.S. destroyer operating in the northern Persian Gulf to act as search and rescue assets in the event coalition air crews had to ditch in the water.

The U.S. Air Force also deployed helicopters during the Persian Gulf War. MH-60 Pave Hawks and MH-53 Pave Lows were deployed to insert and extract special operations forces in and around Kuwait and Iraq. U.S. coalition partners also deployed various rotor-wing aircraft in the Gulf. French and British helicopters, operating with army and navy units, saw action in the Persian Gulf War.

On the opening night of the air campaign on January 15–16, 1991, U.S. AH-64 Apache gunships supported by MH-53 Pave Lows moved across the border into Iraq and struck two Iraqi radar sites. The resultant gap in Iraqi radar coverage allowed coalition aircraft and cruise missiles the window of opportunity to strike targets in Iraq. During the ground war, the 101st Airborne Division staged the largest airborne assault in history on February 24, 1991, when it moved forces 93 miles into Iraq to establish Forward Operating Base Cobra. From here, established elements of the 101st flew 175 miles, establishing a 50-mile front between Samawah and Nasiriyah in the Euphrates River Valley.

The Iraqis also employed helicopters. As Saddam Hussein moved his army up to the border with Kuwait in August 1990, 80 combat helicopters moved with the ground forces to support the invasion of Kuwait. During the actual invasion of Kuwait, the Iraqi military operated 160 helicopters of Soviet, French, and German manufacture.

During Operation DESERT SHIELD, coalition forces lost 13 helicopters to noncombat accidents, while 2 U.S. Army helicopters were lost in combat. The Iraqi helicopter force was largely destroyed on the ground at the commencement of the air campaign in January 1991, although 6 Iraqi helicopters were also destroyed in air-to-air engagements against coalition fighter aircraft in the opening weeks of the war. At the beginning of Operation DESERT STORM, it is estimated that 300 Iraqi fixed-wing and rotor aircraft were destroyed on the ground. During DESERT STORM, coalition forces lost just 2 helicopters.

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See also
Aircraft, Helicopters; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Forces; Iraq, Air Force

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Aircraft, Helicopters, Soviet-Afghanistan War

Helicopters were used with varying degrees of success during the 1979–1989 Soviet-Afghanistan War. Combat helicopters played a crucial role during the initial Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in late 1979 and early 1980, ferrying troops into combat and providing close air support of ground forces. Helicopters also saw extensive service in protecting supply convoys, especially given the difficult Afghan terrain and the hit-and-run tactics of the mujahideen, or Afghan resistance fighters. Later they were used to provide ground support, to cut enemy lines of communication, and to attack villages and infrastructure. It was not until the introduction of U.S.-made *Stinger* and British-manufactured *Blowpipe* shoulder-fired antiaircraft missiles in 1986 that the mujahideen were able to neutralize Soviet attack helicopters.

When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, they used the same military tactics that they had employed in the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia. Motorized rifle units spearheaded offensives

designed to dislodge and defeat mujahideen units while helicopter units were kept in reserve. Unable to defeat the growing insurgency, the Soviets changed their strategy and tactics. The Soviets increased the number of helicopters from some 50 in 1980 to 300 the following year. They also introduced the Mi-24 Hind attack helicopter and the Mi-8 Hip combat helicopter to the theater of operations. Eventually, the Mi-24 Hind became the main antiguerrilla weapon.

The Mi-24 Hind attack helicopter, equipped with 4-barrel machine guns and 64 57-mm rockets, proved to be particularly effective against the mujahideen, who lacked adequate air defenses. Operating in groups of two to six, flying close to the ground for protection, the Mi-24 Hind could either deliver helicopter-born troops to destroy enemy convoys or attack isolated groups of mujahideen fighters. The Mi-24 Hind attack helicopter was particularly effective when scout helicopters or air guides on the ground provided terminal control of the strike.

By 1984, the Soviets had approximately 325 helicopters based in 4 helicopter regiments in the Afghan theater of operations: the 181st Helicopter Regiment at Kunduz and Fayzabad; the 280th Helicopter Regiment at Kandahar; and the 292nd Helicopter Regiment and the 146th Helicopter Detachment at Kunduz. Of the 325 helicopters, close to one-half were the Mi-24 Hind. The large number of Hinds enabled the Soviets to change tactics to counter the increasing level of sophistication in antihelicopter tactics of the mujahideen.

The Soviets conducted many types of helicopter operations. Helicopters were used to lead airborne assaults against the mujahideen. Spetsnaz and airborne troops were transported deep into mujahideen-held territory to eliminate mujahideen defensive positions or cut off their escape. On April 21, 1984, the mujahideen partially destroyed the Mattok Bridge over the Ghorband River, south of the Salang Tunnel. When the mujahideen concentrated for another attack on that structure, the Soviets launched a heliborne operation that killed the entire force of mujahideen, estimated to have been 1,500 to 2,000 strong.

Helicopters were also used to guard Soviet convoys. Whenever a Soviet troop column or supply convoy moved into mujahideen-held territory, it was accompanied by either Mi-24 Hind or Mi-8 Hip helicopters. While half of the helicopters circled overhead watching for mujahideen activity, the others landed troops ahead of the advancing column. The troops would provide security until the column passed, after which the process was repeated.

Helicopters, carrying Spetsnaz and airborne troops, were also used to help the Afghan government gain control over the eastern provinces of Afghanistan, to eliminate "liberated zones," as well as to relieve several government-held garrisons.

In 1985, the mujahideen first acquired the SA-7 Strela surface-to-air missile. Initial use of the SA-7 took the Soviets by surprise when eight Mi-8 Hip helicopters were shot down during one operation.

In 1986, the Soviets were able to counter the mujahideen's shoulder-held antiaircraft missiles. Soviet helicopters were equipped with ultra-red decoy flares and jamming equipment that neutralized the SA-7. To counter the Soviets' tactical advantage, the mujahideen then acquired from the West the more sophisticated British-made Blowpipe antiaircraft missile and the U.S.-made Stinger antiaircraft missile.

Soviet helicopter tactics changed and improved during the Soviet-Afghanistan War. Even though Soviet helicopter units were successfully employed against the mujahideen, the Soviets never had sufficient numbers of helicopters nor sufficient manpower to undertake all the missions necessary to destroy the resistance. Resources were often squandered on unnecessary missions or diverted to other purposes. Problems also occurred with the helicopters themselves. There were numerous reports of Hind rotors striking the tail during very low-altitude flight. Wear on airframes and systems increased dramatically, resulting in increased operational attrition. It is estimated that by the end of the war in 1989 the Soviets had lost 333 helicopters.

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See also

Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Soviet-Afghanistan War

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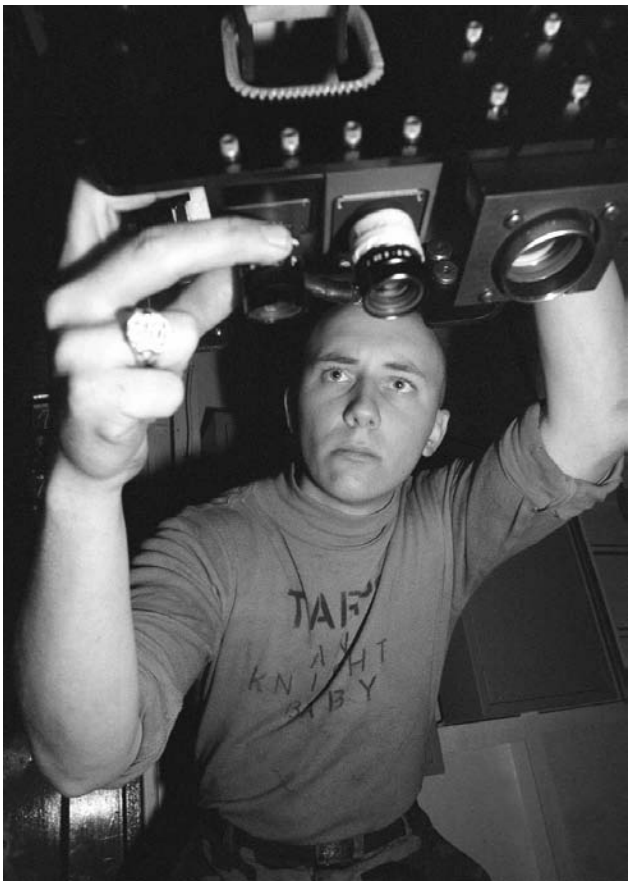
Aircraft, Manned Reconnaissance

Manned aircraft are some of the best platforms for reconnaissance gathering, thanks to their ability to peer into or fly across international borders. Reconnaissance aircraft are capable of carrying a variety of cameras as well as sensors that can locate and record electronic emissions from various communications and intelligence sources. The United States operated manned aircraft for these missions during the Middle East wars while completing a transition from planes dedicated exclusively to tactical photographic reconnaissance to a system of pods that could be added to any fighter. At the same time, the United States increased its use of unmanned airborne vehicles (UAV) for reconnaissance duties.

Operation DESERT STORM (1991) was possibly the last military engagement in which the United States employed manned aircraft variants dedicated exclusively to a tactical photographic reconnaissance role. The U.S. Air Force deployed one squadron of its aging but reliable McDonnell Douglas RF-4C Phantom II tactical reconnaissance aircraft to support operations over Kuwait and Iraq. The air force also flew the high-altitude Lockheed U-2 Dragon Lady in



U.S. Navy photographer's mate 3rd class Chris Pastol adjusts a digital camera's aperture in the Tactical Air Reconnaissance Pod System (TARPS) before taking it to the flight deck of the aircraft carrier *Independence* (CV-62) during a deployment to the Persian Gulf in support of Operation SOUTHERN WATCH, April 12, 1998. (U.S. Department of Defense)

support of photographic reconnaissance missions over Iraq. In the electronics intelligence (ELINT)–gathering role of reconnaissance, the air force utilized the Boeing RC-135 Rivet Joint aircraft, while the U.S. Navy flew the Lockheed Martin EP-3 Aries II. The navy entered Operation DESERT STORM without a manned aircraft variant dedicated exclusively for tactical photographic reconnaissance. However, naval aviators flying from aircraft carriers in the Persian Gulf did have access to the Grumman Tactical Reconnaissance Pod System (TARPS). Select navy Grumman F-14 Tomcats, often known as "Peeping Toms," carried the TARPS pods in the tactical photographic reconnaissance mission over Iraq.

Following the conclusion of Operation DESERT STORM, the United States maintained an air presence over Iraq in support of Operations NORTHERN WATCH and SOUTHERN WATCH. Manned tactical aircraft variants developed exclusively for photographic reconnaissance were not utilized in these missions over the no-fly zones. However, the U.S. Air Force did employ RC-135s in the ELINT reconnaissance role as well as U-2s in the ultrahigh-altitude photographic reconnaissance mission. The navy continued to fly F-14 aircraft with TARPS pods as well as EP-3s for ELINT gathering.

During Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan (2001), the U.S. Navy operated F-14 aircraft carrying TARPS pods as its primary manned tactical photographic reconnaissance platform and the EP-3 for ELINT missions, while the U.S. Air Force relied heavily on the U-2 for manned photographic reconnaissance and the RC-135 in the ELINT role.

The U.S. Navy introduced the Shared Reconnaissance Pod (SHARP) on McDonnell Douglas (now Boeing) F/A-18 Hornet aircraft as a replacement for TARPS during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in 2003. The U.S. Air Force continued to rely on the U-2. Because of the lack of air force aircraft dedicated exclusively to manned tactical photographic reconnaissance, the British Royal Air Force assumed an important role in these lower-level missions. In 2004 the U.S. Air Force deployed the Theater Airborne Reconnaissance System (TARS) on General Dynamics F-16 Fighting Falcon aircraft supporting ongoing military operations in Iraq.

The two-seat McDonnell Douglas RF-4C Phantom II served as the primary tactical photographic reconnaissance aircraft of the U.S. Air Force since its introduction into the Vietnam War in the autumn of 1965. As a modification of the famous F-4 series of aircraft, the RF-4C was powered by two General Electric J79 turbojet engines that provided the plane with a maximum speed of more than 1,600 miles per hour and a range greater than 1,600 miles with external fuel tanks. The first models entered service with the U.S. Air Force in September 1964 and were committed in Vietnam a year later. The Persian Gulf War in 1991 was the last military engagement in which the air force operated its RF-4C workhorse. One Squadron, the 192nd Reconnaissance Squadron of the Nevada Air National Guard, had the distinction of flying the RF-4C in its last combat actions, including photographing the extent of the oil fires set by the Iraqis in Kuwait. The RF-4C was capable of carrying photographic equipment in three stations within the nose of the aircraft. One station could house a forward oblique or vertical camera. A low-altitude station could carry one of several different cameras designed specifically for taking photographs as the aircraft flew by quickly just above the treetops. A high-altitude station could be utilized for specialty cameras, with optics and film designed to record targets as the aircraft flew out of range of most antiaircraft weaponry. RF-4Cs employed optical and infrared film-based sensors during the Persian Gulf War. The U.S. Air Force retired the RF-4C, its last aircraft designed specifically for tactical photographic reconnaissance, in October 1995.

The General Dynamics F-16 Fighting Falcon entered service with the U.S. Air Force in 1978, and the service received its last Fighting Falcon from the manufacturer in 2005. The plane carried a single Pratt and Whitney F-100 engine that provided it with a speed of 1,500 miles per hour, a ceiling of 50,000 feet, and a range of 851 miles when fully loaded and carrying two fuel tanks. F-16s, carrying SHARP reconnaissance pods, were a manned alternative to the development of aircraft designed exclusively for tactical photographic missions such as the McDonnell Douglas RF-4C Phantom II, which was retired in 1995. In 2004 in Iraq, the U.S.

The U.S. Air Force Lockheed U-2 reconnaissance aircraft made its first flight in August 1955. (U.S. Air Force)

Air Force deployed the Theater Airborne Reconnaissance System (TARS) pods on Fighting Falcon aircraft supporting ongoing military operations over Iraq. TARS is an under-the-weather system housed in a pod that is attached to the center line underneath the aircraft. The system includes digital cameras that eliminate the need for film processing and that speed the process between taking the pictures and analyzing them. A recorder housed in the pod can store more than 12,000 images.

The Grumman F-14 Tomcat entered service with the U.S. Navy in 1974 and was retired in 2006. The aircraft was powered by two Pratt and Whitney TF-30P-414A jet engines that provided a maximum speed of more than 1,500 miles per hour and a maximum range of 1,600 miles. The U.S. Navy first employed the Grumman TARPS on F-14 aircraft in 1981 as a replacement for its fleet of North American RA-5C Vigilante and Chance-Vought RF-8G Crusader dedicated reconnaissance aircraft.

Select Navy F-14 Tomcats (some F-14A and F-14B as well as all F-14D models), often known as "Peeping Toms," were wired to carry TARPS. F-14s employed TARPS in tactical photographic reconnaissance missions over Iraq. TARPS, a 17-foot, 1,850-pound pod, houses three sensors including a KS-87 frame camera, a KA-99 low-altitude panoramic camera, and an AAD-5 infrared sensor. During Operation DESERT STORM, F-14s carrying TARPS flew from the aircraft carriers *Ranger, John F. Kennedy,* and *Theodore Roosevelt.*

The U.S. Navy introduced the F/A-18 Hornet to service in 1983. The aircraft are powered by twin General Electric F404-GE-402 engines and have a maximum speed of more than 1,100 miles per hour and a maximum range in excess of 2,000 miles without armament. During Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, the navy flew F/A-18s carrying the SHARP. The SHARP system, developed by Raytheon and mounted in a pod underneath the aircraft, houses medium- and high-altitude cameras. The pods are capable of transmitting real-time images directly from the aircraft to a monitoring station. Although designed primarily for the F/A-18 E and F models, the pod can be attached to other aircraft.

The Lockheed U-2 Dragon Lady, perhaps the most famous of the American reconnaissance aircraft ever developed, flew for the first time in 1955, and variations of the aircraft are still flying in the early 21st century. After 1994, the U.S. Air Force initiated an extensive modernization program for the U-2 series, resulting in the current designation of U2-S. The U-2 carries a single General Electric F-118-101 engine and has a reported speed of greater than 400 miles per hour and a range in excess of 7,000 miles. The aircraft provides photographic reconnaissance from very high altitudes. The Dragon Lady has seen service with the air force in Operation DESERT STORM, Operations NORTHERN WATCH and SOUTHERN WATCH, Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, and Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

The Boeing RC-135 Rivet Joint, a modification of the C-135 airframe, entered service with the U.S. Air Force in 1964. The aircraft

are powered by four CFM International F108-CF-201 engines and have a maximum range of 3,900 miles. RC-135s carry 21 to 27 crewmen and are designed to conduct ELINT and communications intelligence (COMINT) reconnaissance. The aircraft can provide extensive near real-time reconnaissance data to ground commanders in these two areas. The air force has employed these aircraft extensively during Middle East conflicts especially against Iraq, which had better-developed communications and other electronics-based systems than the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan.

The U.S. Navy's Lockheed Martin EP-3 Aries II (Airborne Reconnaissance Integrated Electronics System) aircraft are based on the airframe developed for the P-3 Orion. Powered by four Allison T-56-A-14 turboprop engines, the EP-3 has a range of 3,000 miles. Although similar in mission to the U.S. Air Force's RC-135 Rivet Joint, the latter has a higher ceiling and can thus provide greater coverage with its sensors. Like its air force counterpart, the EP-3 has seen extensive service in the Middle East but especially against Iraq in Operation DESERT STORM, Operations NORTHERN WATCH and SOUTHERN WATCH, and Operation IRAQI FREEDOM due to the greater amount of electronics signals for collection compared to Afghanistan.

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See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Electronic Warfare; Aircraft, Fighters; Aircraft, Tankers; Aircraft, Transport; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; No-Fly Zones; United States Air Force, Afghanistan War; United States Air Force, Iraq War; United States Air Force, Persian Gulf War; United States Navy, Afghanistan War; United States Navy, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Aircraft, Reconnaissance

Manned aircraft have proven to be some of the best platforms for reconnaissance gathering because of their ability to peer into, or fly across, international borders. Reconnaissance aircraft are capable of carrying a variety of cameras, as well as sensors that can locate and record electronic emissions from various communications and intelligence sources. This essay concentrates on manned aircraft employed in strategic photographic reconnaissance, tactical photographic reconnaissance, electronics intelligence (ELINT), and communications intelligence (COMINT) gathering roles.

Tactical photographic reconnaissance aircraft normally fly at low altitudes directly over their target areas while strategic photographic reconnaissance aircraft tend to operate from very high altitudes and often utilize oblique-angle cameras. The exact number of reconnaissance aircraft flown by a particular country often varies due to rotations in and out of the theater, and to stages of the conflict. Another problem in determining the number of aircraft arises after the 1991 Persian Gulf War, when most countries converted from aircraft designated specifically as reconnaissance platforms to reconnaissance pods that can be added to many aircraft in a particular series. Thus, many of the American Grumman F-14 Tomcats were capable of carrying a reconnaissance pod prior to the retirement of the F-14, but it may never be fully known how many reconnaissance pods were available to the various squadrons that flew the plane in combat at specific times.

Persian Gulf War

U.S. Air Force

The U.S. Air Force dispatched 24 of its McDonnell Douglas RF-4C Phantom II tactical photographic reconnaissance aircraft to the Middle East for the Persian Gulf War. Eighteen were based in Saudi Arabia and six in Turkey. The two-seat RF-4C Phantom II served as the primary tactical photographic reconnaissance aircraft of the air force since its introduction into the Vietnam War in the autumn of 1965. A modification of the famous F-4 series of aircraft, the RF-4C boasted two General Electric J79 turbojet engines that provided the plane with a maximum speed of more than 1,500 miles per hour (mph) and a range of more than 1,600 miles with external fuel tanks. A total of 503 RF-4Cs were produced by McDonnell Douglas. The first models entered service with the air force in September 1964 and deployed to Vietnam a year later. The 1991 Persian Gulf War was the last military engagement in which the air force employed its RF-4C workhorse. The RF-4C carried photographic equipment in three stations within the nose of the aircraft. One station housed a forward oblique or vertical camera. A low-altitude station could carry one of several different cameras designed specifically for taking photographs as the aircraft flew by quickly just above the treetops. A high-altitude station could be utilized for specialty cameras with optics and film designed to record targets as the aircraft flew out of range of most antiaircraft weaponry.

RF-4Cs employed optical and infrared film-based sensors during the Persian Gulf War. RF-4Cs were too few in number, did not adequately meet the tactical photographic needs of the U.S. military, and required armed escorts during the Persian Gulf War. Photographs taken by the aircraft required the pilot to return to base for the film to be processed, resulting in a time lag before commanders could evaluate them. The 192nd Reconnaissance Squadron of the Nevada Air National Guard claims the distinction of flying the RF-4C in its last combat actions, including photographing the extent of the oil fires set by the Iraqis in Kuwait. The air force retired the RF-4C, its last aircraft designed specifically for tactical photographic reconnaissance, in October 1995.

The U.S. Air Force Lockheed U-2R/TR-1 tactical reconnaissance aircraft in flight. (U.S. Department of Defense)

The air force also employed the Lockheed U-2 Dragon Lady, perhaps the most famous of the American reconnaissance aircraft ever developed, for high-level reconnaissance missions prior to and during the Persian Gulf War. The U-2 flew for the first time in 1955, and variations of the aircraft are still flying in the early 21st century. A U-2 carries a single General Electric F-118-101 engine and has a reported speed of more than 400 mph and a range of more than 7,000 miles. The aircraft provides photographic reconnaissance from very high altitudes and is often known as a strategic, rather than tactical, asset.

The air force also utilized the TR-1, a tactical version of the U-2, during the Persian Gulf War. The TR-1 first flew in August 1981 and carried a reconnaissance pod under each wing, permitting it to conduct standoff tactical missions. Winter cloud cover reduced the effectiveness of the TR-1 during many Gulf War photographic missions, however, causing the air force to rely heavily on the already overtaxed RF-4C aircraft. Six U-2 and six TR-1 aircraft supported the American effort, making the Persian Gulf War the largest U-2 operation conducted by the United States.

The Boeing RC-135 Rivet Joint provided the air force with an ELINT and COMINT collection asset during the Persian Gulf War. The RC-135, a modification of the C-135 airframe, entered service with the air force in 1964. The aircraft is powered by four CFM International F108-CF-201 engines and has a maximum range of 3,900 miles. RC-135s carry a crew ranging from 21 to 27 in number and can collect extensive near real-time reconnaissance data for ground commanders. Prior to the opening of the air campaign, coalition fighters frequently flew directly toward Kuwaiti airspace before diverting. This procedure permitted RC-135 aircraft to gather intelligence on the electronic signals emitted by Iraqi radar systems along the border. Four RC-135 aircraft flew missions during the war.

Two Grumman E-8 Joint Surveillance Target Attack Radar System (JSTARS or Joint STARS) aircraft participated in the Persian Gulf War, although the system was still in the developmental stages and would not officially enter the air force inventory until 1996. JSTARS provided allied commanders with an airborne command and control system that produced "real time" images of targets on the ground, unlike "wet film" photographic reconnaissance planes such as the RF-4C and the European Tornado, which had to return to base for film development and delivery.

U.S. Navy

The U.S. Navy employed two reconnaissance aircraft during the Persian Gulf War. The first was the Lockheed Martin EP-3 Aries II. The navy's EP-3 Aries (Airborne Reconnaissance Integrated

Electronics System) aircraft is designed around the airframe developed for the P-3 Orion. Powered by four Allison T-56-A-14 turboprop engines, the EP-3 has a range of 3,000 miles. Although performing a similar ELINT mission as the U.S. Air Force's RC-135 Rivet Joint, the latter has a higher altitude ceiling and can, thus, provide greater coverage with its sensors.

The U.S. Navy also employed tactical reconnaissance pods on some of its Grumman F-14 Tomcat aircraft. The F-14 Tomcat entered service with the navy in 1974 and was retired in 2006. Grumman produced 583 F-14As between 1974 and 1988, and 55 F-14Ds for the navy from 1988 to 1992. The aircraft carried two Pratt and Whitney TF-30P-414A jet engines that provided the Tomcat with a maximum speed of more than 1,500 mph and a maximum range of 1,600 miles. The navy first employed the Grumman Tactical Reconnaissance Pod System (TARPS) on F-14 aircraft in 1981 as a replacement for its fleet of North American RA-5C Vigilante and Chance-Vought RF-8G Crusader dedicated reconnaissance aircraft.

Select navy F-14 Tomcats (some F-14A and B as well as all F-14D models), often known as "Peeping Toms," were wired to carry the TARPS pods. F-14s employed TARPS in tactical photographic reconnaissance missions over Iraq. TARPS, a 17-foot-long, 1,850-pound pod, houses three sensors, including a KS-87 frame camera, a KA-99 low-altitude panoramic camera, and an AAD-5 infrared sensor. During Operation DESERT STORM, F-14s carrying TARPS flew from the aircraft carriers *Ranger, John F. Kennedy,* and *Theodore Roosevelt.*

U.S. Marines

The U.S. Marine Corps faced a shortage of internal tactical reconnaissance aircraft during the Persian Gulf War. The marines still retained a few of their McDonnell Douglas RF-4B Phantom II tactical photographic reconnaissance aircraft (equivalent to the air force RF-4C aircraft). These aircraft were being phased out of service because of budget constraints and plans to acquire a newly designed reconnaissance pod for the McDonnell Douglas (now Boeing) F/A-18 Hornet aircraft. The marine corps finally made the decision not to deploy its remaining RF-4Bs due to concerns that they lacked sufficient spare-parts stocks and equipment to sustain the planes during combat operations. At the same time, the new F/A-18 reconnaissance pods were not ready for full production and acquisition. The combination of these two issues forced the marines to rely on other services for tactical reconnaissance assets.

Coalition

United Kingdom. The Royal Air Force (RAF) deployed six Panavia Tornado GR1A photographic reconnaissance aircraft to Saudi Arabia after the commencement of the Persian Gulf War air campaign in January 1991. The Tornado, built by a consortium from the United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy, carries two Turbo-Union RB199-34R Mark 103 afterburning turbofan jet engines that provide enough power for the aircraft to reach a maximum speed of 1,700 mph. The Tornado's maximum combat range is 870 miles. The RAF flew the Tornado GR1A aircraft for low-level tactical reconnaissance missions, including attempts to locate Scud missiles in western Iraq. On at least one of the latter night missions, Tornado reconnaissance aircraft captured photographs of Iraqi Scud missile sites, but delays related to returning to their bases, developing and processing the film, and delivering the intelligence permitted the Iraqis to move their missiles before coalition strike aircraft could arrive.

The RAF also deployed Sepecat Jaguar GR1A aircraft to Saudi Arabia for tactical reconnaissance missions. The Jaguar, introduced in 1973 and retired by the RAF in 2007, was powered by two Rolls-Royce/Turbomeca Adour Mark 102 turbofan jet engines. The aircraft could reach a maximum speed of 1,200 mph and a combat range of 335 miles. A total of 12 Jaguar aircraft of all variants flew missions during the Persian Gulf War.

The Royal Navy dispatched three BAe Systems Nimrod MR1 maritime patrol and reconnaissance aircraft to Oman during the Persian Gulf War. The aircraft patrolled the Persian Gulf and Gulf of Oman. The Nimrod, originally built by Hawker Siddeley, made its maiden flight in 1967. The MR1 was powered by four Rolls-Royce Spey turbofan jet engines with a maximum speed of approximately 530 mph and a range of up to 5,700 miles.

France. The French Armée de l'Air assets deployed to the Persian Gulf War included two aircraft models modified for tactical reconnaissance. France sent a small number of Jaguar aircraft to the theater in late 1990. While the majority of the 14 French Jaguar aircraft were strike planes, a couple of them were capable of conducting tactical reconnaissance missions similar to those of the RAF's GR1A models. On January 26, 1991, France introduced the Dassault Mirage F-1CR to the Persian Gulf War. The F-1CR is the reconnaissance version of the Dassault Mirage F-1 fighter introduced into the Armée de l'Air in 1973. Although Dassault designed many of its Mirage F-1 variants to carry external reconnaissance pods, the Armée de l'Air ordered a model specifically designed for the role with internal bays for the equipment. France flew 16 Mirage F-1s of all variants during the Persian Gulf War.

As a Mirage F-1 variant, each F-1CR carried a SNECMA Atar 9K-50 afterburning turbojet engine capable of reaching a maximum speed of 1,750 mph. The F-1CR flew at a combat range of 265 miles. The allies later grounded the French Mirage F-1CR aircraft, along with the Mirage F-1s, to avoid any possible confusion of these planes with Iraqi-operated Mirage F-1s.

Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia contributed to the coalition's tactical photographic reconnaissance missions with its 10 Northrop RF-5C Tigereye aircraft. Saudi Arabia is one of only two countries to have purchased the Tigereye, a modified version of the standard F-5 Freedom Fighter and Tiger II aircraft. Northrop first tested the F-5 in 1959, and it entered military service in 1962. Northrop envisioned the F-5 as a relatively inexpensive light fighter that could compete with and defeat larger Soviet-built aircraft of the Cold War. The RF-5C Tigereye aircraft is the reconnaissance version of the F-5E Tiger II, an improved variant of the F-5. Northrop elongated the nose of the aircraft to add space for camera equipment,

which replaced the radar unit and one cannon. The RF-5C is powered by two General Electric J85-GE-21B turbojet engines with a maximum speed of 1,200 mph and a range of 870 miles.

United Arab Emirates. The United Arab Emirates (UAE) acquired eight Dassault Mirage 2000RAD tactical reconnaissance aircraft in 1989. The Mirage 2000RAD is an export reconnaissance variant flown only by the UAE and does not carry any internal camera bays, but instead carries reconnaissance pods, including the Thales SLAR 2000 radar pod, Dassault COR2 multicamera pod, and the Dassault AA-3-38 HAROLD telescopic long-range optical camera pod.

Australia. Australia dispatched a small contingent of air force photographic interpreters to Saudi Arabia to assist the coalition, but did not deploy any reconnaissance aircraft.

Iraq

The 1990 tactical photographic reconnaissance assets of the Iraqi Air force included five Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-21RF Fishbeds and seven Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-25RB Foxbats, as well as Dassault Mirage F-1EQs capable of carrying external reconnaissance pods. The Soviet Union officially fielded the MiG-21 with its air force in 1959 after four years of testing. More than 50 countries have acquired the MiG-21, and the plane is still being upgraded into new variants for continued service. The MiG-21RF, flown by the Iraqi Air Force and known in the West by the North American Treaty Organization (NATO) designation Fishbed-J, is the reconnaissance version of the MiG-21MF, an export variant of the Soviet/Russian-built aircraft. The MiG-21RF is powered by a Tumansky R-13-300 turbojet engine and contains internal bays for photographic and sensor equipment. All five of the Iraqi MiG-21RFs were no longer in service with the air force after the 1991 Persian Gulf War, and were either shot down by coalition aircraft or interned by Iran.

The Soviet Union introduced the MiG-25 in 1964 primarily as a high-altitude interceptor and reconnaissance aircraft. Iraq purchased both versions of this aircraft for its air force in 1979. The MiG-25 is a single-seat aircraft capable of reaching speeds of more than 2,200 mph utilizing its two Tumansky R-15B-300 afterburning turbojet engines, although pilots were warned not to exceed speeds of more than 1,900 mph. At the opening of the Persian Gulf War, the Iraqis possessed seven of the MiG-25RB reconnaissance aircraft, known in the West by the NATO designation Foxbat-B. Iraq lost two MiG-25RBs during the Persian Gulf War to either coalition aircraft or internment in Iran. Coalition fighters shot down two MiG-25s during the war, but it is not clear whether these were fighter or reconnaissance versions of the aircraft because they are nearly identical in appearance, differing only in the small openings for camera equipment in the reconnaissance plane.

Iraq had also purchased more than 60 of the French-manufactured Dassault Mirage F-1EQ aircraft in air defense and antishipping variations. The F-1EQs, a specially designated export version of the Mirage F-1 earmarked for Iraq, were capable of carrying an external tactical reconnaissance pod permitting any of the aircraft to become a reconnaissance asset when flown by a pilot trained in the operation of the pod.

Operations NORTHERN WATCH and SOUTHERN WATCH

U.S. Air Force

Following the conclusion of Operation DESERT STORM, the U.S. Air Force maintained an air presence over Iraq in support of Operations NORTHERN WATCH and SOUTHERN WATCH, which sought to enforce the United Nations (UN)–mandated northern and southern no-fly zones over Iraq. Manned tactical aircraft variants developed exclusively for photographic reconnaissance were not utilized in these missions over the no-fly zones. The McDonnell Douglas RF-4C Phantom II aircraft employed during the Persian Gulf War were retired in 1995. The air force received its first reconnaissance pods for the General Dynamics F-16 Fighting Falcon aircraft as it phased out its last planes designated exclusively for low-altitude tactical photographic reconnaissance directly over the battlefield. The air force continued to fly the Boeing RC-135 Rivet Joint in the ELINT reconnaissance role, as well as the Lockheed U-2 Dragon Lady in the high-altitude photographic reconnaissance role. Some of the U-2 aircraft flown during this period carried the TR-1 nomenclature prior to 1992. After 1992 and the addition of a new engine, all U-2 and TR-1 aircraft were redesignated as U-2R, and later U-2S, aircraft. These planes frequently photographed their targets using oblique-angle cameras, even at lower altitudes.

U.S. Navy

The U.S. Navy continued to fly Grumman F-14 Tomcat aircraft with TARPS reconnaissance pods, as well as the Lockheed Martin EP-3 Aries II, for ELINT gathering during operations NORTHERN WATCH and SOUTHERN WATCH.

Coalition

United Kingdom. The United Kingdom flew aircraft in support of both Operation NORTHERN WATCH and Operation SOUTHERN WATCH. RAF assets with the former were based in Incirlik, Turkey, and included four Sepecat Jaguar GR3 tactical reconnaissance aircraft, which were upgrades of the GR1s flown during the Persian Gulf War. In Operation SOUTHERN WATCH, the RAF contribution included eight Panavia Tornado GR1 aircraft based in Kuwait and capable of carrying reconnaissance pods.

Turkey. The Turkish Air Force participated in Operation NORTHERN WATCH and provided basing for the United States and the United Kingdom. Turkish tactical photographic reconnaissance assets during this period included approximately 32 McDonnell Douglas RF-4E Phantom IIs, a reconnaissance variant of the RF-4E.

Iraq

Iraqi Air Force tactical reconnaissance assets included the five Mikoyan-Gurevich Mig-25RB Foxbats that survived the Persian Gulf War. These aircraft did not attempt any tactical reconnaissance missions against allied bases outside of Iraq.

A British Royal Air Force Jaguar during a mission supporting Operation NORTHERN WATCH, 2000. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Operation ENDURING FREEDOM

U.S. Air Force

For this conflict, the U.S. Air Force relied on the U-2 for manned photographic reconnaissance and the RC-135 in the ELINT role. U-2s supporting Operation ENDURING FREEDOM flew from the UAE, where one crashed while returning from a reconnaissance mission over Afghanistan in 2005. The number of these aircraft varied as planes rotated in and out of the theater.

U.S. Navy

During Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, the U.S. Navy utilized Grumman F-14 Tomcat aircraft carrying TARPS pods as its primary manned tactical photographic reconnaissance platform and the Lockheed Martin EP-3 Aries II for ELINT missions. The navy did remove the F-14 from its inventory in 2006 due to age and replaced its reconnaissance aircraft with F/A-18 Hornets carrying the Shared Reconnaissance Pod (SHARP).

Coalition

United Kingdom. The English Electric Canberra PR.9 of the RAF proved invaluable during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM until its retirement in 2006. The aircraft, the last RAF plane designated specifically for tactical photographic reconnaissance, flew its missions from Oman with a stopover in Kabul, Afghanistan, before returning to Oman the following day. The last three PR.9s in the British inventory flew this mission until retirement. One Nimrod R.1 ELINT aircraft has supported the allied effort in Afghanistan on a rotational basis. A Nimrod crashed in Afghanistan in September 2006, killing all 14 personnel aboard the plane.

France. France deployed both the Dassault Mirage F-1CR and the Dassault Mirage IV aircraft, both capable of carrying the CT-52 reconnaissance pod, to Afghanistan. The reconnaissance-capable Mirage IV's were retired from French service in 2005, leaving the Mirage F-1CR as that country's only aircraft operating with a tactical photographic reconnaissance pod. The French introduced a new generation reconnaissance pod for the Dassault Mirage 2000N variant, another aircraft that has seen service with France in Afghanistan. Dassault delivered the first planes of the Mirage 2000 series in 1984. The plane is powered by a SNECMA M53-P2 afterburning turbofan engine providing a maximum speed of 1,600 mph and a combat range of 770 miles.

Afghanistan

The Afghan Air Force under the Taliban regime maintained very few airworthy planes, and these were destroyed early during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. The air force did include an unknown

number of Sukhoi SU-20Rs reconnaissance aircraft, which were export versions of the SU-17R. The maiden flight of the SU-17 occurred in 1969. The Soviet-built aircraft underwent many modifications, and the SU-17R reconnaissance version emerged from the SU-17M. The SU-17 carried a single Lyulka AL-21F-3 afterburning turbojet engine that provided sufficient power for the aircraft to reach a maximum speed of 1,300 mph and a combat range of 620 miles. The Soviet Union provided 70 SU-17 aircraft to Afghanistan in 1982, but nearly all were out of commission by 2001. A few of the Afghan SU-17 aircraft were actually SU-20R reconnaissance models. These aircraft had been modified to carry reconnaissance pods rather than mount camera equipment within internal bays.

Operation IRAQI FREEDOM

U.S. Air Force

During Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, the U.S. Air Force deployed the Theater Airborne Reconnaissance System (TARS) pods on F-16 Fighting Falcon aircraft supporting ongoing military operations over Iraq. TARS is an "under the weather" system housed in a pod that is attached to the center line underneath the aircraft. The system includes digital cameras that eliminate the need for film processing and speed the process between taking the pictures and analyzing them. A recorder housed in the pod can store more than 12,000 images. The air force continued to rely on the U-2, and at least two U-2 aircraft supported the 2003 ground campaign of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. In addition, the RC-135 Rivet Joint flew in support of coalition efforts in Iraq.

U.S. Navy

The U.S. Navy introduced the F/A-18 Hornet to service in 1983. The aircraft are powered by twin General Electric F404-GE-402 engines and have a maximum speed of more than 1,100 mph and a maximum range of more than 2,000 miles without armament. During Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, the navy flew F/A-18s carrying the SHARP system. Developed by Raytheon and mounted in a pod underneath the aircraft, the SHARP system houses medium- and high-altitude cameras. The pods are capable of transmitting real-time images directly from the aircraft to a monitoring station. Although designed primarily for the F/A-18 E and F models, the pod can be attached to other aircraft. The navy also flew the P-3 Orion in support of the coalition in Iraq.

U.S. Marines

The U.S. Marine Corps added the Advanced Tactical Airborne Reconnaissance System (ATARS) to some of its F/A-18D aircraft beginning in 1999, making them the long-awaited replacements for the RF-4Bs, retired in 1990. Each of the six F/A-18D squadrons has three aircraft modified for ATARS, located in the nose of the plane in lieu of a 20-mm cannon, and its accompanying reconnaissance pod. These were employed during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

Coalition

United Kingdom. The RAF flew at least one of its three Canberra PR.9s as well as six Tornado GR4As during tactical reconnaissance missions over Iraq. The latter aircraft is an upgrade of the GR1A utilized during the Persian Gulf War and can carry the Tornado Infra-Red Reconnaissance System (TIRRS). Other British assets have included one Nimrod R.1 and three Nimrod MR2 aircraft.

Australia. Australia provided two Lockheed AP-3 Orions for maritime reconnaissance during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, but reduced the number to one after May 2003. The AP-3 is an Orion specifically modified to meet the ELINT reconnaissance requirements of Australia.

Iraq

In 2003 the Iraqi Air Force included the five Mikoyan-Gurevich Mig-25RB Foxbats that had survived the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Iraq did not fly any reconnaissance sorties against the coalition forces following the March 2003 invasion. At least two of the Mig-25RB aircraft were discovered buried in sand to hide them from allied troops.

TERRY M. MAYS

See also

Airborne Warning and Control System; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Forces; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, U.S. Air Campaign; NORTHERN WATCH, Operation; Reconnaissance Satellites; SOUTHERN WATCH, Operation; United Kingdom, Air Force, Iraq War; United Kingdom, Air Force, Persian Gulf War; United States Air Force, Afghanistan War; United States Air Force, Iraq War; United States Air Force, Persian Gulf War

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Aircraft, Suppression of Enemy Air Defense

The advent of integrated air defenses (IADs) involving a vast array of surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) and antiaircraft artillery has made suppressing an enemy's air defenses a critical component of any bombing campaign, particularly during the opening phases. The basic principle is that integrating fighter-interceptors, SAMs, and antiaircraft artillery provides defense in-depth and enables the air defense commander to employ his force components to comparative advantage. Fighters either engage incoming enemy aircraft beyond the range of SAMs or, if the enemy's fighters are more numerous, behind the SAMs to intercept targets of opportunity. The SAMs provide general area defense, primarily against high- and medium-altitude aircraft. Antiaircraft artillery is then employed for close-in and point defense to attack low-altitude enemy bombers flying along predicted routes or those diving to lower altitudes to escape SAM intercepts.

Theoretically, an integrated air defense forces the attacking aircraft to maneuver and evade nearly the entire time they are over enemy territory. During the Vietnam War, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV, North Vietnam) IAD system inflicted heavy losses on U.S. fighter-bombers operating over North Vietnam, while Egypt's IAD nearly halted Israeli air operations during the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War in 1973. In both cases, the IADs inflicted such losses that Suppression of Enemy Air Defense (SEAD) missions now constitute nearly 30 percent of the sorties launched during an air campaign's first week and 5–10 percent of those employed throughout the campaign. They also gave rise to a class of aircraft and weapons specifically designed to suppress enemy air defenses.

There are two methods of suppressing enemy air defenses. One is through electronic warfare, often called the soft-kill option. Electronic warfare consists of jamming and deception of enemy communications networks and radars. The other means is the physical destruction or damage (i.e., hard kill) of those enemy systems. Aircraft engaged in hard-kill missions are known as SEAD aircraft. Typically, they are modified fighter or attack aircraft that have had their air intercept or bombing systems replaced by an onboard electronic sensor and targeting system that can detect, identify, and locate an enemy threat radar. In some cases, the aircraft simply carry wing pods with that capability. SEAD aircraft also carry antiradiation missiles (ARMs) designed to home in

An F-16C Fighting Falcon "Wild Weasel" aircraft, top left, and two F-4G Phantom II "Wild Weasel" aircraft from the U.S. Air Force 81st Tactical Fighter Squadron, 52nd Tactical Fighter Wing. The Fighting Falcon is armed with AIM-9 Sidewinder missiles and the lead Phantom II with an AGM-88 high-speed antiradiation missile (HARM). (U.S. Department of Defense)

on enemy radar emissions and fly down the beam to destroy the antenna and any nearby supporting equipment.

The U.S. F-4G Wild Weasel was the first SEAD aircraft known to enter combat service in the Middle East. Based on the McDonnell Douglas F-4C Phantom II, it entered service in 1966. It carried the AN/ALQ-131 and AN/ALQ-184 electronic warfare pods as well as four AGM-88 high-speed antiradiation missiles (HARMs) or AGM-65 Maverick missiles. The first variants were supplied to Israel in 1973 and saw extensive service in the closing days of the Yom Kippur War. U.S. Air Force F-4Gs were employed in every phase of Operations DESERT STORM, NORTHERN WATCH, and SOUTHERN WATCH. They were replaced by the Lockheed Martin F-16CJ beginning in 1988 and were retired from active service in 1995.

Derived from the Block 50 F-16C that entered production in 1994, the F-16CJ is a single-seat supersonic single-engine fighter that can carry the HARM targeting system in a wing pod and up to two HARM missiles. It first saw combat in Operations NORTHERN WATCH, SOUTHERN WATCH, and IRAQI FREEDOM. The U.S. Air Force retained two operational and one training squadron, each with 24 aircraft, in service through 2008.

The U.S. Navy modified its McDonnell Douglas (now Boeing) F/A-18 Hornet fighter, Grumman Aerospace A-6E Intruder attack, and EA-6B electronic warfare aircraft to carry the required targeting systems in wing pods and two AGM-65 Shrike (before 1985) or AGM-88 HARM (1985 onward) missiles. All three aircraft were employed in the SEAD role during Operations DESERT STORM and SOUTHERN WATCH, but the A-6Es were retired from service just after Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (2001). The navy's SEAD missions are now conducted either by F/A-18 or EA-6B aircraft. The aircraft operate in pairs with the hunter guiding the killer onto the target. The AF-18 will include SEAD missions among its capabilities once it enters service beginning in 2010. Once the EA-6B is retired, all U.S. SEAD-capable aircraft will be supersonic.

America's NATO allies also have SEAD aircraft and employed them during Operation DESERT STORM. The Royal Air Force used Panavia Tornado GR4s carrying four ALARM antiradiation missiles, while the Italian Air Force employed the Tornado ECR. The Tornado is a family of twin-engine aircraft jointly developed by the United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy. The Royal Air Force's GR4 is a modification of the reconnaissance variant of the Tornado in which electronic targeting pods replace the normal reconnaissance systems. The two-man crew consists of a pilot and sensor systems operator. The Royal Air Force acquired 30 GR4s, some of which are upgraded GR1s. The Italian Tornado ECR is unique in that it is the only European aircraft specifically designed for the SEAD mission. First entering service in 1990, it is equipped with an emitter-locator sensor system and can carry up to four AGM-88 HARMs. Italy employed 4 ECRs in DESERT STORM and acquired a total of 16.

Not all SEAD missions require aircraft specifically designed to attack enemy air defense systems. During Operations DESERT STORM and IRAQI FREEDOM, the United States employed Apache helicopters firing Hellfire missiles to take out Iraqi radars located along that country's border. Cluster bombs were also employed against Iraqi air defense systems. More recently, during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM U.S. Air Force and U.S. Navy attack aircraft employed the electro-optically guided GBU-15 bombs, laser-guided Paveway bombs, and the AGM-154 joint standoff weapons against air defense positions. Both weapons are accurate and provide the standoff distance required to ensure the attacking aircraft's survival.

As an air campaign progresses, SEAD aircraft increasingly are used in direct support of specific strikes or conduct area denial missions to attack any remaining air defense systems. Typically, if the air campaign's early SEAD operations are successful, mobile air defense systems are all that remain after the air campaign's first week.

A nation's ability to suppress enemy air defenses can spell the difference between success and failure in an air warfare operation or campaign. However, more often SEAD effectiveness determines the attackers' combat loss rate and bomber effectiveness. Even if the air defenses do not down many attacking aircraft, the need to evade engaging missiles and artillery and dedicate aircraft to SEAD missions reduces the number and accuracy of the weapons delivered on target. Thus, suppressing enemy air defenses probably will remain a critical mission for some time to come. The development of microminiaturization and high-speed and high-capacity computer systems suggests that future SEAD missions will involve fighter, attack, or electronic warfare aircraft equipped with plug-in or pod systems and standoff weapons. Barring the development of an air defense system requiring highly detailed and unique technologies to be defeated, the days of specialized SEAD aircraft may be at an end.

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See also

Aircraft, Attack; Aircraft, Electronic Warfare; Aircraft, Fighters; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; NORTHERN WATCH, Operation; SOUTHERN WATCH, Operation

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Aircraft, Tankers

Tankers are aircraft with the sole function of refueling other aircraft in midair. Aerial refueling extends the range or time on

A U.S. Air Force 401st Tactical Fighter Wing F-16C Fighting Falcon aircraft refuels from a KC-135 Stratotanker aircraft as another F-16 stands by during Operation DESERT STORM. (U.S. Department of Defense)

station of other aircraft and allows them to take off with a larger payload than would normally be possible. Two methods are employed for aerial refueling. In the first, the tanker aircraft's tail-mounted boom is guided into a receptacle on the receiver aircraft. In the other, the tanker aircraft trails a basketlike drogue on the end of a hose, and the receiver aircraft guides a probe into the drogue. Both methods are complex and require considerable training to execute safely.

Middle Eastern air forces have not purchased significant numbers of tankers because they are based sufficiently close to their opponents that they usually do not need this capability. The principal role of tankers in the Middle East wars has in fact been to support U.S. intervention. Refueling has enabled the United States to fly cargo and troops into the region, to ferry short-range aircraft from the United States to theater bases, and to conduct combat operations with bombers and tactical aircraft.

Numerous U.S. tankers have been employed in the Middle East wars. The Boeing KC-97 Stratotanker is a U.S. Air Force four-engine propeller-powered KC-97 used in the 1950s and 1960s. Israel operated nine KC-97s from 1965 to 1978. The KC-97 provided up to 60,000 pounds of fuel via a boom. It had a cruise speed of 483 miles per hour (mph), a ceiling of 30,200 feet, and a range of 4,300 miles.

Boeing converted a number of 707 transports into KC-707 tankers for foreign customers. During 1983–1999 Israel obtained five Boeing 707-320 aircraft and converted them to KC-707 tankers. Saudi Arabia bought eight KC-707 tankers from 1983 to 1998. Saudi tankers, sometimes designated KE-3, resemble the E-3 AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System) aircraft but without rotodome or surveillance equipment. Iran has four KC-707-3J9C tankers, obtained in 1974. The KC-707 has four turbofans and can transfer 123,190 pounds of fuel via centerline boom and wing-mounted drogue pods simultaneously. Cruise speed is 550 mph, ceiling is 39,000 feet, and range is 5,755 miles.

Boeing modified three 747-100 aircraft as prototypes for the U.S. Air Force LC-747. Iran purchased them in 1975 and still operates them. They can transfer 330,000 pounds of fuel through a boom as well as carry cargo. They have four turbofans. Cruise speed is 565 mph, ceiling is 45,000 feet, and range is 6,333 miles.

Lockheed KC-130H

The Lockheed KC-130H is a variant of the C-130 Hercules transport that refuels fixed-wing aircraft or helicopters via two wing-mounted drogue pods. It has four turboprops. Fuel capacity is 86,000 pounds. Israel has operated 2 since 1976. Saudi Arabia has operated 8 since 1973. The U.S. Marine Corps employed 20 in

Operation DESERT STORM in 1991 and 22 in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in 2003. They have a cruise speed of 362 mph, a ceiling of 30,000 feet, and a range of 1,150 miles.

The Boeing KC-135 Stratotanker replaced the KC-97 and took its name. Boeing's 367-80 design was the prototype for the KC-135 and the 707 commercial jetliner. The KC-135 thus superficially resembles the 707. Boeing built 732 KC-135 from 1956 to 1965, and 530 remain in service. The KC-135 has four turbofans and transfers up to 200,000 pounds of fuel via boom or drogue. Cruise speed is 530 mph, ceiling is 50,000 feet, and range is 3,450 miles.

In 1981 the U.S. Air Force began procuring the McDonnell Douglas KC-10 Extender, derived from the DC-10 passenger jetliner. Fifty-nine remain in service. The KC-10 can transfer up to 342,000 pounds of fuel via boom or drogue. Fifteen can provide fuel from centerline boom and two wingtip drogue pods simultaneously. All can carry cargo and passengers as well as fuel and can be refueled themselves, extending their time on station. They have three turbofans. Cruise speed is 619 mph, ceiling is 42,000 feet, and range is 4,400 miles.

Tankers are critical to American power projection. In Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, 302 tankers delivered 800 million pounds of fuel, flying 5,000 sorties during the prewar airlift and 17,000 sorties during the 43-day air campaign. In the first three months of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan (2001), 60 tankers flew 13,625 sorties to support strike aircraft that often needed two refuelings each way to complete their missions. In Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (2003), 319 tankers offloaded 450 million pounds of fuel in 9,700 sorties. These operations would have been very different in nature, if they were possible at all, without aerial refueling.

The British operated their own tankers during various Middle East campaigns. The Royal Air Force procured six Lockheed L1011 Tristar tankers from 1985 to 1988. Two are pure tankers, and four can switch between tanker and cargo roles. Tristars have three turbofans. They transfer up to 260,500 pounds of fuel from two hose/drogue units mounted under the rear fuselage, only one of which can be used at a time. Cruise speed is 605 mph, ceiling is 42,000 feet, and range is 5,998 miles.

The Royal Air Force converted 27 Vickers VC10 transports into tankers between 1979 and 1996. Not all were in service simultaneously. The VC10 has four turbofans. Four K.3, 5 K.4, and 11 C.1K models are still in service today. The K.3 and K.4 tankers transfer fuel from three hose/drogue units (one unit in the centerline, two pods under each wing). The C.1K model has two underwing pods only. The C.1K and K.4 models transfer up to 155,000 pounds of fuel, and the K.3 transfers up to 176,000 pounds of fuel. Cruise speed is 580 mph, ceiling is 38,000 feet, and range is 4,720 miles.

British tankers served in Operations DESERT SHIELD, DESERT STORM, ENDURING FREEDOM, and IRAQI FREEDOM. The Royal Air Force intends to replace 20 of its tankers with a tanker based on the Airbus A330-200 airframe, which is a large commercial jetliner.

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See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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Aircraft, Transport

Transport aircraft move personnel, supplies, and weapons when speed is required or when ground or sea transport is impractical. Strategic airlifts use large aircraft to move troops and cargo over intercontinental distances. Tactical airlifts use smaller aircraft to move troops and cargo within a theater of operations. In the Middle East wars, the United States was the primary user of the strategic airlift. Middle Eastern nations tended to employ tactical airlifts.

U.S. Transports

Airlift is essential to U.S. power projection. Thus, in the October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, U.S. transports flew 566 missions to Israel and delivered 22,305 tons of tanks, ammunition, and supplies. From August 1990 to February 1991 during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, U.S. aircraft moved 482,000 troops and 513,000 tons of cargo to Saudi Arabia. From 2001 to 2004 U.S. transports carried 464,239 tons of cargo and passengers to support Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in Iraq and Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan. Many Middle Eastern countries have acquired U.S. transport aircraft since 1945.

The U.S. Air Force operates 150 Boeing C-17 Globemaster III aircraft obtained after 1991. The C-17 carries 170,900 pounds of cargo, 102 paratroops, or an armored fighting vehicle. The C-17 has four turbofan engines. It has a cruising speed of 517 miles per hour (mph), a ceiling of 45,000 feet, and an unfueled range of 2,760 miles.

The four-turbofan Boeing 707-320 carries up to 215 passengers or 63,380 pounds of cargo. It cruises at 605 mph and has a 39,000-foot ceiling and a 5,755-mile range. Israel purchased 29 707-320 airliners beginning in 1973 and converted them to transports, tankers, and intelligence aircraft. Iran operates 14 707-3J9C transports acquired in the 1970s.

Boeing built more than 1,400 four-turbofan 747 Jumbo Jets from 1970 to 2006. They serve many airlines. The 747-100 carries up to 452 passengers or 30 pallets of cargo. Cruising speed is 555 mph at 35,000 feet, with a 6,100-mile maximum range. Iran operates 11 747 transports acquired in the 1970s (3 converted to tankers). Saudi Arabia operates 4 747s for communications and VIP transport.

U.S. Air Force staff sergeant David Pirie, a loadmaster with the 746th Expeditionary Airlift Squadron (EAS), helps prepare a Lockheed C-130J Super Hercules aircraft for takeoff on a mission in Southwest Asia, September 22, 2009. (U.S. Department of Defense)

The U.S. Air Force operates 126 Lockheed C-5 Galaxy aircraft acquired between 1969 and 1989. Each carries 270,000 pounds of cargo, including 73 passengers and a tank or armored fighting vehicle. The C-5 has four turbofan engines, a 500-mph cruising speed, a 41,000-foot ceiling, and a 2,473-mile unrefueled range.

Lockheed built more than 8,000 C-130 Hercules four-turboprop tactical transports in more than 40 variants from 1956 onward. The latest version (C-130J) carries 92 troops, 64 paratroops, 74 litters, or 42,000 pounds of cargo. The C-130J cruising speed is 417 mph, the ceiling is 28,000 feet, and the range with maximum payload is 2,382 miles. During the Persian Gulf War, 145 C-130s operated in-theater, flying 46,500 sorties and moving 209,000 personnel and 300,000 tons of supplies. In Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (2003), 124 C-130s flew 2,203 missions, moving 9,662 people and 12,444 tons of supplies.

Many foreign nations operate the C-130. Britain purchased 66 C-130K (equivalent to the C-130E) in 1966, 30 of which were "stretched" into the C-130H-30 configuration in 1980. Britain ordered 25 C-130J planes in 1994. British Hercules aircraft served in Operations DESERT STORM and DESERT SHIELD in 1990–1991, in Afghanistan (2001 to the present), and in Iraq from 2003 to the present. Today, 44 remain in service.

Israel acquired 13 C-130E and 11 C-130H Hercules from 1971 to 1976. Four C-130H serve as tankers, and two C-130E serve as electronic intelligence aircraft. Egypt purchased 23 C-130H transports and 2 EC-130H electronic intelligence aircraft in 1974 and 3 C-130H-30 transports in 1990. Jordan bought 4 C-130B in 1972. Jordan also purchased 5 C-130H aircraft in 1978 that remain in service.

Iran purchased 20 C-130E and 40 C-130H planes during 1965–1974. Some 15 to 20 remain in service. Saudi Arabia received 54 C-130E/H from 1965 to 1992. Seven C-130E, 29 C-130H, 7 KC-130H, and 5 C-130H-30 planes remain in service. Kuwait bought 2 C-130E planes in 1970, 4 C-130H-30 planes in 1983, and 4 C-130J planes in 2004. C-130E cruising speed is 368 mph, ceiling is 23,000 feet, and range with a 45,000-pound maximum payload is 2,422 miles. The C-130H cruising speed is 374 mph, ceiling is 33,000 feet, and range with a 36,000-pound maximum payload is 2,356 miles.

Civil Reserve Air Fleet

The U.S. government has contracts with U.S. airlines that agree to provide airlift to the Defense Department during emergencies. The Civil Reserve Air Fleet (CRAF) consists of 1,364 aircraft, including the Boeing 707 and 747, Douglas DC-8 and DC-10, and Lockheed L-1011. The CRAF flew two-thirds of the passengers and

one-fourth of the cargo to Saudi Arabia during Operation DESERT SHIELD. The CRAF moved 254,143 troops and 11,050 tons of cargo to Kuwait before Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

The following American-built transports are no longer in U.S. service, but some still operate in Middle Eastern air forces.

The light twin-piston–engine Aero Commander transport first flew in 1948. The 690 model seated 7 to 11 passengers, with a 330-mph maximum speed, a 31,000-foot ceiling, and an 853-mile maximum range. The Iranian Air Force obtained 8 500, 6 680, and 15 690 Commanders in the 1970s. Some 10 690 models remain in service.

Beech produced the C-45 Expeditor, a twin-engine transport, from 1937 to 1970, including 4,000 C-45 models from 1940 to 1945. The Expeditor carried eight passengers and cruised at 185 mph. It has a 21,400-foot ceiling and a 1,530-mile range. Syria used 4 from 1949 to 1974. Iran employed 10 from 1950 to 1972.

The Boeing 377 Stratocruiser is a late 1940s design that served as a civilian airliner, military transport, and tanker (377/C-97/KC-97). Israel purchased five Stratocruisers from Pan Am Airlines in 1962 and converted them to military transports. Some were later converted into tankers. All were retired in 1978. Stratocruisers had four piston engines. They carried 96 troops or 20,000 pounds of cargo. Cruise speed was 300 mph, with a 30,200-foot ceiling and a 4,300-mile range.

Curtiss built 3,182 C-46 Commandos from 1942 to 1945. The C-46 had two piston engines. It carried 50 passengers and had a 173-mph cruising speed, a 24,500-foot ceiling, and a 3,150-mile range. Israel operated 5 from 1948 to 1949. Egypt operated 10 from 1945 to 1957.

Douglas built only five DC-5 airliners. Israel used one in 1948–1949. The DC-5 had two piston engines and carried 22 passengers. It cruised at 202 mph and had a 23,700-foot ceiling and a 1,600-mile range.

Douglas built an astounding 10,123 C-47 Skytrains after 1935. The civilian version is the venerable DC-3. Some remain in service today. The C-47, with two piston engines, carried 28 troops or 6,000 pounds of cargo. Cruising speed was 207 mph, with a 23,200-foot ceiling and a 2,125-mile range. Israel acquired 34 from 1948 to 1960 and retired them in 2001. Egypt operated 20 from 1945 to 1972. Syria used 6 from 1949 into the 1970s. Iran employed 23 from 1948 to 1976. Jordan owned 4 from 1966 to 1977.

Douglas manufactured 1,170 C-54 Skymasters during World War II. The C-54 had four piston engines and carried 50 passengers. It had a 227-mph cruising speed, a 22,300-foot ceiling, and a 2,500-mile range. Israel used 1 from 1948 to 1949. Iran had 6 from 1945 to 1976.

Fairchild produced more than 1,100 twin-engine C-119 Flying Boxcars from 1947 to 1955. The U.S. Air Force used them until 1975. They carried 62 troops or 10,000 pounds of cargo. Cruising speed was 200 mph, with a 30,000-foot ceiling and a 2,000-mile range. Jordan operated four surplus C-119Ks from 1972 to 1974.

Lockheed built only a few hundred Lodestars during World War II. Lodestars had two piston engines and carried 14 passengers. They had a 218-mph maximum speed, a 20,400-foot ceiling, and a 1,800-mile range. Israel employed one in 1948–1949, and Egypt utilized one during 1950–1951.

Lockheed built 846 Constellations from 1943 to 1956. They were quickly superseded by jet airliners in the early 1950s. The Constellation carried 60–100 passengers. They had four turbo-compound engines, a 354-mph cruising speed, a 25,000-foot ceiling, and a 5,400-mile range. Israel employed 3 in 1948 and gave them to El Al, the Israeli airline, in 1951.

The U.S. Air Force procured 284 Lockheed C-141 Starlifters from 1964 to 1982, retiring the last in 2006. The C-141B carried 200 troops, 155 paratroops, 103 litters, or 68,725 pounds of cargo. With four turbofan engines, C-141 cruising speed was 500 mph, ceiling was 41,000 feet, and unrefueled range was 2,500 miles.

Soviet Transports

The Soviets employed their transports to supply the Arab states with weapons, ammunition, and equipment. For example, during the October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, Antonov An-12 and An-22 transports flew 930 sorties to deliver 15,000 tons of military cargo to Egypt and Syria. The Soviets also used airlift extensively during their war in Afghanistan from 1979 to 1989. In the initial invasion, 280 An-12, An-22, and Ilyushin Il-76 transports delivered three Guards Airborne divisions to Kabul. The Soviets also sold many transports to their Middle Eastern clients.

The Soviet Union and Poland built more than 17,000 Antonov An-2 single-engine transports from 1947 to 1992. The An-2 carried 12 passengers or 2,733 pounds of cargo. It had a 115-mph cruising speed, a 14,425-foot ceiling, and a 560-mile range. Egypt operated 10 from 1955 to 1999. Iraq used 20 from 1959 to 1990.

The Soviets produced some 900 Antonov An-12 aircraft between 1957 and 1973. The An-12 somewhat resembled the C-130. With four turboprops, it carried 90 troops or 44,000 pounds of cargo. It had a 342-mph cruising speed, a 33,465-foot ceiling, and a 2,113-mile range. Egypt operated 34 from 1956 to 1997. Syria flew 6 from 1975 to 1991. Iraq utilized 12 from 1962 to 1990, while Jordan flew 3 from 1981 to 1984.

The Antonov An-22 is an enlarged twin-tail An-12. Sixty-five were produced between 1965 and 1976. Some remain in service in Russia. It has four turboprops and carried 180,000 pounds of cargo and 29 passengers. Maximum speed is 460 mph, ceiling is 24,600 feet, and range is 3,100 miles.

The twin-turboprop Antonov An-24 carried 44 troops. Cruise speed was 280 mph, ceiling was 27,560 feet, and range was 342 miles. Egypt operated 3 from 1971 to 1994. Syria flew 5 from 1979 to 1998. Iraq employed 11 from 1969 to 1990.

The twin-turboprop Antonov An-26 carried 40 troops. Cruising speed was 270 mph, ceiling was 26,575 feet, and range was 559 miles. Syria used 6 from 1979 onward. Iraq flew 10 from 1973 to 1990.

A Soviet Antonov An-12 (NATO designation Cub) transport aircraft, photographed in 1985. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Antonov An-74

The Antonov An-74 is a twin-turbofan design that carries 52 passengers or 10 tons of cargo. Capable of short takeoff/landing (STOL) from rough airfields, the An-74 has a cruising speed of 440 mph, a ceiling of 33,136 feet, and a range of 2,980 miles. Iran ordered 10 An-74TK-200 planes in 1997.

The Ilyushin Il-14 is a twin-piston–engine transport that carried 25 passengers. Maximum speed was 259 mph, ceiling was 24,280 feet, and range was 811 miles. Egypt operated 70 from 1955 to 1994. Syria used 16 from 1957 to 1998. Iraq operated 70 from 1958 to 1990. Iran flew 1 from 1950 to 1976.

The Ilyushin Il-18 had four turboprop engines and carried 75 passengers. It cruised at 419 mph, with a 25,250-foot ceiling and 2,299-mile range. Syria operated five from 1972 to 1998.

Still in production, the Ilyushin Il-76 somewhat resembles the U.S. C-141. It has four turbofan engines and carries 88,185 pounds of cargo. Cruising speed is 497 mph, with a 50,850-foot ceiling and a 2,265-mile range. Syria purchased 4 in 1980 and still flies them. Iraq bought 33 from 1978 to 1984, but most were destroyed in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Fifteen escaped from Iraq to Iran during that war, and Iran has operated them since.

The Yakovlev Yak-40 has three turbofans and carried 32 passengers. It cruised at 342 mph, with a 22,965-foot ceiling and a 901-mile range. Syria operated eight from 1976 onward.

The twin-turbofan Tupelov Tu-124 carried 44 passengers. It had a 603-mph maximum speed, 38,285 foot ceiling, and 758-mile range. Iraq operated two from 1965 to 1990.

The twin-turbofan Tupelov Tu-134 somewhat resembled the DC-9. The Tu-134 carried 72 passengers. Cruising speed was 550 mph, with a 39,010-foot ceiling and a 1,174-mile range. Iraq operated two from 1981 to 1990.

The twin-turbofan Tupelov Tu-143B-3 carries 72 passengers. Cruising speed is 550 mph, with a 39,010-foot ceiling and 1,174-mile range. Syria operated five from 1983 onward.

Royal Air Force Transports

During the 1956 Suez Crisis, British paratroops dropped on Port Said in Handley Page Hastings and Vickers Valetta transports. Royal Air Force (RAF) Tristar and VC10 transports supported Operations DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM in 1990–1991. Royal Air Force Tristar, VC10, and four leased C-17 transports operated in Afghanistan and Iraq from 2001 to 2006.

The Royal Air Force operates nine American-built Lockheed L1011 Tristars obtained between 1982 and 1989. Three C.2/2A models are pure cargo aircraft, two K.1 aircraft are tankers, and four KC.1 aircraft can switch between tanker and cargo roles. The C.2/2A transports 266 passengers, and the KC.1 in cargo mode transports 160 passengers or 44 tons of cargo. Tristars have three turbofans. Cruise speed is 605 mph, ceiling is 42,000 feet, and range is 5,998 miles.

The Royal Air Force operated 211 Vickers Valetta C.1, 11 C.2, and 40 T.3 twin-engine transports from 1947 to 1968. Valettas carried 34 troops, 20 paratroops, or 12,050 pounds of cargo. Maximum speed was 258 mph, with a 21,500-foot ceiling and 1,460-mile range.

The Royal Air Force obtained 14 Vickers VC10 C.1 transports during 1966–1968. Thirteen were converted into dual-capable cargo/tanker aircraft during 1992–1996, and 10 remain in service. In cargo mode, they carried 150 passengers or 45,000 pounds of cargo. The VC10 has four turbofans. Maximum speed is 580 mph, ceiling is 38,000 feet, and range is 7,210 miles.

Other Transports

Airspeed, a British company, built only 20 Airspeed Ambassadors, twin-piston–engine transports, in 1947. They carried 47 passengers. Cruising speed was 312 mph, with a 36,089-foot ceiling and 550-mile range. Jordan flew three from 1959 to 1963.

Israel operated two British-built Britten-Norman BN-2A Islander light transports from 1973 to 1994. They had two piston engines, carried nine passengers, cruised at 150 mph, and had a 14,600-foot ceiling and 870-mile range.

Israel purchased six Dornier Do-28D Skyservant twin-piston–engine transports from West Germany in 1975 and retired them in 1997. Skyservants carried 13 passengers or 2,205 pounds of cargo. They cruised at 202 mph, with a 25,195-foot ceiling and 399-mile range.

The Dutch-built Fokker F.27 Friendship twin-turboprop is widely used worldwide. It carries 28 passengers, with a 300-mph cruising speed, 32,600-foot ceiling, and 912-mile range. The Iranian military obtained 19 F.27-400M and 7 F.27-600 models from 1971 to 1983. Ten remain in service.

The Antonov-designed Iran-140 twin-turboprop is built in Iran. It carries 60 passengers or 13,000 pounds of cargo. It has a 328-mph cruising speed, 23,622-foot ceiling, and 1,304-mile range. The Iranian military now operates 45 of them.

The Israeli Air Force operated 10 Israeli Aircraft Industries Aravas from 1973 to 1997. Twin-piston–engine Aravas carried 19 passengers or 5,184 pounds of cargo, cruised at 193 mph, and had a 25,000-foot ceiling and 161-mile range.

Syria acquired seven examples of the Junkers Ju-52, the workhorse German transport of World War II, in 1949, using them until 1953. The Ju-52, with three piston engines, carried 18 troops. It had a 171-mph maximum speed, 19,360-foot ceiling, and 808-mile range.

Israel flew 20 Canadian-built Noorduyn Norsemen in 1948, retiring them in 1950. Powered by a single piston engine, the Norseman carried 8 passengers. It had a 155-mph cruising speed, 17,000-foot ceiling, and 1,150-mile range.

France's Nord Aviation built 425 N.2501 Noratlas transports from 1951 to 1961. Israel bought 24 in 1955 and retired them in 1976. They carried 15,000 pounds of cargo or 45 paratroops. The Noratlas had two piston engines, cruised at 273 mph, and had a 24,605-foot ceiling and 1,864-mile range. During the Suez Crisis, Israeli Noratlas dropped Israeli paratroops in the Sinai, while French Noratlas based in Cyprus dropped French paratroopers on Port Said.

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See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Aircraft, Tankers; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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Aircraft Carriers

Naval airpower has played an important role in the Middle East over the past decades. Although U.S., British, and French aircraft carriers played important roles in the 1956 Suez Crisis, in peacekeeping operations in Lebanon in the 1980s, in U.S. confrontations with Libya, and in Operation SOUTHERN WATCH against Iraq, discussion here is limited to their roles in Operations DESERT SHIELD, DESERT STORM, ENDURING FREEDOM, and IRAQI FREEDOM. All these saw extensive naval involvement, including naval airpower.

French and American aircraft carriers were traditional large-deck or conventional takeoff and landing (CTOL) carriers. That is, these aircraft were launched and recovered (landed on the carrier) by traditional or conventional means (e.g., steam-powered catapults for launch and recovered by using an arresting wire to stop the plane within the flight deck's length). The advantage of the system is that it enables the carrier to handle high-performance aircraft. The disadvantage is that it requires a large and expensive ship to do it. The French CTOL carriers displaced more than

32,000 tons to carry a 40-plane air wing, while U.S. aircraft carriers typically displace 94,000 (*Enterprise* [CVN-65]) to 104,000 tons full load (Nimitz-class) and have an air wing of up to 90 aircraft.

Both nations' CTOL carriers have four propellers and powerful propulsion systems, giving them top speeds exceeding 35 knots. Other allied nations deployed smaller vertical/short-takeoff and landing (V/STOL) carriers, displacing under 30,000 tons, with air wings of under 25 helicopters and lower-performance McDonnell Douglas/BAE/Boeing AV-8 Harrier V/STOL aircraft. Although their striking power was less than that of their CTOL counterparts, the V/STOL carriers were ideally suited for sea control and sanctions-enforcement missions in support of coalition naval operations before and during the outbreak of hostilities.

Two U.S. aircraft carriers, the *Independence* (CV-62) and *Dwight D. Eisenhower* (CVN-69) were within striking range of Iraq when Saddam Hussein's forces invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990. The *Independence* was just south of the Arabian Sea and was the first to arrive in the Gulf of Oman, on August 4. The *Eisenhower* was in the eastern Mediterranean and transited the Suez Canal three days later. The air wing provided by the *Independence* served as the initial air cover for the deployment of coalition forces into the Persian Gulf, but several weeks would pass before it and the *Eisenhower* were joined by other carriers. By then, land-based airpower dominated the emerging anti-Hussein coalition's long-range striking power. Moreover, the U.S. Air Force's prepositioned weapons and equipment stockpiles enabled its units to be fully combat ready within hours of arrival. Coalition land-based aircraft provided the bulk of the coalition's airpower after August 7, 1990.

During Operation DESERT SHIELD, much of the U.S. Navy's air effort focused on maintaining air superiority over the Persian Gulf and supporting coalition sanctions-enforcement operations in those and surrounding waters as well as the Indian Ocean. As preparations for DESERT STORM advanced in late 1990, the navy quickly discovered that its command and control equipment was inadequate for involvement in large-scale air operations. Central Command's Air Tasking Order (ATO) was a comprehensive integrated air plan that incorporated all aspects of air operations, including tanking and cruise missiles. Disseminated daily in time for individual units to plan and prepare their flight operations, it was by necessity a large and complex electronic document. Air force units employed fiber-optic–linked computer systems to prepare and disseminate the ATO to ensure its rapid distribution and assimilation by tactical units. Unfortunately, the navy was still using narrowband command and control systems to support its deployed forces. To put it in a contemporary context, the ATO was transmitted over a high-speed broadband system, while the U.S. Navy employed the operational equivalent to Internet dial-up to receive it. It proved more practical to print out the ATO and deliver it to the aircraft carriers and cruise missile ships by helicopter. This was both a major inconvenience and an embarrassment for the navy.

Nonetheless, naval aircraft played an important role in DESERT STORM's combat operations, taking out coastal targets and air defenses. Most of the carriers operated in the Gulf of Oman, with one forward deployed in the central/western Persian Gulf. Uncertainty about Iranian intentions influenced the carrier operations, particularly after the bulk of the Iraqi Air Force defected to Iran in February 1991. Although Iran never evinced any specific hostile intentions, its continued anti-Western rhetoric and hostility toward the United States led U.S. naval leaders to withhold a portion of their power to counter any potential Iranian threat. For example, the forward carrier dedicated nearly 50 percent of its sorties to fleet air defense, while those in the Gulf of Oman allocated 35 percent of their operations to that role.

The nuclear-powered aircraft carrier USS *Enterprise* (CVN 65) transiting the North Arabian Sea on November 11, 2007, while conducting flight operations with its embarked Carrier Air Wing 1. (U.S. Department of Defense)

At its peak, the U.S. Navy had six aircraft carriers deployed in the Persian Gulf and one supporting the coalition naval units enforcing the United Nations (UN) sanctions against the Hussein regime. At least one unit of every class of U.S. aircraft carrier participated at some point in either DESERT SHIELD or DESERT STORM. The oldest and smallest U.S. Navy carrier in the Persian Gulf War was the conventionally powered *Midway* (CV-41), the lead ship of a three-ship class and one of the two units of that class remaining in active service (the other being the *Coral Sea* [CV-41]). Originally commissioned in September 1945, the *Midway* had been modified extensively over the intervening 47 years, which had raised its displacement to over 70,000 tons, improved its command and control systems, increased the power of its catapults, and enlarged its flight deck. However, the ship had only two catapults, three instead of four elevators, and a much smaller air wing than the

new carriers (60 planes versus 72–79). Its design was based on the lessons of World War II, making it one of the most damage-resistant ships ever built, but it was a difficult ship to move around in, carried less aviation fuel and ordnance than the other aircraft carriers, and was up to five knots slower. The *Midway* originally had been scheduled for decommissioning in 1991, but the war's outbreak extended its active service another year.

Four other classes of aircraft carriers served in DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM, two of which were single-unit classes: the nuclear-powered *Enterprise* (CVN-65) and the conventionally powered *John F. Kennedy* (CV-67). Commissioned on November 25, 1961, the *Enterprise* was America's first nuclear-powered aircraft carrier. Measuring more than 1,123 feet in length overall, it was powered by eight nuclear reactors generating more than 280,000 shaft horsepower. With 4,800 people, its crew complement and air wing were smaller than that of the carriers built since 1976, but the ship is expected to remain in service until 2012–2013.

The *John F. Kennedy* (CV-67) was America's last conventionally powered aircraft carrier (CV). Originally intended to be the navy's second nuclear-powered CV, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara had directed that it be conventionally powered. As a result, the navy initiated its construction as the third Kitty Hawk-class unit but modified the design so extensively during construction that it became a new class of unit and formed the basis for the nuclear-powered Nimitz class that has dominated the U.S. aircraft carrier inventory since the late 1980s. Displacing 82,000 tons full load, the *Kennedy* was commissioned in September 7, 1968, and had a crew of nearly 3,200 sailors and an air wing contingent that numbered nearly 2,500 personnel. Like all conventionally powered carriers, it had eight boilers driving four propellers, but it was the fastest of the conventional carriers, with a top speed exceeding 35 knots when it was new. The ship was decommissioned on August 1, 2007.

The other conventionally powered units that saw service in the Persian Gulf conflicts were the Forrestal and Kitty Hawk classes. The three-unit *James Forrestal* (CV-59) was the first class to follow the Midway-class units, the first carriers designed specifically to handle jet aircraft, and the first American carriers built with the angled flight deck found on all CTOL aircraft carriers. Displacing 81,000 tons full load, it was commissioned on October 1, 1955. The *Forrestal* itself never served in the Persian Gulf during any of the conflicts there, but its sisters ships, the *Saratoga* (CV-60), *Ranger* (CV-61), and *Independence* (CV-62) did. All three units were decommissioned by 1996. The follow-on three-ship Kitty Hawk class was slightly larger, displacing a little over 82,000 tons. All of them—the *Kitty Hawk* (CV-63), *Constellation* (CV-64), and *America* (CV-66)—served in DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM, but only

The British light aircraft carrier *Ark Royal*. Note the 12-degree ski-jump ramp forward to improve take off performance of its Harrier aircraft. (AP/Wide World Photos)

the *Kitty Hawk* participated in Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM. Its sister ships were decommissioned by 1997, and the *Kitty Hawk,* which was commissioned on December 1, 1956, was decommissioned on May 12, 2009.

Commissioned in 1963, the French aircraft carrier *Clemenceau* was the only non-U.S. CTOL carrier involved in DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. However, its participation was limited to sea control and sanctions-enforcement operations in the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea, protecting the transports that delivered French ground forces and delivering some of the army's helicopters to Saudi Arabia. It and its sister ship, the *Foch,* were decommissioned by 2000. The only other allied carrier involved in Operations DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM was the British V/STOL carrier *Ark Royal,* which conducted sanctions-enforcement operations in the eastern Mediterranean. The third of the Invincible-class carriers, it was commissioned in November 1985. It displaced 20,600 tons full load, and its four Rolls Royce Olympus gas turbines produced a top speed of more than 28 knots. Its air wing in 1991 consisted of six AV-8 Harriers and a dozen Westland Sea King helicopters. France did not provide naval assets for Operation ENDURING FREEDOM and did not participate in any capacity during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

The 10 years after DESERT STORM saw the United States decommission many of its older warships. As a result, the U.S. Navy was a much smaller fleet on September 11, 2001, when Al Qaeda conducted its terrorist attacks on the United States. However, the navy was much more technologically advanced. The three aircraft carriers that deployed to the Persian Gulf region for Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM—the *Enterprise* (CVN-65), *John C. Stennis* (CVN-70), and *Theodore Roosevelt* (CVN-71)—constituted the primary strike element of coalition Task Force 50. They conducted long-range strike operations as part of the coalition strategic and operational air campaign.

The bulk of the U.S. Navy aircraft carriers supporting operations in the later wars were the Nimitz-class units. Their larger size enabled them to carry a larger crew (approximately 6,500 personnel total) and slightly larger air wing (90 versus 72) than the older carriers. The *John C. Stennis* (CVN-70) and *Theodore Roosevelt* (CVN-71) were commissioned on March 13, 1982, and October 25, 1986, respectively. Their propulsion system is powered by two nuclear reactors. In addition to their air wings, navy carriers carry extensive command, control, communications, computer, and intelligence (C4I) systems. These systems and their Tactical Flag Command Centers enable them to act as fleet flagships or, if need be, a floating headquarters for a joint task force commander. The ships' C4I capabilities were upgraded following Operation DESERT STORM. Prior to 1994, U.S. Navy ships' communications systems had a data-handling capacity of only eight kilobytes per second versus the multimegabyte speed of the U.S. Air Force's fiber-optic system. As a result, the ATO's 10-megabyte file size took several hours to be delivered to the naval ships participating in the air campaign.

The post–DESERT STORM upgrades eliminated this problem by expanding the ships' bandwidth capacity. As a result, they can support a strike group, navy task force, numbered fleet, or joint task force staff, which often adds another 100–300 personnel to the total aboard. The combination of ship's sensors, AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System) aircraft, and capacity to integrate inputs from national and other service component assets enable these ships to monitor the battle space around them out to nearly 400 nautical miles.

Britain provided two V/STOL carriers to the later Middle East conflicts in the *Ark Royal* and *Illustrious,* while Italy deployed its V/STOL carrier the *Garibaldi.* The *Ark Royal* carried a contingent of Royal Marines and supported the invasion of Iraq in 2003, while the *Illustrious* conducted sea control missions with Task Force 50. Formally commissioned in June 1982, the *Illustrious* was the second of the three Invincible-class light aircraft carriers built for the Royal Navy. Like *Ark Royal,* it has a top speed of 28 knots and can carry a mix of up to 22 aircraft/helicopters and a nonaviation armament of three 30-millimeter (mm) Goalkeeper close-in weapons systems and two GAM-B01 20-mm close-range automatic cannon. At 14,000 tons, the smaller *Garibaldi* was commissioned in 1985 and can carry an air wing of 16 aircraft, usually an equal mix of AV-8 Harriers and helicopters. It is also equipped with eight OTOMAT long-range antiship cruise missiles and 48 Aspide short-range surface-to-air missiles as well as three 40-mm Oto Melara automatic cannon. A sonar suite and antisubmarine torpedo tubes round out its nonaviation armament. It can also carry a commando company and its supporting helicopters in lieu of a typical air wing. The primary role of these ships was sea control, a mission for which they were ideally suited. Their Harriers also proved to be useful quick-response attack assets. Although not as impressive as their larger American counterparts, the coalition carriers conducted vital sea control and littoral missions that freed the American carriers to concentrate on strike and close air support operations.

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See also

DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; Iraq, Navy; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; United Kingdom, Navy, Persian Gulf War; United States Navy, Afghanistan War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War; United States Navy, Iraq War

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Air Defenses in Iraq, Iraq War

Before the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003, the Iraqi air defense system was a major concern for coalition planners. The system included elements of the defenses used in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, during which 39 coalition aircraft were downed. Overall, however, the Iraqi air defenses proved to be largely ineffectual in the Persian Gulf War, and the coalition achieved rapid and complete air supremacy. The Iraqi air defense system was badly degraded by damage in 1991, an on-going arms embargo, and continued sporadic attacks by U.S. and British aircraft over more than a decade of enforcing the no-fly zones.

Following the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the arms embargo on Iraq made it difficult for Saddam Hussein to replace weapons that had been destroyed in the fighting or had become outmoded. Iraq's air defenses continued to be based on the Soviet model, with radar and observers providing information to a central command in real time. The central commanders were then able to determine the best mix of surface-to-air missiles (SAMs), antiaircraft artillery (AAA), and fighter aircraft to deal with the threat. The system was known as Kari, French for "Iraq," spelled backwards. The system employed technology from the 1980s, and had been developed by French companies. Computers and equipment came from both European and Soviet sources.

Iraq's central National Air Defense operations center was located in central Baghdad. It received data from four independent Sector Operations Centers (SOCs), which covered different parts of Iraq. The first sector, headquartered at Taji Military Camp in northern Baghdad, covered central and eastern Iraq, as well as the capital. This SOC controlled most of the SAMs and AAA. Prior to 2003, many weapons had been removed from other parts of Iraq and concentrated in the capital area. The region included the most sensitive targets, such as presidential palaces and factories where weapons of mass destruction could be produced. The SOC also controlled many individual radar sites and an electronic countermeasures unit.

The second SOC covered western Iraq, including the Jordanian and Syrian border. The third SOC was headquartered near Talil Airbase and covered southern Iraq. This SOC was most often in action against allied aircraft covering the southern no-fly zone. The fourth SOC was based near Kirkuk and covered the northern part of the country. Its SAM batteries engaged aircraft in the northern no-fly zone.

A separate SOC was also established during the 1990s in Baghdad. It was controlled by the Republican Guard and was armed with some of the most modern SAMs available. Other lightweight SAMs were employed by Republican Guard and regular Iraqi Army units, and were not integrated into the Kari system. Instead, these weapons were individually aimed and posed a deadly threat to coalition aircraft, especially those flying at low altitudes and relatively slow speeds. These weapons shot down a number of allied helicopters during the March 2003 invasion.

Most radar used by the Iraqis had been supplied by the Soviets, although some French, Italian, and Chinese radars had been integrated into the system. Different sets included such surveillance radars as the Soviet P-15 "Flat Face" (NATO designation) or P-15M(2) "Squat Eye," and the French Thompson-CSF Volex, which were not mobile. Other radars included target tracking and guidance radars, which were usually mounted on vans or trailers and could be moved to avoid coalition targeting. Some jamming and electronic countermeasure equipment was also available, along with thermal imaging telescopes and laser rangefinders that coalition countermeasures could not block. Even so, most of the equipment in 2003 was the same that had been in place in 1991.

Most of the SAMs available to Saddam Hussein's forces were introduced during the 1950s and 1960s. Some SA-2s and SA-3s were built by Iraqi factories, but most sources of missile replacements were cut off after the Persian Gulf War in 1991. More recent area defense SAMs included the SA-6, SA-8, SA-9, SA-13, and a few French-made Roland VIIs. While some had been upgraded since 1991, most remained obsolete. The SAMs were supplemented by over 4,000 antiaircraft guns ranging in size from 12.7-mm to 57-mm. Fighter aircraft from the Iraqi Air Force played little role in Iraq's air defenses.

During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the coalition had attacked Kari's communications nodes. Since then, the Iraqis had improved communications with greater use of optical fiber links, along with continued use of underground bunkers to protect command and communication nodes.

Following the Persian Gulf War, the United States, Great Britain, and France established no-fly zones in southern and northern Iraq. Fighter planes patrolled these areas to prevent Iraqi aircraft from attacking Kurd and Shiite dissidents. After losing several fighters to the allies in 1992 and 1993, the Iraqi Air Force no longer sent aircraft to challenge the patrols. However, the Iraqi Air Defense Command periodically harassed allied patrols with SAM attacks, especially after Operation DESERT FOX in 1998. For the next five years, Iraq's radar and missile sites targeted allied aircraft and tried to shoot them down. In response, allied aircraft were allowed to respond with missiles and bombs. When the Iraqis learned to position their SAMs in population centers, the allies responded with attacks on fixed air defense installations, such as radar sites or communication centers.

Denied access to new technology, the Iraqis developed tactics to improve their chances against allied aircraft. By observing Serbian tactics in Kosovo that brought down several U.S. aircraft, they learned how to quickly turn radars on and off to prevent allied countermeasures from locking on, while still allowing a quick launch by SAMs. The Iraqis also improved their use of decoys and hidden deployment of weapons. More incidents of Iraq launching missiles and using radar to lock onto allied aircraft were reported after 1998.

Saddam encouraged attacks on allied aircraft by offering $5,000 to any unit that shot down a U.S. aircraft and $2,500 to any soldier who captured a downed pilot. In response, however, the allies began to target air defense targets in the no-fly zones more intensively, especially from late 2001 to early 2003. Although the

number of Iraqi provocations declined, the number of air attacks on air defense sites increased dramatically during that time. In September 2002, for example, a raid by over 100 U.S. aircraft on air defense sites in western Iraq was not intended to protect aircraft patrolling the no-fly zone. Instead, it opened the way for U.S. Special Forces to fly from Jordan into northern Iraq. By the time U.S. and British forces moved into Iraq on March 20, 2003, Iraqi air defenses had already been seriously degraded.

The allies took Iraqi air defenses seriously during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. The main targets of the early air strikes were the command centers in Baghdad. Tactics were similar to those used in 1991. Stealth aircraft and cruise missiles made up the first wave, to weaken air defenses at little risk to pilots. Extensive use of drones forced the Iraqis to turn on their radars, allowing allied aircraft to destroy them. Although the Iraqis fired over 1,660 radar-guided SAMs during the invasion, they failed to down any allied aircraft. Another 1,224 AAA "incidents" involving centrally controlled Iraqi batteries were reported by the allies, with no effect as well. A complete lack of involvement by Iraqi fighters pleasantly surprised the allies. Most Iraqi Air Force aircraft were hidden in residential or agricultural areas to prevent their destruction. After the first few days of the operation, strategic air defenses declined in activity. Allied suppression missions and the lack of SAMs had done their job.

The most effective Iraqi air defenses during the war were the individually aimed SAMs and AAA. These weapons were locally controlled and were most effective against low-altitude targets. On March 24, for example, the U.S. Army 11th Aviation Brigade attacked the Republican Guard Medina mechanized division deep behind Iraqi lines. One McDonnell Douglas/Boeing AH-64D Apache was shot down, and 33 were so badly shot up that they were rendered unserviceable for some time. A total of seven U.S. aircraft were shot down by locally controlled Iraqi air defenses.

In the end, Iraq's air defenses in 2003 were far too obsolete and limited to prevent the allies from striking at targets that they were determined to hit. Even so, however, the Iraqi defenses in certain areas, such as around Baghdad, were so dense that they continued to pose a threat to low-flying allied aircraft until the collapse of Saddam Hussein's regime. All of the aircraft lost to Iraqi defenses were helicopters or ground attack aircraft, indicating that determined Iraqi defenders remained dangerous.

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See also

Air Defenses in Iraq, Persian Gulf War; Antiaircraft Guns; Antiaircraft Missiles, Iraqi; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Air Campaign; Missiles, Surface-to-Air

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Air Defenses in Iraq, Persian Gulf War

Largely based on the network the Soviet Union had developed over the years, Iraqi air defenses during the Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM) in 1991 consisted of a layered system utilizing both Western- and Soviet-designed radars, missiles, antiaircraft artillery, and interceptor aircraft. The system utilized 7,000 optically-guided and radar-guided antiaircraft artillery pieces of various calibers. The network also included some 16,000 missiles that tracked targets by radar as well as by infrared technology. The system was designed to provide antiaircraft coverage from the ground level to an altitude of 40,000 feet with missiles, and from ground level to 15,000 feet with antiaircraft artillery.

The air defense network was coordinated by a French-built computer known as Kari (French for "Iraq," spelled backwards), which provided data management and coordination of information from the various radars and weapons' sites in the country. The system was used to provide coverage for three key areas. The first was the centralized national air defense system to provide protection for key airfields and the fixed surface-to-air missile

Aviation ordnancemen carry an AGM-88 High-Speed Anti-Radiation Missile (HARM) to an aircraft on the flight deck of the U.S. aircraft carrier *Independence*. The AGM-88 HARM is an air-to-surface missile designed to seek out and destroy enemy radar-equipped air defense systems. (U.S. Department of Defense)

U.S. military personnel examine a Soviet-made SA-2 surface-to-air missile launcher demolished in a coalition air attack during Operation DESERT STORM. (U.S. Department of Defense)

sites in the country. The next component of the system provided protection to the Iraqi Army's Republican Guard units, as well as nuclear, chemical, biological, and chemical weapon facilities. The final component of the network provided coverage for Iraqi battlefield units.

The system also provided protection in and around the capital city of Baghdad. The air defense network around Baghdad stretched from the center of the city to a distance of some 60 miles, and the concentration of antiaircraft artillery was also the densest in and around Baghdad.

The surface-to-air missiles used in the Iraqi air defense network came mostly from the Soviet Union with the exception of a few models from Western Europe. For high-altitude attacks, the Iraqi system relied on the Soviet SA-2 Guideline. It had been designed in the 1950s and was the same system used to shoot down the U.S. U-2 spy plane piloted by Gary Powers over the Soviet Union on May 1, 1960, and fired against U.S. aircraft involved in the bombing of North Vietnam (Operation ROLLING THUNDER) during the Vietnam War. The Guideline had a range of some 31 miles, was radar guided, and used fixed launchers. Two of the medium-range systems used by the Iraqi air defense network were also Soviet designs; the first, the SA-3 Goa, was a more mobile system than the SA-2 and had a range of 18 miles. It was also radar guided. The other, the SA-6 Gainful, had a range of 37 miles and was a mobile system. The Goa and Gainful employed radar guidance to locate and engage targets.

The low-level systems used included the SA-7 Grail, a portable surface-to-air missile with a range of 7 miles. This system provided easy portability, but could only be employed against aircraft moving away from the operator. The SA-7 utilized infrared guidance, seeking heat generated by aircraft and helicopter engines. The SA-8 Geko and SA-13 Gopher were mobile, low-level surface-to-air missile systems that employed infrared guidance to locate targets. The Geko had a 7-mile range while the Gopher has a 5-mile range. The Roland mobile surface-to-air missile system was a European design with a 5-mile range, and was infrared guided.

These various missile systems were used in coordination with antiaircraft artillery ranging from 14.5-mm to 57-mm automatic cannon. These weapons were usually mounted on vehicles to provide mobility or made portable to allow crews to move them quickly. The larger fixed antiaircraft artillery systems utilized 85-mm to 130-mm projectiles. These guns were usually fixed and radar guided.

The planning for the air campaign by coalition forces took all available information on the Iraqi air defense network and exploited the weaknesses of the system. The United States had for

years been running a covert program that collected information on various Soviet weapon systems and other electronic devices. The U.S. Air Force utilized that classified information on the Soviet air defense network, upon which the Iraqi system was closely based, and planned a campaign that would degrade and eventually render ineffective the Iraqi air defense network. The Special Technical Operations Center in the Pentagon coordinated information on the Soviet systems and provided that information to the planners readying air strikes on Iraq.

The degradation of the Iraqi air defense network during the opening phases of Operation DESERT STORM in January 1991 proved crucial in the coalition's success in driving Iraq from Kuwait in February 1991.

One of the tools used by the coalition to help destroy the Iraqi air defense network was the AGM-88 High Speed Anti-Radiation Missile (HARM). During the air campaign, approximately 1,000 of these missiles were fired, the majority of them by Navy and Marine aircraft. The missile and its explosive warhead can locate and hit targets emanating radar energy. The system also has the ability to strike targets that turn off their radars in hopes of fooling the missile.

The use of HARMs was coordinated by the use of tactical air-launched decoys (TALDs). These systems were rockets with electronic systems onboard that made the TALD look like an attacking bomber to the air defense network. The TALDs were launched ahead of striking aircraft, and when the Iraqi radar operators switched on their radars to engage what they thought were incoming planes, the attacking aircraft could strike the radars and missile sights.

Of course, the Iraqi air defense network also relied on fighter-interceptor aircraft to meet airborne threats. The air defense fighters consisted of 116 French-built Mirage F-1s and 120 Soviet-manufactured MiG-23, MiG-25, and MiG-29 fighters. Of the 750 total aircraft in the Iraqi Air Force at the beginning of the war, fewer then half were front-line combat aircraft. At the conclusion of the air campaign, the coalition forces had shot down 33 Iraqi aircraft, while many more were destroyed on the ground or by ground forces. At the end of the conflict, more than half of the entire Iraqi Air Force had been destroyed, had been captured, or had fled to neighboring Iran.

While the coalition air campaign did seriously degrade the effectiveness of the Iraqi air defense network, the threat from the Iraqis' man-portable missiles and optically-guided guns did force the coalition air forces to maintain a high state of readiness. During the campaign, 15 coalition aircraft were lost to antiaircraft artillery or surface-to-air missiles.

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See also

Aircraft, Fighters; Antiaircraft Guns; Antiaircraft Missiles, Iraqi; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Forces; DESERT STORM, Operation, Planning for; Iraq, Air Force; Missile Systems, Iraqi

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AirLand Battle Doctrine

In the development of military doctrine, victory in war is usually followed by a period of complacency and stagnation, while defeat spurs a period of critical self-examination and robust internal debate that often leads to dramatic doctrinal innovations. This was true for the United States following the Vietnam War. For the U.S. military, the trauma of the loss in Vietnam was compounded by the unexpected lethality of modern weapons witnessed in the short but violent 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War. That in turn led to an increasing recognition that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) could not rely on battlefield nuclear weapons to offset the overwhelming numerical advantage of the Warsaw Pact in any future war on the European continent.

Working through the problem, American military thinkers identified two types of wars that the United States could face in the future: a heavy mechanized war in Europe or a light infantry war in some other part of the world. Although the mechanized war in Europe was the least likely scenario, it was also the most dangerous. U.S. military doctrine had to be revised to be able to defeat America's strongest and most dangerous enemy.

Initially, the sights of the American military were fixed at the tactical level—"Win the First Battle"—with little consideration beyond that. There also was recognition that the next major conflict would be a "Come as You Are War." Under the direct guidance of General William E. DePuy, the first commander of the newly established U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), the initial expression of this doctrinal rethinking was the 1976 edition of *FM 100-5, Operations.* The new manual introduced the notion of active defense, a highly questionable substitute for the tested defensive concepts of mobile defense and defense in-depth. In focusing on the lethality of modern weapons, the new doctrine stressed the effects of firepower by devoting the preponderance of space to a discussion of its effects. The new *FM 100-5* did not ignore maneuver, but it did relegate that element of combat power to the mere function of movement to deliver firepower rather than gain positional advantage.

The 1976 edition of *FM 100-5* was wildly controversial even before it had been fully distributed to the field. The critics of DePuy's doctrine rejected it as too mechanical, too dogmatic, and too mathematically deterministic. Nonetheless, DePuy's efforts were a major contribution to the post–Vietnam War U.S. Army, because for the first time in many years, officers were again

thinking and writing about doctrine. The resulting debate fueled a renaissance in American military thinking.

The immediate reactions to the 1976 edition resulted in the notion of follow-on forces attack (FOFA), which in turn led to recognition of the operational depth of the battlefield. That led directly to the final acceptance by the American military and NATO of the concept of the operational level of war, as distinct from the tactical or the strategic. The Soviets had formally recognized this level of warfare as early as the 1920s and had aggressively worked to define and expand the theory of operational art ever since. The West had long rejected the concept as little more than yet another crackpot element of Marxist thinking, but the Soviets had been right all along on this point.

The principal guiding force behind the development of AirLand Battle Doctrine was General Donn A. Starry, who assumed command of TRADOC in July 1977. Working directly under Starry, Major General Donald R. Morelli, TRADOC's deputy chief of staff of doctrine, closely supervised the team of doctrine writers, which included lieutenant colonels Leonard D. Holder, Huba Wass de Czega, and Richard Hart Sinnerich. Classical German military thought had a great deal of influence on the development of the new doctrine. Even in the 1976 edition of *FM 100-5,* General DePuy had instructed the doctrine writers to study carefully the current capstone doctrinal manual of the West German Bundeswehr. That manual, *HDv 100/100, Truppenführung* (Command and Control in Battle), was based closely on the manual of the same name first introduced in 1932 with which the German Army fought World War II. Through the influence of the German manual, such standard German doctrinal concepts as *Auftragstaktik* (mission orders) and *Schwerpunkt* (center of gravity) became firmly embedded in American military thinking. Another major influence that was specifically mentioned in that edition was Basil Liddell Hart's book *Stragegy,* one of the most important books written about the indirect approach in warfare.

The 1982 edition of *FM 100-5* marked the U.S. military's first formal recognition of the operational level of war and introduced the concepts of AirLand Battle and Deep Battle. AirLand Battle Doctrine took a nonlinear view of combat. It enlarged the battlefield area, stressing unified air and ground operations throughout the theater. It recognized the nonquantifiable elements of combat power and restressed that maneuver was as important as firepower. Most significantly, the doctrine emphasized the human element of war, "courageous, well-trained soldiers and skillful, effective leaders." An undercurrent to this last theme, of course, was the fact that the United States had only recently abolished conscription and was then in the process of building an all-volunteer professional army. The AirLand Battle Doctrine identified the keys to success in war, which included indirect approaches, speed and violence, flexibility and reliance on the initiative of junior leaders, rapid decision making, clearly defined objectives and operational concepts, a clearly designated main effort, and deep attack.

Depth was one of the keys. A commander had to fight and synchronize three simultaneous battles: close, deep, and rear. The deep battle, of course, would be the enemy's rear battle, and vice versa. A well-coordinated attack deep in an enemy's rear area might in fact prove decisive. This marked the first recognition in American military doctrine that the battle might not necessarily be decided along the line of contact.

One of the most controversial features of the 1976 edition of *FM 100-5* had been the elimination of the venerable Principles of War, first adopted by the U.S. Army in the early 1920s. The 1982 edition restored the Principles of War but then went one step further by introducing the Four Tenets of AirLand Battle: initiative, depth, agility, and synchronization. Initiative is the ability to set the terms of the battle by action and was identified as the greatest advantage in war. Depth has components of time, space, and resources. Agility is the ability to act faster than the enemy to exploit his weakness and frustrate his plans. Synchronization ensures that no effort will be wasted, either initially or as operations develop.

Some critics complained that the Four Tenets of AirLand Battle were unnecessary additions to the Principles of War or were ultimately an attempt to replace them. But as other analysts pointed out, the Four Tenets were for the most part combinations of two or more of the Principles of War. Synchronization, for example, combined economy of force and unity of effort. Initiative combined offensive, maneuver, and surprise.

The 1982 *FM 100-5* was a major milestone in American military thought, but it was far from a perfect document. After its release to the field the debate continued, and the doctrine writers continued to refine the document. The 1986 edition of *FM 100-5* contained no significant changes or innovations, but it presented a far better discussion of the doctrine and corrected some of the minor errors in the 1982 edition. Some errors still remained, however. The 1986 edition used the German concept of *Schwerpunkt* interchangeably as either the center of gravity or the decisive point. As defined originally by 19th-century Prussian military strategist Carl von Clausewitz, however, the center of gravity and the decisive point (*Entscheidungsstelle*) were two distinct and separate concepts. The confusion was not corrected until the 1993 edition of *FM 100-5,* which stated clearly that "Decisive points are not centers of gravity, they are the keys to getting at the centers of gravity."

NATO never fully embraced the AirLand Battle Doctrine, and ironically neither did the U.S. Air Force. In any event, the new doctrine never had to be used in an actual war against the Warsaw Pact on the plains of Northern Europe. AirLand Battle, however, greatly concerned the Soviets and was just one more element of pressure in the 1980s that eventually contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union. The overwhelmingly successful prosecution of the Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM) in 1991 was based on the 1986 edition of *FM 100-5,* which was arguably the single best official articulation of American war-fighting doctrine ever published.

AAV-7A1 amphibious assault vehicles of the 1st Combat Engineer Battalion (CEB), 1st Marine Division, advance toward Kuwait City during Operation DESERT STORM. An AH-1 Sea Cobra helicopter is flying in the background. (U.S. Department of Defense)

The 1993 edition of *FM 100-5* actually shifted the emphasis away from operations and conventional war fighting toward strategy and operations other than war (OOTW). Even the term "AirLand Battle" was dropped in favor of "Army Operations," but that was more the result of bureaucratic infighting between the U.S. Army and the U.S. Air Force. A new edition of *FM 100-5* in 1998 was supposed to shift the emphasis back to the operational art, but the final coordinating draft caused considerable internal controversy. The new manual was finally issued in June 2001, under a new numbering system, as *FM 3-0 Operations.* Although the term "AirLand Battle" is no longer officially in use, the U.S. Army continues to train and operate in accordance with its principles, and its precepts were used again during the initial invasion of Iraq in 2003 during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

DAVID T. ZABECKI

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; United States Air Force, Iraq War; United States Air Force, Persian Gulf War; United States Army, Iraq War; United States Army, Persian Gulf War

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Akhund, Dadullah

See Kakar, Mullah

Al-Aqsa Intifada

See Intifada, Second

Albania, Role in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

Balkan country located on the southeastern coast of the Adriatic Sea with a 2008 population of 3.620 million. Albania is bordered to the north and east by Serbia and Montenegro, due east by the

former Yugoslavian republic of Macedonia, and to the southeast by Greece. A communist bloc nation since World War II, Albania experienced a difficult transition to democracy and free markets after the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989. In 1992 the communists were resoundingly defeated, and the country began its halting progress toward democracy. Since then, Albania has been governed by a parliamentary-style democracy featuring multiparty coalitions. Despite its internal difficulties and economic problems, Albania has firmly oriented itself toward the West.

Albania was a staunch supporter of the United States during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM and the 2003 Iraq War. After the end of the Cold War, the United States provided both economic and military aid to Albania and supported membership for the country in both the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU). Relations between the two countries became even closer following the 1999 NATO air campaign in Kosovo when the United States led allied nations in a campaign to protect ethnic Albanians in the Serbian province.

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Albania offered diplomatic, intelligence, and military support for the U.S. Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. Albania granted the United States and other allied nations overflight rights during the 2001 invasion of Afghanistan and offered the coalition use of its bases and ports. Albania also deployed troops during the initial combat operations of ENDURING FREEDOM and later contributed more than 100 troops to the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). In 2002 Albania initiated a program to transfer excess military equipment to the Afghan National Army. Albanian forces also provided security in Kabul and were deployed in 2007 to Herat as part of an Italian-led rapid response force.

Albania endorsed the efforts by the George W. Bush administration to assemble a "coalition of the willing" against the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein in 2003 and offered to provide troops for the invasion of Iraq. On April 6, 2003, during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, Albania dispatched elements of a commando company to Iraq, where the unit was deployed under U.S. command in Mosul. The initial deployment involved approximately 70 soldiers but was soon expanded to 120 troops. The contingent remained at that number until 2008, and the troops were deployed for six-month intervals before being rotated out. The Albanians engaged in general security operations to protect the Mosul airport and safeguarded coalition convoys in and around the city.

Albanian troops also participated in training exercises for Iraqi security forces. Meanwhile, Albanian staff officers served with the Multi-National Force in southern Iraq. Albania also offered the coalition use of its airspace and bases for operations in Iraq. In 2007 Albania began to transfer excess stockpiled ammunition to the Iraqi security forces.

In 2008 Albania deployed an additional company to Iraq, bringing its total troop strength to more than 200 personnel. The additional forces were stationed in Baghdad. However, in December 2008, as part of the general drawdown of foreign forces in Iraq, Albania withdrew its entire contingent from the country. Albania joined NATO on April 1, 2009.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; International Security Assistance Force; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Albright, Madeleine

Birth Date: May 15, 1937

Democratic Party foreign policy adviser, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations (UN) during 1993–1997, and secretary of state during 1997–2001. Madeleine Albright was born Marie Jana Korbel in Prague, Czechoslovakia, on May 15, 1937. Her father, Josef Korbel, was a diplomat, and he and his wife had converted to Catholicism from Judaism. In 1939 when the Germans took over Czechoslovakia, the Korbel family fled to Britain. Following the defeat of Germany the family returned to Prague, where Josef Korbel was appointed Czechoslovak ambassador to Yugoslavia and Albania. A few months after the February 1948 communist coup in Czechoslovakia the family again sought asylum, this time in the United States. In 1949 they settled in Denver, Colorado, where Korbel became a professor at the University of Colorado and developed an acclaimed program in international relations. He would become an adviser to two U.S. secretaries of state and his own daughter.

An excellent student, Madeleine Korbel graduated from Wellesley College in Massachusetts in 1959 and married Joseph Albright, a journalist from a distinguished family. Later they divorced. While rearing three daughters, Madeleine Albright earned a PhD in government and public law from Columbia University, where she worked with Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski, later the national security adviser to President Jimmy Carter.

Following extensive volunteer work for the Democratic Party, in 1976 Albright became chief legislative assistant to Maine senator Edmund Muskie. In 1982 she became a professor of international affairs and director of the Women in Foreign Service Program at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. Albright was active in the presidential campaigns of Walter Mondale (1984) and Michael Dukakis (1988), serving as chief foreign policy adviser to both candidates. Meanwhile, she built

U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright at a press conference regarding Middle East peace talks, September 19, 1997. (Najlah Feanny/Corbis Saba)

her reputation as an authority on foreign policy and women's issues while forming close personal ties with fellow Wellesley alumna Hillary Rodham Clinton. Upon his 1993 election to the presidency, William Jefferson Clinton appointed Albright U.S. ambassador to the UN, a post she took up in February 1994. Her extensive knowledge of foreign languages and Balkan ethnic politics served her well at the UN.

In January 1997 Clinton chose Albright to be secretary of state, the highest government post held to that time by an American woman. Her charm, sense of humor, and sharp wit garnered wide press attention. The exhilaration of Albright's first days in office were clouded by a journalist's revelation that three of her grandparents had perished in Nazi concentration camps and that Albright's immediate family had purposefully obscured their Jewish background. Albright, who had been baptized Roman Catholic at the age of five and had joined the Episcopal Church upon her marriage, knew nothing of her Jewish ancestry.

Early in Albright's term questions were raised about the effectiveness of a woman, especially one with a Jewish heritage, negotiating with Middle Eastern heads of state, but Albright soon established effective ties with Saudi Arabian officials and forged a strong friendship with King Hussein of Jordan. Still, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict proved intractable. The Clinton administration had made numerous efforts to bring both parties to the negotiating table, beginning with the 1993 Oslo Accords. In January 1998 Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) chairman Yasser Arafat traveled to Washington for talks but showed little willingness to compromise on the status of Jerusalem, a release of prisoners, and Jewish settlements.

Albright and the administration persisted, however, sponsoring talks again in October 1998 at Wye River in Maryland. Albright was able to bring in King Hussein of Jordan and his wife, Queen Noor, as intermediaries. These talks ultimately resulted in the Wye River Memorandum, which pledged more cooperation in security for the Israelis and additional land rights for the Palestinians.

Any expectations that Albright and Clinton may have had for settling disputes in the Middle East were dashed in September 2000, when Israeli hard-line politician Ariel Sharon made a provocative visit to the Temple Mount (Haram al-Sharif), the site of the al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, in Jerusalem. The visit not only dashed hopes of Palestinian-Israeli peace but also sparked a new wave of violence, known as the Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada. Albright's experience alerted her to the importance of understanding religious passions in framing global policy. After she left office in 2001, her writings and speeches stressed the importance of educating policy makers in the tenets of major world religions.

Albright also played a central role in the Balkans, which had descended into chaos and spasms of genocidal violence. She was influential in shaping policy during the Kosovo War (1996–1999), which ultimately resulted in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) bombing campaign against Serbian-Yugoslavian targets during March–June 1999. The campaign forced Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic to the negotiating table. Albright also helped bring to an end the Bosnian War, culminating in the December 1995 Dayton Agreement.

By the end of her four-year term, Albright's critics charged that she dealt with problems on a case-by-case basis and lacked a coherent foreign policy doctrine. Many in the Republican Party also believed that the Clinton administration, basking in prosperous times and relative world peace, had neglected the growing problems of terrorism and collapsing economies in a world no longer held in check by the communist-capitalist rivalry.

But Albright could cite solid achievements. Her strong personality had generated wide public interest in foreign affairs, while her presence in high office had advanced women worldwide. As a refugee from European oppression, she had been an unquestioned American patriot and a strong proponent of worldwide democracy and human rights. She had pointedly warned of American smugness at the beginning of the new millennium, had identified a new world order, and had faced down aggression in the Balkans while maintaining cordial relations with Russia. And despite disappointments, she had kept Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations from collapsing completely during the difficult tenures of Benjamin Netanyahu and Yasser Arafat.

Since leaving office, Albright has held a professorship at Georgetown University and has been active in numerous foundations. She has also sat on several boards, including that of the New York Stock Exchange. She has spoken and lectured widely, and in 2006 she attended two conferences at the White House with current and former foreign policy officials. She has spoken out against the Iraq War, claiming that among other things it has empowered Iran and North Korea to move forward with their nuclear weapons programs. In 2006 she asserted that the war may be "one of the worst disasters" in the history of U.S. foreign policy.

Allene Phy-Olsen

See also

Arafat, Yasser; Clinton, William Jefferson; Hussein ibn Talal, King of Jordan; Intifada, Second; Netanyahu, Benjamin; Sharon, Ariel; United Nations

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Alec Station

U.S. government-sanctioned Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) unit charged with the mission of hunting down and capturing or killing Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. In late 1995 two members of the William J. Clinton administration, National Security Advisor Anthony (Tony) Lake and National Coordinator for Counterterrorism Richard Clarke, met with the head of the CIA's Counterterrorism Center (CTC) to discuss the need for a unit to concentrate solely on bin Laden. Soon afterward, CIA director George Tenet approved just such a unit. The plan called for Alec Station to run for only a couple of years before merging completely with the CTC, but as bin Laden became a greater and greater threat, Alec Station continued its operations for more than a decade.

When the CIA began Alec Station on January 8, 1996, bin Laden was mostly known as a financier of terrorism. Soon afterward, it became apparent that he had declared open warfare against the United States and its allies, and the campaign against bin Laden was then stepped up. Michael Scheuer, a veteran CIA agent, was placed in charge of the program when it was founded. Although the formal title of the program was the Usama Bin Laden Issue Station (UBL), it soon took the name Alec Station, after Scheuer's adopted Korean son, Alec.

Alec Station functioned as a subunit of the CIA's CTC. Sponsors of this program set it up as an interagency unit running agents from both the CIA and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The plan was for this unit to fuse intelligence disciplines into one office that included operations, analysis, signals intercepts, overhead photography, and covert action.

As the unit developed, its strength lay in analysis. It began as a small unit with a staff of only about 15 analysts, mostly young women. Alec Station, not considered a choice assignment, was a low-profile operation and was at first housed outside Langley, Virginia, until it moved to the CTC.

By 1998 Scheuer was convinced that bin Laden posed an ongoing danger to the United States but had difficulty convincing his superiors, partly because of his difficult personality; he managed to alienate even those who agreed with him. After learning that bin Laden had attempted to acquire nuclear materials, Scheuer had difficulty convincing his superiors to accept the information and use it to inform others in the government. Scheuer, believing that bin Laden constituted a clear and present danger, became increasingly frustrated by the lack of action taken toward bin Laden.

Scheuer also had difficulties with the FBI. Although Alec Station had been set up as an interagency operation, the FBI often refused to share information with the CIA. The most intransigent member of the FBI in this regard was John O'Neill, the FBI's top counterterrorism expert. O'Neill possessed a notebook captured from an Al Qaeda operative that he refused for a year to turn over to Alec Station. In another instance, an FBI agent was caught raiding CIA files with the intent of taking their contents back to the FBI. Scheuer claimed that Alec Station sent 700–800

requests for information to the FBI but never received answers to any of them.

Alec Station planned to capture bin Laden after he moved to Afghanistan in May 1996. For the first time, the CIA knew where bin Laden and his family lived, in the Tarnak Farm compound 12 miles outside Kandahar. Beginning in 1997, plans were made with Afghan tribal leaders to kidnap bin Laden and take him to an Arab country or the United States for trial. The CIA even staged four rehearsals for the operation in late 1997 and early 1998. Then, on May 29, 1998, Tenet, the head of the CIA, called off the operation. Scheuer's reaction was swift. He complained that the CIA had enough intelligence against bin Laden and Al Qaeda to eliminate both, and he could not understand why the U.S. government had failed to take the chance to do so. The Clinton administration responded that it feared collateral damage and any negative publicity that might follow a less-than-perfect operation.

It was only after the bombings on August 7, 1998, of the two U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya that the attention of the Clinton administration was redirected toward bin Laden. This resulted in the August 20, 1998, U.S. missile attacks on an Al Qaeda training camp in Afghanistan near Khost and on the El Shifa pharmaceutical plant in Khartoum, Sudan, in which 79 Tomahawk cruise missiles were fired from U.S. Navy ships in the Arabian Sea. However, warnings from Pakistani sources likely made certain that bin Laden escaped the missiles, and the Sudanese plant proved to be a harmless pharmaceutical factory. Several other plans were made to either capture or kill bin Laden, but they were cancelled each time because of one difficulty or another. Most cancellations were caused by a lack of confidence in intelligence sources and information.

The most promising opportunity came in February 1999. CIA agents learned that bin Laden was going to join a number of sheikhs from the United Arab Emirates at a desert hunting camp in Helmand Province, Afghanistan. Satellite pictures identified the camp on February 9. CIA operatives confirmed bin Laden's presence and requested a missile strike. Over the next several days the Clinton administration debated a missile strike before learning that members of the United Arab Emirates royal family were also present at the camp. Because of foreign policy complications with the United Arab Emirates (a provider of gas and oil supplies) nothing happened, and Scheuer was furious. His e-mails expressing his unhappiness traveled around government circles.

Tenet removed Scheuer from his position as head of Alec Station in the spring of 1999. The CIA claimed that Scheuer's inability to work with superiors and the FBI led to his dismissal. His critics within the agency claimed that he had a vendetta against bin Laden. CIA analysts at Alec Station blamed O'Neill for the firing of Scheuer because the dispute had reached the level of the agency heads of the CIA and FBI. Scheuer's replacement was a key assistant on Tenet's staff and a Middle East specialist, but he lacked Scheuer's drive. By this time, Alec Station had grown from 12 analysts to 25. Most of these analysts were women, something that hurt their credibility in the male-dominated CIA. There was also a feeling in the CTC that others in the CIA ridiculed members of the Alec Station for their zeal in tracing the actions of bin Laden.

The status of Alec Station became more precarious after September 11, 2001. Some of the criticism directed against the CIA for failing to uncover the September 11 plot descended on Alec Station, and Scheuer reappeared as a senior analyst at the station after September 11. Members of Alec Station adamantly insisted that little if any connection existed between Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein and Al Qaeda, something they communicated to Tenet. However, this stance made them enemies in the George W. Bush administration, which wanted the CIA to provide justification for the invasion of Iraq and the overthrow of Hussein. Those in the CIA who opposed the invasion became administration enemies. Personnel were soon transferred out of Alec Station until only 12 analysts remained. Scheuer protested this action, resigning from the CIA on November 12, 2004. Not long afterward, the CIA disbanded Alec Station entirely.

Stephen E. Atkins

See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Bush, George Walker; Central Intelligence Agency; Clinton, William Jefferson; Counterterrorism Strategy; Tenet, George John

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Algerian War

Start Date: 1954
End Date: 1962

Unsuccessful eight-year military effort by France to maintain its hold on Algeria, its last, largest, and most important colony. For 130 years, Algeria had been at the core of the French Empire. France conquered Algiers in 1830 and expanded the territory. Algeria became the headquarters of the French Foreign Legion (at Sidi-Bel-Abbès) and home to the largest number of European settlers in the Islamic world. In 1960 there were 1 million Europeans (colons) in Algeria. Unique among French colonies, Algeria became a political component of France, as Algiers, Constantine, and Oran were made departments of the French Republic and had representation in the French Chamber of Deputies.

Nonetheless, Algeria was not fully three French departments, as only the European population enjoyed full rights there. The

French troops ready for action in the Bab-El-Oued District of the city of Algiers in Algeria, after the area had been sealed off by the military, March 26, 1962. (AP/Wide World Photos)

colon and Muslim populations lived separate and unequal lives, with the Europeans controlling the bulk of the wealth. During this time, the French expanded Algeria's frontiers deep into the Sahara.

The Great Depression of the 1930s affected Algeria's Muslims more than any experience since their conquest, as they began to migrate from the countryside into the cities in search of work. Subsequently, the Muslim birthrate climbed dramatically because of easier access to health care facilities.

While the colons sought to preserve their status, French officials vacillated between promoting colon interests and promoting reforms for the Muslims. Pro-Muslim reform efforts ultimately failed because of political pressure from the colons and their representatives in Paris. While French political theorists debated between assimilation and autonomy for Algeria's Muslims, the Muslim majority remained largely resentful of the privileged status of the colons.

The first Muslim political organizations appeared in the 1930s, the most important of these being Ahmed Messali Hadj's Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques (Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties, MTLD). World War II brought opportunities for change that increasing numbers of Algerian Muslims desired. Following the Anglo-American landings in North Africa in November 1942, Muslim activists met with American envoy Robert Murphy and Free French general Henri Giraud concerning postwar freedoms but received no firm commitments. As the war in Europe was ending and the Arab League

was forming, pent-up Muslim frustrations were vented in the Sétif Uprising of May 8, 1945. Muslim mobs massacred colons before colonial troops restored order, and hundreds of Muslims were killed in a colon reprisal.

Returning Muslim veterans were shocked by what they regarded as the French government's heavy-handed actions after Sétif, and some (including veteran Ahmed Ben Bella) joined the MTLD. Ben Bella went on to form the MTLD's paramilitary branch, the Organization Speciale, and soon fled to Egypt to enlist the support of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Proindependence Algerian Muslims were emboldened by Ho Chi Minh's victory over French forces at Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam in May 1954, and when Algerian Muslim leaders met Ho at the Bandung Conference in April 1955, he told them that the French could be defeated.

Ben Bella and his compatriots formed the Front de Libération Nationale (National Liberation Front, FLN) on October 10, 1954, and the FLN revolution officially began on the night of October 31–November 1. The FLN organized its manpower into several military districts (*wilayas*). Its goal was to end French control of Algeria and drive out or eliminate the colon population. Wilaya 4, located near Algiers, was especially important, and the FLN was particularly active in Kabylia and the Aures Mountains. The party's organization was rigidly hierarchical and tolerated no dissent. In form and style it resembled Soviet bloc communist parties, although it claimed to offer a noncommunist and non-Western alternative ideology, articulated by Frantz Fanon.

As France increased the number of its military forces in Algeria to fight the growing insurgency, French officials sought support from North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) partners in the Algerian War, arguing that keeping Algeria French would ensure that NATO's southern flank would be safe from communism. As a part of France, Algeria was included in the original NATO charter. Washington's position was nonetheless that European colonial empires were obsolete. Furthermore, U.S. officials believed that the United States could positively influence decolonization movements in the developing world.

The Arab League promoted Pan-Arabism and the image of universal Arab and Muslim support for the FLN. The French granting of independence to both Tunisia and Morocco in March 1956 further bolstered Algeria's Muslims. When France, Britain, and Israel invaded Egypt in the Suez Crisis of 1956, both the United States and the Soviet Union condemned the move, and the French, unable to topple Nasser, were forced to contend with an FLN supply base that they could neither attack nor eliminate.

On August 20, 1955, the FLN attacked colon civilians in the Philippeville Massacre, and colon reprisals resulted in the deaths of several thousand Muslims. The year-long Battle of Algiers began in September 1956 with FLN operative Saadi Yacef's terrorist-style bombing campaign against colon civilians. Meanwhile, other FLN leaders targeted governmental officials for assassination. The FLN movement faced a setback on October 22, however, when Ben Bella was captured.

Estimated Casualties during the Algerian War, 1954–1962

	French	*Algerian*
Military deaths	18,000	153,000 (including 12,000 from internal FLN purges)
Military wounded	65,000	Unknown
Civilian deaths	3,000	300,000–700,000

In December 1956 and January 1957, battle-tested French troops with combat experience in Indochina arrived in Algeria to restore order in Algiers. Among them were General Raoul Salan (commander in chief), paratrooper commander Major General Jacques Massu, and Colonels Yves Goddard and Marcel Bigeard, both of whom were adept at intelligence gathering and infiltration. Massu's men made steady headway, and Goddard himself captured Saadi Yacef in September 1957. The Battle of Algiers was now won. The French Army, however, employed torture to force FLN operatives to talk, while others were murdered in the process. The FLN, on the other hand, also routinely murdered captured French soldiers and colon civilians.

Despite victory in Algiers, French forces were not able to quell the Algerian rebellion or gain the confidence of the colons. Some colons were fearful that the French government was about to negotiate with the FLN. In the spring of 1958, colon Ultra groups began to hatch a plan to change the colonial government. Colon veteran Pierre Lagaillarde organized hundreds of Ultra commandos and began a revolt on May 13, 1958. Soon, tens of thousands of colons and Muslims arrived outside of the government building in Algiers to protest French government policy. Massu quickly formed the Committee of Public Safety, and Salan assumed leadership of the body. Salan then went before the throngs of protesters. Although the plotters would have preferred someone more frankly authoritarian, Salan called for the return to power of General Charles de Gaulle. Although de Gaulle had been out of power for more than a decade, on May 19, 1958, he announced his willingness to assume authority.

Massu was prepared to bring back de Gaulle by force if necessary, but military options were not needed. On June 1, 1958, the French National Assembly made de Gaulle premier, technically the last premier of the Fourth Republic. Algeria had managed to change the political leadership of the mother country.

De Gaulle visited Algeria five times between June and December 1958. At Oran on June 4 he said about France's mission in Algeria that "she is here forever." A month later he proposed a budget allocation of 15 billion francs for Algerian housing, education, and public works, and that October he suggested an even more sweeping proposal called the Constantine Plan. The funding for the massive projects, however, was never forthcoming, and true Algerian reform was never realized. In any case, it was probably too late for reform to impact the Muslim community of Algeria.

Algeria's new military commander, General Maurice Challe, arrived in Algeria on December 12, 1958, and launched a series

of attacks on FLN positions in rural Kabylia in early 1959. Muslim troops loyal to the French guided special mobile French troops called Commandos de Chasse. An aggressive set of sorties deep in Kabylia made much headway, and Challe calculated that by the end of October his men had killed half of the FLN operatives in Kabylia. A second phase of the offensive was to occur in 1960, but by then de Gaulle, who had gradually eliminated options, had decided that Algerian independence was inevitable.

De Gaulle braced his generals for the decision to let go of Algeria in late August 1959 and then addressed the nation on September 19, 1959, declaring his support for Algerian self-determination. Fearing for their future, some Ultras created the Front Nationale Français (French National Front) and fomented another revolt on January 24, 1960, in the so-called Barricades Week. Mayhem ensued when policemen tried to restore order, and many people were killed or wounded. General Challe and the colony's governor, Paul Delouvrier, fled Algiers on January 28, but the next day de Gaulle, wearing his old army uniform, turned the tide via a televised address to the nation. On February 1, 1961, army units swore loyalty to the government. The revolt quickly collapsed. Early in 1961, increasingly desperate Ultras formed a terrorist group called the Secret Army Organization (OAS) that targeted colons whom they regarded as traitors.

The Generals' Putsch of April 20–26, 1961, seriously threatened de Gaulle's regime. General Challe wanted a revolt limited to Algeria, but Salan and his colleagues (Ground Forces chief of staff General André Zeller and recently retired inspector general of the air force Edmond Jouhaud) had all prepared for a revolt in France as well. The generals had the support of many frontline officers in addition to almost two divisions of troops. The Foreign Legion arrested the colony's commander in chief, General Fernand Gambiez, and paratroopers near Rambouillet prepared to march on Paris after obtaining armored support. The coup collapsed, however, as police units managed to convince the paratroopers to depart, and army units again swore loyalty to de Gaulle.

On June 10, 1961, de Gaulle held secret meetings with FLN representatives in Paris and then on June 14 made a televised appeal for the FLN's so-called Provisional Government to come to Paris to negotiate an end to the war. Peace talks during June 25–29 failed to lead to resolution, but de Gaulle's mind was already made up. During his visit to Algeria in December, he was greeted by large pro-FLN Muslim rallies and Muslim anticolon riots. The United Nations (UN) recognized Algeria's independence on December 20, and on January 8, 1962, the French public voted in favor of Algerian independence.

After the failed coup, a massive exodus of colons commenced. Nearly 1 million returned to their ancestral homelands (half of them went to France, and most of the rest went to Spain and Italy). Peace talks resumed in March at Évian, and both sides reached a settlement on May 18, 1962.

The formal handover of power occurred on July 4 when the FLN's Provisional Committee took control of Algeria. In September, Ben Bella was elected Algeria's first president. The Algerian War resulted in some 18,000 French military deaths, 3,000 colon deaths, and about 300,000 Muslim deaths. Some 30,000 colons remained behind, including the socialist mayor of Algiers, Jacques Chevallier. They were ostensibly granted equal rights in the peace treaty but instead faced official discrimination by the FLN government and the loss of much of their property. The FLN remained in power until 1989, practicing a form of socialism until changes in Algeria necessitated changes in internal affairs.

William E. Watson

See also

Arab League; Arab Nationalism; France, Middle East Policy; National Liberation Front in Algeria; Pan-Arabism and Pan-Arabist Thought

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Algiers Agreement

Diplomatic accord between Iraq and Iran designed to settle outstanding issues between the two nations and avert war. The Algiers Agreement of March 6, 1975, known also as the Algiers Accord, was an agreement mediated by Algerian president Houari Boumedienne at a March 1975 meeting of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The accord was approved by Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran and President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Essentially, the agreement attempted to resolve territorial disputes between the two countries involving common borders as well as water and navigation rights. It provided for continuing Algerian participation in an ongoing Iranian-Iraqi dialogue that would occur at alternating meetings in Tehran and Baghdad. The Algiers Agreement also established an Iraqi-Iranian joint commission intended to refine and monitor the agreement's provisions and resolve any further disputes.

The agreement resulted in a formal treaty signed on June 13, 1975, which stipulated the Constantinople Protocol of 1913 and the Proceedings of the Border Delimitation Commission of 1914 as the basis of the determination of the Iranian-Iraqi border. Iran and Iraq agreed that the *thalweg,* or the median course of the Shatt al-Arab waterway, Iraq's only outlet to the sea, formed the river border between the two countries even though the shifting course of the Shatt al-Arab had given rise to some of the original disputes. They further consented to resolve ownership of disputed islands and other territories related to the waterway, to end subversive infiltrations of each other's country, and to resolve issues related to other border disputes, such as Khuzestan. Although not part of the agreement, the shah used the agreement's termination of

subversive activities clause to withdraw Iranian support for the Kurdish rebellion against Iraq.

In the end, both parties failed to comply with the terms of the accord, and the festering unresolved territorial issues that it was designed to address led in part to the destructive Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988). This in turn led to a general destabilization in the Middle East.

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See also

Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Reza Pahlavi, Mohammad

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Al Jazeera

The most popular news agency in the Arab world and its first large non–government-operated news network. Founded in 1996, Al Jazeera (al-Jazira) has become well known for its willingness to report on topics that are controversial in both the Middle East and in the Western media and to spark controversy through its interview format, in sharp contrast with state-controlled television. Al Jazeera is based in Qatar but is staffed by an international body of reporters. It claims to be the only uncensored news agency in the Middle East and, as a cable network, was available to viewers throughout the region. However, its commitment to presenting material that countered U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East and, at times, sharp criticism of Middle Eastern leaders or governments made it a focus of displeasure for the U.S. government, which banned its reporters from Iraq after the 2003 invasion.

The Arabic term *al-Jazeera* ("the island") is a colloquial reference to the Arabian Peninsula. Its origins are rooted in a response to the censorship and control in the Arab media on the part of political commentators and reporters and the recognition of the new market available through satellite television.

Although popular with many in the region, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) has discontinued much of its programming there in recent years. Many of the journalists employed by the BBC were eager to continue broadcasting and, together with Sheikh Hamad bin Thamer al-Thani, approached the emir of Qatar for money to establish a new network. Thani, a cousin of Emir Sheikh Hamad ibn Khalifa al-Thani, convinced the Qatari ruler to provide a grant of $150 million. This became the start-up money for Al Jazeera. The network continues to receive financial assistance from Qatar and is further funded by advertising revenue and by distributing its exclusive news feeds.

Despite the subsidy from Qatar, Al Jazeera set out to maintain a strict independence from censorship, which was previously almost unknown in the region. Al Jazeera chose as its corporate motto "the right to speak up." It also proclaimed to the world that it sought in its reporting "objectivity, accuracy, and a passion for truth."

Broadcasting via satellite since November 1996, Al Jazeera quickly became the most-watched media outlet in the Arab world. Unfettered by the official censorship of government-sponsored news reporting, Al Jazeera has earned a reputation among its audience as a network committed to presenting multiple sides of any debate.

Al Jazeera became the first major news outlet in the Arabic-speaking Middle East to regularly present interviews with official Israeli spokesmen as well as with banned Islamist organizations and feminist groups. Al Jazeera has also been open in its critique of events that illustrate dictatorial or authoritarian actions by the governments of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Such diversity of opinion and outspoken criticism of oppression made Al Jazeera a popular network in the latter part of the 1990s that became available to Arabic-speaking viewers worldwide. It was in 2001, however, that Al Jazeera captured the attention of news audiences far beyond the Arabic-speaking world. When the dramatic terror attacks of September 11, 2001, were carried out against the United States, Al Jazeera broadcast footage of Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden and Sulayman Abu Ghaith praising the carnage. Al Jazeera subsequently broadcast tapes released by Al Qaeda in the interest of public knowledge. For many in the West who were otherwise unfamiliar with Al Jazeera, the network was now immediately seen as a mouthpiece for Al Qaeda. Al Jazeera vehemently rejected this charge, stating that it had merely presented news footage obtained in the interest of showing all sides in a major story. Nevertheless, the broadcast initiated a new barrage of attacks, particularly by the U.S. government, against Al Jazeera. These were exacerbated by Al Jazeera's coverage of Iraqi resistance activities to the American military presence, which the U.S. government presented as an insurgency carried out mainly by foreign elements.

Although news organizations around the world have purchased the rights to broadcast the footage from Al Jazeera, the George W. Bush administration was extremely critical of the network. The administration was outraged when Al Jazeera broadcast scenes of suffering experienced by Afghan civilians in the wake of the November 2001 invasion of their country by U.S. military forces, claiming that it sponsored the perpetuation of terrorist ideals. News organizations throughout the world, however, were impressed with the unparalleled quality of the Afghan war coverage by Al Jazeera. Indeed, its feeds were widely purchased for rebroadcast.

The stakes against Al Jazeera in the United States were raised even higher in early 2003. In the run-up to the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, Al Jazeera was accused of being connected to Iraqi

Al Jazeera English Channel staff prepare for a broadcast in the Doha newsroom in Qatar, November 14, 2006. (AP/Wide World Photos)

spies by a former Iraqi opposition organization known as the Iraqi National Congress. As a consequence, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) declared Al Jazeera to be an organ of anti-American propaganda. Al Jazeera's stock was banned from the New York Stock Exchange, and its reporters were ejected from the trading floor. Ironically, the Saddam Hussein regime had also tossed out of Iraq Al Jazeera's main reporter at the time, claiming that he was a spy for the United States. In response, Al Jazeera launched a searing editorial attack on an Iraqi government that tried at every turn to thwart free reporting from the country. Under attack from both the United States and Iraq in the days before the launch of the Iraq War, Al Jazeera became a symbol for what some see as hypocrisy in both Iraq and the United States in regard to a free press.

As the invasion of Iraq progressed in 2003 and the occupation of Iraq took hold, Al Jazeera continued to provide some of the world's most controversial and in-depth reporting, and its feeds were rebroadcast on every continent. Despite having its headquarters in Baghdad and Kabul bombed by U.S. forces and pressure being exerted by Washington on the Qatari government to shut it down, Al Jazeera's reporting on Afghanistan and Iraq continues to be the most comprehensive in the world. In fact, it is often the only reporting to focus on the heart-wrenching experiences of local people coping with disaster. Al Jazeera continued to broadcast controversial missives from insurgents, including footage of Westerners held hostage, until the Iraqi interim government, with U.S. encouragement, banned the network from the country in September 2004.

The 2003 launch of Arabic- and English-language Web sites for Al Jazeera was plagued with controversy. Hackers repeatedly interrupted service on the English-language site, and several Internet service providers cancelled contracts with Al Jazeera when the network refused to remove controversial content. In 2005 an undeterred Al Jazeera planned to launch an international English-language satellite network based in Kuala Lumpur. In November 2006 Al Jazeera International, an English-language network, began its first broadcasts. Al Jazeera International's broadcasts are regularly picked up by the BBC and the U.S.-based Cable News Network (CNN), among others; its viewership is estimated to be 100 million households. Through extreme adversity and international controversy, Al Jazeera continues to be one of the most-watched news networks in the world, promoting itself as one of the only truly free voices in the Middle East.

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See also

Terrorism; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Allah

Allah is the name of the one and only God, the very same One God worshipped by the Christians and the Jews. Indeed, the Arabic name "Allah" is likewise used by Arab Christians for "God." Prior to Islam, the Quraysh tribe who lived in Mecca believed in a deity they called simply *al-ilah,* or "the god"; however, they also worshipped other deities. The Prophet Muhammad's primary effort while still living in Mecca was to reform his fellow Quraysh by restricting their belief solely to Allah, or the One God, who was the God of Abraham just as surah 42:13 of the Qur'an states: "He has established for you the same religion that He enjoined on Noah, and which We revealed to you, and that He enjoined on Abraham, Moses, and Jesus—namely that you remain steadfast in the religion and make no divisions in it." The term "Allah" is a contraction of *al-ilah* (*al,* "the," and *ilah,* "god or diety"). Thus the *shahadah,* or Islamic statement of faith, states that there "is no *ilah* [god] but *Allah,*" meaning the one and only god.

Elsewhere in the Qur'an, which Muslims believe to be Allah's divine message to men, sometimes the term for Allah is Rabb, meaning "Lord," or al-Rahman, meaning "the Merciful." From the Qur'an, Muslims later derived the 99 names of Allah, which are used as his characterizations, and the Sufi, or mystical Islamic type of prayer known as the *dhikr* ("remembrance of God"). As the Qur'an in surah 43:87 states, the Quraysh believed that Allah was the creator of the universe and the source of sustenance. However, the verse criticizes the additional deities of the pre-Islamic Arabs. In 630 CE when Mecca was conquered by the Muslim armies, the Kabah was cleansed of their idols. The Kabah, or sacred cube, was a structure that according to Islamic tradition was built by Abraham and his son Ishmael as the focal point of Allah's presence on earth.

Muhammad preached that Allah alone, without partners, was to be worshipped and served. Some historical sources allege that at one point during the Prophet's early ministry in Mecca, he struck a compromise with the Quraysh to allow the worship of Allah and these other three, which supposedly led to the inclusion of the controversial "Satanic Verses," or *gharaniq,* within the Qur'an. However, these verses were not included in the recension, or official edition of the Qur'an.

Allah is clearly described in the Qur'an, although many debates concerning Islamic theology arose later, especially in the medieval period. The Throne Verse (2:255), especially beloved to Muslims, declares Allah's omnipotence and uniqueness as compared to humankind: "Allah! There is no god but He, the Living, the Self-Subsistent. Slumber seizes Him not, no, nor sleep. To Him belong all that is in the heavens and upon earth. Who is there who intercedes with Him except with His permission? He knows what has appeared as past and as yet to come, and there is no share in His knowledge except by His will."

The Qur'an distinctly states that Allah is neither created nor begets a son or daughter with whom to share power. This belief challenged the Quraysh's belief in other deities but also the Christian conception of the Trinity.

Allah's corporeality and other aspects of his nature and functions were debated between theologians in what was called *kalam* and the group known as traditionists. Among their debates and those of others were the nature of the Qur'an, the battle between freewill and responsibility and Allah's omnipotence, and whether or not Allah had a face and hands (corporeality) as described in the Qur'an. On this last issue, the majority view was that belief in these matters must be maintained *bi-la kayfa* ("without asking how").

Allah is said to be omnipotent and aware of all and yet closer to man than "his jugular vein." His powerful and terrifying characteristics are stressed, as are His loving and tender aspects. Allah is the Creator of All. One of the most beautiful of Qur'anic surahs, The Bee, asks in a refrain throughout the chapter how any can doubt Allah, given the magnificence of his creations in nature.

The essential creed of Islam is known as *aqidah* and first consists of belief in Allah and His oneness, or *tawhid.* This is followed by belief in angels, prophets, scriptures, and the Last, or Judgment, Day.

More elaborate statements and discussions of Islamic faith began about 50 years after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. Many of these were in response to other philosophical questions, such as the balance between faith and works, the position of the Muslim sinner, the role of determinism, and the confrontations with Christian theology in its later stages.

The Sufi movements in Islam aim to develop the individual Muslim in order for the person to achieve a mystical union with Allah. This comes about through an end to individual ego. Vast amounts of literature and poetry focus on this process, expressed as love or longing for Allah. Various Sufi figures were controversial to institutional scholars; however, mystical Islam or Sufism shares with many ordinary Muslims the emphasis on *tawwakul,* or pronounced trust and reliance on Allah.

The Qur'an contains Allah's commandments for devout Muslims to follow His Sharia, or way. In addition to Islam's basic creed (or faith), the so-called five pillars of Islam, all basic commandments can be found within the Qur'an as pertain to relations between mankind and Allah and man's relations to his fellow men. Good and evil are clearly defined throughout the Qur'an, which consistently exhorts Muslims to follow the righteous path and abjure all evil, as commanded by Allah. Crimes against Allah are the most serious, followed by crimes against Muslims, or social crimes, that include failing to support the poor and orphans in the community.

Whereas there is no formula for atonement of sins as assigned in Catholicism, for example, Muslims believe that they can make up for sinful behavior by the adoption of righteous behavior, and certain substitutes are permitted for other actions. All souls will

be judged and either condemned to hell, or *jahannam,* or released to *al-jannah,* or paradise. Many Muslims hope for intercession (*shafa*) with Allah to occur at this time of Judgment, as referred to above in the Throne Verse. They pray for that intercession to be enacted for them through holy figures, although fulfillment of basic Islamic duties is still required, and, as stated, this possibility is regulated by Allah.

Russell G. Rodgers and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Martyrdom; Qur'an; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam

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Allawi, Iyad

Birth Date: May 31, 1944

Iraqi politician and prime minister of Iraq's appointed interim government that assumed the governance of Iraq on June 28, 2004; he held the premiership until April 7, 2005. Iyad Allawi was born into a well-to-do family in Baghdad on May 31, 1944. His father and uncle were physicians. His father was also a member of Iraq's parliament, and his grandfather had participated in the negotiations that granted Iraq its independence in 1932. His mother was Lebanese. The family had long-standing commercial and political ties to both the British and the Americans.

Allawi graduated from the American Jesuit's Baghdad College, an intermediate- and senior-level preparatory school, and entered the Baghdad University College of Medicine in 1961, the same year he joined the Baath Party, met future Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, and became active in the Iraqi National Students' Union. Allawi organized strikes and other activities against the government of Abd al-Karim Qasim. On February 8, 1963, Qasim was overthrown in a Baathist coup, which resulted in General Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr becoming prime minister. Allawi was eventually placed in charge of the central security office at the presidential palace and was given the nickname of the "palace doctor."

Although unproven, there are charges that Allawi participated in intense interrogations and torture that led to the deaths of trade union officials, students, and political leaders. Allawi was arrested on these charges, but he was released after Bakr intervened. Allawi participated in the July 17, 1968, coup that made Bakr president and excluded all but Baathists from government positions. Bakr then pressured the minister of health, Ezzat Mustafa, to expedite Allawi's graduation from the college of medicine.

Opposition to Allawi grew within the government, and he was sent to Beirut in 1971 before moving to London in 1972 to head the Baath National Students Union and to pursue advanced medical studies. Allawi left the Baath Party in 1975 and supposedly began working for MI6, the British foreign intelligence service. In 1976 he earned a masters of science in medicine from London University. Allawi's name was placed on an assassination list in 1978 after Iraqi president Saddam Hussein failed to convince him to rejoin the Baathists. In February 1978 Allawi and his wife were attacked by an ax-bearing intruder in their Surrey home but escaped serious injury. Allawi earned a doctorate in medicine in 1979 from London University before being certified as a neurologist in 1982.

In 1979 Allawi had begun gathering alienated former Iraqi Baathists together into a group that grew into a Hussein opposition party. It was formalized in December 1990 as the Iraqi National Accord (INA). The INA received backing from Britain, the United States, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey. It fomented dissent among the disaffected in Iraq and committed acts of terror and sabotage in that country in an attempt to bring down the Hussein regime. Allawi and the INA were recruited by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) after the 1991 Persian Gulf War

Iraqi prime minister Iyad Allawi, shown here attending a meeting of the European Union (EU) in Brussels on November 5, 2004. Allawi was critical of the EU over its lack of support for the U.S.-led coalition in the Iraq War. (Council of the European Union)

and were paid $5 million dollars in 1995 and $6 million in 1996. The CIA supported the INA's 1996 failed military coup, code-named DBACHILLES, which led to the execution of many Iraqis and to the confiscation or destruction of approximately $250 million of Allawi family assets.

The INA and Allawi gathered intelligence establishing the alleged existence of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) in Iraq that formed the core of the MI6 dossier released in September 2002. This dossier formed a major part of the rationale for the 2003 U.S.- and British-led coalition invasion of Iraq in March 2003. On July 13, 2003, Allawi was appointed by Coalition Provisional Authority administrator L. Paul Bremer to the 25-member Iraqi Governing Council (IGC), where he served as minister of defense and assumed the rotating presidency for October 2003. He resigned as head of the IGC security committee in April 2004 over alleged concerns about U.S. tactics used to subdue the 2004 Fallujah insurgency.

The coalition-led IGC transferred authority to the Iraqi Interim Government, with Allawi as the appointed interim prime minister, on June 28, 2004. During his tenure in this position he created a domestic spy agency named the General Security Directorate to counter the Iraqi insurgency, closed the Iraqi office of the television network Al Jazeera, attempted to marginalize radical Shiite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr and his militia, and assumed the power to declare martial law. Allawi tried to draw Baathists who had not committed criminal acts during Hussein's rule into the government and considered pardoning insurgents who surrendered their weapons. Allawi stepped down as premier on April 7, 2005, the day the Islamic Dawa Party leader Ibrahim al-Jafari was elected to lead the transitional Iraqi National Assembly.

Allawi's INA won just 25 seats in the December 2005 elections establishing the permanent Iraqi National Assembly. This placed the party a distant third in the assembly, with only 14 percent of the vote. In 2007 the INA boycotted the Iraqi government altogether, and Allawi refused to take a cabinet position in it. He retains his dual British citizenship, and his wife and children reside in the United Kingdom for security reasons. In January 2009 Allawi excoriated the George W. Bush administration for its mismanagement of the Iraq War since 2003 and criticized Bush for his insistence on elections and democratic institutions in Iraq before first having achieved stability. Allawi was also highly critical of the Iraqi government led by Nuri al-Maliki.

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See also

Al Jazeera; Baath Party; Bakr, Ahmad Hassan al-; Bremer, Jerry; Fallujah, Second Battle of; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Iraqi Insurgency; Maliki, Nuri Muhammed Kamil Hasan al-; Qasim, Abd al-Karim

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Al-Manar Television

Official television station of the Lebanese Shiite movement and militia Hezbollah, which began broadcasting terrestrially in 1991 and via satellite in 2000. Al-Manar ("the beacon" in Arabic) played an important role in Hezbollah's 1984 to May 2000 campaign against the occupation of a large swath of southern Lebanon by the Israeli Army, which the Israelis dubbed the "security zone."

The station is a part of Hezbollah's sophisticated multimedia network, which also includes radio stations and print publications. Today, Al-Manar is carried by 7 major satellite companies and broadcasts programming 24 hours per day, 7 days a week. The station, which was partly funded by Iran in 1991, has an annual budget of $15 million and is a member of the Arab States Broadcasting Union.

Al-Manar's popularity spikes during times of crisis in southern Lebanon and is generally popular throughout the Arab and Muslim world. The station supplements its main Arabic language programming with broadcasts in French, English, and Hebrew. Based in Beirut, Al-Manar maintains bureaus in several countries, including Egypt, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), and Iran, and it has reporters stationed in numerous countries in Europe and the Middle East.

Al-Manar propaganda broadcasts had a significant effect throughout the Israeli occupation and again during the summer 2006 Hezbollah-Israeli conflict, particularly after the Israelis launched their major ground invasion of Lebanon. During the Israeli occupation of part of Lebanon, Hebrew broadcasts targeted Israeli units in Lebanon as part of Hezbollah's campaign of psychological warfare. A particularly effective series of broadcasts mixed images of slain Israeli soldiers followed by a question in Hebrew—"Who's next?"—with a blank profile cutout. Hezbollah filmed many of its attacks against the Israelis and their Lebanese allies, the South Lebanon Army (SLA), a militia made up predominantly of Maronite Catholics. These videos, which recorded ambushes of Israeli patrols, assaults on Israeli positions, and suicide attacks on Israeli and SLA military targets, were regularly broadcast on Al-Manar.

Today, Al-Manar's programming includes talk shows, television news magazines, religious programming, rousing propaganda music videos, documentaries, dramas, and news broadcasts. The station also broadcasts Hezbollah's rallies and public speeches and press conferences by its leaders. Religious and political music videos are included in its broadcasts. These videos serve different purposes—from commemorating the sacrifices of its guerrillas to supporting the Second (al-Aqsa) Palestinian Intifada against

the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and blockade of the Gaza Strip. Some videos extol the party's military exploits against the Israelis, portraying Hezbollah as a defender of Lebanese, Arab, and Muslim honor against the Zionist Israelis and their U.S. backers. Al-Manar also includes news of particular issues of import, whether concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict, Iraq, or other events in the Islamic world. These measure up well against reportage by other media outlets.

Al-Manar was heavily watched during the summer 2006 war. Music videos are an attempt to bolster the party's support among Lebanese and Arabs, as well as within its own largely Shiite constituency. Images such as Lebanese flags, Lebanese cultural and historical sites and monuments, and religious symbols are integral parts of both types of music videos broadcast by Al-Manar.

Al-Manar has played a key role in the ongoing political disputes between Hezbollah and its political allies in the National Opposition coalition and the ruling March 14th Alliance, which currently controls the prime minister's office and a slight majority of Lebanon's parliamentary seats. The National Opposition also includes Lebanon's other large Shiite political party, Afwaj al-Muqawama al-Lubnaniyya (AMAL, the Lebanese Resistance Detachments), the Christian Free Patriotic Movement party of former Lebanese Army general Michel Aoun, a Maronite Catholic, and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party. The March 14th Alliance is controlled largely by three main parties: the Sunni Future Movement of Saad al-Hariri, the son of the assassinated prime minister Rafic al-Hariri; the Druze Progressive Socialist Party of Walid Jumblatt; and the Maronite Catholic Lebanese Forces party of Samir Ja'Ja. Al-Manar and other National Opposition media outlets were engaged in a propaganda and media war with March 14th media outlets, particularly Saad al-Hariri's Future Television station.

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See also

Hezbollah; Lebanon; Lebanon, Armed Forces

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Al Qaeda

International radical Islamic organization, the hallmark of which is the perpetration of terrorist attacks against local governments or Western interests in the name of Islam. In the late 1980s members of Tanzim al-Qaida (Arabic for "base" or "foundation") fought with the mujahideen against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

Al Qaeda, a salafi Sunni organization, was established around 1987–1988 by Sheikh Abdullah Azzam, a mentor to Osama bin Laden, the current leader of the group. Azzam was a professor at King Abdul Aziz University in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Bin Laden attended that university, where he met and was strongly influenced by Azzam.

Al Qaeda developed from the Mujahideen Services Bureau that Azzam established in Peshawar, Afghanistan. Bin Laden funded the organization and was considered the deputy director. This organization recruited, trained, and transported Muslim volunteers from any Muslim nation into Afghanistan to fight the jihad (holy war) against the Soviet armies in the 1980s.

Other elements in Al Qaeda arrived with members of radical groups from other countries, such as a faction of Egyptian Islamic Jihad, some of the members of which had been indicted and had fled Egypt. The credo of Al Qaeda came from its beliefs, based on ideas by many radical Islamist thinkers, including the practice of *takfir* (declaring that Muslim leaders who colluded with non-Muslim interests were apostates). Azzam adopted and expanded on these arguments, and bin Laden applied them to the government of Saudi Arabia, which he believed was too closely allied with the West. He proposed armed struggle to combat the far enemy as well as the near enemy in order to create a new Islamic society.

Following the mysterious death of Sheikh Azzam in November 1989, perhaps at bin Laden's behest, bin Laden took over the leadership of Al Qaeda. He has continued to work toward Azzam's goal of creating an international organization comprised of mujahideen who will fight the oppression of Muslims throughout the world. Al Qaeda aims to establish an authentic Islamic form of government, to fight against any government viewed as contrary to the ideals of Islamic law and religion, and to aid Islamic groups trying to establish an Islamic form of government in their countries.

No attacks by Al Qaeda are known to have occurred against Israel. The most damaging Al Qaeda attack by far has been the September 11, 2001, attack on the United States. The genesis of Al Qaeda's great antipathy toward the West—in particular the United States—can be traced back to the 1991 Persian Gulf War, precipitated by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990. Bin Laden, originally a well-to-do Saudi Arabian, allegedly offered to commit Al Qaeda mujahideen to the defense of Saudi Arabia in case of an Iraqi invasion of that nation. The Saudi government declined the offer and permitted the stationing of hundreds of thousands of U.S. and coalition soldiers in Saudi Arabia during the run-up to the war (Operation desert shield). This move enraged bin Laden, who perceived the presence of foreign troops in Saudi Arabia as a blatant acknowledgment of the political linkage between his government and the United States. He also portrayed this as a religious failing, for Saudi Arabia is home to both Mecca and Medina, the holiest of places in all of Islam, and the members of the Saudi royal family are the guardians of these. When he condemned the

Osama bin Laden (second from left) with his top lieutenant, Egyptian Ayman al-Zawahri (second from right), and two unidentified associates in an undisclosed location in this television image broadcast on October 7, 2001. (AP/Wide World Photos)

stationing of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia, bin Laden was expelled from the kingdom and had his citizenship revoked. He then took up temporary residence in the Sudan.

Once in Sudan, bin Laden began training Al Qaeda fighters and is believed to have carried out an abortive assassination attempt against Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak in 1994. Under intense international pressure led by the United States, Sudan expelled bin Laden and Al Qaeda leadership in late 1996. From Sudan they traveled directly to Afghanistan, where the Islamic fundamentalist Taliban regime had already ensconced itself. The Taliban not only protected Al Qaeda but also in all probability helped arm it and by doing so gave to it an air of legitimacy, at least in Afghanistan. In 1998 bin Laden joined forces with leaders from the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, such as Ayman al-Zawahiri, and several other radical organizations, all of whom vowed to wage a holy war against Israel and its allies. In August of that year Al Qaeda carried out what is thought to be its first overseas attack against Western interests. That month saw the bombings of the U.S. embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya. More than 200 people died in the attacks, and another 4,000 were wounded. In October 2000 Al Qaeda also carried out an attack on the U.S. Navy guided missile destroyer *Cole* in the Yemeni port of Aden in which 17 U.S. sailors perished.

The organization of Al Qaeda has a *majlis al-shura,* or consultative council. The *amir al-mu'minin* (commander of the faithful) is bin Laden, followed by several other generals and then additional leaders of related groups. Some sources say that there are 24 related groups as part of the consultative council. The council consists of four committees: military, religious-legal, finance, and media. Each leader of these committees has been selected personally by bin Laden and reports directly to him. All levels of Al Qaeda are highly compartmentalized, and secrecy is the key to all operations.

Al Qaeda's ideology has appealed to both Middle Eastern and non–Middle Eastern Muslim groups. There are also a number of radical Islamic terrorist groups, such as al-Qa'ida fi Bilad al-Rafhidayn ("in the land of the two rivers," meaning Iraq) and al-Qa'ida fi Jazirat al-Arabiyya ("of the Arabian Peninsula"), that initiated an association with Al Qaeda via public declarations. Nevertheless, Al Qaeda continues to be the central force of world terrorism because of the media attention given to its occasional pronouncements and the September 11 attacks.

Al Qaeda's most horrific deed has undoubtedly been the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States. The attacks, which killed an estimated 2,976 people, were carried out by the hijacking of four commercial jetliners, two of which were flown into New York City's World Trade Center, destroying both towers. A third jetliner was crashed into the Pentagon outside Washington, D.C., while a fourth, supposedly bound for the White House or the U.S. Capitol, crashed in a western Pennsylvania field, killing all onboard. However, many Muslims and others demanded proof of a direct connection between bin Laden and the perpetrators of 9/11 and were unsatisfied with the results of the investigation into the terrorist attacks, believing instead that the event may have been staged.

It has been alleged that Al Qaeda inspired the March 2004 Madrid train bombings that killed nearly 200 and the July 2005 London subway bombings that killed 52. Although Al Qaeda took responsibility for the latter, there is no irrefutable evidence linking Al Qaeda to either attack; however, it is believed that the perpetrators borrowed Al Qaeda tactics to pull them off.

The Global War on Terror, initiated since the September 11 attacks, resulted in an invasion of Afghanistan and the toppling of the Taliban in late 2001 (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM). The Western presence in Afghanistan has kept Al Qaeda on the run ever since. Some of the leadership has been killed, but bin Laden has thus far apparently eluded capture or death. Since the 2003 Anglo-American invasion of Iraq, Al Qaeda was thought to have supported the growing insurgency in Iraq, which became a virtual full-blown civil war during 2006. Since 2007, U.S. and coalition forces have enjoyed some success in purging Iraq of Al Qaeda operatives. While most Arab and Muslim governments have tried to distance themselves from Al Qaeda and its operations, there can be little doubt that the group enjoys support among significant elements of the populations of these countries.

Bin Laden has been able to put most of the radical Islamic terrorist groups under the umbrella of Al Qaeda. Indeed, its leadership has spread throughout the world, and its influence penetrates many religious, social, and economical structures in most Muslim communities. Today, the upper-echelon leadership of Al Qaeda continues to elude American intelligence and Western armies in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The membership of Al Qaeda remains difficult to determine because of its decentralized organizational structure. By early 2005, U.S. officials claimed to have killed or taken prisoner two-thirds of the Al Qaeda leaders behind the September 11 attacks. However, some of these prisoners have been shown to have had no direct connection with the attacks.

Al Qaeda continues to periodically release audio recording and videotapes, some featuring bin Laden himself, to comment on current issues, exhort followers to keep up the fight, and prove to Western governments that it is still a force to be reckoned with.

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See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula; Al Qaeda in Iraq; Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb; Bin Laden, Osama; Islamic Radicalism; Jihad; Mubarak, Hosni; Muslim Brotherhood; Salafism; Taliban; Terrorism

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Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula

Underground Muslim militant group based in Saudi Arabia that is loosely affiliated with Osama bin Laden's and Ayman al-Zawahiri's transnational Al Qaeda network. Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (al-Qaida fi Jazirat al-Arabiyya, AQAP) was organized in 2001–2002 and emerged publicly in 2003 when it carried out a series of deadly bombings against the Saudi government and expatriate residences in the kingdom's major cities, including the capital city of Riyadh and the key Red Sea port city of Jeddah. The group came under attack in 2004 and 2005 during a series of arrests and shootouts with Saudi police and soldiers. These shootouts resulted in the deaths of several top AQAP leaders and operatives including its founder, Yusuf Salah Fahd al-Uyayri (Ayiri) (d. 2003) and his two successors, Abd al-Aziz bin Issa bin Abd al-Muhsin al-Muqrin (d. 2004) and Salah al-Alawi al-Awfi (d. 2005).

AQAP's primary goal was to overthrow the House of Saud, the kingdom's ruling family, that is seen as corrupt and anathema to the "pure" society that the group's members and other unaffiliated and nonmilitant opponents of the monarchy seek to establish. The monarchy is harshly criticized by both the opposition and many of its own supporters among the ranks of the kingdom's official religious scholars (*ulama*) as being too closely aligned with foreign powers, such as the United States, to the detriment of Saudi interests and social values. AQAP members proved to be adept users of the Internet, creating Web sites and widely read online publications such as the Web magazine *Sawt al-Jihad* (Voice of Jihad).

Despite a series of small-scale attacks on Europeans and Americans in the kingdom during 2002 and early 2003, Saudi authorities did not acknowledge the existence of AQAP as a fully operational group until May 12, 2003. On that day, the group carried out three simultaneous suicide vehicle bombings at the Hamra, Vinnell, and Jedewahl housing compounds used by foreign (mainly Western) expatriates. The attacks killed 35 people, including 9 of the

A Saudi police vehicle in the al-Hamra compound, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on May 15, 2003. Three days earlier, three compounds housing foreigners were struck by Saudi terrorists, killing some 35 people and injuring more than 160. Nine attackers were also killed. Eight Americans were among the victims. (AP/Wide World Photos)

terrorists, and wounded 200 others. According to senior U.S. diplomats and Saudi intellectuals, this attack drove home to Crown Prince Abdullah (now King Abdullah) the need to vigorously combat homegrown Saudi radicalism.

In response to the attacks, hundreds of suspects were arrested by Saudi authorities, many of them with ties to AQAP and to the resistance in Iraq, although many were also probably figures from the nonmilitant religious opposition whom the authorities wished to silence under the guise of combating terrorism. Al-Uyayri (or Ayiri), AQAP's founder and first leader, was killed in June 2003 at the height of this sweep by Saudi authorities. He was succeeded by Abd al-Aziz al-Muqrin.

On November 3, 2003, Saudi security forces had a shootout with AQAP operatives in the city of Mecca, the location of the Kaba, Islam's holiest shrine, that resulted in the deaths of 2 militants and the capture of a large weapons cache. Five days later AQAP launched a successful suicide bombing attack against the Muhayya housing complex in Riyadh, which was home to many non-Saudi Arab expatriate workers; the attack killed 18 people and wounded scores of others.

The group continued to launch attacks on Saudi and foreign targets, including a Riyadh government building on April 21, 2004, and an oil company office in Yanbu on May 1, that resulted in the killing of five Western workers. AQAP suffered another setback on March 15, 2004, when Khalid Ali bin Ali al-Haj, a Yemeni national and senior AQAP leader, was killed in a shootout with Saudi police along with his companion, AQAP member Ibrahim al-Muzayni. The group retaliated with a host of deadly attacks on expatriates, killing Herman Dengel (a German, on May 22, 2004), BBC cameraman Simon Cumbers (on June 6), Robert Jacob (an American, on June 8), Kenneth Scroggs (an American, on June 12), Irish engineer Tony Christopher (on August 3), British engineer Edward Muirhead-Smith (on September 15), and Laurent Barbot (French, on September 26).

The most widely publicized attack, however, was the June 12, 2004, kidnapping and June 18 beheading of Paul M. Johnson Jr., an American employee of U.S. defense contractor Lockheed

Martin. His kidnappers demanded the release of all detainees held by Saudi authorities, which was denied. The beheading was filmed and released on Web sites associated with and sympathetic to AQAP. That same day, Muqrin was killed by Saudi security forces during a raid on an AQAP safe house. Meanwhile, on May 29 the group succeeded again in successfully carrying out attacks on three targets in the city of Khobar, taking hostages in oil business offices and housing complexes associated with foreign companies. Saudi police and soldiers stormed the buildings the next day and rescued many of the hostages but not before the attackers had killed 22 others. Shortly after this attack, the U.S. Department of State issued a statement that urged U.S. citizens to leave the kingdom. The year was capped off with a spectacular attack on December 6 on the U.S. consulate in Jeddah in which 5 consulate employees, 4 Saudi national guardsmen, and 3 AQAP members were killed.

The Saudi government waged a successful campaign against AQAP throughout 2004 and into 2005, killing dozens of the group's members and nearly wiping out its senior leadership. In April 2005 several senior operatives were killed in a shootout in Rass, and in August Saudi security forces killed Muqrin's successor and AQAP leader Salah al-Alawi al-Awfi in the holy city of Medina. Other members were arrested. After suffering dramatic setbacks, AQAP continued to organize and plan attacks through 2008.

The group's members remain at large, and Saudi and foreign intelligence agencies continue to warn that AQAP poses a threat. The Saudi government has responded with antiterrorist measures such as conferences and public pronouncements, a highly structured in-prison counseling program designed to de-radicalize detainees, and the Sakinah program that analyzes and engages Internet postings. In 2007 and 2008, Saudi security forces detained and imprisoned hundreds of people, some of them suspected militants and others in a variety of incidents, including those planning an attack during the hajj, the annual religious pilgrimage.

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See also

Al Qaeda; Global War on Terror; Saudi Arabia; Terrorism

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Al Qaeda in Iraq

Al Qaeda in Iraq (al-Qa'ida fi Bilad al-Rafhidayn, AQI) is a violent Sunni jihadist organization that has taken root in Iraq since the 2003 Anglo-American–led invasion of that nation. The U.S. government has characterized AQI, sometimes referred to as Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia, as the most deadly Sunni jihadist insurgent force now in Iraq. Other sources and experts argue that this designation is exaggerated, as the group is merely 1 of more than 40 similar organizations, and that the claim was made symbolically to rationalize the idea that coalition forces are fighting terrorism in Iraq and thus should not withdraw precipitously.

Opponents of the continuing U.S. presence in Iraq have argued that the 2003 invasion sparked the growth of salafi jihadism and suicide terrorism in Iraq and its export to other parts of the Islamic world. AQI first formed following the invasion and toppling of the Iraq regime, under the name Jama'at al-Tawhid wa-l Jihad (Group of Monotheism and Jihad) under Abu Musab al-Zarqawi.

Zarqawi had fought in Afghanistan in the 1980s and 1990s, and upon traveling to Jordan he organized a group called Bayt al-Imam with the noted Islamist ideologue Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi (Muhammad Tahir al-Barqawi) and other veterans of the war in Afghanistan. Zarqawi was arrested and imprisoned but was released in 1999. Returning again to Afghanistan and setting up camp in Herat, he reportedly took charge of certain Islamist factions in Kurdistan, from there moving into Iraq and sometimes into Syria. Once Mullah Krekar, the leader of the Kurdish group Islamist Ansar al-Islam, was deported to the Netherlands in 2003, certain sources claim that Zarqawi led some 600 Arab fighters in Syria.

Tawhid wa-l Jihad was blamed for, or took credit for, numerous attacks, including bombings of the Jordanian embassy, the Canal Hotel that killed 23 at the United Nations (UN) headquarters, and the Imam Ali mosque in Najaf. It is also credited with the killing of Italian paramilitary police and civilians at Nasiriyah and numerous suicide attacks that continued through 2005. The group also seized hostages and beheaded them. A video of the savage execution of U.S. businessman Nicholas Berg, murdered in Iraq on May 7, 2004, reportedly by Zarqawi himself, was followed by other killings of civilians.

The group has targeted Iraqi governmental and military personnel and police because of their cooperation with the American occupying force. AQI's recruitment videos have highlighted American attacks and home searches of defenseless Iraqis and promise martyrdom. Estimates of AQI members have ranged from 850 to

several thousand. Also under dispute have been the numbers of foreign fighters in relation to Iraqi fighters. Foreign fighters' roles were first emphasized, but it became clear that a much higher percentage (probably 90 percent) of fighters were Iraqi: members of the salafist jihadist, or quasi-nationalist jihadist, groups.

In October 2004 Zarqawi's group issued a statement acknowledging the leadership of Al Qaeda under Osama bin Laden and adopted the name al-Qa'ida fi Bilad al-Rafhidayn. The Iraqi city of Fallujah, in western Anbar Province, became an AQI stronghold. U.S. forces twice tried to capture the city, first in the prematurely terminated Operation VIGILANT RESOLVE from April 4 to May 1, 2004. The Fallujah Guard then controlled the city. U.S. military and Iraqi forces conquered the city in Operation PHANTOM FURY (codenamed Operation FAJR) during November 7–December 23, 2004, in extremely bloody fighting.

Zarqawi formed relationships with other salafist jihad organizations, announcing an umbrella group, the Mujahideen Shura Council, in 2006. After Zarqawi was reportedly at a safe house in June 2006, the new AQI leader, Abu Ayyub al-Masri, announced a new coalition, the Islamic State of Iraq, that included the Mujahideen Shura Council.

Al Qaeda, along with other Sunni salafist and nationalist groups, strongly resisted Iraqi and coalition forces in Baghdad, Ramadi, and Baqubah and continued staging very damaging attacks into 2007. However, by mid-2008 U.S. commanders claimed dominance over these areas. Nevertheless, AQI was acknowledged to still be operative southeast of Baghdad in Jabour, Mosul, Samarra, Hawijah, and Miqdadiyah. The United States believes that AQI's diminished presence is attributable to the Anbar Awakening, which enlisted numerous tribes, including some former AQI members, to fight Al Qaeda. The Americans further believe that AQI has been diminished because of the troop-surge strategy that began in early 2007. Since then, bin Laden has urged the mujahideen to unify in the face of these setbacks.

AQI has strongly influenced other jihadist groups and actors, particularly through its Internet presence. In sparking intersectarian strife in Iraq, the group has also damaged Iraqi postwar reconstruction and has tapped into the intolerance of many salafi groups and voices as well as other Sunni Iraqis and Sunni Muslims outside of Iraq who have been threatened by the emergence of Shia political parties and institutions that had suffered under the Baathist regime under Saddam Hussein.

SHERIFA ZUHUR

See also

Al Qaeda; Anbar Awakening; Bin Laden, Osama; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Iraqi Insurgency; Salafism; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam; Surge, U.S. Troop Deployment, Iraq War

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Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb

An Algeria-based clandestine jihadi organization founded on January 24, 2007, that employs terrorist tactics in support of Islamist ideology. Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (Tanzim al-Qaida fi Bilad al-Maghrib al-Islamiyya, QIM) symbolizes Algeria's continuing political instability, North Africa's increasing vulnerability to militant Islam, and Al Qaeda's little-discussed ability to expand not by diffusing or splintering into local cells but rather by skillfully drawing established organizations into its sphere of influence.

QIM's origins lie in Algeria's modern history. The French-Algerian War (1954–1962) freed Algeria from French colonialism and led to rule under the wartime resistance movement, the National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale, FLN). In 1989, however, militant Muslim opponents of the FLN regime formed the Islamic Salvation Front (Front Islamique du Salut, FIS). In the early 1990s the FLN manipulated and canceled elections to prevent the FIS from ascending to power, sparking a bloody civil war. This conflict radicalized and fragmented the opposition, with extremists gathering in the Armed Islamic Group (Groupe Islamique Armé, GIA), a faction bent on utterly destroying the FLN regime and installing a Muslim state under Sharia (Islamic law) through indiscriminate terrorist attacks against moderates and foreigners. The FLN weathered the storm, and as the civil war reached a horrendously violent stalemate, a new Islamist group—the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (Groupe Salafiste pour la Prédication et le Combat, GSPC)—superseded the GIA by denouncing the widely detested violence against civilians. Founded in 1998, the GSPC would adopt the Al Qaeda moniker a decade later.

The journey from GSPC to QIM was the result of a political dilemma facing Algerian Islamists and deft diplomacy by Al Qaeda operatives. The GSPC's first leader, Hassan Hattab (aka Abu Hamza), kept the popular promise to attack only government officials and forces, hoping to regain the far-reaching support for Muslim militancy enjoyed by the FIS. But building a broad backing was slow going, and time suggested that the FLN could withstand a conventional insurgency. Impatient elements within the GSPC forced Hattab's resignation in 2004. His successor, Nabil Sahraoui (aka Abu Ibrahim Mustafa), enjoyed only a brief reign before Algerian soldiers located and eliminated him in June 2004. Abdelmalek Droukdal (aka Abu Musab Abd al-Wadoud) has run the organization since, overseeing its radicalization, renaming, and return to GIA tactics.

Al Qaeda worked to influence the GSPC from its very inception. It helped to fund Muslim militants in Algeria in the early 1990s but refused to fully endorse the GIA despite experiences that so-called

Afghan Arabs in the two organizations shared while fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan in the 1980s. In 1998 Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden welcomed the advent of the GSPC, a group manned in part by Al Qaeda trainees who tied their renunciation of terrorism to an international jihadi agenda.

The new ideology harnessed the GSPC to Al Qaeda, and 12 days after the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, U.S. president George W. Bush labeled the GSPC a terrorist organization and froze its assets. This confrontation with the West—along with defections after 2000 of the halfhearted adherents, thanks to the Algerian government's amnesties for repentant civil war insurgents—further sharpened the GSPC's anti-Western extremist edge.

In 2002 Al Qaeda sent an emissary to Algeria for meetings with sympathetic figures within the GSPC. Two years later Chadian forces captured a key GSPC regional commander moving through the Sahara, and his colleagues decided to pressure Chad's ally, France, for his release. They reached out to Al Qaeda for assistance, and an obliging Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, head of Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia (Iraq), agreed to support the GSPC by kidnapping French citizens as bargaining chips. The plan did not materialize, but the congenial link remained, and after 2004 the GSPC's new hard-line leaders ultimately developed the link. Al Qaeda, for its part, grew increasingly interested in the GSPC after 2005 after the attempt to forge an affiliate terrorist network in Morocco had failed. Al Qaeda's strategists came to recognize that within North Africa, a critical region supplying long-standing Muslim immigrant communities to nearby Western Europe, only Algeria lacked a pervasive security apparatus capable of rooting out terrorist cells. The two organizations issued cordial statements throughout 2005, and by late 2006 a formal merger between Al Qaeda and the GSPC was announced, with the latter's name change coming the following year.

Since this merger, QIM has grown more powerful and dangerous. Al Qaeda is probably funneling resources into QIM, supplementing funds that the Algerian organization can gather on its own through the European financial network it inherited from the GIA. In return, QIM is internationalizing its purview. Some fear that it could make Europe an area of operations, and it has already forgone expansion—remaining at several hundred active members—in order to send newly trained North African recruits to fight in Iraq. The Al Qaeda–QIM alliance has been most pronounced in terms of tactics. The GSPC initially acquired conventional weaponry for guerrilla ambushes, false checkpoints, and truck bombs against military and government targets. With Al Qaeda's help and encouragement, QIM now executes impressive terrorist attacks featuring suicide bombers and civilian casualties. Since December 2006, QIM has bombed not only the Algerian prime minister's office and an army outpost but also foreign oil-services contractors and United Nations (UN) staff.

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See also

Al Qaeda; Al Qaeda in Iraq; Algerian War; Bin Laden, Osama; Global War on Terror; National Liberation Front in Algeria; Terrorism

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Alusi, Mithal al-
Birth Date: 1954

Iraqi politician and member of the Iraqi parliament. Mithal al-Alusi was born into a prominent Sunni professorial family in Anbar Province in 1954. A Baath Party member who was not allied with Saddam Hussein's regime, in 1976 Alusi, while studying in Cairo, was sentenced to death in absentia for trying to organize a plot against Hussein's regime. Alusi lived in exile for a time in Syria and then settled in the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), where he became a businessman. Convicted of hostage taking by a Berlin court, he was sentenced to prison for three years but appealed the conviction and did not serve the full sentence.

Alusi returned to Iraq in 2003 following the overthrow of Hussein and was appointed the director of culture and media at the Higher National Commission for De-Baathification. Alusi is a strong proponent of close Iraqi ties with the United States, the United Kingdom, Turkey, and Israel. In September 2004 after a public visit to Israel, Alusi was expelled from his post and from the Iraqi National Congress of Ahmed Chalabi. Alusi was also indicted by the Central Criminal Court on a charge of having had contact with an enemy state.

Alusi then formed a new political party, the Democratic Party of the Iraqi Nation, to contest the January 2005 Iraqi elections. Receiving only 4,500 votes, it failed to win representation in the Council of Representatives. In February 2005 Alusi's car was ambushed in Baghdad. His two sons and a bodyguard were killed in the attack, although he escaped. Asad al-Hasimi, then minister of culture, was convicted of the crime and sentenced to death in absentia. In December 2005 the Mithal al-Alusi List coalition of small parties ran in the national elections and won only .3 percent of the popular vote. This was sufficient, however, to secure one seat, which Alusi took.

In September 2008 Alusi again visited Israel and spoke as a member of the audience at a conference on counterterrorism, during which he praised Israel and called for the normalization of

relations with the Jewish state. On his return to Iraq, the National Assembly voted to revoke his parliamentary immunity and ban him from travel abroad. At the same time, a government minister threatened to indict Alusi again on the charge of having visited a country that is considered an enemy of Iraq. Alusi appealed to the Supreme Federal Court, which overturned the revocation of his immunity and declared that since no Iraqi law bars such travel, no crime had been committed.

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See also

Chalabi, Ahmed Abd al-Hadi; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present

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Amariyah Bunker or Shelter Bombing

Event Date: February 13, 1991

The U.S. military asserted that Public Shelter No. 25 in the Amariyah district of Baghdad was an Iraqi command shelter or backup communications bunker. It was, however, consistently publicized by the Iraqi government as the civilian air shelter for Amariyah. The bunker was bombed by the U.S. Air Force in the early morning hours of February 13, 1991, during INSTANT THUNDER, the air campaign component of Operation DESERT STORM. This attack, which occurred just 11 days before the allied ground offensive began, killed and wounded a large number of Iraqi civilians.

The coalition air war planners developed a plan for an air campaign that would destroy 84 strategic targets in Iraq in the opening week of the air campaign, which would begin on January 17, 1991. The planners believed that the destruction of these targets would paralyze Iraqi leadership, degrade its military and communications capabilities, and neutralize the Iraqi will to fight. Additionally, the air planners included other targets, such as Iraq's nuclear, biological, and chemical warfare facilities; ballistic missile production and storage facilities; key bridges; railroads and ports that enabled Iraq to supply its forces in Kuwait; and the Iraqi air defense system. Finally, at the insistence of General H. Norman Schwarzkopf Jr., the commander in chief of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), the air campaign envisaged attacks against Iraqi forces in Kuwait to reduce their effectiveness and compel their surrender or evacuation of Kuwait.

On January 17, 1991, coalition air forces opened Operation DESERT STORM with a massive air campaign, with more than 1,000 sorties launched per day. After several weeks the emphasis of the bombing moved from attacking Baghdad and leadership sites to other targets and Iraq's fielded military forces. Other priorities also intruded on the leadership focus, such as new intelligence on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and tactical ballistic missiles that could carry chemical warheads and had the potential of provoking an Israeli overreaction to Iraqi missile attacks that in turn might cause Arab coalition partners to leave the fight. The initial attacks swept away much of Iraq's ability to defend against further air assaults including radar installations, command and control centers in Baghdad, air bases and hangars, and the Iraqi air defense system.

In early February 1991 U.S. war planners added what was alleged to be the "Al-Firdos command, control, and communications bunker" to the target list as a newly activated Iraqi command shelter. They claimed that they had intercepted signals traffic and that daytime satellite photography of limousines and trucks parked outside the bunker suggested "leadership" activity in the facility. On the evening of February 12 hundreds of Baghdad residents, possibly families of higher-ranking government and intelligence personnel, entered the bunker's upper levels to escape the nighttime bombing raids of Baghdad. In the early morning of February 13 two U.S. Air Force Lockheed F-117 Nighthawk stealth fighters dropped two 2,000-pound laser-guided bombs on the hardened shelter, piercing the concrete- and steel-reinforced roof. No warning had been issued.

Some 400 Iraqi civilians, mostly women and children, died in the attack. Another 200 were severely injured. The Department of Defense admitted that it knew the shelter had been used as a civilian air shelter during the Iran-Iraq war. Human Rights Watch conducted interviews with the neighborhood residents and affirmed that the facility was clearly marked as a civilian air shelter and that it was known to be operating in that capacity. Supposedly, a single human source claimed that the Iraqi military had begun using the facility, and this information had been previously considered credible. General Schwarzkopf and General Colin L. Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), considered the site a valid military objective and believed that the coalition had adhered to its legal obligations for limiting civilian casualties. Human Rights Watch, however, noted that bombing the facility without warning and knowing that civilians were housed there was a serious violation of international law. Schwarzkopf and Powell explained the attack as an unfortunate mistargeting problem and as an inevitable civilian tragedy brought on by wartime conditions. The attack brought an angry response from the Arab world.

The attack on the Amariyah shelter was the most glaring instance of civilian losses during the Persian Gulf War air campaign. The United States claimed that the great majority of the aerial attacks occurred against the Iraqi Army and took place in Kuwait and the southeastern portion of Iraq immediately adjacent to Kuwait. The Iraqi army in this area was located away from large populated areas with significant civilian populations, except for Kuwait City and its surrounding environment. The decision of

the Iraqi Army to evacuate that city quickly after the start of the coalition ground attack limited the damage there. Other frequently attacked targets, such as Iraqi airfields and suspected Scud missile sites, were also situated away from population centers.

The impact of the Amariyah bombing was far-ranging. Although President George H. W. Bush had strong domestic backing for the war, he was still quite concerned about public opinion both at home and abroad and especially among the world's Muslim population. The Amariyah bombing sparked numerous anti-American demonstrations in the Arab world. In an effort to prevent similar incidents in the future, General Schwarzkopf received personal prebriefings on all daily target lists and took considerable time in deciding which targets would be attacked. Although he generally approved the targets, he did deny attack approval for some targets and ordered an end to bombing attacks on targets inside Baghdad following the Amariyah bombing.

This kind of higher-headquarters interference infuriated the CENTCOM air forces commander, Lieutenant General Charles A. Horner, as it reminded him and other air leaders of Washington's meddling control of the use of airpower during the Vietnam War.

ROBERT B. KANE

See also

Bombs, Precision-Guided; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; Horner, Charles; Powell, Colin Luther; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.

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"Ambush Alley"

A stretch of road, including two bridges, located at the edge of Nasiriyah, Iraq. "Ambush Alley" gained its nickname in March 2003 during the initial stages of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM because of two incidents. The first was the ambush of the U.S. Army 507th Maintenance Company on March 23. A convoy element of the 507th blundered into an Iraqi ambush, resulting in several Americans being killed or wounded and several more, including Private Jessica Lynch, being captured.

The second more notable incident also occurred on March 23. In this engagement, Iraqi forces attacked a unit of U.S. marines seeking to capture two bridges over the Saddam Canal and the Euphrates River and the roadway between them. The ensuing battle became the costliest single engagement for American forces during the initial invasion of Iraq. It eventually involved the bulk of Task Force Tarawa, including the 1st and 3rd Battalions of the 2nd Marine Regiment; Alpha Company, 8th Tank Battalion; and Marine Aircraft Group 29.

The marine mission had seemed straightforward. Invasion planners recognized that the two bridges and the road between them represented a vital supply artery on the road to Baghdad. Once the bridges and the road were secured, the way would be open for the Americans to drive north toward Kut and, from there, to Baghdad.

Neither the marine field commanders entrusted with the capture of the bridges—Lieutenant Colonel Rick Grabowski, the commander of the 1st Battalion, 2nd Marine Regiment, and his immediate superior, Colonel Ronald Bailey, the commander of the regiment—nor the senior U.S. military leadership expected any difficulty here. Nasiriyah lay in one of the areas of Iraq considered by U.S. authorities to be less hostile to coalition forces. Senior U.S. commanders believed that the Shia population, traditionally hostile to the Iraqi regime, would welcome them. The U.S. leadership believed that the Iraqi regular army soldiers in the city, mostly from the 11th Infantry Division, were second rate and would flee or blend into the civilian population as soon as the Americans approached.

Based on these assumptions and the perceived need to capture the two bridges quickly, Grabowski planned to take the Southern Euphrates Bridge with Alpha Company. Bravo Company would then cross the bridge onto Route Moe ("Ambush Alley"), turn immediately to the east, and push to the Northern Saddam Canal Bridge with close artillery, air, and armored support. Charlie Company, 1st Battalion, 2nd Marines, was to move through Alpha and Bravo's lines and seize the Northern Saddam Bridge. The tank company was included in the initial attack, but some of its M1 Abrams tanks were refueling, so the initial attacks were launched without armored support.

As the marines approached the Southern Euphrates Bridge, Iraqi forces on both sides of the road opened fire on Alpha Company. Shortly thereafter, Charlie Company also reported that it was taking fire from the area around the Saddam Bridge. Bravo Company, following Alpha Company near the southern bridge, was soon pinned down by heavy fire from automatic weapons and rocket-propelled grenades. The marines were trapped in narrow streets surrounding the bridges, where it was difficult to bring their supporting arms to bear. Although they held the southern bridge, their foothold was tenuous.

The fighting involved U.S. efforts to relieve the embattled 1st Battalion and secure the road. The greatest difficulties proved to be getting armored support and reinforcements to the marines through the narrow streets and coordinating air support. The process proved to be costly. The marines faced a maze of Iraqi roadblocks. A field south of the Euphrates Bridge that seemed

promising as a route for the tanks proved to be a sewage disposal bog that would not support heavy tanks. Mounting casualties made medical evacuation urgent, but it was impossible to get Medevac helicopters to the marine positions because of intense ground fire. In the early afternoon, an air strike by two Fairchild-Republic A-10 Thunderbolt II ground attack aircraft went awry and struck Charlie Company's position instead of the Iraqis.

By the evening of March 23 the 2nd Marine Regiment had seized both bridges, and the firing from the Iraqi positions had slackened. But the marines still had not completely secured Ambush Alley. It would take another two days to completely clear the roadway.

The events at Nasiriyah shook the marines. The official casualty count was 18 dead and 55 wounded, but many American officers privately thought that the count was much higher. Despite many acts of heroism, the "Ambush Alley" fight was not an impressive beginning to IRAQI FREEDOM. The intelligence on Iraqi strength and fortifications here was faulty, and the marine plan, which involved coordination among multiple commands, was too complicated. The tactics the Iraqis used at Nasiriyah indicated that they would not use conventional tactics but would fight using ambush and hit-and-run tactics. The Battle of Ambush Alley portended the nature of the fighting for the rest of the initial Iraq invasion and the ensuing Iraqi insurgency.

WALTER F. BELL

See also

Fedayeen; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; United States Marine Corps, Iraq War

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Amos, James F.

Birth Date: ca. 1948

U.S. Marine Corps general and assistant commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps (2008–present). After graduating from the University of Idaho in 1970, James F. Amos joined the U.S. Marine Corps and qualified as an aviator. Assignments to fighter squadrons followed, where Amos flew the McDonnell Douglas F-4 Phantom. In 1985 he assumed command of Marine Air Base Squadron 24. After transitioning to the McDonnell Douglas/Boeing/Northrop F/A-18 Hornet, he joined Carrier Air Wing 8 on USS *Theodore Roosevelt.* In May 1996 Amos assumed command of Marine Aircraft Group 31. In August 2002 he took command of the 3rd Marine Aircraft Wing, and almost immediately he began planning for conflict in Iraq.

Amos's wing included more than 370 aircraft for operations against Iraq in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM and thus constituted a substantial part of the coalition air assets for the campaign. Marine

U.S. Marine Corps general James F. Amos. (U.S. Department of Defense)

aircraft were especially important in the ground support effort. Amos strongly supported the concept of the marine air-ground task force, which held that aircraft played an integral role in the support of ground forces. He was determined that his pilots do all they could to facilitate the ground advance.

To carry out the close support of marine ground forces, Amos worked closely with Major General James Mattis, commanding the 1st Marine Division. Amos also developed a good working relationship with U.S. Air Force lieutenant general Michael Moseley, the air component commander, who had wide latitude in the employment of his air assets. Amos also received naval cooperation.

Marine Bell AH-1 Cobra gunships were based on land, where they were closer to the fighting and able to support the marines quickly. The vertical takeoff and landing (VTOL) McDonnell Douglas/Boeing/BAE Systems AV-8B Harrier fighter-bombers were on amphibious ships offshore. These ships in effect became light aircraft carriers and provided support to the Harriers until they could be based ashore. The marine ground forces also relied on Amos's aircraft for much of their supplies. Mattis was determined to move fast and deep, and his vehicles could carry only a limited amount of ammunition, fuel, food, and water. For resupply, the marines depended on Amos's Lockheed C-130 Hercules transport planes.

When the invasion of Iraq began on March 20, 2003, Amos employed his aircraft aggressively. The Cobras were charged with destroying Iraqi units immediately in front of the marine

spearheads, while the Harriers and Hornets were used in deeper missions to cut off Iraqi forces that might threaten the marine advance. To provide greater ability to respond to the needs of the ground forces, U.S. Marine Corps doctrine called for a combat pilot to be detailed to each infantry company as a forward air controller. Amos went even further and provided an extra flight officer to each battalion. As the troops advanced and captured Iraqi airfields, the Cobras were moved forward to decrease flight time.

The 3rd Marine Air Wing played an important role in the success of the marine advance on Baghdad. By the end of the organized fighting in late April, Amos's aircraft had flown 9,800 sorties. They had dropped 2,200 precision-guided munitions and 2,300 gravity (dumb) bombs, a total of 6.24 million pounds of ordnance. During the advance Amos was often near the front, inspecting the effectiveness of the air effort and gauging the needs.

In July 2004 Amos was advanced to command the II Marine Expeditionary Force based at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. Once again he displayed an unconventional but logical approach to problem solving. He reorganized training facilities to be more like those encountered in Iraq and Afghanistan. He also built simulated forward-operating bases similar to those used by the marines in those countries. A road network suitable for training to deal with ambush and improvised explosive device (IED) attacks followed. Amos also worked on such projects as improving safety among marine motorcycle riders by organizing clubs and rodeos, and he provided recognition and support for wounded marines by sponsoring the Wounded Warriors Battalion.

Amos's achievements were recognized in July 2008, when he was selected as the 31st assistant commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps.

Tim J. Watts

See also

Moseley, Teed Michael; United States Marine Corps, Iraq War

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Amphibious Assault Ships

U.S. Navy ship types whose aircraft-handling capabilities augment the traditional landing craft–based beach assault with their helicopter-borne troops and Harrier jets.

As early as 1955, the U.S. Navy sought to broaden the options in undertaking an amphibious assault, employing the helicopter to more widely disperse a landing force beyond the beachhead. To that end, between 1956 and 1961 a small escort carrier (the *Thetis Bay,* CVE-90) and three Essex-class aircraft carriers (the *Boxer,* CV-21; *Princeton,* CV-37; and *Valley Forge,* CV-45) were converted and redesignated as amphibious assault ships (LPH, originally standing for Landing Ship, Personnel, Helicopter), each embarking a Marine battalion and its supporting helicopter squadron.

The seven purpose-built LPHs of the Iwo Jima (LPH-2) class began construction in 1959. The lead ship was commissioned in 1961, and all were completed by 1970. They resembled escort carriers but with higher freeboard, an improved hangar deck, and an enclosed rounded bow. About two-thirds the size of the Essex-class LPHs, the Iwo Jima class nonetheless was more efficient for its designed purpose in embarking an equal or greater number of troops. Each ship featured a large medical facility with a 300-bed capacity. The ships were the *Iwo Jima, Okinawa, Guadalcanal, Guam, Tripoli, New Orleans,* and *Inchon.*

Specifications were as follows: length, 602.25 feet; width, 104 feet; and draft, 26 feet. They displaced 11,000 tons (light) and 19,646 tons (full load), were capable of 23 knots, and had a range of 16,600 nautical miles at 11.5 knots or 10,000 nautical miles at 20 knots. They had a crew complement of 50 officers and 650 enlisted men. The Iwo Jima–class ships could carry 1,900 troops and 25 CH-46 Sea Knight and CH-53 Sea Stallion helicopters. The ships were armed with four 3-inch/76-millimeter (mm) guns, two 20-mm Phalanx CIWS, and two 8-tube Sea Sparrow missile mounts.

In addition to their primary role of amphibious helicopter assault, ships of this class acted as bases for CH-53 minesweeping helicopters during the Vietnam War and took part in operations to clear the Suez Canal following the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. During 1972–1974, the *Guam* embarked STOVL (short takeoff, vertical landing) Harriers and antisubmarine warfare (ASW) helicopters to evaluate the LPH as a sea control ship (SCS) in convoy escort and protection duties. All Iwo Jima–class ships contributed to Operation DESERT STORM. In December 1990 the *Tripoli* was deployed to the Persian Gulf as the flagship of the U.S. Navy mine countermeasures (MCM) group and a combined U.S. Navy and Royal Navy task force. On February 18, 1991, the ship struck a moored Iraqi contact mine, sustaining significant hull and internal damage. Excellent onboard damage control kept the *Tripoli* in operation and on station in support of further minesweeping activities until the U.S. Navy *LaSalle* (AGF-3) arrived to take over task force flagship duties nearly a week later. After a month of around-the-clock repairs in Bahrain, the *Tripoli* resumed flagship duties in the northern Gulf.

In the wake of the U.S. Navy's mine warfare experiences in the Persian Gulf War, in 1996 the *Inchon* was converted to a dedicated mine countermeasures command and support ship (MCS-12), capable of refueling minesweepers and mine hunters as well as embarking specially equipped MH-53E mine warfare helicopters. In 1997 the *Inchon* took part in mine countermeasures exercises in the Baltic and Mediterranean and, by the time of an Adriatic deployment during March–July 1999, in support of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) operations in Kosovo. The former LPH was the last serving member of the pivotal Iwo Jima–class. The *Inchon* was decommissioned in 2002.

The next iteration of the amphibious assault ship concept combined the successful features of the Iwo Jima–class LPH, basically

a small helicopter carrier that could not deploy landing craft, with the in-hull well deck that defines both the dock landing ship (LSD) and the amphibious transport dock (LPD). The Tarawa (LHA-1) class matches the massive dimensions of an Essex-class aircraft carrier, and each ship can send an embarked marine battalion into action by means of both its helicopters and landing craft. In addition, its marine AV-8B Harrier jump-jets can activate quickly from the same flight deck to provide additional protection and ground attack measures.

The U.S. Navy's interest in blending the key aspects of the LPH and the LPD dates back to 1965. The ingenious design that would become the LHA was developed in 1968 by the naval engineer Reuven Leopold (responsible also for the Spruance [DD-963] class of destroyers) and was finally set in steel with the construction of the *Tarawa* commencing in 1971. It was launched in 1973 and commissioned in 1976.

Nine ships were planned, but in the end only five were approved and built. The LHA ships handle and store more helicopters than the LPH and can operate Harrier STOVL jets as well as OV-10 Bronco STOL (short takeoff and landing) observation aircraft. Nearly the same number of troops can be accommodated, and in a floodable docking well running nearly a third of the LHA's length from the stern, several types of landing craft can be transported and deployed: four LCU (utility landing craft), 17 LCM (mechanized landing craft), or 45 AAVP (assault amphibian vehicles) in addition to the 35 AAVP that can be housed on a deck above. The docking well can accommodate one LCAC (landing craft air cushion). Like the LPH, each LHA has comprehensive medical facilities with three operating rooms and beds for 300.

The Tarawa-class ships were the *Tarawa, Saipan, Belleau Wood, Nassau,* and *Peleliu.* The ships' dimensions are as follows: length, 833.75 feet; width, 132 feet; and draft, 26 feet. Displacement is 33,536 tons (light) and 39,967 tons (full load). The ships are capable of 24 knots and have a range of 10,000 nautical miles at 20 knots. They have a crew complement of 1,103 (61 officers and 1,042 enlisted) and can transport 1,700 troops. Their normal aircraft complement is 6 AV-8B Harrier STOVL jets, 30 CH-46 Sea Knight and CH-53 Sea Stallion helicopters, and 3 UH-1N Huey and 4 AH-1W Super Cobra helicopters. Landing craft consist of 4 LCU 1610, or 7 LCM(8), or 17 LCM(6), or 45 AAV, and 1 LCAC. The Tarawa-class ships are armed with four 25-mm cannon, two 20-mm Phalanx CIWS, and two 21-cell RAM (rolling airframe missile) launchers.

The LHAs joined the fleet as the U.S. Marine Corps was making plans to deploy newly acquired AV-8A Harriers from VSTOL (vertical and/or short takeoff and landing) support ships (VSS). The VSS idea never reached fruition, but some aspects of it were

The U.S. Navy Tarawa-class amphibious assault ship *Saipan* (LHA-2). (U.S. Department of Defense)

fulfilled by the Tarawa-class ships as they carried out their primary amphibious assault role. In 1981 both the *Tarawa* and *Nassau* conducted trials operating the Harrier that were similar to the sea control ship (SCS) exercises undertaken earlier by the LPH *Guam.* The larger size of the LHA would eventually allow ships of this type to operate up to 20 Harriers in a sea-control role.

During the Persian Gulf War, the Tarawa-class ships joined the amphibious armada that, in the end, would not send its massive forces ashore. The *Tarawa* was the presumed target of a dud Iraqi Scud missile while moored in the Saudi harbor of Jubail on February 15, 1991. Five days later, the *Nassau*'s Marine Harrier squadron flew into action against Iraqi ground forces in the first such sortie from a U.S. Navy amphibious assault ship. On February 24 the *Tarawa* launched a helicopter-borne expeditionary brigade as part of the Marine offensive moving into Kuwait. As Iraqi forces withdrew from Kuwait on February 26, the *Nassau*'s helicopters joined those of the *Iwo Jima* and *Guam* in an elaborate amphibious feint targeting the coastal islands of Faylaka and Bubiyan. The *Peleliu* and *Saipan* were on station in the region from June 1991 and September 1991, respectively. The *Belleau Wood* underwent a shipyard refit from late 1990 into 1992.

All ships contributed to Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM. The *Saipan,* notably, launched the first Harrier raids against Afghanistan in early November 2001. The *Belleau Wood* and *Saipan* were decommissioned in 2005 and 2006, respectively

Originally conceived as a slightly smaller and less costly version of the Tarawa-class LHA, the Wasp (LHD-1) class of amphibious assault ships as constructed actually became the world's largest amphibious ship type. The flight deck and hangar are larger than those of an LHA and can support more Harriers, while a reconfigured well deck increases the LCAC transport capacity from one to three. The internal redesign also yields a much-increased medical capacity over the LHA, doubling the care facilities to six operating rooms and 600 beds. Vehicle cargo space is slightly reduced, but troop accommodation remains on par with that of the LHA. The Wasp class comprises seven identical ships and one slight variant. The lead ship of the class, the *Wasp,* was launched in 1987 and commissioned in 1989. The other ships with date of commissioning are the *Essex* (1992), *Kearsarge* (1993), *Boxer* (1995), *Bataan* (1997), *Bonhomme Richard* (1998), *Iwo Jima* (2001), and *Makin Island* (2009). Dimensions are length, 844 feet; width, 140 feet; and draft, 26.6 feet. Displacement is 28,223 tons (light) and between 40,650 and 41,772 tons full load. The ships are capable of a speed of 24 knots (22 knots sustained). They have a range of 9,500 nautical miles at 20 knots. Their crew complement varies depending on the ship from 1,059 (65 officers and 994 enlisted) to 1,142 (62 officers and 1080 enlisted). They can transport 1,700–1,800 men. Aircraft consist of, for an amphibious role, 30 CH-46 Sea Knights and CH-53 Sea Stallion helicopters, 6 AV-8B Harrier STOVL jets, and 3 UH-1N Huey and AH-1W Super Cobra helicopters or, for a sea control/carrier role, 20 AV-8B STOVL Harrier STOVL jets and 6 SH-60 Seahawk ASW helicopters. Planning is under way for MV-22 Osprey VTOL tilt-rotor and F-35B Joint Strike Fighter operations. They carry the following landing craft: 3 LCAC, or 12 LCM(6), or 6 LCM(8), or 2 LCU 1610. Armament consists of two RAM missile launchers, two NATO Sea Sparrow launchers, and two to three 20-mm Phalanx CIWS mounts.

USS *Makin Island,* which entered the fleet in October 2009, is something of a transitional step toward the realization of the LHA Replacement class, or LHA(R), proposed by the U.S. Navy to begin taking the place of the remaining LHAs by 2013. Otherwise identical to the other LHDs, *Makin Island*'s funnels are canted outboard from the island structure to better disperse the hot gas turbine exhaust. Gas turbine propulsion is planned for these new ships, the first of which, the *America* (LHA-6, continuing the original LHA class hull numbers), will further divert from LHA/LHD characteristics by replacing the well deck with increased cargo and aviation support areas, and, like the original LPHs, by operating only aircraft.

LHDs have joined LHAs in both combat and humanitarian operations as they came on line, serving in Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM as both forward Marine bases and medical facilities. Configured as "Harrier carriers" during the Iraq War, the *Bataan* and *Bonhomme Richard* sent their augmented fixed-wing jets on numerous sorties against Iraqi military targets.

GORDON E. HOGG

See also

Amphibious Command Ships; Dock Landing Ships, U.S. and Coalition; Hospital Ships; Landing Craft Air Cushion; United States Marine Corps, Iraq War; United States Marine Corps, Persian Gulf War; United States Navy, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Amphibious Command Ships

Naval ships specifically designed to facilitate the oversight and coordination of complex naval fleet activities by means of their enhanced C4I (command, control, communications, computer, and intelligence) capabilities.

Originally dedicated to the command of amphibious operations upon their commissioning in 1970 and 1971, the U.S. Navy *Blue Ridge* (LCC-19) and *Mount Whitney* (LCC-20) have expanded their roles to serve as fleet flagships, embarking admirals and their large command staff apparatus. The *Blue Ridge* was commissioned

The USS *Blue Ridge*, the only amphibious command ship in Operation DESERT STORM. Amphibious command ships provide logistical and combat support. (U.S. Department of Defense)

in 1970 and the *Mount Whitney* in 1971. Dimensions are length, 634 feet; beam, 108 feet; and draft, 29 feet. Their displacement is 16,790 tons (light) and 16,646 tons (full load). They are capable of 22 knots and have a range of 13,500 nautical miles at 16 knots. Crew complement is 842 (52 officers and 790 enlisted). They can accommodate a flag command staff of up to 296 (82 officers and 214 enlisted). They usually have one SH-60 Sea Hawk helicopter assigned. They are armed with two 25-millimeter (mm) Bushmaster cannon, two 20-mm Phalanx CIWS, and four .50-caliber machine guns. The ships are equipped with sophisticated radar, navigation, and electronic warfare systems.

The *Blue Ridge* and *Mount Whitney* are the only purpose-built large command ships in the U.S. Navy. Traditionally, flagships had been battleships and cruisers modified to accommodate a large flag staff and U.S. Marine Corps contingent and were outfitted with a powerful communications suite. Designers of the LCC model wished to avoid the topside clutter presented by existing flagships, so they chose the flat-decked aircraft carrier–like amphibious assault ships (LPH) of the Iwo Jima class as a starting point, placing a small superstructure block centrally and distributing a series of easily replaced or updated antennae masts on the expansive decks forward and aft. A large helicopter landing area occupies the deck above the stern, and sponsons incorporating open gallery decks set on each side carry the ship's boats and provide underway replenishment access points.

The *Blue Ridge* was assigned as the U.S. Seventh Fleet command ship in 1979, home-ported at Yokosuka, Japan. In August 1990 the *Blue Ridge* became the flagship, in turn, of vice admirals Hank Mauz and Stanley Arthur, COMUSNAVCENT (Commander, U.S. Naval Forces Central Command), remaining on station in the Persian Gulf for Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM until the end of April 1991. The *Mount Whitney,* under the aegis of U.S. Naval Forces Central Command/Fifth Fleet in November 2002, contributed to Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM, becoming the lead command ship for the newly formed multinational Combined Joint Task Force (CTF-150) and conducting antiterrorism and antipiracy maritime security operations (MSO) patrols around the Horn of Africa and in the Arabian Sea, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean. The *Mount Whitney,* since 1981 the flagship of the U.S. Second Fleet at Norfolk, became in 2005 the Sixth Fleet flagship, home-ported at Gaeta, Italy. The *Blue Ridge* has operated in the Pacific and Indian oceans since 2002

in support of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM and has visited ports in China and Russia; Vladivostok has been a port of call three times since 1996. Both ships are reaching the limits of their service lives, and rather than replacing them with new ships, the U.S. Navy has contemplated the distribution of LCC-derived modules aboard several types of currently serving warships.

GORDON E. HOGG

See also

Arthur, Stanley; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; Mauz, Henry H., Jr.; United States Navy, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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An Najaf, Battle of

See Najaf, First Battle of; Najaf, Second Battle of

An Nasiriyah, Battle of

See Nasiriyah, Battle of

ANACONDA, Operation

Start Date: March 1, 2002
End Date: March 18, 2002

A U.S.-led coalition campaign against the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan during March 1–18, 2002. The offensive was part of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM and took place in the Shah-i-kot Valley in Paktia Province in eastern Afghanistan. Although the December 2001 Battle of Tora Bora had routed most of the Taliban and Al Qaeda from the region, by February 2002 insurgents and foreign fighters had begun to return to the Shah-i-Kot Valley and the Arma Mountains and were initiating new attacks on coalition forces. In response, the allies launched Operation ANACONDA in an effort to dislodge the insurgents and to prevent a more significant enemy offensive from unfolding in the spring. The coalition was also responding to reports that senior insurgent leaders, including Taliban leader Mullah Mohammed Omar and Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, may have been present in the area.

Operation ANACONDA began on March 1, 2002, after special operations forces from the United States, Australia, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and Norway had been inserted into the region and had established forward observation posts. These were followed by a ground assault that included elements of the U.S. Army's 10th Mountain Division and the 101st Airborne Division as well as the Canadian Army's Princess Patricia's Light Infantry, British Royal Marines, and Afghan National Army forces. The United States furnished about 1,200 troops, the Afghan National Army furnished 1,000 troops, and the other coalition partners furnished 200 troops. Aircraft from the United States, the United Kingdom, and France provided air support. U.S. Army major general Franklin Hagenbeck had command of the operation.

The difficult terrain in the region complicated the operation. The mountains ranged up to 12,000 feet and were dotted with caves and ravines, which provided hiding places for insurgent forces. The valley floor was between 7,000 and 8,000 feet in elevation. Temperatures during the offensive ranged from 60°F during the day to as low as 0°F at night.

The offensive suffered from a number of intelligence errors. Planners estimated the total number of insurgents at around 250; however, there were actually about 1,000, under the command of Saifur Rahman Monsoor of the Taliban. In addition, coalition officers underestimated their opponents' firepower. The insurgents were equipped with heavy machine guns, mortars, and artillery. One result was that the allied ground forces did not begin the operation with significant artillery support. Instead, they relied on mortars and airpower. Intelligence reports also falsely indicated that the majority of the enemy was on the valley floor, when most were actually in heavily fortified bunkers and caves in the mountains.

Reports also indicated the presence of some 800 civilians in the valley, although there were actually none. In an effort to minimize civilian casualties, the original plans called for the Afghan National forces to enter the valley from the west on March 2, supported by airpower and special operations forces, and help differentiate between the Taliban and Al Qaeda and the civilians. Planners expected the insurgents to flee before the advancing Afghans while U.S. and coalition conventional forces blocked their escape routes to the east and south. Most of the conventional forces were transported into the valley by helicopter.

The allied Afghan column was soon halted by heavy insurgent fire during its advance, and the coalition had to shift tactics. Allied special operations forces coordinated air strikes by bombers, Lockheed AC-130 Spectre gunships, and cruise missiles on Taliban and Al Qaeda positions. The coalition used more than 3,500 aerial bombs and cruise missiles during the offensive. The coalition also used 2,000-pound thermobaric bombs against caves and bunkers. Supported by airpower, the coalition ground forces were redeployed and advanced into the mountains. On March 4 a U.S. helicopter carrying Navy SEALs came under fire near the peak of Takur Ghar, and one SEAL fell from the aircraft; he was killed. The SEALs were to be inserted on the peak but found that the Taliban

had a significant concentration of forces, including heavy machine guns and rocket-propelled grenades. During the subsequent rescue attempt, another helicopter was hit and crashed. In the ensuing firefight, seven U.S. troops were killed before the rescue mission was concluded. Although intense combat continued following the incident, the Taliban and Al Qaeda began to withdraw from the region.

On March 12 U.S. and Afghan forces initiated an advance through the valley and met little organized resistance. Operation ANACONDA officially ended on March 18, although there continued to be minor skirmishes in the region for the next month. During the operation, the coalition lost 15 killed and 82 wounded. The majority of the casualties were Americans, including 8 killed and 72 wounded. The Taliban and Al Qaeda lost between 300 and 400 killed; however, the majority of the enemy forces were able to escape.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Afghan National Army; Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; Aircraft, Helicopters; Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Casualties, Operation ENDURING FREEDOM; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan; Omar, Mohammed; Takur Ghar, Battle of; Taliban; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan; Tora Bora; United Kingdom Forces in Afghanistan

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Anbar Awakening

A U.S. operation to obtain or regain the loyalties of Sunni Arab tribes of Anbar Province, Iraq, that began in the provincial capital of Ramadi in September 2006. Tribal sheikhs who had been marginalized, or who sought revenge against Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) began cooperating with U.S. forces to root out the AQI network from the province. The Anbar Awakening restored a degree of order to a region that appeared on the verge of slipping irrevocably under insurgent control. It is credited as being a major factor in the diminution of violence in Iraq, which began in earnest in 2007.

That the Sunni tribes of Anbar would serve as the catalyst for such a transformative development was a carefully planned movement, based on the sentiments expressed by U.S. ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad and General David Patreus as well as others that the Sunni population must be granted a stake in the outcome. However, the province's recent engagement in violent opposition to the U.S.-led coalition and differences with the new Iraqi government were obstacles to be surmounted. Anbar, the largest of Iraq's 18 provinces with its predominantly Sunni population, became a hotspot of insurgent activity following the fall of Baghdad in 2003. Disaffected sheikhs and their tribal followers gravitated to the insurgency, driven by anger at seeing their lands occupied by foreign soldiers, resentment over the loss of jobs and prestige, and distrust of the new Shiite-dominated political order, among other things. The porous border that Anbar shared with Syria at the far western end of the province also provided an easy point of entry for fighters from other nations, who filtered into Fallujah, Ramadi, and the smaller population centers along the upper Euphrates River. Many joined the organization founded by Jordanian extremist Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, which evolved into the AQI.

Tribal insurgents had formed an alliance of convenience with AQI jihadists in Anbar, and the AQI itself was actually an overwhelmingly Iraqi, not foreign, organization. By the middle of 2006, the insurgency had grown so strong that Anbar outpaced even Baghdad in terms of the number of violent incidents, with 30–40 attacks occurring daily in the province. Conditions in Ramadi were particularly grim: public services were negligible, and the Iraqi security presence was almost nonexistent, enabling insurgent fighters to operate freely in most sections of the city. A classified assessment completed by the U.S. Marine Corps in August 2006 concluded that the province was all but lost to the insurgency.

Yet the AQI laid the groundwork for its own demise by demanding control of the insurgency and reducing Anbar's tribal chiefs to subordinate status. AQI operatives punished in brutal fashion any who opposed them, with bombings and murders that targeted not only the sheikhs but also their family members and supporters. The vicious tactics used by the AQI to cow the tribes also alienated them and opened up a rift within the insurgency. In what in retrospect can be seen as a precursor to the Anbar Awakening movement, several tribes around Ramadi in January 2006 formed the al-Anbar People's Council, a breakaway group that sought to distance itself from the AQI while continuing to resist the coalition. The council collapsed soon thereafter after seven of its members were assassinated and a suicide bomber killed dozens at a police recruiting event.

The demise of the al-Anbar People's Council demonstrated that the Ramadi tribes lacked the strength and cohesion to stand up against the AQI on their own. A few months later, the sheikhs gained a powerful new benefactor when Colonel Sean MacFarland arrived with the U.S. Army's 1st Brigade Combat Team to take charge of Ramadi's security. MacFarland and his brigade had deployed first in January 2006 to Tal Afar, the city in northern Iraq that had been pacified the previous year by Colonel H. R. McMaster in what was widely hailed as a textbook counterinsurgency operation. Moving to Ramadi in June 2006, MacFarland was determined to apply some of the same counterinsurgency practices that had proven so effective at Tal Afar.

As one of the first steps in his plan to win back the city, MacFarland launched an outreach program aimed at gaining the trust and support of Ramadi's leaders. Among the earliest to respond was a charismatic young sheikh of relatively junior stature named Abd

al-Sattar Buzaigh al-Rishawi. His record was far from clean, however: he was reputed to be a smuggler and highway bandit who had cooperated with the AQI in the past. More recently, however, he had lost his father and three brothers to the AQI's campaign of terror against the tribes, so he was receptive to American overtures. With Sattar's help in gathering recruits, MacFarland was able to begin the process of rebuilding Ramadi's embattled police force, which numbered only about 400 at the beginning of his tour. The sheikh also assisted with MacFarland's efforts to persuade other tribal leaders to shift their allegiance from the AQI to the coalition.

Sattar expanded his opposition to the AQI into a full-fledged movement after AQI agents bombed one of the new Iraqi police stations that had been set up in the city and murdered the sheikh whose tribesmen were staffing the post. In response, Sattar convened a meeting of over 50 sheikhs and MacFarland at his home on September 9, 2006. At the gathering, Sattar announced the launching of the Anbar Awakening, an alliance of tribes dedicated to expelling the AQI from the region. Initially, only a handful of tribes signed on to the movement. However, over the next few months the movement acquired new converts in and around Ramadi once those related to Sattar saw that MacFarland was committed to using his troops to protect the tribes that rejected the AQI. The American commander also supported the tribes' efforts to defend themselves through the organization of armed tribal auxiliary groups, later known as Concerned Local Citizens or Sons of Iraq. MacFarland arranged for militia members to receive training and ensured that as many as possible were incorporated into the Iraqi police force. By the end of 2006, some 4,000 recruits had been added to police ranks.

The AQI did not allow itself to be swept aside by the Anbar Awakening movement without a fight. Violence levels in Anbar peaked in October 2006 and remained high through March 2007. But the movement acquired its own momentum, spreading from Ramadi and gaining adherents in Fallujah and other parts of the province throughout 2007. Insurgent activity dropped sharply after March, a trend that reflected not only the diminishing strength of the AQI but also the fact that once sheikhs joined the Anbar Awakening, they directed their followers to cease all attacks on American troops. Sattar himself was killed in a bombing outside his Ramadi home on September 13, 2007, a mere 10 days after he had met with President George W. Bush at a military base in Anbar. Nonetheless, Sarrar's death did not reverse or slow the progress that had been made in the province, nor did it diminish local support for the Awakening Councils and their militia offshoots, which had sprouted up in Sunni areas outside of Anbar.

On September 1, 2008, Anbar completed its own remarkable turnaround from the most volatile region in Iraq to a more stable environment, and security for the province was officially transferred to the Iraqi government.

Growing tensions between the Awakening Councils and the government over late pay and a lack of jobs led in March 2009 to an uprising in the Sunni-dominated Fahdil section of Baghdad and the disarmament by Iraqi and U.S. troops of the Awakening Council there. The government retained a number of members of the Fahdi Council but subsequently announced that the 150 members of the council would be offered jobs in the Iraqi security forces.

Jeff Seiken

See also

Al Qaeda in Iraq; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Iraqi Insurgency

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Anglo-American Alliance

One of the most potent and enduring strategic partnerships of modern times, which evolved into a multifaceted strategic relationship based on the solid foundation of common heritage, culture, and language as well as shared values, vision, and interests. Because of its paramount strategic importance, the Middle East played an extremely important role in the evolution of the Anglo-American alliance. Despite sporadic disagreements, most notoriously during the 1956 Suez Crisis and the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War of 1973 when American and British priorities diverged in the overall course of the Cold War and beyond, Anglo-American relations were generally harmonious, and both powers complemented each other's role in the region. This trend only gained momentum in the post–Cold War world, when new major challenges and threats, particularly the risk of the proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction and international terrorism, stimulated common Anglo-American security concerns and mutual recognition of the need for close strategic cooperation in the region.

There were also several other important factors dealing with the American and British postures in the Middle East and U.S.-UK relations that contributed to the further development of the alliance. Politically and diplomatically, both powers needed each other in the Middle East. For the United States, the solid and stable alliance with Britain had a special value in this volatile and unpredictable region where changing calculations of self-interest too often motivated many other American partners. Also, the alliance with Britain—one of the major powers and a permanent member of the United Nations (UN) Security Council—enhanced U.S. global leadership and gave American interests in the Middle East an additional international legitimacy. Moreover, despite their withdrawal from empire in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, the British still retained close contacts with many regimes in the Middle East, and their expertise in local culture and traditions was of great advantage in dealing with Muslim countries, particularly during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the Global

A pair of Royal Air Force GR4 Tornado aircraft peparing to refuel from a U.S. Air Force KC-135R Stratotanker during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in 2003. (U.S. Department of Defense)

War on Terror, the Afghanistan War (since 2001), and the Iraq War (since 2003). These connections allowed a division of labor within the alliance: the British were indispensable at international coalition-building efforts, while the Americans could concentrate more on strategic and military planning and preparations.

Militarily, the alliance provided the British with critically important access to American high technology, particularly in reconnaissance and surveillance. At the same time, Britain's experiences of providing a long-term military presence in the Middle East, particularly in special operations, counterinsurgency, urban warfare, and pacification of hostile populations, were made available for the Americans.

Intelligence was another area of particularly fruitful cooperation between the United States and the United Kingdom. The degree of intelligence sharing and reciprocity in intelligence-gathering operations is unlikely equaled between any other two countries in the world. Recently, the intelligence services of both countries have been actively involved into gathering information about terrorist activities, particularly Al Qaeda, and the risk of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East.

The close personal relations between American presidents and British prime ministers, who as a rule came to depend on each other, have also been of much importance for the development of the Anglo-American alliance. Many British prime ministers, particularly Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair, kept extraordinarily high profiles in Washington, frequently setting the very agenda of the alliance with much eloquence and persuasiveness and even personifying the alliance internationally. For example, just prior to the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Thatcher convinced President George H. W. Bush that he must not shy away from using military force if Iraqi president Saddam Hussein did not quit Kuwait within the time span set by the UN.

There was also a strong inclination in both capitals to reassert and solidify the special relationship in any international turmoil, including in the Middle East, on the basis of an almost axiomatic assumption that in case of crisis and/or war, both partners must stand shoulder to shoulder together. On the British side, that trend is frequently supplemented by the belief that a firm commitment to sharing military burdens with America and providing Washington open-ended unqualified support would make Britain the most trusted American ally. In so doing, London believes that it can influence the way in which America exercises its might, and this elevates Britain to the status of pivotal global power, greatly multiplying its real weight in international affairs.

The removal of the Taliban from power in Afghanistan in late 2001 and the rapid military overthrow of the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq in 2003 signified the culmination of the ongoing Anglo-American strategy in the Middle East, which included the

British antiwar protesters carrying "NO" banners and passing by Big Ben in London's Parliament Square on February 15, 2003. The protesters were marching to Hyde Park to demonstrate against a possible war with Iraq. (AP/Wide World Photos)

victory in the Persian Gulf War and cooperation in policing of the no-fly zones in the Iraqi sky in its aftermath as well as military collaboration in Operation DESERT FOX in 1998. Diplomatically, the U.S.-UK partnership was instrumental in securing UN backing for the occupation and rebuilding of Iraq, in the promotion of the two-state solution for the Israeli-Palestinian problem, and in Libya's renunciation of its weapons of mass destruction program.

At the same time, the evolution of the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War into protracted insurgencies revealed some underlying problems and complexities in the Anglo-American alliance. Once more, these demonstrated the power asymmetry between the partners, where close security ties are of much more importance for London than for Washington. There are also differences in the decision-making process and in implementation of security policies in both countries as well as differences in the command and control systems and structures of their respective militaries. Moreover, the British Army found itself underequipped and overstretched by deployments in two very complex combat zones. Furthermore, the British public was not enamored of the alliance and protested their nation's involvement in Iraq, while Tony Blair was exceedingly unpopular in most parts of the Middle East because of his close ties with American president George W. Bush.

Turning to the specific issues of the Anglo-American partnership, there were also some initial strategic disagreements between the parties on the priorities of the Global War on Terror. For example, the United States sought a military defeat of the terrorists and the states that support and harbor them, while Britain also suggested a continuing active search for the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which it believed was fanning the flames of terrorist sentiment. In setting the aims of the Iraq War, Britain's primary concern was to prevent Saddam Hussein from acquiring weapons of mass destruction, while the United States was also seeking immediate regime change in the country. The British also paid much more attention than the United States did to the efforts to secure UN sanctioning of the Iraq War and the Iraqi occupation and reconstruction efforts in the country. The British, concerned about the threat of chaos in Iraq after the victory, did not support the U.S.-promoted de-Baathification program.

In Afghanistan, the British supported the anti-Taliban factions among the dominating Pashtun tribes, while the United States supported the rival Northern Alliance. Additionally, there was a

growing critique on the part of the U.S. military about British combat performance against the insurgencies in Iraq and Afghanistan. These included complaints about the institutional arrogance of the British military command, its overconfidence in its own counterinsurgency experiences, and its general inflexibility.

The aforementioned trends and developments have complicated the achievement of stability in the Middle East and within the alliance. Emphasizing Britain's modest military resources and its strong desire to achieve a UN mandate for military action, the most active proponents of interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq in the George W. Bush administration—Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, and Undersecretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz—were rather skeptical about the values of British contributions to Afghanistan and Iraq. On the British side, there was wide and sustained popular and political criticism about following the American lead, particularly in Iraq. Indeed, the Iraq War has been hugely unpopular. Critics emphasized that the war isolated Britain from other European countries, damaged its international stance, and, instead of providing Britain with a voice in American decisions, turned the country into a de facto silent vassal and strategic hostage of the United States. In this atmosphere, Tony Blair maintained his desire to stay with America until the end by risking his own political future.

Regardless of these issues of contention, the British have proven to be an unfailing partner with the United States. Indeed, in all three conflicts—the Persian Gulf War, the Afghanistan War, and the Iraq War—Britain provided far more troops than any other nation besides the United States.

With the resignation of Blair in June 2007 and the coming to power of a new administration in Washington in January 2009, both sides have signaled their intention to review their respective policies in the Middle East, including the forms and scale of their military involvement in the region. Unavoidably, this will affect the Anglo-American alliance. At the same time, it is imperative to preserve and develop further the beneficial and multifaceted potential of the unique partnership, which has contributed so much to the shaping of the modern Middle East and the contemporary world.

Peter J. Rainow

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Blair, Tony; Brown, James Gordon; Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Suez Crisis; Thatcher, Margaret; United Kingdom; United States

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Anglo-Iraqi Treaty

Agreement between the British government and the British mandate government of Iraq that went into force on November 16, 1930, giving to the British exclusive commercial and military rights in Iraq once that nation became independent in 1932. The Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930 was in reality a redrafting of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1922. Neither agreement offered the Iraqis anything in return, and both engendered much antipathy in Iraq. The 1922 treaty was the result of the newly created British League of Nations mandate, which encompassed present-day Iraq, and political unrest among various Iraqi factions. Angered that Iraq was not to become independent but rather a British-administered mandate after World War I, a coalition of Shia and Sunni Muslims in Iraq precipitated a major revolt in 1920 against British occupation forces. The Kurds in northern Iraq also revolted against the British presence, hoping to form their own nation.

In 1921 Iraqi and British leaders convened in Cairo in an attempt to bring the Iraqi revolt to an end. There it was agreed to allow Iraq more (but still limited) autonomy under a newly installed Hashemite king, Faisal ibn Hussein. The arrangement was a clear compromise that was to allow for continued British influence in Iraq while appeasing—to a limited extent—the Iraqi nationalists who had fomented the 1920 uprising. The agreement resulted in the 1922 Anglo-Iraqi Treaty. The Iraqi Assembly, however, dragged its feet in ratifying the agreement, as many nationalists were displeased with the vague assurances of independence at some unspecified time in the future. Nor were they pleased by Britain's continuing influence in Iraqi affairs. Nevertheless, after British authorities threatened to circumvent the new Iraqi constitution and rule by decree, the Iraqis reluctantly acceded to the agreement in 1924.

Between 1924 and 1930 the situation in Iraq had stabilized, with King Faisal ruling in such a way as to keep the British contented and the nationalists from fomenting a revolt. Beginning in 1927, British-owned oil companies discovered massive petroleum reserves in Iraq, which made the nation all the more important to London. Because of this find and the impending end of the British mandate in 1932, London hoped to negotiate a new treaty with the Iraqis, building on the 1922 agreement, guaranteeing British control of Iraqi oil, and keeping out potential adversaries who might have viewed Iraq with strategic interest (Germany and the Soviet Union, in particular).

In a sop to Iraqi nationalists, the November 16, 1930, Anglo-Iraqi Treaty mapped a path toward independence after 1932. However, London clearly held most of the cards during the negotiations and insisted that it be granted wide-reaching commercial rights in Iraq, including ownership of Iraqi oil fields. Equally important, the treaty gave London extensive military rights in Iraq, allowing it to garrison troops there and/or use it as a base for future military operations.

Iraqi nationalists were incensed by the treaty, which appeared to offer the Iraqis nothing in return for the commercial and military

concessions given to London. Critics were quick to point out that the 1930 agreement had essentially been dictated to the Iraq government and that the negotiations were a smokescreen designed to keep ardent nationalists from participating in them. Not surprisingly, the treaty was not looked upon with much favor in Iraq.

The Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930 was invoked by the British in 1941 when they moved troops into Iraq and occupied it during much of World War II. This move had been necessitated by an Iraqi coup led by four nationalist generals. The British accused these leaders of allying themselves with the Axis powers. The British did not vacate Iraq until 1947. At that point, London attempted to foist another agreement on the Iraqis that would have given it even more influence in Iraqi affairs, but the Iraqis balked, and nothing came of it. The Anglo-Iraqi treaties of 1922 and 1930 clearly sowed the seeds of great nationalist-driven resentment in Iraq and helped set the stage for the Revolution of 1958 and the successive waves of political instability in Iraq that endure to the present.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also
Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy

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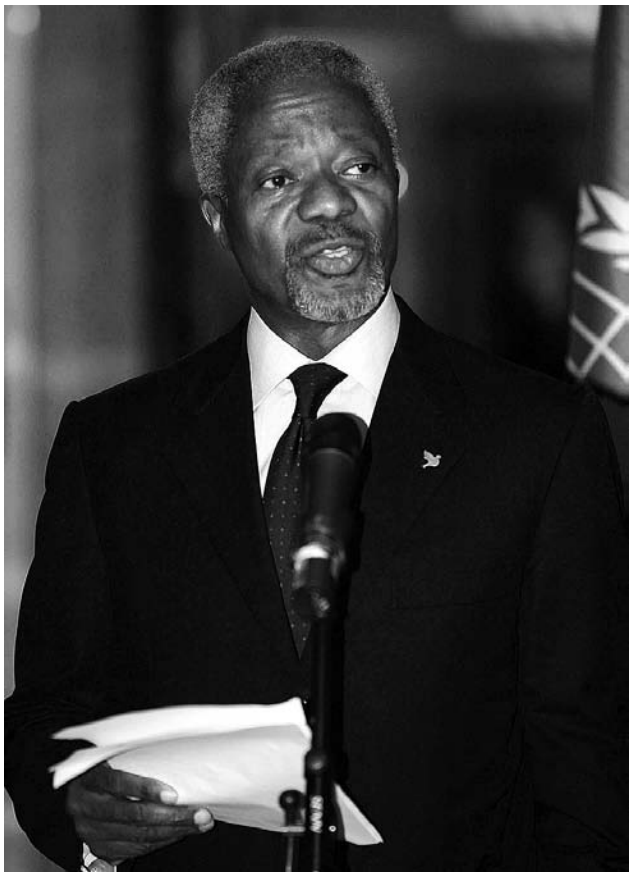

Kofi Annan served as United Nations (UN) secretary-general during 1997–2006. A native of Ghana, he was the first black African to hold that post. Annan opposed the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq and urged that the United States return to multilateralism in its dealings with other nations. (United Nations)

Annan, Kofi
Birth Date: April 8, 1938

Ghanaian diplomat and seventh secretary-general of the United Nations (UN) from 1997 to 2006. Kofi Atta Annan was born on April 8, 1938, in the Kofandros section of Kumasi, Ghana, to a prominent chieftain of the Fante tribe. His father was the elected governor of the Ashanti Province of Ghana when it was a British colony known as the Gold Coast. Kofi Annan studied at the University of Science and Technology in Kumasi before going to the United States to attend Macalester College in Minnesota, where he earned a degree in economics in 1961. He attended graduate school in Geneva during 1961–1962 and received a master of science degree in management from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1972. Annan first joined the UN in 1962 at the World Health Organization (WHO). Except for a brief stint from 1974 to 1976 as Ghana's director of tourism, Annan has spent his entire career with the UN, having been posted in Europe, Africa, and the United States. His admirers have described him as a man of quiet elegance with a powerful yet understated speaking style.

Annan had a remarkably varied UN career, focusing not only on management and administrative functions but also on refugee issues and peacekeeping. He rose steadily through the UN administrative hierarchy, first as the assistant chief of its programs planning, budget, and finance department and then as the head of human resources. He also served as security coordinator, director of the budget, chief of personnel for the High Commissioner for Refugees, and administrative officer for the Economic Commission for Africa. On March 1, 1993, he became the undersecretary-general for peacekeeping operations. Annan distinguished himself in that role as a clear-speaking diplomat and skillful negotiator despite the failure of a UN peacekeeping operation in Somalia in 1994 and the much-criticized decision not to intervene during the Rwandan genocide of the same year. Annan attracted U.S. attention by negotiating the release of Western hostages held by Iraq prior to Operation desert storm and securing the safety of some 500,000 Asian workers trapped in Kuwait during the Persian Gulf War.

Annan was appointed secretary-general by the UN General Assembly on December 17, 1996, for a term that began on January 1, 1997. He was the first UN leader to have risen to the post through the UN organizational structure and was the first black African to

serve in the post. As secretary-general, Annan emphasized his commitment to engaging UN member states in a dialogue about the best use of peacekeeping forces, preventive diplomacy, and postconflict peace building. He hoped to bring the UN closer to the world's people and achieve a consensus among member states as to the role the UN should play in its many fields of endeavor. The United States, the world organization's largest single contributor, hoped that with his administrative skills Annan would be able to reform the organization by cutting the budget, eliminating redundant suborganizations, and pioneering a new way to manage the UN in the post–Cold War era.

On June 29, 2001, Annan was reappointed secretary-general of the UN for another five-year term to begin officially in January 2002. In addition, on October 12, 2001, the Norwegian Nobel Committee announced that Annan and the UN were the 100th winners of the Nobel Peace Prize for their work in advancing world peace and security, which has included steps to eradicate international terrorism. The Nobel committee also praised Annan for his effective management of the UN and his continued dedication to eradicating AIDS.

Annan's tenure was not always free from controversy, however. When he publicly termed the March 2003 Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq illegal and in violation of the UN charter on September 16, 2004, it strained his already testy relationship with the George W. Bush administration. In the run-up to the Iraq War, Annan had repeatedly urged that military force not be taken against Iraq. In addition, in December 2004, reports of graft and corruption in the UN's Oil-for-Food Programme affected Annan. In particular, Annan's son Kojo was alleged to have received payments from the Swiss company Cotecna Inspection SA, which had in turn received a lucrative contract in the program. Annan appointed an inquiry into the matter, and although he was personally exonerated of any illegal activity, the investigative committee found fault with the UN's management structure and recommended the appointment of a UN chief executive officer to prevent future financial oversights and potential conflicts of interest.

In addition to his regular UN posts, Annan also carried out a number of special assignments. He served as special representative of the UN secretary-general to the former Yugoslavia from November 1995 to March 1996, coordinating the UN's role in maintaining peace following the Dayton Agreement (1995). He has also contributed to the work of the Appointment and Promotion Board and the secretary-general's Task Force for Peacekeeping, and he has served as chairman of the Board of Trustees of the United Nations International School in New York and as governor of the International School in Geneva. In December 2006 Annan completed his second term as secretary-general of the UN and was succeeded by Ban Ki Moon in January 2007. In his last major speech as secretary-general on December 11, 2006, at the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library in Independence, Missouri, Annan urged the United States to return to the multilateralism typified by the Truman administration and asked that the United States maintain its commitment to human rights, even in the Global War on Terror. The Bush administration took a dim view of the speech.

Annan returned to Ghana in 2007, and some pundits have opined that he may become a candidate for head of state. He has been involved in numerous African and international organizations and was named president of the Global Humanitarian Forum in Geneva, Switzerland. He has also been engaged in efforts to quell civil unrest in Kenya and serves on the board of directors of the United Nations Foundation.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Ban Ki Moon; Rwanda; Somalia, International Intervention in; United Nations

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Ansar al-Islam

A radical Kurdish Islamist separatist movement formed in 2001 in northern Iraq (Kurdistan). The U.S. government has held that the group was founded by Mullah Krekar, with assistance and funds from Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. The complicated history of Ansar al-Islam (Supporters of Islam) dates back to the Islamic Movement in Kurdistan (IMK), formed in 1987 of various factions, some of whom had trained and fought in Afghanistan. Some others apparently returned to Kurdistan after the fall of the Taliban in late 2001, which was the basis of U.S. arguments that the group had links to Al Qaeda, a claim also made by its enemies in the larger Kurdish factions.

The IMK fought with the Popular Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and eventually had to retreat to the Iranian border before returning to its base in Halabja. In 2001 the group splintered, and various new groupings formed the Jund al-Islam in September of that year, declaring jihad on those Kurdish parties that had left the Islamic path. The PUK fought Jund al-Islam, which dissolved and renamed itself Ansar al-Islam in December 2001 under the leadership of Amir Mullah Krekar, also known as Najmuddin Faraj Ahmad. Since then, however, Krekar has been living in Norway and has faced various indictments and deferred deportation for supporting terrorism.

While still operating under the name of Jund al-Islam, Ansar al-Islam tried to quash non-Islamic practices. It banned music, television, and alcohol; imposed the veil on women and beards on men; closed schools and employment to women; and tried to force a minority religious group called the Ahl al-Haqq to convert and then drove its members out of their villages. Ansar al-Islam also cracked down on the Naqshabandi Sufis. The group also pursued individuals, and some were held and tortured. The group's strict

salafi stance makes it akin to various Sunni nationalist resistance groups that developed after 2003 and accentuates its differences with the principal Kurdish political factions.

The struggle between the PUK and Ansar al-Islam has also involved human rights violations, the assassination of the governor of Arbil, and fighting that has continued for years. In December 2002 Ansar al-Islam forces took two PUK outposts and killed about 50 people; more than half of these reportedly died after they had surrendered. On the other hand, Ansar al-Islam prisoners have been mistreated by the PUK.

When the invasion of Iraq occurred in March 2003, Ansar al-Islam mounted various small attacks and carried out actions against those it called "collaborators" with the Americans, including civilians. The group carried out a much larger attack during 2004, when its suicide bombers attacked the PUK and Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) headquarters and killed 109 people, among them the KDP's deputy prime minister, Sami Abd al-Rahman. In 2005 Ansar al-Islam assassinated an aide to Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Husayn al-Sistan, Sheikh Mahmud al-Madayini, in Baghdad.

In 2003 fighters from Ansar al-Islam joined with other Sunni salafi fighters in the central region of Iraq, forming Jamaat Ansar al-Sunna (formerly Jaysh Ansar al-Sunna). But the Ansar al-Islam elements returned to their earlier name in 2007. Also in 2007, the Ansar al-Sunna, along with Ansar al-Islam, the Islamic Army of Iraq, and the Army of the Mujahideen, formed a new grouping called the Jihad and Reformation Front. In any event, it remains unclear what links Ansar al-Islam has to Al Qaeda in Iraq, and there is some evidence to suggest that it might have received aid from Iran. The group continues to battle more secularist Kurdish groups, and in March 2009 it kidnapped and beheaded three Kurdish truck driver hostages to punish them for cooperating with the Americans.

Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Al Qaeda; Al Qaeda in Iraq; Bin Laden, Osama; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present

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Antiaircraft Guns

During both Operation desert storm and Operation iraqi freedom, Iraq's air defense system was based on the Soviet doctrine of integrating aircraft, surface-to-air missiles (SAMs), and antiaircraft guns. The guns took primary responsibility for point defense of key targets. Neither the United States nor its allies employed antiaircraft guns in a defensive capacity during either of the wars with Iraq. Also, because of the virtual absence of Afghan aircraft during Operation enduring freedom, antiaircraft weapons were not deployed to Afghanistan.

Iraqi antiaircraft guns fell into two categories, artillery and small arms. The former had caliber exceeding 20 millimeters (mm), while the latter consisted of 14.5-mm and smaller guns. All were crew-served weapons and offered the advantages of being relatively cheap to purchase and required little training to operate. Most Iraqi antiaircraft guns were manned by conscripts. By 1990, Iraq had more than 7,500 antiaircraft artillery pieces and several hundred light antiaircraft weapons; when properly employed, they could be deadly for aircraft flying below 10,000 feet.

The largest Iraqi antiaircraft artillery piece was the Soviet-built KS-19 100-mm gun. Designed at the end of World War II and entering Soviet service in the late 1940s, the KS-19 served in four gun batteries. Some estimates claim that several hundred guns were placed around Baghdad alone from 1980 through 2003. The KS-19 fired a 33-pound shell out to a maximum range of 60,000 feet with a maximum ceiling of more than 42,000 feet. However, its slow rate of fire (8–12 rounds per minute) and traverse placed it at a disadvantage against high-speed maneuvering aircraft. Its primary purpose was to disrupt incoming air raids. Less than a dozen such batteries remained in Iraqi service in 1990.

Iraq's most numerous antiaircraft artillery piece was the 57-mm S-60, which was structured in six-gun batteries centered on a single Flap Wheel fire-control radar. The S-60 required a crew of six and theoretically fired up to 120 rounds per minute. However, as a practical matter, loader fatigue and barrel heating limited the rate of fire to 60 rounds per minute or less. Moreover, a typical engagement against a tactical jet aircraft was less than a minute. The S-60's maximum effective range and ceiling were 40,000 feet and 13,000 feet, respectively, but few engagements were initiated at ranges beyond 20,000 feet or altitudes above 5,000 feet. Although each weapon was capable of engaging targets independently, the most common practice was for all the battery's guns to fire on the target being tracked by the Flap Wheel radar (North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] designation for this conical scan radar). Independent firing was conducted only when the fire-control radar was jammed or out of action. Moreover, the maximum effective range dropped to 13,000 feet when using optical fire control. The self-propelled variant, the ZSU-57/2, consisted of two 57-mm guns mounted on a tracked chassis. Lacking a data link or ability to receive fire-control radar inputs, each ZSU-57/2 fired independently.

Iraqi air defenses also included several hundred 37-mm guns and 23-mm guns. Organized into four gun batteries, the 37-mm used visual fire control, with each gun firing independently, although battery commanders could direct all guns to concentrate on a single target. The guns were loaded via 5-round clips, and a

A U.S. Army M163 Vulcan self-propelled antiaircraft gun system. (U.S. Department of Defense)

well-trained crew could fire up to 240 2-pound shells a minute, although the typical engagement against a jet aircraft lasted less than 30 seconds. The 37-mm had a maximum effective range of 2,500 yards and a theoretical ceiling of 10,000 feet, but tactically they rarely were used against targets flying above 3,500 feet and ranges beyond 4,000 feet.

The guns most feared by coalition pilots were the Soviet-built self-propelled ZSU-23/4 guns, which served with both Iraqi armored divisions and as mobile air defense platforms in and around critical facilities. Organized into four-unit platoons, each ZSU-23/4 was equipped with a jam-resistant fire-control radar, high rates of fire (1,000-plus rounds per minute per gun), and high traverse rates that enabled it to engage the fastest and most maneuverable tactical aircraft. The ZSU-23/4 consisted of a quadruple mount of 23-mm automatic cannon on a tracked carriage. Its relatively small size and mobility made it hard to detect prior to an engagement. However, the limited range (under 10,000 feet) and ceiling (under 8,200 feet) confined them to the point-defense role; furthermore, the advent of precision-guided ordnance allowed coalition fighters to attack from outside these weapons' effective range.

Iraqi forces were also equipped with ZPU-23/2, ZPU-14, and individual 14.5-mm guns. All fired individually and were most effective against slow-moving observation aircraft and helicopters. The ZPU-23/2 consisted of two 23-mm guns installed on a collapsible towing mount that could be quickly transitioned into a firing platform. The ZPU-14 was lighter and consisted of four 14.5-mm machine guns mounted on a wheeled transport mount. The ZPU-14 had proven particularly effective against helicopters during the Vietnam War; however, it was all but useless against coalition aircraft employing fire-and-forget guided munitions fired from outside its maximum effective range of 2,000 yards.

In Operation DESERT STORM (1991) and Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (2001), the U.S. Arab allies were equipped with the same antiaircraft guns as the Iraqis except that they did not possess the 100-mm K-19. However, the United States and its other allies used few antiaircraft guns, assigning them to provide point air defense to ground units and mobile tactical headquarters. The only antiaircraft gun system employed by the U.S. Army was the M163 Vulcan system, which consisted of the Vulcan 20-mm Gatling cannon mounted on an M-113 chassis. The ammunition was delivered to the gun via 1,000-round powered belts. The Vulcan's rate of fire was 3,000 rounds a minute, and under optical fire control it could engage targets within a range of 8,000 feet range and an altitude of 3,000 feet.

The Saudi Arabian Army also employed the M-163 with its mobile units and the Bofors 40-mm L-70 around key facilities. Unlike the Vulcan, the Bofors could use radar fire control, which

generally focused the fire of an entire 4-gun battery against a target. Its 2-pound shells came with a proximity and contact fuse to ensure target destruction, while the Vulcan's smaller 1-pound shell had only a contact fuse. The Bofors could engage incoming aircraft individually using optical fire control, but that was the exception, not the rule. The Bofors fired up to 240 rounds a minute and had a maximum engagement range of 11,500 feet and a ceiling of 8,000 feet. However, it could also be used against ground targets, which it could engage at ranges beyond 32,000 feet. The other gun in Saudi service was the Oerlikon-Buhrle twin 35-mm Skyguard system that the Royal Saudi Air Force used for airfield defense. Its rate of fire approaches 550 rounds per minute per barrel, and its maximum range against an incoming aerial target is approximately 13,000 feet. As with the Bofors, the Oerlikon can engage targets individually or via concentrated battery fire.

France was the only other coalition nation to employ antiaircraft guns. Its air mobile and airborne units had the GIAT towed 20-mm gun. Deployed in twin-gun mounts, the GIAT fired the same NATO-standard 20-mm round as the American Vulcan, but they were loaded via 60-round drums. The GIAT had the same maximum range and ceiling as its American counterpart, but the GIAT was helicopter-transportable, giving it better operational mobility. Nominal rate of fire was about 500 rounds a minute, but normally few engagements exceeded 10–20 seconds in length. The weapons engaged individually using optical fire control. The maximum range is 8,000 feet with a ceiling of 3,000 feet.

The virtual absence of an enemy air threat precluded the United States or its allies from employing their antiaircraft guns in an air defense role during any of the modern Middle East wars, but Iraq employed large numbers of antiaircraft guns to provide low-level point defense and attack-disruption defense of its tactical units and key facilities. They were integrated effectively into a complex air defense system that relied on SAMs for area and high-altitude air defense coverage, supplemented by interceptor aircraft. The system employed tactics and systems that had proven highly effective against Western air tactics during the Vietnam War, but the introduction of large numbers of precision standoff weapons and superior coalition electronic warfare tactics exposed the obsolescence of Iraq's tactics and systems. Aircraft deceived and evaded the SAMs and launched their weapons from outside the antiaircraft guns' effective range. Although their large numbers precluded coalition pilots from ignoring the guns' presence, new tactics and weapons had reduced them to a battlefield nuisance.

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See also

Air Defenses in Iraq, Iraq War; Air Defenses in Iraq, Persian Gulf War; Aircraft, Electronic Warfare; Aircraft, Fighters; Aircraft, Suppression of Enemy Air Defense; Antiaircraft Missiles, Iraqi; Bombs, Precision-Guided; Missiles, Air-to-Ground

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Antiaircraft Missiles, Iraqi

Air defense missiles constituted the most significant component of Iraq's integrated air defense system during its three major conflicts since 1980. Iraq used radar-guided surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) for medium- to high-altitude and area air defense and man-portable infrared-guided SAMs for tactical air defense and to complement its antiaircraft artillery systems. Since the most common tactic to evade radar-guided SAMs involved a high-speed roll and dive to lower altitudes, the integration of guns, missiles, and fighter aircraft into a layered defense in-depth theoretically provided an almost impenetrable barrier to air attack. Aircraft that successfully avoided radar-guided SAMs found themselves flying through a gauntlet of intense antiaircraft fire supplemented by infrared-guided SAMs, the intensity of which increased as the attacking aircraft approached their target. Those that made it past the target pulled up into the sights of waiting fighter aircraft. Fighters escorting the attack aircraft had to penetrate the same gauntlet to engage enemy interceptors.

Although it did not lead to high scores among the defending pilots, it was a system that had inflicted heavy losses on U.S. aircraft over North Vietnam in the 1960s. The United States and its coalition allies learned from that conflict, however, and possessed the electronic warfare equipment and weapons to defeat the system during Operations DESERT STORM and IRAQI FREEDOM.

Most Iraqi air defense missiles were Soviet-built, with the venerable SA-2 Guideline (the missile and radar designations are those of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]) and its supporting Fan Song radar being the oldest and longest-ranged weapon in service. Developed in the 1950s, the SA-2, with a range of 27 nautical miles, had enjoyed great success during the Vietnam War but was at best obsolete by 1990. Although it could engage aircraft operating at altitudes of up to 89,000 feet, its radar was easily defeated, and only a highly trained crew could employ its electro-optical guidance and electronic counter-countermeasures features effectively. Also, its minimum range of 4–5 nautical miles and its minimum altitude of 3,280 feet made it all but useless against low-flying targets. The SA-3 Goa was newer and longer-ranged. Introduced in Soviet service in 1963, the Goa, with a range of 22 nautical miles, used the Flat Face radar for guidance. It had an operational engagement ceiling of 59,000 feet and enjoyed

better tactical mobility than the SA-2. The SA-2 and SA-3 were deployed around major Iraqi cities.

Iraq also deployed a wide range of Soviet mobile SAM systems, including the SA-6 Gainful, SA-9 Gaskin, and SA-12. Of these, the Gainful was the best known, having inflicted heavy losses on the Israeli Air Force when first employed during the October 1973 Yom Kippur War. Mounted on a tracked chassis, the Gainful was a medium-ranged SAM supported by a robust Straight Flush fire-control radar that was difficult to deceive. Introduced into Soviet service in 1970, the SA-6 deployed in four transporter-erector-launcher (TEL) batteries supported by a single fire-control radar. The missile has a maximum range of 13.2 nautical miles and an operational engagement ceiling of 39,000 feet.

The SA-9 Gaskin was a much shorter-ranged SAM mounted on a wheeled vehicle that carried two pairs of ready-to-fire missiles. The Gaskin was infrared-guided (IR), but unlike most IR missiles, it could engage an incoming target provided the aircraft was not obscured coming by the sun. Normally deployed in proximity to the ZSU-23/4 mobile antiaircraft gun, the SA-9 dated from 1966 and had a maximum range of 4.4 nautical miles and a ceiling of 20,000 feet. The SA-9 had little impact on allied air operations in either of the Persian Gulf conflicts.

The newest mobile SAM in the Iraqi inventory was the short-ranged radar-guided SA-8 Gecko. Carried in 6-missile canisters mounted atop a wheeled transporter-erector-launcher-and-radar (TELAR), the SA-8 was employed with Iraqi Army units in the field. Its six-wheeled TELAR was amphibious and was equipped with a frequency agile fire-control radar and alternate electro-optical guidance that made it particularly difficult to defeat electronically. Its normal engagement range was 1.1–5 nautical miles against targets flying between 100 and 16,500 feet. The most common tactics employed against the SA-8 were to use antiradiation missiles against its radar or fly above its engagement envelope.

The remaining SAMs in Iraqi service were man-portable. Of these, the Soviet-built IR-guided SA-7 Grail, SA-14 Gremlin, SA-16 Gimlet, and SA-18 Grouse were the most numerous. The SA-7 was the shortest ranged, reaching out only about 10,000 feet and effective only against slow-moving targets flying away at altitudes below 4,000 feet. The SA-14 was an improvement on the SA-7, providing greater range (3.7 nautical miles) and a limited capability for head-on engagements. The SA-16 incorporated an identification-friend-or-foe (IFF) feature and a more effective IR counter-countermeasures capability. The SA-18 was a simplified and more reliable improvement of the SA-16. The Gimlet and Grouse can engage a target from any aspect; they have a maximum range of 3.1 miles and a ceiling of 15,700 feet. Their performance is comparable to the U.S. FIM-92A Stinger.

The last SAM in Iraqi service was the French-built Roland. The Iraqis used the Roland for airfield defense. The radar-guided Roland had a maximum operational range of 5 nautical miles and an engagement ceiling of 17,100 feet. Its rapid acceleration and high speed made it an ideal air defense weapon. However, in the hands of inexperienced or poorly trained operators, it proved vulnerable to jamming and other electronic countermeasures. Also, the Iraqi missile crews had to operate the system from exposed positions, making them vulnerable to enemy attack, a factor that inhibited the weapon's effectiveness.

Coalition superiority, in terms of both numbers and technology, and superior tactics all but negated Iraq's integrated air defense system. Its SAMs achieved only limited success in the few opportunities that the air campaign presented to them. Allied air defense suppression systems, antiradiation missiles, and well-orchestrated electronic countermeasure operations blinded Iraqi radars, destroyed their command and control systems and communications networks, and inflicted heavy losses on SAM batteries. Although Iraq nominally possessed a modern integrated air defense system, its weapons, sensors, and communications networks were outdated, and its operators were poorly trained for war against a well-trained opponent equipped with third- and fourth-generation aircraft and precision-guided weapons.

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See also

Air Defenses in Iraq, Iraq War; Air Defenses in Iraq, Persian Gulf War; Aircraft, Electronic Warfare; Antiaircraft Guns; Antiradiation Missiles, Coalition; Bombs, Precision-Guided; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Air Campaign; Missiles, Surface-to-Air

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Antiradiation Missiles, Coalition

Missiles designed chiefly to defeat enemy radar by homing in on and jamming or destroying radio emission sources. Antiradiation missiles (ARMs) constitute one of the most important weapons in any effort to suppress enemy air defenses (SEAD). ARMs rose out of the Vietnam War in response to North Vietnam's extensive use of surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). Early ARMs were modifications of existing air-to-air and air-to-ground missiles, with a receiver to home in on a SAM's acquisition or tracking radar. Early ARMs could be defeated by simply turning the radar off briefly, activating a similar radar nearby, or employing multiple radars against the target aircraft. However, by 1990 when Iraq invaded Kuwait, technology had advanced considerably, providing

coalition forces with technologically advanced ARMs that could mask their launch, remember the radar's location, and in some cases effectively shut down an air defense sector by loitering over it for hours, waiting to attack the first SAM system to activate its radar. ARMs also now had the range to be launched from outside the SAM's engagement range. These weapons proved devastating to Iraq's integrated air defense networks, which many observers had considered one of the world's most effective.

The American-made Raytheon AGM-88 HARM (high-speed antiradiation missile) was the most widely employed of the coalition antiradiation missiles. Developed as a replacement for the Vietnam War–era AGM-45 Shrike and AGM-78 Standard ARM, the AGM-88 entered service in 1985. It was supersonic (Mach 2.5) and was equipped with inertial guidance and a computer that captured the enemy radar's location and characteristics. The aircraft's fire-control system fed the radar's information into the missile computer before launch, enabling the computer to guide the HARM onto the radar even if the operators turned it off or tried to draw the missile away by remote jamming or activating a similar radar nearby. A smokeless rocket engine made it all but impossible to detect HARMs visually, and a range of 57 nautical miles enabled the SEAD aircraft to launch HARMs from far outside the Iraqi SAM envelope. American Grumman A-6 Intruder, Ling-Temco-Vought A-7 Corsair II, Grumman EA-6 Prowler, McDonnell Douglas F-4 Phantom II, Lockheed-Martin F-16 Fighting Falcon, and Boeing A/F-18 Hornet aircraft employed HARMs during Operation DESERT STORM and, except for the F-4s, in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM as well. The HARM's most famous employment in DESERT STORM was its accidental use against a Boeing B-52 Stratofortress when the bomber's tail gunner mistakenly targeted a SEAD aircraft, which then engaged what it thought was an Iraqi antidefense radar. The B-52 suffered only slight damage to its tail, and there were no injuries.

British Aerospace's ALARM (air-launched antiradiation missile) was the only other antiradiation missile to see service in DESERT STORM and IRAQI FREEDOM. Employed by both the Royal Air Force and the Royal Saudi Air Force, ALARM entered service in 1990 and is carried by the Panavia GR4 Tornado and F3 Tornado aircraft. Like the HARM, it is a supersonic (Mach 2.1) missile that can be launched from outside most SAM envelopes (range of 50.1 nautical miles). However, it has a major advantage over HARM in that it can loiter over a target area, waiting for the enemy to activate their radars. Once it detects a radar, it ejects the warhead, which then makes a guided parachute descent onto the radar. ALARM proved particularly effective against mobile SAM systems because it could be employed almost as a search-and-destroy weapon over suspected SAM deployment areas. Unfortunately, ALARM's length (15 feet) limits its employment to larger tactical aircraft such as the Tornado, although some Sepecat Jaguar aircraft have been modified to carry it.

Antiradiation missiles are the ultimate in precision-guided weapons. With small warheads designed to destroy only the enemy's radar antennas, they inflict little to no collateral damage, and yet they cripple the enemy's ability to direct and employ their air defense system. The coalition's extensive use of antiradiation missiles all but destroyed Iraq's air defense commanders' ability to employ their SAMs, while allied jamming and strikes on Iraqi surveillance radars and command and control systems blinded those commanders. Within days of the start of both wars, Iraq's air defense forces could capture only glimpses of the coalition air campaign, forcing them to fire almost at random. Even then, engagements proved short-lived, as emanating a radar signal almost always resulted in antenna destruction by an ARM.

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See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Aircraft, Electronic Warfare; Aircraft, Suppression of Enemy Air Defense; Antiaircraft Guns; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Air Campaign; Missiles, Air-to-Ground; Missiles, Surface-to-Air

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Antitank Weapons

Because of the large number of tanks and armored vehicles that saw service in both the Persian Gulf War and the Iraq War, antitank weapons played a critical role. Although initially equipped with large numbers of Soviet- and Russian-designed tanks and other weapons, the Iraqi Army only managed to knock out a small handful of American tanks. In the Iraq War, U.S. forces lost 9 tanks to friendly fire and 2 to mines, and 13 were damaged by various forms of Iraqi antitank fire (5 of those were severely damaged). Crew casualties from Iraqi fire were 1 killed and 13 wounded. The Iraqi Air Force played virtually no role in both wars, so whatever rotary and fixed-wing antitank aircraft they may have had in their inventory were largely irrelevant. The primary Iraqi antitank weapons were limited to antitank guided missiles (ATGMs) and shoulder-fired infantry weapons. In Afghanistan the Taliban had no armored vehicles, and their antitank weapons were limited primarily to shoulder-fired infantry weapons, recoilless rifles, and mines. The majority of the weapons considered here, therefore, are American systems.

Despite their armor and armament, tanks and other armored vehicles are not invulnerable. They can be defeated by land mines, aircraft, artillery, other tanks, rockets, guided missiles, and a wide range of infantry weapons. The various categories of tank kills

are a function of the damage done to the tank combined with the tactical situation. A mobility kill, called an M-kill in current U.S. doctrine, occurs when the tank's power train or running gear have been damaged to the point where the tank cannot move. The tank may still be able to fire its weapons, but its inability to maneuver severely degrades its combat value. A firepower kill, called an F-kill, occurs when the tank's main gun or its fire-control optics and electronics have been severely damaged. A catastrophic kill, called a K-kill, occurs when the tank completely loses its ability to operate. It can neither move nor fire. A K-kill usually means that the tank has been totally destroyed and often also means that the tank crew has been killed.

Whether fired by artillery, aircraft, another tank, or infantry weapons, the warheads of all antitank rounds are classified as either kinetic energy or chemical energy. Most main battle tanks are capable of firing both types of rounds through their main guns. The three basic types of chemical energy (i.e., explosive) warheads are high explosive (HE), high-explosive antitank (HEAT), and high-explosive plastic (HEP).

Tanks can be defeated by a blast from conventional HEs, but only if the charge is large enough and close enough. HE projectiles delivered by artillery or air require a direct or very close hit, which usually exceeds the circular probable error of all but the most advanced precision-guided munitions (PGMs).

The most common and effective chemical energy projectile, the HEAT round, has a shaped-charge warhead that relies on the Munroe Effect to burn a hole through the tank's armor in the form of an expanding cone. What actually kills the tank crew is the semimolten armor of their own tank. HEAT round detonations can also set off fuel and ammunition fires and secondary explosions.

HEP rounds, also called high-explosive squash head (HESH) rounds, carry a charge of plastic explosive that upon impact spreads over the outer surface of the armor before detonating. Unlike a HEAT round, the HEP round does actually penetrate the tank's armor. When the HEP charge explodes, it knocks off chunks of armor of a corresponding size, called spall, inside the tank, causing havoc for the crew and the internal components. HEP rounds are generally ineffective against most modern tanks because the internal compartments are equipped with spall liners, protecting the crew, ammunition, fuel, and equipment.

Nonexploding kinetic energy rounds are very heavy and dense and are fired at an extremely high velocity. The most common is some form of sabot round in which an outer casing falls away as soon as the round leaves the gun's muzzle. On impact the sabot punches its way through the target's armor. The effect inside the tank is usually even more catastrophic than that caused by a HEAT round. Tungsten and depleted uranium are two heavy and dense materials widely employed as sabots.

Because kinetic energy rounds require a flat line-of-sight trajectory and an extremely high velocity, they must be fired from a gun as opposed to a howitzer and from a very heavy platform. Thus, only tanks and antitank artillery can fire sabot rounds. A tank's most vulnerable area to a sabot round is at the slip ring, where the turret joins the main hull. Smaller nonsabot kinetic energy rounds are fired from rotary or fixed-wing aircraft armed with special antitank machine guns that deliver a high volume of fire to defeat the target's armor, usually from above, where the armor is the weakest.

Chemical energy rounds do not require a heavy launching platform and are thus ideal for infantry antitank weapons, which include rocket launchers, recoilless rifles, and antitank guided missiles (ATGMs). The best way to defeat a HEAT warhead is to cause it to detonate prematurely, which will prevent the Munroe Effect from forming properly on the outer skin of the tank's armor. Something as simple as a mesh outer screen mounted on the side of a tank with a few inches of standoff distance will cause that premature detonation. Reactive explosive armor, also called appliqué armor, mounted on the tank's integral armor is also relatively effective against HEAT rounds but not at all effective against sabot rounds. Each element of reactive armor contains a small explosive charge that detonates when it is hit, causing the impacting HEAT round to detonate prematurely and spoiling the Munroe Effect. Finally, the sloped surfaces of the tank's armor can cause the HEAT round to deflect, which also will spoil the Munroe Effect. Sloped armor surfaces can also deflect sabot rounds in certain instances.

Although common in World War II, purpose-built antitank artillery fell into disuse in the years following 1945. By the 1960s the Soviet Union, West Germany, and Sweden were among the few remaining countries still building antitank artillery. Most armies came to regard the tank itself as the premier, but certainly not the only, antitank weapon.

The antitank rifle first entered service in World War I. Today it is known as the antimaterial (antimatériel or equipment) rifle. Essentially a large-caliber high-velocity rifle firing special armor-piercing ammunition, it is designed to operate against enemy equipment, such as thin-skinned and lightly armored vehicles. The weapon may also be used for long-range sniping. Antimaterial rifles are often favored by special operations military units.

The U.S. Army Browning M-2 .50-caliber machine gun, which can be fired in single-shot mode, fits in this category. The Austrian Steyr 25-millimeter (mm) antimaterial rifle, with a claimed effective range of 1.2 miles, features both a muzzle brake and a hydropneumatic sleeve to reduce recoil. It has a bipod, and the weapon can be broken down for ease of transport by its crew. Among other such weapons is the South African Mechem NTW-20. This 20-mm bolt-action rifle features a 3-round side-mounted box magazine. There is also a 14.5-mm model. To reduce recoil, the NTW-20 uses a hydraulic double-action damper along with a double baffle muzzle brake. Among other such weapons are the U.S. Armalite AR-50 and Barretta M-82A1, both of which fire the 12.7-mm NATO (.50-caliber) round; the British Accuracy International AW50F, firing the 12.7-mm NATO (.50-caliber) round; the Hungarian Gerpard M-1(B) and M-2(B) 12.7-mm rifles, which with an interchangeable

barrel can also fire the .50-caliber round; and the Russian KSVK 12.7-mm rifle. A number of these or similar weapons have been used in the various Middle East wars.

In the years following the Vietnam War, both the Americans and the Soviets developed special antitank machine guns for attack aircraft. Although the kinetic energy rounds fired by such weapons are far lighter than the sabot rounds fired from tanks, the high rate of fire from the machine guns produces multiple impacts in a concentrated area on the target that literally chews into the tank's armor. Attacking from above, the aircraft target the top of the tank, where the armor is generally the thinnest.

Entering service in 1977, the American GAU-8/A Avenger is a 30-mm seven-barrel electrically driven Gatling gun. It fires both armor-piercing incendiary (API) and high-explosive incendiary rounds, usually in a four-to-one mix. The API round weighs a little less than one pound and carries a depleted uranium penetrator. The GAU-8/A has a cyclic rate of fire of 3,900 rounds per minute. The Russian GSh-6-30 30-mm aircraft automatic cannon is a very similar weapon, except that it is gas-operated rather than electrically driven. Entering service in 1998, the U.S. M-230 Chain Gun also fires a 30-mm antitank round. Having only a single barrel, its rate of fire is only 625 rounds per minute, but it is considerably lighter than the GAU-8/A.

Purpose-built antitank mines first appeared in the last years of World War I and figured prominently during World War II. Most modern antitank mines use an HE charge to produce M-kills by blowing off the tread or damaging the road wheels. Some mines are designed to produce K-kills by attacking the underside of the tank, where the armor is thin. Although sometimes command detonated by either wire or remote control, most use pressure or magnetically triggered detonators that react to vehicles but not ground personnel.

The improvised explosive device (IED) is a variation on the antitank mine that has produced a high percentage of American and allied casualties during the Iraq War since 2003 and increasingly in Afghanistan. An IED is any locally fabricated explosive charge coupled with a detonating mechanism. Deadly to personnel, most IEDs initially could only damage unarmored and lightly armored vehicles. If the base explosive charge is large enough—for example, an artillery projectile buried in the road—the resulting explosion could do serious damage to a tank. In recent years, however, IEDs have become more sophisticated, especially with the appearance of explosively formed penetrators (EFPs). The EFP works on the same principle as the shaped charge, effectively transforming the IED from a simple HE to a HEAT weapon. An EFP has a cylindrical shaped charge capped by a concave metal disk pointed inward. When detonated, the metal disk, often made of copper, becomes a bolt of molten metal that can penetrate the armor on most vehicles in Iraq. An IED with an EFP is difficult to detect and counter because it is effective at standoff distances up to 164 feet.

Recoilless rifles and recoilless guns (smoothbore) were developed during World War II primarily as antitank weapons. Firing HE and HEAT projectiles similar to conventional artillery, a recoilless rifle is essentially a long tube, similar to a modern rocket launcher. Unlike the latter, however, the recoilless rifle has a breech mechanism. Also unlike conventional artillery, that breech has large exit vents, and the ammunition shell casings are perforated. When fired, almost all of the propellant blast escapes from the rear of the weapon. The resulting forward inertial force, however, is still sufficient to launch the projectile. The neutralization of almost all recoil eliminates the need for a standard gun carriage and a recoil system. Although most recoilless rifles are fired from some sort of vehicle or ground mount, some of the smaller calibers can be shoulder fired in the same manner as an infantry rocket launcher.

Recoilless rifles were widely used in Korea and Vietnam, but they were phased out of service in most armies as antitank rockets and guided missiles became more sophisticated from the 1970s on. Nonetheless, Taliban forces in Afghanistan have used a number of recoilless rifles, most of them captured from Soviet forces in the 1980s. The most common is the 82-mm B-10, which first entered service in 1950. Although it has a maximum range of 2.7 miles, its maximum effective range is only 1,640 feet. The most modern of the Taliban's recoilless antitank weapons is the 73-mm SPG-9. Designed initially for Soviet airborne units and entering service in 1962, it has a maximum effective range of 2,624 feet.

The first effective shoulder-fired infantry antitank weapons were free-flight rockets with HEAT warheads, entering service during World War II. All subsequent antitank rocket systems are derived from two basic designs, both introduced in 1942. The German Panzerfaust was an inexpensive single-shot lightweight weapon that could be fired by one man. The Panzerfaust consisted of a very simple small-diameter disposable launcher preloaded with a three-foot-long finned projectile with an oversized warhead that extended outside of the muzzle of the launching tube. The hollow tube concentrated the escaping gasses away from the gunner and made the firing recoilless. Pulling the trigger ignited a small charge of black powder inside the tube, driving the projectile toward its target. The projectile exploded on impact. The Panzerfaust was the prototype upon which the subsequent Soviet/Russian family of rocket-propelled grenade (RPG) antitank weapons was based.

The first U.S. antitank rocket was the 2.36-inch bazooka, which consisted of a rocket and launcher operated by a two-man crew of gunner and loader. The launcher was a reloadable aluminum tube with a shoulder stock and a hand grip that contained a trigger assembly with an electric generator. When the gunner squeezed the trigger, it generated an electric current through the wires to ignite the solid fuel in the rocket. Unlike the Panzerfaust, the entire antitank rocket was launched from inside the bazooka's firing tube. The Germans reversed-engineered captured bazookas to produce the significantly up-gunned 88-mm Panzerschreck. Except for the RPG family of weapons, the bazooka is the prototype for all other modern shoulder-fired infantry antitank rockets.

The Soviet RPG-7 is one of the most widely produced shoulder-fired infantry antitank weapons in the world. It is one of the

Demonstration of a Soviet-made RPG-7 portable antitank rocket launcher, similar to those employed by Iraqi forces in the Persian Gulf and Iraq wars. (U.S. Department of Defense)

principal weapons of choice of Afghan and Iraqi insurgents. It is also widely used by Afghan and Iraqi police and military forces loyal to the national governments. First entering service in 1961 and used extensively by the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese Army against American armored vehicles in Vietnam, the RPG-7 consists of a steel launching tube 40-mm in diameter and 37 inches long. Depending on the exact type of projectile, the protruding warhead can be anything from 83-mm to 105-mm. Most RPG-7 ammunition has a range up to 2,952 feet, and the most effective warhead has a tandem HEAT charge capable of penetrating 600-mm to 700-mm of rolled homogeneous armor (RHA).

The only shoulder-fired free-flight rocket antitank weapon used by U.S. forces today is the Swedish-built AT-4. Similar in operating principle to the World War II–era bazooka, the AT-4 fires an 84-mm projectile with a HEAT warhead to a maximum effective range of 984 feet. The resulting blast can penetrate up to 400-mm of RHA. Unlike the earlier bazooka, the AT-4 is not reloadable. The launcher and projectile are manufactured and issued as a single unit of ammunition. The entire system weighs 14.75 pounds.

ATGMs first started to appear in the late 1960s and represented a vast improvement on the early unguided antitank rockets. ATGMs vary widely in size and type, from individual shoulder-fired missiles to crew-served missiles and to those launched from ground vehicles and from aircraft. Unlike unguided systems, missiles have the great advantage of standoff capability.

First-generation guided missiles were manually controlled during flight. Once the missile was fired, the gunner guided it to the target by means of a joystick or similar device. Second-generation antitank missiles only required that the gunner keep the sight on the target. Guidance commands for the missile were transmitted either by radio or by wire. Third-generation antitank missiles operate by laser painting or marking of the target on a nose-mounted TV camera. They are known as fire-and-forget missiles.

Antitank missiles generally carry a hollow-charge or shaped-charge HEAT warhead. Tandem warhead missiles are designed specifically to defeat reactive or spaced vehicle armor, while top-attack antitank missiles are designed to strike from above against the more lightly armored tops of tanks and armored fighting vehicles (AFVs).

The 9K11 Malyutka, known by its NATO designation as the AT-3 Sagger, was the Soviet Union's first man-portable ATGM and probably the most extensively produced ATGM in history. It was widely used by Iraqi forces in both the Persian Gulf War and the Iraq War. Entering service in September 1963, it was the standard model for all subsequent first-generation ATGMs. Some

25,000 Saggers were produced yearly by the Soviet Union alone in the 1960s and 1970s. It was also manufactured by other Soviet bloc countries as well as the People's Republic of China. The Sagger has been widely exported to the Middle East, including Afghanistan, Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Libya, and Syria. Guided to its target by means of a joy stick and wire, the Sagger has a launch weight of some 24 pounds with a warhead of 5.5 pounds. It has a minimum range of 1,640 feet and a maximum range of 1.8 miles. At maximum range, it takes the missile about 30 seconds to reach its target. The Sagger can be fired from a portable suitcase launcher; from armored vehicles, such as the Soviet BMP-1 or BRDM-2; or from attack helicopters, including the Mi-2, Mi-8, and Mi-24.

The U.S.-made BGM-71 tube-launched optically tracked wire-guided (TOW) missile is a second-generation ATGM. TOWs were first produced by Hughes Aircraft Company and are now produced by Raytheon Systems Company. More than 500,000 TOWs have been manufactured, and they are employed by more than 45 nations. The TOW is designed to attack tanks, AFVs, bunkers and fortifications. First entering service in 1970, the TOW underwent a number of modifications, the most recent of which is the TOW-2B of 1991. The first use of the TOW in combat came in May 1972 during the Vietnam War. It also saw wartime service with the Israeli Army against Syrian forces and in the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988). The TOW-2B first saw combat in 2003 during the Iraq War.

The TOW-2B missile weighs 49.8 pounds (64 pounds with carrier) and has an explosive filler of some 6.9 pounds. The missile is 5.8 inches in diameter and is 48 inches in length. It has a minimum range of 213 feet and a maximum range of 2.3 miles. TOW missiles can be ground fired from a tripod by a crew of four or, more usually, from both wheeled and tracked vehicles, including the M-1/M-3 Bradley, the M-966 HMMWV, and the M-1134 Stryker. TOWs also are mounted on attack helicopters. The missile operates on command line-of-sight guidance. The gunner uses a sight to locate the target and, once the missile is fired, continues to track the target through the sight, with guidance commands transmitted along two wires that spool from the back of the missile. The TOW-2B attacks the target from the top, and its double warheads explode downward when the missile is just above the target. A bunker-buster variant is designed to defeat bunkers, field fortifications, and buildings.

The Soviet Union's second-generation man-portable 9K111 Fagot (NATO designation AT-4 Spigot) ATGM entered service in 1972. Designed to replace the Sagger, the Spigot has a minimum range of 246 feet and a maximum range of 1.5 miles in a flight time of 11 seconds. Fired from a ground-mount folding tripod, the entire system in firing configuration weighs some 74 pounds, with the missile itself weighing 25.3 pounds and the warhead 5.5 pounds.

The M-47 Dragon was an American antitank infantry weapon that was fired from the gunner's shoulder but stabilized in front by a ground bipod. First fielded in 1975, it was used in the 1991 Persian Gulf War and was retired from service in the late 1990s. The improved Dragon II entered service in 1985, and the Super-Dragon entered service in 1990. At one time the Dragons were supplied to Iran, and the Iraqis captured some Dragons during the Iran-Iraq War and put them into service. The 140-mm wire-guided missile carried a HEAT warhead capable of penetrating 450-mm of RHA and defeating Soviet T-55, T-62, and T-72 tanks. The Dragon's maximum effective range was 3,280 feet. The launcher itself was expendable, but the sights could be removed after firing and reused. The Dragon's most significant drawback was that its tracking system required the gunner to remain kneeling and exposed to enemy fire while tracking the missile to the target.

The Dragon was replaced by the man-portable FGM-148 Javelin, a third-generation system. A joint venture of Texas Instruments (now Raytheon Missile Systems) of Dallas, Texas, and Lockheed Martin Electronics and Missiles (now Missiles and Fire Control) of Orlando, Florida, the Javelin entered service with the U.S. Army and U.S. Marine Corps in 1996. Designed for a two-man crew, the Javelin has a minimum range of 246 feet and a maximum effective range of 1.5 miles, more than twice that of the M-47 Dragon.

The Javelin system consists of a missile in a disposable launch tube, a reusable command launch unit (CLU) with triggering mechanism, an integrated day/night sighting device, and target-acquisition electronics. The missile weighs 49.5 pounds and is 5 feet 9 inches in length. Fins deploy when the missile is launched. The Javelin employs a small thermal imaging TV camera and sophisticated computer guidance system in its seeker section. To fire the missile, the gunner places a cursor over the selected target. The CLU then sends a lock-on-before-launch signal to the missile. The missile's infrared guidance system and onboard processing guide it after launch. The Javelin is designed for top attack and has a dual 8.5-pound warhead capable of defeating all known armor. U.S. forces have used the Javelin in both Afghanistan and Iraq since 2003, and British forces also fielded the Javelin in 2005.

The AGM-65 Maverick was an American air-to-ground missile designed to destroy not only armored vehicles but also ships, air defense and artillery emplacements, and logistics nodes. Entering service in 1972, the missile weighs between 462 and 670 pounds, depending on the warhead. The 125-pound shaped-charge warhead has a point-detonating fuse, and the 300-pound high-explosive penetrator has a delay-action fuse. The missile itself has a maximum effective range of 17 miles. The missile has an onboard infrared television camera, with which the aircraft pilot or weapons systems officer locks onto the target before firing. Once launched, the Maverick tracks its target automatically, making it a fire-and-forget system. Fired primarily from fixed-wing aircraft, the Maverick was used extensively in both the Persian Gulf War and the Iraq War.

The AGM-114 Hellfire entered service in 1984. It was designed specifically as an antitank weapon, primarily for launch from attack helicopters, although it can be fired from some fixed-wing attack aircraft and can even be ground launched. The missile weighs 106 pounds, including the 20-pound warhead. It has a maximum effective range of 4.9 miles. The initial versions of the Hellfire were laser-guided, but the more recent variants have been

The Dragon antitank/assault missile, developed for the U.S. Army in 1970, is a one-man antitank missile that was used against Iraqi tanks during the Persian Gulf War. (U.S. Department of Defense)

radar-guided. The Hellfire has been used in the Persian Gulf War, the Afghanistan War, and the Iraq War. Between 2001 and 2007 U.S. Forces have fired more that 6,000 Hellfires in combat.

Although direct-firing antitank artillery guns have been phased out of service by most armies since the 1950s, the increasing technical sophistication of artillery ammunition has given a new antitank role to indirect-firing field artillery. Most American antitank field artillery rounds are 155-mm, fired by either the M-198 towed howitzer or the M-109 family of self-propelled howitzers. Special antitank warheads also exist for the M-270 multiple launch rocket system (MLRS) and the army tactical missile system (ATACMS), which use the same self-propelled launcher system as the MLRS. The most current version of the M-109 howitzer, the Paladin M-109A6, entered service in 1999 and fires to a maximum range of 13.6 miles. The United States used the M-109A6 in the Iraq War, and the U.S., British, Egyptian, and Saudi armies all used earlier versions of the M-109 in the Persian Gulf War. The M-270 MLRS, which entered service in 1983, was developed jointly by the United States, Britain, Germany, and France. It fires 12 free-flight rockets to a maximum range of 26.1 miles. The MLRS launcher also can fire 2 MGM-140 ATACMS at a time. Operational in January 1991 and first fired in combat during the Persian Gulf War, the guided missiles have a range of 102 miles.

The improved conventional munitions (ICM) artillery round entered service for the U.S. 105-mm howitzer in 1961 and was first fired in combat in the Vietnam War. The projectile was a cargo-carrying round that burst in the air over the target, dispersing a number of unguided antipersonnel submunitions. In common terms, the ICM was an artillery version of a cluster bomb. In the early 1970s the United States developed a projectile for the 155-mm howitzer that carried submunitions designed to work against either personnel or tanks. Called a dual-purpose ICM (DPICM), the M-483 155-mm projectile carries 88 submunitions capable of penetrating 65-mm of RHA. Each M-42 or M-46 bomblet carries a HEAT shaped charge, designed to attack a tank's relatively thin top armor. The DPICM warhead for the MLRS rocket carries 644 M-77 submunitions, each capable of penetrating 100-mm of RHA. The ATACMS MGM-140 missile warhead carried 950 M-74 submunitions that are classified as antipersonnel/antimaterial (APAM). They are effective against thin-skinned tactical vehicles but not against armored vehicles. The most significant drawback to DPICMs is the 2–5 percent dud rate of the submunitions, which has caused unintended casualties as friendly forces have moved into a target area after the firing. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, DPICMs acquired the nickname "Steel Rain."

Like DPICM artillery ammunition, family of scatterable mines (FASCAM) rounds are also cargo-carrying projectiles that burst in the air above the target area and disperse unguided submunitions. FASCAM rounds can be emplaced remotely, deep in an enemy's rear, by either field artillery or aircraft. FASCAM projectiles were initially developed for both the 155-mm and 8-inch howitzers and carried either antipersonnel mines (called area denial munitions [ADAMs]) or antitank mines (called remote antiarmor mines [RAAMs]). The 8-inch howitzer was retired from the American arsenal after the Persian Gulf War. The 155-mm M-741 projectile carries nine M-73 antitank mines, which are preset to self-destruct 48 hours after they have been emplaced. The M-741 projectile carries nine M-70 antitank mines, with a preset self-destruct time of 4 hours.

Unlike many antitank mines, the FASCAM RAAMs are designed to achieve a K-kill rather than just a M-kill. Each 3.75-pound M-70 and M-73 mine contains slightly more than 1 pound of RDX (cyclonite) explosive. When the mine is detonated by its magnetically induced fuse, a two-sided Miznay-Shardin plate creates a self-forging fragment that becomes a superdense molten slug that punches through the tank's relatively thin underarmor. The principle is very similar to that of the explosively formed penetrators used in some IEDs. The first artillery-delivered FASCAM minefield in combat was fired by the 5th Battalion, 11th Marines, during the Battle of Khafji (January 29–February 1, 1991).

The first PGM for field artillery weapons was the American M-712 Copperhead, a 155-mm fin-stabilized terminally guided projectile specifically designed to engage tanks and other hardened targets. In order for the Copperhead round to hit a tank directly, an observer must have the target under observation and be close enough to "paint" it with a laser-designator during the terminal leg of the projectile's trajectory. This requires that the round be below cloud cover long enough for it to lock on to the target and have sufficient time to maneuver to impact. The observer can be either a forward observer on the ground or an aerial in a helicopter. Unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) equipped with television cameras and laser designators can also be used to guide the Copperhead round to its target. The Copperhead was fired in combat for the first time during the Persian Gulf War.

The U.S. sense and destroy armor (SADARM) system is based in a cargo-carrying artillery round similar to the DPICM projectile except that it carries smart submunitions. The 155-mm M-898 round carries two submunitions that are released 3,280 feet above the target area. Specially designed parachutes slow the descent of the submunition and cause it to swing in a circle. As it descends, its millimeter wave radar and infrared telescope sensors sweep the area below about 492 feet in diameter. When the sensors acquire a target, the explosive charge triggers at the right time, sending an explosively formed penetrator through the top armor of the tank. SADARM rounds were fired in combat for the first time during the Iraq War. The divisional artillery of the U.S. 3rd Infantry Division fired 108 rounds and achieved 48 vehicle kills.

Purpose-built ground attack aircraft first appeared in the final year of World War I, and during World War II the British, Soviets, and Germans all developed fixed-wing aircraft specifically designed to attack tanks. During the Vietnam War the United States first started using helicopters in a ground-attack role, and during North Vietnam's 1972 Easter Offensives American helicopters firing TOW missiles attacked tanks for the first time.

The first American purpose-designed attack helicopter was the AH-1 Cobra, which entered service in 1967. The U.S. Army retired the Cobra in 1999, but the U.S. Marine Corps still flies the AH-1W Super Cobra, which can mount an antitank armament of eight TOW or eight Hellfire missiles. The U.S. Army's AH-64 Apache entered service in 1983 and saw significant service in the Persian Gulf War. It has also seen significant service in the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War. Specifically designed as a tank killer, the AH-64's primary armament is the M-230 Chain Gun. Depending on its specific mission, each AH-64 can carry up to 16 Hellfire antitank missiles and 1,200 rounds of 30-mm ammunition.

A number of American fixed-wing ground-support aircraft are capable of carrying antitank armament, but like the AH-64 Apache, the A-10 Thunderbolt II, universally known as the "Warthog," was specifically designed as a tank killer. Its primary armament is the GAU-8/A Gatling gun, which weighs 4,029 pounds and accounts for some 16 percent of the aircraft's unladen weight. The A-10 carries 1,174 rounds of 30-mm ammunition. When configured for a specific antitank mission, the A-10 can carry four AGM-65 Maverick missiles.

Unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) were initially designed as reconnaissance platforms. Their sophisticated onboard sensor systems and long dwell times over target areas made them critically valuable assets in finding enemy tanks. But some UAVs also have sufficient lift to carry 106-pound AGM-114 Hellfire missiles in addition to their sensor packages. Although not originally designed as attack platforms, both the MQ-1B Predator and the MQ-9 Reaper have carried and successfully launched Hellfires.

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See also

Armored Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Improvised Explosive Devices

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Antiwar Movements, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars

The antiwar movement during the 1991 Persian Gulf War was short-lived in large measure because overwhelming U.S. military

power brought about a quick end to the hostilities. The Iraq War (2003–present), however, has seen substantial antiwar demonstrations and protests, including widespread use of the Internet. Anti–Iraq War demonstrations occurred in the United States, in Europe, and in the Middle East.

Months before Operation DESERT STORM commenced in January 1991, an antiwar movement had already manifested itself. On October 20, 1990, some 15,000 protestors marched in New York City and 15 other U.S. cities calling upon the George H. W. Bush administration to avoid war with Iraq. When the war was launched on January 16, 1991, more than 3,000 Bostonians turned out to protest the war as members of the Initiative for Peace led a rally at Boston Common. Protestors of the Persian Gulf War argued that it was a contest over oil and not one that involved other vital U.S. interests. On January 26, 1991, after 15,000 marchers demonstrated in Washington, D.C., another crowd assembled there a week later, with estimates of its size ranging from 70,000 to as high as 250,000 people. But the massive air campaign culminated in a rapid ground campaign, and in four weeks the war had ended, halting the protests as well.

Opposition to the Iraq War has seen the engagement of large numbers of protestors. Although lacking the types of civil disobedience tactics accompanying the Vietnam War, opposition has been no less intense. Antiwar groups began protests even before military action began in March 2003. Groups such as Americans Against War With Iraq, NOT IN OUR NAME, United for Peace and Justice, and ANSWER insisted that the George W. Bush administration's plans for war would lead to the killing of thousands of U.S. soldiers, Iraqi soldiers, and Iraqi civilians and would have a negative effect on Middle East stability. They also contended that the rush to war was generated by imperialistic concerns based on oil interests, that it would violate international law without United Nations (UN) approval, that it would only breed more terrorism, that Iraqi president Saddam Hussein was not in consort with Al Qaeda, and that Iraq did not possess weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). Rallies and demonstrations continued prior to the war.

In the third week of January 2003 a group of 50 volunteers from various nations, led by former Persian Gulf War veteran Kenneth O'Keefe, headed to Baghdad to act as human shields against an impending U.S. air strike. Eventually, between 200 and 500 human shields made their way to Iraq and remained there during the shock-and-awe bombing campaign in March.

On February 15, 2003, between 100,000 and 250,000 people marched in New York City, making it the largest political demonstration the city had seen since the anti–nuclear proliferation movement of the early 1980s. On March 9 some 3,000 pink-clad women activists marched around the White House to oppose the impending war. This group called itself CODEPINK. On March 15 the last massive demonstrations before the war began occurred when tens of thousands of protestors participated in antiwar rallies from Portland, Oregon, to Los Angeles to Washington, D.C.

Once the war commenced on March 20, 2003, the antiwar protests grew in number. The antiwar coalitions that appeared were composed of people from all walks of life. They included the elderly, former veterans of past wars, school-age students, college students, and people of all races, ethnicities, and religious backgrounds. Indeed, opposition to the Iraq War cuts across race, gender, and economic lines. One of the more unique forms of protest later copied by other antiwar groups was initiated by a Quaker peace group, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).

Members of the Grandmothers for Peace organization stage a sit-in at an Armed Forces Recruiting Station in New York City during an anti–Iraq War rally in Times Square on October 17, 2005. Seventeen were arrested when they attempted to enter the facility and enlist. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Calling it "False Pretenses," the AFSC created a memorial by placing 500 pairs of boots at the Federal Building Plaza in Chicago to symbolize the number of soldiers who had been killed at that point in the war. Other antiwar activists built mock coffins and stretched out on busy streets.

One antiwar group that captured the national media's attention was Grandmothers against the War. Primarily a local coalition in New York City, 17 grandmothers, ranging in age from 49 to 90, were arrested on October 17, 2005, when they attempted to enlist in the military at the Times Square recruiting station. Their action inspired other elderly women to take up the cause in Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

The actions of Cindy Sheehan also served as a lightning rod for the antiwar movement when, in August 2005, she conducted a 26-day vigil outside President Bush's ranch at Crawford, Texas. Sheehan's son was killed in Iraq in 2004. Her most dramatic act of civil disobedience occurred during the 2006 State of the Union Address, when she was forcibly removed from the House chamber sporting a T-shirt that read "2,245 Dead. How Many More?" In March 2006 Sheehan was arrested for allegedly blocking a door leading to the U.S. mission in the United Nations (UN) in New York City. She was also one of the founders of the Gold Star Families for Peace, an organization dedicated to helping families that had lost relatives in the Iraq War and to bringing an end to U.S. involvement in Iraq. Sheehan has since become the most recognizable antiwar protester in the United States and has appeared on numerous television programs and many rallies around the country.

From 2002 to 2007 large antiwar demonstrations took place in cities and towns throughout the nation. On January 28, 2007, an antiwar rally in the nation's capital saw thousands of peaceful protestors gathered to listen to Hollywood celebrities such as Jane Fonda, Sean Penn, Danny Glover, Susan Sarandon, and Tim Robbins condemn the war.

The current antiwar demonstrations have been remarkable for their discipline and adherence to the principle of nonviolent civil disobedience. In 2007, apart from visible protests, the National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee estimated that between 8,000 and 10,000 Americans refused to pay some or all of their federal taxes to support the war.

One of the unique aspects of the anti–Iraq War movement has been its online organization. Cyberactive antiwar groups such as Americans Against Escalation in Iraq, MoveOn.org, Win Without War, and WHY WAR? have effectively mobilized opposition at the grassroots level through use of the Internet. Use of online activism has emerged as a force for organizing, raising money, and influencing politicians through blogs (web logs) and e-mail messages. These organizations represent the new wave in protest movements, one aimed at influencing votes in Congress rather than just street theater and mass demonstrations. The Internet has also been responsible for increasing membership in antiwar organizations such as Veterans for Common Sense, Operation Truth, and Iraq Veterans against the War.

The strength of the current anti–Iraq War protests lies in its sophistication and perspective. Those joining the antiwar movement have done so because they perceive the war as a serious threat to the stability of the international order and the economic development of societies in need of global financial support. Media attention to the antiwar movements of the Middle East wars has not been as extensive as it was during the Vietnam War years, but the Internet has clearly aided its organization efforts and awareness of the issues. One important difference between the Iraq War protest movement and the protests during the Vietnam War is that those demonstrating against the Iraq War have avoided attacking or demonizing the troops but have rather concentrated their displeasure on the political leadership. This is seen in the slogan of "Support the Troops: Bring Them Home!"

The overwhelming antiwar sentiment in Europe—impossible to separate from a pervasive anti-American sentiment—was an important reason why only the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and Poland of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) powers were making a major manpower commitment to Afghanistan.

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See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Sheehan, Cindy Lee Miller

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Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview

Establishing precise parameters for the Arab-Israeli conflict is difficult. The wars are usually given as beginning with the Arab-Jewish Communal War (1947–1948) or the Arab-Israeli War of 1948–1949 (Israeli War of Independence). These wars in effect extend to the present, for some of the Arab confrontation states, most notably Syria, have yet to sign peace treaties with Israel.

Beginning the conflict in 1948 or even 1947 gives a false impression, as previously there had been episodes of violence and

armed clashes between Arabs and Jews in Palestine, especially in the 1920s and 1930s. These events were sparked by Arab fears over significant Jewish immigration to Palestine and land purchases there. Animosity thus found expression in the Arab riots of 1920 and the Arab Revolt of 1936–1939.

Of course, strife was hardly new to this region. Palestine had been a battleground since the beginning of recorded history. History's first reliably recorded battle took place in 1457 BCE at Megiddo, at the head of present-day Israeli's Jezreel Valley. When Egyptian forces under the command of Pharaoh Thutmose III decisively defeated a Canaanite coalition under the king of Kadesh, the Canaanites withdrew to the city of Megiddo, which the Egyptians then brought under siege. Certain fundamentalist Christians identify Megiddo as the site of Armageddon, where according to the Book of Revelation the final great battle between good and evil will take place.

With its location on the eastern Mediterranean coast, ancient Palestine formed an important communication route between larger empires such as Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, and Persia. As such, it was destined for a stormy existence. These empires as well as Alexander the Great, the Seleucid Empire, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Abbasid caliphate, the Tartars, the Mongols, the Mamluks, the Ottoman Turks, and finally the British all fought for control of Palestine. Sometime around 1200 BCE the Jews established and then maintained an independent Jewish state there. Ultimately, more-powerful states prevailed, and the Jews were largely expelled from their own land by the occupiers in what became known as the Diaspora. Jews settled in most of the world's countries and on almost every continent.

In the 19th century, nationalism swept Europe. Sentiment for a national state also touched the Jews, many of whom longed for a state of their own, one that would be able to protect them from the persecutions (pogroms) that occurred in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, most notably in Russia. Zionism, or the effort to reestablish a Jewish state in Palestine, attracted a great many Jews—religious and nonreligious—and a number of them went to Palestine as immigrants.

During World War I, the British government endeavored to win the support of both Arabs and Jews in the war against the Central powers, including the Ottoman Empire. While at the same time supporting the Arab Revolt against Ottoman Turkey, the British government in the Balfour Declaration of November 1917 promised to work for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. In retrospect, British policies were at once shortsighted and contradictory and helped sow the seeds of even more Arab-Jewish enmity when the war ended in 1918. Britain and France both secured League of Nations mandates in the Middle East after the war. France obtained Syria and Lebanon, while Britain took control of Palestine (which included what is today Israel/Palestine and Jordan) and Iraq.

Increasing Jewish immigration, however, as well as ongoing Jewish purchases of Arab land increasingly inflamed Arab leaders in Palestine as well as leaders such as King Abdullah of Jordan and Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, who feared that if immigration could not be halted, the growing Jewish minority in Palestine would become a majority. In what became an increasingly violent atmosphere, the British government found it impossible to please both sides. London, worried about its overall position in the Middle East with the approach of a new world war, increasingly tended to side with the Arabs. This meant restrictions on both Jewish immigration and land purchases in Palestine, but this came at precisely the time when German leader Adolf Hitler challenged the post–World War I status quo in Europe and was carrying out a fervent anti-Semite policy.

Finding it impossible to secure agreement between the two sides, London announced plans for the partition of Palestine. The Arabs rejected this partitioning, insisting on independence for Palestine as one state under majority (Arab) rule. Concerned about their overall position in the Middle East, the British then withdrew from their pro-Zionist policy and in May 1939 issued a White Paper that severely restricted the immigration of Jews to Palestine and forbade the purchase of Arab lands in Palestine by Jews.

Following World War II, Jews in Palestine conducted a campaign against the British policy there that mixed diplomatic campaign with armed struggle. Finding it more and more difficult to contain the growing violence in Palestine, coupled with the support of President Harry S. Truman's administration in the United States for the Jewish position, London turned the future of Palestine over to the new United Nations (UN). On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly voted to partition the British mandate into Jewish and Arab states. The Arabs of Palestine, supported by the Arab League, adamantly opposed the partition, and the first of four major wars began following news of the UN vote. The first war of 1947–1949 contains two identifiably separate conflicts: the Arab-Jewish communal war of November 30, 1947–May 14, 1948, which included volunteer forces from other Arab states as well as Palestinian Arabs, and the Arab-Israeli War (Israeli War of Independence), which began on May 15, 1948, a day after the ending of the British mandate and with the founding of the State of Israel. The war ended with the last truce agreement with Syria on July 30, 1949. The three other conflicts ensued in 1956 (the Sinai War, or Suez Crisis), 1967 (the Six-Day War), and 1973 (the October War, Yom Kippur War, or Ramadan War). In these four conflicts, Israeli forces eventually triumphed. Each threatened to bring about superpower intervention, and the four wars also had profound implications throughout the Middle East and beyond. Beyond these wars, however, were ongoing terrorist attacks against Israel; cross-border raids, some of them quite large; a successful Israeli air strike on the Iraqi Osiraq nuclear reactor (1981); and large Israeli incursions into southern Lebanon in 1982 and in 2006.

The 1948 war began following the announcement of the UN General Assembly's endorsement of Resolution 181 on November 29, 1947, calling for the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. While Jewish authorities in Palestine accepted the

Barbed wire covers more than 100 yards of Princess Mary Avenue at Zion Square in Jerusalem on May 19, 1948. The wire is to separate Arabs and Jews. The Jewish state of Israel was proclaimed on May 15, and fighting immediately began. The Old City of Jerusalem appeared in imminent danger of being wrested from its Jewish defenders by the Arab Desert Legion. (AP/Wide World Photos)

resolution, the Arabs—including the Palestinians and the Arab League—rejected it. In response to passage of the UN resolution, Arabs began attacking Jews throughout Palestine, and the incidents expanded so that from December 1947 to April or May 1948 an intercommunal war raged between Jewish and Arab residents of Palestine.

The Jewish community in Palestine then numbered some 600,000 people, while the Palestinians consisted of more than 1.2 million. However, Palestinian numerical advantage counted for little on the battlefield. The Palestinians had no national institutions of any kind, let alone a cohesive military. They were fragmented with divided elites and were unprepared for the violence, expulsions, and loss of their property. Many Palestinians were reduced to starvation. Perhaps only 5,000 Palestinians took part in the fighting against the Jews. These essentially guerrilla forces were poorly trained, poorly equipped, and ineffectively organized.

The Arab League pledged support to the Palestinians but, through its Military Committee, actually usurped the conflict from the Palestinians. The Military Committee and the mufti Haj Amin al-Hussayni argued over the conduct of the war as each sought to control operations. The Military Committee failed, however, to provide the Palestinians with the money and weapons that the Arab rulers had pledged and sent its own commanders to Palestine to oversee the war. Such internal conflicts further weakened the overall Arab effort.

The Jews, on the other hand, were much better equipped and more organized. Jewish society was both Western and industrialized, having all the institutions of a modern state. In fact, structurally the establishment of the Jewish state required only the formal transformation of the prestatehood institutions to government entities, parliament, political parties, banks, and a relatively well-developed military arm, known as the Haganah. The Haganah was organized during the civil war as a full-fledged army, with 9 brigades with a total of some 25,000 conscripts. By May 1948 there were 11 brigades, with nearly 35,000 men. With the Jewish forces taking the offensive in early April 1948, the

Palestinians had no chance but to counterattack and by early May had been defeated.

During this time, and even before the Jews' final campaign, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were driven from or fled their homes and became refugees. By the end of the war, there would be 750,000 to 1 million or more Palestinian refugees. Many of them escaped from the battle zone, but others were forcibly expelled and deported by Jewish forces during the actual fighting.

On May 15, 1948, with the formal establishment of the State of Israel, Israeli forces secured control over all the territory allocated to it by the UN in addition to a corridor leading to Jerusalem and the Jewish part of Jerusalem, which according to the Partition Resolution was to have been internationalized. With the official termination of British rule in Palestine on May 14, 1948, David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first elected prime minister, declared the establishment of the State of Israel. This declaration was followed by the advance of four Arab armies toward Palestine bent on a campaign to extinguish Israel.

The resulting war was, in many respects, primitive. Some 35,000 Israeli soldiers faced 35,000–40,000 Arab soldiers. Both sides were subjected to a UN Security Council arms embargo, but it was the Arabs who suffered the most from this. The Arab armies secured their weapons from Britain for Egypt, while Jordan and Iraq, which had no access to other markets, were forced into this arrangement under treaties with Britain. With the embargo in place, the Arabs were unable to replace damaged or destroyed weapons, and they had only limited access to ammunition. However, while the Jews received no military equipment from the West, they did manage in early 1948 to sign a major arms contract with the Czech government, thereby purchasing various weapons but mostly small arms and ammunition.

The strength of the Arab armies was in infantry. Their few tanks were mostly Egyptian. Even then, only a few dozen were operative. Despite an initial effort to create a unified command structure, the movements of the four Arab armies on Palestine were not coordinated. In April 1948 General Nur al-Din Mahmud, an Iraqi officer, was appointed by the Arab League to command the Arab forces. Mahmud submitted a plan that focused on northeastern Palestine, where the invading forces would try to sever eastern Galilee from the Hula Valley to Lake Kinneret (the Sea of Galilee) from Israel. That would be achieved through the coordinated advance of the Syrian, Lebanese, Iraqi, and Jordanian forces in the northern part of Palestine, while the Egyptian Army would move northward to Yibna, which was inside the designated Arab state. The Egyptians were not to advance into the Jewish state's territory, at least not in the first stage, but rather were to create a diversion that would lure Israeli forces into their sector and reduce Israeli pressure on the main Arab push in the north.

Jordan's King Abdullah had different plans for his army, however. He planned to occupy the area designated for the Palestinian Arab state, west of the Jordan River (the West Bank). For that reason he rebuffed Mahmud's plan and ordered the commander of the Arab Legion to act independently and occupy the West Bank. That was done, with the Arab Legion completing its mission in a few days. With that, each Arab army acted in isolation, while at the last minute Lebanon refrained from participation in the war. Syrian and Iraqi forces fought in the northern part of Israel, the Jordanian Arab League fought in the central sector, and the Egyptian Army fought in the southern sector.

The Egyptian government dispatched to Palestine 5,500 soldiers organized into two infantry brigades, accompanied by nearly 4,500 irregulars. Iraq dispatched to Palestine some 4,500 soldiers, while Syria sent 6,000. Jordan deployed almost all of its army, some 6,500 men. In addition, some 3,000 irregulars fought alongside the Arab armies.

At that time, Israel fielded more than 30,000 soldiers. The fighting was divided into two parts: the first from May 15 to June 10 and the second from July 9 to the end of the war. The first stage saw the Jews on the defensive, while in the second half of the war they took the offensive. In the indecisive first phase, small Iraqi and Syrian forces invaded Israel in the north but were repelled following a few days of fighting.

Jordanian forces concentrated on the occupation of the West Bank, while the main Egyptian expeditionary force moved northward along the coastline, reaching its final staging area near Yibna, within the area designated to the Arab state. Another part of the Egyptian force split from the main force. It crossed the Negev desert from west to east and moved toward Samaria through Hebron up to the southern outskirts of Jerusalem. Neither Egyptian force encountered any Israeli forces during their movements.

In the north, the Syrian and Iraqi armies tried to execute their part in Mahmud's plan, which was no longer valid. Acting in an uncoordinated manner, small forces of both armies invaded Israel in an area south of the Kinneret but were thwarted by the Israelis. The Syrian Army retreated, to return about a week later and attack two Israeli settlements near the Israeli-Syrian border and occupy them. Israeli counterattacks failed, and the Syrian forces withdrew only at the end of the war as part of the truce agreement between the two states. The Iraqi forces retreated too and returned to the Jordanian-occupied West Bank. The Iraqi troops acted in coordination with the Jordanian Army, allowing the Jordanian command to send troops from around Samaria, now held by the Iraqis, to the Israeli-Jordanian battlefield. Iraqi forces departed the West Bank at the end of the war, with Iraq refraining from signing a truce agreement with Israel.

In this initial stage, the Israelis were concentrated along the road to Jerusalem. Both the Jordanians and the Israelis completely misread the other's intentions. The Israelis assumed that the Arab Legion planned to invade Israel, and the Jordanians feared that the Israelis intended to drive the Arab Legion from the West Bank.

In fact, all the Israelis sought was to bring the Jewish part of Jerusalem under Israeli control and, toward that end, to gain control over the road from the coast to Jerusalem. The Israelis feared that the Arab Legion would cut the road to Jerusalem and occupy

Arab fighters pick their way through the rubble of the Tiferet Synagogue on May 21, 1948. Arab demolition squads blasted this structure in the Old City of Jerusalem, which was being used as a fortress by Haganah, the underground Zionist military organization, during the Israeli War of Independence. (AP/Wide World Photos)

all of Jerusalem, and to prevent this they reinforced Jerusalem. The Jordanians interpreted the dispatch of Israeli troops to Jerusalem as an attempt to build up a force to take the offensive against them. This mutual misunderstanding was the cause of the fierce fighting between Israeli and Jordanian forces that ended with the Jordanians repulsing the Israeli troops and holding on to bases in the Latrun area, the strategic site along the Tel Aviv–Jerusalem road.

Israeli-Jordanian fighting ended when the Israeli government acknowledged its inability to drive out Jordanian forces who blocked the road to Jerusalem and when the two governments realized that the other posed no risk. In November 1948 Jewish and Jordanian military commanders in Jerusalem concluded an agreement that formalized the positions established with the de facto cease-fire of the previous July.

With the end of the fighting with Jordan, the Israelis launched the final phase of the war. In a two-stage operation in October and December 1948, the Israeli Army drove the Egyptian forces from the Negev. The Israeli effort to force out the Egyptians along the coast was only partially successful, however. The Egyptians remained in the Gaza Strip. Indeed, the Gaza Strip remained under Egyptian control until 1967.

Concurrent with the October operations in the south, other Israeli troops stormed the high ground in central Galilee, controlled by the Arab League's Arab Liberation Army. After brief fighting, the Israelis occupied all of Galilee. In early January 1949 a cease-fire came into effect, and shortly thereafter negotiations on armistice agreements began.

The second major confrontation between Israel and the Arabs was the Sinai War, or Suez Crisis, of October 1956. This time, France, Britain, Israel, and Egypt were involved in the fighting. The Israeli-Egyptian portion of the war, which in Israel was known as Operation KADESH, was part of a larger picture. During 1949–1956, there was constant unrest along the Israeli-Egyptian demarcation line as well as between Israel and Jordan. Infiltrators regularly crossed the border from the Egyptian-controlled Gaza Strip, from the Sinai, and from the West Bank. Some were Palestinian refugees seeking to return to their homes or to visit relatives who remained inside Israel, some hoped to harvest their fields on

the Israeli side of the border, some came to steal, and a few went to launch terrorist attacks against Israeli targets.

These infiltrations had an enormous impact on Israel. Economic damage mounted, and border-area residents, many of them newly arrived immigrants, were unprepared for the challenge. Israel feared the political implications of the infiltrations, as estimates of their numbers were thousands per month. Consequently, Israeli security forces undertook harsh measures against the infiltrators, regardless of the motives for crossing the border. Israeli soldiers often ambushed infiltrators, killing them and launching reprisal attacks. As a result, tensions along the Israeli borders increased, chiefly along the frontiers with Jordan and Egypt.

While the cross-border tensions provided the background context, the war occurred for two main reasons. First, Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser had absorbed a large number of Palestinian refugees into Egypt and was responsible in a legal sense for those in the Gaza Strip. Rather than allowing the Palestinians free rein to attack Israel, he sought to simultaneously support their cause yet limit the Israeli response to their actions in unspoken rules of engagement, which the Israelis hoped to overturn. Nasser was a fervent Arab nationalist who also aspired to lead and unite the Arab world, a potentiality that deeply troubled Prime Minister Ben-Gurion. Ben-Gurion attributed the Arab defeat in 1948 to a great extent to their divisions. Thus, he was fearful of a unified Arab world under Nasser's leadership. The third immediate reason for the war was the Egyptian-Soviet arms arrangement (normally referred to as the Czech Arms Deal), announced in September 1955. The agreement assured Nasser of the modern weapons that Ben-Gurion was certain Nasser intended to use in an all-out attack against Israel.

Israeli fears were mitigated by an Israeli-French arms agreement completed in June 1956 one month before Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal on July 26, provoking an acute international crisis that culminated with the 1956 war. Shortly after the beginning of the crisis, France invited Israel to take part in planning a joint military attack on Egypt.

For Israel, while there was no specific reason for such an offensive move, fear of Nasser's intentions seemed sufficient justification. Tensions between Israel and Egypt since 1949, and especially since 1954, had significantly diminished. In the summer of 1956 exchanges of fire along the armistice line had largely ceased. More importantly, Nasser, expecting a fierce Anglo-French reaction to the nationalization of the Suez Canal, reduced the Egyptian troop deployment along the Israeli-Egyptian border to reinforce the Suez Canal.

While Egypt had blockaded the Strait of Tiran, closing it to Israeli ships, that by itself could not be reason for war, as there was no Israeli commercial maritime transportation along that route. Nevertheless, Ben-Gurion feared that Nasser was planning to unite the Arab world against Israel, and thus the invitation from two major powers to take part in a combined military effort was too much to resist. In a meeting at Svres, France, during October 22–25, 1956, French, British, and Israeli negotiators worked out the details of the war.

According to the plan that was worked out, Israeli parachutists would land a few miles east of Suez. France and Britain would then issue an ultimatum to both parties to remove their military forces from the canal. Expecting an Egyptian refusal, French and British forces would then invade Egypt to enforce the ultimatum. In the meantime, Israeli forces would storm the Sinai peninsula. Their goal was to join up with the parachutists in the heart of the Sinai and to open the Strait of Tiran.

Israel deployed the 7th Armored Brigade, with two tank battalions; the 27th and 37th Mechanized brigades; the 202nd Parachute Brigade; and the 1st, 4th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th Infantry brigades. The agreement with the British and French was the determining factor in the Israeli plan of attack. Instead of storming the Egyptian positions in front of them, a paratroop battalion was dropped on October 29, 1956, at the eastern gates of the Mitla Pass, some 30 miles east of the Suez Canal. Simultaneously, the paratroop brigade, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ariel Sharon, moved into the Sinai to join with the battalion waiting deep in the Sinai. The other Israeli forces had to wait until the Anglo-French attack on Egypt began.

Israeli commanders in the field were unaware of the agreement with the British and the French. Fearing for the parachute brigade and seeking a resolute and decisive victory over Egyptian forces, Major General Assaf Simhoni, commander of the southern command, ordered his forces to move ahead, with the armored brigade leading. The armored brigade stormed the Egyptian positions, with the remainder of the forces ensuring the defeat of the Egyptians. Israeli forces completed the occupation of the Sinai and the Gaza Strip within three days. During the fighting nearly 170 Israeli soldiers were killed, and 700 were wounded. The Egyptians suffered thousands of deaths, far more wounded, and more than 5,500 taken prisoner.

Israel did not enjoy for long the territorial achievements it gained in the war. Under enormous pressure from the United States and the Soviet Union, Israel was forced to remove its forces from the Sinai and the Gaza Strip. However, the terms of the Israeli evacuation of the Sinai aimed to provide it with the security it was lacking: UN observers were deployed along the armistice demarcation lines to ensure that they would not be crossed by infiltrators. One result of the stationing of UN forces was the nearly complete cessation of infiltration from the Gaza Strip to Israel. It was also agreed that the Sinai would be demilitarized, removing with that the threat of an Egyptian surprise attack against Israel. The Dwight D. Eisenhower administration provided assurances that it would no longer allow closure of the Strait of Tiran. Finally, the performance of Israeli forces in the war marked a dramatic change in the history of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). The IDF went from being an unsophisticated infantry-based army to an efficient, modernized, and mechanized military force. The lessons of the Sinai War certainly paved the

Yugoslav troops of the United Nations Emergency Forces (UNEF) on patrol at El Arish, Egypt, in 1957. UNEF was established following the 1956 Suez Crisis to oversee the withdrawal of foreign forces. (Corel)

way toward the Israelis' impressive achievement in the Six-Day War of June 6–11, 1967.

While the immediate cause of the Six-Day War may be unclear, the long-term catalysts are more obvious. On May 15, 1967, Nasser sent his army into the Sinai. This set the stage for a dramatic three weeks that culminated in an Israeli attack and the total defeat of Egyptian, Jordanian, and Syrian forces. It also resulted in the loss of territories by these three Arab countries.

Tensions along the Israeli-Syrian and Israeli-Jordanian borders formed the long-term cause of the war. There were three issues of contention. The first was the Israeli-Syrian struggle over the sovereignty of several pieces of land along their mutual border. According to the Israeli-Syrian armistice agreements, these areas were demilitarized. The Syrians insisted that sovereignty of the areas was undecided, while the Israelis believed that because the areas were on their side of the international border, they were under Israeli sovereignty. Consequently, Israel insisted that it had the right to cultivate the controversial pieces of land, to Syria's dismay. In a number of instances the Syrians tried, by armed force, to prevent Israeli settlers from farming the land. The second point of controversy lay in Syrian attempts to prevent Israel from diverting water from the Jordan River. Encouraged by the Arab League, the Syrians had tried since 1964 to divert the headwaters of the Jordan River inside Syria. Israel reacted fiercely to this, and until the Syrians finally abandoned the project, many clashes took place between the two nations' armed forces. The third issue was the continuing grievances of the Palestinians. Their desire to regain their land and find a solution for their displaced refugees was an ever-present theme in the politics of the neighboring Arab states and the Palestinian refugee community.

During 1957–1964 Palestinian engineer and nationalist Yasser Arafat established Fatah, a political organization dedicated to liberating Palestine within the rubric of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), also established in that year by the Arab League to provide a political representative body for the Palestinians. Over the next few years other militant, political, and representative Palestinian organizations were established. In January 1965 Fatah planted a bomb near an Israeli water-pumping station. The Israelis defused the bomb, but Fatah celebrated this as the first Palestinian terrorist attack. Palestinian attacks continued throughout 1965, 1966, and 1967. Despite the relatively low scale of the attacks, Israel responded aggressively, blaming Jordan for funding the terrorists and Syria for harboring and encouraging them.

The extent and ferocity of Israeli-Syrian clashes increased during 1967, culminating in an aerial battle between Israeli and Syrian forces that took place in April 1967. Israeli pilots shot down six Syrian planes during one of the dogfights. In the course of a

public address, IDF chief of staff Lieutenant General Yitzhak Rabin threatened war against Syria.

A month later, in May 1967, Nasser ordered his forces into the Sinai. The reasons for this action are in dispute. The common assumption is that Moscow warned both the Egyptian and Syrian governments that Israel was massing military forces along the Israeli-Syrian border and planning to attack Syria. Because Egypt and Syria were bound by a military pact signed on November 4, 1966, Nasser sent his army into the Sinai to force the Israelis to dilute their forces in the north and to forestall what he assumed was an imminent attack on Syria.

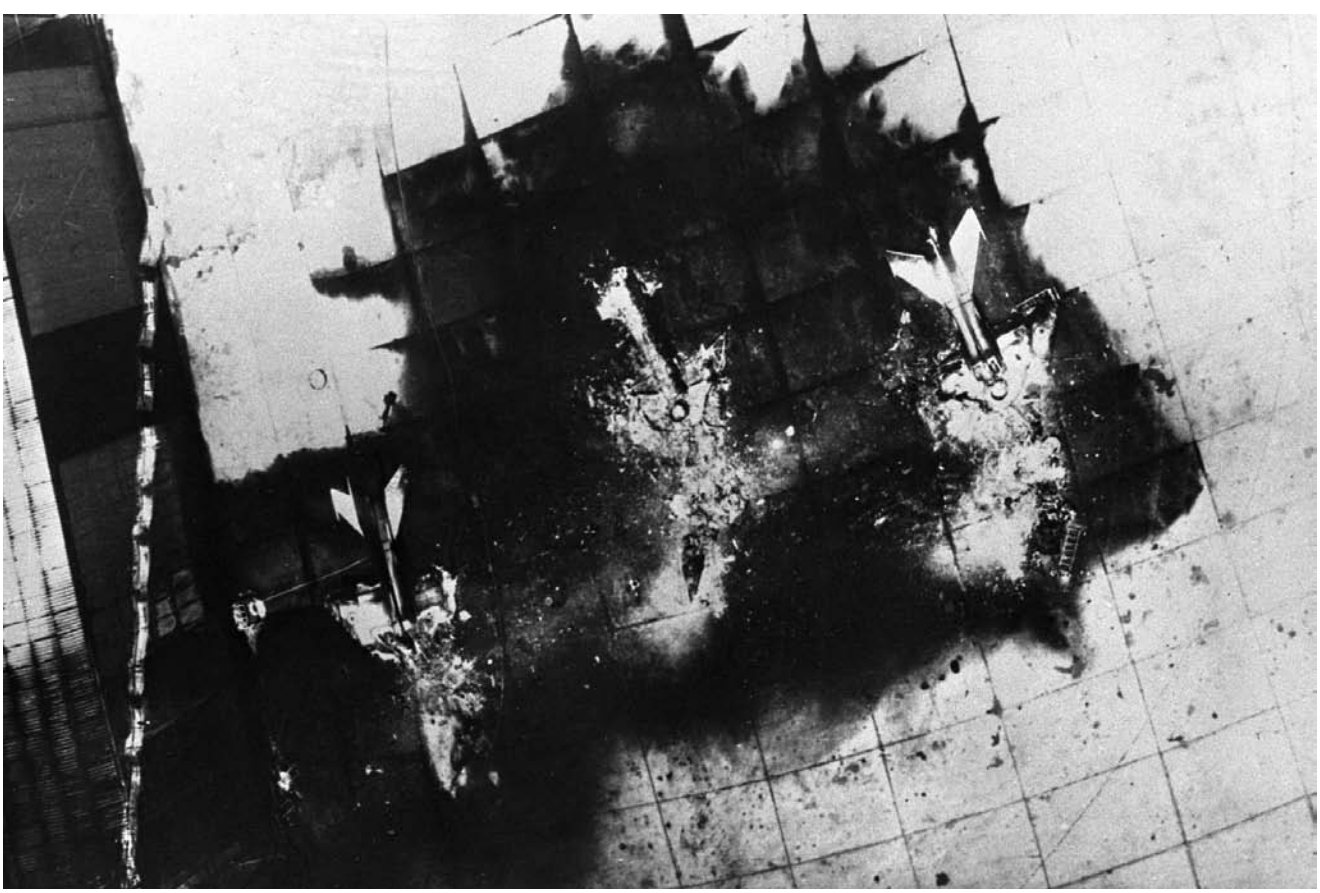
The Israelis responded to the entry of Egyptian forces into the Sinai with the calling up of IDF reserve forces. Nasser subsequently increased Israeli concerns when he ordered the UN observers along the Israeli-Egyptian border to concentrate in one location. UN secretary-general U Thant responded by pulling UN forces out of the Sinai altogether. Next, Nasser again closed the Strait of Tiran, yet another violation of the agreements that had led to the Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai in 1957. Besides that, Jordan and Egypt signed a military pact on May 30, 1967. This further increased the Israeli sense of siege.

Israeli military doctrine called for preemptive strikes in case of a concentration of Arab forces along its borders. All that was necessary was U.S. permission, and the Lyndon B. Johnson administration gave that in early June. The war began at dawn on June 5, 1967, with preemptive Israeli air strikes on Egyptian and then Syrian, Jordanian, and Iraqi air bases. The purpose of the attack was to neutralize the Arab air forces and remove the threat of air strikes on Israel. This would also, at a later stage, allow the Israeli Air Force to provide close air support to its forces on the ground.

Catching the vast bulk of the Egyptian aircraft on the ground as their pilots were at breakfast, some 250 Israeli aircraft destroyed the backbone of the Arab air forces within an hour, and by the end of the day they had been almost completely wiped out. More than 300 of a total of 420 Egyptian combat aircraft were destroyed that day. The Israelis then turned to destroy the far smaller Jordanian and Syrian air forces.

About an hour after the start of the air raids against Egypt, at about 8:30 a.m. Israeli time, the IDF launched its ground offensive. Three Israeli divisions attacked Egyptian forces in the Sinai and within four days had destroyed the Egyptian army in the Sinai and occupied the Peninsula.

Israeli operational plans were initially restricted to the Egyptian front. The IDF high command had developed plans to take the fighting to the Jordanian and Syrian fronts, but on the morning of June 5 it had no wish to go to war with these two Arab states.



Three Egyptian MiG-21 aircraft destroyed by the Israeli Air Force during the preemptive attack on Egyptian airfields on June 5, 1967, that began the Six-Day War. (Israeli Government Press Office)

There were, however, unexpected developments. As the Israeli troops stormed into the Sinai, Jordanian artillery shelled the suburbs of Jerusalem and other targets in Israel. The Israeli government hoped that Jordan's King Hussein would stay out of the fray and refrain from engaging in serious fighting. That did not happen. Jordanian troops stormed the UN headquarters in Jerusalem, inducing fears that the next step would be an attempt to take over Israeli-held Mount Scopus, an enclave within eastern Jerusalem, a Jordanian-held territory. To prevent that, Israeli forces moved ahead to secure a road to Mount Scopus, and the Jerusalem area became a battlefield. In addition, Israeli troops moved into the northern West Bank, from which long-range Jordanian artillery was shelling Israeli seaside cities. A full-fledged war was now in progress that lasted two days and ended with the complete Israeli victory over Jordanian forces. Israel then occupied the West Bank and eastern Jerusalem.

In the north, Syrian forces began to move westward toward the Israeli border but did not complete the deployment and, for unknown reasons, returned to their bases. For five long days the Syrians shelled Israeli settlements from the Golan Heights overlooking the Jordan River Valley. Hoping to avoid a three-front war, the Israelis took no action against the Syrians, despite the heavy pressure imposed on them by the settlers who had come under Syrian artillery fire. It was only in the last day of the war, with the fighting in the south and center firmly under control, that Israeli troops stormed the Golan Heights, taking it after only a few hours of fighting.

The end of the war saw a new Middle East in which Israel controlled an area three times as large as its pre-1967 territory. It had also firmly established itself as a major regional power. Israel also found itself in control of nearly 2 million Arabs in the West Bank, many of whom were refugees from the 1948–1949 war. The 1967 Six-Day War, known as the Naksa in the Arab world, was considered an utter defeat not only for the Arab armies but also for the principles of secular Arab nationalism as embodied in their governments. The defeat led to a religious revival.

Militarily, the 1967 Six-Day War marked a major military departure. First, it was a full-fledged armor war in which both sides, but chiefly the Egyptians and Israelis, deployed hundreds of tanks. Second, Cold War imperatives were clearly evident on the battlefield, with Israel equipped with sophisticated Western weapons and enjoying the full political support of the United States, while the Egyptians and the Syrians had the military and political support of the Soviet Union.

The next major Arab-Israeli conflict occurred six years later: the 1973 Yom Kippur War, also known as the War of Atonement and the Ramadan War. The years between 1967 and 1973 were not peaceful ones in the Middle East. Nasser refused to accept the results of the Six-Day War and rejected Israeli terms for negotiations of direct peace talks that would end in a peace agreement in return for giving up the Sinai. The Jordanians and the Syrians, as well as the rest of the Arab world, also rejected Israel's terms, instead demanding compliance with UN Resolution 242 (November 22, 1967) that called for the "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict" and the "termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of every state in the area."

UN Resolution 242 became the main reference for any agreement in the region, but it has never been enforced. The Israelis argue that it called for the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from "territories occupied" and not from "the territories occupied," and thus it need not return to all the pre–June 6, 1967, lines as the UN has instead argued. Tel Aviv held that this was a matter for discussion with the Arab states involved. In addition, the resolution was not tied to any demand for the parties to begin direct peace talks, as Israel consistently required. The result was stalemate.

Israel launched settlement endeavors and placed Jewish settlers in the occupied territories, seeking to perpetuate with that its hold on the territories, while the Arab side again resorted to violence. The first to endorse violence were the Palestinians. Disappointed by the Arab defeat and because of the stances of various Arab governments, some of the Palestinians changed their strategy, declaring a revolution or people's movement in 1968–1969. Prior to 1967 they had used terror attacks as a trigger that might provoke war, which they hoped would end in an Arab victory. Now they decided to take their fate into their own hands and launch their own war of liberation against what they called the Zionist entity. The result was a sharp increase in the extent and ferocity of Palestinian terrorist attacks on Israel and in increasing tensions between the Arab states and the Palestinians.

In 1968 the Palestinians internationalized their struggle by launching terrorist attacks against Israeli and Jewish targets all over the world. Nasser now also decided to take a path of aggression. Frustrated by his inability to bring about a change in Israel's position, he began a campaign under the slogan of "What was taken by force would be returned by force." Following low-level skirmishes along the Suez Canal and adjoining areas, from June 1968 Egyptian forces began shelling and raiding Israeli troop deployments across the canal. The Israelis responded with artillery fire and retaliatory attacks. The violence escalated as Israel struck deep inside Egypt with its air force. Before long, this mid-level-intensity conflict became known as the War of Attrition and continued until 1970.

With the growing intensity of Israeli air attacks on Egypt, pilots from the Soviet Union took an active part in the defense of Egypt. The increased involvement of the Soviet military in the conflict deeply worried both the Israelis and the United States. Through the mediation of U.S. secretary of state William Rogers, a cease-fire agreement was concluded in August 1970, and the fighting subsided. However, shortly after the signing of the agreement, the Egyptians began placing surface-to-air (SAM) batteries throughout the Suez Canal area.

During 1970–1973, Rogers and UN mediator Gunnar Jarring introduced peace plans that were rejected by both the Israelis and

the Egyptians. Following Nasser's death in September 1970, his successor, Anwar Sadat, was determined to change the status quo. Toward that end, he acted on two fronts: he called for a gradual settlement that would lead to Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai without a full peace agreement, and he expelled the Soviet advisers brought in by Nasser and resumed negotiations with the United States, which Nasser had ended in 1955.

The failure of Sadat's diplomatic efforts in 1971 led him to begin planning a military operation that would break the political stalemate along the Israeli-Egyptian front. Sadat believed that even a minor Egyptian military success would change the military equilibrium and force a political settlement that would lead to a final settlement. In devising his plan, he carefully calculated Israeli and Egyptian strengths and weaknesses. He believed that Israel's strength lay in its air force and armored divisions, well trained for the conduct of maneuver warfare. Egyptian strengths were the ability to build a strong defense line and the new SAM batteries deployed all along the canal area and deep within Egypt. Sadat hoped to paralyze the Israeli Air Force with the SAMs and hoped to counter the Israelis' advantage in maneuver warfare by forcing them to attack well-fortified and well-defended Egyptian strongholds.

In an attempt to dilute the Israeli military forces on the Sinai front, Sadat brought in Syria. A coordinated surprise attack on both the Syrian and Egyptian fronts would place maximum stress on the IDF. But above anything else, the key to the plan's success lay in its secrecy. Were Israel to suspect that an attack was imminent, it would undoubtedly launch a preventive attack, as in 1967. This part of the plan was successful.

Israeli ignorance of effective deceptive measures undertaken by Egypt contributed to Israel's failure to comprehend what was happening. One deception consisted of repeated Egyptian drills along the canal that simulated a possible crossing. The Israelis thus became accustomed to large Egyptian troop concentrations at the canal and interpreted Egyptian preparations for the actual crossings as just another drill. Even the Egyptian soldiers were told that it was simply a drill. Only when the actual crossing was occurring were they informed of its true nature. Even with the actual attack, however, the real intent of Egyptian and Syrian forces remained unclear to the Israelis, and they initially refrained from action.

Beginning at 2:00 p.m. on October 6, 1973, Egyptian and Syrian artillery and aircraft, and later their ground forces, launched major attacks along the Suez Canal and the Golan Heights. On the Israeli-Egyptian front, Egypt amassed a force of nearly 800,000 soldiers, 2,200 tanks, 2,300 artillery pieces, 150 SAM batteries, and 550 aircraft. Egypt deployed along the canal five infantry divisions with accompanying armored elements supported by additional infantry and armored independent brigades. This force was backed by three mechanized divisions and two armored divisions. Opposing this force on the eastern bank of the Suez Canal was one Israeli division supported by 280 tanks.

This Israeli force was no match for the advancing Egyptian troops. The defenders lacked reinforcements, as reserves were called on duty only after the outbreak of the war. They also did not have air support, as Egyptian SAMs proved to be deadly effective against Israeli aircraft.

The attacking Egyptians got across the canal and swept over the defending Israelis. It took less than 48 hours for the Egyptians to establish a penetration three to five miles deep on the east bank of the Suez Canal. They then fortified the area with more troops. Two divisions held the seized area, which was defended also by the SAM batteries across the canal. With that, the Egyptians had achieved their principal aims and a psychological victory.

The Israelis rushed reinforcements southward and launched a quick counteroffensive on October 8 in an attempt to repel the invading Egyptians troops. Much to Israeli surprise, it was a failure. Undermanned, unorganized, and underequipped Israeli troops—largely a tank force insufficiently supported by infantry and artillery—moved against a far bigger and more well-organized and well-equipped force protected by highly effective handheld antitank missiles. The Egyptians crushed the Israeli counteroffensive.

Following this setback, the Israeli General Staff decided to halt offensive actions on the Suez front and give priority to the fighting in the north on the Golan Heights, where in the first hours of the war little stood between massive numbers of invading Syrian armor and the Jewish settlements. Syria deployed two infantry divisions in the first line and two armored divisions in the second. This force had 1,500 tanks against only two Israeli armored brigades with 170 tanks. The Syrian forces swept the Golan Heights, crushing the small Israeli forces facing them. The few Israeli forces there fought desperately, knowing that they were the only force between the Syrians and numerous settlements. The Israeli forces slowed the Syrians and bought sufficient time for reserves of men and tanks to be brought forward. The Syrians also had an ineffective battle plan, which played to Israeli strengths in maneuver warfare. After seven days of fighting, Israeli troops thwarted the Syrian forces beyond the starting point of the war, across the pre–October 1973 Purple Line, and then drove a wedge into Syrian territory. Only then did the IDF again turn to the Egyptian front, where the goal remained driving Egyptian troops from the Sinai.

Sadat also overruled his ground commander and continued the advance. This took his forces out of their prepared defensive positions and removed them from the effective SAM cover on the other side of the canal, working to the Israeli's advantage. Israeli troops also located a gap between the two Egyptian divisions defending the occupied area that had gone unnoticed by the Egyptian command. Israeli forces drove through the gap and crossed the canal. The IDF hoped to achieve two goals. The first and most immediate goal was to create a SAM-free zone over which Israeli aircraft could maneuver free from the threat of missile attack. The second goal was to cut off Egyptian troops east of the canal from their bases west of the canal. After nearly a week of fighting, the Israelis accomplished almost all of their objectives. Nonetheless, Soviet and U.S.

Israeli troops withdrawing from the Suez Canal area of Egypt in 1974 in accordance with an agreement reached by the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force following the Yom Kippur War. (Corel)

pressure led to a cease-fire before the Israelis could completely cut off the two Egyptian divisions in the east from their bases.

Neither the Soviets nor the Americans wanted to see the Egyptians completely defeated. They also assumed that the Egyptian achievement would allow progress in the political process, just as Sadat had wanted. As a result, the war ended with Israeli and Egyptian forces entangled, the latter on the eastern side of the canal and the former on Egyptian soil.

Syrian president Hafiz al-Asad's chief motivation in joining Sadat in the war against Israel was to recapture the Golan Heights. Asad had no diplomatic goals and no intention of using the war as leverage for a settlement with Israel. The fighting in the north with Syria ended with the IDF positioned only about 25 miles from Damascus, while no Syrian forces remained within Israeli-held territory. It was only in 1974, after a disengagement agreement, that Israeli forces withdrew from Syrian territory beyond the Purple Line.

The 1973 war in effect ended in 1977 when Sadat visited Israel and the consequent 1979 Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty was signed. Turmoil continued, however, chiefly from the unresolved Palestinian problem, which was at the root of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Militant Palestinians refused to recognize the existence of the State of Israel, while Israel refused to treat with the Palestinian leadership. Terrorist attacks against Israel continued, and with a sharp increase in such attacks against the northern settlements from Lebanon, the Israeli government ordered IDF invasions of southern Lebanon in 1978 and 1982. The first invasion of 1978 was extremely costly in terms of civilian loss of life for the Lebanese, who were unable to mount an armed response to the Israelis. The Israelis also began to involve themselves in the ongoing civil war in Lebanon in order to further their own objectives.

Following increasing Palestinian rocket attacks from southern Lebanon, the Israelis began a large-scale invasion there on June 6, 1982. The stated goals of the operation were halting rocket attacks from that area against northern Israel and eliminating the Palestinian fighters there. Ultimately, Israel committed some 76,000 men and a considerable numbers of tanks, artillery, and aircraft to the operation. Minister of Defense Ariel Sharon and Prime Minister Menachem Begin had more ambitious goals, however. They hoped to also destroy the PLO and other Palestinian resistance in Lebanon altogether and to dismantle its political power. In addition, they sought to force Syria from Lebanon and to influence Lebanese politics.

Begin and Sharon informed the cabinet that their goal was merely to eradicate PLO bases in southern Lebanon and push back PLO and Syrian forces some 25 miles, beyond rocket range of Galilee. Once the operation began, however, Sharon changed the original plan by expanding the mission to incorporate Beirut. Within days, the IDF advanced to the outskirts of Beirut. The PLO merely

withdrew ahead of the advancing IDF on West Beirut. Sharon now mounted a broader operation that would force the PLO from Beirut, and for some 10 weeks Israeli artillery shelled West Beirut, killing both PLO members and scores of civilians. Fighting also occurred with Syrian forces in the Bekáa Valley area, but most of this combat was in the air. Not until June 2000 did Israel withdraw all its forces from southern Lebanon.

Israel achieved none of its goals in the invasion of Lebanon except for the eviction of the PLO from Beirut to Tunis and the deaths of many Palestinians and Lebanese. The Lebanese political scene was more turbulent than ever, and the PLO was certainly not eliminated. The Lebanese saw Israel as an implacable enemy, and an even more radical Islamic resistance took up hostilities against Israeli occupying troops and their Lebanese allies. That resistance eventually grew into Hezbollah, backed by Syria and Iran.

In December 1987 Palestinians began a protest movement, now known as the First Intifada, against Israeli rule in an effort to establish a Palestinian homeland through a series of demonstrations, improvised attacks, and riots. This intifada produced widespread destruction and human suffering, yet it also helped strengthen the Palestinian sense of popular will and made statehood a clear objective. It also cast much of Israeli policy in a negative light, especially with the deaths of Palestinian children, and thus helped rekindle international efforts to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. It also helped return the PLO from its Tunisian exile. Finally, it cost the Israeli economy hundreds of millions of dollars. The First Intifada ended in September 1993 with the signing of the historic Oslo Accords and the creation of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA).

Following torturous negotiations, the Israelis and Palestinians reached limited agreement at Oslo in September 1993 in the so-called Declaration of Principles. This eventually led to the establishment of the PNA and limited Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Nonetheless, the agreement was not fully implemented, and mutual Palestinian-Israeli violence continued, placing serious obstacles in the path of a general Arab-Israeli peace settlement.

With the advent of rightist Likud Party governments in Israel in the late 1990s, the Israeli-Palestinian peace process was essentially put on hold. Many politicians in Likud—but especially Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu—rejected the so-called land-for-peace formula. In the summer of 2000, U.S. president Bill

Waving PLO flags and posters of Yasser Arafat, Palestinian residents of Jericho welcome home neighbors expelled from Israel at the time of the First Intifada in 1993. The First Intifada (literally, "shaking off") was a spontaneous protest movement by Palestinians against Israeli rule and an effort to establish a Palestinian homeland through a series of demonstrations, improvised attacks, and riots against Israeli rule. (Avi Ohayon/Israeli Government Press Office)

Clinton hosted talks at Camp David between Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak and PLO chairman Yasser Arafat in an attempt to jump-start the moribund peace process. After 14 days of intense negotiations, the summit ended in an impasse. The failure of the talks disheartened Clinton in the waning days of his presidency and led to bitter recriminations on both sides that the other had not negotiated in good faith.

Not surprisingly, the Palestinians lost hope in the negotiation process following the failure of the Camp David talks. Their frustration was heightened by their belief that Israel—and not the Palestinian side—had sabotaged the peace process. A new dimension to Palestinian outrage was added when Likud Party chairman Ariel Sharon visited the Temple Mount (Haram al-Sharif) on September 28, 2000. His presence there ignited Palestinian anger that began as a stone-throwing demonstration. Before long, a full-blown Palestinian uprising, known as the Second (Al-Aqsa) Intifada, was under way. The uprising resulted in the deaths of many Israelis and Palestinians.

In recent years, momentous changes within the PLO and the PNA have wrought more uncertainty for both the Palestinians and the Israelis. Arafat's death in November 2004 resulted in a sea change within the Palestinian leadership. Mahmoud Abbas was chosen to succeed Arafat. Like Arafat, Abbas was a member of Fatah. In January 2005 Abbas was elected president of the PNA. In the meantime, terror attacks against Israelis and Israeli interests continued, and Abbas seemed powerless to stop the violence. Just a year after he ascended to the presidency, he suffered a stinging reversal when the Islamist party and organization Hamas won a majority of seats in the January 2006 Palestinian legislative elections. This led to the appointment of a Hamas prime minister. The United States and certain European government entities refused to deal with the Hamas-led government and cut off all funding to the Palestinians. As violence continued to occur and the lack of foreign aid hobbled the PNA, Abbas threatened to call for early elections if Hamas would not submit to a coalition-led government. However, Abbas lacked the authority to do so under the PNA's own guidelines, and he was serving as president only because Hamas wanted a unity government.

With increasing violence that included the kidnapping of an Israeli soldier in Gaza and a cross-border raid mounted by Hezbollah from Lebanon in July 2006 that killed three IDF soldiers and captured two others, the cabinet of Israeli prime minister Ehud Olmert again attacked southern Lebanon as well as Gaza. The fighting along the Israel-Lebanese border raged for 32 days between mid-July and mid-August. The incursion was largely limited to artillery and to air strikes that nonetheless included sections of Beirut and key bridges and lines of communication. Finally, some IDF ground troops were also sent in. Hezbollah responded by launching thousands of rockets into Israel. A great deal of Lebanese infrastructure that had been rebuilt since 1982 was destroyed in the countering Israeli strikes, and Israeli's hopes that it might influence Lebanese politics again proved illusory. Indeed, Hezbollah, whose ability to launch rockets into northern Israel appeared undiminished despite the strikes, appeared to have strengthened its position in Lebanese politics and also to have gained prestige in the Arab world for seemingly fighting toe-to-toe with the IDF.

In early 2007 and in 2008, there were renewed calls for a concerted effort to jump-start the peace process. Instead, a truce concluded between Israel and the Hamas government in Gaza in June 2008 broke down in November following Israeli assassinations of Hamas leaders in violation of the truce and Israeli's refusal to loosen the economic boycott. In December 2008 Israel launched an offensive against Gaza. This occurred just before the inauguration of new U.S. president Barack Obama and the holding of Israeli elections. The outgoing Olmert government claimed that it had to attack Gaza to control rocket fire into southern Israel, which had killed three civilians. The punishing Israeli attacks left much of the Gaza Strip in ruins, with damages estimated at $2 billion. Egypt has hosted talks between Hamas and Fatah aimed at a national unity government and a possible prisoner exchange with Israel, which demanded the release of hostage Gilad Schalit. Meanwhile, President Obama appointed former senator George Mitchell as U.S. special representative to the Middle East, but it was unclear if negotiations would be a priority for the new rightist Israeli government under Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman, who took office on April 1, 2009, and whether efforts at a lasting peace in the Middle East would be any more successful now than in the past.

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See also

Arab League; Arafat, Yasser; Asad, Hafiz al-; Egypt; Hussein ibn Talal, King of Jordan; Israel; Jordan; Lebanon; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Ottoman Empire; Sadat, Muhammad Anwar; Suez Crisis; Syria; World War I, Impact of; World War II, Impact of

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Arab League

The Arab League, also called the League of Arab States, is a voluntary organization of Arabic-speaking nations. It was founded at

Arab leaders pose during the Arab League Summit in the Sudanese capital of Khartoum, March 26, 2006. (Republic of Lebanon)

the end of World War II with the stated purposes of improving conditions in Arab countries, liberating Arab states still under foreign domination, and preventing the formation of a Jewish state in Palestine.

In 1943 the Egyptian government proposed an organization of Arab states that would facilitate closer relations between the nations without forcing any of them to lose self-rule. Each member would remain a sovereign state, and the organization would not be a union, a federation, or any other sovereign structure. The British government supported this idea in the hopes of securing the Arab nations as allies in the war against Germany.

In 1944 representatives from Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia met in Alexandria, Egypt, and agreed to form a federation. The Arab League was officially founded on March 22, 1945, in Cairo. The founding states were Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan, and Syria. Subsequent members include Libya (1953), Sudan (1956), Tunisia (1958), Morocco (1958), Kuwait (1961), Algeria (1962), South Yemen (1967, now Yemen), Bahrain (1971), Oman (1971), Qatar (1971), the United Arab Emirates (1971), Mauritania (1973), Somalia (1974), Djibouti (1977), and Comoros (1993).

The original goals of the Arab League were to liberate all Arab nations still ruled by foreign countries and to prevent the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine as well as to serve the common good, improve living conditions, and guarantee the hopes of member states. In 1946 Arab League members added to their pact a cultural treaty under which they agreed to exchange professors, teachers, students, and scholars in order to encourage cultural exchange among member nations and to disseminate Arab culture to their citizens.

The Arab League's pact also stated that all members would collectively represent the Palestinians so long as Palestine was not an independent state. With no Palestinian leader in 1945, the Arab states feared that the British would dominate the area and that Jews would colonize part of Palestine. In response to these fears, the Arab League created the Arab Higher Committee to govern Palestinian Arabs in 1945. This committee was replaced in 1946 by the Arab Higher Executive, which was again reorganized into a new Arab Higher Executive in 1947.

The State of Israel was declared on May 14, 1948. The next day Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Transjordan responded with a declaration of war on Israel. Yemen also supported the declaration. Secretary-General Abdul Razek Azzam Pasha declared that the Arab League's goal was to conduct a large-scale massacre and extermination. Although King Abdullah of Jordan (he officially changed the name of Transjordan to Jordan in April 1949) claimed to be the legitimate power in Palestine, the Arab League did not wish to see Jordan in control of the area and thus established its own government on behalf of the Palestinians, the All-Palestine State of October 1, 1948. The mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini, was its leader, and Jerusalem was its capital. Although ostensibly the new government ruled Gaza, Egypt was the real authority there. In response, Jordan formed a rival

Member States of the Arab League

Date	*Countries Admitted*
March 1945	Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen
March 1953	Libya
January 1956	Sudan
October 1958	Morocco and Tunisia
July 1961	Kuwait
August 1962	Algeria
June 1971	United Arab Emirates
September 1971	Bahrain, Qatar, and Oman
November 1973	Mauritania
February 1974	Somalia
September 1976	Palestine Liberation Organization
April 1977	Djibouti
November 1993	Union of the Comoros

temporary government, the First Palestinian Congress, that condemned the government in Gaza. The Arab-Israeli War ended in 1949, with Jordan occupying the West Bank and East Jerusalem and Egypt controlling Gaza.

In 1950 the Arab League signed the Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation Treaty, which declared that the members of the league considered an attack on one member country to be an attack on all. The treaty created a permanent military commission and a joint defense council.

During the 1950s, Egypt effectively led the Arab League. In 1952 a military coup in Egypt nominally headed by General Muhammad Naguib overthrew King Faruq, but within two years Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser assumed rule of the nation. A strong proponent of Arab unity, he called for a union of all Arab nations, including Palestine. Nasser ended the All-Palestine government in Palestine, formed the United Arab Republic with Syria, and called for the defeat of Israel.

In 1956 Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, precipitating the Suez Crisis that brought an Israeli invasion of the Sinai followed by short-lived British and French invasions of Egypt. U.S. economic and political pressures secured the withdrawal of the invaders. Far from toppling Nasser as the British, French, and Israeli governments had hoped, these pressures both strengthened Nasser's prestige in the Arab world and raised the stature of Pan-Arabism and the Arab League.

In the 1960s the Arab League pushed for the liberation of Palestine, and in 1964 it supported the creation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which was dedicated to attacks on Israel. Following the Six-Day War of 1967, which ended in extensive territory losses for Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, the Arab League met at Khartoum that August and issued a statement in which its members vowed not to recognize, negotiate with, or conclude a peace agreement with Israel. Egypt also agreed to withdraw its troops from Yemen.

The Arab League suspended Egypt's membership in 1979 in the wake of President Anwar Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and agreement to the 1978 Camp David Peace Accords. The league also moved its headquarters from Cairo to Tunis. When the PLO declared an independent State of Palestine on November 15, 1988, the Arab League immediately recognized it. Egypt was readmitted to the league in 1989, and the headquarters returned to Cairo.

During the prelude to the 1991 Persian Gulf War the Arab League condemned Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, passing a resolution on August 3 demanding that Iraq withdraw its troops. The league also urged that the crisis be resolved within the organization itself and warned that the failure to do so would invite outside intervention. Although somewhat ambivalent about forcing the Iraqis to withdraw by military force, the Arab League did vote—by the narrowest of margins—to allow Syrian, Egyptian, and Moroccan forces to send troops as part of building an international coalition. In the 1990s the Arab League also continued its efforts to resolve the Israeli-Palestine dispute in the Palestinians' favor.

More recently, in 2003 the Arab League voted to demand the unconditional removal of U.S. and British troops from Iraq. The lone dissenting voice was the tiny nation of Kuwait, which had been liberated by a U.S.-led coalition in the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

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See also

Egypt; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Pan-Arabism and Pan-Arabist Thought

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Arab Nationalism

Arab nationalism arose as a general response to European imperialism after World War I. Arab nationalism took different forms, from the desire for coordination and cooperation among Arab states to the realization of a single Arab nation, and also stressed unity of purpose among the Arab countries of the Middle East. While respectful of Islam, Arab nationalist movements recognized all Arab peoples, regardless of religion, as belonging to Arab civilization. In some cases, Arab nationalism combined with Arab socialism. Arab nationalism drew heavily upon socialist economic principles and anti-imperialist rhetoric and rejected the West in order to join with the nonaligned Third World bloc, and it also sought to secure Soviet political and military support. Still, Arab leaders sought to avoid domination by the Soviet Union, because their predominantly Muslim populations found communism anathema. Political and military opposition to the State of Israel also served as a focal point of Arab nationalist movements, although repeated Arab military defeats contributed to the decline of Arab nationalism. Nevertheless, Arab nationalist parties or

rhetoric continue to play a dominant role in the politics of Syria, Egypt, Libya, Jordan, and, until recently, Iraq.

Arab nationalism has its roots in the late 19th century, when European ideas of nationalism affected the Ottoman Empire. Following World War I, as the British and French acquired mandate authority over various Arab territories of the former Ottoman Empire, Arab nationalist sentiment was divided between unifying notions of Pan-Arabism and individual independence movements. Such thinking contributed to the formation of the Arab League and the growth of numerous groups such as the Society of the Muslim Brothers (Muslim Brotherhood) in Egypt, which sought to organize Egyptian society on an Islamic basis, and the nationalist Étoile Nord-Africaine (North African Star) in Algeria. These and similar groups combined anti-imperialism with strong Islamic identity in their drive for independence from Britain and France.

In the years following World War II most Arab states had gained partial or full independence yet were ruled by governments sympathetic to the interests of the European powers. Political crises in the late 1940s and 1950s, including the Arab defeat in the first war with Israel (1948–1949), resulted in the overthrow of many of these governments and the establishment of new regimes that challenged the West, particularly in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. These nations lay at the heart of the Arab nationalist movement during the Cold War. Ongoing conflict with Israel would play a major role in efforts toward Arab unity. The common Israeli enemy provided the Arab states with a greater cause that overshadowed their individual differences.

Opposition to Israel and support for Palestinian refugees also served to link the resources of the newly wealthy oil states of the Persian Gulf to the larger Arab cause. Finally, the conflict with Israel, combined with the importance of petroleum resources, made the Middle East a region of great strategic interest to the United States and the Soviet Union, and the two superpowers would have a substantial effect on the development and destiny of Arab nationalism.

Arab nationalism after World War II stressed Arab unity. It included experiments with unions of states, as in Egypt's union with Syria in the United Arab Republic. This effort and Egyptian sponsorship of republican forces in Yemen were part of a regional Arab Cold War between monarchies and more Western-oriented governments such as that of Lebanon and governments such as Egypt, Syria and Iraq. In addition, Arab nationalist movements fit into a broader picture of postcolonial political ideologies popular in the developing world. Such ideologies stressed national or cultural identity, along with Marxist, socialist, or merely populist ideas, as a counter to Western influence.

The two most important Arab nationalist movements that took root were Baathism and Nasserism. The Baath (or Resurrection) Party became prominent in Syria after World War II. One of its founders, Michel Aflaq, a Syrian Christian, conceived of a single Arab nation embracing all the Arab states and recapturing the glory of the Arabian past. This movement traced the sources of the Arab nation in history, civilization, and language. The policies of the two Baathist states, Iraq and Syria, incorporated Arab socialism to overthrow the power and holdings of the existing elites, support large and fairly poor populations, and enact protectionist and state-centered policies in order to exert more control. The Baath Party increased in influence in Syria and Iraq throughout the late 1950s and early 1960s but dominated politics from the end of the 1970s to 2003. In Syria, it came to control the country's turbulent politics by the early 1960s and continued to do so throughout the regime of Hafiz al-Asad and his son, Bashar al-Asad.

Nasserism reflected the agenda and the political prowess of Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt's leader during 1952–1970. Raised amid British domination in Egypt, Nasser combined his rejection of imperialist influence with Arab nationalism and socialist principles. Nasser stressed modernization, state ownership of industry, and the unity of the Arab people. He secured U.S. support for his ambitious economic project, the construction of a high dam at Aswan, but an arms deal with Czechoslovakia caused the United States to renege on the deal. Nasser then decided to secure the funds by nationalizing the Suez Canal. This brought a military intervention by British, French, and Israeli forces. Although Nasser survived the ensuing Suez Crisis, it resulted in a deep suspicion of the West.

Nasser also turned to state socialism in the Egyptian economy. While accepting Soviet military aid after 1955, he nonetheless avoided subservience to Moscow and supported the Non-Aligned Movement among developing nations. Considered the embodiment of the Arab unity movement, Nasser had supporters in many Arab countries. The short-lived union of Egypt and Syria in the United Arab Republic (1958–1961) illustrated his nationalist vision and the overlap of Nasserist and Baathist ideologies.

Israel, of course, served as a focal point for Nasser's brand of Arab nationalism; he viewed the defeat of Israel (never achieved) as a priority for the Arab nation and a rejection of imperialist interference in the Middle East. In addition, Egyptian leadership in the struggle with Israel contributed to his stature in the Arab world as a whole. Egypt's attempted military intervention in Yemen (1962–1967), however, brought Nasser's vision of Arab nationalism into conflict with the royalist Islamic views of Saudi Arabia and demonstrated the limits of his influence. Furthermore, Egypt's disastrous defeat in the Six-Day War with Israel in June 1967 dealt a crippling blow to his power and prestige. Nasser's authority survived the 1967 war, and the overwhelming rejection of his proffered resignation by ordinary Egyptians, who took to the streets, testified to the scope of his popular appeal, but the 1967 defeat ultimately signaled the end of the Nasserist vision of Arab unity. His successor, Anwar Sadat, abandoned some of Nasser's Arab nationalist rhetoric and policies. Sadat took the step—unpopular with Egyptians—of concluding peace with Israel and sought to emphasize Egyptian identity and national goals, although Egyptians continued to favor Arab nationalism in general. Sadat and his successor, Hosni Mubarak, moved Egypt out of the Soviet orbit while forging closer ties to the West, particularly the United States.

Robert S. Kiely and Sherifa Zuhur

See also
Aflaq, Michel; Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arab League; Asad, Bashar al-; Asad, Hafiz al-; Baath Party; Egypt; Hussein, Saddam; Mubarak, Hosni; Muslim Brotherhood; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Pan-Arabism and Pan-Arabist Thought; Suez Crisis; Syria

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Arabian Gulf

See Persian Gulf

Arafat, Yasser

Birth Date: August 24, 1929
Death Date: November 11, 2004

Palestinian nationalist, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and first president of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) during 1969–2004. Yasser Arafat was born Muhammad abd al-Rauf al-Qudwa al-Husayni on August 24, 1929. Arafat always stated that he was born in Jerusalem, but Israeli officials began to claim in the 1970s that he was born in Cairo to discredit him.

Arafat's father was a Palestinian Egyptian textile merchant. Neither Arafat nor his siblings were close to their father. His mother, Zahwa, also a Palestinian, was a member of a family that had lived in Jerusalem for generations. She died when Arafat was five years old, and he then lived with his mother's brother in Jerusalem. Arafat vividly remembered British soldiers invading his uncle's house one night, destroying possessions, and beating its residents. When Arafat was nine years old his father brought him back to Cairo, where his older sister raised him.

As a teenager in Cairo, Arafat became involved in smuggling arms to Palestine to aid those struggling against both the British authorities and the Jews living there. He attended the University of Fuad I (later Cairo University) but left to fight in Gaza against Israel in the Israeli War of Independence (1948–1949). When the Arabs lost the war and Israel was firmly established, Arafat was inconsolable. He briefly attended the University of Texas but then returned to Cairo University to study engineering. He spent most of his time with fellow Palestinian students spreading his hopes for a free Palestinian state.

Arafat became president of the Union of Palestinian Students, holding that position from 1952 to 1956. He graduated from college in 1956 and spent a short time working in Egypt. During the 1956 Suez Crisis he served as a second lieutenant in the Egyptian Army. In 1957 he moved to Kuwait, where he worked as an engineer and formed his own contracting company.

In 1957 Arafat founded the Fatah organization, an underground guerrilla group dedicated to the liberation of Palestine. In 1964 he quit his job and moved to Jordan to devote all his energies to the promotion of Palestinian nationhood and to organize raids into Israel. The PLO was founded that same year.

In 1968 the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) attacked Fatah at the small Jordanian village of Karameh. The Palestinians eventually forced the Israelis back, and Arafat's face appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine as the leader of the Palestinian movement. In consequence Palestinians embraced Fatah, and Arafat became a national hero. He was appointed chairman of the PLO the next year and within four years controlled both the military (the Palestine Liberation Army, or PLA) and political branches of the organization.

By 1970, Palestinians had assembled a well-organized unofficial state within Jordan. However, King Hussein of Jordan deemed them a threat to security and sent his army to evict them. Arafat enlisted the aid of Syria, while Jordan called on the United States for assistance. On September 24, 1970, the PLO agreed to a ceasefire and agreed to leave Jordan. Arafat and the fighters fled to Lebanon, where huge numbers of refugees were based. The PLO soon began launching occasional attacks across the Israeli border.

Arafat did not approve of overseas attacks because they gave the PLO a bad image abroad. He publicly dissociated the group from Black September, the organization that killed 11 Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics. In 1974 he limited the PLO's attacks to Israel, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank. Although Israel claimed that Arafat was responsible for the numerous terrorist attacks that occurred within the country during the 1970s, he denied responsibility. In 1974 he spoke before the United Nations (UN) General Assembly as the representative of the Palestinian people and condemned Zionism but offered peace, which won him praise from the international community.

During the Lebanese Civil War, the PLO initially sided with the Lebanese National Front against the Lebanese forces, who were supported by Israel and backed by Defense Minister Ariel Sharon. As such, when Israeli forces invaded southern Lebanon, the PLO ended up fighting against the Israelis and then the Syrian-sponsored Shia militia group Amal. Thousands of Palestinians, many of them civilians, were killed during the struggle, and the PLO was forced to leave Lebanon in 1982 and relocate to Tunisia, where it remained until 1993.

During the 1980s, Iraq and Saudi Arabia donated millions of dollars to Arafat to help him rebuild the PLO. The First Intifada (1987) broke out spontaneously against Israel. The leadership in Tunis was forced to support it, but the Israeli government charged Arafat with planning the uprising. In 1988 Palestinians declared Palestinian statehood at a meeting in Algiers. Arafat then announced that the Palestinians would renounce terrorism and recognize the State of Israel. The Palestinian National Council elected Arafat president of this new unrecognized state in 1989.

Arafat and the Israelis conducted peace negotiations at the Madrid Conference in 1991. Although negotiations were temporarily

From 1969 until his death in November 2004, Yasser Arafat was the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the most widely known Palestinian nationalist leader. (AP/Wide World Photos)

set back when the PLO supported Iraq in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, over the next two years the two parties held a number of secret discussions. These negotiations led to the 1993 Oslo Peace Accords in which Israel agreed to Palestinian self-rule in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. This led to extreme divisions on the Arab and Palestinian side. Syria in particular regarded Arafat's secret negotiations with a dim eye. Arafat also officially recognized the existence of the State of Israel. Despite the condemnation of many Palestinian nationalists who viewed Arafat's moves as a sellout, the peace process appeared to be moving in a positive direction in the mid-1990s. Israeli troops withdrew from the Gaza Strip and Jericho in May 1994. Arafat was elected leader of the new PNA in January 1996 with 88 percent of the vote in elections that were by all accounts free and fair (but with severely limited competition because Hamas and other opposition groups refused to participate).

Later that same year Benjamin Netanyahu of the Likud Party became prime minister of Israel, and the peace process began to unravel. Netanyahu, a hard-line conservative, condemned terrorism and blamed Palestinians for numerous suicide bombings against Israeli citizens. He also did not trust Arafat, whom he charged was supporting terrorists. Arafat continued negotiations with the Israelis into 2000. That July, with Ehud Barak having replaced Netanyahu as Israeli prime minister, Arafat traveled to the United States to meet with Barak and President Bill Clinton at the Camp David Summit. Despite generous concessions by Barak, Arafat refused to compromise, and a major chance at peace was lost.

When Ariel Sharon sought to assert Israeli authority over the Haram al-Sharif, or Temple Mount, then informally the territory of the PNA, the Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada began. From the beginning of the Second Intifada in September 2000, Arafat came under attack by Israeli forces, which destroyed much of the rebuilt areas of the West Bank and besieged him in his own compound. The Israelis held Arafat responsible for the waves of suicide and other attacks of the intifada. In declining health by 2004, Arafat also

faced opposition from a new movement from within Fatah that attacked the considerable corruption in his government.

Flown to France for medical treatment, Arafat died on November 11, 2004, outside Paris, France. The exact circumstances of his death remain unclear, and many Palestinians contend that he was poisoned. Arafat's grave at the governmental compound at Ramallah is an important site for Palestinian nationalists.

Amy Hackney Blackwell

See also

Fatah; Clinton, William Jefferson; Hamas; Intifada, First; Intifada, Second; Lebanon; Muslim Brotherhood; Palestine Liberation Organization; Pan-Arabism and Pan-Arabist Thought; Terrorism

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Arens, Moshe

Birth Date: December 27, 1925

Israeli Likud Party politician and diplomat who served as ambassador to the United States (1981–1983), defense minister (1983–1984, 1990–1992, 1999), foreign minister (1988–1990), and minister without portfolio (1984–1988). Moshe Arens was born on December 27, 1925, in Kovno (Kaunas), Lithuania. He immigrated with his family to the United States in 1939. During World War II he served in the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and represented Betar, the youth organization of Vladimir Jabotinsky's Revisionist Zionism, in North America. Arens earned a bachelor's degree in mechanical engineering in 1947 from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and joined Menachem Begin's Irgun Tsvai Leumi (National Military Organization) at the beginning of the Israeli War of Independence (1948–1949). Afterward, Arens settled in the Mevo Betar area southwest of Jerusalem.

Arens returned to the United States in 1951 to complete a master's degree in aeronautical engineering (1953) and then worked in jet engine development in the United States before returning to Israel in 1957 as an associate professor of aeronautical engineering at the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology in Haifa. He joined Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI) in 1962 and as vice president for engineering was in charge of missile development and the Kfir and Lavi fighter jet projects.

Arens was one of the founding members of Begin's Herut (Freedom) Party in 1948. Herut merged into the conservative coalition Likud Party in 1973. In 1974 Arens was elected as a Likud member to the Knesset (Israeli parliament). Begin became the prime minister (1977–1983) when Likud won the 1977 elections. Arens voted against the 1978 Camp David Accords but ultimately supported the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty of 1979 as a fait accompli, notwithstanding his initial opposition to it as giving away too much. Although Arens was denied the position of defense minister in 1980 due in part to his opposition to the Camp David Accords, Begin appointed him Israel's ambassador to the United States, a post Arens held from 1981 to 1983. He served as defense minister from 1983 to 1984 after the Kahan Commission found his predecessor, Ariel Sharon, guilty of negligence in the massacres at Lebanon's Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps in 1982.

Arens served as a minister without portfolio during the national unity coalition under Shimon Peres (1984–1986) and again during the national unity coalition under Yitzhak Shamir (1986–1988). Arens then served as minister of foreign affairs from 1988 to 1990 and as minister of defense from 1990 to 1992.

Although Arens supposedly retired from politics after Likud's 1992 election loss, he wrote *Broken Covenant: American Foreign*

Israeli leader Moshe Arens, shown here during a press conference on April 27, 1999. Arens was Israel's ambassador to the United States (1981–1983), defense minister (1983–1984, 1990–1992, 1999), foreign minister (1988–1990), and minister without portfolio (1984–1988). (U.S. Department of Defense)

Policy and the Crisis between the U.S. and Israel (1994), was one of the chief opponents of the 1998 Wye River Agreement, and unsuccessfully challenged Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, his former Washington ambassadorial assistant, for the leadership of Likud in 1999. Netanyahu, whose appointment as Israel's ambassador to the United Nations (UN) (1984–1988) had been arranged by Arens, appointed him defense minister from January to May 1999. Arens again retired from politics following Likud's loss in May 1999 to Ehud Barak's One Israel Party.

Since his retirement, Arens has served on the International Advisory Board of the Council on Foreign Relations, on the board of governors of the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology (1999–present), and as chairman of the board of governors at the College of Judea and Samaria (1999–present). He remains active in Likud and opposed the Gaza withdrawal of 2005 and Israel's broader disengagement policy with the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), believing Judea and Samaria (the Israeli designation for biblical rights to the West Bank) to be part of Israel. He supports Likud's Rebels faction led by Technion alumnus and Knesset member Dr. Uzi Landau and in the autumn of 2006 supported calls for an official state inquiry into the 2006 Lebanon War, which he termed a "defeat" for Israel.

Richard M. Edwards

See also

Camp David Accords; Lebanon; Shamir, Yitzhak

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Arif, Abd al-Salam

Birth Date: 1921
Death Date: April 13, 1966

Iraqi military officer, Baath Party leader, and president of Iraq from 1963 to 1966. Abd al-Salam Arif was born in Baghdad in 1921, the son of a rug and clothing merchant. Arif attended Iraq's military college from 1938 to 1941 and trained for a time with British troops. He sided with the rebels during the pro-Axis rebellion in Iraq in 1941, which prompted a British intervention and occupation that lasted for the remainder of World War II.

In 1942 Arif first met his mentor, Abd al-Karim Qasim, who would go on to overthrow the British-installed Hashemite monarchy in 1958. By 1957, at the insistence of Qasim, Arif was a member of the Free Officers group, which was responsible for the 1958 revolution. Because Arif was an effective speaker and enjoyed more popular support than Qasim, this brought friction between the two men.

With the success of the 1958 Revolution, Arif, a Sunni Muslim, became Iraq's deputy prime minister and deputy supreme commander of the armed forces. Within months, however, Qasim ordered Arif into exile, possibly for his advocacy of Iraq's inclusion in Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser's United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria, which Qasim did not support. In November 1958 Arif was arrested and summarily sentenced to death, allegedly for trying to have Qasim assassinated. Arif was released from prison in 1961, and two years later he led a revolt that toppled Qasim's regime.

After solidifying his power and taking full charge of the Baath Party, Arif assumed the presidency, a position he held from 1963 to 1966. His power base came mainly from military officers with Pan-Arabist leanings. Arif signed a controversial agreement with Egyptian president Nasser in 1964 that called for the unification of Iraq and Egypt.

In keeping with his Baathist beliefs, Arif instituted a number of social and political reforms that were aimed at modernizing Iraq and were in keeping with Nasser's Pan-Arab visions. Included in these was the wholesale nationalization of Iraqi industries in an attempt to keep Western influence out of Iraq.

The planned unification of Iraq with Egypt was never realized, however, as Iraq went into a steep economic recession. Many Iraqis blamed Arif's aggressive Baathist policies and nationalizations for the downturn. At the same time, Arif was forced to deal with a Kurdish revolt in northern Iraq, the suppression of which was only partially successful.

On April 13, 1966, Arif was killed in a helicopter crash outside Baghdad. Given his unpopularity, some have posited that the accident was a successful assassination by disgruntled army officers and other high-ranking officials. Arif was succeeded in power by his older brother, Abd al-Rahman Arif. For all his mistakes, Abd al-Salam Arif had been a charismatic leader who helped bridge the gap between Iraq's Sunni and Shiite populations so that sectarian strife was kept to a minimum during his tenure in office. Arif's brother was ousted from power in July 1968 by General Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Baath Party; Bakr, Ahmad Hassan al-; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Pan-Arabism and Pan-Arabist Thought; Qasim, Abd al-Karim

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Armenia, Role in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

Nation located in Transcaucasia and a Soviet republic from 1920 to 1991. Armenia, a landlocked nation with a 2008 population of

2.969 million people, is bordered by Azerbaijan, Iran, Turkey, and Georgia. The land area of Armenia is 11,506 square miles. After Armenia declared its independence from the Soviet Union in August 1991, a brutal conflict broke out between Karabakh Armenians and neighboring Azerbaijan. A cease-fire was finally arranged by Russia in 1994, and despite the fact that Karabakh forces had gained most of the territory they sought, Armenia suffered crippling economic and political dislocations because of the war. A permanent peace deal between Armenia and Azerbaijan has yet to be reached. Armenia's government, a presidential-style parliamentary democracy, has made significant strides toward a fully free-market economy and has made numerous foreign policy overtures toward the West. Its government has been dominated by four major parties: the Republican Party (conservative), the Prosperous Armenia Party (a probusiness party), the Rule of Law Party (centrist), and the Armenia Revolutionary Federation (socialist-oriented).

Following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, Armenia offered the United States and its allies the use of Armenian airspace and refueling capabilities during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. The country did not, however, participate actively in the Afghanistan War.

Armenia was not an enthusiastic supporter of the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq in 2003, although it did send a staff contingent to U.S. Central Command in Florida in 2003 to ensure coordination with the coalition. Although this met with considerable domestic opposition, a deployment was undertaken as part of a broader effort by Armenia to improve relations with the United States. Armenian leaders hoped to counterbalance growing ties between Azerbaijan and the United States in light of Azerbaijan's contribution of troops to the U.S.-led coalition in Iraq. In addition, the United States had provided Armenia with approximately $1.5 billion in economic aid between 1991 and 2003, prompting government officials to argue that the deployment would be a sign of appreciation for the assistance.

In 2004 Armenian president Robert Kocharian planned to dispatch a small noncombat force to Iraq as part of the reconstruction and security efforts, but domestic opposition led the government to delay the deployment until January 2005. Armenia ultimately dispatched 46 personnel, including a medical team at Camp Echo, truck drivers on supply runs from Kuwait into the Polish sector, and ordnance disposal experts attached to the Salvadoran contingent. The Armenian forces undertook de-mining missions and conducted humanitarian operations. The troops were deployed in the Shia-dominated towns of Karbala and Hila in Diwaniyah Province and served as part of the Polish-led Multi-National Force in southern Iraq. The Armenian troops served in six-month rotations, and the number of personnel remained constant (a total of 322 Armenians served in Iraq). The mission had to be reauthorized by parliament each year, and the costs of the deployment were paid for by the United States. During the deployment, 1 Armenian soldier was wounded by an improvised explosive device (IED).

Approximately 20,000–30,000 ethnic Armenians resided in Iraq, and Armenian political leaders feared that greater participation in the "coalition of the willing" might undermine the community's safety and stability. Armenia agreed to accept approximately 1,000 Iraqi Armenian refugees in exchange for funding aid from the United Nations (UN).

In July 2007 coalition forces turned the security of Diwaniyah over to Iraqi security forces. This development along with the withdrawal of Polish forces from the region led to increased domestic pressure to end the Iraq mission. Meanwhile, during the 2007 parliamentary elections in Armenia, opposition candidates called for the withdrawal of the Armenian contingent in Iraq and argued that the deployment placed the Armenian Iraqi population at greater risk and that the effort to improve relations with the United States was harming the nation's traditional ties with Russia. Although the ruling Republican Party won the balloting, the government announced the withdrawal of Armenian forces, and the contingent left Iraq in October 2008. The Armenian government cited improved Iraqi security as the reason.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq

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Armored Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars

The U.S. Army's overwhelming success against Soviet-equipped Iraqi divisions during the 1991 Persian Gulf War marked the culmination of a long-developed doctrine of armored warfare, the hallmarks of which were speed, maneuver, and high technology. With a few notable exceptions, U.S. armored doctrine following the 1950–1953 Korean War anticipated set-piece battles to defend the plains of Central Europe from a Soviet incursion. In the 1970s, catalyzed by the effectiveness of wire-guided antitank weapons used during the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War and the burgeoning requirement to modernize and compete against new Warsaw Pact tanks, the U.S. armor community prepared to fully modernize its equipment, training, and doctrine. By 1982 the army had fielded the turbine-powered M-1 Abrams main battle tank; established a state-of-the-art desert training facility at Fort Irwin, California; and published the newly developed AirLand Battle Doctrine.

The 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM) served as a crucible to test the new doctrine. In particular, AirLand Battle focused on deep-attack offense to extend operational commanders' view of the modern battlefield in both distance and time. It

viewed deep attack, the concept of engaging an enemy in close and rear actions simultaneously, as an indispensable requirement in defeating follow-on echelons in Europe. AirLand Battle also focused on the importance of maneuver and close coordination with heavy forces. Armored combined-arms teams became the key instruments of combat power: the M-1 and M-1A1 Abrams main battle tank would be supported by mechanized infantry, self-propelled artillery, and mechanized combat engineers. Additionally, AirLand Battle emphasized the importance of initiative, adapting the German Army principle of Auftragstaktik (mission tactics). Under this principle, American commanders were to continue to press an enemy on the offensive, even in the absence of higher orders, to take advantage of developing tactical situations.

U.S. armor units effectively employed AirLand Battle against the Iraqi Army in 1991. In the opening salvo of the war, an aerial bombing campaign that began in January and lasted more than a month attempted to destroy Iraqi command and control facilities and follow-on echelon forces. Armor units, supported by mechanized infantry, engineers, and coordinated indirect artillery fire, decisively destroyed Iraqi units during four days of offensive operations in February 1991. Massed coalition units conducted a frontal attack across the eastern edge of the Iraq-Saudi border while heavy elements of VII Corps engaged in a deep attack from the west, encircling rear and escaping Iraqi units in a maneuver later nicknamed the "Hail Mary." The M-1A1's advanced thermal targeting systems, capable of destroying targets at long ranges while on the move, provided mass firepower and shock effect.

The Battle of 73 Easting well exemplified armored employment of AirLand Battle concepts in the Persian Gulf War. On February 26, 1991, the 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment, a reconnaissance element of the U.S. Army VII Corps, had been directed to find and fix elements of the Iraqi Tawakalnah Armored Division and halt at 70 Easting (a Global Positioning System [GPS] coordinate). Eagle Troop of the 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment, commanded by Captain H. R. McMaster, was comprised primarily of M-1A1 tanks and M3 Bradley Fighting Vehicles. As the force reached 70 Easting during a late afternoon sandstorm and rainstorm, thermal targeting systems allowed it to identify an enemy battalion strong point visible about 1.8 miles away (73 Easting).

Despite earlier orders to hold his force's position, McMaster acted independently, aggressively attacking the Iraqi battalion while maintaining the elements of mass, surprise, and speed. Eagle Troop's tank platoons led the charge, supported by Bradley Fighting Vehicles to the rear. M-1A1 targeting systems decimated the Iraqi force while on the move, fixing and eventually destroying the battalion at 73 Easting. Bradley Fighting Vehicles then cleared dismounted infantry and assisted in holding off a counterattack.

In 1993 the U.S. Army developed a revised doctrine known as Full-Dimensional Operations to anticipate post–Cold War challenges and incorporate lessons learned from the Persian Gulf War. In it, the army attempted to enlarge the doctrinal scope of AirLand Battle by including a section on operations other than war, introducing joint terms, and expanding its scope to encapsulate strategic operations. The doctrine acted as the foundational document during peacekeeping operations in Bosnia and Kosovo and during the next eight years of the army's transformation.

As part of the armor community's force modernization, M-1A2 tanks and other vehicles were retrofitted with new digital battle command systems to increase situational awareness on the battlefield. However, the difficulties in deploying Task Force Hawk in the early days of the Kosovo conflict made clear the difficulty of deploying heavy Cold War equipment. Under the leadership of U.S. Army chief of staff General Eric Shinseki, the army established an immediate ready force in Europe and attempted to decrease reliance on tanks by establishing a lighter objective force capable of quick deployment using Stryker wheeled vehicles via Stryker Brigades. Commensurate with these objectives, in 2001 the army published a revised doctrine known as Full-Spectrum Operations, which provided the foundation for rapid deployment in response to global threats, sustained military campaigns, and revealed the growing importance of stability and support operations. This doctrine also anticipated that adaptive enemies would seek asymmetric advantages and attempt to pull troops into urban combat.

Strategic doctrine used during the Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM) can be divided into two primary periods: the initial 2003 attack lasting from March 20 to May 1, 2003, and subsequent full-spectrum operations thereafter. While the operational strategy used in the 1991 Persian Gulf War can be described as overwhelming force, the 2003 action constituted overmatching power. Under the touted umbrella of shock and awe, American planners intended to overwhelm Iraqi military and government systems by conducting the main ground and air offensive at the same time rather than preparing objectives with a lengthy preinvasion air campaign. Thus, Iraqis were placed on the horns of a multipronged dilemma, defending against rear and forward attacks while maintaining command and control.

To counter the significantly fewer armored vehicles and soldiers employed during the 2003 invasion, American commanders increased combat power by augmented use of special operations forces, speed in movement, and electronic reconnaissance to precisely identify and target enemy locations. Rather than seizing and holding the entire theater, coalition units intended initially only to control key terrain and supply lines as armored U.S. Army V Corps units conducted a blitzkrieg-type movement to Baghdad.

Doctrinally, V Corps, commanded by Lieutenant General William Scott Wallace, adhered to conventional AirLand Battle tenets in executing its initial offensive operations in Iraq. Although the total number of coalition troops employed in 2003 was significantly smaller than in 1991, as directed by AirLand Battle principles, helicopter and artillery units engaged the enemy simultaneously in close and rear actions by conducting deep-strike attacks, while combined-arms units conducted offensive operations using fire and maneuver to seize Baghdad. This proven

U.S. Army armor moving into the Shiite neighborhood of Sadr City, Baghdad, Iraq, on May 10, 2004, after a U.S. air strike destroyed the Baghdad office of radical Shiite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr. (AP/Wide World Photos)

conventional doctrine allowed V Corps units to occupy Baghdad and remove the Baathist regime from power in just three weeks.

Under the army's 2001 Full-Spectrum Operations doctrine, coalition forces were capable of transitioning smoothly from combat to stability and support operations. Although army planners realized that the operation's posthostility phase would entail a rolling transition to stability and support operations, the coalition force's numbers were insufficient when compared historically with similar postconflict scenarios, including recent deployments in Bosnia and Kosovo. As sectarian and insurgent violence increased over the ensuing years, coalition troops were forced to counter asymmetric warfare to oppose amplified guerrilla and decentralized attacks. Increasingly, armored units were forced to fight in urban terrain alongside infantry and engineer units.

Actions to quell the 2004 Shia uprisings in Sadr City provide an example of armored employment within the Full-Spectrum Operations doctrine. In this suburban district of Baghdad, U.S. armor units negotiated the gridlike pattern of streets using a box pattern and moved slowly up streets, with weapon systems focused outside of the box. This formation created an artificial set of interior lines, allowing tanks and Bradleys to take advantage of independent thermal viewers to identify targets. Tankers moved with their hatches closed to prevent casualties from enemy sniper fire and removed unnecessary equipment from the top of the tanks to allow Bradleys to kill targets who attempted to climb onto the tanks. As insurgents increasingly used more powerful improvised explosive devices (IEDs) against coalition forces, tanks led the box formation to reduce casualties.

Commensurate with Full-Spectrum Operations, armored units in Iraq faced a wide variety of missions, including route clearance, reconnaissance and surveillance patrols, traffic control points, and raids. To enhance the Abrams' survivability and lethality in urban environments, Tank Urban Survivability Kits were fielded to add reactive armor tiles to counter antiarmor weapons, armored gun shields, and a tank infantry phone to communicate with ground troops. Despite disadvantages in urban terrain, including the Abrams' inability to elevate weapons far enough to fire at upper floors of buildings from close range and their vulnerability to light and medium antiarmor weapons when not supported by light infantry, tanks provided decisive support and protection throughout the spectrum of operations in Iraq.

William E. Fork

See also

AirLand Battle Doctrine; Antitank Weapons; Bradley Fighting Vehicle; DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Ground Campaign; M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks; 73 Easting, Battle of; Stryker Brigades

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Arms Sales, International

Throughout the 20th century and into the 21st century, various world powers have used arms sales as a means to gain favor and influence in the Middle East. The immense wealth generated by oil sales in the aftermath of World War II accelerated this trend, as the region became one of the most heavily militarized areas of the world and accounted for the largest share of the world's arms trade. Ultimately, the high concentration of weapons heightened tensions and led to arms races between Israel and the Arab states.

During World War II, both the Axis and Allied powers tried to gain allies in the Middle East through military aid and arms sales. In the immediate aftermath of the war, the increasing importance of oil and the geostrategic importance of the area led the United States to grow increasingly involved in the region's security. The 1947 Truman Doctrine signaled a commitment by the United States to provide military aid to states facing communist insurgencies. By 1947, the United States had formal security commitments with regional states including Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Turkey. As the bipolar Cold War struggle progressed, the United States and the Soviet Union used arms sales as a means to secure allies and gain influence. The military conflict in 1948–1949 that accompanied the creation of Israel led that country and its Arab neighbors to seek ever-larger and more sophisticated weaponry.

Throughout the period of the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union and other Soviet-sphere countries such as Czechoslovakia were the main arms suppliers to the Middle East. Great Britain and France were also significant sellers, but after their participation, along with Israel, in the abortive 1956 invasion of the Sinai peninsula and the Suez Canal, Arab states led by Egypt boycotted sales from the former colonial powers. Meanwhile, the United States emerged as the main supplier of weapons to Israel and Iran. However, U.S. manufacturers often faced restrictions on arms sales. These constraints included prohibitions on the sale of the most advanced technology and limitations on sales to states likely to use the weapons against Israel. One result was that the Soviet Union came to be the chief supplier of weapons to such frontline states as Egypt and Syria.

In the 1970s, European states—mainly France, Italy, West Germany, and Britain—began to regain market share among the Arab states. In 1975 Egypt, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates each contributed $260 million to create the Arab Organization for Industrialization (AOI). The main goal of the AOI was to create a Pan-Arab body to coordinate weapons development and purchases as well as arms manufacturing. Arab leaders hoped that the AOI would give Arab states military and technological superiority over Israel. The AOI initiated a number of projects with European states, including Anglo-Arab joint manufacturing of Lynx helicopters and Franco-Arab production of parts for the Mirage and Alphajet aircraft. The AOI ceased to function when Egypt's partners withdrew from the organization in protest of the 1978 Camp David Accords and the 1979 Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty. Nevertheless, European states were able to

Arms Sales to Selected Middle Eastern Countries before and after the Persian Gulf War

	Deliveries (in millions of dollars)	
Country	*1987–1990*	*1991–1994*
Bahrain	$800	$300
Iran	$7,800	$3,900
Iraq	$16,600	none
Kuwait	$1,300	$2,500
Oman	$200	$300
Qatar	$300	none
Saudi Arabia	$26,300	$27,900
United Arab Emirates	$2,500	$1,300
Yemen	$2,800	$300

take advantage of their contacts and increase their share of the arms market in the Middle East.

U.S. arms sales were further undercut by the 1979 Iranian Revolution. Iran had been one of the top importers of U.S. arms, but after the overthrow of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, Iran turned to the Soviet Union to purchase arms and weapons. In the 1980s Saudi Arabia and Israel remained the main purchasers of U.S. weaponry. However, even the Saudis began to seek other suppliers during the period. In 1985 domestic supporters of Israel were able to block the sale of McDonnell Douglas F-15 Eagle fighter aircraft and Stinger missiles to Saudi Arabia. In response, the Saudis initiated a series of lucrative arms deals with Britain. The deals began with the 1986 al-Yamamah agreement in which the Saudis purchased $10 billion in arms, including 72 Panavia Tornado aircraft and 60 training aircraft. The al-Yamamah agreement was followed by a Saudi-French deal to purchase helicopters and missiles. The subsequent refusal of the United States to sell the latest version of the M-1 Abrams main battle tank led nations such as the United Arab Emirates to instead purchase French Leclerc main battle tanks.

By 1989, American and Soviet arms sales to the region were roughly equal (at about $2 billion annually), although U.S. sales remained concentrated on Israel, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. Through the 1980s and 1990s, the United States supplied approximately 60 percent of Saudi arms imports and 90 percent of Israel's imported weapons. Combined West European sales were about two-thirds that of either of the superpowers. Between 1988 and 1991, U.S. sales to the Persian Gulf region alone amounted to $8.1 billion, while Soviet sales were $8.2 billion.

With the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the United States began to dominate arms sales and weapons transfers to the Middle East. Between 1992 and 1995, U.S. sales to the Middle East ballooned to $15.8 billion, while Russian sales were $1.9 billion. Throughout the 1990s, the United States supplied close to 50 percent of the arms and weapons imported into the Middle East. Other suppliers have been China, France, and other states.

The expansion of U.S. sales was mainly the result of the demise of the Soviet Union and the inability of the subsequent Russian arms industry to maintain production and develop new weapons and military technology. In addition, during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, there emerged the perception that U.S. weapons were superior to the Soviet-style weapons used by Iraqi forces. Consequently, many countries in the region, especially the Persian Gulf states, sought to replace Soviet-era weaponry with American-made weapons. Following the war, the United States negotiated large contracts to sell main battle tanks, aircraft, helicopters, and Patriot antimissile systems to Bahrain, Israel, Kuwait, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. However, restrictions on the sale of certain technology continued to constrain U.S. sales. For instance, the United States sold older M-60A3 main battle tanks to Bahrain and Oman instead of the newer M-1A2 Abrams.

Through the 1990s and early 2000s, the Middle East was one of the world's largest arms markets. During the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Middle East accounted for approximately 25 percent of the world's regional arms imports. Saudi Arabia alone purchased more than $68 billion in arms during the 1990s. Nevertheless, there was a significant decline in regional arms imports. Sanctions that prohibited sales to Iraq and Libya, combined with a diminution in oil revenues, contributed to the decline. In 1987 the region spent $30 billion on imported arms. By 1997, imports to the Middle East had dropped to $19.9 billion. Imports of main battle tanks and artillery pieces declined by half, while orders for aircraft and naval vessels were reduced by about one-third.

A percentage of U.S. arms sales to the Middle East is actually subsidized by the United States. For instance, between 1996 and 2003, Israel was the third-largest importer of American arms, with $9.4 billion in imports. However, a large portion of Israel's arms imports are financed through the U.S. Department of Defense's Foreign Military Financing (FMF) program and the U.S. Department of State's Economic Support Funds (ESF) initiative. These programs provide funds or credit to Israel. On average, the FMF provides $1.8 billion and the ESF $1.2 billion each year to support Israeli purchases of U.S. arms. Israel has received some $46 billion in aid to procure American weapons since the late 1970s. Egypt receives approximately $2 billion each year, $1.2 billion from the FMF and $815 million from the ESF. Since 1978, the United States has granted Egypt $38 billion to buy U.S. arms and weapons.

In contrast, wealthy oil nations such as Saudi Arabia do not receive FMF or other U.S. subsidies. Nevertheless, several states have negotiated a series of concessions from the United States or other suppliers. Saudi Arabia generally requires arms agreements to include clauses stipulating that 30–35 percent of the value of the contract has to be returned to the Saudi economy. This is usually accomplished through licenses that allow local manufacture of parts. Other forms of financial offsets include building production sites in recipient nations or licensing technology to the recipient country. In other cases, offsets involve economic investment in areas unrelated to the actual arms imports.

Israel is the only state in the Middle East with a highly developed domestic arms industry and significant arms exports of its own. Israel was able to develop its internal defense industrial base through support from the United States. As such, Israel is the only state that is allowed to use FMF funding to bolster its own arms industry and can use up to 27 percent of FMF funding for its domestic defense industrial base. By 2000, Israel recorded $2 billion in arms exports, which included 48 different countries ranging from Russia to Colombia to Ethiopia (although none to Arab states). Israeli exports of military technology have often placed the country at odds with the United States, especially over exports of sensitive technology to nations such as the People's Republic of China (PRC). In response, the United States has imposed, or threatened to impose, sanctions on the sale of arms to Israel.

American arms sales to the Middle East remain complicated by Washington's alliances with both Israel and other states in the region, including Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Policy makers in Washington often have to balance the sale or transfer of weapons to Arab states with similar sales to Israel and vice versa. For example, in the 1980s the U.S. Congress forbade the export of F-15E fighters to Saudi Arabia after intense lobbying by Israel and pro-Israeli groups. After the 1991 Persian Gulf War the restriction was relaxed, and the United States sold 48 F-15Es to the Saudis. However, in order to maintain Israel's superiority, the Americans sold an even more advanced version of the plane to Israel.

There has also been an expansion of European arms sales in the post–Cold War era. By 1995, the United States was the world's largest arms supplier to the developing world, with $3.8 billion in sales. But collectively, the four major European arms exporters had combined sales of $4 billion. The expansion of Europe's market share occurred as the European states, both individually and collectively, placed fewer restrictions on the sale of new technology. In some cases in which Arab countries were unable to buy the latest U.S. weapons, the same states were able to buy the latest European arms. Several European states have also proved more willing to engage in joint projects and approve offsets whereby some manufacturing or assembly of weapons systems is done in the Arab nations. France and Britain also emerged as leaders in the retrofit market. The two European countries gained highly valuable contracts to modernize aging Soviet equipment or make the weapons compatible with U.S. or Western defense systems. For example, France and Britain both secured contracts to replace the radar systems in Soviet- and Russian-made aircraft.

Iraq was one of the Soviet Union's largest arms importers. However, the end of the Cold War and the subsequent Persian Gulf War led to the cessation of sales to Baghdad. Between 1988 and 1991, Iraq bought $4.1 billion in arms from the Soviet Union. After the Persian Gulf War, United Nations (UN) sanctions meant that Russian sales stopped completely. In addition, Russia had been the main supplier of arms to Yemen. Russia had sold more than $2.1 billion in arms to Yemen in the period from 1988 to 1991, but sales dropped to zero by 1994. Russia did, however, significantly expand arms sales to Iran, but the more lucrative agreements were oil for arms. In 1991 in an agreement worth $10 billion, Russia transferred MiG-29 aircraft, Su-24 fighter-bombers, and SA-5 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) to Iran in exchange for Iranian oil exports. Later Russian transfers included T-72 main battle tanks and even three Kilo-class diesel submarines.

During the 1990s, Russia regained market share in the Middle East because of the lower cost of its weaponry and the willingness

An Iraqi crew fires the main gun of their Soviet T-72 during a training exercise at the Besmaya Gunnery Range, Camp Besmaya, Iraq, some 25 miles east of Baghdad, on October 28, 2008. (U.S. Department of Defense)

of Moscow to sell all types of arms to almost any country. In 1994 the United Arab Emirates chose Russian personnel carriers over American and Western models because of the lower costs of the Russian vehicles. Russia was also able to gain new contracts with Kuwait, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates during the late 1990s and beyond.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Camp David Accords; Egypt; France, Middle East Policy; Germany, Federal Republic of, Middle East Policy; Iranian Revolution; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Jordan; Kuwait; Russia, Middle East Policy, 1991–Present; Saudi Arabia; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; Syria; United Arab Republic; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; United States, Middle East Policy, 1917–1945; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Arnett, Peter

Birth Date: November 13, 1934

Acclaimed foreign correspondent and television journalist. Born on November 13, 1934, in Riverton, New Zealand, Peter Arnett left college to become a journalist. Subsequently, he worked for newspapers in New Zealand and Australia. On June 26, 1962, the Associated Press sent Arnett to Saigon. In August of that year, near the Mekong Delta, he first witnessed combat, an experience that led him to question U.S. involvement in the war.

Arnett's coverage of the Vietnam War established him as a high-profile reporter. His commitment to getting the real story, no matter the danger, won him the admiration of his peers and the respect of soldiers. Journalist David Halberstam once remarked that Arnett was the "gutsiest" man he had ever known, labeling him the consummate combat reporter.

Arnett's candor created controversy, however. In 1963 Premier Ngo Dinh Diem, who was upset with Arnett's coverage of the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam) government's treatment of Buddhist monks, threatened him with expulsion from the country. On July 23, 1963, members of the South Vietnamese secret police accosted Arnett on a Saigon street and began to beat him; a colleague interceded, saving Arnett from possible serious injury. The Diem regime then demanded that Arnett leave the country; only after the John F. Kennedy administration intervened on his behalf was he allowed to remain in South Vietnam.

Arnett's forthright style also caused tension with the U.S. military establishment. On several occasions officials attempted to convince him to report a more sanitized version of the war. Because he refused to compromise the accuracy of his stories, Arnett was targeted by the Lyndon B. Johnson administration for surveillance. Military officials also sought to limit his access to combat, but Arnett's many connections with men in the field negated those efforts.

Arnett developed a penchant for covering difficult and revealing stories. In 1966 his dedication earned him a Pulitzer Prize for International Reporting. During the 1968 Tet Offensive, Arnett reported the now-infamous statement of an American officer who said that U.S. forces had to destroy the village of Ben Tre in order to save it. That same year Arnett quoted John Paul Vann, U.S. chief of the civilian pacification program, who opined that the initial U.S. troop withdrawals from Vietnam would consist of "nonessentials." That statement led readers to question the veracity of the Richard M. Nixon administration's promised troop reductions. In 1972 Arnett witnessed the release of the first American prisoners of war in Hanoi, and in 1975 he covered the fall of Saigon to communist forces.

Arnett believes that newsmen do not deserve much of the negative criticism they have received for their coverage of the war. He maintains that journalists merely report events and do not make policy decisions.

In 1981 Peter Arnett joined the Cable News Network (CNN); he was with the network until 1999. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Arnett became well known for his "Live from Baghdad" reports. In the opening hours of the war, he was the only Western reporter airing live as air raid sirens blared in the background and bombs exploded in the distance. Later, Arnett's reports on Iraqi civilian casualties from the fighting earned him the enmity of the U.S. military and the White House. One of the most controversial reports was about the bombing by coalition forces of the Abu Ghraib Infant Formula Production Plant. Arnett was insistent that it had produced only baby formula and that it was not associated with the production of biological weapons, as a U.S. Air Force spokesman and later even General Colin Powell claimed. Two weeks after the war began, Arnett conducted an uncensored interview with Iraqi president Saddam Hussein.

In 1994 Arnett published *Live from the Battlefield: From Vietnam to Baghdad, 35 Years in the World's War Zones,* about his wartime reporting. In late March 1997 in eastern Afghanistan, Arnett secured the first-ever television interview with Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. In 1998 CNN fired Arnett under pressure from the U.S. Defense Department over Arnett's claim that the United States had employed Sarin nerve gas on American troops who had defected in Laos during the Vietnam War.

In late 2001 Arnett reported on the Afghanistan War (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM) for HDNet. In 2003, reporting for *National Geographic Explorer* and NBC television, Arnett covered the beginning

of the Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). He again sparked controversy by giving an interview to state-controlled Iraqi television, in the course of which he stated, "The first war plan failed because of Iraqi resistance. Now they are trying to write another war plan. Clearly, the American war planners misjudged the determination of Iraqi forces." NBC and National Geographic promptly dismissed him for what they called a gross error in judgment. Less than 24 hours later Arnett was hired as a correspondent for the British tabloid *Daily Mirror,* which had opposed the invasion of Iraq.

DEAN BRUMLEY AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

CNN; Powell, Colin Luther; War Correspondents

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ARROWHEAD RIPPER, Operation
Start Date: June 19, 2007
End Date: August 19, 2007

Multi-National Force–Iraq (MNF-I) assault against Al Qaeda in Iraq and other insurgents in and around the Iraqi city of Baquba during June 19–August 19, 2007. Baquba is located about 30 miles northeast of Baghdad. As a result of the Baghdad Security Plan developed in early 2007 and the American troop surge that accompanied it, Al Qaeda in Iraq and other Sunni forces withdrew from some areas of Baghdad and began operating in Diyala Province.

The insurgents, who belonged to the Khalf al-Mutayibin group, established a strong presence in Diyala Province and especially in Baquba, a city of some half million people. They made it the capital of their self-proclaimed "Islamic State of Iraq." Al Qaeda was determined to create havoc for the newly formed government of Iraq and to kill coalition troops attempting to gain control of the province.

On June 19, 2007, 10,000 U.S. soldiers, along with more than 1,000 Iraqi police and Iraqi military personnel, launched ARROWHEAD RIPPER, an operation north of Baghdad to clear the region of Al Qaeda militants. Three U.S. brigades participated in the opening days of ARROWHEAD RIPPER: the 1st Cavalry Division's 3rd Brigade Combat Team, commanded by Colonel David Sutherland; the 2nd Infantry Division's 4th Stryker Brigade Combat Team, commanded by Colonel John Lehr; and the 2nd Infantry Division's 3rd Stryker Brigade Combat Team, commanded by Colonel Steven Townsend.

For security reasons, Iraqi leaders were not included in the initial planning of ARROWHEAD RIPPER, but as the operation progressed, the Iraqi 2nd Brigade and 5th Iraqi Army Division played sizable roles. By the operation's end, the Iraqi 5th Army Division had particularly distinguished itself.

The operation began with a night air assault by Colonel Townsend's 3rd Stryker Brigade Combat Team, which led the effort to clear Baquba. As the operation unfolded, it quickly became apparent that Al Qaeda units, estimated to number more than 1,000 fighters, had dug in to stay. However, news sources reported that the leadership had fled in advance of the operation. In addition to Iraqi security forces (army and police), "concerned citizens" groups—also referred to as Iraqi police volunteers—cooperated with U.S. military personnel and Iraqi security forces in rooting out insurgents. The citizens' movement hoped to restore a measure of peace to the war-torn region. It was instrumental in finding and exposing the safe houses where Al Qaeda militants were hiding.

Fighting was fierce throughout Diyala Province, but especially in Baquba, where Al Qaeda had essentially taken control of the city. Multinational troops, going house to house to capture or kill Al Qaeda insurgents, met heavy resistance in the early stages of the battle. As troops entered neighborhoods, they found schools, businesses, and homes booby-trapped with homemade improvised explosive devices (IEDs). The heaviest fighting during the operation occurred within the first four weeks.

American commanders had always believed that Al Qaeda was its own worst enemy, particularly in the way that it treated the locals. Thus, American leaders had anticipated help from citizens in the province, and when these citizens began to pass information as to the whereabouts of insurgents, it was clear that they were ready for Al Qaeda and its operatives to leave their province.

An important goal of ARROWHEAD RIPPER was to prevent insurgents fleeing Baquba from escaping and reorganizing elsewhere. The attacking forces, therefore, set up a series of blocking posts to the northwest of Baquba in the Khalis corridor and south of the city near Khan Bani Saad to deny insurgents passage through these areas.

Coalition and Iraqi forces also conducted operations to disrupt enemy lines of communication and deny Al Qaeda any areas of safe haven. Following the initial push that cleared Baquba of insurgents, coalition forces began to reposition and destroy Al Qaeda positions northeast of Baquba in the Diyala River Valley. In spite of their attempts to contain Al Qaeda forces inside the area to prevent them from reorganizing elsewhere, many of the insurgents escaped capture and fled.

During the operation, which ended on August 19, the Al Qaeda leader in Baquba was killed, along with more than 100 other insurgents. An additional 424 suspected insurgents were taken prisoner. A total of 129 weapons caches were captured or destroyed and some 250 IEDs were found and rendered inoperable, including 38 booby-trapped houses, which the military refers to as house-borne IEDs, and 12 vehicle-borne IEDs. Coalition casualties included 18 Americans killed and 12 wounded; 7 Iraqi army personnel killed and 15 wounded; 2 allied Iraqi militiamen killed; and 3 Iraqi police killed.

Civilian casualties in the province were not accurately recorded, but an estimated 350 were killed and many more were wounded. However, it was unclear if civilian casualties were a direct result of Multi-National Force–Iraq military actions, or Al Qaeda members simply killing civilians who had helped their enemies.

One reason for the success of the operation was the newly formed Diyala Operations Center, established to coordinate coalition activities in the province. Through it, coalition forces, local police, the Iraqi military, and citizen informants sympathetic to the American military were all linked to one headquarters location. This enabled planners and leaders of the operation to react quickly to any situation, a scenario that the insurgents had not anticipated.

The surge in American troop strength in Iraq combined with operations such as ARROWHEAD RIPPER forced Al Qaeda insurgents out of the cities of the Diyala Valley and broke their ability to sustain day-to-day attacks on coalition troops in the area. Success was also achieved in enabling government ministries to provide fundamental goods and services such as food, fuel, and displaced-persons services to Diyala Province. This enabled the local and national Iraqi governments to show that they could provide for their people and thus raise confidence in government authorities.

The U.S. troop surge begun in early 2007, and operations such as ARROWHEAD RIPPER had great success in the Diyala Valley, with normal life beginning to reemerge by the end of the offensive. Schools, hospitals, and businesses were reopened in the relatively safer environment that came about as a result of the operation.

RANDY J. TAYLOR

See also

Al Qaeda in Iraq; Iraqi Insurgency; Surge, U.S. Troop Deployment, Iraq War

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Arthur, Stanley

Birth Date: September 27, 1935

U.S. Navy officer who commanded coalition naval forces during Operation DESERT STORM in 1991. Born in San Diego, California, on September 27, 1935, Stanley Arthur entered the U.S. Navy through the NROTC program at Miami University, from which he graduated in 1957. He became a Grumman S-2 Tracker antisubmarine warfare aircraft pilot in 1958, then transitioned to Douglas A-4 Skyhawks in which he flew 513 combat missions over Vietnam and was awarded 11 Distinguished Flying Crosses. Arthur earned a BS degree in aeronautical engineering from the Naval Postgraduate School in 1964, and an MS in administration from George Washington University in 1974.

Promoted to captain in August 1976, Arthur commanded the *San Jose* (AFS-7) during July 1976–December 1977 and the *Coral Sea* (CV-43) during June 1978–December 1979; he then reported to staff duty in Hawaii, where he participated in planning the failed Iranian hostage rescue operation (Operation EAGLE CLAW) of April 24, 1980. A year later, as assistant chief of staff for plans and policy, to Admiral D. C. Davis, commander in chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet (CinCPac), Arthur assumed additional duty as the naval component commander of the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force in July 1981, just prior to his promotion to rear admiral. When the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) was established on January 1, 1983, Rear Admiral Arthur became the first commander U.S. naval forces, Central Command (ComUSNavCent).

With neither Air Force nor Army units based in the region, CENTCOM depended on maritime prepositioning of equipment and supplies at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean and on board Military Sealift Command (MSC) ships of the Navy. In time of crisis, the Military Airlift Command (MAC) would fly personnel into the region to "marry up" with the vehicles and equipment landed from the MSC ships. Arthur had primary responsibility for establishing the system that would be activated during Operation DESERT STORM.

Promoted to vice admiral in February 1988, Arthur served as deputy chief of naval operations, logistics (N-4) before succeeding Vice Admiral Henry H. Mauz Jr. as commander of the U.S. Seventh Fleet and ComUSNavCent. He served in this position from December 1990 to July 1995. Viewing his role as a component force commander to be more important than that of a fleet commander, Arthur wished to shift his headquarters from his Seventh Fleet flagship to Central Command headquarters in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, but feared combat operations for DESERT STORM would begin while the move was underway so put it off. Arthur quickly established more cordial relations with his cocommanders than his predecessor had achieved. Arthur acceded to most of the policies of his Air Force counterpart, Lieutenant General Charles Horner, the joint force air component commander (JFACC), but naval aviation was never fully integrated into the centralized system established to plan air operations in 24-hour units, 72 hours prior to execution.

Arthur considered the system of rigid preplanned detailed air tasking orders (ATOs) a violation of navy doctrine that called for decentralized air planning conducted on board each aircraft carrier, a system Arthur believed superior for reacting rapidly to strike and restrike needs. The requirement of aerial refueling by naval air units stationed on carriers in the Red Sea and northern Arabian Sea led to their closer integration into JFACC ATOs than operations conducted, especially over water, by the four aircraft carriers stationed in the Persian Gulf.

The flow of supplies into the war zone (95 percent of all supplies were delivered by sea), being primarily a navy operation directed from Seventh Fleet headquarters in Hawaii, proceeded without any serious problems.

Amphibious operations in the Persian Gulf were not as smooth. Concerned about Iraqi mines and potential missile attacks from neighboring Iran, Arthur believed that more time was needed for preparations than allotted by theater planning officers. Arthur came into conflict with theater commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf when Arthur advocated leveling every high-rise building along the beach to protect marines scheduled to land in Kuwait City (Madinat al-Kuwayt). Schwarzkopf rejected such destruction and, with the concurrence of Lieutenant General Walter Boomer, commander of U.S. marines in the region, cancelled the amphibious landing that had been planned to provide logistical support for marine forces advancing along the coast into Kuwait from Saudi Arabia. Instead of an assault landing, the embarked marines carried out a feint designed to fix in place Iraqi coastal defense forces.

Following the successful conclusion of DESERT STORM, Arthur, promoted to admiral in July 1992, served as vice chief of naval operations from July 6, 1992 to April 30, 1995. His nomination to become commander in chief, U.S. Forces, Pacific was blocked by the U.S. Senate, which questioned Arthur's conduct during the investigation of sexual harassment allegations by a female student pilot in the aftermath of the 1991 Tailhook Incident. Many observers believed that Arthur had become a scapegoat and that the chief of naval operations, Admiral Jeremy Boorda, had not adequately supported Arthur, who retired from active duty in June 1995.

Arthur received the Admiral Arleigh A. Burke Leadership Award from the Navy League in 1996 and served as president of Lockheed Martin's Missiles and Fire Control Division from 1999 to 2004.

JAMES C. BRADFORD

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; Horner, Charles; Mauz, Henry H., Jr.; Military Sealift Command; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War; Warden, John Ashley, III

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Article 22, League of Nations Covenant

Provision in the covenant of the League of Nations, the predecessor agency to the United Nations (UN), passed on June 18, 1919. The League of Nations was a supranational organization formed in the aftermath of the Paris Peace Conference held at the end of World War I. Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant called for the creation of a mandate system, which transferred the former colonies of Germany and the former territories of the Ottoman Empire to the custody of the League of Nations. Nations or regions falling under a mandate would be administered by a third-party nation upon the approval of the League of Nations. The principles of the mandate system have their legal precedent under the Roman principle of *mandatum,* which placed persons and property under the care of responsible parties. Newer precedents included the 1885 Berlin Conference, which established safeguards for the people of the Congo, and the 1892 Brussels Conference, which banned the import of alcohol and weapons to the Congo. At the convention of St. Germain in 1919, the signatories agreed to commit themselves to the protection and well-being of their colonies.

Under existing international law, colonies were considered to be "wards" under the responsibility of the colonial power. However, the question soon arose regarding to whom the colonial power was responsible. Through Article 22, the League of Nations was the authority that would oversee the conduct of the colonial powers in question. The former colonies and territories of Germany and the Ottoman Empire were distributed among the victorious Allied powers. Britain and France benefited the most by acquiring the majority of these territories as mandates. The British dominions of Australia and New Zealand were given mandates as rewards for their service in the war. In the Middle East proper, Britain gained a mandate over Palestine, while the French administered mandates in Syria and Lebanon.

The mandates were classified as either A, B, or C, according to the political and cultural development of the nations under mandate. The Middle Eastern mandates were classified as A mandates because they were on the brink of independence, and particularly because they had rebelled against the Turks during the war. The mandate powers in question were supposed to guide their mandates in the final steps toward statehood. The B mandates, consisting of the former German colonies in Central Africa, were considered to be at a lower developmental stage than the A mandates, and so it was the responsibility of the mandate powers to oversee their material needs and to prevent abuses such as slavery, exploitation of labor, and the importation of illicit liquor and drugs. They were also to allow access to other nations for trade purposes. The C mandates were deemed to be at the lowest level of development, for whom independence was not considered in the short term. The mandate system differed from old-fashioned colonialism in that the mandatory powers were required to make an annual report to the league. Ironically, Article 22 seemed to fly in the face of President Woodrow Wilson's call for self-determination, but the brainchild of the League of Nations had been forced to compromise to get the organization up and running.

Not surprisingly, problems arose from the creation of the mandate system. The question of whether the league or the mandate power held the final authority continued to bedevil officials throughout the existence of the mandate system. Also, international law did not have a mechanism for temporary sovereignty

over a particular area. The league did not have enforcement powers within the mandates, and so mandate commission members could not visit a mandate to investigate problems. Issues of ascendant nationalism soon created tensions in Middle Eastern states, which ironically were supposed to be in the final stages of independence. Despite these problems, however, Article 22 helped change the face of colonialism and may have contributed to its ultimate demise after World War II. From the perspective of those people living in the mandates, however, especially in the Middle East, the situation seemed little different from the colonialism of the old order. In a sense, one might argue that League of Nations mandates in such places as the Middle East solved short-term difficulties, but only amplified long-term problems, which continue into the 21st century.

Dino E. Buenviaje

See also
Arab Nationalism; Mandates; United Nations

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Article 51, United Nations Charter

Self-defense clause contained in the charter of the United Nations (UN). Article 51 of the United Nations Charter guarantees the principle of self-defense by its members, whether through individual or collective security. The article falls under Chapter VII, which is titled "Actions with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression." It states: "nothing in the present charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security." Further, it stipulates: "measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter."

The origins of Article 51 can be traced to the concerns shared by a number of Latin American countries in response to the veto power of the Security Council on actions taken by a regional body. In particular, the foreign ministers of Brazil, Colombia, and Cuba were concerned about the prospect of an outside power attacking the Western Hemisphere and then using the veto power of a Security Council member to prevent any collective action. The governments of Latin America were concerned that the Security Council might abrogate the 1945 Act of Chapultepec, which guaranteed the mutual defense of the Latin American republics in the event of an attack, whether by an outside power or by another state within the Western Hemisphere.

The Chapultepec agreement originally applied to concerns over Argentina, which had a military government that was sympathetic to the Axis powers. With World War II concluded, the concern now shifted to growing Cold War tensions. Not only did the Chapultepec agreement seem endangered, but it appeared that the long-standing Good Neighbor Policy and even the 1823 Monroe Doctrine would be swept away by the United Nations Charter. In particular, the Latin American nations were concerned about the infiltration of Soviet influence in the Western Hemisphere. Such concerns even reached prominent American officials like Senator Arthur Vandenburg, who worried that any provisions that would not protect the Western Hemisphere could lead to a Senate rejection of the United Nations Charter.

The problem of regionalism and regional defense was solved through the creation of three UN articles. Article 51 enshrined the principle of self-defense. Article 52 allowed the creation of regional bodies and defensive organizations, and Article 53 allowed the Security Council to work through regional agencies. Despite earlier fears, Article 51 maintained long-standing hemispheric agreements such as the Chapultepec agreement. Indeed, both individual and collective security were enshrined. Through Article 51, the United States and the Soviet Union were able to establish such regional security agreements as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact.

In the Middle East, Article 51 permitted the creation and existence of such international defense organizations as the 1955 Baghdad Pact, which morphed into the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) after the 1958 Baathist coup in Iraq that deposed the monarchy there. Iraq promptly withdrew from the Baghdad Pact and began to align itself with the Soviet bloc. After that, the organization adopted the name CENTO, and the United States became an associated partner in the organization. Throughout the various Middle East wars since the end of World War II, Article 51 has been invoked by a number of nations under attack. The Israelis have repeatedly referenced it in regard to defensive measures taken against outside aggression, whether it is from nation-states or nonstate entities. Indeed, in the Israeli-Hezbollah War that broke out in July 2006, Israel invoked Article 51 as its legal justification for attacking Hezbollah positions in southern Lebanon. Many nations have argued, however, that Israeli reprisals were out of proportion to the Hezbollah actions against Israel, and were therefore not within the legal scope of Article 51. Clearly, there seems to be sufficient room within Article 51 to allow support for either side of the issue.

Dino E. Buenviaje

See also
Baghdad Pact; Hezbollah; Israel; Lebanon; United Nations

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Articles 41 and 42, United Nations Charter

Provisions that enable the United Nations Security Council to undertake specific measures to contain aggression and maintain peace. Articles 41 and 42 of the United Nations (UN) Charter established the enforcement power of the Security Council within the mechanism of the United Nations Charter. These articles are part of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, titled "Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression." Article 41 authorizes the Security Council to enact such nonmilitary measures to deter acts of aggression as "complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication and the severance of diplomatic relations." Should Article 41 prove inadequate, Article 42 authorizes the Security Council to enact such military measures as "demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations."

Articles 41 and 42 were a direct result of the shortcomings of the League of Nations, the predecessor organization to the United Nations. World War II essentially witnessed the complete failure of the League of Nations to preserve peace. There were two significant factors that contributed to the league's demise: the failure of the United States to ratify the League of Nations Covenant, and the organization's lack of enforcement powers. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who had been an early supporter of the League of Nations, hoped to create an organization to succeed it that would not contain any of its flaws.

The United States had chosen not to join the League of Nations because of the language contained in Article 10 of the League of Nations Covenant, which obligated members "to undertake to respect and preserve, as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League." Some American officials believed that this concept of collective security appeared to endanger the sovereignty of the United States. Article 16 of the covenant furthermore enjoined its members to participate in protecting other members suffering from aggression. These two articles were soon proven meaningless, however, during Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. The invasion occurred with virtual impunity.

Unlike Articles 10 and 16 of the covenant, Articles 41 and 42 of the United Nations Charter gave the Security Council the sole prerogative of deciding what situations would involve the use of force. One reason the League of Nations failed was that it did not have any such mechanism for deliberating in situations that might have required the use of force. Second, the language of Article 16 proved to be the league's undoing by placing an obligation on its members to intervene with nonmilitary measures. Article 41 differs in language by using the words "call upon" rather than "obligate." By placing on the Security Council the responsibility for determining what kinds of measures should be taken, rather than allowing each individual member to decide what kinds of actions to take, the United Nations maintained its credibility.

Article 42 specifically placed military and other security measures in the hands of the Security Council. Under the League of Nations, it was impossible to find a consensus among the members to devote their armed forces toward enforcement. Thus, through Article 42, a system was devised whereby national military forces would be placed under international jurisdiction, but only for specified objectives. As a result of these measures, the United Nations has maintained a credibility that the league could not uphold.

The United Nations, largely through Articles 41 and 42, has been heavily involved in the Middle East since 1945. Most of its work has come in the form of peacekeeping, monitoring, and enforcement. Some of its actions there include the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon, dispatched in 1958 to ensure that no illegal infiltrations of personnel or materials made their way into Lebanon after the uprising there that same year. In November 1956, following the Suez Crisis, the UN established the first United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), whose job was to oversee the withdrawal of French, Israeli, and British forces from Egypt, and then to maintain a buffer zone between Egyptian and Israeli troops. This lasted until June 1967. In October 1973, following the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, the second United Nations Emergency Force was dispatched to the Middle East to enforce the cease-fire between Israel and Egypt. UN forces also created and maintained a buffer zone between the two nations, which lasted until July 1979. In August 1988, the UN established the UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group, which was charged with enforcing the terms of the cease-fire after the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988). The UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Commission, in operation from April 1991 to October 2003, was charged with deterring any aggression between the two nations and monitoring the demilitarized zone.

Ongoing UN activities in the Middle East include an observation force in the Golan Heights, first created in 1974, to supervise the cease-fire and withdrawal agreements made between Syria and Israel. The UN Interim Force in Lebanon, dispatched in 1978, continues the struggle to enable the Lebanese government to assert control over its territory and keep Israeli troops from occupying Lebanese lands. The UN Truce Supervision Organization, in existence since 1948, continues to monitor truces, observe military movements, enforce cease-fires, and perform other peacekeeping responsibilities in the region.

Articles 41 and 42 have also been invoked numerous times during Middle Eastern conflicts to effect embargoes, blockades, and economic sanctions against aggressor states. For example, after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, the UN Security Council almost immediately passed Resolution 660, which condemned the Iraqi attack and demanded an immediate withdrawal. Just a

few days later, the Security Council passed Resolution 661, which slapped international economic sanctions on Iraq. After more diplomatic wrangling while Iraq still occupied Kuwait, the UN passed Resolution 678 in November 1990. This resolution gave the Iraqis a firm deadline of January 15, 1991, to withdraw entirely from Kuwait. It also authorized "all necessary means" to implement and enforce Resolution 660, which was a de facto authorization of the use of force. When Iraq refused to leave Kuwait, an international coalition led by the United States forcibly expelled the invaders. Indeed, the 1991 Persian Gulf War was an almost textbook case of the effectiveness of the United Nations and of Articles 41 and 42.

The same cannot be said, however, of the 2003 Anglo-American–led coalition that invaded Iraq and ousted Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein from office. Although the UN had passed a number of resolutions entreating Hussein to cooperate with UN weapons inspectors, it had not passed a clear-cut measure that specifically authorized force, as it had done in 1991. The United States continued to push the case for war, however, citing "clear" evidence that the Iraqis were concealing weapons of mass destruction. Thus, the United States and its allies went to war with Iraq in March 2003 lacking any pretense of UN authorization. This engendered bitter condemnations from many nations, including old allies of the United States and United Kingdom. UN secretary-general Kofi Annan termed the invasion "illegal" in September 2004. The lack of international support has bedeviled the Anglo-American war in Iraq, as have reports that no weapons of mass destruction were found in Iraq, even after many months of careful hunting by military professionals.

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See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Desert Storm, Operation; Iran-Iraq War; Iraqi Freedom, Operation; Lebanon; Suez Crisis; United Nations; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Artillery

Artillery used in the Arab-Israeli Conflict and Middle East wars has consisted of indirect fire and air defense weapons systems, including cannon, rockets, and missiles. Most of these weapons have been supplied to the region by the rival superpowers and regional powers. The indirect fire system, the most common method of delivering artillery fire on the modern battlefield, refers to a situation in which the target, typically several thousand meters distant, is not visible to the weapon firing an artillery projectile at it. Forward observers, either in the air flying above the battle zone or traveling with maneuver units on the ground, identify targets and communicate that information (usually in the form of map coordinates) to artillery unit fire direction centers that compute firing data and send the data to the guns. Forward observers send subsequent corrections from which fire direction centers compute new firing data that "adjust" the artillery projectiles' strike onto the target. This indirect fire system of observers, fire direction centers, and artillery weapons, linked by telephone or radio communications systems, was introduced during the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War, and has been refined over the past century to include computerized fire-control systems.

Artillery weapons deliver high lethality fires in support of maneuver units—armor and infantry—that close with the enemy and seize terrain. Some field artillery weapons are capable of shooting nuclear or chemical projectiles.

Field artillery cannon systems are either towed or self-propelled. A towed system consists of a cannon and a prime mover, usually a truck, that tows the cannon. Self-propelled weapons are cannons or rapid-fire antiaircraft guns mounted integrally on a motor carriage, usually tracked, to form self-contained gun platforms. Self-propelled artillery has a higher ground mobility and ability to keep pace with fast-moving mechanized formations. Lighter towed artillery has higher air mobility, especially when transported by helicopter.

Towed guns rely on their prime movers to carry ancillary equipment such as aiming stakes, tools, communications equipment, and other fire-control items. The prime mover also typically carries a small amount of ready ammunition, but the majority of the gun section's basic load of projectiles, propellant, and fuses is carried on a separate ammunition truck.

Self-propelled guns likewise carry only a few rounds of ready ammunition on-board, with the remainder of the basic load carried in a tracked ammunition vehicle. In many modern self-propelled systems, the specially designed ammunition vehicle is equipped with an automatic ammunition feed system that connects directly with the onboard hydraulic loader-rammer system of the self-propelled gun. This produces loading speed and efficiency far greater than the manual system on almost all towed guns.

Artillery ammunition is classified as fixed, semifixed, or separate-loading. Most direct fire guns, such as tank guns and antitank guns, fire fixed ammunition, where the projectile, fuse, propellant charge, and primer are supplied as a single unit. The propellant charge is packaged in a metal shell casing canister, made of brass or steel, which has a primer in its base and the projectile mounted on its top. After firing, the empty casing must be ejected from the firing chamber of the gun.

Semifixed ammunition is similar to fixed, except that it does not come prepackaged with a fuse, which gives the firing battery the flexibility of selecting the fuse to match the target. The point-detonating fuse produces a surface or delayed subsurface burst. The time and variable time (proximity) fuses produce air bursts over the target. The propellant inside the shell casing canister also comes packaged in separate increment bags, which the gun crew can remove as necessary to achieve the required charge for the range to the target. As with fixed ammunition, the empty shell casing canister must be removed from the gun after firing. Most light artillery, including the American-made M-101A1, M-102, and M-119 towed 105-millimeter (mm) howitzers, and some Soviet-made 122-mm guns, fire semifixed ammunition.

Almost all medium and heavy artillery pieces fire separate-loading ammunition, in which the projectile, fuse, propellant, and primer all come separately and are combined as required by the firing crew. Separate-loading propellant charges do not come packaged in a shell casing canister. The number of powder bags representing the required propellant charge is loaded directly into the cannon's breech chamber, immediately behind the projectile, and are completely consumed during the firing process.

Since World War II, surface-to-surface tactical artillery free-flight rockets and guided missiles have played increasingly larger roles in warfare. Free-flight rockets are generally fired from multiple launchers, which produces a massive surge effect at the target. Such weapons, however, come with heavy logistical requirements. Guided missiles are normally launched individually against precision targets. Almost all artillery-guided missile systems are capable of carrying conventional high-explosive, chemical, or nuclear warheads.

Air Defense Artillery (ADA) weapons are divided into antiaircraft guns and surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). The guns are rapid fire, usually radar-controlled, systems designed to engage aircraft at low and medium altitudes and close-in ranges. SAMs are radar controlled and/or heat-seeking systems that engage aircraft at higher altitudes and greater ranges. Man-portable air defense systems (MANPADS) are shoulder-fired, heat-seeking SAMs designed to protect friendly units from enemy ground attack aircraft at low altitudes and close-in ranges. When fired in mass, MANPADS can be especially lethal.

In 1948, the new state of Israel relied on artillery in place in Palestine. With hostilities imminent and the Jewish state facing an arms embargo by the Western powers, Israeli agents purchased from Czechoslovakia and other nations in Eastern Europe tons of surplus arms and ammunition left over from World War II. By necessity, many of those weapons were manufactured for the Third Reich. The Arab nations were initially equipped with British and French weapons, depending on which country had held the colony or mandate. During the course of the intervening years, the United States, France, and the Soviet Union were the principal arms suppliers in the states of the Middle East.

During the fighting in 1948 and 1949, the most common artillery pieces in the Arab arsenals were the towed 25-pounder gun/howitzer and the 17-pounder antitank gun, both mainstays of the British Army during World War II. The Israelis managed to capture many of these weapons and immediately put them into service with the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF). The Israelis also used 2-inch and 3-inch infantry mortars, captured directly from the British during the mandate period, as well as obsolete World War I vintage French 75-millimeter (mm) field guns and Austrian 65-mm mountain howitzers. The Israelis also introduced their own improvised heavy mortar, dubbed the "Davidka."

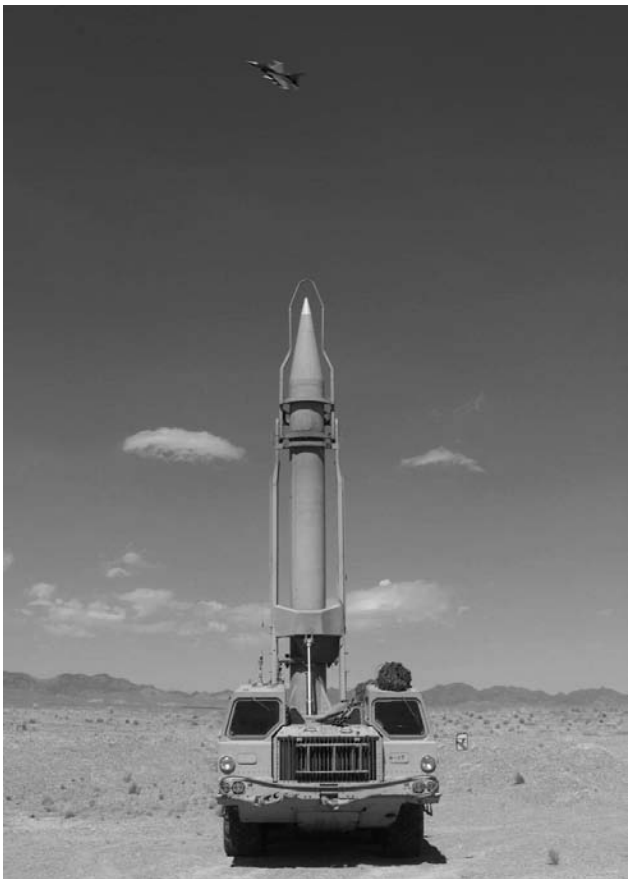
World War II artillery weapons still predominated on both sides by the time of the 1956 Suez fighting. Both sides, however, had begun to mount these systems on a wide variety of wheeled and tracked vehicles to produce locally fabricated self-propelled guns. The Israelis in particular were innovative in producing a wide range of variants mounted on American-made M-4 Sherman tank chassis or M-3 halftracks, which the IDF acquired in large numbers after 1949. The IDF also acquired AMX light tanks from France, on which they mounted 105-mm howitzers.

Following the Arab defeat in 1956, the Soviet Union increasingly became the principal arms supplier of Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Along with Soviet weapons and military advisers, the Egyptians in particular adopted the Soviet doctrine of massed firepower. By the 1967 Six-Day War, Egyptian artillery units were armed with the Soviet 122-mm gun/howitzer and 130-mm gun, which outranged the American-made field artillery that increasingly made up the Israeli arsenal. The IDF had American-made 105-mm and 155-mm howitzers, towed and self-propelled in both calibers. The Israel Defense Forces (IDF), however, greatly preferred self-propelled systems that could keep pace with their highly mobile armored forces. The Israelis also used French-built 155-mm howitzers mounted on Sherman tank chassis in great numbers.

During the October 1973 Yom Kippur War, also known as the Ramadan War, the Israelis made extensive use of American-made 155-mm M-109 and 8-inch (203-mm) M-110A1 self-propelled howitzers. The Israelis also locally manufactured two versions of a self-propelled 155-mm howitzer with better range than the U.S. models. This allowed the IDF to counter the extended range of Arab artillery. The American-made 175-mm M-107 self-propelled gun also proved invaluable in countering the Arab's range advantage. Egypt, Syria, and their allies employed Soviet-built towed 122-mm gun/howitzers and 130-mm guns, as well as self-propelled 122-mm and 152-mm howitzers.

In later conflicts, Arab armies began using Soviet rocket and missile systems to achieve extended range and target saturation. The FROG 7 (NATO designation for Free Rocket Over Ground) was the Soviet version of the U.S. Honest John rocket. Soviet fire doctrine stressed the use of rockets to saturate a target area, enhance the psychological effect of fires, and multiply the volume of fires delivered by cannon systems.

The FROG 7A and 7B, which were capable of carrying conventional, chemical, or nuclear warheads, were extensively exported. The FROG's large circular probable error (CPE) of 550–750 yards



Soviet-made MAZ TEL (NATO designation SCUD) missile launcher. (U.S. Department of Defense)

and range of 42 miles made it a deep-strike system, rather than a weapon to influence the close battle.

The World War II Soviet Katyusha multiple rocket system was mounted on trucks used as prime movers and launch platforms and was fired in ripple salvos. American, British, and German forces used similar weapons. The most common multiple launch rocket systems fielded by the Soviets and their Middle Eastern client states included the BM-21, which carried 36 122-mm rockets in vehicular mounted pods with a range of 24 miles. The larger BM-27 mounted 16 220-mm rockets in launch configuration.

The Soviet SS-1 tactical ballistic missile (designated the Scud by NATO) had a mixed record in later Arab-Israeli and Middle East conflicts. Directly derived from the German V-2 of World War II, it is a surface-to-surface weapon with a relatively unsophisticated gyroscope guidance system that only controls the missile during the 80-second phase of powered flight. The resulting inaccuracy produces more of an area weapon than a precision weapon. The greatest potential threat from the Scud is its ability to carry chemical, biological, or nuclear warheads. Fortunately, all Scuds fired in actual war so far have carried only high-explosive warheads.

As the various armies in the Middle East evolved in their technical sophistication, all sides increased the use of close air support and long-range air strikes, which in turn increased the requirements for ground-based air defense systems. The IDF used the U.S.-made Stinger MANPAD system and the time-tested U.S. M-2 .50-caliber heavy machine gun in a variety of air defense mountings.

The Arab forces employed a variety of Soviet gun and missile systems. The self-propelled, four-barreled, radar-controlled 23-mm ZSU 23/4 air defense system was especially devastating against low-flying Israeli attack aircraft. This Soviet-made gun had already proven itself in the Vietnam War, during which the North Vietnamese used it quite effectively against U.S. aircraft. The Arab forces also were well armed with the Soviet SA-2, SA-7, and SA-11 SAM systems, which created havoc for the IAF in the opening stages of the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War.

During the 1948 and 1956 wars, the artillery doctrine of most of the Arab armies was patterned after that of the British. After 1956, Soviet artillery doctrine predominated, which stressed area fires by large numbers of artillery pieces. In the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, Egypt was able to commit massive numbers of artillery pieces to the operation to penetrate the Bar-Lev Line.

As the Egyptian and Syrian armies procured Soviet equipment on a large scale, one of the most lethal weapons in their arsenal became the AT-3 Sagger man-portable, wire-guided, antitank missile. Launched by a two-man crew, the Saggers devastated the massed Israeli armored formations in the early phases of the Yom Kippur War. The Israelis finally learned to neutralize the Sagger threat by using large concentrations of artillery fire to distract, obscure, or kill the Sagger gunners.

Israel continued to rely on American and British artillery procedures that focused on infantry and armor support through the use of direct support, general support, or reinforcing missions. An artillery unit with a direct support mission provides fires to a specific maneuver unit. Normally, one artillery battalion fires in support of one maneuver brigade. Firing units with general support missions answer calls for fire from the entire force and support the overall mission as defined by the maneuver commander, usually the division commander. Units with a reinforcing mission augment the fires of other artillery units, usually those with a direct support mission.

Because the Israelis prefer precision fire to area fire, they generally have eschewed the use of rockets, although the U.S. M-270 Multiple Launch Rocket System (MLRS) is currently in their arsenal. The doctrinal U.S. and NATO missions for the MLRS include the suppression of enemy air defense weapons, counterbattery missions, and the attack of fixed targets at extended ranges.

Because of Israel's numerical disadvantage against the Arab states, IDF tactical doctrine focuses on first achieving air superiority, and then committing its air force to attack deep targets, destroy enemy artillery, and engage air defense missile launchers as targets of opportunity. This leaves the bulk of the Israeli field artillery committed to providing close support to the armor and infantry maneuver units.

During 1980–1988, Iraq and Iran fought a conventional war over a combination of old border disputes and the Iranian intent to overthrow the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein. The initial Iraqi invasion

netted some territorial gains from Iranian forces that the Iraqis calculated were in a state of chaos following the Iranian Revolution of 1979. Iranian patriotism and tenacity, however, regained lost territory and static war of attrition set in. The United States primarily supported Iraq, with the administration of President Ronald Reagan vowing that Hussein's government would not be allowed to fall.

After its initial stage, the Iran-Iraq War was fought predominantly on Iraqi territory, which allowed the smaller Iraqi military to defend in depth and extract large numbers of casualties from the Iranian attackers. Artillery played a key role during this fighting. Iraq purchased artillery weapons of all types from the international arms market, and had a 4-to-1 superiority over the Iranians in all types and calibers of weapons systems, both cannon and missile. The Iraqi numerical advantage was somewhat neutralized by Iran's aggressive use of attack helicopters and aircraft in a counterbattery role.

Both Iraq and Iran used Soviet artillery or copies of Soviet systems manufactured by the People's Republic of China, Egypt, and Czechoslovakia, including towed and self-propelled versions of the 122-mm gun/howitzer, the towed 130-mm gun, and the BM-21 122-mm multiple rocket launcher. France, South Africa, and Austria also supplied 155-mm towed howitzers to Iraq, especially the innovative extended-range systems designed by Dr. Gerald Bull. Iran preferred to equip its forces purely with Soviet bloc equipment, including surface-to-surface Scud missile variants, which it fired against Iraqi cities.

Both sides operated on the basis of Soviet artillery doctrine and tactics. Iraq frequently used massed artillery fire to defeat the more numerous Iranian human wave assaults, but there was never enough artillery or air power to fight a coordinated combined arms battle. Field guns, however, were in enough supply to wreak havoc on infantry and armor formations.

Iraq shocked the world when it fired chemical weapons against unprotected Iranian troops and dissident Kurd villages. Middle Eastern chemical companies operating in China, India, Singapore, Europe, and the United States supplied Iraq with the chemicals necessary to fabricate mustard (HD), Sarin (GB), and methylphosphonothioic acid (VX) warheads. Despite the universal ban on such weapons, the Iraqis used them in the manner outlined in classic Soviet doctrine for area denial and antipersonnel operations. But as demonstrated in World War I, nonpersistent agents, such as GB, have such a short duration that they generally do not produce significant tactical advantage. Against unprotected troops not in shelters, however, the initial strikes nonetheless produced devastating casualties.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1991, the United States and a multinational coalition of forces intervened militarily to eject Iraq and restore the international border. The United States and allied units employed mostly American and British artillery, including the self-propelled M-109A5 155-mm howitzer and the self-propelled M-110A2 8-inch howitzer. The U.S. Marine Corps artillery was equipped with the M-198 towed 155-mm howitzer. The Persian Gulf War was also the combat debut of the American self-propelled M-270 Multiple Launch Rocket System (MLRS). Some Arab nations in 1991 were armed with the automated French AMX 155-mm self-propelled howitzer, and the French contingent was equipped entirely with French systems.

The United States and Great Britain were still using the same basic artillery weapons systems during the 2003 Iraq War, except that the standard version of the 155-mm howitzer had been upgraded to the M-109A6, known as the Paladin, and the venerable M-110 8-inch howitzer had been phased out of the American arsenal.

The United States in 1991 also used the Patriot air defense system, hastily modified to expand its intended role of shooting down enemy aircraft to the much more difficult task of intercepting missiles, in an attempt to defend key sites in Israel against Iraqi Scud missiles. While the Patriot received inflated praise in the American media at the time, postengagement analysis proved that the earlier version of the Patriot was something far short of a fully effective antimissile missile system. In 2006, when Israel again went to war in south Lebanon, Hezbollah hit various points in Israel with a large number of relatively inaccurate but nonetheless deadly surface-to-surface missiles based on the Soviet Katyusha design, which undoubtedly will lead Israel to increase its investments in antimissile technology.

Artillery is essential to success in modern war. Armies that deploy their weapons systems most effectively and adopt the ever-evolving new technologies, such as ground positioning systems based on satellite availability for target acquisition, will prevail on the battlefield. Although the predominant type of fighting in the Middle East since 2003 has been guerrilla and insurgency warfare, significant amounts of conventional weaponry remain in the region, and a return to larger-scale combat remains a potential threat for the foreseeable future. In that type of fighting, artillery is indispensable.

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See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; DESERT STORM, Operation; Iran-Iraq War; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Israel; Lebanon; Suez Crisis

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ARTIMON, Operation

Start Date: August 2, 1990
End Date: March 1991

Code name/designation for France's maritime interception operations put in place after the August 2, 1990, invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. It lasted until March 1991. These operations were intended to

prevent the export or import of certain materials to Iraq, Kuwait, and Jordan, as defined by sanctions enacted by the United Nations (UN) Security Council. The French Navy contributed the third-largest number of ships to interdiction operations off Kuwait, second only to the United States and Great Britain. The French were anxious to retain their national autonomy and requested their own area for maritime operations.

During the 1980s, France had become Iraq's largest trading partner. Iraqi president Saddam Hussein had grown uncomfortable relying strictly on the Soviet Union for his arms and military supplies, and so he looked to the West as an alternative. The French government, concerned about the possible spread of a fundamentalist Islamic revolution from Iran, was willing to help Iraq function as a counterbalance in the Persian Gulf. Also, because up to 30 percent of France's oil supply came from the region, regional stability was very important.

In 1980, Saddam had invaded Iran, hoping to take advantage of the disorder resulting from the Iranian Revolution. Besides providing weapons to the Iraqis in the ensuing long Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), the French later sold additional weapons to the Iraqis and had also provided nuclear technology for Iraq's Osiraq reactor.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait, the French government was as surprised as the rest of the world. Despite its close economic and military relations with Iraq and the considerable sums owed France by Iraq, the French government immediately condemned the invasion and called for the removal of Iraqi troops. It also froze all Iraqi assets in the country. Within a week, the government had also placed restrictions on Iraqi diplomats and suspended any arms shipments to both Iraq and Kuwait. Perhaps just as important, France supported a European Community embargo and, on August 6, voted in favor of UN Security Council Resolution 661, which called for a complete military and economic embargo against Iraq except for food, medical supplies, and humanitarian aid. The goal of the sanctions was to force Saddam to withdraw his troops from Kuwait.

On August 9, France announced that it would send combat planes to Saudi Arabia to help defend that country against Iraqi aggression, and on August 25, France again voted with the United States, in support of UN Security Council Resolution 665. The resolution authorized member states to enforce the embargo against Iraq by stopping ships in the Persian Gulf, inspecting their cargo, and verifying their papers.

Meanwhile, the first French warships had been dispatched on August 6 to the Persian Gulf to begin maritime interdiction duties. The exercise was code-named Operation ARTIMON. The first group included the destroyers *Dupleix* and *Montcalm.* These Georges Leygues–class ships displaced 3,830 tons. They were armed with four Exocet antiship missiles and had the capacity to operate two Westland Lynx Mark 2 helicopters. Each had a crew of 219. Supporting the initial deployment of Operation ARTIMON was the tanker *Durance.*

On August 8, a military adviser to President François Mitterand's government suggested sending the aircraft carrier *Clemenceau* to a base in Saudi Arabia on the Red Sea. The move was intended as a political signal as much as a military one. The *Clemenceau* sailed on August 13, but it carried no combat aircraft. Instead, it acted as a fast transport. Forty combat helicopters and nearly 2,000 men from the Force d'Action Rapide were on board. The units involved were part of France's rapid reaction force and would be available to help protect Saudi Arabia, should that prove necessary. The French government denied that its deployment was part of an international military buildup in order to avoid placing French troops under foreign command. The *Clemenceau* was not part of Operation ARTIMON, however.

During the buildup in the Persian Gulf, the various navies at first had different rules of engagement for enforcing the maritime interdiction effort. Before Resolution 665 was passed on August 25, the French government argued that naval vessels had no legal authority to stop ships and search them. The very name given to the naval effort, "interdiction," had been a compromise to reduce opposition to the operations, because "blockade" indicated hostilities were already taking place.

On August 18, two Iraqi tankers tested the allies' interdiction effort. The *Khanaqin* and *Bab Gurgur* steamed past U.S. Navy ships patrolling in the Persian Gulf, their captains ignoring orders to stop. Even when two U.S. frigates fired warning shots across their bows, the ships refused to change course. American rules of engagement ordinarily authorized the next step to be an attempt to disable the ship without endangering its integrity. Although Vice Admiral Henry Mauz, commander of U.S. Central Command naval forces, had authorized his captains to disable ships, his orders were overridden by authorities in Washington.

After legal authority was granted on August 25 to stop and search ships, representatives of the various governments that had naval vessels in the region met to consider how to implement it. While most nations were willing to follow the U.S. lead, the French and Italian governments sought their own national areas of the Persian Gulf to patrol. The French remained leery of having their armed forces serve under another nation's military. To satisfy this requirement, Mauz assigned the French, British, Italian, and Dutch navies patrol areas off the United Arab Emirates and the Strait of Hormuz. The particular rules of engagement under which each nation's ships would operate were also left up to the national authorities. Most were content to follow the U.S. lead, as the U.S. Navy had extensive experience with blockades.

Despite some disagreements over how the interdiction was carried out, the French government proved it supported the concept by reinforcing its forces in Operation ARTIMON. In October 1990, the Georges Leygues–class destroyer *La Motte-Picquet* arrived to increase the French force in place. It was accompanied by the smaller *Du Chayla,* which was equipped with 40 surface-to-air missiles and three twin 57-millimeter (mm) guns. In December 1990, the *La Motte-Picquet* returned home, and was replaced with the destroyer *Jean de Vienne* and the frigate *Premier Maitre l'Her.* After the war ended, the *Jean de Vienne* was relieved in March

1991 by the *Latouche-Treville.* Other French naval ships that were assigned to Operation ARTIMON included the frigates *Cadet Bory, Doudart de Lagree,* and *Protet.* Also, the replenishment ship *Marne,* the maintenance ship *Jules Verne,* and the tug *Buffle* supported the warships of Operation ARTIMON at different times. Two French hospital ships, the *Rance* and the *Foudre,* operated in the Red Sea during this time.

Operation ARTIMON, as with the entire interdiction effort, should be considered a success. Between August 16, 1990, and March 1991, 7,675 merchant ships were intercepted in the Persian Gulf, the northern Arabian Sea, the Red Sea, and the Gulf of Aden. Of that number, 964 were boarded by coalition inspection teams. Fifty-one ships were turned back to other ports because they were carrying contraband forbidden by UN resolutions. Eleven warning shots were fired, but no disabling actions were taken.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

France, Role in Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Mauz, Henry H., Jr.; United Kingdom, Navy, Persian Gulf War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Asad, Bashar al-
Birth Date: September 11, 1965

President of the Syrian Arab Republic (2000–present) and head of the Syrian Baath Party. Bashar al-Asad was born in Damascus, Syria, on September 11, 1965. His father was Hafiz al-Asad, strongman and president of Syria from 1971 to 2000. The Alawi sect to which Asad belongs encompasses approximately 12 percent of the Syrian population. His older brother, Basil, was more popular among the Syrian public than was Bashar before he died in an automobile accident in 1994.

Beginning in the mid-1980s, the younger Asad studied medicine at the University of Damascus, training in ophthalmology at the Tishrin Military Hospital and then the Western Eye Hospital in London. After Basil's death, Bashar al-Asad enrolled in the military academy at Homs. He became a colonel in the Syrian Army in 1999.

Although Syria is a republic, President Hafiz al-Asad groomed Basil, then Bashar, as successor, although he never openly declared this intent. Bashar al-Asad's acquisition of both military and Baath Party credentials was imperative to his legitimacy, but most observers believed that the senior power brokers in the

Syrian president Bashar al-Asad inspects a guard of honor in New Delhi during a state visit to India, June 18, 2008. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Syrian government assented to Asad's succession as a matter of convenience. In 2000, he was elected secretary-general of the Baath Party and stood as a presidential candidate. The People's Assembly amended the Constitution to lower the minimum presidential age to 35, and Asad was duly elected president for a seven-year term. A general referendum soon ratified the decision.

A reform movement emerged during the first year of Asad's rule, which was dubbed the Damascus Spring. Some Syrians hoped that their young president—who had announced governmental reforms, an end to corruption, and economic liberalization—would open Syria to a greater degree. Indeed, reformers hoped to end the State of Emergency Law, which allows for the abuse of legal and human rights, and issued public statements in 2000 and 2001. Political prisoners were released from the notorious Mezze Prison, and certain intellectual forums were permitted. However, by mid-2001 the president reined in the reformists, some of whom were imprisoned and accused of being Western agents.

Under Bashar al-Asad, Syria has opened somewhat in terms of allowing more media coverage than in the past, although censorship remains a contentious issue. Cellular phones are now prevalent, and Syria finally allowed access to the Internet, whereas under Hafiz al-Asad, even facsimile machines were prohibited. Economic reform and modernization have received top priority under Bashar al-Asad. Job creation, the lessening of Syria's dependence on oil revenue, the encouragement of private capital investments, and the mitigation of poverty have been the key goals in the economic sphere. The government has created foreign investment zones, and private universities have been legally permitted, along with private banks. Employment centers were established after

2000, and Asad announced his support of an association with the European Union. However, these changes have been too gradual to instill much confidence in Syrian modernization.

Under Bashar al-Asad, Syria's relations with Iraq had improved prior to the change of regime in that country in April 2003, and Syrian-Turkish relations are also less tense than in the past. However, the United States showed great irritation with evidence that foreign fighters were crossing into Iraq from Syria and that former Iraqi Baathists were using Syria for funding purposes. The ensuing 2004 sanctions against Syria under the Syria Accountability Act, first enacted by the U.S. Congress in 2003, have discouraged investors and the modernization of Syria's banking systems. More importantly, this situation provided a lever to force Syria out of Lebanon, finally put in motion after the assassination of former Lebanese prime minister Rafic al-Hariri.

Syria adamantly and consistently opposed the American presence in Iraq after the Anglo-American invasion there in March 2003, and the country's own Islamist movement reemerged. President Asad also had to deal with a huge influx of Iraqi refugees to Syria, who posed an additional burden on the economy. Further, Asad did not wish to encourage radical Islamists in Syrian territory and made efforts to contain them.

In terms of the Arab-Israeli situation, Asad inherited a hardline position toward Tel Aviv along with sympathies toward the Palestinian cause during the Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada and its aftermath. Yet internally, the public saw the president as promoting an honorable peace for Syria, deemed necessary for further economic development. This did not mean that Syria and Israel were any closer to a peace agreement, but Syria would also most likely seek to avoid war, as during the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon in 2006. Syria and Israel engaged in an exploration of peace talks, and by the end of 2008 there were signs that a Syria-Israeli rapprochement was in the offing, although Israel's war against Hamas in Gaza, which began in late 2008, threatened to suspend further negotiations.

Other important changes came with the shift in Syria's position in Lebanon. When Hariri was assassinated in a bombing in February of 2005, suspicions fell on Syria. Anti-Syrian Lebanese demonstrated as did such pro-Syrian groups as Hezbollah. The United Nations inquiry into Hariri's death, as well as comments by former Syrian vice president Abdul Halim Khaddam, implicated Syrians at the highest level and pro-Syrian elements in Lebanon intelligence services in the assassination. The Syrian government fought hard to postpone establishment of a tribunal to investigate Hariri's death, but to no avail. Syrian troops finally withdrew from Lebanon in April 2005, thereby ending a long period of direct and indirect influence over the country. Additional important Lebanese figures were assassinated, including Pierre Gemayel, founder of the Kataeb Party. Lebanon was a key economic asset for Syria because of highly favorable trade terms, smuggling, and the absorption of large numbers of Syrian laborers. The U.S. government continued to charge Asad with aiding and bolstering Hezbollah in Lebanon, but Syria viewed the organization as a wholly Lebanese entity.

President Asad was reelected to another seven-year term in 2007. Nevertheless, many Western nations and some Arab nations continue to pressure Asad to curtail relations with Iran and to crack down on terrorism said to be funded or supported by various elements within Syria. Asad had taken pains to improve relations with his Arab neighbors, but his pro-Iranian policies and interference in Lebanese affairs have led to tensions with such countries as Saudi Arabia, and Syria has sided with a new group joined by Qatar. Although considerable differences remained over security issues and water rights, there was speculation in early 2009 that Asad was nearing a peace treaty with Israel that would result in the restoration of the Golan Heights to Syria. It is not clear if this endeavor will be pursued by the new Netanyahu-Lieberman Israeli government.

Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Arab Nationalism; Asad, Hafiz al-; Hezbollah; Iran; Israel; Lebanon; Syria; Syria, Armed Forces

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Asad, Hafiz al-

Birth Date: October 6, 1930
Death Date: June 10, 2000

Syrian military officer, political leader, and president of Syria (1971–2000). Hafiz al-Asad was born in modest circumstance at Qardaha in western Syria on October 6, 1930. A member of the minority Alaite sect of Shia Islam, at age 16 he began his political career by joining the Baath Party. As a secular organization, the Baath Party actively recruited members from all sects and branches of Islam as well as from Christian groups. Baathism opposed imperialism and colonialism and espoused nonalignment, except with other Arab countries. As a youth, Asad participated in Baathist demonstrations against the French Occupation of Syria and for Syrian independence.

With no money to attend college, Asad secured a free education at the Syrian Military Academy. Graduating in 1955, he was commissioned an air force lieutenant pilot. He then received advanced fighter training and advanced to squadron leader in 1959.

Asad opposed the 1958 Union of Syria with Egypt in the United Arab Republic (UAR), for which he was exiled to Egypt during 1959–1961. In Cairo, Asad worked with other Syrian military officers committed to the resurrection of the Syrian Baath Party. Asad favored Pan-Arabism but he was opposed to the union with Egypt, which had concentrated most of the power in the hands of

Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser. Asad's outspoken opposition to the UAR led to his brief imprisonment in Egypt after the breakup of the UAR in 1961.

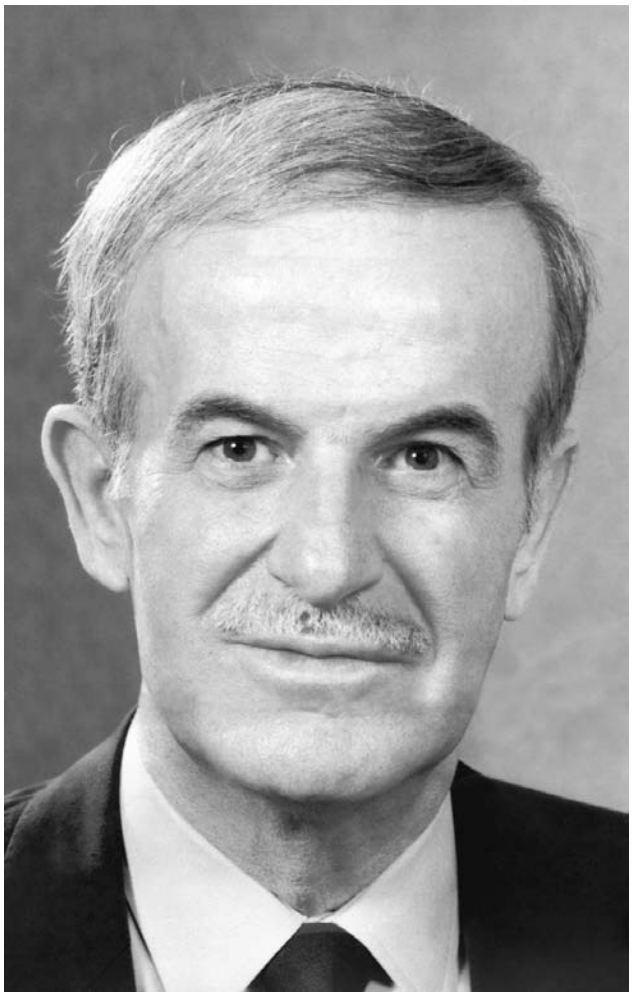
On March 27, 1962, the army seized power in Syria and abolished the parliament. Army leaders promised to introduce "just socialism." Then, on March 8, 1963, the Baath Party, supported by allies from within the military, toppled the previous regime. In 1964, Asad become commander of the Syrian Air Force. Although Amin al-Hafiz, a Sunni Muslim, was the nominal leader of Syria, in effect a group of young Alawites, including Asad, controlled affairs of the state.

Rivalries within the leadership of the state led to yet another coup, on February 23, 1966. The coup was led by General Saleh al-Jadid and entailed considerable bloodshed. Asad became one of the key members of the new government, as minister of defense (1966–1970). Asad's political position was considerably weakened by the disastrous Six-Day War of June 1967 that saw Syria lose the Golan Heights to Israel. A protracted power struggle then ensued between Asad and his mentor, Jadid, then chief of staff of the Syrian armed forces.

By the autumn of 1970, Jadid and Asad were locked in a struggle for control of power. Jadid then decided to intervene against King Hussein's government in Jordan, which had moved against the militant Palestinians there. Jordanian aircraft savaged the invading Syrian tanks, which then withdrew. This cleared the way for Jadid and his allies to be removed from power, attacked by Asad for the Jordanian fiasco. In the so-called corrective revolution, Asad forced Syrian president Nur al-Din al-Atasi to resign on October 17, 1970. This was followed by the arrest of Premier Yussuf Zuayyen and Foreign Minister Ibrahim Makhous. On November 21, Asad became prime minister. Atasi and Jadid were sent to prison.

Asad and his nationalist faction were more committed to Arab unity and the destruction of Israel than to socialism, while his rivals had concentrated on neo-Marxist economic reform. In 1971, Asad was elected president, the first of five terms. The previous regime had been a military dictatorship, and on coming to power Asad increased its repressive nature. Political dissenters were subject to arrest, torture, and execution, although usually the regime got its way through bribes and intimidation. The government became strongly totalitarian with a cult of personality buttressing the all-powerful leader, in part an effort to end the sharp fractures in Syrian society.

The only major internal threat to Asad's rule came in the form of a rebellion in the cities of Damascus, Hama, and Homs from 1979 until its denouement in Hama in February 1982. The rebels targeted the government and even tried to place suicide bombers on the Ministry of Defense. Suicide bombings took place in various parts of the capital of Damascus. Members of Syria's Islamist alliance purged the city of Hama of Baathists, killing perhaps 50 of them. Asad's reaction was out of all proportion to the actual events. He called up the army and special security forces and sent them into the city. Two weeks of fierce fighting followed, in which large parts of Hama were razed. Some 10,000 to 38,000 people died.



Hafiz al-Asad, president of Syria from 1971 until his death in 2000. Asad ruled Syria with an iron hand and was a key figure in Middle East politics. (Courtesy: Embassy of the Syrian Arab Republic)

With Soviet support, Asad dramatically increased Syrian military strength. Syrian educational curriculums were revised to stress Asad's position that Syria was the champion of the Arab cause against Israel and Western imperialism. In his foreign policy, Asad employed a strange mix of diplomacy, war, and support of opposition movements in neighboring countries.

In foreign affairs, Asad's chief immediate aim was to regain the Golan Heights from Israel. Six years after the 1967 Six-Day War with no progress toward the return of that territory captured by the Jewish state, Asad and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat carefully planned and then initiated a surprise attack on Israel that would force it to fight simultaneously on two fronts. The conflict began on October 6, 1973. Known as the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, it caught Israel completely by surprise. Despite initial Egyptian and Syrian military successes, which included a Syrian drive into the Golan Heights and Egyptian crossing of the Suez Canal, Israel secured the initiative and was on the brink of a crushing victory

over its two opponents when a United Nations (UN)–brokered cease-fire took effect on October 22. Asad then falsely sought to shift the blame for the defeat to Sadat and Egypt, resulting in lasting enmity between the two men. Asad's continued insistence on the unconditional return of the Golan Heights prevented any fruitful peace negotiations with Israel. Indeed, Asad opposed all peace accords between the Palestinians and the Israelis as well as Jordan's decision in 1994 to end the state of war between itself and Israel.

In 1976, Asad sent troops into Lebanon at the request of the West and the Arab League on a peacekeeping mission to end the civil war raging there. Israel's invasion and occupation of southern Lebanon (1982–1985) led Asad to impose some changes in the constitution of Lebanon that had been demanded by the Lebanese. These granted Muslims equal representation with Christians in the Lebanese government. Meanwhile, Syrian forces in Lebanon maintained a presence, which did not end until 2005.

Asad regularly supported radical Palestinian and Muslim terrorist groups based in Lebanon and allowed them to establish bases and offices in Syria. The United States routinely accused Syria of state-sponsored terrorism. Asad supported Iran in the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988) and participated in the coalition formed to force Iraq from Kuwait in the Persian Gulf War (1991), but Asad and Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein developed closer ties in 1998 when Israel began to develop a strategic partnership with Turkey.

Hafiz al-Asad died in Damascus of a heart attack on June 10, 2000. He was succeeded in power by his son, Bashar al-Asad.

Richard Edwards and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Asad, Bashar al-; Baath Party; Egypt; Desert Storm, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Lebanon; Muslim Brotherhood; Pan-Arabism and Pan-Arabist Thought; Sadat, Muhammad Anwar; Syria; Terrorism; United Arab Republic

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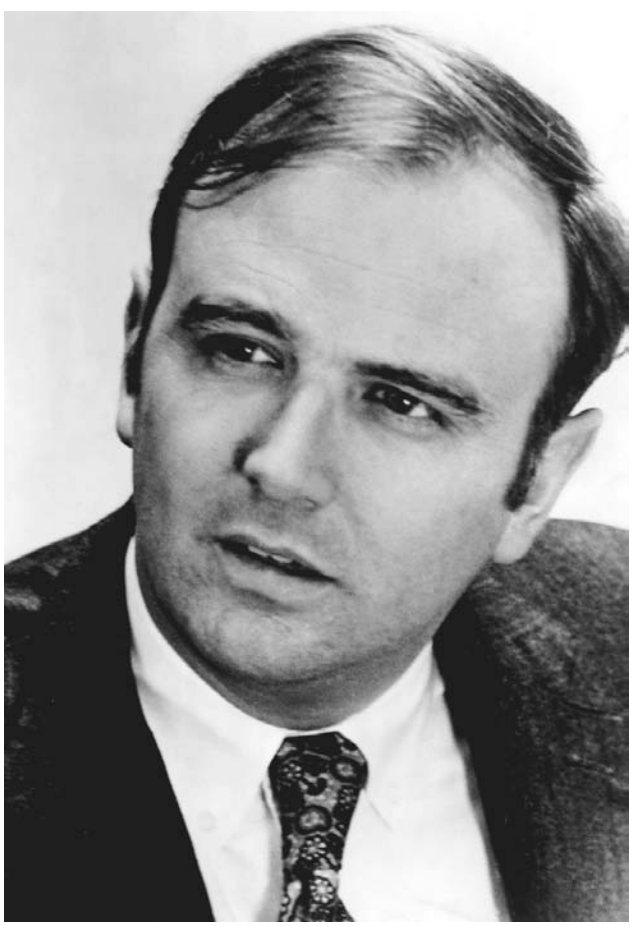
Aspin, Leslie, Jr.

Birth Date: July 21, 1938
Death Date: May 21, 1995

U.S. congressman (1971–1993) and secretary of defense (January 21, 1993–February 3, 1994) during the first administration of President William Jefferson "Bill" Clinton. Born on July 21, 1938, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Leslie "Les" Aspin Jr. earned a BA from Yale University in 1960, an MA from Oxford University in 1962, and a PhD in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1965. A member of the U.S. Army from 1966 to 1968, Aspin was a systems analyst for Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara (1961–1967). Prior to being elected to Congress as a representative from Wisconsin, he taught economics at Marquette University in Milwaukee.

An astute observer of U.S. military preparedness, and as such often at odds with Pentagon officials, Aspin became chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services in 1985. He was frequently criticized by fellow Democrats in the House because he supported President Ronald Reagan's policy of combating the Sandinistas in Nicaragua by providing aid to the Contras. Because of his support for the Contras, House Democrats were able to temporarily remove him from his chairmanship in 1987. In January 1991, he vocalized his support for President George H. W. Bush's plan to use military force to remove Iraqi occupation forces from Kuwait. Although his opinion was criticized by many House Democrats, his belief that the United States could rapidly achieve a military victory with minimal loss of American life proved to be correct.

Given Clinton's lack of military and foreign policy experience, Aspin, who emphasized the impact of U.S. national security on the national economy, and who had a firm grasp of U.S. defense issues, seemed to be a logical choice to lead the Pentagon. Immediately after being confirmed as defense secretary by the U.S. Senate, Aspin



U.S. congressman Les Aspin was a key supporter of President George H. W. Bush's policy of removing Iraqi troops from Kuwait by force in 1991. His subsequent tenure as secretary of defense during 1993–1994 was clouded by controversy, however. (Library of Congress)

pointed out the dangers that the end of the Cold War posed to U.S. national security. He was especially concerned about the potential proliferation of regional conflicts and their impact on U.S. national security. Notwithstanding a serious heart ailment, which resulted in the implantation of a pacemaker in March 1993, Aspin was immediately confronted with the politically explosive issue of homosexuals in the military. Although Clinton had promised to end discrimination against homosexuals in the military, in December 1993 Aspin unveiled the "don't ask, don't tell" policy, which pleased no one.

Aspin's development of a defense budget for fiscal year 1994 proved to be even more controversial than his handling of the issue of homosexuals in the military. Although Clinton had promised to reduce defense spending in the aftermath of the Cold War, Aspin's budget, which reduced defense spending by just $12 billion, was seen by many Democrats as a continuation of the Bush administration's high defense spending.

In September 1993, General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, asked for tanks and armored vehicles for U.S. troops in Somalia; Aspin denied the request. Shortly thereafter, 18 U.S. troops were killed and dozens wounded in an ambush by Somali rebels. Following intense criticism in Congress, Aspin admitted that he had made a mistake. Several members of Congress then demanded Aspin's resignation. In December 1993, Clinton announced that Aspin was resigning for personal reasons. William J. Perry succeeded him as defense secretary. Following his resignation, Aspin taught at Marquette University until he died of a stroke on May 21, 1995, in Washington, D.C.

Michael R. Hall

See also

Clinton, William Jefferson; desert storm, Operation; Powell, Colin Luther; Somalia, International Intervention in

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Association of Muslim Scholars

Iraqi organization established in 2003 to oppose the U.S. occupation of Iraq and to heal sectarian divisions there. The Association of Muslim Scholars (Hayat al-Ulama al-Muslimin) is a Sunni religious organization that has consistently opposed the American presence in Iraq based largely on a nationalistic, anti-imperialist, and religious perspective. It is able to exert some influence on Iraqi politics, and claims to reject terrorism and sectarian violence.

The association was established on April 14, 2003, just five days after the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime. Its headquarters are located in the immense Umm al-Qura mosque in Baghdad, built following the 1991 Persian Gulf War. The group claims to represent all Iraqis, including Arabs, Kurds, and Turks; however, it mainly numbers Sunni Arab imams and clerics of mosques and schools in the west and north of Iraq, and also in Sunni pockets in the predominantly Shia south.

The leader of the association, Sheikh Harith al-Dhari, is highly respected within the Sunni community. He is from the Zubay tribe, centered west of Baghdad in the Zaydun region. His grandfather and father both fought in the 1920 uprising against British colonial rule and played a role in the killing of Lieutenant Colonel Gerard Leachman on August 12, 1920. Dhari earned a degree from al-Azhar University in Cairo and taught Islamic law at Baghdad University until he fled Saddam Hussein's regime in the late 1990s. He returned when Hussein's regime fell in 2003. Currently, Dhari lives outside of Iraq, moving between Jordan and Egypt. Routinely, General David Petreaus, former commander of the Multi-National Force–Iraq (MNF-I), attempted to marginalize Dhari's importance for attaining stability in Iraq because of the association's opposition to the U.S. presence.

The association established its relevance for the Iraqi population in April 2004 when the Iraqi Governing Council, under U.S. pressure, supported American combat action in Fallujah. The association earned credibility among Iraqis because it was the most prominent Sunni organization to oppose the attack, known as the First Battle of Fallujah. It defended the Iraqi combatants there and rallied support from the wide network of Sunni mosques to collect food and aid for besieged inhabitants of the city. It also provided intellectual legitimacy for the rebels in their fight against the United States.

Subsequently, the association has maintained its relevance as a leading organization opposing American occupation of Iraq. It has tried to be a broker and sponsor of reconciliation between Sunni, Shia, and other faiths on the grounds of nationalist opposition to U.S. occupation. However, its attempts have almost always reflected its Sunni identity and have thus yielded little accomplishment to date in mending intersectarian conflict.

It is unknown if the association has provided aid (and if so, to what extent) to Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). In March 2007, AQI elements assassinated the grandnephew of Harith al-Dhari in an apparent warning that the association must maintain a hard-line anti-American approach and must not participate in any reconciliation measures then occurring. Although the assassination resulted in greater anti-AQI feeling, it did not result in any palpable change in the official policy line of the association. However, it is probable that some of its low-level supporters have participated in the anti-AQI Awakening movement.

The association's closest link with insurgent activity in Iraq is through the Revolutionary Brigades, named in honor of the uprising against British rule in 1920 and led by Muthanna al-Dhari, Sheikh Harith al-Dhari's son.

Karl Rubis

See also

Al Qaeda in Iraq; Fallujah, First Battle of; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Petraeus, David Howell; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam

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Aswan High Dam Project

The Aswan High Dam (al-Sadd al-Ali) was a major Egyptian development project and one of the largest engineering undertakings of the second half of the 20th century. Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser, convinced that the dam would solve many Egyptian social and economic problems, made its construction a high priority. The plan involved building a new dam on the Nile River south of Aswan, the first cataract in southern Egypt.

The Nile River has rightly been called the lifeblood of Egypt. Each year, the river has flooded, depositing rich nutrients and aiding farmers, but this flooding has been uneven. In some years it nearly wiped out entire crops, while in drought years it often did not provide sufficient water. Heavy floods also brought misery for an expanding Egyptian population along the river. Construction of a new high dam on the Nile, it was believed, would provide a regular, consistent flow of water and prevent damaging floods.

Not only would such a dam end the regular flooding by the Nile, but it would also allow for the irrigation of 1.4 million acres of new land in the largely desert country and provide hydroelectric power to expand Egypt's industrial capacity, bringing jobs and increasing national prosperity. Nasser also saw the project as a hallmark of his regime and a model for economic development in the developing world.

This was not the first effort to dam the Nile. The British took control of Egypt in 1882, and during 1899–1902 they built a dam at Aswan. Later known as the Aswan Low Dam, it was nearly 2,000 yards long and some 75 feet high. Because its height was determined to be inadequate, the Low Dam was raised during 1907–1912 and again during 1929–1933.

The Low Dam nearly overflowed in 1946, and rather than raise it a third time the Egyptian government decided to build a new dam about four miles upriver. Planning for the new dam began in earnest in 1952 following the Egyptian Revolution of that year. Financing remained a problem, however, so Nasser approached the United States. President Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration was initially interested in the project, hoping to link financial support for the project to Western foreign policy initiatives. Eisenhower also hoped that the course of construction, predicted to take as long as 18 years, would see Egypt aligned with the United States and perhaps even provide sufficient leverage for Washington to prod the Egyptian government into making a peace agreement with Israel. Furthermore, funding through the U.S.-dominated World Bank might allow Washington to block Egyptian arms deals with the Soviet Union and economic policies deemed contrary to Western interests.

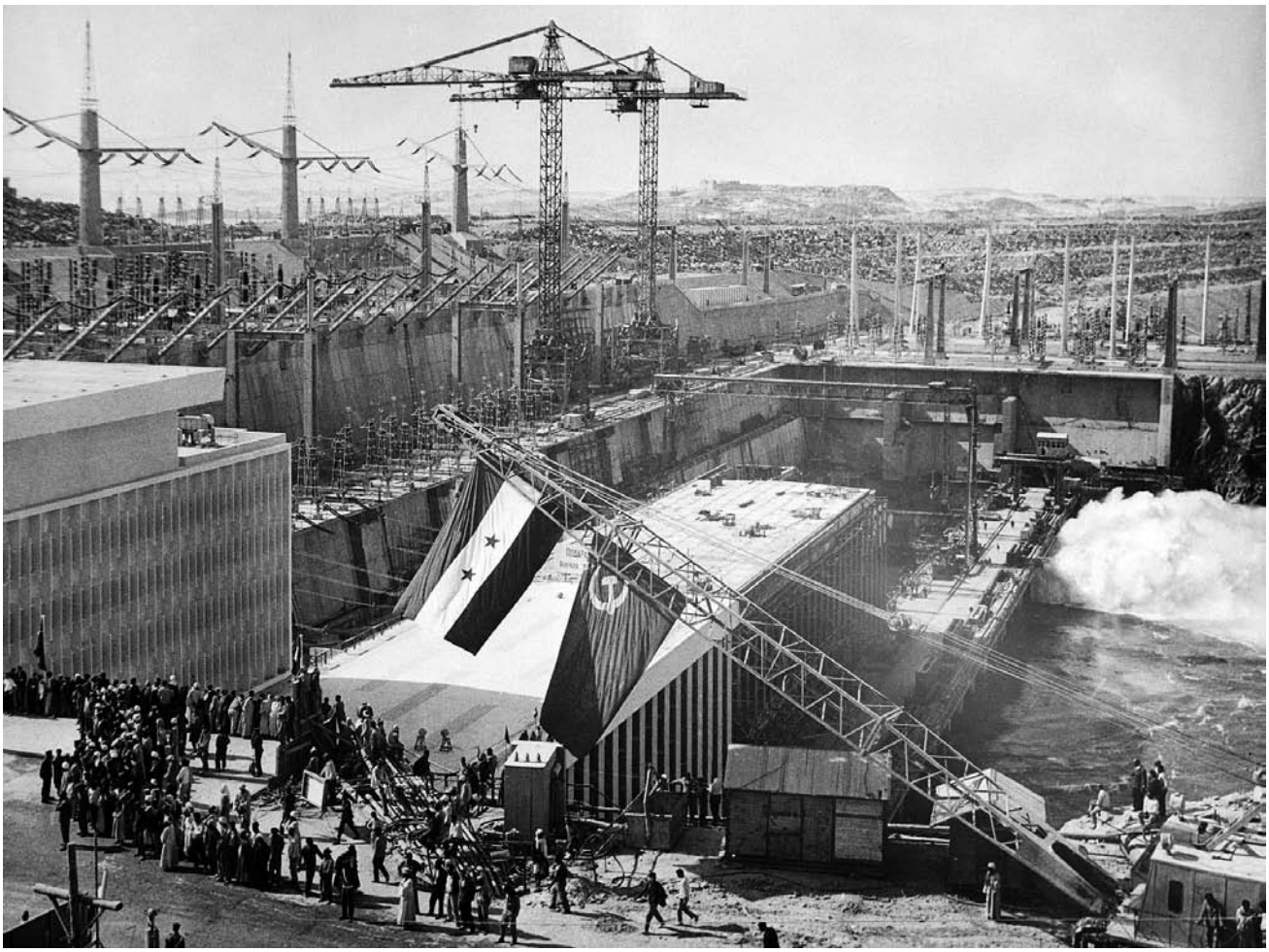
Nasser was reluctant to make any arrangement that would limit his freedom of action in foreign policy. Still, the Egyptians clearly preferred U.S. assistance to that of the Soviets. At the same time as he was pursuing the dam project, however, Nasser was seeking to build up and modernize the Egyptian military. Toward that end he sought to acquire modern weapons from the United States and other Western nations. When the U.S. and British governments refused to supply the advanced arms, which they believed might be used against Israel, in 1955 Nasser turned to the Soviet bloc. In September 1955, encouraged by Moscow, he reached a barter arrangement with Czechoslovakia for substantial quantities of modern weapons, including jet aircraft and tanks, in return for Egyptian cotton.

This arms deal affected the Aswan High Dam project. In December 1955, the Eisenhower administration announced that it was willing to lend $56 million for the dam construction, while Great Britain pledged $14 million and the World Bank $200 million. There were strings attached, however. Egypt had to provide matching funds and must not accept Soviet assistance.

Nasser was unhappy with the conditions and delayed accepting them. With the Egyptian president expecting a Soviet offer, the controlled Egyptian press launched a major propaganda campaign against the West, especially the United States. But when no Soviet offer was forthcoming, Nasser accepted the Western aid package on July 17, 1956. But only two days later, U.S. secretary of state John Foster Dulles announced that the offer had been withdrawn. The British government immediately followed suit. The official U.S. reasons were that Egypt had failed to reach agreement with the Sudan over the dam (much of the vast lake created by the dam would be in Sudanese territory) and that the Egyptian part of the financing for the project had become "uncertain." The real reasons for the rejection were quite different. In the U.S. Congress, strong opposition came from a number of powerful interests including fiscal conservatives skeptical about foreign aid, supporters of Israel concerned about Egyptian hostility toward the Jewish state, and Southerners who believed that expanded Egyptian cotton production resulting from new irrigated lands would undercut U.S. cotton growers. But Dulles was also determined to teach Nasser and other neutralist leaders a lesson. Dulles was angry over Nasser's demarche to the communist bloc and arms purchases but particularly was upset over Egypt's recent recognition of the People's Republic of China (PRC).

Nasser was furious and, a week later, took action. On July 26, he nationalized the Suez Canal Company, claiming that this revenue would pay for the construction of the cherished dam project. He had contemplated this step for some time, but the U.S. rejection of the funding for the dam prompted its timing. In 1955, the canal produced net revenues of nearly $100 million, of which Egypt received only $2 million. Seizure of the canal would not only provide funding for the Aswan High Dam project but would also raise Nasser's stature in the eyes of Arab nationalists.

Nasser's decision prompted what became known as the Suez Crisis and eventually led to collusion among the governments of Israel, Britain, and France. These three states then secretly planned



Soviet-Egyptian ceremonies at the Aswan High Dam, in the late 1950s. When the Western powers reneged on their pledge to assist in building the dam, the Soviet Union stepped in. (Bettmann/Corbis)

military intervention against Egypt with the aim of driving Nasser from power and returning the canal to control by the Suez Canal Company. Supposedly to protect the canal, Israel invaded Egypt at the end of October, and Britain and France followed suit in early November. This military intervention caught the United States by surprise, but within days heavy financial pressure from Washington, along with Soviet threats, brought about a withdrawal. The canal remained in Egyptian control.

Plans for the dam went forward, and in 1958 the Soviet Union agreed to assist with the project. Moscow provided technical and engineering assistance, including heavy equipment. The Soviet Zuk Hydroproject Institute designed the enormous rock and clay dam. Moscow, which saw this as an opportunity to gain a foothold in the Middle East, ultimately may have paid up to one-third of the cost of the project. Construction of the dam began in 1960. The first stage was completed in 1964 when the reservoir began filling. The dam was completed on July 21, 1970, and the reservoir reached capacity in 1976.

The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) raised concerns about the loss of historic sites from the rising waters, and an international effort was undertaken beginning in 1960 to move 24 major monuments, some of which were given to nations that had helped fund the relocation effort. One such example is the Nubian Temple of Dandur, given by Egypt to the United States and now located at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City.

The Aswan High Dam is some 11,800 feet in length and 364 feet high. It is 3,200 feet wide at the base and 130 feet wide at its top. The reservoir behind the dam, Lake Nasser, is some 300 miles long and 10 miles across at its widest point. The dam's 12 generators are capable of producing 2.1 gigawatts of electricity. At first producing half of Egypt's power, the dam now produces perhaps 15 percent of the total.

The dam brought electricity to some Egyptian villages for the first time. It also mitigated damage from floods in 1964 and 1973 and from droughts during 1972–1973 and 1983–1984. It also led to the development of a new fishing industry on Lake Nasser. Unfortunately, much of the economic benefit promised by the dam has also been outstripped by the rapidly expanding Egyptian population.

The dam has also had negative impacts. More than 90,000 people had to be relocated because of the rising waters of Lake Nasser,

and the fishing industry on Lake Nasser is remote from markets. Tremendous silting behind the dam lowers the water capacity of Lake Nasser and threatens the dam's generators, and restricting the flow of water on the Nile and its nutrients has adversely affected farming along the river and the fishing industry in the eastern Mediterranean. The dam has also led to erosion along the Nile Delta and the intrusion of salt water into areas used for the production of rice.

Stephen Zunes and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Dulles, John Foster; Egypt; Eisenhower, Dwight David; France, Middle East Policy; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Suez Crisis; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy

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Atef, Muhammad

Birth Date: 1944
Death Date: November 18, 2001

Head of the terrorist organization Al Qaeda's military operations during the planning and implementation of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States. At that time, Atef was number three in the Al Qaeda hierarchy, behind Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri. Atef made numerous decisions about the planned attack of September 11 from the beginning, assisting Khalid Sheikh Mohammed in the final stages of the plot. Muhammad Atef was born in 1944 in Menoufya, Egypt, in the Nile Delta, about 35 miles north of Cairo. His birth name was Sobhi Abu Sitta. After graduating from high school, he served his required two years of military service in the Egyptian Army. Reports that Atef was a policeman in Egypt have been denied by the Egyptian government, but nearly all sources state that he was.

Atef became an Islamist extremist early in his career, and in the late 1970s, joined an Egyptian terrorist organization, the Egyptian Islamic Jihad. Evidently a low-ranking member, he did not meet with its leader, Ayman al-Zawahiri, while both were in Egypt. Despite his involvement in this group, he escaped arrest after the crackdown on extremists that followed the assassination of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat in 1981.

In 1983, Atef left Egypt for Afghanistan to fight with the mujahideen ("holy warriors," freedom fighters) against the Soviet forces. There he first met Zawahiri, who then introduced him to bin Laden. Atef and bin Laden became close friends. Atef also became acquainted with Abdullah Azzam and admired him greatly, but in the subsequent battle between Azzam and Zawahiri for bin Laden's support, Atef supported Zawahiri. In 1999, Egyptian authorities sentenced Atef to a seven-year prison term in absentia for his membership in the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, but he never returned to Egypt.

Atef's close personal relationship with bin Laden made him an important member of Al Qaeda. When bin Laden founded Al Qaeda, Atef was a charter member. Ubaidah al-Banshiri was Al Qaeda's head of military operations, and Atef assisted him. He was active in organizing Somali resistance to the American military presence in 1992, but some evidence suggests that his stay there was not entirely successful. Atef also served as bin Laden's chief of personal security. Banshiri's death in a boating accident in Africa allowed Atef to replace him in 1996. From then until his death in 2001, Atef was in charge of military operations for Al Qaeda. All military operation came under his oversight, but he always remained subordinate to bin Laden, even after bin Laden's eldest son married one of Atef's daughters in January 2001.

Atef was aware of the September 11 plot from its beginning. Khalid Sheikh Mohammed had apparently outlined the plan to bin Laden and Atef as early as 1996. Bin Laden finally agreed on the basics of the plot in 1998, and it was Atef's job to search Al Qaeda's training camps for suitable candidates for a martyrdom mission that required operatives to live unnoticed in America. Once the members of the Hamburg cell were picked and recruited by bin Laden, Atef explained to Muhammad Atta, Ramzi Muhammad

Muhammad Atef, head of military operations for the Al Qaeda terrorist organization and considered the right-hand man to Osama bin Laden, is believed to have been killed in a U.S. air strike near Kabul in November 2001. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Abdallah ibn al-Shibh, Ziyad al-Jarrah, and Marwan al-Shehhi the outlines of the plot.

Al Qaeda avoided having its leaders at a single site except for particularly special occasions, a policy prompted by fears of American assassination of Al Qaeda's leaders. Bin Laden announced that in case of his death or capture, Atef would succeed him as head of Al Qaeda. Once the United States began military operations against the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan in October 2001, it became even more important for Al Qaeda's leaders to be at separate locations. On November 18, 2001, Atef was at a gathering in Kabul when a U.S. Predator unmanned aerial vehicle fired Hellfire missiles, killing him and those with him—something for which the United States had been offering a $5 million reward. The loss of Atef was a blow to Al Qaeda, but he was soon replaced as military commander by Abu Zubaydah.

Stephen E. Atkins

See also

Al Qaeda; Atta, Muhammad; Bin Laden, Osama; Hamburg Cell; Jarrah, Ziyad al-; September 11 Attacks; Shehhi, Marwan al-; Zawahiri, Ayman al-

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Atta, Muhammad

Birth Date: September 1, 1968
Death Date: September 11, 2001

Commander of the Al Qaeda terrorist team that hijacked four American jetliners that were then used to attack the United States on September 11, 2001. Muhammad al-Amir Awad al-Sayyid Atta was born on September 1, 1968, in the village of Kafr el-Sheikh in the Egyptian Delta and had a strict family upbringing. His father was a middle-class lawyer with ties to the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood. Atta's family moved to the Abdin District of Cairo in 1978 when Atta was 10. His father, who had a dominating personality, insisted that his children study, not play; thus, Atta's family life allowed him few friends.

After attending high school, Atta enrolled in the Cairo University in 1986. At his graduation in 1990, his grades were not good enough to admit him to graduate school. On the recommendation of his father, he planned to study urban planning in Germany. In the meantime, he worked for a Cairo engineering firm.

Atta traveled to Hamburg, Germany, in July 1992 to begin studies there. During his courses he interacted very little with fellow students, earning a reputation as a loner. His classmates also noted his strong religious orientation. He traveled to Turkey and Syria in 1994 to study old Muslim quarters. After receiving a German grant, Atta and two fellow students visited Egypt to study the old section of Cairo, called the Old City. Up to this point in his life, Atta appeared to be an academic preparing for a career as a teacher at a university.

In 1995, however, Atta became active in Muslim extremist politics. After a pilgrimage to Mecca, he initiated contact with Al Qaeda recruiters. Atta was just the type of individual sought by Al Qaeda: intelligent and dedicated.

After returning to Hamburg to continue his studies, Atta attended the al-Quds Mosque, where his final recruitment to radical Islam took place. There Atta met radical clerics who steered him toward an Al Qaeda recruiter. Muhammad Haydar Zammar, a Syrian recruiter for Al Qaeda, convinced Atta to join that organization. Several of his friends, Ramzi Muhammad Abdallah ibn al-Shibh, Marwan al-Shehhi, and Ziyad al-Jarrah, also joined Al Qaeda at this time. Atta became the leader of the so-called Hamburg cell of radical Islamists.

In 1998 Atta left for Kandahar, Afghanistan, to receive military and terrorist training at the Al Qaeda training camp at Khaldan. He so distinguished himself during the training that Al Qaeda leaders decided to recruit him for a future suicide mission. Atta ranked high in all the attributes of an Al Qaeda operative—intelligence, religious devotion, patience, and willingness to sacrifice. Atta, Jarrah, and Shehhi met and talked with Osama bin Laden in Kandahar. Bin Laden asked them to pledge loyalty to him and accept a suicide mission. They agreed, and Muhammad Atef, Al Qaeda's military chief, briefed them on the general outlines of the September 11 operation. Then Atta and the others returned to Germany to finish their academic training.

Atta was a complex individual, deeply affected psychologically. He held the typical conservative Muslim view that relations with the opposite sex were not permitted outside of marriage. Atta also held strong anti-American views, disturbed as he was by the Americanization of Egyptian society.

After Atta finished his degree in 1999, Al Qaeda's leaders assigned him the martyrdom mission in the United States, a mission planned by Khalid Sheikh Mohammed. Atta arrived in the United States on June 2, 2000. His orders placed him in charge of a large cell, but he, Jarrah, and Shehhi were the only members of it who knew the details of his mission. Several times Atta flew back and forth between the United States and Germany and Spain to coordinate the mission. Members of his cell arrived in the United States at various times. Atta and key members of the cell received orders to take pilot lessons to fly large commercial aircraft.

Most of Atta's time was spent in pilot lessons in Florida. Before he could qualify for training on large commercial aircraft, Atta had to learn to fly small planes. Most of his flying instruction took place at Huffman Aviation in Sarasota, Florida. Next, he began to use simulators and manuals to train himself to fly the larger aircraft.

Atta gathered most of the members of his cell together in Florida for the first time in early June 2001. He organized the cell into four teams, each of which included a trained pilot. Throughout the

Two men, identified as hijackers Muhammad Atta, right, and Abdulaziz Alomari, center, pass through airport security in this September 11, 2001, photo from the surveillance tape at Portland International Jetport, Maine. (AP/Wide World Photos)

summer of 2001, each team rode as passengers on test flights in which they studied the efficiency of airline security and the best times to hijack an aircraft. They discovered that airline security was weakest at Boston's Logan International Airport and decided that the best day for hijacking would be a Tuesday. They also decided that first-class seats would give them better access to cockpits. Although the teams tried to remain inconspicuous, the film actor James Woods reported suspicious behavior by one of the teams on a flight. He reported his suspicions to the pilot and a flight attendant, who passed them on to the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), but nothing came of his report.

Atta selected two airlines—American Airlines and United Airlines—that flew Boeing 757s and 767s, aircraft that hold the most aviation fuel because they are used for long flights. These aircraft were also equipped with up-to-date avionics, making them easier to fly.

Atta called for a leadership meeting in Las Vegas, Nevada, in late June 2001. Atta, Ziyad Jarrah, Hani Hanjour, and Nawaf al-Hazmi then completed plans for the September 11 operation. Atta and Jarrah used a local Cyberzone Internet Café to send e-mails to Al Qaeda leaders abroad.

Atta then traveled to Spain via Zurich, Switzerland, to update his handlers on his final plans and receive last minute instructions. He met with Al Qaeda representatives in the resort town of Salou on July 8, 2001, receiving his final authorization for the September 11 mission. Atta was given final authority to determine the targets and date of the operation. Several times bin Laden had attempted to push the plan forward, but Atta had refused to carry out the mission before he was ready and was backed by Khalid Sheikh Mohammed in this decision. Atta flew back to the United States, and, despite an expired visa, had no trouble getting into the country.

Atta issued final instructions about the mission on the night of September 10, 2001. One-way tickets for flights on September 11 had been bought with credit cards in late August. Atta had made arrangements to have the cell's excess funds transferred back to Al

Qaeda on September 4. He traveled to Portland, Maine, with Abd al-Aziz al-Umari, and they stayed in South Portland. They caught a 5:45 a.m. flight out of Portland International Airport, but Atta's luggage arrived too late to make American Airlines Flight 11 from Logan International Airport. At 7:45 a.m., Atta and Umari boarded American Airlines Flight 11. Soon afterward, Atta phoned Marwan al-Shehhi, on board United Airlines Flight 175—also at Logan International Airport—to make sure everything was on schedule.

Atta commanded the first team. Approximately 15 minutes after takeoff, his team seized control of the aircraft using box cutters as weapons. Atta redirected the aircraft toward New York City and the World Trade Center complex, where it crashed into the North Tower of the World Trade Center at about 8:45 a.m. Members of the other teams carried out their attacks successfully, except for the one flight lost in Pennsylvania, where the passengers—informed of what had happened with the other three hijacked airplanes—fought the hijackers. Atta, along with the plane's entire crew and all passengers, died instantly when the airliner slammed into the North Tower of the World Trade Center. The North Tower collapsed less than two hours later.

Stephen A. Atkins

See also

Bin Laden, Osama; Hamburg Cell; Jarrah, Ziyad al-; Mohammed, Khalid Sheikh; September 11 Attacks; Shehhi, Marwan al-; Shibh, Ramzi Muhammad Abdallah ibn al-

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Australia, Role in Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Wars

Large, primarily English-speaking country located due south of Indonesia, surrounded by the Indian Ocean to the west and South Pacific to the east. Australia, including the island state of Tasmania and several smaller islands, comprises more than 2.97 million square miles. Founded as a penal colony for Great Britain in the 18th century, Australia's 2008 estimated population was 21 million. In 1901, the six former colonies on the continent formed the Commonwealth of Australia, with a constitution closely resembling that of the United States. Although it remains a commonwealth realm with strong ties to Great Britain, since 1945 Australia has developed close ties, particularly in the area of international affairs, with the United States.

Australia's government is a constitutional parliamentary democracy, with a prime minister and a governor-general at the federal level who represents Britain's Queen Elizabeth II. The governor-general normally acts only upon the advice of the prime minister. Two major political groups dominate Australian politics: the Australian Labor Party (a center-left, social democratic organization) and the Coalition, an amalgamation of center-right parties, chiefly the Liberal Party and the National Party. The Labor Party held power in Australia from 1983 to 1996; from 1996 to 2007, the Liberal Party held power. In December 2007, Labor again took the reins of government. The current prime minister, Kevin Rudd, has promised to implement a phased withdrawal of Australian troops from the Iraq War, which he began in June 2008.

At the time of the proclamation of the Federation of Australia in 1901, some Australian soldiers were engaged in fighting in the Boer War, and others had just returned from service in China's Boxer Rebellion. Since then, Australians have served in World War I, World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. They have also participated in the Persian Gulf War of 1991, Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan, and Operation Iraqi Freedom in Iraq.

The Australian Navy frigate HMAS *Toowoomba* (FFH-156) during coalition maritime operations in the Gulf of Oman on November 4, 2009. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, the Australian government sharply condemned the actions of Iraq, and Australian prime minister Bob Hawke's government agreed to impose economic sanctions on Iraq if requested by the United Nations (UN), which occurred on August 6. With the implementation of UN sanctions against Iraq, Australia stopped wheat sales to the country and agreed with Canada to enforce the sanctions, which meant the commitment of naval vessels to that task.

Most members of Hawke's Australian Labor Party had opposed Australian participation in the Vietnam War, and indeed many of Hawke's own cabinet ministers had taken part in antiwar protests. After the passing of UN Resolution 678 on November 29, 1990, Hawke decided that in spite of the reservations of some of his colleagues, he would push for the commitment of Australian forces in a war with Iraq, Australia's first foreign troop deployment since the Vietnam War. Paul Keating, deputy prime minister, opposed the use of Australian service personnel in an Iraqi war, and John Button, the Senate leader, said that he opposed not only the use of Australian troops, but also the use of Australian ships to enforce sanctions, although he would not oppose government policy in public.

When it was clear that Hawke would obtain the necessary backing of the cabinet, he consulted the leaders of the Labor Party caucus, and urged them to support the sending of Australian forces into combat, as they would be acting at the behest of the United Nations and not simply the United States. By the late autumn of 1990, there were already some antiwar protests around Australia, which had at that point committed the DDG-2-class destroyer *Brisbane,* the Perry-class frigates *Adelaide, Darwin,* and *Sydney,* and two tankers—the *Success* and *Westralia.* The Australian ships were placed under U.S. tactical command, although the command and control center in Australia retained administrative control.

The *Adelaide* remained in the Persian Gulf region enforcing sanctions until December 1990; the *Darwin* departed later the same month. The *Success* remained in the area until late January 1991. The *Brisbane, Sydney,* and *Westralia* were the only three Australian vessels that remained in place for the duration of the war. The crew of all the ships underwent extensive training in preparation for potential chemical and biological weapons attacks, and Royal Australian Navy Clearance Diving Team CDT3 was prepared for work on ordnance demolition tasks.

During the Persian Gulf War, there were also a number of Australian military personnel who were attached to various British and U.S. air and ground force units. Also in service were Royal Australian Air Force photointerpreters and members of the Defense Intelligence Organization, stationed in Saudi Arabia.

Although Australian military support was small, the coalition made extensive use of the Pine Gap facility near Alice Springs, where much of the intelligence for the war was collected and processed. Australian ships in the area risked attack from the air, but their main worry was from mines, which the Iraqis had extensively employed.

There were no Australian casualties during Operation DESERT STORM. After the fighting had ended in February 1991, some 75 Australian personnel were posted to northern Iraq to aid the Kurds in humanitarian relief efforts. Opposition to the Persian Gulf War quickly dissipated in Australia following the rapid and easy victory of the United Nations forces. The Australian ships returned to their home ports amid wide celebrations.

Twenty-two Australian citizens died in the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the World Trade Center and the U.S. Pentagon. Australian prime minister John Howard, leader of the Liberal Party, happened to be in Washington, D.C., that day, attending the 50th-anniversary commemoration of the Australia–New Zealand–United States (ANZUS) Treaty. He immediately declared his support for the U.S. military actions that followed September 11, and he committed Australian soldiers to the invasion of Afghanistan, known as Operation SLIPPER among the Australian armed forces.

Australia's initial support of the war against the Taliban and Al Qaeda included the deployment of a Special Forces task group (1 Squadron SAS, from October 2001 to April 2002; 2 Squadron SAS, from April to July 2002; and 3 Squadron SAS, from August to November 2002). The Australian Defence Force also dispatched two Royal Australian Air Force Boeing-707 air-to-air refueling aircraft, as well as four McDonell Douglas (now Boeing) F/A-18 Hornet fighter aircraft for the defense of the island of Diego Garcia. Subsequently, troops from the 1st Combat Engineer Regiment, the 5th/7th Battalion, the 6th Battalion from the Royal Australian Regiment, and the 2nd Cavalry Regiment were sent for humanitarian and reconstruction work in Oruzgan, alongside Dutch soldiers. As of June 2008, six Australians had been killed in operations in Afghanistan. Also, two Australians had been arrested over events in Afghanistan—one in Afghanistan and the other in Pakistan—and were being held by U.S. authorities at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. One was released without charge, and the other pleaded guilty to supporting terrorism.

Although the commitment of soldiers to Afghanistan was received enthusiastically by Australian citizens, the deployment of military personnel to Iraq in 2003 was not. On March 21, 2003, Howard stated that his government had "decided to commit Australian forces to action to disarm Iraq because we believe it is right, it is lawful, and it's in Australia's national interest. We are determined to join other countries to deprive Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction." Apart from the United States and the United Kingdom, Australia was the only other country to deploy soldiers to the actual invasion of Iraq, which the Australians code-named Operation FALCONER.

Australia's commitment involved three Royal Australian Navy ships—HMAS *Anzac,* HMAS *Darwin,* and HMAS *Kanimbla.* In addition, it sent No. 75 Squadron, including 14 F/A-18 Hornet jet fighters, 3 Lockheed C-130H Hercules transport aircraft, and 2 Lockheed AP-3C Orion maritime patrol aircraft, along with associated ground crew and support personnel. The Australian Army supplied some 500 members of the Australian Special Forces. The soldiers were withdrawn after the invasion and replaced by combat troops who were deployed in the southern provinces of

Iraq and in air traffic control in Baghdad. Australian troops also assisted in the protection of the Australian embassy and Australian diplomatic and government personnel in Iraq.

During the federal election campaign in 2007, Labor Party leader Kevin Rudd announced that he would withdraw troops from Iraq if elected. His subsequent defeat of John Howard in December 2007 witnessed the beginning of the phased withdrawal of Australian soldiers from Iraq. In June 2008, he recalled 550 combat troops, leaving about 800 left in security details and aboard ships in the Persian Gulf. There were also a number of air force personnel left in the region. Of the 2,000 Australian troops deployed, 2 have died during active service in Iraq.

JUSTIN J. CORFIELD

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Diego Garcia; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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AVALANCHE, Operation

Start Date: December 2, 2003
End Date: December 26, 2003

A joint U.S.-Afghan offensive undertaken in December 2003, and the largest coalition military operation in Afghanistan since the fall of the Taliban regime in late 2001. The campaign was designed to counter the growing threat by Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters to Afghan reconstruction efforts and end insurgent attacks on humanitarian and aid workers in the eastern and southern provinces of Afghanistan. Operation AVALANCHE was also to disrupt the cycle in which the Taliban and Al Qaeda insurgents used the winter months to regroup and reequip in order to launch offenses in the spring. In addition to identifying and destroying rebel bases, coalition forces sought to interdict supply and transport lines between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Finally, the Afghans were preparing for a broad-based political convention, known as a *loya jirga,* and there were concerns that the Taliban and Al Qaeda would launch strikes to disrupt the meeting.

Operation AVALANCHE involved about 2,000 U.S. troops and an equal number of Afghan National Army soldiers. On December 2, ground forces began moving into areas around Khost, supported by artillery units at forward operations base Salerno. The base received incoming rocket fire during the operation, but the eight 107-mm rockets failed to cause significant damage or casualties. On December 3, 500 airborne troops of the U.S. 501st Parachute Infantry Regiment were deployed outside of Khost near the border with Pakistan. There they conducted searches and interdiction operations. A second major assault was undertaken on a Taliban complex in Paktia on December 4. Following an aerial bombardment, U.S. forces captured a weapons cache, including small arms, mortars, howitzers, and ammunition, but they failed to apprehend Mullah Jalani, a local Taliban leader. Subsequent smaller operations throughout the region resulted in minor skirmishes and the capture of additional weapons and equipment.

During the operation, coalition forces killed 10 Taliban fighters and captured approximately 100 suspected insurgents. Coalition forces also uncovered dozens of weapons caches and seized small arms, ammunition, mines, rocket-propelled grenades, howitzers and explosive-making materials. Two Afghan National soldiers were killed during AVALANCHE, but no U.S. troops died. U.S. officials reported that their Afghan allies, part of the then 7,500-man Afghan National Army, exceeded expectations during the operation. The *loya jirga* began its deliberations on December 14, without incident.

Operation AVALANCHE was notable for the attention focused on civilian casualties caused by the coalition. For instance, during the bombing of Paktia, six Afghan children and two adults perished. The civilian casualties led to regional protests against coalition forces and warnings by Afghan officials that such losses undermined popular support for the government and its coalition allies. The following day, nine children were killed during a mission to capture the Taliban leader Mullah Wazir in Ghazni. The operation involved air units and about 100 ground forces. It failed to apprehend the leader, and led to further condemnation because of the loss of civilians, including a call by UN secretary-general Kofi Annan for a full investigation of the incident. The operation was essentially over by December 26.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Afghan National Army; Afghanistan; Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; Al Qaeda; Casualties, Operation ENDURING FREEDOM; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan; Taliban; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

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Awda, Muhammad Daoud

See Abu Daoud

"Axis of Evil"

Term coined by President George W. Bush in his January 29, 2002, State of the Union address to describe regimes that sponsor terrorism. Specifically, he identified the axis as consisting of Iran, Iraq, and North Korea, all of which he believed threatened the security of the United States. Conceived by presidential speechwriter David Frum, the phrase "axis of evil" was originally intended to justify the invasion of Iraq, but it came to be used by political neoconservatives to criticize Secretary of State Colin Powell's position on the Bush Doctrine. That doctrine, arising after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, modified U.S. military policy to allow for a preemptive war against terrorists, unilateral military action against rogue states, and American measures to remain the sole military superpower in the world.

The origin of the phrase "axis of evil" can be traced to December 2001, when head speechwriter Mike Gerson tasked David Frum with articulating the case for ousting the government of Saddam Hussein in a few sentences, which were to be included in the 2002 State of the Union address. Frum originally intended to use the phrase "axis of hatred," but changed it to "axis of evil" to match the "theological" tone adopted by President Bush after September 11, 2001. Expecting his speech to be edited, Frum was surprised when his "axis of evil" was actually included, and the text of the speech was read nearly verbatim by President Bush, a controversial move that was seen in some quarters to be dangerously undiplomatic. Certainly, that speech, and particularly the term "axis of evil," was not well received in many of the world's capitals.

The usage of the phrase "axis of evil" was ultimately meant to suggest links between terrorists and nations that, according to neoconservatives, threatened the United States and its allies. Criteria for inclusion in the "axis of evil" were that the included nations be "rogue states," or that they allegedly support terrorist groups that sought to attack the United States or its allies, potentially with weapons of mass destruction.

President Bush's 2002 speech shocked people in many nations, but it was also viewed with considerable trepidation by America's stalwart allies. Not surprisingly, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein mocked and dismissed the talk as needless bluster. In Tehran, the fundamentalist regime there sharply denounced its inclusion in the "axis of evil." North Korean spokesmen bitterly rebuked Bush and his speech and vowed that any aggression toward North Korea would be met with withering military counterforce. In the longer term, Bush's incendiary language may have had the opposite effect intended; it likely induced Pyongyang and Tehran to be even less compliant with international rules of behavior.

KEITH LEITICH

See also

Bush, George Walker; Bush Doctrine; Hussein, Saddam; Iran; Powell, Colin Luther; Terrorism

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Azerbaijan, Role in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

Nation located in eastern Transcaucasia and a former Soviet republic until it gained independence in December 1991. Azerbaijan, with a 2008 population of 8.178 million, covers 33,436 square miles. Azerbaijan borders Russia, Georgia, Armenia, Iran, and the Caspian Sea. The country has a democratic, parliamentary-style government with a prime minister chosen by parliament to head government entities. Azerbaijan also has a popularly elected president who holds executive power, although he is not empowered to dissolve the government or parliament; he may only veto legislation passed by the National Assembly. He forms a cabinet that reports to him, which includes the prime minister. Currently, Azerbaijan's political landscape features multiple parties, although it has been heavily dominated by the New Azerbaijan Party, which has controlled both the legislative and executive branches.

Since 2001, Azerbaijan has endeavored to improve its relationship with the United States through successive deployments as part of U.S.-led coalitions in Afghanistan and Iraq. Following the end of the Cold War and independence, Azerbaijan sought to enhance its ties to the West as a means to counter Russian influence in the region and to improve its standing in relation to Armenia, with which Azerbaijan has had an ongoing border dispute. Meanwhile, the central Asian nation's oil and gas reserves drew attention and investment from the United States and other Western nations. In 1997, Azerbaijan created a peacekeeping battalion for deployment in multilateral humanitarian missions. The unit served in Kosovo as part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)–led peacekeeping mission following the 1999 air campaign.

After the September 11, 2001, terrorist strikes on U.S. soil, Azerbaijan offered a variety of assistance to the United States, including the use of its air space and bases to conduct operations against Al Qaeda and the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. In return, the United States provided about $3 million per year to Azerbaijan to support counterterrorism operations, including joint military exercises. Azerbaijan dispatched a small contingent of its peacekeeping battalion to Afghanistan in 2006 and increased its size to more than 100 troops in 2008. The forces were stationed there as part of a NATO-led provincial reconstruction team.

Following the invasion of Iraq in March 2003, Azerbaijan joined the U.S.-led "Coalition of the Willing" and deployed a company from its peacekeeping unit to Iraq in August 2003. It also offered to provide additional troops to support the United Nations (UN) mission in the Iraq; however, after the withdrawal of the bulk of UN personnel from the country in 2004 following a suicide attack, Azerbaijan withdrew the offer. The country became the first predominantly Muslim country to deploy troops to Iraq, and the presence of Azerbaijani troops was used by the George W. Bush administration to refute assertions that the invasion and occupation of Iraq was anti-Muslim. Azerbaijani troop strength remained steady at about 150 soldiers for the next five years (more than 1,000 Azerbaijanis served at least one six-months' tour of duty in Iraq), and the contingent was led by an army major. The troops were stationed at the Al-Haditha dam and water reservoir in Anbar Province and were under the operational command of the United States. The contingent was charged with providing security for the region's hydroelectric facility (the power plant supplied approximately 30 percent of Iraq's electricity). One Azerbaijani soldier was killed while serving in Iraq in 2008. Azerbaijan's deployment occurred during a period of dramatic increases in Azerbaijani military spending, fueled by increased energy revenues. The country's military budget increased from $146 million per year in 2004 to approximately $1 billion in 2007.

The deployment was scheduled to end with the termination of the United Nations mandate that recognized the U.S.-led coalition as the occupying power in Iraq. After consultations with the United States and the Iraqi government, Azerbaijani president Ilham Aliev asked Parliament to withdraw the nation's troops from Iraq in October 2008. Parliament approved the request on a vote of 86 to 1 the following month. Azerbaijani troops completed their withdrawal in December 2008.

Tom Lansford

See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; Iraqi Freedom, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan; Provincial Reconstruction Teams, Afghanistan

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Aziz, Tariq
Birth Date: April 1, 1936

Iraqi foreign minister (1983–1991) and deputy prime minister (1979–2003). Tariq Aziz was born on April 1, 1936, into a Chaldean Catholic family in Tell Kaif, Iraq. Originally named Michael Yuhanna, Aziz was the only Christian in a position of power during Saddam Hussein's 34-year-long dictatorship. While in college, he changed his name to Tariq Aziz, which means "glorious past," in order to avoid hostility regarding his religious heritage.

In 1957, Aziz joined the Baath Party and worked with Saddam Hussein to generate propaganda against the pro-Western Iraqi monarchy. After receiving his bachelor's degree in English literature in 1958 from the Baghdad College of Fine Arts, Aziz continued to produce Baath Party propaganda in addition to working as a journalist. From 1963 to 1966, Aziz was both editor in chief of the Baath Party's newspaper, *al-Thawra* [The Revolution], and director of the Arab Baath Socialist Party's press office in Damascus, Syria. When the British-imposed Hashimite monarchy came to an end in 1958, the Baath Party continued to seek power in Iraq. After an unsuccessful coup in 1963, the party finally gained power in 1968.

From 1974 to 1977, Aziz served as a member of the Regional Command, the Baath Party's highest governing unit. In 1979, Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein named him deputy prime minister. His primary role was to explain and justify Iraq's policies to global audiences. With his effective communication skills, Aziz became known around the world for his eloquent diplomatic discourses.

Tariq Aziz became deputy prime minister of Iraq in 1979 and held that post until the fall of the Saddam Hussein government in the 2003 Iraq War. Although acquitted of other charges, in March 2009 Aziz was sentenced to 15 years in prison for his role in the executions of 42 merchants found guilty of profiteering in 1992. (AP/Wide World Photos)

In 1980, Aziz was wounded in an assassination attempt initiated by the Iranian-backed Shiite fundamentalist group al-Da'wah Islamiyyah (the Islamic Call). Members of the group threw a grenade at him in downtown Baghdad, killing several Iraqis in the process. The attack was one of several that Saddam Hussein blamed on the Iranian government, which was part of his justification for his September 1980 invasion of Iran that produced the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988).

In 1984, just a year after being named foreign minister, Aziz secured the restoration of diplomatic relations with the United States after a 17-year-long interruption. The United States had chosen to support Iraq as a buffer to Iran's Islamic fundamentalist extremism.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, Aziz ardently supported the military action. He stated that the invasion was justified because of Kuwait's cheating on oil production quotas, which was driving down the price of oil, and because of Kuwait's alleged slant-drilling into Iraqi oil fields. During the subsequent Persian Gulf War (1991), Aziz enjoyed a substantial international profile, and was seen by the media as the chief Iraqi spokesperson. After the war, Aziz took on more responsibility as deputy prime minister, which forced him to relinquish the foreign ministry portfolio. Nevertheless, he retained a high profile in the government. Aziz now monitored the Iraqi media. In this position, Aziz also conducted Iraq's negotiations with United Nations (UN) weapons inspectors.

In his public remarks, Aziz blamed the United States, rather than the United Nations, for the economic sanctions that followed the Persian Gulf War, believing that they were implemented as a result of U.S. domestic policies. In 1997, he supported the expulsion of U.S. citizens from Iraq who were working for the United Nations Special Commission.

In February 2003, as tensions over Iraq's alleged illegal weapons programs were about to boil over into war, Aziz spoke with Pope John Paul II about the Iraqi government's desire to cooperate with the international community, notably on disarmament. In response, the pope insisted that Iraq respect and give concrete commitments to abide by United Nations Security Council resolutions. The Iraqis did not heed the advice. On March 19, 2003, at the beginning of the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq, there were reports that Aziz had been killed. They were proven false when Aziz later held a press conference. He surrendered to coalition forces on April 24, 2003.

Aziz, who is charged with crimes against humanity in connection with the murder of hundreds of Kurds in 1982, also testified as a defense witness before the Iraq Special Tribunal set up by the Iraq interim government in May 2006. He testified that the crackdown against the Kurds had been fully justified because of attacks against him and others in the regime. He also reiterated his loyalty to his old comrade Saddam Hussein.

Aziz is imprisoned at Camp Cropper in western Baghdad. On March 11, 2009, he was sentenced to 15 years in prison for his role in the 1992 summary executions of 42 merchants accused of fixing food prices.

Charlene T. Overturf

See also

Baath Party; Baker, James Addison, III; Baker-Aziz Meeting; DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; John Paul II, Pope; Kurds; Kurds, Massacres of

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B

B-2 Spirit

A multipurpose U.S. heavy bomber with stealth technology capable of deploying both conventional and nuclear weapons. The B-2 was designed specifically for penetrating air defense networks and disrupting command and control facilities. The Northrop Grumman B-2 Spirit stealth bomber played a vital role in delivering initial strikes during Operations ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan (October 2001) and IRAQI FREEDOM (March 2003).

After flight testing at Edwards Air Force Base, California, the B-2 first saw combat action during the Kosovo War in 1999. Given its astronomical price tag of $1.2 billion per aircraft, the Pentagon has strictly limited its employment. Featuring a range of 6,000 nautical miles without refueling, the B-2 can reach any point around the globe within hours. Featuring a revolutionary "flying wing" construction designed to reduce radar cross-section, this Air Force platform has proven to be practically undetectable by radar in combat to date. Since its initial deployment, a new substance, known as alternate high-frequency material (AHFM), has been added to the plane to further enhance the radar-absorbent coating of its control surfaces. Engine intakes and exhausts are positioned low to the surface to minimize thermal detection. Designed ostensibly for daylight raids as well as night-time bombings, the B-2 is painted with a bluish-gray, anti-reflective paint that reduces optical visibility.

The bomber is aerodynamically unstable, which requires the use of a quadruple-redundant, fly-by-wire (FBW) system powered by a General Electric (GE) flight control computer. The aircraft flies with a two-man crew (pilot in the left seat and mission commander on the right), and all of its weapons are internally housed. The B-2 can carry up to 40,000 pounds of munitions, including conventional or nuclear weapons, precision-guided ordnance, gravity bombs, and a variety of maritime weapons. Two separate weapons bays are located in the center of the plane outfitted with a rotary launcher and two bomb-rack assemblies. Among the bombs compatible with the aircraft are the B61-11 earth-penetrating, nuclear bomb; the B83 free-fall, nuclear bomb; and the AGM-129 advanced cruise missile with a range of roughly 1,500 miles.

The military's Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM) missiles can also be deployed aboard a B-2 with the capacity expanded from 16 to 80 with the installation of new bomb racks in 2009. The aircraft can accommodate two massive ordnance penetrators (MOPs), which at 5,300 pounds apiece are potent weapons for eliminating hardened, buried targets with conventional explosives. The latest upgrade to the B-2 provided a generic weapons interface system (GWIS) that enables the aircraft to carry up to four different types of ordnance so that both stand-off strikes and direct attack munitions assaults are possible. Work has also begun on creating the means to engage moving targets. The B-2 is equipped with countermeasures and a J band multipurpose radar with terrain-following and terrain-avoidance modes. Also, Northrop Grumman received a contract in 2007 to develop an extremely high frequency (EHF) satellite communications capability and computer upgrade for the B-2.

The B-2 is 69 feet long with a wingspan of 172 feet. The aircraft is 17 feet in height, with landing gear, and weighs 158,000 pounds; its maximum allowable takeoff weight is 336,500 pounds. It is powered by four General Electric nonafterburning jet engines capable of achieving a maximum air speed of 604 miles per hour (mph). The B-2 has an operational ceiling of 50,000 feet.

The B-2's high operational ceiling has allowed it to maintain high sortie reliability rates. During the first three days of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, six B-2s flew from Whiteman Air Force Base,

Missouri, to Afghanistan to complete the longest nonstop military aviation mission in history. They joined with Boeing B-52 Stratofortress bombers and Lockheed F-117 Nighthawk stealth ground attack aircraft to strike military training facilities, surface-to-air missile (SAM) sites, troop staging areas, and Al Qaeda infrastructure targets.

With the advent of a transportable hangar system, the B-2 was deployed to forward locations for the first time during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in 2003. During that war, about 60 percent of the B-2s flew out of Whiteman while the remainder operated from the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. On the evening of March 21, 2003, the inauguration of the shock-and-awe aerial campaign against Iraq, six B-2 sorties were assessed as having eliminated 92 targets. The extensive use of precision-guided weapons obviated the need for the sort of carpet bombing and elimination of civilian infrastructure (such as power stations) that had attracted much negative publicity during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. More than 1.5 million pounds of munitions were released by B-2 aircraft over Iraq, and the bomber was declared at full operational capability by December 2003.

To date, no B-2 has been shot down in the course of combat. In February 2008, one B-2 bomber crashed shortly after takeoff from Anderson Air Force Base, Guam. Investigations revealed moisture in the port transducer units that caused faulty information to be relayed to the air data system. Preventive maintenance has been developed to address the problem. This accident left 20 B-2 bombers in the U.S. arsenal.

Critics or the aircraft continue to note its very high cost, difficulty in reacting to pop-up threats, relatively slow speed, and often clumsy maneuverability. While new construction of a successor is unlikely in the near future, the B-2 bomber (with ongoing upgrades) remains in the vanguard of U.S. operational planning.

JEFFREY D. BASS

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Bombs, Precision-Guided; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, U.S. Air Campaign; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Air Campaign; Joint Direct Attack Munition and Small Diameter Bomb; United States Air Force, Afghanistan War; United States Air Force, Iraq War

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B-52 Stratofortress

U.S. long-range heavy bomber. Referred to by its crew of five as "BUFF," or (in polite terms) "big ugly fat fellow," the Boeing B-52 Stratofortress was first conceived in 1944 as a follow-on aircraft to the Boeing B-47 Stratojet. Development proceeded over the next decade. Two prototypes were built—the XB-52 and the YB-52. The XB-52 first flew in 1954. The B-52 entered service in 1955. Over the course of more than 50 years in service, a total of 744 B-52s have been built. The last model, the B-52H, was delivered to SAC in May 1961. Nearly 100 B-52s remain in service. The B-52H can carry up to 20 air-launched cruise missiles, along with numerous conventional and nuclear bombs.

Although built for the role of Cold War–era nuclear deterrence, the B-52's conventional capabilities make the plane a vital component of current U.S. Air Force operations. There are no plans to retire the B-52, which is certainly one of the greatest of all aircraft.

With a maximum speed of 595 miles per hour (mph) and ceiling of 55,000 feet, the B-52 has an initial flying range of about 8,800 miles. With aerial refueling, the aircraft has a virtually unlimited range, limited only by crew stamina. Powered by eight 17,000-pound thrust Pratt & Whitney TF33 turbofan jet engines, the B-52 is 157 feet 7 inches in length and has a wingspan of 185 feet. It is 40 feet 8 inches in height. It can weigh up to 488,000 pounds at takeoff. It is armed with a single 20mm Gatling gun and is capable of carrying up to 40,000 pounds of ordnance, both conventional and nuclear.

The B-52's conventional role was first demonstrated during the Vietnam War. B-52s flying from bases in Thailand and Guam dropped millions of tons of conventional ordnance, inflicting heavy losses on Communist troops and lines of communication. They even flew in close support of ground troops in South Vietnam, and in Operations LINEBACKER I and II, B-52s struck deep into North Vietnam.

B-52s performed highly effective service in both U.S. wars with Iraq, Operation DESERT STORM in 1991 and Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in 2003. During DESERT STORM, B-52s struck Iraqi troop concentrations and fixed targets, including bunkers, airfields, and radar installations. The longest strike mission in the history of aerial warfare occurred when a B-52H took off from Barksdale Air Force Base, Louisiana, and then launched cruise missiles in Iraq during a 35-hour, nonstop operation. Ultimately, B-52 bombers delivered 40 percent of all aerial-delivered coalition weaponry.

B-52s were responsible for taking out 13 percent of Iraq's electrical power production and almost 60 percent of Baghdad's electrical generation capability. The Persian Gulf War also highlighted the B-52's importance in destroying enemy ground forces. Its ability to carry internally 84 500-pound bombs made it a formidable weapons delivery platform. B-52s took a heavy toll of Iraqi ground formations and destroyed their morale. At least one Iraqi troop commander interrogated after the war stated that he had surrendered because of the threat of B-52 strikes.

B-52s also took part in Operation ALLIED FORCE as part of the joint North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) operation in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (March–June 1999). They launched cruise-missile attacks and dropped general-purpose bombs and deadly cluster bombs on Serbian army positions and staging

A U.S. Air Force B-52 Stratofortress of the 40th Expeditionary Bomb Squadron heads toward Iraq on its mission to provide close air support for coalition troops during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in April 2003. (U.S. Department of Defense)

locations in an effort to end the ethnic genocide taking place in the Balkans. However, fearful of collateral damage that might hinder peace negotiations, NATO air commanders limited the B-52's role.

B-52s provided close air support using precision-guided munitions during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan. B-52s carried out massive bombing raids against suspected Al Qaeda positions in the mountains of Afghanistan, especially in the area of Tora Bora. B-52s have also played a role in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (March 2003). During the early stages of the war, they provided close air support for U.S. ground troops and attacked selected targets with cruise missiles.

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See also

DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, U.S. Air Campaign; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Air Campaign; United States Air Force, Afghanistan War; United States Air Force, Iraq War; United States Air Force, Persian Gulf War

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Baath Party

Political party that currently dominates Syria and which was the leading party in Iraq from 1968 to the end of Saddam Hussein's regime in 2003. The Baath Party (Hizb al-Baath al-Arabi al-Ishtiraki) also had branches in Lebanon, Jordan, the Sudan, Yemen, Mauritania, and Bahrain, and it enjoys support from some Palestinians. The Arabic word "Baath" means "renaissance" or "resurrection." The party's fundamental principles have been Arab unity and freedom from imperialist control for all Arab states; personal freedom for Arab citizens; and support for Arab culture. The party also supported Arab socialist policies intended to eliminate feudalism but not private property. The Arab Socialist Baath Party of Syria explains its ideology as "national (Pan-Arab), socialist, popular and revolutionary" and its founding charter and constitution identifies its commitment to the "Arab Nation, the Arab homeland, the Arab citizen, the Arab people's authority over their own land and the freedom of the Arab people."

The Arab Baath Party, as it was originally called, grew out of an ideological and political movement in Syria, founded in 1940 in Damascus with the goal of revitalizing the Arab nation and society. Syrian intellectuals Michel Aflaq, a Greek Orthodox Christian; Salah al-Din al-Bitar, a Sunni Muslim who studied at the Sorbonne in the early 1930s; and Zaki al-Arsuzi were the principal founders of the Baath movement and party. The Arab Baath Party accepted Arabs of all religious backgrounds and ethnic groups.

The first Arab Baath Party Congress was held on April 4–6, 1947. Abd al-Rahman al-Damin and Abd al-Khaliq al-Khudayri attended that congress and on their return to Iraq founded a branch of the party there. This evolved into a small group of about 50 individuals, mainly friends and associates of Fuad al-Rikabi, who took control of the group in 1951. The Baathists in Iraq joined with other organizations that were in opposition to the monarchy. Baathism spread more slowly in Iraq than in Syria, with its candidates losing out to Communists in many elections in the 1960s.

Meanwhile in Syria, in 1954 Aflaq and Bitar joined forces with Akram al-Hawrani, a populist leader who headed the Socialist Party. They adopted the name of Arab Socialist Baath Party. The Baath Party found its greatest strength in Syria and Iraq, although it had branches all over the Arab world.

The Baath Party came to power first in Iraq and then in Syria in coups d'état in 1963. The coup in Iraq did not last out the year, however, during which time 10,000 leftists, Marxists, and Communists were killed, 5,000 of these from the Iraqi Communist Party. Three years later, the Syrian and Iraqi parties split. Each was subsequently plagued by factionalism. Some disputes occurred as a result of Syria's union with Egypt in the United Arab Republic (UAR); others concerned a possible union of Syria and Iraq or ties with the Soviet Union and local Communist parties, as well as the Syrian Socialist Nationalist Party (SSNP) in Syria.

Rivalries between different factions of the Syrian Baath Party led to an interparty coup in 1966 followed by another one four years later that brought General Hafiz al-Asad to power. He headed a pragmatic faction that gained control of the military in contrast to a "progressive" faction that had pushed a more pervasive socialism and nationalizations and a harder-line regionally. Asad remained in office until his death in 2000. His son, Bashar al-Asad, assumed leadership of the Syrian Baath Party and remains the president of Syria.

Saddam Hussein joined the Iraqi Baath Party at the age of 21 in 1956 and steadily rose in the party's ranks, first as a consequence of the Iraqi Revolution of 1958, and then as an assassin in the U.S.-backed plot to do away with President Abd al-Karim Qasim. Later, after the Baath Party had regained power in a 1968 coup, Hussein served as vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and later as president and secretary-general of the Baath Party.

The Baath parties of Iraq and Syria operated in associations in schools, communities, and the army, and had workers' and women's associations, such as the General Association of Iraqi Women (al-Ittihad al-amm li-nisa al-Iraq). While the party ostensibly sought to expand membership to comprise a "mass party," in fact, membership was tightly controlled. Nonetheless, party members wielded considerable power. Average Syrians and Iraqis could hardly conclude any official business without the intercession of a party member. In the military and in academia, it was nearly impossible to advanced or be promoted without being a party member. In Iraq, the party claimed 1.5 million members or about 10 percent of the country's population in the late 1980s; however, only about 30,000 were bona fide party cadres. In Syria, Asad opened up membership so that by 1987, it was at about 50,000 people, and there were also some 200,000 probationary party members.

Iraqi soldiers patrol Baghdad following a coup by the Arab Baath Socialist Party in 1963. Abd al-Karim Qasim, the deposed president, was executed. (AFP/Getty Images)

The Baath parties of both countries did not tolerate political challenges of any other group or party. They strongly opposed the Islamist movements that arose in each nation. Despite the dictatorial nature of the Iraqi governments in this period, one notable accomplishment, in part facilitated through the party, was the serious effort to modernize the economy and society by promoting literacy, education, and gender equality. As a result, by the 1970s, Iraq had a fairly high level of education. Hussein's disastrous war with Iran and then his invasion of Kuwait, which prompted war with the United States and a coalition of states, had a profoundly negative impact on the country and its economy.

The U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003 and the overthrow of Saddam Hussein led to an immediate ban of the Baath Party, the

so-called de-Baathification, under U.S. and coalition occupation forces. Iraqis also attacked Baath Party offices all over the country. Some critics of the U.S. occupation policies in Iraq claim that U.S. administrator Paul Bremer's decision, approved by Washington, to bar all Baathists from government posts hopelessly hamstrung the government and fueled the Iraqi insurgency, which included some bitter and disenfranchised Baathists. Iraqi prime minister Nuri al-Maliki is still enforcing a ban on the Baath Party and has extended rehiring only to those who can show they were forced to join the party. A related controversy emerged over the transfer of the Baath Party records to the Hoover Institution at Stanford University via an agreement with the Iraq Memory Foundation and with permission of Maliki. The seizure of these documents (which could reveal the precise status of connections with the party) has been protested by, among others, the director of the Iraq National Library and Archive and the acting Iraqi minister of culture.

In Syria, the Baath Party has had a great impact. Changes in landholding and commercial policies in the 1960s displaced earlier elites, but suppression of the Sunni merchants and Islamists led, even after the Hama massacre, to an Islamist revival that challenged Baath Party primacy. Although President Bashar al-Asad promised democratic reforms in 2005, not much change has occurred. Asad's recent cooperation with the United States makes it less likely that he will be removed in favor of an alternative Baathist leader.

In Lebanon, Bahrain, and other countries, the Baath Party retains a small presence. In Lebanon, it held two seats in Parliament in the 1990s, and the Iraqi branch also had a link in a group within the Palestinian Fatah organization. The Sudanese Baath Party operates underground as part of the opposition to the Sudanese regime, and publishes a journal, *al-Hadaf.*

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See also

Aflaq, Michel; Arab Nationalism; Asad, Bashar al-; Asad, Hafiz al-; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Pan-Arabism and Pan-Arabist Thought; Syria

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Badr Organization

Paramilitary wing of the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council (SIIC), also referred to as the Supreme Islamic Council in Iraq, that was known for decades as the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), a Shia political party founded in Tehran, Iran, in November 1982 by Iraqi exiles led by Ayatollah Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim. The Badr Organization (Faylaq Badr), which is also commonly referred to as the Badr Corps, the Badr Brigade(s), and the Badr Army, was named after the Battle of Badr, fought between the Prophet Muhammad and the first Muslims against a larger and more well-equipped armed force commanded by his Meccan opponents. The Badr Organization is led by Hadi al-Amiri, a high-ranking SIIC official and an ally of its political leaders, Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim and his son, Sayyid Ammar al-Hakim. Abd al-Aziz is the youngest brother of Muhammad Baqr, who was assassinated by a massive car bombing probably carried out by the organization headed by the Jordanian Abu Musab al-Zarqawi (1966–2006), and a son of Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Muhsin al-Hakim (1889–1970), the most influential and widely followed Shia religious leader in Iraq from 1955 until his death.

The Badr Organization's origins lay in armed units, numbering several thousand men at most, made up of Iraqi Arab exiles trained and equipped with assistance from the Iranian government. These units were named after Ayatollah Sayyid Muhammad Baqr al-Sadr (1935–1980), a prominent Iraqi Arab Shia religious scholar and opposition leader who was executed by the ruling Iraqi Baath Party along with his sister, Amina bint Haydar al-Sadr (also known as Bint al-Huda), in April 1980. Both Muhammad Baqr and Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim were students of Baqr al-Sadr, who was a student of their father, Muhsin al-Hakim. The two brothers along with their other brother, Muhammad Mahdi, were early members of the Islamic Dawa Party (Hizb al-Da'wah al-Islamiyya), which was originally founded by Shia religious scholars (*ulama*) in the southern Iraqi shrine city of Najaf.

The Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), an armed force dedicated to the protection and preservation of the Iranian revolutionary system, was the key source of training and military equipment for the SCIRI's paramilitary wing. This militia was renamed after the Battle of Badr (1982–1983) during the Iran-Iraq War. Badr drew its membership from the tens of thousands of Iraqi Arabs, the majority of them Shia political activists and anti-Baath operatives, who fled to Iran in the late 1970s and 1980s, particularly following the execution of Ayatollah Muhammad Baqr al-Sadr and his sister in April 1980.

After the start of the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988) following Iraq's invasion of western Iran in September 1980, Badr also recruited members from among Iraqi prisoners of war, since many Iraqi soldiers were Shia conscripts who had no love or loyalty for Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. Prisoners of war who wished to join Badr were first required to repent for their membership in the Iraqi Army because it was regarded as an instrument not of the Iraqi nation but of the Iraqi Baath Party. Abd al-Aziz

al-Hakim served as Badr's commander from its founding in 1982–1983 until he and his brother Muhammad Baqr returned to Iraq in May 2003 following the collapse of the Iraqi Baathist regime in the wake of the U.S.- and British-led invasion of the country. Despite its Iraqi identity and membership, Badr's leadership was split between Iraqi Arabs such as Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim and IRGC officers, who were largely responsible for the military training of Badr's recruits. Badr included infantry, armored, artillery, antiaircraft, and commando units and maintained ties to activists and small units in Iraq.

The Badr Organization was actively involved in the Iran-Iraq War, primarily in northern Iraq (Iraqi Kurdistan). Following the capture of Haj Omran, villages in northeastern Iraq, by Iranian forces in 1983, Badr units were stationed there, and Muhammad Baqr al-Hakim visited them and prayed on what was termed "freed Iraqi soil." The participation of Badr paramilitary fighters on the side of the Iranians during the war was not welcomed by all Iraqi Shia and was widely criticized by some of SCIRI's political rivals in the Iraqi Shia community.

Badr also carried out bombings and attacks on Iraqi Baath officials and offices during the 1980s and 1990s, and it sent units across the Iran-Iraq border in March–April 1991 to aid the uprisings in southern and northern Iraq among the Shia and Kurdish populations. These uprisings, encouraged by the U.S. government, were brutally crushed by Baath security forces and the Republican Guard after the United States refused to aid the rebels. The United States was reportedly fearful of empowering Iraq's Shia population, heeding alarmist talk from their Sunni Arab allies and reacting warily to the appearance of Badr fighters in southern Iraq, many of whom carried portraits of Iran's late revolutionary leader, Grand Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, and banners calling for the formation of an Islamic republic in Iraq.

Following the collapse of the Iraqi Baath government in April 2003, the SCIRI and Badr leaderships returned to Iraq from exile, mainly from Iran, in May 2003. Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim was welcomed in southern Iraq by tens of thousands of his supporters. According to the Hakims and SIIC/Badr officials, the Badr Organization fielded some 10,000 paramilitary fighters upon their return to Iraq. Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim subsequently claimed that Badr, in addition to its regular fighters, could call upon tens of thousands of other reservists, although this claim seems to be highly exaggerated.

The United Iraqi Alliance (UIA), a loose coalition of mainly Shia political parties, was swept into power in the December 2005 national elections. The SCIRI and the Islamic Dawa Party were the two dominant political parties in the UIA. Bayan Jabr, a SCIRI official, was selected by Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim to head the Iraqi Ministry of the Interior in the 2005–2006 transitional government. Jabr oversaw the infiltration of the Iraqi security forces, police, and special commando units, all of which fall under the Interior Ministry. Badr members, both inside and outside of the national security forces, have engaged in gun battles with rival Shia parties, particularly the Sadr Movement led by Muqtada al-Sadr, and in a series of operations in Basra and other southern Iraqi cities and towns in the spring and summer of 2008, which were aimed at weakening the Sadr Movement's political and paramilitary structure in southern Iraq before the 2009 elections. Badr members have also been blamed for carrying out sectarian killings and ethnic cleansing of Sunni Arabs in southern and central Iraq as well as in the capital city of Baghdad.

Christopher Anzalone

See also

Baath Party; Hakim, Abd al-Aziz al-; Hakim, Muhammad Baqir al-; Hussein, Saddam; Iran; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Islamic Dawa Party; Sadr, Muqtada al-; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam; Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council; United Iraqi Alliance

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Baghdad

The capital city of Iraq. Baghdad, established in 762 CE by Abbasid caliph al-Mansur, straddles the Tigris River and its tributary, the Diyala. The city is located at 33°18' North latitude and 44°36' East longitude in east-central Iraq. The city sits some 130 feet above sea level. Baghdad's climate typically consists of hot, dry summers and cool winters. With a 2003 population of 5.772 million people, Baghdad was the second-largest city in Southwest Asia (behind Tehran, Iran) and the second-largest city in the Arab world (behind Cairo, Egypt). For comparison, the next two largest cities in Iraq—Mosul and Basra—were estimated in 2003 at 1.74 million and 1.338 million people, respectively. The population of Baghdad constitutes about one-fifth of the country's people. The name "Baghdad" also refers to the small province that surrounds the city, one of 18 in Iraq. Iraq's capital city is ethnically Arab, with small Kurdish and Turkoman minorities.

Baghdad is the center of Iraq's power infrastructure, with power lines webbing outward in all directions. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, this power infrastructure was severely damaged by the U.S.-led coalition's air strikes against the city in retaliation for Iraq's August 1990 annexation of Kuwait. Baghdad is also the air, road, and railroad center of Iraq, including Baghdad International Airport, several major highways, two primary railroads, two key oil pipelines, and one major gas pipeline. Baghdad is Iraq's foremost center of oil refining, food-processing plants, textile mills, tanneries and leather production, cement companies, metal-product manufacturers, and tobacco processing. The local economy is augmented by way of Baghdad's famous bazaars that showcase jewelry, utensils, rugs, cloth, leather, and felt.

Until the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq in March 2003, military installations in the area included air bases, barracks, bunkers, the Iraqi Air Force headquarters, the Republican Guard headquarters, and the Ministry of Defense. Key political buildings included various presidential palaces, the National Assembly, and the Baath Party headquarters. Baghdad is also home to three universities: the University of Baghdad, the University of Technology, and al-Mustansiriyah University.

Notable historical structures include the Abbasid Palace (1179 CE), the ruins of Bab al-Wastani, the Central Gate of Baghdad, and the Mirjan Mosque (1358 CE). The archaeological site of Ctesiphon is to the south, while the attractive domed mosque of Kazinayn is just to the north.

Portions of Baghdad were heavily damaged during the Persian Gulf War of 1991. Transportation, communication, sanitation, and power-generating centers were all affected to varying degrees. President George H. W. Bush halted coalition troops, however, and they never were allowed to proceed to Baghdad, a controversial decision that left Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein in power.

In the war's aftermath Hussein, now far weaker militarily and economically, attempted to rebuild Baghdad. But the extent of the damage, international economic sanctions, and Hussein's own spending priorities meant that this proceeded only in piecemeal fashion. Spending on Hussein's palaces and on projects glorifying the regime and Hussein himself continued unabated, however.

In March and early April 2003 Baghdad was bombed heavily during the 2003 Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). By April 10, coalition forces had taken the city, and the widely televised toppling of Hussein's statue in Firdaws Square signaled the end of his oppressive regime. Baghdad saw more damage in the extensive looting immediately following the city's fall.

The conquerors soon established a Coalition Provisional Authority in a three-square-mile area (known as the Green Zone) in central Baghdad from which it governed the nation. Democratic elections commenced in 2004, and a new constitution was drafted. However, Baghdad experienced significant violence from both terrorist actions and Sunni-on-Shia sectarian violence. With Baghdad spiraling out of control in massive car bombings and scattered random executions and with the coalition military effort in Iraq seemingly in jeopardy, in January 2007 President George W. Bush authorized an increase of more than 20,000 troops in Baghdad to restore order. By the fourth quarter of 2007, Bush's troop surge had brought a reduction in violence in Baghdad, following the cordoning off of neighborhoods and sectarian designations of formerly mixed neighborhoods. The trend since then has been toward a gradual diminution in sectarian- and terrorist-inspired violence. Nevertheless, the city still remains a dangerous place in certain sectors, and periodic car and truck bombings continue to occur. Reconstruction efforts until 2008 had been modest because of the earlier unrest in the city, but there are signs that privately funded rebuilding projects are gathering momentum.

DYLAN A. CYR AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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Baghdad, Battle for

Start Date: April 5, 2003
End Date: April 10, 2003

Climactic battle of the 2003 Anglo-American invasion of Iraq that ended with the fall of the Iraqi capital and the collapse of Saddam Hussein's government. American planners before the war operated under the assumption that removing Hussein from power would very likely require some kind of ground attack on Baghdad. What everyone, from President George W. Bush on down, wanted to avoid, however, was grueling urban warfare that would devastate the city and lead to heavy casualties on all sides, the civilian populace included. To avoid being drawn into a costly city fight, the U.S. Army developed a plan to isolate Baghdad first, with the 3rd Infantry Division encircling the city from the west and the I Marine Expeditionary Force enveloping it from the east. Once a rough cordon had been established around Baghdad, the Americans intended to employ a combination of air strikes, armored and mechanized infantry raids, special forces incursions, and other small-scale operations to whittle away at the city's defenses and Baath Party control of the government, ideally reducing one or both to the breaking point.

The army never got the opportunity to test its operational concept for taking Baghdad, however, as the plan was scrapped once elements of the 3rd Infantry Division reached the outskirts of Baghdad just a little over two weeks into the campaign. By April 4, 2003, the division had secured two of the three objectives on its half of the cordon west of the Tigris River: Saddam International Airport (Operation LIONS) and the crucial highway junction just south of the city (Operation SAINTS). The third area (Operation TITANS) controlled the roads heading northwest out of Baghdad and remained in Iraqi hands. Meanwhile, the 1st Marine Division, which had a more difficult approach to the capital through the populated center of the country, was involved in fierce fighting with Republican Guard armor, Iraqi militia, and foreign irregulars and had yet to reach either of the two objectives on its side

U.S. marines on a foot patrol in Baghdad prepare to rush a house believed to contain a weapons cache, April 18, 2003. (U.S. Department of Defense)

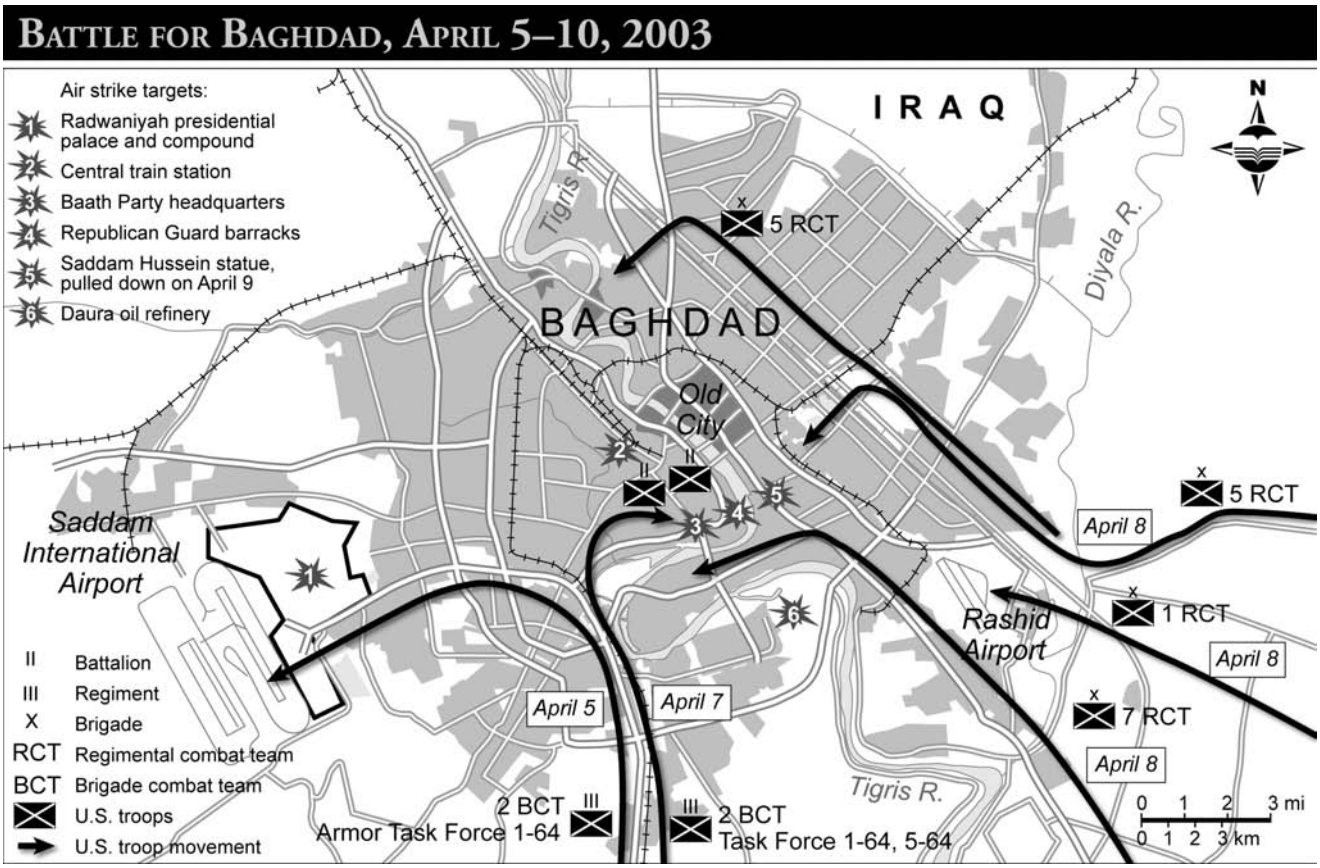
of the Tigris. Rather than wait for the encirclement of Baghdad to be completed, the 3rd Infantry Division commander, Major General Buford Blount, decided to begin probing the city's defenses immediately.

The recent battles on the approach to the city suggested to Blount that Iraqi resistance was beginning to crumble, while the latest intelligence reports indicated that Baghdad was not the heavily fortified, stoutly defended deathtrap that some were expecting. In fact, the opposite proved to be true, as Hussein's paranoia had played directly into American hands. His fears of a coup had prevented him from undertaking military preparations of any kind in Baghdad, and he had entrusted defense of the capital to a relatively small cadre of loyal troops—the three brigades of the Special Republican Guard—supported by the irregulars known as Fedayeen Saddam.

Blount launched his first foray into Baghdad on April 5, sending an armored battalion from the 2nd Brigade Combat Team on a thunder run (or reconnaissance in-force) from the SAINTS area into the city center and then out to the airport. The column of 29 Abrams tanks, 14 Bradley fighting vehicles, and assorted other vehicles met with a hail of small-arms fire, rocket-propelled grenades, and mortar fire from the many hundreds of Iraqi fighters who took up positions along its route. A lucky shot from a rocket-propelled grenade disabled one of the American tanks, and it had to be abandoned. Otherwise, the thickly armored Abrams and Bradleys were able to withstand multiple hits, and while the crews were exhausted at the end of the 140-minute-long mission, the vehicles themselves needed only minor repairs before again being ready for action.

The outcome of the April 5 thunder run confirmed Blount's suspicion that Baghdad's defenses were brittle. While the members of the 2nd Brigade Combat Team battalion received a day to catch their breath, Blount employed the 3rd Brigade Combat Team to tighten his grip on the city perimeter. On April 6 the brigade advanced to take control of objective TITANS, an area that included the Highway 1 bridge across the Tigris, a crucial point of entry and exit from the capital. This move triggered an intense battle with Iraqi tanks and infantry seeking to regain control of the crossing. The Iraqi attack began on the evening of April 6 and continued into the next morning before it was finally broken up by a combination of concentrated artillery fire, direct fire, and low-level strafing attacks by Fairchild-Republic A-10 Thunderbolts flying close air support.

The conclusion of the battle for the Tigris bridge to the northwest coincided with the launching of the second thunder run. Intended to be a limited raid much like the first, the April 7



thunder run developed into something altogether different, an armored strike into the heart of downtown Baghdad. Colonel Dave Perkins, the commander of the 2nd Brigade Combat Team, took all three of his maneuver battalions on the mission. Blount and his superiors up the chain of command expected Perkins to pull back to the city's edge at the end of the thunder run. Instead, Perkins made the daring decision to lead his two armored battalions into the center of Baghdad and remain there. The battalions met with strong resistance on their drive into the city and afterward had to fend off repeated attacks by small bands of Iraqi fighters once they established their defensive perimeters in the downtown area. But it was the trailing infantry battalion, assigned the vital task of protecting the brigade's supply line into Baghdad, that found itself engaged in some of the heaviest and most desperate fighting. The battalion was assailed not only by Republican Guard and Fedayeen Saddam troops but also by hundreds of Syrian volunteers who had arrived in Iraq only days earlier. Despite some tense moments, the battalion kept the roadway open so that supply vehicles could reach the units parked downtown.

The thunder run of April 7 struck the decisive blow in the Battle for Baghdad. On the same day, the marines breached the Iraqi defenses along the Diyala River and began their advance into east Baghdad. Fighting continued on April 8, especially in the downtown area and in the 3rd Brigade Combat Team's sector at TITANS. By April 9, however, resistance within the city had become generally disorganized and sporadic as increasing numbers of Iraqi fighters put down their weapons and melted into the general populace. The Baathist regime also dissolved, and some governing officials returned home. Others, most notably Saddam Hussein and his two sons, Uday and Qusay, slipped out of the capital and sought refuge elsewhere, leaving Baghdad to troops of the U.S. Army and the U.S. Marine Corps. Baghdad was considered secured by April 10.

Casualty figures are not terribly reliable, but it is believed that the coalition suffered 34 dead and at least 250 wounded. Iraqi dead have been given as 2,300 killed but were undoubtedly higher. There is no estimate of Iraqi wounded.

JEFF SEIKEN

See also

Baghdad; Blount, Buford, III; Hussein, Saddam; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Ground Campaign

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Baghdad Pact

Treaty of mutual cooperation and mutual defense among the nations of Turkey, Iraq, Pakistan, Iran, and Great Britain agreed to in principle on February 4, 1955. The Baghdad Pact (also known as Central Treaty Organization [CENTO] or the Middle East Treaty Organization [METO]) was part of an effort by the United States and the West in general to establish regional alliances to contain the spread of Soviet influence.

The United States and Great Britain were the pact's chief sponsors. Each had different reasons for trying to lure Arab countries to join a defensive alliance. In the end, the Baghdad Pact failed because Arab leaders saw it as an attempt by the West to continue its colonial domination over the region. The Baghdad Pact in its different forms was the least effective of the anticommunist regional alliances sponsored by the United States.

As the Cold War developed in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Harry S. Truman administration adopted a policy of communist containment. In Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed in 1949 to prevent the expansion of Soviet control on that continent. The Dwight D. Eisenhower administration continued this process along other borders of the Soviet Union. The Middle East was viewed as a key area, in large part because it was the main source of oil for the West. The British government was expected to be the key to the formation of an alliance here, since it already had extensive relations with the Arab states. As such, British diplomats laid the groundwork for regional defense agreements. The first attempts included Egypt, but the government of President Gamal Abdel Nasser was more interested in Pan-Arabic agreements that excluded Britain. Indeed, Egypt refused to join a proposed Middle East Defense Organization in 1953, causing that initiative to collapse.

The United States and Britain therefore tried to create an alliance among the northern tier of Arab states. Turkey was already bound in an alliance to the West, thanks to NATO. Its status as a Muslim nation helped to encourage other Muslim countries to consider defensive alliances with the Western powers. In February 1954 Turkey and Pakistan signed a pact of mutual cooperation, one of the first in the region. Following much diplomatic activity, Iraqi prime minister Nuri al-Said announced that Iraq would sign a mutual defense pact with Turkey.

On February 24, 1955, Turkey and Iraq signed the Pact of Mutual Cooperation, which became better known as the Baghdad Pact, aimed at preventing Soviet aggression. The treaty included language inviting members of the Arab League as well as other interested nations to join. Britain signed the alliance on April 5, 1955. As a result, the Royal Air Force received the right to base units in Iraq and to train the Iraqi Air Force. Pakistan joined on September 23, 1955, and Iran joined on October 12, 1955. The United States remained a shadow member of the group but did not officially join. American relations with Israel were an obstacle that might have prevented Arab members from joining. A permanent secretariat and a permanent council for the alliance were created and headquartered in Baghdad.

Nasser viewed the Baghdad Pact as an attack on his own vision of Pan-Arabism, to be achieved under his leadership. He therefore immediately attacked the pact as Britain's way of continuing its colonial presence in the Middle East. He called it a hindrance to real Pan-Arab movements. At the time, Nasser had great prestige in the Arab world as a nationalist and opponent of Israel, and his condemnation of the treaty caused opposition to it among ordinary Arab peoples. Jordan had been expected to join the Baghdad Pact, but riots there convinced King Hussein I to withdraw his support for it. Syria refused to sign the treaty, instead forming a union with Egypt known as the United Arab Republic (UAR), to take effect on February 1, 1958. Even Lebanon, which requested Western assistance to help settle a civil war in 1958, refused to join the Baghdad Pact despite pressure from the United States and Britain to do so. Saudi Arabia also opposed the pact because it feared that Iraq would become the dominant regional power. The Saudis instead worked to persuade other members of the Arab League to establish closer contacts with Egypt.

The Baghdad Pact received a serious blow in October 1956 when Britain joined France and Israel in an invasion of Egypt in reaction to the Suez Crisis. The U.S. government opposed the attack and helped force its allies to withdraw. The action discredited Britain across the Middle East. To try to prop up the Western orientation of the Baghdad Pact, the United States joined the Military Committee of the organization in 1958 and funneled military assistance and other funds through the pact's organizations.

The gravest threat to the organization occurred on July 14, 1958, when Iraqi officers overthrew King Faisal II and the Iraqi monarchy. Popular sentiment in Iraq held that the Baghdad Pact simply modified Britain's colonial dominance of Iraq. Indeed, the alliance had weakened support for the government and the royal family. When Iraqi Army officers overthrew the government, few Iraqis were willing to defend the old order. The royal family was slaughtered, as was Said. The ruling officers, sympathetic to Nasser, withdrew Iraq from the Baghdad Pact on March 24, 1959. That same year, the United States officially joined the alliance, which changed its name to the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).

The alliance proved to be weak, however. When Pakistan and Iran were involved in conflicts with India and Iraq, respectively, during the 1960s, they tried to invoke the alliance to involve Britain and the United States. Britain and the United States refused to be drawn into the regional conflicts, however, because they saw the alliance as one limited to stopping aggression on the part of the Soviet Union. As a result, Pakistan and Iran came to regard the alliance with considerable cynicism.

CENTO diminished in importance as British global influence continued to recede. In 1968 Britain decided to withdraw its forces from the Persian Gulf, making British bases on Cyprus the closest ones to the Middle East. In 1974 budget cutbacks forced Britain to withdraw specific troop commitments to CENTO. After that, CENTO became a chiefly symbolic structure rather than an effective defensive mechanism. In 1979 Iran withdrew from CENTO

Four premiers of nations belonging to the Baghdad Pact pose with British foreign secretary Harold MacMillan (second from right) at the inaugural meeting of the pact in Baghdad, Iraq, in November 1955. The pact, initially signed in 1955 by Iraq and Turkey, established a defense coalition between Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, and the United Kingdom. Iraq withdrew from the pact shortly after the 1958 coup that brought down King Faisal II and put Abd al-Karim Qasim in power. (AP/Wide World Photos)

following the overthrow of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. On March 12, 1979, Pakistan withdrew as well. CENTO and the vestiges of the Baghdad Pact had now collapsed entirely.

Tim J. Watts

See also

Arab League; Arab Nationalism; Egypt; Hussein ibn Talal, King of Jordan; Iran; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Nuri al-Said; Pan-Arabism and Pan-Arabist Thought; Turkey, Role in Persian Gulf and Afghanistan Wars; United Arab Republic; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Bahrain

Middle Eastern country consisting of an archipelago of more than 30 islands located in the Persian Gulf. As of 2008 no accurate count of the number of islands was possible, as Bahrain continues to create artificial islands off its coast for economic and tourism purposes. Bordered on the west by the Gulf of Bahrain and by the Persian Gulf on the north, east, and south, Bahrain is also about 20 miles from both Qatar to the south and Saudi Arabia to the west. A causeway connects Saudi Arabia with the Bahraini island of Umm al-Nasan. Bahrain's area is just 274 square miles, with only five of the islands being permanently inhabited. Bahrain's topography consists of low desert plains and a low central escarpment, with a climate ranging from hot and humid summers to temperate winters.

Officially known as the Kingdom of Bahrain, the nation's capital is Manama. Bahrain's population is approximately 709,000 people, with 63 percent of Bahraini descent, 19 percent Asian, 10 percent Arab, 8 percent Iranian, and a smattering of other nationalities. Islam is practiced by 85 percent of the population, and 70 percent of the Muslim population are Shia. The remaining 15 percent practice Bahai, Christianity, and other religions. Arabic, English, and Farsi are the most commonly spoken languages in Bahrain.

Politically, the country consists of a constitutional monarchy ruled by Emir Khalifa bin Hamad al-Thani. Bahrain is a member of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), a collective security organization consisting of six countries on the western side of the Persian Gulf, the Arab League, the United Nations (UN), the Organization of Islamic Conference, the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, and other international organizations.

Although fixing the precise starting date of the Bahraini civilization is difficult, ancient civilizations such as Pakistan's Harappa and the Greeks traded their goods for Bahraini pearls in ancient times. Historically, Bahrain has been known as Dilmun, Tylos, and Awal. Pre-Islamic Bahrain's religions included both paganism and Nestorian Christianity, the latter having a bishopric located on the island and lasting until at least 835 CE. Bahrain adopted Islam during the Prophet Muhammad's lifetime, and it quickly grew to become the dominant religion in the country. The Ismaili al-Qaramita Islamic sect dominated Bahrain between 900 and 976 CE. Afterward, the Shia eventually became the dominant force in Bahraini Islam.

Throughout Bahrain's history various empires have occupied the country, including those of Babylon, Assyria, Portugal, and Safavid Iran. Portuguese forces captured Bahrain in 1521 and controlled the country until 1602, when Bahrainis overthrew Portuguese forces on the island. Iran's Safavid Empire quickly conquered Bahrain the same year and maintained control until 1717, a fact used by Iran to make repeated claims on Bahraini territory. In 1783 the al-Khalifa clan, led by Ahmad ibn Mohammed al-Khalifa, invaded and conquered Bahrain and has led the country since that time.

In 1820 Bahrain signed a treaty with Britain promising that it would not engage in piracy. Britain agreed to provide military protection for Bahrain and official recognition of the al-Khalifa family as the ruling party of Bahrain. In exchange, Bahrain agreed not to cede its territory to any country except Britain and not to establish foreign relations with other nations without British consent. Meanwhile, English advisers encouraged the al-Khalifa rulers to adopt a series of social reforms for the country.

Standard Oil Company of California's discovery of oil reserves in 1932 created significant changes, as Bahrain became an early leading exporter of petroleum. Bahrain allied itself with Britain during World War II, providing oil to the allies as well as serving as a staging point for protecting British colonies and oil-production facilities in Asia and Africa.

After India acquired its independence on August 15, 1947, British interests in the Persian Gulf region diminished, eventually leading to the decision in 1968 to withdraw from the treaties signed with Persian Gulf states during the 1800s. Initial attempts to unite Bahrain with other Persian Gulf states failed, and on August 15, 1971, Bahrain declared its full independence. By 1973 Bahrain's oil reserves were diminishing, while the price of oil was dramatically increasing. Looking for an alternative source of revenue, Bahrain established a robust banking industry to replace Lebanon's banking industry, which had suffered from the long Lebanese Civil War (1975–1990). Bahrain soon became the banking center of the Middle East.

Although a national assembly was elected in 1973, it quarreled with Emir Isa ibn Salman al-Khalifa, who ruled from 1961 through 1999, over implementation of a security law. He responded by dissolving the assembly in 1975 and passed the law by decree. Despite his actions, Bahrain is quite liberal and tolerant compared to most other Islamic nations in the region. In 1981 Iran attempted to encourage Bahrain's large Shia population to foment a revolution in Bahrain. Although some Bahraini Shias staged a coup d'état in 1981, it did not succeed. Iran's interference in Bahraini affairs encouraged the nation to establish collective security agreements that created the GCC and improved relations with the United States.

Violent acts against the government have included attacks by external and internal sources. The Islamic Front engaged in terrorist attacks against Bahraini targets in the county. Political dissent within the kingdom grew during 1980s and 1990s, as citizens lacked the opportunity to actively participate in the governing of the country. The Bahrain Freedom Movement (BFM), formed by Bahraini dissidents who wanted an Iranian-styled Islamic republic established, also engaged in bombings and other terrorist acts. Bahraini security forces reacted strongly against the BFM.

Manama City, Bahrain. (Orhancam/Dreamstime.com)

Emir Isa ibn Salman al-Khalifa's death in 1999 initiated a series of changes, as his son Khalifa bin Hamad al-Thani took a chance on reforming Bahraini society, initiating a series of social and political reforms, including the resumption of constitutional rule. Hamad al-Thani agreed to concessions limiting legislative power to the lower house of parliament in the National Action Charter that was designed to restore constitutional government yet reversed his decision with the 2002 constitution. In 2002 he agreed to hold parliamentary elections in which both men and women could vote and run for office, although no woman won a seat. Several parties, including the major religious party al-Wifaq National Islamic Society, boycotted the election.

Presently, there are 12 political parties in the country (6 are Islamic, and 6 are secular). The 2006 elections resulted in the Shia-associated Al-Wifaq National Islamic Society winning 17 seats, while the salafist al-Asalah party won 8 and the Sunni Al-Minbar Islamic Society won 7. The remaining parties and candidates won a combined 8 seats. Although 18 women ran, just 1 captured a seat in parliament.

Although the United States had sent ships to the region during the 1800s, Washington had little interest in Bahrain until 1949, when the United States began leasing British bases in Bahrain. The United States has maintained at least a minimal force in Bahrain since that time. Bahrain's role in America's conflicts in the Middle East can be divided into two parts. The first is marked by its willingness to allow U.S. forces to use Bahraini territory and facilities for launching military operations against Iraq, first during the 1991 Persian Gulf War and next during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. Bahrain was also used as a base during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. The U.S. Naval Forces Central Command operates out of Manama. Army and air force units operating in Bahrain include the 831st Transport Battalion, located at Mina Sulman, and the Air Mobility Command, which has a detachment at Muharraq Airfield. Additionally, the Sheik Isa Air Base serves as a military airfield for various U.S. military aircraft.

Bahrain was also actively involved militarily in the Persian Gulf War and in providing limited military assistance in Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM. In 1991 Bahrain sent a small contingent of 400 troops to serve in the coalition as part of the Joint Forces Command East. Additionally, the Bahraini Air Force, employing F-16 Fighting Falcon fighters and F-5 Tiger II fighters, engaged in defensive sorties in the region and launched offensives against Iraqi assets. The Bahraini Navy has sent forces to assist in ENDURING FREEDOM and in the larger Global War on Terror. Bahrain has also provided some limited forces in a support role for Operation IRAQI FREEDOM and to help the Iraqi government stabilize the country.

WYNDHAM WHYNOT

See also

Arab League; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Gulf Cooperation Council; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Khalifa, Isa bin Salman al-; Thani, Khalifa bin Hamad al-

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Baker, James Addison, III

Birth Date: April 28, 1930

U.S. politician, influential Republican adviser, secretary of the treasury (1985–1988), and secretary of state (1989–1992). Born on April 28, 1930, in Houston, Texas, to a wealthy local family, James Addison Baker III studied classics at Princeton University, graduating in 1952. After two years in the U.S. Marine Corps, he went on to earn a law degree from the University of Texas at Austin in 1957. That same year he began his legal career with a corporate law firm in Houston, where he practiced until 1975.

Prominent Republican James Baker III served as U.S. secretary of state under President George H. W. Bush during 1989–1992. In 2006, Baker cochaired the bipartisan Iraq Study Group. (U.S. Department of State)

U.S. Secretaries of State, 1989–Present

Name	*Dates of Service*
James A. Baker	January 25, 1989–August 23, 1992
Lawrence Eagleburger	August 23, 1992–January 20, 1993
Warren Christopher	January 20, 1993–January 17, 1997
Madeleine Albright	January 23, 1997–January 20, 2001
Colin Powell	January 20, 2001–January 26, 2005
Condoleezza Rice	January 26, 2005–January 20, 2009
Hillary Rodham Clinton	January 21, 2009–present

Baker first entered politics in 1970, working for George H. W. Bush's unsuccessful U.S. senatorial campaign. Beginning in 1975, Baker spent a year as undersecretary of commerce in the Gerald Ford administration. Baker then managed Ford's unsuccessful 1976 presidential campaign. After managing Bush's unsuccessful bid for the Republican presidential nomination in 1980, Baker became a senior adviser to President Ronald Reagan's 1980 campaign after Bush withdrew from the race.

From 1981 until 1985, Baker served as White House chief of staff. In 1984 he successfully engineered Reagan's reelection campaign. Reagan subsequently appointed him secretary of the treasury in 1985. In 1988 Baker resigned from the treasury and managed Vice President George H. W. Bush's presidential campaign and was rewarded by being appointed secretary of state in 1989. In that role, Baker helped reorient U.S. foreign policy as the Cold War ended. He was involved in negotiations that led to the reunification of Germany and the dismantling of the Soviet Union. Baker also presided over negotiations before and after the successful Persian Gulf War. In 1992 Bush named Baker White House chief of staff and manager of his reelection campaign. Bush lost that election to Democrat Bill Clinton.

After leaving government service in 1993, Baker joined the Houston-based law firm of Baker Botts and become senior counselor to the Carlyle Group, a corporate banking firm in Washington, D.C. In 2000 he served as President-elect George W. Bush's transition adviser during the controversial Florida ballot recount following the November presidential election. In 2004 Baker served as the personal envoy of United Nations (UN) secretary-general Kofi Annan in seeking to reach a peaceful solution to the conflict over the western Sahara. In 2003 Baker was a special presidential envoy for President George W. Bush on Iraqi debt relief.

Beginning in March 2006, Baker cochaired, along with former U.S. Democratic representative Lee Hamilton, the 10-person bipartisan Iraq Study Group, charged with recommending changes to deal with the deteriorating situation in the Iraqi insurgency. The group presented its report to President George W. Bush and Congress in early December 2006. Among its recommendations was a strong call for a major drawdown of U.S. troops in Iraq. In January 2007 Bush did just the opposite, implementing a troop surge in Iraq that began to show some signs of success late in the year. Baker

continued to advise the Bush administration on an ad hoc basis until the January 2009 inauguration of President Barrack Obama.

JOHN DAVID RAUSCH JR.

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; DESERT STORM, Operation; Iraq Study Group; Reagan, Ronald Wilson

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Baker-Aziz Meeting

Event Date: January 9, 1991

Six-hour summit convened on January 9, 1991, between U.S. secretary of state James A. Baker III and Iraqi foreign minister Tariq Aziz. The Baker-Aziz meeting was ostensibly designed to head off a military attack against Iraq by American-led coalition forces, which were already massed in Saudi Arabia. The conference consisted of three rounds, all of which were held in the ballroom of the Hotel Intercontinental in Geneva, Switzerland. The high-level talks served as the last official U.S. demand for Iraqi military forces to withdraw immediately from Kuwait and avoid open hostilities in the Persian Gulf. Iraqi forces had invaded and occupied Kuwait since August 1990.

The meeting resulted from Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's noncompliance with United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 678. Approved on November 29, 1990, UN Resolution 678 had authorized the use of military force against Iraq should the nation not give up its occupation of Kuwait by January 15, 1991. Following a brief meeting with his advisers on the same day of the passage of the resolution, U.S. president George H. W. Bush directed Baker to enter into official negotiations with Iraqi diplomats. Seeking to show that they had done all they could diplomatically to avoid war, Bush administration officials also considered the meeting crucial for obtaining domestic support for war, silencing congressional opponents critical of the administration's diplomacy in the Middle East, and maintaining coalitional unity among 28 nations now allied against Iraq.

The Iraqi-American talks began when Baker presented Aziz with an official letter from President Bush addressed to President Hussein. Bush demanded that Hussein order Iraqi military forces to leave Kuwait and thus comply fully and unconditionally with UN Resolution 678 or face a military response led by the United States. Aziz rejected the letter, explaining that Iraq had invaded Kuwait to defend itself both against deflationary Kuwaiti oil policies and an Israeli-American alliance perceived by Baghdad as seeking to destroy Iraq. The remaining rounds of discussion centered on talking points prepared in Washington and Baghdad prior to the meeting.

Baker summarized American intelligence estimates of Iraqi military capabilities, figures that included the range and capabilities of Iraqi Scud missiles. Aziz assured Baker that the remaining American diplomatic personnel in Iraq would be allowed to leave by January 12 and also stated that Iraq would consider withdrawing its forces from Kuwait only after reaching a regional settlement that included an Israeli-Palestinian peace.

While the talks failed to persuade Hussein to withdraw his forces from Kuwait, the Baker-Aziz meeting nonetheless served the Bush administration well diplomatically.

JASON GODIN

See also

Aziz, Tariq; Baker, James Addison, III; Bush, George Herbert Walker; Carter, James Earl, Jr.; DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; United Nations Security Council Resolution 678

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Baker-Hamilton Commission

See Iraq Study Group

Bakr, Ahmad Hassan al-

Birth Date: July 1, 1914
Death Date: October 4, 1982

Iraqi military officer, Baath Party leader, and president of Iraq from 1968 to 1979. Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr was born in Tikrit (then part of the Ottoman Empire) on July 1, 1914, and was an elder cousin of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein. After completing the equivalent of high school, Bakr taught secondary school for six years before enrolling in the Iraqi Military Academy in 1938.

Early in his military career, Bakr became involved with anti-government activity that culminated in the 1941 Rashid Ali al-Gaylani Revolt. When that uprising was suppressed, he was arrested, jailed, and forced out of the army. Not until 1956, when he had sufficiently rehabilitated himself under the waning Hashemite monarchy, was he permitted to rejoin the Iraqi Army. That same year, he also clandestinely joined the Iraqi Baath Party.

In 1957 Bakr, now a brigadier general, was part of a military cabal known as the Free Officers group that successfully overthrew the monarchy during the July 14 Revolution. The coup d'état

brought General Abd al-Karim Qasim to power, and he instituted Baathist reforms, withdrew Iraq from the Baghdad Pact, and cultivated ties with the Soviet Union.

In 1959 Bakr was once again purged from the military, this time for his alleged ties to an antigovernment rebellion in Mosul, the goal of which was to draw Iraq closer to the United Arab Republic. Nevertheless, he retained his prominent position within the Baath Party hierarchy and in 1963 helped foment a putsch against Qasim. With Qasim out, Bakr became prime minister and vice president but held these posts for only a few months before Abd al-Salam Arif launched another coup in November 1963. By January 1964 Bakr had been stripped of both government positions. In 1966 Arif's death brought his brother, Abd al-Rahman Arif, to power.

Bakr's power base within the Baath Party was still considerable, and he soon hatched a plan to oust Arif from power and return Baathist rule. With the help of the Egyptian government, in 1968 Bakr staged a coup that resulted in Arif's exile. That same year Bakr became president and prime minister of Iraq. Determined to implement his Baath Party platform, he named his cousin, Saddam Hussein, as his chief deputy and deputy head of the Revolutionary Command Council. Hussein was later made vice president and was essentially the second most powerful man in Iraq.

As president, Bakr nationalized Iraqi oil concerns and instituted a wide array of economic and social reforms. After 1973, when world oil prices skyrocketed, Bakr pursued an aggressive industrial expansion program and funded a panoply of public works projects and infrastructure improvements. Increased oil revenues also allowed his government to purchase large amounts of weapons and armaments from the Soviets and significantly augment Iraqi armed forces. During his period in power, Iraqi-Soviet relations improved dramatically. Bakr successfully suppressed a Kurdish uprising that had been financed in part by Iran, and when his government settled some long-standing differences with Iran in 1975, the Kurdish cause was dealt a crippling blow. In 1978 the Iraqi government banned all political parties except for the ruling Baath Party and made it a capital offense for any government or military official to belong to another party.

By the late 1970s Hussein had begun to consolidate his power, and as Bakr's health deteriorated, Hussein became the real power behind the throne. By early 1979 Bakr was leader in name only, and on July 16, 1979, he stepped down, allegedly because of health concerns. Hussein immediately took the reins of state and became the new president of Iraq. Bakr was allowed to live in quiet seclusion, but his paranoid cousin kept constant watch over him. On October 4, 1982, Bakr died, supposedly of natural causes, in Baghdad. Many have speculated that his death came not from natural causes but rather on the orders of Hussein.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Arif, Abd al-Salam; Baath Party; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Qasim, Abd al-Karim

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Balfour Declaration

The Balfour Declaration was a promise by the British government to support the creation of a national homeland for the Jewish people. The British government issued the declaration in an effort to gain the support of Jews around the world for the Allied war effort. The promise apparently contradicted an earlier pledge by London to the Arabs to support the establishment of an independent Arab state after World War I. The Balfour Declaration helped encourage Jewish immigration to Palestine during the 1920s and 1930s, but it alienated Arabs from the British Mandate government. Indirectly, the Balfour Declaration led to the creation of the State of Israel and to ongoing conflict between Arabs and Jews in the Middle East that endures to the present day.

Before World War I, Palestine was a part of the Ottoman Empire and included the Sinai peninsula and parts of present-day Lebanon and Syria. A small number of Jewish settlements were located in Palestine, with a total population of approximately 50,000 people. The Zionist movement, developed in the 19th century, taught that Judaism was not only a religion but also a national group. Zionists called for Jewish immigration to traditional Jewish lands to establish a Jewish state for Jews from around the world. Zionism was formally organized in 1897 when smaller groups came together to create the World Zionist Organization (WZO) at Basel, Switzerland. Theodor Herzl became the group's first president. Supporters of Zionism included influential Jews and non-Jews throughout Europe and the United States.

When World War I began, Zionists urged the various governments to support their movement. The most fertile ground was in Great Britain. Although the total number of Jews in Britain was small, they included influential individuals such as Sir Herbert Samuel and the Rothschild banking family. The leader of the Zionists in Britain was Dr. Chaim Weizmann, chemistry professor at Manchester University. Weizmann had discovered a revolutionary method of producing acetone, important to the munitions industry. Members of the British government understandably held Weizmann in high esteem. Others believed that the West had a moral duty to Jews because of past injustices.

Events during the spring of 1917 aided Weizmann's campaign for British support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The first was the Russian Revolution in March (February by the Russian calendar). Some of the more prominent leaders of the revolution were Jews, and Weizmann argued that they were more likely to keep Russia in the war if an Allied goal was a Jewish homeland. Another important event was the entry of the United States into

the war in April 1917. The large Jewish population in the United States could campaign for greater and more immediate U.S. contributions to the war effort. Jewish financial contributions toward the war effort might be increased with support for a homeland as well. Weizmann also told his friends in the British government that support for a Jewish homeland might prevent German Jews from giving their full support to Kaiser Wilhelm II's war effort.

Arthur James Balfour, British foreign secretary, supported a promise of a Jewish homeland after the war. On a trip to the United States, he conferred with Supreme Court justice Louis Brandeis, a Zionist. Brandeis was an adviser to President Woodrow Wilson and told Balfour that the president supported a homeland for the Jews. At the time, however, Wilson was reluctant to give it open support because the United States was not formally at war with the Ottoman Empire. Other prominent Americans, such as former presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan, supported a Jewish homeland, many because they believed that it would fulfill biblical prophecies.

Members of the Zionist movement in Britain helped draft a declaration that was approved by the British cabinet and released by Balfour on November 2, 1917. The key sentence in the document was "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." The declaration went on to state that the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish peoples in Palestine were not to be prejudiced. In response to fears by some Jews that a homeland in Palestine would harm their efforts to assimilate into other societies, the declaration also called for nothing that would harm those efforts. The French government pledged its support for the declaration on February 11, 1918. Wilson finally gave open approval in a letter to Rabbi Stephen Wise on October 29, 1918.

The declaration did indeed win Jewish support for the Allied war effort, but it had unintended effects as well. Correspondence between British high commissioner in Egypt Henry McMahon and Sharif Hussein of Mecca in 1915 had promised the establishment of an independent Arab state upon the defeat of the Ottomans. It was understood that this state would include Palestine. The declaration was also a violation of the Sykes-Picot Agreement between Great Britain and France that provided for joint rule over the area directly after the war. The apparent double-dealing by the British government alienated many Arabs and caused them to doubt whether they could trust British promises.

At the end of World War I, the League of Nations granted a mandate over Palestine to Great Britain. Language from the Balfour Declaration was incorporated into the mandate's wording. During the next 30 years, the Jewish population of Palestine increased from 50,000 to 600,000 people. This dramatic increase in immigration of Jews to Palestine led to numerous clashes with Palestinians already living there. Ultimately, the task of trying to keep conflicting promises to Arabs and Jews proved too much for the British. They gave up their mandate in 1948, and the State of Israel was created. The result has been hostility and sporadic wars between Jews and Arabs ever since.

Tim J. Watts

See also

Mandates; Sykes-Picot Agreement; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; World War I, Impact of

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Bandar bin Sultan, Prince
Birth Date: March 2, 1949

Saudi Arabian military official, ambassador to the United States (1983–2005), and since October 16, 2005, secretary-general of the Saudi Arabian National Security Council. Prince Bandar bin Sultan bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud was born in Taif, Saudi Arabia, on March 2, 1949, the son of Crown Prince Sultan bin Abdul Aziz, the deputy prime minister, minister of defense and aviation, and inspector general of Saudi Arabia. Prince Bandar graduated from the Royal Air Force College at Cranwell, England, in 1968. He was then commissioned a second lieutenant in the Royal Saudi Air Force.

During the 1970s Bandar studied in the United States at the Air Command and Staff College at Maxwell Air Force Base in Montgomery, Alabama, and at the Industrial College of the Armed Forces at Fort McNair in Washington, D.C. Throughout the 1970s, Bandar commanded fighter squadrons at three different Saudi bases and held major responsibilities in the Royal Saudi Air Force's modernization program, known as Peace Hawk. In 1980 he earned a master's degree in international public policy from Johns Hopkins University.

During his military career, Bandar consistently strove to modernize the Royal Saudi Air Force. Intent on purchasing the most modern technology, in 1978 he successfully lobbied the U.S. Congress to approve the sale of F-15 fighter aircraft to Saudi Arabia. In 1981 he secured approval of the sale of the U.S. Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) to Saudi Arabia. In 1982 Bandar was assigned as the Saudi defense attaché to the United States at the rank of lieutenant colonel.

In 1983 Bandar became the ambassador to the United States. During his long tenure as Saudi ambassador to the United States, he rose to be the dean of the diplomatic corps in Washington, D.C. He strongly supported the Saudi Arabian government's decision to permit U.S. staging areas in Saudi Arabia during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, Bandar worked hard to convince the American

public and government of Saudi Arabia's friendship with the United States and of its commitment to the Global War on Terror.

Bandar has repeatedly denied allegations that the Saudi government supports the activities of Osama bin Laden and other Islamic terrorists. Bandar also supported the U.S.-led offensive against Iraq's Saddam Hussein regime in March 2003. It is said that Bandar has promoted overtures to Israel and argued for the U.S.-urged harder line toward Hamas. Nevertheless, frequent criticism of Bandar and Saudi foreign policy has circulated in the American media, most notably by filmmaker Michael Moore. Since 2005, Bandar has presided over Saudi Arabia's national security apparatus.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Bin Laden, Osama; Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; DESERT STORM, Operation; *Fahrenheit 9/11;* Global War on Terror; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Moore, Michael; Saudi Arabia; September 11 Attacks

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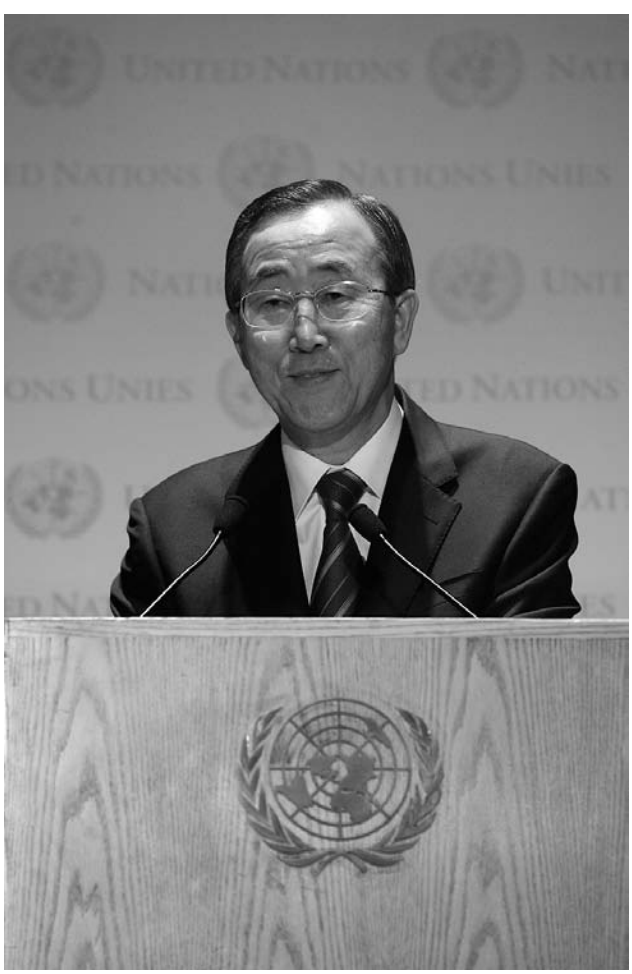
Ban Ki Moon
Birth Date: June 13, 1944

South Korean diplomat and eighth secretary-general of the United Nations (UN) (2007–present). Ban Ki Moon was born on June 13, 1944, in the village of Chungju in the province of North Chungcheong, in what is today the Republic of Korea (ROK, South Korea). As a teenager he spent several months in the United States. During that time he won a speech contest, and the grand prize was a trip to Washington, D.C., to meet President John F. Kennedy. Ban later credited the trip with sparking his interest in a diplomatic career. In 1970 he graduated from Seoul National University, where he earned a degree in international relations. He later studied public administration at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, where he earned a master's degree in 1985.

At the time of his 2006 election as secretary-general, Ban's diplomatic career had spanned more than 30 years. His first position was as South Korea's vice-consul to New Delhi, India, in 1972. He also served at the UN as part of South Korea's permanent observer mission during 1978–1980. In 1980 he was promoted to director of the South Korean Foreign Ministry's UN division. He worked as director of the UN's International Organizations and Treaties Bureau in South Korea's capital, Seoul, and was consul-general at the South Korean embassy to the United States. In the 1990s Ban served in the South Korean government as director-general of the American Affairs Bureau and as an assistant to the foreign minister. He was also vice chair of the South-North Joint Nuclear Commission.

Ban returned to the UN in May 2001 to serve as chief of the UN General Assembly president's cabinet and as South Korea's UN ambassador. Then, in January 2004, South Korean president Roh Moo Hyun named Ban as the nation's foreign affairs and trade minister. Ban almost immediately faced several crises, most notably the kidnapping of a Korean worker by Iraqi terrorists in June 2004 and the deaths of many South Koreans in the tsunami of December 2004. In 2005 Ban successfully navigated meetings with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea) on nuclear disarmament. In September of that year, the two nations signed a joint statement on denuclearization. Ban remained foreign minister until taking his post at the UN in January 2007.

In February 2006 Ban announced his candidacy for UN secretary-general and traveled around the world to campaign for the



Ban Ki Moon. The South Korea diplomat was elected United Nations (UN) secretary-general on October 9, 2006. (AP/Wide World Photos)

post. Based on the UN's informal tradition of rotating the position of secretary-general among regions, outgoing secretary-general Koffi Annan's replacement was fairly certain to be an Asian. Ban faced competition from Shashi Tharoor of India and Prince Zeid al-Hussein of Jordan, but several factors made him the front-runner. First, South Korea is largely seen as a UN success, having emerged from the devastating Korean War into a democratized economic power. Second, many hoped that Ban's experiences in dealing with North Korea would aid the UN in resolving that nation's nuclear ambitions. And third, Ban had the support of the United States, one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council with veto power over candidates for secretary-general. Ban's candidacy was approved by the Security Council's permanent members on October 9, 2006, and his name was then sent to the 192 members of the General Assembly, which officially elected him secretary-general on October 13. Ban was sworn in as secretary-general on December 14 and officially took over the post on January 1, 2007.

Ironically, the day of Ban's election witnessed the troubling announcement that North Korea had tested a nuclear weapon, prompting Ban to make denuclearization his first priority as secretary-general. Other prominent issues that he laid out included reform of the UN's vast bureaucracy, the cessation of continued warfare and famine in several regions of Africa, the international AIDS crisis, and unrest in the Middle East.

UN observers noted that Ban would most likely be "more secretary than general." Colleagues in the South Korean foreign service referred to him as "the bureaucrat" for his workaholic tendencies and facile administrative skill. Mild mannered, quiet, and modest, Ban has been criticized as uncharismatic. But Ban attributes his low-key personality to Asian culture, and he has defended his abilities. To many observers, Ban was the secretary-general candidate with whom Security Council members could live but who was not everyone's first choice. Either way, Ban has so far encountered little opposition in the UN, despite the certainly difficult first term he faces. Despite his continuing concern about North Korea's nuclear program and nuclear proliferation, he has generally deferred to the Security Council in these matters, just as he has with Iran's nuclear ambitions. He has urged the UN to take a larger role in Iraq to help the Iraqi people reinvigorate their social, political, and economic institutions and has pledged to do more to bring to an end the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict. In March 2008, however, he criticized the Israeli government for its plans to build new housing in a West Bank settlement, calling these incompatible with Israel's earlier commitment to peace, including the so-called Road Map to Peace.

Ban oversees 9,000 employees and a budget of $5 billion. His five-year term ends in December 2012, when he will be eligible for reelection.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also
Annan, Kofi; United Nations

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Banna, Sabri Khalil al-

See Abu Nidal

Barno, David William

Birth Date: July 5, 1954

U.S. Army officer, commander of Combined Forces Command–Afghanistan, and the highest-ranking American commander in Afghanistan from October 2003 to May 2005. Born on July 5, 1954, in Endicott, New York, David William Barno attended the United States Military Academy, West Point, graduating in 1976. He earned a master's degree from Georgetown University in national security studies. During his army career, he also graduated from the United States Army Command and General Staff College and the United States Army War College.

Upon his commissioning in the U.S. Army in 1976, Barno served as a junior officer and company commander in the 25th Infantry Division. After attending the infantry officer advanced course, he assumed duties as a logistics officer in the 1st Battalion, 75th Ranger Regiment. During Operation URGENT FURY, the U.S. invasion that ousted the leftist government of Grenada in October 1983, Barno commanded a Ranger company. In Operation JUST CAUSE, the U.S. invasion of Panama to depose dictator Manuel Noriega in December 1989, Barno served as the operations officer for the 2nd Battalion, 75th Ranger Regiment. During his career, Barno served in Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, and New Zealand as well as in the continental United States.

During the 1990s Barno held several commands, including a parachute infantry battalion in the 82nd Airborne Division; the 2nd Battalion, 75th Ranger Regiment; and the Warrior Brigade. In July 1997 he served as the chief of the Joint Training and Doctrine Division at the Joint Warfighting Center. Following his promotion to brigadier general in 2000, he became the assistant division commander for operations for the 25th Infantry Division. Thereafter, he served as the deputy director for operations for the Untied States Pacific Command.

At the time of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, Barno commanded the United States Army Training Center and Fort Jackson in South Carolina. In January 2003 Barno, now a major general, deployed to Tazar, Hungary, for three months, where he commanded Task Force Warrior. Task Force Warrior was an army training unit created to prepare free Iraqi forces before Operation IRAQI FREEDOM began in March 2003.

Working closely with the State Department, Task Force Warrior trained a small number of Iraqi volunteers to assist American and coalition civil-military units in their language skills and knowledge of Iraq.

In September 2003 Barno visited Afghanistan to receive briefings on what would become his next command. He assumed responsibility for U.S. military operations in Afghanistan in October 2003. Now a lieutenant general, he created a new military command structure, designated Combined Forces Command–Afghanistan, and established a counterinsurgency strategy for the country. Responsible for a region covering Afghanistan, southern Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, and parts of Pakistan, Barno worked closely with representatives from the U.S. Department of State, the United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the International Security Assistance Force (Afghanistan), and the government of Afghanistan to coordinate counterinsurgency efforts across Afghanistan.

Barno shifted the focus of military operations from the primary goal of killing the enemy to reaching and aiding the Afghan people. His counterinsurgency strategy aimed to deny sanctuary to the enemy, support Afghan security forces, engage Afghanistan's neighbors, promote reconstruction and good governance, and create area "ownership" where military commanders could learn about and be responsible for specific regions.

Barno served as the assistant chief of staff for Installation Management before retiring from the army on June 1, 2006, as a lieutenant general. He subsequently accepted the position of director of the Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies at the National Defense University at Fort McNair in Washington, D.C. He also serves as a consultant on Afghanistan, counterinsurgency operations, and the Global War on Terror for government agencies and other organizations.

Lisa M. Mundey

See also

Combined Forces Command, Afghanistan; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; International Security Assistance Force

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Basra

Major Iraqi port city. Basra (or al-Basrah), Iraq's main port, is located on the Shatt al-Arab waterway near the Persian Gulf (75 miles distant). With a present approximate population of 2.59 million, Basra is also Iraq's second-largest city and the capital of the Basra Governorate. Because of its geographically and economically strategic location, Basra has served as an important role in a number of conflicts.

In 636 Arab tribesmen who made up the armies of Emir Umar ibn al-Khattab formally established Basra. While fighting Sassanid forces, Muslim commander Utba ibn Ghazwan set up camp on the site of an old Persian settlement known as Vahestabad Ardasir, which ultimately became Basra. Al-Basrah, a name that means "the overwatcher," was given to the settlement because it served as a military stronghold against the Sassanid Empire. Basra served as a cultural center under Caliph Harun al-Rashid but eventually declined in influence with the fall of the Abbasid caliphate. Possession of Basra was long contested by both the Persians and the Turks because of its agricultural production and important geostrategic locale.

Basra and its environs hold significant petroleum resources, and the oil refinery at Basra has a daily production rate of approximately 140,000 barrels. Agricultural commodities also represent an important component to Basra's economy. Products such as millet, wheat, barley, dates, and corn are produced in the area's rich soil. Livestock are also an important part of the agricultural sector here. Basra's population is mainly of the Jafari Shia sect, but there are also many Sunni Muslims and some Christians. A pre-Islamic Gnostic sect known as the Mandaeans, who were based in the area formerly called Suk al-Shaykh, also contribute to Basra's population.

During World War I, the British occupied Basra and thoroughly modernized its port facilities. After the war, the construction of a rail line linking Basra to Baghdad and the establishment of a modern harbor made the city all the more important. In World War II, much of the military equipment and supplies sent to the Soviet Union by its Western allies via the Lend-Lease program moved through Basra.

Because of its location on the Shatt al-Arab waterway, Basra became a primary target for Iranian forces during the long and bloody Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988). The port at Basra also sustained heavy damage from bombing by coalition forces during the Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM) in 1991.

During the Persian Gulf War, a serious revolt against Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein occurred in Basra, which was quelled by Iraqi military forces with much bloodshed. In 1999 a second revolt against the Hussein regime led to mass executions in the city. After this second uprising, the Iraqi government purposely diverted most of the country's sea-based commerce to Umm Qasr. Human rights abuses at Basra were among the many charges against Hussein that were considered by the Iraq Special Tribunal, which was established following the start of the 2003 Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM) to try the former dictator for war crimes and crimes against humanity. He was eventually found guilty and executed in December 2006.

At the commencement of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in March 2003, taking Basra was the first and primary goal for coalition

troops during the 2003 Iraqi invasion. After a bruising battle, on April 7, 2003, British forces, led by the 7th Armored Brigade, took control of Basra. Nevertheless, from March to May 2003, Basra and its surrounding areas witnessed much of the heaviest combat in the war between Anglo-American–led coalition forces and Iraqi fighters. After the fighting stopped, the Multi-National Division under British command engaged in security and stabilization missions in the Basra Governorate and surrounding areas. Despite these pacification efforts, in mid-2006 Basra had seen several violent confrontations between secular Iraqis and Shiite Muslims in the area.

In September 2007 the British troops occupying Basra were withdrawn to the city's airport, part of a plan to gradually return occupied areas of Iraq over to Iraqi control. In December 2007 British troops withdrew entirely from Basra, including the airport. After receiving control of Basra, the Iraqi government stated that the city remains relatively stable and that violence has decreased in intensity and frequency.

Charlene T. Overturf

See also

Basra, Battle for; DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Persian Gulf; Shatt al-Arab Waterway; Umm Qasr, Battle of

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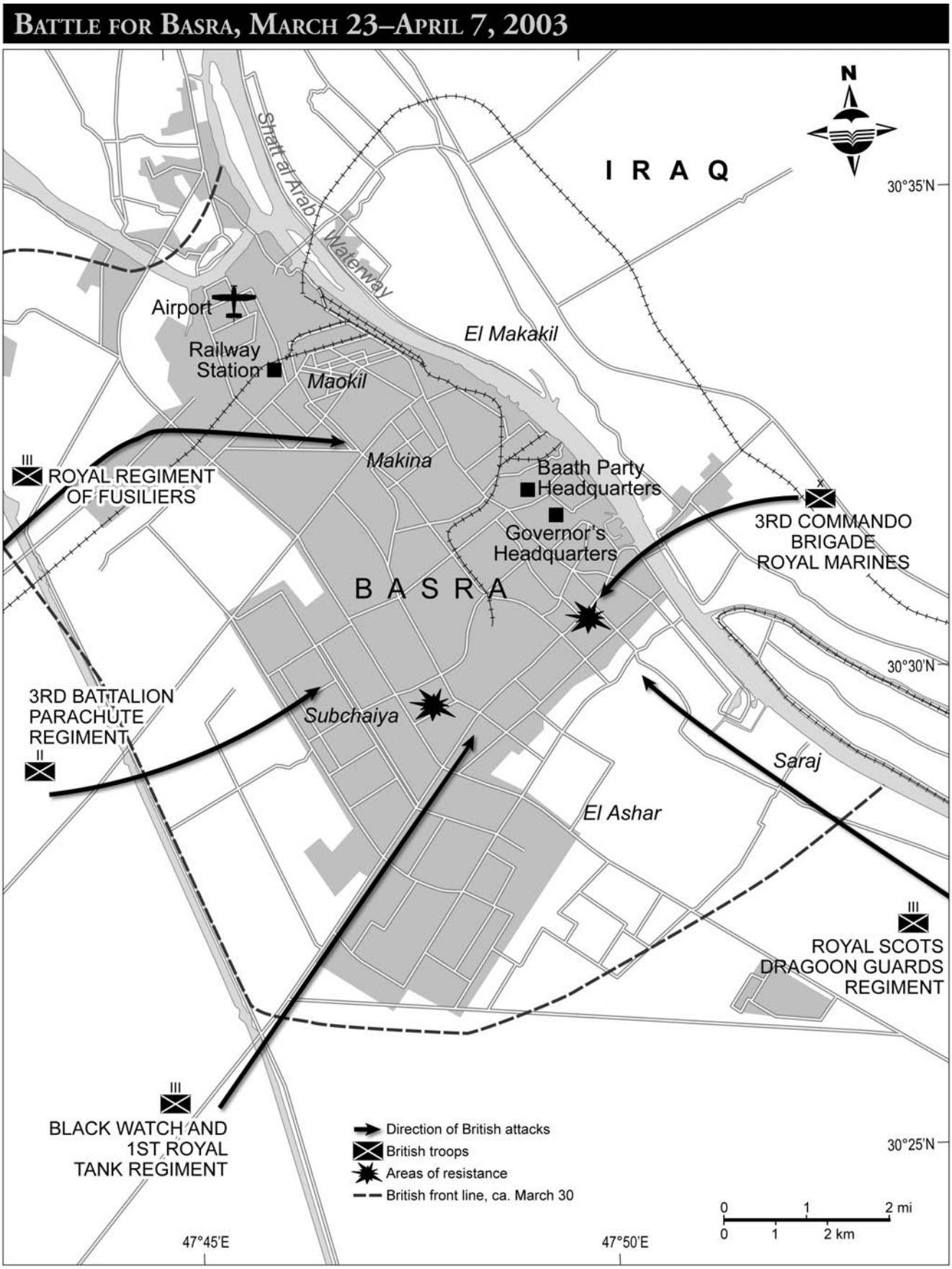
Basra, Battle for

Start Date: March 23, 2003
End Date: April 7, 2003

Battle fought between British and Iraqi forces during the Iraq War of 2003 at the Iraqi city of Basra (Basrah) in southeastern Iraq near the Shatt al-Arab waterway and the Persian Gulf. The battle began on March 23 and ended with the British capture of the city on April 7. At Basra, the British pursued a strategy considerably different from that followed by their American coalition partners during the invasion of Iraq. While this British strategy sharply limited loss of life, it also allowed many Iraqi soldiers and officials to escape and fight in the subsequent insurgency.

During the opening days of the Iraq War, British forces, supported by U.S. marines and offshore coalition naval units, seized

Iraqi civilians fleeing the city of Basra in southern Iraq during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, March 28, 2003. (AP/Wide World Photos)


BATTLE FOR BASRA, MARCH 23–APRIL 7, 2003
N
IRAQ
30°35'N
Shatt al Arab Waterway
Airport
Railway Station
El Makakil
Maokil
Makina
III
ROYAL REGIMENT OF FUSILIERS
Baath Party Headquarters
Governor's Headquarters
X
3RD COMMANDO BRIGADE ROYAL MARINES
BASRA
30°30'N
3RD BATTALION PARACHUTE REGIMENT
II
Subchaiya
Saraj
El Ashar
III
ROYAL SCOTS DRAGOON GUARDS REGIMENT
III
BLACK WATCH AND 1ST ROYAL TANK REGIMENT
Direction of British attacks
British troops
Areas of resistance
British front line, ca. March 30
30°25'N
0 1 2 mi
0 1 2 km
47°45'E
47°50'E

the Faw peninsula and the deep-water port of Umm Qasr. British forces then took over occupation of the Rumaylah oil fields from American units that were needed elsewhere. The next major task for the British then became the capture of Basra, Iraq's second-largest city and its principal port, with an estimated population of more than 1.25 million people.

To achieve the capture of Basra, the British deployed the 1st Armored Division commanded by Major General Robin Brims. Iraqi forces in the city were commanded by General Ali Hassan al-Majid, otherwise known as "Chemical Ali" for his role in the Iraqi nerve gas attack on the Kurdish town of Halabja in 1988. Ali commanded a mixed force of Iraqi regulars and Baathist militia.

Brims decided upon a unique strategy for the taking of Basra, which would limit civilian deaths and mitigate physical damage to the city's buildings and infrastructure. The population of the city was made up primarily of anti–Saddam Hussein Shia. Basra had suffered greatly during President Hussein's suppression of the 1991 southern Shia rebellion that had followed the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Brims did not want to destroy the city and did not want to inflict needless casualties on the civilian population and thereby turn its people against the coalition.

Brims thus ordered the 1st Armored Division to surround Basra beginning on March 23, but he did not place the city under siege. He allowed anyone who wanted to leave Basra to do so, hoping to encourage desertion among Iraqi conscripts, which did occur. Brims also avoided the use of indirect artillery fire against Iraqi positions in Basra, thereby minimizing civilian casualties. Ali's strategy was to draw the British into battle in the narrow city streets of Basra where the British advantage in armor would be nullified, but Brims refused to engage in street fighting.

Frustrated, the Iraqis attempted to provoke the British into launching a major attack on the city. Ali sent out a column of Soviet-built T-55 tanks to attack the British on the evening of March 26. However, the T-55s were outranged by the 120-millimeter (mm) guns of the British Challenger tanks of the Royal Scots Dragoon Guards, resulting in the destruction of 15 T-55s without loss to the British.

On March 31 British reconnaissance, intelligence, and sniper teams began infiltrating the city, gathering intelligence, sniping at Iraqi officers and Baathist officials, making contact with anti-Hussein resistance circles, and directing artillery and air strikes. Beginning in early April, the British initiated a series of devastating yet limited raids against Iraqi positions using Warrior armored vehicles equipped with 30-mm cannon and capable of speeds of more than 50 miles per hour.

On April 5 an American F-16 fighter-bomber dropped two satellite-guided Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM) bombs on a building thought to be Chemical Ali's headquarters. The building was destroyed, and initially Ali was reported killed. Ali in fact survived the bombing and was not captured until after the war, but reports of his death were widely believed by Iraqi defenders, whose morale now plummeted.

A probe by the British into northern Basra on the morning of April 6 proved highly successful. Brims decided that the time had come to move into Basra in force. At 11:00 a.m. on April 6, he ordered British troops into the city. Despite heavy fighting, most of the city was under British control by nightfall. The British suffered only three soldiers killed. Some additional fighting continued the next day, but by the evening of April 7 the battle was officially over, and Basra was secure.

Because the British were not assigned the task of assaulting Baghdad and overthrowing Hussein's regime and because they were facing a population that they believed was sympathetic, the British could adopt a strategy at Basra that differed markedly from the strategy followed by the Americans in their drive to Baghdad. Loss of life was minimized, and further damage to the city's infrastructure was avoided. However, many of the Baathists who were allowed to escape from Basra must have certainly joined the postwar Sunni insurgency. Basra also experienced a wave of immediate postwar looting and violence similar to what also took place in Baghdad.

Paul W. Doerr

See also

Basra; Brims, Robin; Hussein, Saddam; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Kurds, Massacres of; Majid al Tikriti, Ali Hassan al-; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam

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Battleships, U.S.

Periodically deemed anachronistic in an age of aircraft carriers, nuclear submarines, and long-range missiles, two of the four Iowa-class battleships, the *Missouri* (BB-63) and *Wisconsin* (BB-64), participated in Operation DESERT STORM during January–February 1991, again proving their usefulness in modern warfare.

In the 1980s the U.S. Navy recommissioned these World War II–era battleships to address a shortfall in deployable combatants within the U.S. fleet. Their reactivation and upgrades cost roughly the same as constructing a much smaller warship, such as a frigate. With a full displacement of more than 57,000 tons, the ships were 109 feet in width and 900 feet long. They were capable of a speed of 35 knots from eight boilers for steam propulsion. Their crews numbered 65 officers, more than 1,500 sailors, and a small contingent of marines. Primary firepower was provided by 9 Mark 7 16-inch/50-caliber guns with a range of more than 20 miles. Captains could choose between a 2,700-pound armor-piercing round capable of penetrating up to 30 feet of concrete or a 1,900-pound high-capacity projectile, the shrapnel from which could eliminate all soft targets within at least 60 yards of impact during shore bombardment. The

ships' secondary battery consisted of 12 Mark 28 5-inch/38-caliber guns (originally 20 5-inch guns before refitting).

The ships were also refurbished with four quad cell launchers for the Harpoon antiship missile (range 65 nautical miles), eight armored-box launchers for a total of 32 Tomahawk Land-Attack Missiles (range 900 nautical miles), and four Falcon Phalanx Mark 15 20-millimeter (mm) Close-in Weapons System Gatling guns for air and missile defense. Although lacking a hangar, the battleships afforded sufficient deck space to accommodate up to four helicopters (either the Sikorsky Sea King SH-3 or Sikorsky SH-60 Seahawk).

The *Missouri* and *Wisconsin* accounted for 52 of the more than 300 Tomahawks launched against Iraqi targets during Operation DESERT STORM. When Iraqi units opened the ground campaign by engaging coalition forces near Khafji, Saudi Arabia, on January 29, the battleships initially proved of little use because of the threat of mines along the Kuwaiti coastline. Once minesweeping operations had cleared a zone by February 3, the *Missouri* went into action against Iraqi bunkers in southeastern Kuwait. The *Wisconsin* relieved its sister ship on February 6 and hurled shells at an artillery battery in its first combat firings since the 1950–1953 Korean War. The next day saw the *Wisconsin* destroy the Khawr al Mufattah marina, where Iraqi special forces had commandeered Kuwaiti craft. Unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) and marine spotters assisted in adjusting their fire. During the next two weeks as the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) prepared its ground assault, the battleships hit a variety of targets in southern Kuwait, including command bunkers, tanks, artillery, and troop concentrations.

The commanding presence of these capital ships helped deceive Iraqi leaders into expecting an amphibious assault on the shores of Kuwait instead of what actually ensued: a flanking attack spearheaded by armored forces in Saudi Arabia. On February 24 the two battleships commenced two days of naval gunfire support in conjunction with the much-anticipated coalition ground offensive. All told, during Operation DESERT STORM the *Missouri* and *Wisconsin* fired more than 1,000 shells against Iraqi positions in Kuwait in what constituted probably the last hurrah for these venerable platforms.

During these combat support missions, the 75 sailors in each 16-inch gun turret repeated a procedure dating back to World War II. Elevators provided propellant bags and shells from magazines below decks. The gun captain and rammer positioned these elements, while another crewman attached the primer. A gunner in the plot room pressed twin brass triggers that provided a brief warning bell to the crew before the subsequent blast recoiled each barrel by four feet and rattled the entire ship. A well-trained turret crew could put ordnance on target every 40 seconds.

The *Wisconsin* was decommissioned in September 1991 and was stricken from the Naval Vessel Register in January 1995. It is a museum ship in Norfolk, Virginia. Under congressional mandate, however, it is maintained so that if need be it could be returned to active service. The *Missouri,* once the site of the formal Japanese surrender to end World War II in September 1945, was returned to retirement in 1992 and is a museum ship at Pearl Harbor.

JEFFREY D. BASS

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Bazoft, Farzad

Birth Date: May 22, 1958
Death Date: March 15, 1990

Iranian-born British journalist who was accused of spying for Israel as he worked in Iraq as a reporter and was arrested and executed in 1990 in Iraq on the orders of the Saddam Hussein regime. Farzad Bazoft was born in Iran on May 22, 1958, and was educated in that country before relocating in 1985 to Great Britain, where he became a freelance journalist for the *Observer.* As a Middle Easterner, he was well suited to report on the region's news and occurrences, and he wrote a number of stories concerning Middle Eastern nations, including Iraq. In September 1989 Bazoft was invited to Iraq by the Hussein government, along with other international reporters, to report on that nation's rebuilding process following the destructive 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War.

On September 19, 1989, just prior to Bazoft's departure for Iraq, a massive explosion ripped through an Iraqi military-industrial facility, located about 30 miles to the south of Baghdad. Several dozen Egyptian advisers and workers allegedly died in the blast, which the Hussein regime attempted to cover up. As it turns out, the explosion occurred in a clandestine rocket-manufacturing plant where the Iraqis were assembling medium-range ballistic missiles. Word of the incident soon leaked out, and Bazoft found out about it. He was determined to investigate the incident for himself when he reached Iraq.

After notifying the Iraqi government that he intended to do a story on the explosion and seemingly receiving approval for it, Bazoft traveled to the facility, took numerous photographs, interviewed workers, and left for Baghdad. While he was waiting to board a flight back to London, he was arrested, along with British nurse Daphne Parish, who had driven him to the missile plant. Both were charged with conducting espionage for the Israeli government and held in Iraq's infamous Abu Ghraib Prison.

Both vehemently denied any involvement in an Israeli espionage plot, and the arrest caused international consternation. The British government was especially vocal, demanding that the Iraqis release both Bazoft and Parish immediately.

On November 1, 1989, the Iraqis paraded Bazoft in front of reporters and television cameras as he admitted that he was an Israeli agent. In all likelihood, his captors had tortured him, or threatened torture, to exact the "confession." A trial was set for March 1990, before which Iraqi president Saddam Hussein had assured British prime minister Margaret Thatcher that Bazoft and Parish would receive a fair and impartial legal process.

No such trial occurred. The trial was held in secret, lasted less than one day, and found the two defendants guilty on March 10, 1990. That same day, Bazoft was sentenced to death; Parish was sentenced to 15 years behind bars. The summary convictions prompted more international condemnation, but on July 16 Parish was released following a plea of clemency by Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda. Other pleas to spare Bazoft poured into Iraq but were disregarded. Not permitted to file an appeal, Bazoft was executed by hanging in Baghdad on March 15, 1990. The execution prompted the Thatcher government to recall its ambassador to Iraq and cancel all ministerial visits. The affair brought with it international condemnation of Iraq and showcased the brutality of the Hussein regime. Less than five months later when Iraq invaded Kuwait, touching off the Persian Gulf War, much of the world recalled Bazoft's execution and took an even dimmer view of the Iraqi government.

In 2003 in the immediate aftermath of the invasion of Iraq, the *Observer* tracked down the Iraqi official who had arrested Bazoft, Colonel Kadhim Askar. He admitted that Bazoft was innocent and that he had known that when he arrested him. Askar also asserted that he was powerless to stop the proceedings against Bazoft because standing up to Saddam Hussein would have brought his own death and confirmed that Bazoft had been repeatedly and severely beaten during his interrogation.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also
Media and Operation DESERT STORM; War Correspondents

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Beckwith, Charles Alvin
Birth Date: January 22, 1929
Death Date: June 13, 1994

U.S. Army officer and U.S. Army Special Forces leader. Charles Alvin Beckwith was born on January 22, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia. In high school he was an outstanding all-state football player, and he went on to play football at the University of Georgia. Beckwith also participated in the university's Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) program and upon graduation in 1952 was commissioned a second lieutenant.

In the mid-1950s Beckwith was assigned to the elite 82nd Airborne Division, where he was a support company commander of the 504th Parachute Infantry Regiment. In 1957 he joined the U.S. Army Special Forces (Green Berets), an unconventional warfare branch that became a high priority of the John F. Kennedy administration. Beckwith went to Southeast Asia in 1960 and served as military adviser in Laos and the Republic of Vietnam (ROV, South Vietnam). This was followed by a tour as an exchange officer in Great Britain with that nation's elite Special Air Service (SAS) in 1962–1963. Beckwith was impressed by both the antiterrorism focus of the SAS and the expertise and effectiveness of the unit.

Beckwith returned to Vietnam to command a Special Forces unit dubbed Project Delta, a 250-man force. In 1966 he was very seriously wounded in combat while flying in a helicopter. Medical personnel initially estimated the wound to his abdomen, caused by a large .50-caliber bullet, as fatal and determined that his condition was hopeless. Nevertheless, he recovered fully from the wound, a result credited to his iron will and superb physical condition.

After his service in Vietnam, Beckwith assumed command of the Florida component of the rigorous U.S. Army Ranger School. In this assignment he helped reform the school to address unconventional Vietnam War–style challenges and environments. The program previously had been based on the army's lessons from conventional military conflicts, in particular World War II.

Beckwith, promoted to colonel in 1976, played a principal role in the formation of Delta Force, formally known as the 1st Special Forces Operational Detachment–Delta (SFOD-D). This elite fighting unit, formally created in 1977, was in part inspired by and based generally on the British SAS antiterrorism unit. Beckwith had repeatedly sought to create an American version of the SAS, and his superiors finally gave in to his urgings in 1974. The unit focuses on countering terrorists, including hostage rescues, specialized reconnaissance, and other particularly demanding and irregular warfare missions.

Training for the unit is exceptionally rigorous, and Delta Force is highly selective in its membership. Members are termed "operators" and are divided into three squadrons. Delta Force is based at the U.S. Army base at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. Most details concerning the unit's full profile, characteristics, and operations are classified. Delta Force is one of two special elite units in the U.S. military focused on combating terrorism. The other is Dev Group, a U.S. Navy unit.

Beckwith became generally well known to the public as the commander of the unsuccessful Operation EAGLE CLAW in April 1980, a special interservice military task force that attempted to rescue

U.S. Army colonel Charles Beckwith, who led the unsuccessful attempt to rescue American hostages in Iran, attends the White House ceremony for the released hostages on January 27, 1981. (AP/Wide World Photos)

the American embassy hostages being held in Tehran, Iran. The embassy had been overrun and occupied on November 4, 1979, by Islamic student militants following the revolution that had overthrown Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. American diplomatic personnel were taken captive at that time and held for 444 days.

The complex rescue effort involved a dangerous night flight across Iran by RH-53D helicopters and a rendezvous in a remote desert location in Iran with C-130 aircraft. Three of the eight helicopters on the mission experienced mechanical problems en route, leaving the mission one ship less than the minimum held necessary for success. The April 25, 1979, decision to end the hostage rescue mission was made by Beckwith himself at the rendezvous site. A collision in the dark between a helicopter and a Lockheed C-130 Hercules transport aircraft killed three marines and five airmen and seriously injured eight others.

The aftermath of the failed raid included some reorganization of the U.S. military, including the creation of the new Special Operations Command and the 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment (the "Night Stalkers"). There were public accusations of fault by some members of the rescue operation, and Beckwith became engaged in this controversy. A panel of inquiry determined that lack of full coordination across service lines in planning and training for the exercise along with simple bad luck lay behind the failure. Nevertheless, the affair ended Beckwith's military career, and he retired in 1981 at the rank of colonel. His book *Delta Force,* published in 1983, blamed the failure of the mission on the marines piloting the helicopters and on the helicopters themselves, which he argued were not designed for operation in adverse conditions such as those found in the Iranian desert.

Beckwith's principal legacy is his devotion to the development of unconventional warfare skills and techniques, primarily through the Special Forces and Delta Force. After leaving the service he formed his own security company, Security Assistance Services, in Austin, Texas, where he died suddenly on June 13, 1994.

Arthur I. Cyr

See also

Delta Force; eagle claw, Operation; Iranian Revolution

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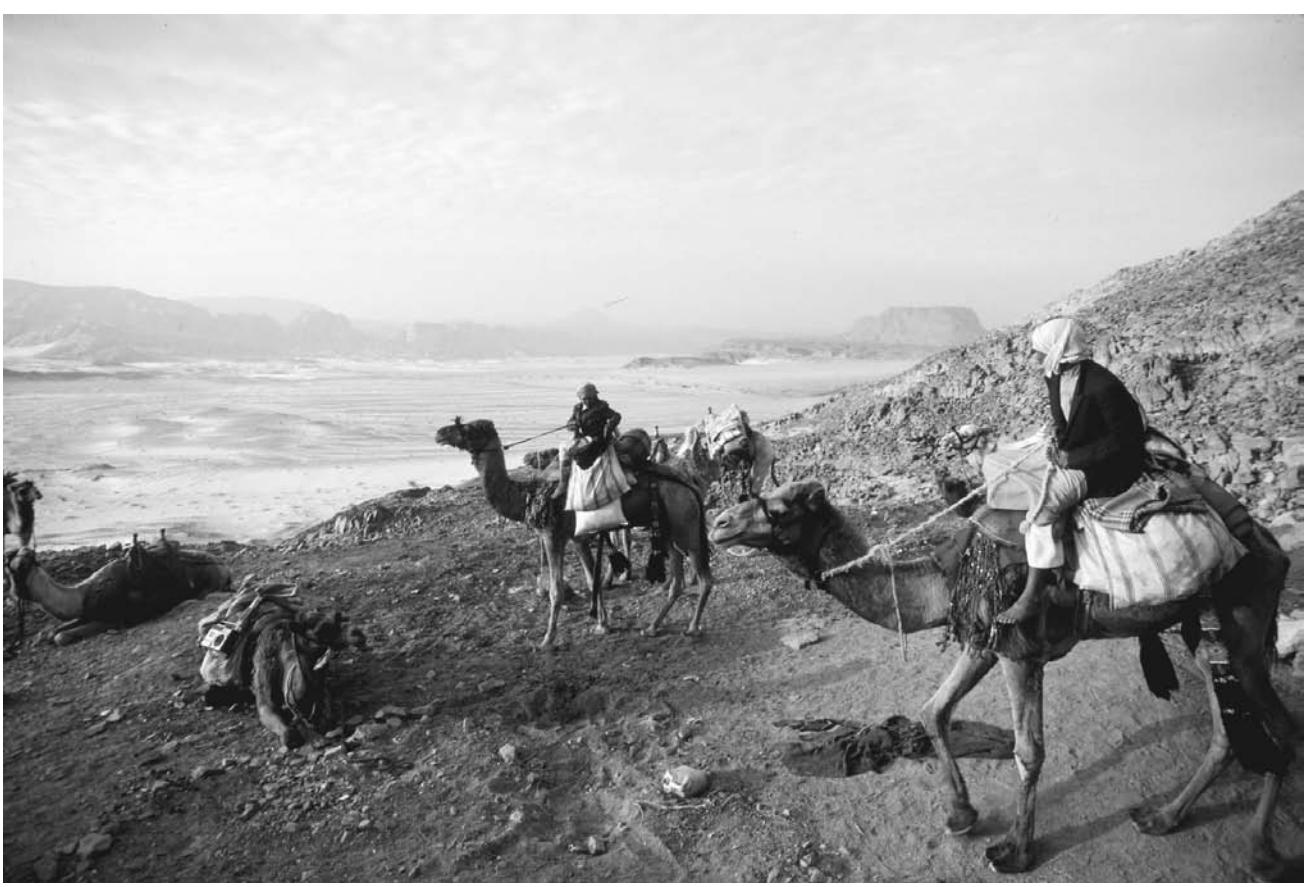
Bedouin

Nomadic and seminomadic tribal pastoral peoples generally located in the Arabian Peninsula, North Africa, the Levant, Jordan, Iraq, the Negev desert, and the Sinai peninsula. Bedouin live in present-day Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Yemen, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Israel, Egypt, Sudan, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and Libya. Bedouin are of Arab origin and practice Islam. The Bedouin are organized by kinship clans into tribes. Individual households, or *bayts* ("tents"), may be comprised of two or more generations: a man and his wife or wives and his parents or siblings plus their children. A tribe (*qabila*) was traditionally presided over by a group of sheikhs, each a patrilinear position usually handed down from elder brother to younger brother and sometimes from father to son. On the other hand, not all sheikhs headed their families, and the term may simply be one of respect for an elder.

For centuries, the Bedouin have been nomads who engage in light agriculture and usually animal husbandry and live off the land. As they have been forcibly settled by governments since the 19th century, those retaining their traditional ways are mostly seminomadic. They move throughout their prescribed lands seasonally, following freshwater sources or moving to take advantage of various plant supplies. Many have herded sheep, goats, and camels. Traditionally, Bedouin move in groups containing several families and live in tents, which aid in their ability to pick up stakes and move when the situation warrants. However, ever since enforced settlement beginning in the first half of the 20th century or later, more and more Bedouin have given up their lifestyle to work and live in cities and towns throughout much of the region. Indeed, expanding population, urban sprawl, government policies, and the shrinking of suitable grazing lands have pushed many Bedouin into sedentary urban lifestyles. It is difficult to determine the precise number of Bedouin in the Middle East, although estimates vary from as few as 750,000 to well over 1 million. While Bedouin are noted for their generous hospitality, they are also fiercely territorial and do not take violations of their land rights lightly.

Bedouin culture is a complex and fascinating one and has been many centuries in the making. Bedouin tents are functional and well designed. One type could be divided in two by a cloth curtain (*ma'nad*), which separates the tent into a seating/living area for men and a place to entertain guests and another area (the *mahaarama*) in which women cook, socialize, and receive female guests. Bedouin have their own unique poetry, storytelling, music, and dance, much of which is reserved for the reception of guests, special occasions, and the like. Both Bedouin men and women wear traditional and prescribed clothing that can often indicate the status or age of the wearer. Clothing also varies depending upon the area or nation that the Bedouin inhabit. The Bedouin have their own tribal (or customary) law, and thus disputes may be solved



Bedouin camel camp, Sinai, Egypt. (Corel)

and punishment meted out according to those laws rather than resorting to civil courts in a state or locality.

Currently, Bedouin make up about 12 percent of the total Arab population in Israel. As part of the Arab minority, they face many of the same hurdles as their Arab brethren, including institutional and societal discrimination, reduced socioeconomic opportunities, substandard education, and poor health care. However, they have come under additional pressure as the Israeli government has tried to impose settlement policies on them and reduce or eliminate their traditional land areas. A fair number of Bedouin (5–10 percent of Bedouin males) serve in the Israeli military. Their intricate knowledge of the local terrain makes them valuable rangers and trackers.

Bedouin have faced similar pressures even in Arab states, however, as governments have purposely adopted land-use and settlement policies that are at odds with traditional Bedouin culture and lifestyle. Nevertheless, Bedouin have held fast to their tribal and cultural identities, even after they have settled and adopted modern urbanized lifestyles. For others, the restrictions and pressures on them have meant an abandonment of a truly nomadic way of life. For example, in the Egyptian Sinai peninsula, many Bedouin work on the coast in the tourist industry and in fishing, returning periodically to their families in the interior.

Bedouin have played important roles in the politics of various countries and have formed important portions of fighting forces such as in Sir John (Pasha) Glubb's Arab Legion, where they were known as Glubb's Girls for their long hair. Their transitional and rural status has also ensured their poor treatment on occasion such as in Israel, where they were not permitted to return after 1948 and had their grazing lands seized, or in Iraq, where various clans were decimated both in the western provinces and in the case of the Marsh Arabs.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Egypt; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Jordan; Kuwait; Lebanon; Libya; Oman, Role in Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Saudi Arabia; Sudan; Syria; United Arab Emirates; Yemen

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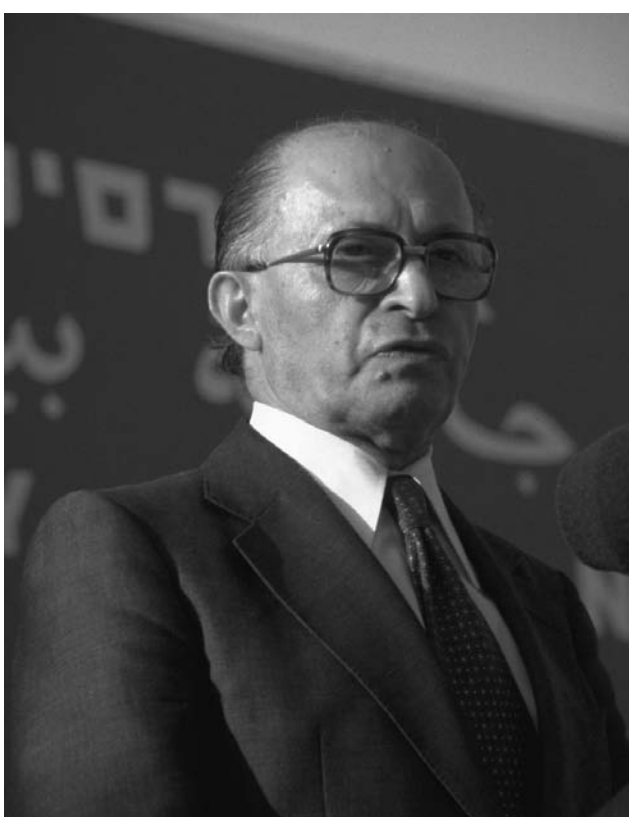
Begin, Menachem

Birth Date: August 16, 1913
Death Date: March 9, 1992

Prime minister of Israel (1977–1983). Menachem Wolfovitch Begin was born to an Ashkenazi Jewish family in Brest-Litovsk (Brisk), Russia (now Belarus), on August 16, 1913. He fled with his family to Vilnius, Poland, to escape the battling German and Russian armies in World War I. Begin's father was an ardent Zionist, and Begin was a member of the Hashomer Hatzair scout movement until age 13 and joined Vladimir Jabotinsky's Betar youth movement at age 16. Betar was a subset of the Zionist Revisionist movement committed to the creation of a Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan River. Begin took up the leadership of the Organization Department of Betar for Poland in 1932.

Begin graduated from the University of Warsaw with a law degree in 1935 and assumed the leadership of Betar Czechoslovakia in 1936. He returned to Warsaw in 1937 and was imprisoned for a short time because of his Zionist activities. He became head of Betar in Poland in 1938. Under his overall leadership, some 100,000 members engaged in self-defense, weapons, agricultural, and communications training. Members of Betar also transported to Palestine immigrants declared illegal by the British government. Begin advocated the establishment of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine by conquest and pushed this position at the 1938 Betar convention.

In 1939 Begin fled Warsaw when the Germans invaded Poland. He managed to cross into eastern Poland, which the Soviets invaded two weeks later, and thus avoided the roundup of Jews by



Menachem Begin was a militant Zionist guerrilla in Palestine who ultimately became the prime minister of Israel and a peacemaker. He is remembered for his part in the Camp David Peace Accords (1978), which brought peace between Egypt and Israel. (Sa'ar Ya'acov/Israeli Government Press Office)

the Nazis. Both his parents and a brother died in Nazi concentration camps during the war. In 1940 he was arrested by the Soviets and sent to a concentration camp in Siberia. He was released following the agreement establishing a Polish army to fight the Germans that followed the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941.

Begin duly enlisted in the Free Polish Army in exile and was sent for training in 1942 to the British Mandate for Palestine. He left the army there in 1943 and joined the Jewish national movement in Palestine. He openly criticized the Jewish Agency for Palestine and worldwide Zionism as too timid in their approach to a Jewish state. In 1942 he had joined Irgun Tsvai Leumi (National Military Organization) and commanded the movement from 1943 to 1948. Under Begin's leadership, Irgun declared war on the British and resumed attacks on Palestinian Arab villages and British interests. The declaration came in February 1944.

The British had already classified Irgun as a terrorist organization. The Jewish Agency for Palestine, Haganah, and Histadrut had all declared its operations as terrorist acts. Nevertheless, Irgun's operations were so successful under Begin that the British launched an extensive manhunt for him. He avoided capture by disguising himself as an Orthodox rabbi. Meanwhile, he directed the Irgun bombing of the British military, police, and civil headquarters at Jerusalem's King David Hotel on July, 22, 1946, that killed 91 people. Begin and Irgun claimed to have issued three warnings in an attempt to limit casualties.

In anticipation of and following the partitioning of Palestine in 1947, Irgun and Haganah increasingly coordinated. Israel declared its independence on May 15, 1948, and announced the absorption of Haganah into its national military, the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), effective May 18, 1948. All other armed forces were banned. Irgun signed an agreement to be absorbed by the IDF on June 1, 1948, which formally occurred in September 1948. Begin also played a key role in the *Altalena* Incident of June 23, 1948.

After Israel's independence, Begin led Israel's political opposition from 1948 to 1977, reforming what remained of Irgun into the rightist Herut (Freedom) Party, with himself as its head. In 1965 Herut merged with the Liberal Party, creating the Gahal Party that formed the understructure of the future Likud (Unity) Party. Just prior to the June 1967 Six-Day War, Begin joined the National Unity government's cabinet as a minister without portfolio. The government was dissolved on August 1, 1970.

The Likud Party's May 17, 1977, victory in the national elections for the ninth Knesset allowed Begin, the chairman of Likud since 1970, to form the new government. On June 21 he became Israel's sixth (and first non-Labor) prime minister. Domestically, Begin moved to turn the Israeli economy away from the centralized, highly planned enterprise that characterized it under Labor. The prime minister also actively promoted immigration to Israel, especially from Ethiopia and the Soviet Union. Finally, he sought infrastructure improvements, advances in education, and the renewal of Israel's poorest neighborhoods.

Prime Ministers of Israel, 1945–Present

Name	*Political Party*	*Term*
David Ben-Gurion	Mapai	1948–1954
Moshe Sharett	Mapai	1954–1955
David Ben-Gurion	Mapai	1955–1963
Levi Eshkol	Mapai/Labour	1963–1969
Yigal Allon (interim)	Labour	1969
Golda Meir	Labour	1969–1974
Yitzhak Rabin	Labour	1974–1977
Menachem Begin	Likud	1977–1983
Yitzhak Shamir	Likud	1983–1984
Shimon Peres	Labour	1984–1986
Yitzhak Shamir	Likud	1986–1992
Yitzhak Rabin	Labour	1992–1995
Shimon Peres	Labour	1995–1996
Benjamin Netanyahu	Likud	1996–1999
Ehud Barak	Labour	1999–2001
Ariel Sharon	Likud/Kadima	2001–2006
Ehud Olmert	Kadima	2006–2009
Benjamin Netanyahu	Likud	2009–present

It was in the realm of foreign policy, however, that Begin most asserted himself. One of his first acts as prime minister was to challenge King Hussein of Jordan, President Hafiz al-Asad of Syria, and President Anwar Sadat of Egypt to meet with him to discuss peace. Sadat, but not the others, accepted the challenge and arrived in Israel on November 19, 1977. Following intermittent negotiations, Begin and Sadat met with U.S. president Jimmy Carter at Camp David, Maryland, and signed the Camp David Accords after nearly two weeks of negotiations (September 5–17, 1978).

The accords included two framework agreements that established guidelines for both the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty and a potentially wider Middle East peace agreement. The bilateral treaty was signed in Washington, D.C., on March 26, 1979. Begin attended and participated in Sadat's funeral in Cairo after the Egyptian leader was assassinated by Muslim fundamentalists in October 1981.

Despite Begin's willingness to seek peace with Egypt, the other Arab states, including Syria and Jordan, remained hostile toward Israel. And Begin was uncompromising on the place of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, seized by Israel during the Six-Day War, in the modern State of Israel. He considered them part of the historical lands given to Israel by God. Indeed, Begin promoted and oversaw the expansion of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip that continue to be an impediment to Palestinian-Israeli peace accords to the present day.

From May 28, 1980, to August 6, 1981, Begin served concurrently as Israel's prime minister and defense minister. When Israeli intelligence notified Begin that Iraq was close to producing weapons-grade nuclear fuel at its Osiraq/Tammuz nuclear reactor, he ordered the Israeli Air Force's successful destruction of the facility on June 7, 1981. Shortly thereafter he enunciated the Begin Doctrine, which held that Israel would act preemptively to counter any perceived threat from weapons of mass destruction (WMDs).

On June 30, 1981, Begin was reelected prime minister. It was soon apparent to the second Begin government that the Lebanese government was unable or unwilling to stop terrorist attacks launched from its soil. As such, in June 1982 Begin authorized Operation PEACE FOR GALILEE, the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon. The operation was designed to drive Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Katyusha rockets out of the range of Israel's northern border and to destroy the terrorist infrastructure that had developed in southern Lebanon.

Although the PLO was driven from Lebanon, the Israeli presence in the country lasted for 18 years. Amplified in its impact through Lebanese proxy forces, it polarized Lebanese politics. The Israeli operation resulted in such a high number of Palestinian civilian deaths that worldwide public opinion turned against Israel. The failure of Operation PEACE FOR GALILEE to progress in the intended time frame and the large number of causalities on both sides weighed heavily on Begin. Tired and still mourning the recent death of his wife, he resigned as prime minister on September 15, 1983. Over the next 9 years he lived quietly, if not reclusively, in Tel Aviv. Begin died of heart failure on March 9, 1992, in Tel Aviv.

RICHARD EDWARDS

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Camp David Accords; Carter, James Earl, Jr.; Lebanon; Sadat, Muhammad Anwar

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Beharry, Johnson
Birth Date: July 26, 1979

British Army soldier awarded the Victoria Cross for actions during combat in Iraq. Born in Grenada on July 26, 1979, Johnson Beharry immigrated to the United Kingdom in 1999. In 2001 he joined the Princess of Wales's Royal Regiment. After training in Catterick, he served in both Kosovo and in Northern Ireland.

Assigned with his regiment to Iraq, on the night of May 1, 2004, Private Beharry was driving the lead Warrior Tracked Armoured Vehicle in a convoy of six sent to the aid of a foot patrol that had been ambushed in the town of Amarah. Beharry's vehicle was hit by a number of rocket-propelled grenades, wounding the platoon leader and a number of soldiers in the Warrior. The vehicle sustained serious damage and was soon on fire. The explosions had also destroyed the driver's periscope, and Beharry was forced to open the hatch to see, all the time exposing his head and shoulders to enemy small-arms fire. To escape the ambush he drove directly through it, deciding to crash through a barrier in the street while not knowing if there were improvised explosive devices there that might destroy his vehicle. The five other Warriors followed after him to safety. During the escape, a bullet penetrated Beharry's helmet and lodged in its inner surface. Locating another Warrior, Beharry then carried the wounded from his still-burning vehicle to it, all the time while under enemy fire.

On duty on June 11, 2004, Beharry was again driving the lead Warrior in his platoon through Amarah when his vehicle was struck by a rocket-propelled grenade. Beharry suffered serious head injuries from shrapnel. Other rocket-propelled grenades also hit the vehicle, wounding the platoon leader and others in it. Despite his serious wounds, Beharry was able to retain control of the Warrior and drive it from the ambush area before losing consciousness. His wounds required brain surgery, and he was still recovering when he was awarded Britain's highest military decoration, the Victoria Cross, in March 2005.

Beharry was the first to win the Victoria Cross since the 1982 Falklands War and is the first living recipient since two Australians received it for actions during the Vietnam War. Since Beharry's award of the medal, a second Victoria Cross was awarded by Australia on January 16, 2009, to Trooper Mark G. Donaldson of Australia's Special Air Service Regiment for combat action in Afghanistan on September 2, 2008.

Beharry had said that he hoped to be able to return to active duty, but although he remained on the army payroll, his wounds would not allow this. In September 2006 Beharry was promoted to lance corporal. In 2005 he had signed a contract for a book about his experiences worth a reported £1 million. Written with the collaboration of Nick Cook, *Barefoot Soldier* was published in 2006. Beharry has made television appearances, including one in which he appealed for better care for military personnel suffering from mental health problems.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Bush, George Walker

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Benedict XVI, Pope
Birth Date: April 16, 1927

Roman Catholic theologian, author, prelate, and pope (2005–present). Born on April 16, 1927, in Marktl am Inn, Bavaria, Germany, Joseph Alois Ratzinger, the son of a police officer, as a young boy exhibited a keen interest in becoming a Catholic priest. He attended local schools and in 1941 was compelled to join the Hitler Youth, a Nazi Party organization. Neither Ratzinger nor his family were at all sympathetic to the Nazi cause, however, and the young

German Catholic cardinal Joseph Ratzinger became Pope Benedict XVI on April 19, 2005. Benedict succeeded Pope John Paul II as the new leader of the 1.1 billion–member Roman Catholic Church. (Shutterstock)

Ratzinger remained as detached as possible from the organization. When he reached age 16, he was drafted into the German Army and trained as an infantryman, although illness precluded him from serving in combat. In early 1945 he was briefly interned by U.S. occupation forces as a prisoner of war but was soon released in the summer of 1945. That November, he entered St. Michael Seminary in Traunstein, Germany, and he subsequently studied at the Ducal Georgianum at Ludwig-Maximilian University in Munich. He was ordained a priest on June 29, 1951.

Well read, fluent in several languages, and dedicated to the study of theology and questions of the Catholic faith, Ratzinger began writing soon after his ordination and became a fixture in academe, earning his doctorate for a well-regarded study of St. Augustine's church doctrine. By 1959 Ratzinger had become a professor at the University of Bonn and was writing prolifically on theological matters, Church doctrine, and Catholic dogma. Four years later he joined the faculty of the University of Münster and was by then a theologian of international repute. In 1966 he moved to the University of Tübingen, where he held a chair in dogmatic theology. During this time, his writings portray a man who believed in Church reforms (he believed that the Roman Catholic Church had become too hierarchical). At the same time, the growing trends toward theological extremism and the insertion of Marxist ideology into theology alarmed him greatly. By the late 1960s Ratzinger's writings and theological orientation had begun to take a more conservative tack, partly as a response to the social and academic upheavals of the decade. In 1969 he left Tübingen and took a faculty position at the University of Regensburg, where he founded an important theological journal titled *Communio.* During the Vatican II Conference (Second Vatican Council, 1962–1965), Ratzinger attended many meetings as an expert on theological and dogmatic matters.

In 1977 Pope Paul VI appointed Ratzinger archbishop of Munich and Freising. That same year Ratzinger became a cardinal. He continued his research and writing but became a central figure in the Vatican. In 1981 Pope John Paul II appointed him prefect of the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith and president of the Pontifical Biblical Commission and the International Theological Commission. This gave Ratzinger considerable influence within the Church, and his conservative theological positions and teachings were in perfect sync with those of Pope John Paul II, who was liberal on matters of social justice but conservative when it came to matters of faith and Church teaching.

In 1998 Ratzinger was elected vice dean of the College of Cardinals, and in 2002 he was elected dean. In the Roman Curia, he held numerous positions of leadership and authority. His writings are

prolific and erudite, and he never disappointed those who sought theological positions that were at once conservative in nature and flawlessly argued. Prior to John Paul II's death in 2005, Ratzinger was without doubt the most powerful and influential man in the whole of the Roman Curia.

Following the death of John Paul II, Cardinal Ratzinger was elevated to the papacy on April 19, 2005. Although some pundits had viewed Ratzinger as too old (he was then 78), he was reported to be in good health, and his doctrinaire approach to Church teachings and his long and close relationship to his predecessor made him one of the most logical candidates for the papacy.

Since becoming pope and taking the name Benedict XVI, he has surprised few with his policies and stances on key issues. Like John Paul II, Benedict has decried war and called for a society that is less consumer- and pop-culture–driven and more attuned to God's words and good works toward others. He has also reformed and reduced in size the Roman Curia and has more recently signaled his agreement to convene a council to discuss the possible use of condoms to fight AIDS and HIV, although he steadfastly opposes their use as contraceptives alone, which would run counter to Church teaching. While he has embarked on a number of foreign visits, his travel schedule pales in comparison to his peripatetic predecessor. Benedict nevertheless continues John Paul's dedication to ecumenism but has angered some in both the Jewish and Muslim communities.

Benedict has made two official visits to Jewish synagogues and is only the second pope to do so (John Paul II was the first). But his meeting with a controversial Polish priest who was on record as having made disparaging remarks about Judaism and the Holocaust provoked a sharp response from the Jewish community. In September 2006 Benedict generated a storm of controversy during a talk he gave in Germany. In it, he quoted a controversial passage from a European work quoting a 14th-century Byzantine emperor who sharply rebuked the Prophet Muhammad by suggesting that his message was one of violence and "evil." The pope further amplified this statement with a critique of the Muslim practice of jihad throughout history and of aspects of the Qur'an, suggesting that both the Prophet and Muslim beliefs are inherently misguided and require reform. Benedict later apologized, but the damage had been done.

Benedict has also cautioned moderation in fighting terrorism, pointing out that it is immoral and counterproductive to kill innocent people in an effort to stamp out evil. Some have seen this as a subtle rebuke of aggressive foreign policy by the United States in recent years.

In May 2009 the pope visited the Middle East, where he celebrated Mass in Jordan and expressed his "deep respect" for Islam. He also called for more interfaith dialogue between Christians and Muslims in an attempt to mend fences following remarks he made in 2006 that were interpreted by many Muslims as insulting and inflammatory. Amid increased tensions between the Vatican and Tel Aviv, Pope Benedict next visited Israel and the Palestinian territories, where he acknowledged the horrors of the Holocaust and expressed deep regret for anti-Semitism but also called for a two-state solution to the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Benedict's public endorsement of the two-state solution in his very first public appearance in Israel was seen as a clear prod to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who has steadfastly refused to embrace the two-state compromise since he took office for the second time in March 2009.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also
John Paul II, Pope; Netanyahu, Benjamin

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Berger, Samuel Richard
Birth Date: October 28, 1945

Attorney, foreign policy expert, and national security adviser to President William J. Clinton from 1997 to 2001. Samuel (Sandy) Richard Berger was born on October 28, 1945, in Sharon, Connecticut. He grew up in nearby Millerton, New York, where his parents operated a store. Graduating with an undergraduate degree from Cornell University in 1967, he went on to earn a law degree at Harvard University in 1971. Interested in politics at a young age, Berger worked in Senator George McGovern's unsuccessful 1972 presidential campaign and met a young Bill Clinton; the two men became lifelong friends and political allies.

From 1973 to 1980, Berger held a series of political and government positions, including deputy director of policy planning for the U.S. State Department under Secretary of State Cyrus Vance from 1977 to 1980. After that, Berger became a partner at a leading Washington, D.C., law firm, where he greatly expanded its international law practice. He was heavily involved in trade issues with the Chinese government.

In 1992 Berger served as the senior foreign policy adviser to Governor Bill Clinton's presidential campaign. When Clinton won the November 1992 election, Berger served as the assistant director of transition for national security. From 1993 to 1997 Berger was Clinton's deputy national security adviser, working under National Security Advisor Anthony Lake. In 1997 Berger replaced Lake as national security adviser, a post he held until 2001.

Berger was a key player in numerous international endeavors and crises during his years in the West Wing, including the response to the 1996 Khobar Towers bombing in Saudi Arabia, the bombing of Iraq in December 1998 (Operation desert fox), the response to the U.S. embassy bombings in Tanzania and Kenya in 1998, and the 1999 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) bombing campaign against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Berger also played a major role in the promulgation of trade and foreign policy with the People's Republic of China (PRC).

In late 1998 Berger gave a major speech in which he stated that the United States would eventually force Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein from power, using force if necessary. While Berger's speech put Hussein and other would-be aggressors on notice that their aggressive actions would not long be tolerated, it also compelled the U.S. military to begin drawing up plans for a potential invasion of Iraq. The result was OPLAN DESERT CROSSING, a thoughtful and detailed plan that laid out the potential pitfalls and opportunities involved with a ground invasion of Iraq and the removal of Hussein from power. Completed in the summer of 1999, DESERT CROSSING was not consulted when the George W. Bush administration drew up plans for the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

Berger's tenure was not without controversy. When it came to light that he had failed to immediately notify President Clinton of the PRC's acquisition of various designs for U.S. nuclear weapons via espionage (he waited 15 months to do so), numerous Republicans called for his resignation. In 2005 Berger was charged with having illegally removed classified information from the National Archives. He pled guilty to the charges and received a fine and two years' probation, and he lost his security clearance for three years and relinquished his law license.

Berger served as a foreign policy adviser to Democratic senator Hillary Clinton's failed 2008 presidential campaign and is currently involved with an international investment firm and provides advice to various international business organizations.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Clinton, Hillary Rodham; Clinton, William Jefferson; Dar es Salaam, Bombing of U.S. Embassy; DESERT CROSSING, OPLAN; DESERT FOX, Operation; Nairobi, Kenya, Bombing of U.S. Embassy

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Bhutto, Benazir

Birth Date: June 21, 1953
Death Date: December 27, 2007

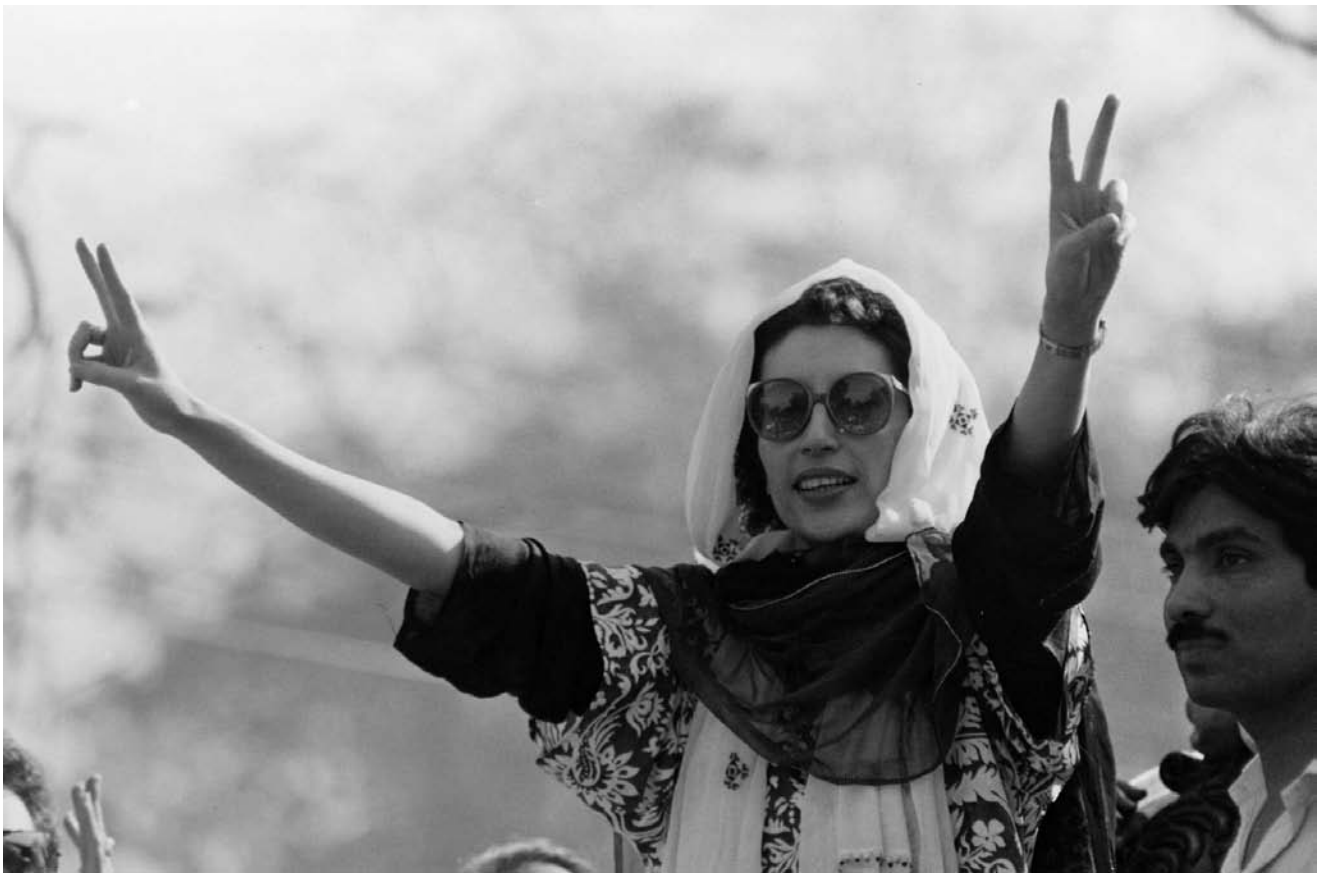
Pakistani politician and prime minister (1988–1990, 1993–1996). Benazir Bhutto, born in Karachi on June 21, 1953, was just 35 years old when she entered office in 1988 as the first female prime minister of a predominantly Muslim nation. Bhutto graduated from Harvard University's Radcliffe College in 1973 and then studied at Oxford University, where she pursued courses in economics, philosophy, and politics. In 1971 her father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the leader of the Pakistan People's Party, was elected prime minister of Pakistan. In 1977 he was overthrown by General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq's military coup d'état. Zulfikar Bhutto was later executed following a two-year imprisonment.

Bhutto was herself subjected to repeated arrests between 1977 and 1986, a period of time interspersed with periods of exile in Great Britain. While abroad, she became a vocal critic of Pakistan's military regime, but in the wake of Zia's revocation of martial law in December 1985, she returned from exile the following year. Bhutto soon emerged as the leader of the Pakistan People's Party, cochairing the organization with Nusrat Bhutto, her mother. The party would win in the November 1988 democratic elections that followed Zia's death in a mysterious plane crash that previous August. Bhutto's first term of office as prime minister ran from 1988 to 1990; her second term lasted from 1993 to 1996.

Both of Bhutto's administrations were plagued by allegations of corruption, particularly on the part of her husband, Asif Zardari. Indeed, in 1990 President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved Bhutto's government because of alleged corruption, and President Farooq Leghari dissolved her government in 1996 on similar grounds. She was also charged with having not ruled effectively and not being able to maintain law and order. In 1999 Zardari and Bhutto were convicted of corruption in a Lahore High Court (Pakistani superior court) case for inappropriate financial dealings with Swiss companies. As a result, they were fined $8 million and sentenced to five years in prison. Although the verdict was overturned in 2001 on the grounds of judicial bias, Swiss courts found the couple guilty of accepting bribes and laundering money in 2003. It was only on the condition that amnesty from corruption charges would be granted that Bhutto agreed to her final return to Pakistan in 2007.

Although Bhutto introduced social reform policies aimed at improving Pakistan's educational and health care systems, her legacy is tainted not only by accusations of corruption but also by the violence that pervaded her time in office. President Leghari, for instance, accused Bhutto of sanctioning extrajudicial executions as a means of quelling the violence that had gripped Karachi, Pakistan's largest city. Her government has also been implicated in the establishment of the Taliban in Afghanistan by the mid-1990s. While Bhutto would later come to denounce the ruthlessness of the Taliban regime, at the end of her second administration she initially welcomed its installment, believing that it would stabilize Afghanistan and the border areas. Despite her shortcomings, it should be noted that Bhutto had to contend with a powerful military establishment and a presidency that often overshadowed her. The former possessed the physical might necessary to impose its will, and the latter held the legal authority to dismiss administrations.

As with her homecoming in 1986, Bhutto returned in 2007 to a Pakistan governed by a military dictatorship; in this case, it was headed by General Pervez Musharraf, who at the time was both head of the military and president. Bhutto was again placed under house arrest, but she was nearly assassinated a day after her return on October 19 when terrorists launched a bombing attack against



Pakistani opposition leader Benazir Bhutto flashes victory signs to welcoming crowds shortly after her return from exile on April 10, 1986. (Reuters/Corbis)

her. As she prepared to launch another political bid, she was assassinated during a shooting and bombing in the city of Rawalpindi on December 27, 2007. Bhutto regarded the October 19 assassination attempt, which resulted in the slaying of 179 people, as the work of Al Qaeda, the Taliban, and members of Musharraf's government. Indeed, the latter's limited efforts to investigate the incident only served to confirm her suspicions of governmental complicity, which she wrote about in her book *Reconciliation: Islam, Democracy, and the West,* published posthumously in 2008.

Immediately following Bhutto's assassination, the Pakistani government named Baitullah Mahsud, a Taliban leader, as the key conspirator in her murder but has not made any significant attempts to capture him. As with the October 19 attack, suspicion has arisen concerning the role played by Musharraf's government in the assassination, and its handling of the affair has not sufficiently removed such sentiments. While Musharraf did invite Scotland Yard to assist in the investigation, he gave the organization a very limited mandate. Scotland Yard did confirm, however, the government's position that Bhutto died after hitting her head on the open roof of her car during the bomb blast and was not felled by gunfire. Despite the election of a new government with Bhutto's former party at its head, little new information on the assassination has emerged.

Jason R. Tatlock

See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; Musharraf, Pervez; Pakistan; Taliban

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Bible

The Bible is a compilation of ancient documents now accepted as the sacred canon for, among others, Christianity and Judaism. It has also served as the seed text for several other religions. The

Bible (from the Latin *biblia sacra,* or "holy books") is commonly divided into two sections, the 33 canonical works of the Hebrew Bible (Tanakh), or the Old Testamant, and the 27 books of the New Testament.

The Tanakh, or what Christians refer to as the Old Testament, is, to a Jew, the primary canonical scripture containing three main components. The Torah ("teaching" or "law") is the most important document of Judaism and is comprised of five books: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. These are often referred to as the Pentateuch (Greek for "five containers"). The Nevi'im ("Prophets") encompasses 17 books, which tell of the rise of the Jewish monarchy and the empowerment of the children of Israel. The Ketuvim ("writings") are made up of 11 books containing material ranging from the poetry of the Psalms to "The Five Scrolls," which include the prophecies of the book of Daniel.

The term "New Testament" was likely coined by Tertullian, an early Christian writer and polemicist, from the Latin phrase "Novum Testamentum" and implies "the new covenant." This refers to the belief that in the Tanakh, the first covenant was made between God and man through Moses. Jesus Christ established a new covenant, which was documented in a new set of scriptures that became the New Testament.

The New Testament is a collection of works by Christ's apostles. Despite their continuing discovery and use, it was not until the Council of Trent (1545–1563) that the various books, used by far-flung churches, began to be formalized into the canonical 27 books currently recognized as the New Testament. The King James Version of the Bible recognizes five divisions of New Testament works.

The first section is made up of the Gospels (Good News), and each of the four gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John) is comprised of one of Christ's apostles telling the life story and detailing the ministry of Christ. Next is the Acts of the Apostles where the narrative continues, detailing how each Apostle continued to spread Christ's ministry. The Pauline Epistles are 14 epistolary writings generally attributed to St. Paul. These letters provide instruction in moral guidance, church doctrine, and the nature of the church itself. The General Epistles, seven epistolary books written by apostles other than Paul, targeted a more universal audience of churches.

Revelation (also known as the Apocalypse of John) refers to its author, as John "of the Island which is called Patmos" (1:1, 9), whom early theologians believed was the Apostle John. Revelation's importance lies in the fact that the text has been interpreted by most Christians as prophesying a terrifying apocalyptic scenario known to them as the end-of-days or Armageddon.

The Bible remains relevant to the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflicts and the confrontations between fundamentalist Islam and the West for many reasons. One is ethnic monotheism, which holds that there is only one God who belongs only to His chosen people (Judaism). This concept creates a cultural dichotomy in that the world is automatically divided into the One God's chosen people in the Promised Land, leaving those on the outside to be either converted, saved, or destroyed.

The Bible also sowed the seeds for its own nemesis. The sacred text of Islam, the Qur'an, claims that Ishmael was the father of all Muslims. According to the Prophet Muhammad and based on Old Testament prophecy (Genesis 21:12), Muhammad draws a convincing argument that the children of Ishmael, the Arabs, are truly God's chosen people. Although Muslims view the Bible as a true narrative of the unfolding of God's revelation to His people, they also believe that parts of it became corrupted as it was handed down throughout the ages, especially the Old Testament. The Qur'an specifically refers to the Gospel in the New Testament numerous times, and Muslims acknowledge the existence of Jesus Christ but not as a divine entity or the son of God. Instead, they view him as a great prophet and God's final revelation to his people.

B. Keith Murphy

See also
Muhammad, Prophet of Islam; Qur'an

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Biden, Joseph Robinette, Jr.
Birth Date: November 20, 1941

Attorney, Democratic Party politician, U.S. senator representing Delaware (1973–2009), chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee (2001–2003, 2007–2009), and vice president of the United States (2009–present). Born in Scranton, Pennsylvania, on November 20, 1941, Joseph Robinette Biden Jr. was the first of four children born to Irish Catholic parents; his parents moved the family to Delaware during his childhood. Biden graduated from the University of Delaware in 1965 and earned a law degree at Syracuse University in 1968 before returning to Delaware to practice law in 1969.

In 1970 Biden was elected to a seat on the New Castle County Council in Delaware, and in 1972 he ran against Republican incumbent J. Caleb Boggs for the U.S. Senate from Delaware and won. Because Delaware is one of the few states small enough to have more senators than congressmen, Biden enjoyed an unusually rapid rise in his political career.

In the Senate Biden served on numerous committees, including Judiciary and Foreign Relations, and in time he would chair

As a U.S. senator from Delaware, Joseph Biden was a leading proponent of tougher crime and drug legislation and a major figure in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy. On January 20, 2009, Biden was sworn in as vice president of the United States. (U.S. Senate)

both on different occasions. He has adhered to a relatively moderate Democratic voting record, supporting industrial endeavors in Delaware and Amtrak and introducing legislation on anti-drug and domestic violence programs as well as college aid programs. In 1984, 1988, and 2008 he ran unsuccessfully to secure the Democratic nomination for president. Because Biden was a moderate and was well versed in national security issues, many considered him a serious contender who could reorient the party at the national level. In 1984 he quickly dropped out of the race, losing to the more liberal former vice president Walter Mondale. In the 1988 campaign his reputation was seriously damaged by the Michael Dukakis campaign, which accused him of plagiarizing a speech by Neil Kinnock, a British Labour Party leader. The accusation had validity in that Biden had not always given attribution to Kinnock when using some phrases from his speeches, although on many occasions he did indeed cite Kinnock.

These failed White House bids in 1984 and 1988 nonetheless raised Biden's profile, and he continued to advance in seniority in the Senate. He chaired the Judiciary Committee from 1987 to 1995 and the Foreign Relations Committee from 2001 to 2003 and again from 2007 to 2009. During William J. Clinton's presidency, Biden, as the ranking Democrat on the Foreign Relations Committee, was a proponent of lifting arms embargoes in the Balkans and using force to stop ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo. Later, Clinton adopted these positions and authorized the use of force by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) against Serbia. Biden also supported the presence of U.S. troops in the Balkans, which had been dispatched there by Clinton.

During the early George W. Bush presidency, Biden supported the administration's effort against Afghanistan in the aftermath of the terror attacks of September 11, 2001. On October 11, 2002, Biden, still the ranking Democrat and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, voted, along with 28 other Democratic Party senators, to authorize the use of military force against Iraq to oust President Saddam Hussein. Although initially supportive of the war, Biden soon became critical of the administration's handling of it and repeatedly called for the use of more troops (including those from the international community) in the occupation. He also urged the president to explain and reveal the full price of the commitment in Iraq to the American people.

In May 2006 Biden along with Leslie Gelb, a former president of the Council on Foreign Relations, outlined a plan for the future of Iraq in a *New York Times* op-ed piece prior to the release of the Iraq Study Group's Report. It called for a federalized Iraq that would allow for greater self-determination for the three largest ethnic groups in Iraq—the Shiites, Sunnis, and Kurds—while retaining a single state. Essentially, the central government would leave the three regions alone to determine their own affairs, restricting itself to foreign affairs, security, and the distribution of oil revenues. Such a plan, in the view of Biden and Gelb, would provide for stability while allowing for an American exit that would secure U.S. influence in the country. Critics of this plan, including Senator John McCain, have argued that in the long term this is little more than a three-state solution that would essentially destroy the nation of Iraq and lead to greater Iranian influence in the region, a claim that Biden hotly contests.

In 2004 Biden was a strong supporter of his friend Senator John Kerry's failed presidential campaign and was frequently mentioned as a potential running mate before Kerry's ultimate selection of Senator John Edwards. In 2007–2008 Biden once again was a contender for the Democratic presidential nomination, although he dropped out of the race in January 2008 after doing poorly in the Iowa primary. Biden subsequently was selected as Barrack Obama's running mate as the vice presidential candidate, and after victory in the November 2008 presidential election Biden became the 47th U.S. vice president on January 20, 2009. Biden's family is a force in Delaware state politics, with his oldest son, Beau, serving as the current attorney general.

Michael K. Beauchamp

See also

Biden-Gelb Proposal; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Iraq Study Group; United States Congress and the Iraq War

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Biden-Gelb Proposal

Proposal put forth by Senator Joseph Biden (D-Del.) and Leslie H. Gelb, celebrated journalist, former Defense Department and State Department official, and president emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations. The proposal recommended the partitioning of Iraq as a way to end the insurgency there. Biden and Gelb revealed their plan in a joint-authored op-ed letter to the *New York Times* on May 1, 2006. The proposal came amid growing frustration with the Iraqi insurgency, which continued to claim the lives of many Iraqis as well as U.S. soldiers. At the time, antiwar sentiment in the United States had been sharply increasing, and the George W. Bush administration appeared unwilling—or unable—to change course in Iraq or devise a plan for an acceptable American exit strategy. Because Biden was already planning to run for the Democratic nomination for president in 2008, the Biden-Gelb Proposal was seen by some as political posturing. However, Biden had arrived at the proposal after long and careful deliberation and with many years of foreign policy experience in the U.S. Senate.

Gelb and Biden asserted that Iraq is essentially unworkable as a single nation with three highly divergent groups—the Kurds, Shiites, and Sunnis—competing for power and sharing only mutual animosity toward each other. Biden and Gelb held that the situation was not unlike the racial and religious tensions that plagued Yugoslavia after World War I. Only under Saddam Hussein's oppressive dictatorship was the country viable as a single entity, but one in which democracy was stifled.

Biden and Gelb proposed the formation of a nominally singular Iraq broken into three loosely organized autonomous federations: one each for the Kurds, Shiites, and Sunni Muslims. The centralized federal government of Iraq would be responsible for national defense and border security issues as well as oil concessions and revenues. The Sunnis, who do not occupy territory with any significant oil operations, would be guaranteed 20 percent of Iraqi oil revenue; in turn, the Sunnis would attempt to revitalize former Baath Party members who had not participated in Hussein's excesses. There individuals would help with defense and oil-related issues.

The Biden-Gelb Proposal also sought to engage other Middle Eastern powers (especially those with oil wealth) in a multilateral effort to provide more economic aid to a confederated Iraq, promote employment, discourage the formation or expansion of militias, and provide for the protection of minority rights within each of the three Iraqi sectors. The proposal also called for a regional summit between U.S. leaders and Middle Eastern leaders to advance the provisions of the proposal. Finally, Biden and Gelb urged the Pentagon to initiate a plan to withdraw most U.S. troops from Iraq by mid-2008, to hand over control to the centralized Iraqi defense force, and to maintain a small contingent of troops in Iraq to reinforce the settlement and conduct antiterror operations.

There was fairly broad and bipartisan support for the Biden-Gelb Proposal, although the plan was hardly without its detractors. The Bush administration rejected most of the Biden-Gelb prescriptions, arguing that portioning Iraq would not necessarily lessen sectarian violence and might, in fact, invite outside powers to wield undue influence in the autonomous areas. The administration also rejected any timetable to an American military withdrawal from Iraq. Others argued that Turkey would hardly support an autonomous Kurdish region along its southern border. Still others asserted that it was hardly likely that Iraq's Middle East neighbors would be willing or able to enter into a multilateral endeavor to secure a confederated Iraq, much less help fund such an entity. Some claimed that equitably splitting Iraq's oil revenues among three regions—one of which did not have access to oil facilities itself—would be an impossible task.

In the end, none of the prescriptions put forth in the Biden-Gelb Proposal was ever adopted as official policy. But its boldness, commonsense approach, and timing helped to inform the dialogue on the Iraq War and may well have been a factor in the Republicans' repudiation at the polls in the November 2006 midterm elections, which resulted in their loss of both houses of Congress. What Biden and Gelb had admitted to publicly—that Iraq in its current form is fraught with difficulty and is hardly a candidate for Western-style democracy—was the same criticism leveled at Great Britain's creation of modern Iraq in 1920, that a nation with disparate ethnic and religious groups with no history of cooperation is almost predisposed to fail or come under the spell of dictatorship. The proposal was also a viable alternative to allowing Iraq to plunge into full-scale civil war, which it was dangerously close to doing in the spring of 2006. Since that time, however, the situation in Iraq has greatly stabilized.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Biden, Joseph Robinette, Jr.; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Iraqi Insurgency; Kurds; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam

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Billiére, Sir Peter Edgar de la

Birth Date: April 29, 1934

British Army general and commander of British forces during Operation DESERT STORM in 1991. Peter Edgar de la Billiére was born on April 29, 1934, in Plymouth, England, the son of a naval doctor. Billiére attended Harrow, the elite British boarding school, and attempted to join the navy but was rejected because of color

blindness. He then joined the army as a private in the King's Shropshire Light Infantry. While he was still a private, evaluation boards selected Billiére for officer training, and he was then commissioned a second lieutenant in the Durham Light Infantry. Billiére's first tours of duty sent him to Korea and then to Egypt.

In 1956 Billiére enrolled in the highly demanding Special Air Service (SAS) selection course, which put him through rigorous training in jungle fighting and parachuting in Malaya. He then went with the SAS to Oman, where his unit assisted the sultan of Oman's forces against rebel groups. Billiére saw combat in Oman and was awarded the Military Cross in 1959 for actions there. He then joined the Durham Light Infantry but was soon allowed to return to the SAS. In 1962 he and other British officers were attached to the Federal Army in Aden, where Billiére performed the same sort of missions as in Oman, helping Yemen put down rebellious tribes.

In 1964 Billiére became a commander of a squadron in the 22nd SAS, which was then assigned to Borneo until 1966. He again acquitted himself well and was awarded a Bar to his Military Cross. He went on to attend the Staff College and to train with Special Forces at Strategic Command.

Billiére soon returned to the SAS, serving as its second-in-command, and in this position he was sent to the Middle East. In 1972 he became the commanding officer of the 22nd SAS and headed up a training team in Khartoum. In 1978 he was advanced to brigadier and appointed director of the SAS. As the director, he oversaw the Iranian embassy crisis of 1980, counterterrorism activities in Northern Ireland, and SAS operations in the 1982 Falklands War. After he completed his turn as director, he was decorated as Commander of the British Empire (CBE) and promoted to major general in 1984. He commanded British forces in the Falklands during 1984–1985. Following this tour, he became the general officer commanding Wales. He was advanced to lieutenant general in 1987 and given command of the South East District.

Given Billiére's previous service in the Middle East, he seemed a natural choice for commander of British forces during the Persian Gulf War, and he lobbied hard for the posting. Despite some concerns about his age, he was assigned to the position and in essence served as the second-in-command of coalition forces under U.S. general H. Norman Schwarzkopf. British forces, second only to the United States in size, numbered some 43,000 troops, including the 1st Armoured Division, Royal Air Force squadrons, and Royal Navy frigates and destroyers in the Persian Gulf as well as an aircraft carrier stationed in the Mediterranean. Given Billiére's service record, Schwarzkopf placed him in command of all coalition special forces. These units played an important role in the war, despite Schwarzkopf's initial skepticism as to their effectiveness.

Billiére was able to convince Schwarzkopf to allow special forces to play a larger role in the conflict. As a result, Special Forces teams infiltrated Iraq six days prior to the invasion to disrupt Iraqi defenses and to serve as a potential diversion. They located Scud missile launchers and communications and radar sites and then called in air strikes.

Following the war, Billiére was advanced to full general in 1991 and served as an adviser on the Middle East to the British government. He was named Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath (KCB) as well as Knight Commander of the British Empire (KBE). Billiére retired from the military in June 1992. He has written an account of the Persian Gulf War and continues to be active as an author. In addition, he is active in promoting international aid and charitable causes in Britain.

Michael K. Beauchamp

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; United Kingdom, Air Force, Persian Gulf War; United Kingdom, Army, Persian Gulf War; United Kingdom, Marines, Persian Gulf War; United Kingdom, Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Bin Laden, Osama
Birth Date: March 10, 1957

Islamic extremist and, as head of the Al Qaeda terrorist organization, the world's most notorious terrorist leader. Bin Laden has been linked most notoriously to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States but also to numerous other acts of terrorism throughout the world. Born on March 10, 1957, in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Usamah bin Muhammad bin 'Awa bin Ladin is most usually known as Osama bin Laden. The name Osama means "young lion" in Arabic. According to Arabic convention he should be referred to as bin Ladin, but in the West he is almost universally referred to as bin Laden.

Bin Laden's father, Muhammad bin Awdah bin Laden, was a highly successful and immensely wealthy construction manager from Yemen who prospered thanks to a close relationship with the Saudi royal family. His construction projects included first major highways and then also the reconstruction of the Muslim holy cities of Medina and Mecca. The elder bin Laden, who was also strongly opposed to Israel, reportedly had 21 wives and fathered 54 children. Osama was the 17th son but the only son of his father's 10th wife, Hamida al-Attas. The elder bin Laden died in a plane crash in 1967. He left an estate reported at $11 billion. Osama bin Laden's personal inheritance has been variously estimated at between $40 million and $50 million.

The family moved a number of times but settled in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. There bin Laden attended al-Thagr, the city's top school. He had some exposure to the West through vacations in

Saudi Arabian Osama bin Laden is undoubtedly the world's most notorious terrorist. He is widely held to be responsible for approving the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, as well as many other acts of terrorism in the Middle East and elsewhere in the world. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Sweden and a summer program in English at Oxford University. At age 17 bin Laden married a 14-year-old cousin of his mother. In 1977 he entered King Abdulaziz University (now King Abdul Aziz University) in Jeddah, where he majored in economics and business management. Bin Laden was an indifferent student, but this was at least in part because of time spent in the family construction business. He left school altogether in 1979, evidently planning to work in the family's Saudi Binladin Group that then employed 37,000 people and was valued at some $5 billion. This plan was apparently blocked by his older brothers.

As a boy bin Laden had received religious training in Sunni Islam, but around 1973 he began developing a fundamentalist religious bent. This was sufficiently strong to alarm other family members. Bin Laden also developed ties with the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood that same year. While in the university he was mentored in Islamic studies by Muhammad Qutb, brother of the martyred Sayyid Qutb, leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, and by Sheikh Abdullah Yussuf Azzam, a proponent of jihad (holy war). Both men had a profound influence on bin Laden.

Two events also exacted a profound influence. The first was the seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca by Islamists led by Juhaynan ibn-Muhammad-ibn Sayf al-Taibi and the subsequent martyrdom of the group. The second was the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. It is safe to say that the latter marked a major turning point in bin Laden's life.

In 1979 bin Laden traveled to Pakistan and there met with Afghan leaders Burhanuddin Rabbani and Abdul Rasool Sayyaf. Bin Laden then returned to Saudi Arabia to organize resistance to the Soviets in Afghanistan. There was considerable sentiment in Saudi Arabia for assisting the Afghans against the Soviets, and reportedly some 10,000 Saudis volunteered. Bin Laden returned to Pakistan with construction equipment, such as bulldozers, to aid the Afghan mujahideen (freedom fighters, holy warriors) fighting the Soviet troops and allied Afghan government forces. This equipment was used to build roads, tunnels, shelters, and hospitals.

Bin Laden's organizational skills were more important than the equipment, however. He worked actively with Sheikh Abdullah Yussuf Azzau to recruit and train jihadists to fight in Afghanistan, much of the funding for which came from bin Laden's personal fortune. He also tapped his contacts in Saudi Arabia for additional funds. Azzam and bin Laden established the Mujahideen Services Bureau. Between 1985 and 1989, approximately 150,000 soldiers entered Afghanistan through training camps established in neighboring Pakistan by the Mujahideen Services Bureau.

In 1986 bin Laden, now having relocated to Peshawar, Pakistan, joined a mujahideen field unit and took part in actual combat. Notably, this included the 1987 Battle of the Lion's Den near Jaji. Such activity sharply increased bin Laden's prestige among the mujahideen.

The mysterious assassination of bin Laden's mentor Azzam on November 14, 1989, opened the way for bin Laden to assume a greater role in extremist Islamic politics. While he agreed with Azzam about the need for jihad against the enemies of Islam, bin Laden carried this philosophy a step further in insisting that it should be extended to a holy war on behalf of Islam around the world.

In the autumn of 1989 Azzam and bin Laden had founded the Al Qaeda ("the base" in Arabic) organization. On its announcement, those present were required to sign a loyalty oath (*bayat*). With Azzam's death, bin Laden, at the age of 32, became the undisputed leader of Al Qaeda.

With the end of the Soviet-Afghanistan War, bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia. He was now acclaimed as a hero both by the Saudi people and the government. Bin Laden soon approached Prince Turki al-Faisal, head of the kingdom's intelligence services, offering to lead a guerrilla effort to overthrow the Marxist government of South Yemen, but Turki rejected the suggestion. Bin Laden then settled in Jeddah and worked in the family construction business until Iraqi president Saddam Hussein sent his army into Kuwait in August 1990.

The Iraqi military takeover of Kuwait directly threatened Saudi Arabia, and bin Laden again approached the Saudi government, offering to recruit as many as 12,000 men to defend the kingdom.

The Saudi government again rebuffed him. Instead, it allowed U.S. and other Western troops to be stationed in Saudi Arabia with the plan to drive the Iraqis from Kuwait by force if necessary. Incensed both at the rejection of his services and the injection of hundreds of thousands of infidels into his homeland, bin Laden bitterly denounced the Saudi government. Indeed, he demanded that all foreign troops leave at once. His vocal opposition to Saudi government policy brought him a brief period of house arrest.

Bin Laden's opposition to Saudi government policies and the Persian Gulf War led him to leave the kingdom. He moved with his family first to Pakistan and then to Sudan, where he had earlier purchased property around Khartoum. He also moved his financial assets there and became involved in a series of business ventures including a road-building company, all of which added considerably to his personal fortune. From Sudan, bin Laden also mounted verbal attacks on the Saudi royal family and the kingdom's religious leadership, accusing them of being false Muslims. These attacks led the Saudi government to strip him of his citizenship in April 1994 and freeze his financial assets in the kingdom (his share of the family business was then estimated to be about $7 million). Bin Laden also roundly denounced Israel.

In Sudan, bin Laden also organized the terrorist activities of Al Qaeda, which were in place by 1989. Its goals were to incite all Muslims to join in a defensive jihad against the West and to help overthrow tyrannical secular Muslim secular governments. Bin Laden established an Al Qaeda training camp at Soba, north of Khartoum, and in 1992 he sent advisers and equipment to Somalia to aid the fight against the Western mission to restore order in that country. He also began terrorist activities directed against Americans in Saudi Arabia. On November 13, 1995, a car bomb in Riyadh killed 5 Americans and 1 Saudi and wounded 60 others. Other similar actions followed.

Mounting pressure by the Saudi and U.S. governments forced the Sudanese government to ask bin Laden to leave that country. In May 1996 bin Laden relocated to Afghanistan. He left Sudan with little money; the Sudanese government settled with him for only a small fraction of his reported, but no doubt overestimated, $300 million in assets.

Afghanistan was a natural location for bin Laden. The Islamic fundamentalist Taliban had come to power, and bin Laden had established a close relationship with its head, Mullah Mohammed Omar. Although there was some unease among the Taliban leadership about the possible consequences of hosting the now-acknowledged terrorist, their scruples were overcome by bin Laden's promises of financial assistance from his Arab contacts. In return, the Taliban permitted bin Laden to establish a network of training camps and perpetrate worldwide terrorist activities. The alliance was firmly established when bin Laden directed Al Qaeda to join the fight against the Northern Alliance forces of General Ahmed Shah Massoud that were seeking to unseat the Taliban.

Now firmly established in Afghanistan, bin Laden began planning a series of attacks against the perceived worldwide enemies of Islam. His principal target was the United States, and on August 23, 1996, he issued a call for jihad against the Americans for their presence in Saudi Arabia. In February 1998 he broadened this to a global jihad against all enemies of Islam. Al Qaeda was in fact largely a holding organization with several dozen terrorist groups affiliated with it. Bin Laden's role was to coordinate, approve, and assist their various activities. Thus, when Khalid Sheikh Mohammed presented a plan to hijack large commercial airliners and crash them into prominent buildings in the United States, bin Laden approved the plan but left its implementation up to Mohammed.

Bin Laden expected that these attacks in the United States, if they were successful, would trigger a vigorous American response but that this, in turn, would produce an outpouring of support for his cause from within the Arab world. The first assumption proved correct. After the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., the United States demanded that the Taliban turn over bin Laden and take action against Al Qaeda. When the leaders of the Taliban refused, U.S. forces, assisted by those of other Western nations, aided the Northern Alliance and attacked Afghanistan, driving the Taliban from power. The second assumption, that a forceful U.S. response would bring a Muslim backlash, proved false.

Bin Laden had also not expected the Taliban to be easily overthrown. When that occurred, he withdrew into his stronghold in Tora Bora, a cave complex in the White Mountains of eastern Afghanistan, where he remained until December 2001. U.S. efforts to capture him and his followers were botched, and he escaped, presumably into northwestern Pakistan. There Islamic fundamentalism and support for the Taliban and Al Qaeda is strong. Indeed, Western efforts to capture him have made him something of a hero in the Muslim world, where a significant percentage of people profess admiration for him. There are indications that he was wounded in the arm in the U.S. bombing of Tora Bora in late 2001, and there has been other speculation about the status of his health. Despite a reward of $50 million for his capture—dead or alive—Osama bin Laden continues to thwart efforts to bring him to justice.

Harry Hueston and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; Global War on Terror; Jihad; Pakistan; Taliban; Terrorism; Tora Bora

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Biological Weapons and Warfare

Biological weapons are forms of natural organisms that are used as weapons or modified versions of germs or toxins to kill or harm people or animals. The first type of biological weapon includes diseases such as anthrax or smallpox, while the second category includes toxins or poisons such as ricin or aflatoxin. Along with nuclear and chemical arms, biological weapons are considered to be weapons of mass destruction (WMDs).

Israel's advanced nuclear program prompted several Arab states to initiate biological weapons programs as a means to counter the Israeli nuclear arsenal. The proliferation of WMDs, including biological weapons, is one of the most serious security issues in the Middle East.

By the early 1970s, several Arab states had established biological weapons programs as a means to balance Israel's nuclear arsenal as they concurrently sought to develop their own nuclear and chemical weapons programs. Biological weapons were attractive to many states because they were perceived as being less expensive and easier to manufacture. Biological agents could also be developed far more quickly than nuclear or chemical programs.

The Middle Eastern country with the oldest biological weapons program is Israel. During the Israeli War of Independence (1948–1949), there were charges that Israeli units infected Arab wells with malaria and typhoid. Following independence, a biological weapons unit was created. Israel's program was designed to develop both offensive and defensive capabilities, and its successful nuclear program overshadowed its chemical and biological efforts. In the 2000s, Israel's biological and chemical weapons programs were increasingly focused on counterproliferation in the region and efforts to prevent bioterrorism.

Egypt began a wide-scale biological program in the 1960s and recruited European scientists to advance the program. By 1972, Egypt had an offensive biological weapons capability, a fact later confirmed by President Anwar Sadat in public addresses. In 1972 Egypt signed the Biological Weapons Convention (which bans the use of these arms) but did not ratify the convention. Among the Arab states, Egypt went on to develop one of the most comprehensive biological weapons programs, including anthrax, cholera, plague, botulism, and possibly smallpox. These agents were weaponized in such a fashion that they could be delivered in missile warheads. Beginning in the late 1990s, Egypt began working with the United States to develop more effective biological weapons defenses, ranging from decontamination plants to national contingency planning to stockpiles of personal gas masks.

Following the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War of October 1973, evidence emerged from captured documents and equipment that Syria had a highly developed WMD program that included biological weapons such as anthrax, botulinum, and ricin. Syria's program proceeded with aid and products from Chinese and European firms. In the 1990s, Western intelligence agencies identified the town of Cerin as the center of Syria's biological weapons program. Toward the end of the decade, Syria also launched an effort to acquire missiles capable of delivering biological warheads into Israeli territory. Syria also developed a robust chemical weapons program. Syria's military planners hoped that their biological and chemical arsenals would deter Israel from using its nuclear weapons in the event of a conflict. For Israel and the United States, Syria's biological weapons program is especially troublesome because of the country's sponsorship of anti-Israeli groups such as Hezbollah and the fear that these weapons might be shared with terrorists.

Libya attempted to develop a broad WMD program in the 1970s that included biological weapons. However, international sanctions prevented that nation from acquiring significant biological arms. Instead, its program remained mainly at the research level. In 2003 Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi renounced WMDs and pledged that his country would dismantle its WMD programs as part of a larger strategy to improve relations with the United States and Europe.

In 1974 the Iraqi government officially launched a biological weapons program, and within a year the country established facilities for research and development of biological agents. Through the 1970s and 1980s Iraq obtained cultures and biological agents from Western governments and firms through both legitimate and illicit means. Among the biological weapons that Iraq obtained were anthrax, salmonella, and botulinum. By 1983, Iraq began stockpiling biological warheads and accelerated its program, including efforts to develop new types of weapons.

During 1987–1988 Saddam Hussein's regime employed biological weapons against Iraq's Kurdish minority. There have been charges that this activity included rotavirus, a major killer of the young in developing countries. Iraq reportedly invested heavily in a rotavirus biological warfare program. Used either by itself or with other biological agents, rotavirus would produce major deaths and illness among children and infants.

Large-scale Iraqi production of anthrax and aflatoxin began in 1989, and that same year Iraqi scientists initiated field tests of biological weapons. In 1990 Iraq stockpiled some 200 bombs and 100 missiles capable of delivering biological agents.

Under the terms of the cease-fire that ended the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Iraq began destroying its biological weapons capability. Also in 1991, Iraq ratified the Biological Weapons Convention. United Nations (UN) weapons inspectors were granted limited access to biological weapons facilities and were able to verify the extent of the program and confirm that some materials had been destroyed. The belief by President George W. Bush's administration that Hussein's regime had not complied with UN resolutions to destroy its WMD programs was a major justification for the U.S.-led invasion in 2003. Following the occupation of Iraq, however, U.S. and international inspectors were unable to find any hidden WMDs.

The Iranian military worked with the United States during the 1960s and 1970s to develop defensive strategies against biological

weapons. Iran signed the Biological Weapons Convention in 1972 and ratified it a year later. Following the Iranian Revolution in 1979, however, the country began a secret biological weapons program. The Iraqi use of chemical weapons in the war between the two countries during 1980–1988 accelerated the Iranian program. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Iranian agents and representatives attempted to acquire biological agents both legally and illicitly. The country also hired large numbers of scientists and experts on WMDs from the former Soviet Union. As a result, Iran has been able to develop small amounts of biological weapons. Iran has also developed the missile capabilities to deliver WMDs to Israeli territory.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Arms Sales, International; Chemical Weapons and Warfare; DESERT STORM, Operation; Iran-Iraq War; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Kurds, Massacres of; Missiles, Intermediate-Range Ballistic; Qaddafi, Muammar; Terrorism

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Blackman, Robert, Jr.

Birth Date: June 27, 1948

U.S. Marine Corps general and chief of staff to Lieutenant General David McKiernan as commander of Coalition Forces Land Component Command (CFLCC) during the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq in 2003 (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). Robert "Rusty" Blackman Jr. was born in Orange, New Jersey, on June 27, 1948, and was commissioned in the U.S. Marine Corps upon graduation from Cornell University in June 1970. After completing Basic School, he served as a platoon commander and company executive officer. In March 1972 he reported to Marine Corps Recruit Depot, San Diego, where he served as a series commander and director of the Sea School until July 1975.

Blackman graduated from the Marine Corps Command and Staff College in June 1985. In May 1988 he assumed command of the 3rd Battalion, 8th Marines. Thereafter he was assigned to the Top Level School as a fellow in national security affairs at the John F. Kennedy School of Government. In August 1990 Blackman was assigned to the Operations Division at Headquarters Marine Corps. The next year he was reassigned as head of the Current Operations Branch, Headquarters Marine Corps.

In July 1991 Blackman reported to U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) for duty as the commander in chief's executive officer. In March 1995 Blackman assumed duties as the military assistant to the secretary of the navy. In August 1996 he was made president of the Marine Corps University and was promoted to brigadier general on October 1, 1996. Upon promotion to major general in June 1999 Blackman assumed command of the 2nd Marine Division, a position he held until July 2001.

As the potential for war with Iraq grew in the autumn of 2002, U.S. Central Command began creating a headquarters staff to command the coalition ground forces. Accordingly, Lieutenant General David McKiernan assumed command of Third Army in September 2002 with headquarters at Camp Doha, north of Kuwait City. Most of the staff officers were from the army. However, a genuine joint and coalition headquarters could not be achieved by exclusively staffing it with army officers, and Blackman received the appointment as the chief of staff of Coalition Forces Land Component Command (CFLCC), which McKiernan commanded while also commanding Third Army.

At this time, Blackman was widely regarded within the U.S. Marine Corps as a thoughtful, quick-witted leader. He brought a wealth of experience to the CFLCC headquarter's team and amply demonstrated his skills as a leader. McKiernan wanted to move from the traditional staff structure of administrative, intelligence, operations, and logistics toward a staff organized around operational functions. In Blackman's view, this meant transitioning from a Napoleonic staff system to a functional staff system. These functions included operational maneuver, effects, intelligence, protection, and sustainment. The new organization required developing new staff organizations, coordination of boards and cells, and new processes, including digital architecture. To help meet these challenges, Blackman developed the Effects Synchronization Board that attempted to assess whether specific initiatives were achieving their intended outcomes.

On the eve of war in 2003, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) predicted that most Iraqis would greet the Americans as liberators. Blackman was skeptical. As he later recalled, "One of the towns where they said we would be welcomed was Nasiriyah, where marines faced some of the toughest fighting in the war."

One week after the capture of Baghdad—on April 10, 2003—senior American officers briefed President George W. Bush about future plans. To Blackman's amazement, General Tommy Franks predicted that U.S. forces could begin leaving the country within two months. Blackman knew that army and marine forces had yet to even enter several important cities, such as Fallujah, or to secure completely all of Baghdad. He cautioned that talk of withdrawal was overly optimistic.

Following the end of major combat operations in May 2003, Blackman was promoted to lieutenant general on October 1, 2003. He then left Iraq and was assigned to the U.S. Pacific Command. He subsequently led the Joint Task Force responsible for providing

emergency relief following the Tsunami disaster in Asia in December 2004. Blackman retired from the U.S. Marine Corps on July 18, 2007.

James Arnold

See also

Franks, Tommy Ray; iraqi freedom, Operation; McKiernan, David Deglan; United States Central Command

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Black Muslims

A term given to African American Muslims by C. Eric Lincoln in 1961. Black Muslims have mainly been members of the Nation of Islam, founded in the United States, although the group has avoided using the term to describe itself. They were generally the followers of Elijah Muhammad, a charismatic African American Black Muslim leader. In 1930 Wallace Fard founded the Lost-Found Nation of Islam in the Wilderness. He called for African Americans to embrace Islam, teaching them that they were being oppressed by whites, whom he labeled as "evil creatures." Because many African Americans were yearning for relief from oppression and discrimination, a sizable number embraced Fard's theology.

Fard preached to his followers that they were superior to whites, doing so in the name of Islam. In 1934 when Fard disappeared without any trace, Elijah Muhammad became the leader of the Nation of Islam and moved its headquarter to Chicago, where he built a successful movement that shaped the future of Islam in America. The term "Black Muslims" also applies to other African American Muslim organizations whether they are orthodox Muslims or not.

Under Elijah Muhammad, the Nation of Islam became a racist movement that preached the supremacy of blacks over whites. However, he also encouraged African Americans to free themselves of the "slave mentality" and to be financially independent. He established numerous companies, schools, and stores where many Black Muslims were employed, and he encouraged his followers to become industrious, educated, and well behaved. Although Elijah Muhammad worked hard to build the Nation of Islam, the roles that some of his followers—such as Malcolm X, Louis Farrakhan, and Warithu Deen Mohammed—played in sustaining the organization cannot be overlooked.

Indeed, it was Malcolm X who recruited many black youths into the Nation of Islam through his tireless effort and charisma. When Malcolm X joined the Nation of Islam, there were only a few thousand youth members and limited numbers of temples. Elijah Muhammad appointed him a minister, and through his eloquence and hard work Malcolm X brought thousands of blacks from all fields of life into the organization. As he became famous, however, tensions grew between himself and Elijah Muhammad.

Malcolm X was excommunicated in 1964 because of comments he made about the November 1963 assassination of President John Kennedy. Malcolm X eventually established a new organization, the Muslim Mosque Incorporation, after he left the Nation of Islam. He also traveled to Mecca and throughout Africa preaching black nationalism and Pan-Africanism and became a Sunni Muslim.

Early on Malcolm X became a vocal opponent of the Vietnam War, asserting that its sacrifices fell disproportionately to African Americans. He began to make such assertions even before the first major escalations of the Vietnam War began in mid-1965. Malcolm X was assassinated in February 1965 while giving a speech in New York. The murder plot has never been fully revealed, although many believe that he was killed on Elijah Muhammad's orders. Other Black Muslim groups similarly challenged the American establishment, especially after the major war escalations began in 1965, and Black Muslims played a notable role in the antiwar movement. Boxing great Muhammad Ali, who had become a Black Muslim in 1965, greatly raised the profile of the movement in 1966 when he refused to be inducted into the military on religious grounds, realizing that he would probably be sent to fight in Vietnam. In 1967 he was convicted of violating the Selective Service Act and was stripped of the heavyweight boxing title. Although the U.S. Supreme Court overturned his conviction in 1970, Ali forever linked antiwar sentiment and Black Muslims in the minds of most Americans.

Malcolm X left behind a lofty legacy of fighting for the rights of blacks all across the globe and emphasizing the pursuit of truth wherever it might be found. After Malcolm X's death, Elijah Muhammad appointed Louis Farrakhan to head New York's temple, where Malcolm X had previously preached.

When Elijah Muhammad died in 1975, his son, Warithu Deen Mohammed, succeeded him. He immediately introduced a deeper understanding of Islam and denounced many of his father's ideas of Islam and racism. He thus turned the Nation of Islam into a mainstream Islamic group and linked African American Muslims with universal Islam. He also flatly rejected the label "Black Muslims." That change of direction angered some of the older members of the organization, who did not like his new approach, but Imam Mohammed was convinced of the dire need for change and for a better understanding of Islam, which he insisted must be based on the Qur'an.

Eventually, Farrakhan broke with Imam Mohammed in 1978 and renewed the old racist ideologies of Elijah Muhammad. In 1985 Imam Mohammed decentralized his group and asked each imam to lead his own group. In October 2003 he resigned from the national leadership of the African American Muslims and encouraged each local mosque to be in charge of its own affairs.

Although many Americans during the 1960s decried the ideology and tactics of some Black Muslims, the movement did serve

Woman dressed in traditional garb at a gathering of the Nation of Islam. (National Archives)

to raise black consciousness and certainly fed into the emerging Black Power movement of the late 1960s. It also raised awareness of the civil rights movement, which marched in lockstep fashion with the antiwar movement after 1966. While it is true that Black Muslims generally embraced an ideology that was too extreme for most Americans both black and white, it did add a new dimension to the antiwar movement, especially with high-profile cases like that of Muhammad Ali.

Farrakhan remains the spiritual leader of the Nation of Islam. He is based in Chicago. At present, Black Muslims engage in community activities as well as local and national politics. Farrakhan launched the Million Man March in 1995 and 2005 to boost the morale of African Americans as he encouraged them to be industrious and to take care of their own lives and be responsible for their actions.

In recent years, Farrakhan has stirred up much controversy for comments and positions that many perceive as blatantly anti-Semitic. He dismisses such criticism, saying only that entrenched interests in the United States prevent a well-reasoned critique of Zionism and the State of Israel. Nevertheless, he strongly opposes U.S. government aid to Israel. Farrakhan also preaches that the United States is a racist oppressor nation that seeks world domination abroad and white supremacy at home. For that reason, he has sharply condemned the Global War on Terror and has excoriated the Iraq War, claiming that both are meant to be a war against Islam and nonwhite peoples. He has repeatedly urged his followers not to join the U.S. military in any form and to reject any proposed military draft.

Yushau Sodiq

See also
Antiwar Movements, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars

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Blackwater

Private U.S.-based security firm involved in military security operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. Blackwater USA (known as Blackwater Worldwide since October 2007) is one of a number of private security firms hired by the U.S. government to aid in security operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. The company was founded in 1997 by Erik D. Prince, a former Navy SEAL, wealthy heir to an auto parts fortune, and staunch supporter of the Republican Party. He serves as the firm's chief executive officer (CEO). The firm was named for the brackish swampy waters surrounding its 6,000-plus acre headquarters and training facilities located in northeastern North Carolina's Dismal Swamp.

Details of the privately held company are shrouded in mystery, and the precise number of paid employees is not publicly known. A good number of its employees are not U.S. citizens. Blackwater also trains upwards of 40,000 people per year in military and security tactics, interdiction, and counterinsurgency operations. Many of its trainees are military, law enforcement, or civilian government employees, mostly American, but foreign government employees are also trained here. Blackwater claims that its training facilities are the largest of their kind in the world. Nearly 90 percent of the company's revenues are derived from government contracts, two-thirds of which are no-bid contracts. It is estimated that since 2002 Blackwater has garnered U.S. government contracts in excess of $1 billion.

Following the successful ouster of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan in late 2001, Blackwater was among the first firms to be hired by the U.S. government to aid in security and law enforcement operations there. In 2003 after coalition forces ousted the regime of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, Blackwater began extensive operations in the war-ravaged country. Its first major operation here included a $21 million no-bid contract to provide security services for the

Plainclothes members of Blackwater USA, the private security firm, take part in a firefight in Najaf, Iraq, on April 4, 2004, as Iraqi demonstrators loyal to Muqtada al-Sadr attempt to advance on a facility being defended by U.S. and Spanish soldiers. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Coalition Provisional Authority and its chief, L. Paul Bremmer. Since then, Blackwater has received contracts for several hundred million dollars more to provide a wide array of security and paramilitary services in Iraq. Some critics—including a number of congressional representatives and senators—took issue with the centrality of Blackwater in Iraq, arguing that its founder's connections to the Republican Party had helped it garner huge no-bid contracts.

Although such information has not been positively verified by either Blackwater or the U.S. government, it is believed that at least 30,000 private security contractors are in Iraq; some estimates claim as many as 100,000. Of that number, a majority are employees or subcontractors of Blackwater. The State Department and the Pentagon, which have both negotiated lucrative contracts with Blackwater, contend that neither one could function in Iraq without resorting to the use of private security firms. Indeed, the use of such contractors has helped keep down the need for even greater numbers of U.S. troops in Iraq and Afghanistan. After Hurricane Katrina smashed the U.S. Gulf Coast in 2005, the U.S. government contracted with Blackwater to provide security, law enforcement, and humanitarian services in southern Louisiana and Mississippi.

In the course of the Iraqi insurgency that began in 2003, numerous Blackwater employees have been injured or killed in ambushes, attacks, and suicide bombings. Because of the instability in Iraq and the oftentimes chaotic circumstances, some Blackwater personnel have found themselves in circumstances in which they felt threatened and had to protect themselves by force. This has led to numerous cases in which they have been criticized, terminated, or worse for their actions. Because they are not members of the U.S. military they often fall into a gray area, which can elicit demands for retribution either by the American government or Iraqi officials.

Loose oversight of Blackwater's operations has led to several serious cases of alleged abuse on the part of Blackwater employees. One of the most infamous examples of this occurred in Baghdad on September 16, 2007. While escorting a diplomatic convoy through the streets of the city, a well-armed security detail comprised of Blackwater and Iraqi police mistakenly opened fire on a civilian car that it claimed had not obeyed instructions to stop. Once the gunfire began, other forces in the area opened fired. When the shooting stopped, 17 Iraqi civilians lay dead, including all of the car's occupants. Included among the dead was a young couple with their infant child. At first there were wildly diverging accounts of what happened, and Blackwater contended that the car contained a suicide bomber who had detonated an explosive device, which was entirely untrue. The Iraqi government, however, faulted Blackwater for the incident, and U.S. Army officials backed up the Iraqi claims. Later reports state that the Blackwater guards fired on the vehicle with no provocation.

The Baghdad shootings caused an uproar in both Iraq and the United States. The Iraqi government suspended Blackwater's Iraqi operations and demanded that Blackwater be banned from the country. It also sought to try the shooters in an Iraqi court. Because some of the guards involved were not Americans and the others were working for the U.S. State Department, they were not subject to criminal prosecution. In the U.S. Congress, angry lawmakers demanded a full accounting of the incident and sought more detailed information on Blackwater and its security operations.

To make matters worse, just a few days after the shootings federal prosecutors announced that they were investigating allegations that some Blackwater personnel had illegally imported weapons into Iraq that were then being supplied to the Kurdistan Workers' Party, which has been designated by the United States as a terrorist organization.

These incendiary allegations prompted a formal congressional inquiry, and in October 2007 Erik Prince, Blackwater's CEO, was compelled to testify in front of the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform. Prince did neither himself nor his company much good when he stonewalled the committee and told them that Blackwater's financial information was beyond the purview of the government. He later retracted this statement, saying that such information would be provided upon a "written request." Blackwater then struggled under a pall of suspicion, and multiple investigations were soon under way involving the incident in Iraq, incidents in Afghanistan, and the allegations of illegal weapons smuggling by company employees. In the meantime, Congress considered legislation that would significantly tighten government control and oversight of private contractors, especially those involved in sensitive areas such as military security.

In February 2009 Blackwater officials announced that the company would now operate under the name Xe, noting that the new name reflected a "change in company focus away from the business of providing private security." There is no meaning in the new name, which was decided upon after a year-long internal search.

In June 2009 the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) disclosed to Congress that in 2004 it had hired members of Blackwater as part of a secret effort to locate and assassinate top Al Qaeda operatives. Reportedly Blackwater employees assisted with planning, training, and surveillance, but no members of Al Qaeda were captured or killed by them.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Prince, Eric; Private Security Firms

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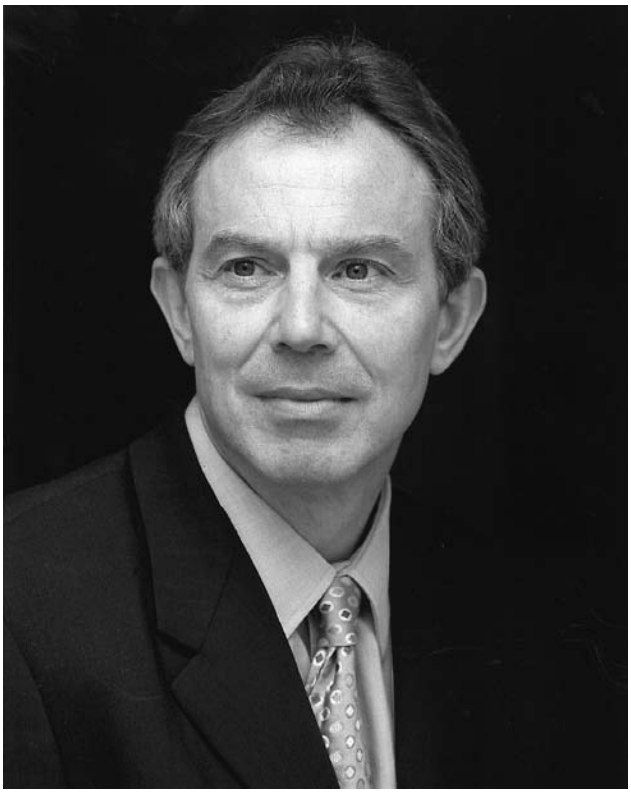
Blair, Tony

Birth Date: May 6, 1953

British Labour Party politician and, as prime minister of the United Kingdom from May 2, 1997, to June 27, 2007, a major



British politician Tony Blair led the Labour Party to a landslide victory in the 1997 general election. As prime minister, he strongly supported the use of force in Iraq in 2003. Blair, accused of too slavishly following U.S. president George W. Bush, left office in 2007 as Labour's longest-serving prime minister. (British Embassy)

supporter of U.S. and coalition efforts in both Afghanistan and Iraq. Anthony (Tony) Charles Lynton Blair was born on May 6, 1953, in Edinburgh, Scotland. He graduated from Oxford with a second-class honors BA in jurisprudence in 1976. Shortly thereafter, Blair joined the Labour Party and became a member of Parliament for Sedgefield in 1983. He became leader of the Labour Party in Great Britain a decade later, on July 21, 1994. When the Labour Party won the 1997 general election, Blair became the youngest person, at age 43, to become prime minister since Robert Jenkinson, Lord Liverpool, in 1812.

As prime minister, Blair lent strong support for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) bombing campaign of Yugoslavia in 1999. He was among those urging NATO to take a strong line against Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic, the president of Yugoslavia, who was charged with violating human rights in his suppression of ethnic Albanians seeking secession from Yugoslavia, which precipitated the Kosovo War. Through his backing of the strong NATO response, Blair demonstrated that he would support the use of force in order to spread liberty and protect human rights. On April 22, 1999, in a speech in Chicago less than a month after the bombing campaign against Yugoslavia had commenced, he put forth what became known as the Blair Doctrine. In it he argued that it was sometimes necessary to use force to prevent genocide and widespread harm to innocent peoples.

After the September 11, 2001, attacks against the United States that led to the deaths of nearly 3,000 people, Blair quickly aligned Britain with the United States. He was convinced that the perpetrators of the act should be dealt with quickly and decisively to prevent setting in motion a series of events that might set Muslims against the Western world. He thus helped form the international coalition that carried out the 2001 intervention in Afghanistan (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM) that toppled the extremist Taliban Islamist group that ruled Afghanistan at the time and that was accused of supporting the terrorist group Al Qaeda. Al Qaeda, an organization whose objective was to bring down existing governments in the Middle East and impose radical Islamist rule on others around the world, became the top target in the Global War on Terror. Blair's government sent air, sea, and ground assets into Afghanistan during the initial thrust against the Taliban. The original deployment involved more than 5,700 British troops and then diminished to about 4,500.

In 2003 Blair enthusiastically supported President George W. Bush's call for an invasion of Iraq in order to overthrow the government of President Saddam Hussein. Blair argued that the Iraqi government, which had been ordered by the United Nations (UN) to dispose of its alleged weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), had not cooperated with UN weapons inspectors and was therefore subject to attack. When the United States invaded Iraq on March 20, 2003, Blair's government sent 46,000 British troops to assist with the invasion. Britain was by far the largest non-U.S. contingent in the coalition that supported Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. British troops remained in Iraq throughout the rest of Blair's premiership, which ended on June 27, 2007. The number of British troops in Iraq decreased significantly since the initial invasion, however, and about 7,000 British troops remained in that country when Blair left office.

Blair faced much criticism in Great Britain, even from members of his own party, for his support of the U.S. war effort. Critics accused him of spinning questionable evidence to galvanize support for the invasion of Iraq. At the heart of this criticism is the Iraq Dossier, nicknamed the "Dodgy Dossier" by many. The dossier was a briefing document given to reporters in hopes of justifying the British role in the Iraq War. Critics attacked the dossier not only because much of it had been plagiarized from a PhD dissertation available on the Internet but also because the claims that Iraq possessed WMDs were never proven. Indeed, to date no WMDs have been located in Iraq.

After resigning as prime minister on June 27, 2007, Blair was named an official Middle East envoy for the UN, the European Union, the United States, and Russia. He was succeeded as prime minister by his chancellor of the exchequer, Gordon Brown. Brown continued to support the United States in its reconstruction efforts in Iraq. Brown did, however, call for significant British troop reductions.

Domestically, Blair has been both credited and criticized for having moved the Labour Party to the center of the political spectrum. His promarket policies seemed to boost the British economy and kept the Conservatives from questioning his motives. Blair successfully pushed for more funds for education and health care, and he oversaw the implementation of a national minimum wage act. Despite his domestic success, however, foreign affairs greatly overshadowed his premiership, none more so than the divisive Iraq War.

GREGORY W. MORGAN

See also

Brown, James Gordon; United Kingdom; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy

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Blix, Hans

Birth Date: June 28, 1928

Swedish diplomat, head of the United Nations (UN) International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) from 1981 to 1997, and head of the UN weapons inspection program in Iraq during the run-up to the 2003 Iraq War. Born in Uppsala, Sweden, on June 28, 1928, Hans Blix earned a degree in international law from the University of Stokholm in 1959 and also pursued studies at Trinity Hall, Cambridge University, from which he earned a doctorate in law. He was appointed associate professor of international law at the University of Stockholm in 1960.

Blix soon abandoned his academic career to pursue his passion for international politics. Between 1962 and 1978 he represented Sweden at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, and from 1961 to 1981 he was a member of the Swedish delegation to the UN. During 1978–1979 he served as Swedish foreign minister in the government of the ruling Liberal Party.

In 1981 Blix was appointed to head the IAEA, a position he held until 1997. One of the major issues confronting the IAEA during Blix's tenure was monitoring the nuclear weapons program of the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein. Although Blix made several inspection visits to the Iraqi nuclear reactor at Osiraq before it was destroyed by an Israeli air strike in June 1981, the IAEA failed to discover the Iraqi clandestine nuclear weapons program initiated during the 1970s. The full extent of the Iraqi nuclear program was discovered only during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, and Blix was forced to acknowledge that the Iraqis had misled the IAEA. Following the loss of credibility for the IAEA, Blix tendered his resignation.

Less than three years later in 2000, however, UN secretary-general Kofi Annan lured the veteran diplomat out of retirement to head the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC), a body assigned the responsibility of monitoring Iraqi weapons program following the Persian Gulf War. Because of Blix's perceived failures as head of the IAEA, Washington opposed the appointment.

Blix now attempted to build a diplomatic consensus for avoiding war and assuring the world that Iraq was compliant with UN resolutions regarding weapons development. Be that as it may, he chastised Saddam Hussein for playing "cat and mouse" games with weapons inspectors and seemed to realize that his inspectors were not getting the full story from Iraq. Blix nevertheless believed that UNMOVIC's monitoring of Iraq's weapons program could be employed to foster Iraqi disarmament. Critics in the George W. Bush administration, who seemed anxious for any pretense to wage war against Iraq, asserted that Blix was not sufficiently aggressive in searching for weapons of mass destruction (WMDs).

Following the invasion of Iraq by the United States and Great Britain in March 2003, Blix expressed considerable reservations regarding the war, asserting that the Bush administration had exaggerated the threat of WMDs in order to bolster its case for regime change in Iraq. In June 2003 Blix left UNMOVIC to chair the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, an independent body based in Stockholm. Blix elaborated on his criticisms of the rush to war in Iraq and the spurious intelligence reports upon which it was based in his 2004 memoir *Disarming Iraq.*

RON BRILEY

See also

Bush, George Walker; DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Nuclear Weapons, Iraq's Potential for Building; United Nations; United Nations Weapons Inspectors; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Blount, Buford, III

Birth Date: September 15, 1948

U.S. Army general who commanded the successful assault on Baghdad during the 2003 Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM) and who later became an outspoken critic of the U.S. war effort in Iraq. Buford "Buff" Blount III, born on September 15, 1948, in Travis County, Texas, was a career army officer who came from a family with a distinguished military background. In 1971 he graduated from the University of Southern Mississippi and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army. He later earned a master's degree in national security and strategic studies.

Throughout his career, Blount served primarily in armored and mechanized units. His command assignments included the

5th Infantry Division (Mechanized), Fort Polk, Louisiana; the 197th Infantry Brigade, Fort Benning, Georgia; commander, 3rd Battalion, 64th Armor, 3rd Infantry Division (Mechanized), USAREUR, and Seventh Army, Germany; and commander, 3rd Brigade, 4th Infantry Division (Mechanized), Fort Carson, Colorado. He also served as armor plans and operations officer, Office of the Program Manager, Saudi Arabian National Guard Modernization Program, Saudi Arabia.

On the eve of the Iraq War, Blount, now a major general, was in command of the 3rd Infantry (Mechanized) Division; he had held that assignment since 2001 and had worked diligently to prepare the division for combat operations after it had been engaged in humanitarian and peacekeeping operations in the Balkans. Blount, who was a strong advocate of maneuver warfare, argued strongly that the original invasion plans for Iraq should be changed to allow his division to move to the west of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and avoid the numerous river and stream crossings that would have delayed his advance. He was successful in convincing U.S. war planners of this more westerly advance toward Baghdad because the flat terrain was more conducive to armor.

When the war began on March 20, 2003, Blount's division of 19,000 troops and 8,000 vehicles was the lead unit of V Corps, the western column of the coalition's two-pronged advance on Baghdad. Blount's first major objective was capturing the airfield at Tallil, which allowed coalition forces to control several strategic bridges and two Iraqi highways. The ground attack began on March 21, and Blount's forces quickly took their main objectives and opened the main route to Baghdad.

Within three weeks Blount had moved his division 465 miles to the outskirts of the Iraqi capital in one of the most rapid armor advances in the history of modern warfare. During it, Blount coordinated his movements closely with air units to enforce close air support and concentrate maximum firepower against Iraqi forces, including elite Republican Guard units such as the Medina Division.

Blount rejected conventional military doctrine in laying siege to Baghdad, deciding instead to take the city in a succession of quick thrusts. Armored units usually do not perform well in urban combat because of the confines of streets and buildings and the potential for roadblocks and tank traps. Blount, however, believed that the rapid advance would not give the Iraqis time to establish substantial defenses and would demoralize the defenders. On April 5, 2003, he ordered a task force to conduct a reconnaissance of the Baghdad Airport in Operation THUNDER RUN. U.S. forces were able to capture the airport relatively quickly and also affirm weaknesses in the Iraqi defenses.

Blount was now convinced that the longer coalition forces waited to move on Baghdad, the more likely the Iraqis would be to reinforce the city and create a more robust defense. After a second thrust into Baghdad, Blount's division moved to capture government offices and presidential palaces. They met only minor and generally disorganized resistance. Meanwhile, elements of the I Marine Expeditionary Force, the eastern prong of the U.S. advance, had arrived on the outskirts of Baghdad. By April 12, U.S. forces had virtual control of the Iraqi capital.

Blount's effective leadership in the Battle for Baghdad earned him praise from both subordinates and superiors. He led his division from the front, and he was generally in the lead units during the advance. This provided the division commander with an intimate sense of the ebb and flow of the advance. He also had a reputation for being calm and collected under fire, and he generally allowed his subordinates wide latitude in conducting tactical operations. He would set the objectives and the parameters of the mission but left it to his subordinates to develop the course of action to achieve these. Blount also embraced the new technology utilized during the campaign, including the command and control system, Force XXI Battle Command Brigade and Below/Blue Force Tracker (FBCB2/BFT). FBCB2/BFT provided soldiers with real-time awareness of coalition units and enhanced battlefield communications. Blount was able to accurately "see" the positions of his units at all times and make appropriate decisions based on that information.

After the capture of Baghdad, Blount found himself as the de facto mayor of the city, and he worked to maintain order with a limited number of troops. He opposed the decision to dismantle Iraqi security forces after their surrender, correctly forecasting that they would form the core of resistance to the U.S.-led occupation. He was also critical of the lack of planning to ensure the delivery of basic human services, food, and medicine in areas captured by the coalition. In October 2003 Blount was transferred to Washington, D.C., and became the U.S. Army's deputy chief of staff for operations and planning. He retired from active duty in 2004 as a major general. Since retirement he has publicly criticized the Iraq War effort, terming it "flawed" from the start. Observers have opined that his retirement was in part forced upon him because of his criticism of the war. Blount has steadfastly refused to comment on such observations, noting that he had generally supported the war plans in 2002 and 2003. Since 2004 Blount has taught at the university level and has given numerous speeches and interviews.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Armored Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Baghdad, Battle for; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Tallil Airfield; United States Army, Iraq War

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BLU-82/B Bomb

Bomb initially developed to clear helicopter landing areas. The BLU-82/B is a large high-altitude bomb developed for use in the Vietnam War. During that war the U.S. Air Force (USAF) at first employed

World War II–vintage M121 10,000-pound bombs to blast instant clearings in jungle and dense undergrowth from which helicopters could operate in connection with U.S. and South Vietnamese ground forces. With stocks of M121s diminishing, the USAF embarked on a replacement program and developed the Bomb Live Unit-82/B. Known as the "Daisy Cutter," the large (11'10" in length and 4'6" in diameter) BLU-82/B weighs 15,000 pounds. It is the heaviest bomb currently in use. The largest bomb of all time is the Grand Slam of 22,000 pounds, employed by the Royal Air Force Bomber Command against strategic targets in Germany during World War II. Some 225 BLU-82/Bs have been produced.

Contrary to reports that it is a fuel-air explosive device, the BLU-82/B is in fact a conventional bomb. It has a very thin .25-inch steel wall and is filled with 12,600 pounds of a GSX explosive slurry of ammonium nitrate, aluminum powder, and a binding agent. This filler has perhaps twice the power of TNT. As a result, the bomb can produce casualties among humans out to a radius of almost 400 yards from the point of detonation.

The Daisy Cutter has a minimum release altitude of 6,000 feet above the target. It relies on a cargo extractor/stabilization parachute to slow its descent to the target (approximately 27 seconds from a release point of 6,000 feet). A 38-inch fuse extender detonates the bomb just above ground level without producing a crater. At the point of blast, there is an overpressure of some 1,000 pounds per square inch.

The BLU-82/B was first utilized in combat during the Vietnam War on March 23, 1970. It found employment as a means to create helicopter landing zones and artillery fire bases in terrain covered by dense growth, to cause landslides for road interdiction, and to use against enemy troop concentrations. The BLU-82/B was also utilized during the rescue of the crew of the American merchant ship *Mayaguez* from the Cambodian Khmer Rouge in May 1975. The remaining bombs were then placed in storage. In air operations during Operation DESERT STORM the USAF 8th Special Operations Squadron employed Lockheed MC-130E Combat Talon aircraft to drop 11 BLU-82/Bs, first in an attempt to clear mines and then for both antipersonnel and psychological effects. The USAF also dropped several BLU-82/Bs in Afghanistan to attack Taliban and Al Qaeda strongholds.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Al Qaeda; Bombs, Gravity; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Taliban; United States Special Operations Command

Reference

Doleman, Edgar D. *The Vietnam Experience: Tools of War.* Boston: Boston Publishing, 1984.

BMP-1 Series Infantry Fighting Vehicles

The BMP series of infantry fighting vehicles (IFVs) represented a revolutionary shift in doctrinal thinking not only for the Soviet military but also for other nations, including the United States. Prior to introduction of the BMP series in 1966, the predominant thinking about the use of mechanized infantry on the battlefield was that of the battlefield taxi, whereby the troops were moved to the combat area and then dismounted to fight on foot. The BMP dramatically changed this picture. While other nations such as the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) were working on their own IFVs, the BMP was the first to be fielded in any quantity.

Soviet doctrine in the 1950s was shifting to that of a nuclear battlefield, and to have infantry typically fighting on foot was a serious liability. The BMP was specifically designed with the nuclear battlefield in mind. The production model was armed with a 73-millimeter (mm) smoothbore gun that fired projectiles similar to those used in the handheld RPG-7 antitank launcher along with a rail to mount the new AT-3 Sagger 9M14M Malyutka wire-guided antitank missile (ATGM). The driver and vehicle commander were placed in tandem in the left-front of the hull, while the gunner for the 73-mm gun and AT-3 was alone in the small turret basket. The infantry squad of eight men sat in the rear, four on each side back-to-back and each with a firing port and vision block to allow them to fight from within the vehicle.

BMPs saw combat service in the October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War as well as action in southern Lebanon in 1982 and the Iran-Iraq War of the 1980s. In the latter, BMPs were used by both sides. Crews liked the BMP's speed and maneuverability but discovered that the Sagger ATGM was virtually useless when fired from within the vehicle, mostly due to the inability of inexperienced gunners to guide the missile onto the target. Infantry also found it difficult to engage targets with any effectiveness from inside the vehicle. As a consequence, tactics began to develop that appeared to be a return to the battlefield taxi role of previous carrier designs.

The lessons learned from the Yom Kippur War led to an overhaul of the BMP design, culminating in the BMP-2 and BMP-3. As the Soviets continued to improve and modify the design, remaining BMP-1s were shipped off to client states such as Iraq. Thus, it was the BMP-1, constantly upgraded and modified, that continued to see the lion's share of combat service in Middle East wars. The Iraqis also received an unknown quantity of BMP-2s equipped with a 23-mm autocannon and the AT-4 Fagot 9M111 ATGM.

During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, coalition forces encountered a strange oddity. For years, British, French, and American tank and infantry personnel had engaged targets meant to look like Soviet tanks and infantry vehicles. Coalition forces were deployed along with Egyptian and Syrian units, equipped with large numbers of BMPs, and that created some initial confusion regarding vehicle identification, as it was sometimes hard to distinguish friendly BMPs from Iraqi vehicles. When the campaign began, it was deemed critical to keep forces properly organized and separated to limit allied fratricide. Combat units did engage BMPs only on limited occasions, as these were largely grouped with the Iraqi Republican Guard divisions that generally avoided

A Soviet-made BMP-1 infantry fighting vehicle near the village of Chagatai in Takhar Province in northern Afghanistan, 2001. (AP/Wide World Photos)

serious ground action. When coalition forces did manage to engage BMPs, they typically found them integrated with T-72 or T-62 Soviet-made tanks in combined arms company and battalion-sized groups. Some BMPs of the Medina Armored Division were destroyed by tankers from Colonel Montgomery Meigs's 2nd Brigade, 1st Armored Division, on February 27, 1991, but it would be the destruction of the Tawakalna Mechanized Division that saw one of the greatest losses of Iraqi BMPs in any one area.

The Tawakalna Mechanized Division was equipped with 220 T-72 tanks and more than 280 BMPs. It regularly trained in task-oriented battalion formations, and thus whenever tanks were encountered, BMPs were alongside. A typical formation was composed of 30–40 T-72 tanks and 12 BMP IFVs, with the infantry dug in around the vehicles. However, Soviet equipment was designed mostly for massed attack formations, not for flexible defensive tactics in small formations. The division was spread out over a large area and was hit by the concentrated power of the U.S. VII Corps, commanded by Lieutenant General Frederick Franks Jr. On February 26 in the Battle of 73 Easting, M1-A1 Abrams tanks and M3 Bradleys of the 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment under Colonel Leonard Holder engaged and destroyed 37 T-72s and their escorting BMPs in a matter of six minutes, all in a swirling sandstorm at a range of more than 2,200 yards.

During the Iraq War of 2003 (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), U.S. Army tanks and helicopters engaged some BMPs, again in mixed combined arms formations with tanks. Advancing elements of the 3rd Infantry Division encountered small combined arms groups attached to larger formations of Iraqi infantry during their drive north to Baghdad. On April 4, 2003, just south of the city at a crossroads marked "Objective Saints" on battle maps, American forces destroyed several dozen BMP-1s and BMP-2s that were part of the Medina Armored Division. The Iraqi forces had bravely resisted, and at one point a platoon of BMP-2s had engaged the advancing Americans with accurate fire from their 30-mm cannon before they were destroyed by tankers of the 4-64 Armored Battalion. Later, as American columns pushed into Baghdad, BMPs individually and in pairs attempted to ambush the Americans from the numerous narrow alleys of the city. As the Battle for Baghdad came to a close, there were numerous Iraqi tanks and BMPs littering the roadways. Unfortunately, precise loss statistics for the BMPs are not readily available for either the Persian Gulf War or the Iraq War of 2003. However, in the case of the former the losses may have been as high as 200.

Even though the BMP was outclassed by tanks and infantry vehicles of American and other Western nations, when used by smaller armies against comparable foes it proved itself an effective vehicle, as attested to by the Iraqi experience during the Iran-Iraq War. Therefore, BMPs of various configurations will likely be encountered on Middle Eastern battlefields into the foreseeable future.

Specifications of the BMP-1 are as follows:

Armament: 1 73-mm 2A28 smoothbore gun with a rate of fire of 7–8 rounds per minute; 1 coaxial 7.62-mm machine gun

Main Gun Ammunition: 40 Rounds
Armor: 23-mm maximum
Crew/Passengers: 3, with 8 infantry
Weight: 13.28 tons
Length: 22 feet 2 inches
Width: 9 feet 8 inches
Height: 7 feet 1 inch
Engine: V-6 diesel; 300 horsepower at 2,000 revolutions per minute
Speed: Road, 45 miles per hour
Range: 340 miles

RUSSELL G. RODGERS

See also
Baghdad, Battle for; DESERT STORM, Operation; Infantry Fighting Vehicles, Iraqi; Iran-Iraq War; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; 73 Easting, Battle of; T-62 Main Battle Tank; T-72 Main Battle Tank

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Bolton, John Robert, II
Birth Date: November 20, 1948

Attorney and U.S. representative to the United Nations (UN) during 2005–2006. John Robert Bolton II was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on November 20, 1948. He attended Yale University, graduating in 1970, and earned a law degree from Yale Law School in 1974, where he attended classes with future president Bill Clinton and future first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton as well as future U.S. Supreme Court justice Clarence Thomas. In 1970 Bolton joined the Maryland Army National Guard, seeking to avoid being sent to Vietnam because he believed that the antiwar lobby had already destined the nation to lose the war there. After graduating with his law degree, Bolton joined a Washington, D.C., law firm.

Bolton entered public service in 1981 as a counsel to the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), a post he held until 1982. From 1982 to 1983 he was assistant administrator of USAID. After several years back in private law practice, Bolton was assistant U.S. attorney general during 1985–1989 and then assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs from 1989 to 1993. From 1993 to 1999 he again practiced law; from 1997 to 2001 he was senior vice president for public policy research at the American Enterprise Institute.

By 2001 Bolton had firmly established his bona fides as a neoconservative, on record as disdaining the UN and America's participation in it. Following the contested 2000 presidential election, James Baker III, George W. Bush's chief strategist, dispatched Bolton to Florida as part of the administration's effort to halt the recount there. In 2001 President George W. Bush named Bolton undersecretary of state for arms control and international security affairs, a post he held until 2005. Bolton was reportedly closely allied with Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and other neoconservatives who pushed aggressively for war against Iraq in 2003.

Bolton confronted Iran over its nuclear program, and in 2002 he accused Cuba of harboring a clandestine biological weapons program. Reportedly, he tried to fire several State Department biological warfare experts when their intelligence did not support his own position, although Bolton denied this. Bolton also went on record as stating that the United States would disavow entirely the International Criminal Court.

In March 2005 Bush nominated Bolton as U.S. ambassador to the UN, a strange nomination considering Bolton's earlier harsh comments about that international body. The nomination caused a firestorm in Washington, and a Democratic filibuster in the Senate stopped it. During the bruising nomination process, testimony claimed that Bolton had mistreated and bullied subordinates and had tried to fire those who did not agree with him. Bolton denied the accusations in what became a thoroughly partisan debate.

Angered by the rebuff of his nomination, Bush instead appointed Bolton permanent U.S. representative to the UN in what is called a recess appointment on August 1, 2005. This essentially circumvented Congress in the appointment process. Although Bolton could not claim the title of ambassador, he was in essence fulfilling that role. Democrats especially excoriated the Bush White House over the appointment. In 2006 Bush twice resubmitted Bolton's nomination, and each time the move was rebuffed. In December 2006, with the handwriting on the wall, Bolton announced his desire to step down from his temporary appointment and withdraw his name from nomination. Returning to private law practice, he is involved with numerous national and international organizations as well as conservative think tanks.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also
Bush, George Walker; Neoconservatism; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

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Bombs, Cluster

Small explosive submunitions, or bomblets, dropped from aircraft or fired by artillery that are designed to detonate prior to, on, or after impact. In the 1930s, munitions experts in the Soviet Union developed early versions of cluster bomb technology. However, it was the Germans who first used cluster bombs operationally in World War II during the Battle of Britain in 1940. Called "Butterfly Bombs" by the Germans, their usage was not widespread because they were difficult to produce and were very fragile aboard aircraft. Despite these limitations, both British firemen and civilians viewed Butterfly Bombs as extremely dangerous because they did not explode upon impact but instead detonated later under the slightest vibration.

Cluster bombs quickly grew in popularity and are now produced in many countries thanks to their versatility on the battlefield. The United States first used cluster bombs in the 1950–1953 Korean War as an antipersonnel weapon. Since then, the U.S. military has employed cluster munitions in Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Iraq, Kosovo, and Afghanistan. During Operation DESERT STORM, the U.S. Air Force used the weapon extensively, dropping a total of 34,000 cluster bombs. U.S. warplanes dropped an estimated 1,100 cluster bombs during the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's 1999 Operation ALLIED FORCE in Kosovo, deploying roughly 222,200 submunitions. Fighter pilots flying the A-10 Thunderbolt II attack aircraft in Kosovo preferred using cluster bombs because they enabled them to neutralize targets without using precision-guided ordnance.

Cluster bombs remain a primary weapon among world military arsenals because of their wide variety of battlefield applications. Relatively inexpensive to make, cluster munitions offer a wide array of options in combat. They can be fired from the ground or dropped from the sky and afford numerous methods for delivery and employment. Ground-based deployments include the firing of cluster munitions with artillery or rocket launchers. Aircraft, meanwhile, are able to drop cluster munitions in a bomb-shaped container, or Cluster Bomb Unit (CBU), that breaks open at a predetermined height, scattering hundreds of bomblets over a wide area. Either delivery method results in a very effective weapon when used against personnel or armor. Cluster bombs are also frequently used on runways, electrical facilities, munitions dumps, and parked aircraft. Within the U.S. military, all four service branches use various forms of cluster munitions.

There are also many different types of cluster munitions. Some versions of cluster bombs are meant to be incendiary and ignite fires, while others are used as fragmentation bombs, designed to explode and scatter deadly pieces of metal in all directions.

Antitank versions of cluster munitions contain shaped-charge bomblets designed to penetrate armor more effectively. Sometimes the bomblets can be small mines, intended to function like regular land mines upon landing. Different types of submunitions may also be used together to increase lethality. These weapons, called Combined Effects Munitions (CEM), may implement incendiary, fragmentation, and armor-piercing bomblets in one dispenser to maximize the level of damage against different enemy targets located in the same vicinity.

The most controversial type of cluster bomb involves the air-dropped mines meant to immobilize enemy movements and act as an area denial weapon. These versions are designed to land softly and detonate only when the internal battery runs out, when the internal self-destruct timer runs out, or when they are disturbed in any way. Mine-laying cluster bombs proved relatively effective when used against Scud missile launchers during Operation DESERT STORM in 1991. At the same time, these types of cluster bombs can cause many deaths and serious injuries to unsuspecting civilians who may run across them. A small percentage of the bomblets do not always explode or detonate as planned.

Mines deployed by cluster bombs pose a greater long-term threat to civilians living in a war zone. Roughly 1–10 percent of cluster submunitions do not explode on impact, becoming deadly to any nonmilitary personnel who may stumble upon them. Thousands of such civilian casualties have been reported in Iraq, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Lebanon, and Israel.

In 1999 the U.S. Department of Defense estimated that there were 11,110 unexploded bomblets in Kosovo after Operation ALLIED FORCE that caused an estimated 500 civilian deaths. Additionally, an estimated 1.2 million to 1.5 million unexploded submunitions still remained in Iraq after Operation DESERT STORM, claiming more than 4,000 civilian casualties.

While cluster munitions have caused controversy in many conflicts, their use in the summer 2006 war between Israel and Hezbollah was especially controversial. After the brief conflict, an estimated 1 million unexploded cluster bomb submunitions littered southern Lebanon and northern Israel. Thousands of artillery rounds carrying cluster munitions were fired between the two combatants, according to the United Nations (UN) Mine Action Coordination Center. Human rights organizations have accused both belligerents of deliberately targeting civilians during the conflict, as many of the bomblets fell into villages and towns where civilians were living. Human rights organizations also reported more than 1,600 deaths in Kuwait and Iraq stemming from unexploded submunitions dropped during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Examples such as these have given rise to increased efforts to outlaw cluster bombs internationally.

Since the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the U.S. Defense Department reviewed its use of cluster munitions in an attempt to minimize collateral damage and reduce the noncombatant casualty rate. Thanks to the inaccuracy of certain types of cluster munitions, such as the CBU-87 used during Operation DESERT STORM, the U.S. Defense Department established a goal of reducing the dud rate among cluster submunitions to less than 1 percent by 2001.

In the mid-1990s the U.S. Air Force began experimenting with Wind Corrected Munitions Dispensers (WCMDs) in a further effort to reduce the noncombatant death rate. WCMD features include directional aerodynamic fins and an internal navigation system that adjusts for wind variations after its release.

Additionally, cluster bombs such as the CBU-105 have dispensers loaded with smart bomblets, designed to self-destruct if they do not hit their target. As an additional safety measure, these smart bomblets are designed to deactivate within minutes if they do not explode upon impact.

The U.S. military has also experimented with a new version of cluster munitions, substituting thousands of darts, or nails, for bomblets. When dropped from an aircraft or fired from the ground, these cluster munitions employ thousands of small nail-like pieces of metal that can destroy personnel and other soft targets. This method eliminates the possibility of duds, as there is no explosive submunition that could cause harm to an unsuspecting civilian.

During Operation IRAQI FREEDOM American forces made wide use of cluster bombs, much to the consternation of international human rights groups. It is estimated that in the opening weeks of the war, some 13,000 cluster munitions were employed in Iraq, and despite their careful use, the bombs caused considerable civilian deaths and casualties. Some human rights watch groups have alleged that as many as 240,000 cluster bombs have been used in Iraq after March 2003, a number that cannot be verified because the Defense Department does not provide such figures. In Operation IRAQI FREEDOM the United States also used the CBU-105 smart-guided cluster bomb, which was dropped from B-52 bombers. Cluster bombs were also employed during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan. The collateral damage caused by these munitions raised international concern and may have unwittingly precipitated a backlash against U.S. operations there among many Afghan citizens.

After successful efforts to ban antipersonnel mines, many countries initiated efforts to implement policies curbing the use of cluster bombs or advocating their complete elimination. In February 2007 Norway invited interested countries to Oslo and began to push for an international ban on cluster bombs. More than 45 countries participated in the discussions and agreed to meet again in February 2008. Once again led by Norway, more than 80 countries signed the Wellington Declaration at the Cluster Munitions Conference in New Zealand. This meeting committed the participating countries to solving the humanitarian problems created by cluster bombs and their unexploded ordnance.

Continuing on in the goal of banning cluster munitions altogether, 111 countries met in Dublin, Ireland, in May 2008 and agreed on a treaty banning certain types of cluster munitions. Furthermore, the signatories agreed to eliminate stockpiled cluster ordnance by 2016. Signatories also promised not to develop, produce, use, obtain, stockpile, or transfer additional cluster munitions. British prime minister Gordon Brown was among the many diplomats calling for a total ban on the use of cluster bombs. However, representatives from the world's largest producers of cluster bombs, which include the United States, Russia, and the People's Republic of China, did not attend. Diplomats from Israel, India, and Pakistan raised objections about a total ban.

In lieu of an outright ban on cluster bombs, the UN and human rights organizations have begun new efforts to minimize damage to noncombatants. Education emphasizing the dangers associated with unexploded cluster bomb submunitions is being distributed to civilians living in war-torn areas around the world. The United States has opposed the ban because of the extreme utility of these weapons, preferring instead to improve the safety measures in cluster bomb technology.

MATTHEW R. BASLER

See also

Antitank Weapons; Artillery; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Hezbollah; Israel, Armed Forces; Lebanon, Armed Forces; Mines, Sea, Clearing Operations, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Mines, Sea, and Naval Mine Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Mines and Mine Warfare, Land

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Bombs, Gravity

Bombs and other explosive ordnance that do not contain internal guidance systems. Bombs were weapons utilized by aircraft to attack targets, whether on water or land. Today, bombs lacking a guidance system are called dumb bombs because they fall dumbly to the target by the force of gravity along a ballistic path, unable to adjust for errors in aiming, weather, wind, or visibility conditions. Dumb bombs are simple, consisting of an aerodynamically streamlined shape filled with high explosives. Up until Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan in 2001, dumb bombs constituted the vast majority of such weapons used in war and still remain the dominant bomb type in the arsenals of most Middle Eastern nations, including Israel.

On dumb bombs, stabilizing fins are attached at the back, and a detonating fuse is installed just before the bombs are loaded onto a plane. The bombs come in four types: high explosive or general purpose, cluster bombs, daisy cutter, and fuel air explosives (FAE). Of these bombs, the first is the most commonly used and comes in varying sizes based on weight, ranging from 220 pounds to 2,200 pounds. American and British bombs are designated by weight in pounds (250, 500, 1,000, 2,000), while most other countries use kilograms. For example, the former Soviet Union's bombs came

in 100-, 200-, 500-, and 1,000-kilogram sizes. Fusing was determined by the mission. Proximity or variable-timed fuses, which detonate at various heights above the ground, were used against dug-in infantry. Quick fuses that detonated on impact were also used against surface targets to maximize blast effect. Delayed fuses were placed in the bomb's tail to hold up the detonation until the bomb had penetrated a predictable depth into the target to ensure destruction of armored targets such as bunkers.

Cluster bombs carried up to 100 smaller (50-kilogram) bombs within them that were released at a predetermined altitude above a target area about the size of a football field. They were used against moving targets such as tanks, armored personnel vehicles, and naval missile boats. Daisy cutters refer to the 15,000-pound bomb dropped from Lockheed MC-130 Hercules aircraft to clear out a landing area for helicopters, collapse tunnels, or destroy troop concentrations. Finally, FAEs differ from other bombs in that they employ an aerosol spray to create a mist of fuel that, when ignited, creates an overpressure followed immediately by a series of alternating underpressures and overpressures to flatten objects in an area (vehicles, aircraft) and inflict maximum personnel casualties.

Dumb bombs were employed in all of the various bombing missions executed during the Arab-Israeli wars, and more than 80 percent of all bombs dropped during Operation DESERT STORM (1991) were dumb bombs. Ten years later, that percentage had dropped to just 20 percent during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (2001) and Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (2003). Nevertheless, dumb bombs still dominate the arsenals of the world's air forces. But the United States and most Western countries have guidance kits to install on them to convert them into smart bombs. Increasingly, dumb bombs are used only on battlefields located some distance from civilian populations. This trend will likely continue in the years ahead as bombs become more deadly and the international community places increasingly stringent standards against inflicting casualties on innocent civilians.

CARL OTIS SCHUSTER

See also

Bombs, Precision-Guided; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, U.S. Air Campaign; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Air Campaign

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Bombs, Precision-Guided

Precision-guided munitions, commonly called smart bombs, refer to bombs that have integral guidance systems that compensate for environmental interference and poor aim and that ensure the bomb's accurate emplacement against the target. They differ from dumb or iron bombs in that they have an internal guidance system and a related power source. Typically, a modern smart bomb has a circular probable error of 20–94 feet. But even a highly trained pilot operating in an optimal environment can, at best, reliably place a dumb bomb within 300 feet of the aim point. Most modern smart bomb systems rely on a computer-based guidance system that accepts a target designated by the aircraft's pilot or weapons officer or a forward air or ground controller and guides the bomb onto it. The target's identification and designation are derived from electro-optical, infrared, or radar imaging. However, a growing number of guidance systems guide the bomb onto the target's geographic location using the target's and bomb's Global Positioning System (GPS) respective location. The bomb reverts to inertial guidance if the GPS link is lost. GPS-guided bombs are employed against fixed targets, while the others can be used against moving targets or those in which a specific entry point (e.g., ventilation shaft) is required.

The Germans employed the first guided bombs during World War II. The German Fritz bombs were radio-controlled bombs that the plane's bombardier glided into the target using a joy stick. He tracked the bomb's path via a flare in the bomb's rear. The Americans also employed a television-based guided bomb called the Azon bomb in 1945 and continued to pursue bomb-guidance systems after the war. The resulting AGM-62 Walleye relied on a TV camera installed in the bomb's nose that transmitted the target's image back to the aircraft's weapons officer. He steered the bomb to the target by keeping the aim in the TV crosshairs. The early Walleyes required so much operator attention, however, that they were primarily employed from crewed aircraft such as the navy's A-6 Intruder.

In 1968 during the Vietnam War, the U.S. Air Force introduced the Bolt-117, the first laser-guided bomb. These early bombs guided onto the reflected beam of a laser designator that illuminated the target. The early versions had to be illuminated by a second aircraft in the target area. By 1972, this system had given way to an automatic laser-tracking illuminator that enabled the bombing aircraft to illuminate the target as it withdrew. However, these early laser-based systems were vulnerable to smoke and poor visibility, which interfered with the laser beam.

By the late 1970s, the United States introduced improved laser, infrared, and electro-optical target-designation systems. Israel acquired some of these weapons and used them in strike missions over Lebanon in the mid-1980s, but the first significant large-scale use of smart bombs came in 1991, when the United States led a United Nations (UN) coalition to drive Iraqi troops out of Kuwait (Operation DESERT STORM). In that war, U.S. aircraft used precision weapons in approximately 20 percent of their strike missions over Iraq. They were employed primarily against high-priority targets located within population areas or in circumstances where the target's first-strike destruction had to be guaranteed (Scud surface-to-surface missile launchers, for example).

The lessons learned from that war drove the U.S. development of the Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM), Joint Standoff Weapon (JSOW), and GPS-based bomb-guidance systems. During Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (2001), more than 80 percent of the bombs dropped were smart bombs, and a similar percentage marked the air missions over Iraq in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (2003).

Precision weapons will continue to gain ground in the years ahead as the world takes an increasingly harsh view of collateral damage and casualties inflicted on civilians. The introduction of cost-effective retrofit guidance kits has enabled many countries to convert their dumb bombs into smart bombs at little expense. Israel and most of the Arab frontline states are now acquiring guidance kits for their bomb arsenals. However, blast effects remain a problem regardless of the weapon's precision. For example, the Palestinian terrorists' strategic placement of their facilities within apartment blocks and housing areas has driven Israel away from the use of bombs. Israel increasingly employs short-range tactical missiles with small warheads (less than 30 kilograms) against terrorist targets in the occupied territories and southern Lebanon. Still, smart bombs will figure prominently in any future Middle Eastern conflict.

CARL OTIS SCHUSTER

See also

Aircraft, Bombers; Bombs, Gravity; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, U.S. Air Campaign; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Air Campaign

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Bonn Agreement

Agreement reached among Afghan leaders in Bonn, Germany, on December, 5, 2001, to create a governing authority for Afghanistan in the aftermath of the toppling of the Taliban regime several weeks earlier. Sponsored by the United Nations (UN), the Bonn Agreement produced the Afghan Interim Authority (AIA), a temporary governmental entity. The AIA was inaugurated on December 22, 2001. The Bonn Agreement was designed to stabilize Afghanistan and bring an end to the 20-year-long civil war there. Afghanistan had been plunged into chaos in 1989, when the last Soviet troops were withdrawn from the country. Between 1989 and 2001, Afghanistan was a nation besieged by internal strife and without an effective government that could provide its people basic needs and services. The U.S. government realized that before a permanent Afghan government could come to power, an interim governing body had to be established that could rally the Afghan people and work with the U.S. and allied forces. The Bonn Agreement was undertaken to accomplish these goals.

The AIA, which came into being on December 22, was comprised of 30 Afghans, to be headed by a chairman. The AIA would have a six-month mandate, to be followed by a two-year period under a Transitional Authority. At the end of the two years, national elections were to be held and a permanent Afghan government established. Hamid Karzai was chosen to chair the AIA; he became interim president after the convening of the *loya jirga* ("grand assembly") on June 22, 2002, and then president of Afghanistan in 2004. The Bonn Agreement also stipulated the

German chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, German foreign minister Joschka Fischer, United Nations (UN) envoy in Afghanistan Lakhdar Brahimi, rear from left, attend the Bonn Agreement signing ceremony with the delegation leaders, front from left, Houmayoun Jareer of the Cyprus delegation, Sayed Hamed Gailani of the Peshawar delegation and Abdul Sirat of the Rome delegation in Koenigswinter, near Bonn, in December 2001. (AP/Wide World Photos)

creation of the Afghan Constitution Commission, charged with drafting a new Afghan constitution that would be subjected to a future plebiscite. In the meantime, the AIA was asked to use the 1964 Afghan constitution until the new one could be drawn up. The agreement also established a judiciary commission to help rebuild Afghanistan's judicial system and specifically called for the creation of a national supreme court.

Another important accomplishment of the Bonn Agreement was a mandate to create a development and security mission to be led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Approved by the UN Security Council on December 20, 2001, this mission became the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), charged with pacifying and stabilizing Afghanistan and continuing the hunt for Taliban and Al Qaeda insurgents there. Today, the ISAF continues its work in Afghanistan and is the umbrella command organization for all allied military efforts and operations in Afghanistan.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Afghanistan; International Security Assistance Force; Karzai, Hamid; Loya Jirga, Afghanistan; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Boomer, Walter

Birth Date: September 22, 1938

U.S. Marine Corps general and commander of Marine forces during Operations desert shield and desert storm. Walter Boomer was born on September 22, 1938, in Rich Square, North Carolina. He graduated from Duke University in 1960 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps in January 1961. His initial assignments were with the 8th and 2nd Marine regiments at Camp Lejuene, North Carolina.

Shortly after his April 1965 promotion to captain, Boomer was ordered to South Vietnam, where he served as a company commander during the Vietnam War from 1966 to 1967. After returning from his first Vietnam tour, Boomer attended the Amphibious Warfare School. He was promoted to major in May 1968 and joined Marine Headquarters, Washington, D.C., as administrative assistant and aide-de-camp to the deputy chief of staff for plans and programs. Following that assignment, Boomer attended the Armed Forces Staff College.

In 1971, in preparation for his second Vietnam tour, Boomer attended the short adviser course at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. In August of that year he returned to Vietnam as adviser to a South Vietnamese Marine Battalion. Upon returning to the United States in September 1972, Boomer attended American University in Washington, where he earned an MA degree in management technology. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in September 1976 after a three-year stint at the United States Naval Academy, where he taught management. He then joined the 3rd Marine Regiment in Hawaii, where he served as regimental executive officer and as commander of its 3rd Battalion. He was promoted to colonel in November 1981 and became director of the 4th Marine District, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in June 1983. In February 1985 he took command of the Marine Security Battalion, Quantico. While serving in that post, he was appointed brigadier general in June 1986. Boomer earned advancement to major general in March 1989. In August 1990 he was promoted to lieutenant general and assigned to Saudi Arabia as commander of Marine Forces Central Command and I Marine Expeditionary Force (I MEF), posts he held throughout Operations desert shield and desert storm.

Throughout his military career, Boomer had staunchly advocated a separate U.S. Marine Corps combat doctrine. As with many Marine Corps officers, he had been influenced by experiences in Vietnam, where many marines believed that the army had misused them. The planning and execution of desert storm gave Boomer and other Marine Corps commanders the chance to vindicate their views.

Initially, it did not appear that Boomer would get such an opportunity. Planning for the ground war, conducted in the summer and autumn of 1990, did not include the active use of the marines. The original plan developed by Central Command commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf's staff called for an attack from western Saudi Arabia in which the I MEF would only breach the forward Iraqi defenses for the army's armored forces to exploit. When Boomer was finally invited to a planning meeting in early November 1990, he vigorously objected to the plan, arguing that the marines should not be used as a mere appendage to the army but instead that they should operate separately, although in support of army operations, and do their own planning. He wanted the marines deployed along the coast on the right flank, where their logistical base was tied to the navy. After a contentious debate, Schwarzkopf finally agreed.

Between November 1990 and the beginning of desert storm in January 1991, Boomer and his I MEF staff formulated a plan that emphasized keeping the Iraqis off balance by attacking their command and control systems rather than trying to overwhelm them with superior numbers of tanks and artillery. Boomer believed that the Iraqi statistical superiority in tanks and men in southern Kuwait was deceptive and that the Iraqi force they faced was a hollow army. His assumptions proved correct, and the marines were able to concentrate their forces south of the Wafra oil fields where the Iraqis, with their command and control centers destroyed and their intelligence apparatus blinded by concentrated air and artillery strikes, did not expect them. As a result, the marines were able to overrun most of Kuwait and capture Kuwait City within two days of the start of the ground offensive on February 24, 1991.

Boomer's success and the marines' performance in the Persian Gulf War earned him considerable media attention and praise from the U.S. media as well as from General Schwarzkopf. Upon his return from the Gulf, Boomer was appointed assistant commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps. He served in that position until his retirement in 1994. In retirement, Boomer has been surprisingly critical of the quality of American intelligence prior to the Persian Gulf War and of the failure to move faster to cut off Iraqi forces remaining in Kuwait.

WALTER F. BELL

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; Iraq, Army; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; United States Marine Corps, Persian Gulf War

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Bosnia-Herzegovina, Role in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

Confederation located in the Balkans in southeastern Europe. With a land area of 19,741 square miles, Bosnia-Herzegovina had a 2008 population of 4.59 million people. It is bordered by Croatia to the north, west, and south; Serbia to the east; and Montenegro to the south. Formerly one of six governmental units of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the multiethnic confederation, comprised chiefly of Bosnians, Serbs, and Croats, is politically decentralized and is a federal parliamentary-style democratic republic with an economy that has been rapidly transforming itself into a free-market system. The presidency of the federation rotates among three popularly elected presidents (one representing each of the three major ethnic groups). Each person serves as president/chair for eight-month-long terms.

Bosnia-Herzegovina joined a number of other Central and East European countries in dispatching a small symbolic force as part of the U.S.-led coalition in Iraq after the 2003 invasion. Because of the role played by the United States in ending the nation's civil war and in ensuring Bosnian independence, relations between Sarajevo and Washington remained strong throughout the 1990s and 2000s. What is more, counterterrorism cooperation increased significantly in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States. As the United States prepared for the war with Iraq during the winter of 2002–2003, the George W. Bush administration particularly sought Muslim countries to serve as coalition partners. This was part of an effort to prevent the perception that the invasion was an anti-Muslim crusade.

Although Bosnia-Herzegovina remained a staunch ally of the United States, participation in the U.S.-led anti–Saddam Hussein coalition was unpopular among the populace. Negotiations between the two governments continued through 2003 and 2004 over a potential deployment before an agreement was finally reached in 2005. Bosnia-Herzegovina deployed a small contingent of troops in June 2005. The initial deployment involved 36 engineers who specialized in de-mining operations. The force was stationed outside Fallujah and undertook ordnance disposal operations in the area. The Bosnians were part of the Polish-led Multi-National Force. The Bosnians served six-month rotations and received training by U.S. personnel in Bosnia prior to their deployment. Significantly, the deployments included troops from both the Bosnian- and Croat-dominated Federation Army and the Serb-dominated Republic of Srpska Army. The deployment was the first joint operation outside of Bosnia-Herzegovina between the two forces. The joint mission was regarded as an important step in the government's effort to demonstrate to the European Union (EU) and other Western powers that progress was being achieved in ethnic reconciliation.

The example of Bosnia-Herzegovina was cited by scholars and policy makers as a potential model to resolve sectarian violence in Iraq at the height of the insurgency. Several proposals were developed that called for the division of Iraq, like Bosnia, into a federal system along ethnic lines, with a shared presidency. These included a nonbinding resolution by the U.S. Senate in 2007 to divide Iraq into three semiautonomous provinces, one for the Kurds, one for the Sunnis, and one for the Shiites. The Bush administration rejected the idea out of hand.

Bosnia-Herzegovina deployed 50 additional troops from its 6th Infantry Division in August 2008 under the command of a major. The new deployment was stationed at Camp Victory in Baghdad and provided base security and support operations for coalition forces stationed at the facility. The Bosnians were attached to U.S. forces. Between the two deployments, 290 Bosnian soldiers served tours in Iraq.

As other countries began to draw down their forces in Iraq, the Bosnian government announced that it would end its deployment in December 2008. Following the withdrawal of Bosnian forces from Iraq, the Bosnian government announced that it would deploy some 100 soldiers to Afghanistan as part of the mission led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 2009. Meanwhile, Bosnia-Herzegovina also began negotiations with NATO over eventual membership in that alliance.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Boutros-Ghali, Boutros
Birth Date: November 14, 1922

Egyptian diplomat and the sixth secretary-general of the United Nations (UN) during 1992–1997. The UN's first Arab leader, Boutros Boutros-Ghali was born on November 14, 1922, in Cairo to a well-regarded Coptic Christian family. One of his ancestors, Boutros-Ghali, had served as Egypt's prime minister. Boutros Boutros-Ghali was educated at Cairo University and received a degree in law in 1946. He also holds degrees in political science, economics, and public law from the University of Paris. In 1949 he earned his doctorate in international law, also from the University of Paris. He also holds a diploma in international relations from the Institute d'Études Politiques de Paris.

From 1949 to 1977 Boutros-Ghali was a professor of international law and international relations at Cairo University. During that time he was a Fulbright research scholar at Columbia University in New York (1954–1955), director of the Center of Research of The Hague Academy of International Law (1963–1964), and visiting professor of law at Sorbonne University (1967–1968). In 1977 he was appointed Egypt's minister of state for foreign affairs and served in that post until 1991. That same year, he became deputy prime minister for foreign affairs under President Hosni Mubarak.

Boutros-Ghali attended the historic September 1978 Camp David Summit Conference along with Egyptian president Anwar Sadat. During the negotiations Boutros-Ghali played a not insignificant role, and by 1979 Israel and Egypt had signed a peace accord. As a Christian in an overwhelmingly Muslim nation, Boutros-Ghali brought a unique vision to his role in Egyptian foreign policy. Nevertheless, he was a strong and loyal supporter of Egyptian sovereignty and frequently decried the heavy-handed approach to foreign affairs that Western nations, particularly the United States, often practiced. He was active in the Non-Aligned Movement as well as the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

In addition to his role in the Israeli-Egyptian peace process, Boutros-Ghali helped win the release in 1990 of South African anti-Apartheid leader Nelson Mandela from many years in jail as a political prisoner. That momentous occasion ultimately brought about the demise of South Africa's Apartheid regime. Boutros-Ghali is an expert on development in the Third World and believes that water conservation is a key to African and Middle Eastern political stability. He became the sixth secretary-general of the UN on January 1, 1992, commencing a five-year term.

Boutros-Ghali assumed his UN post at a time of tremendous crisis within the organization. It was also a period of considerable international tension, particularly in the Middle East. Enormous budgetary difficulties and greatly increased demands on the UN to increase international peacekeeping efforts combined with growing expectations and harsh criticism to create a nearly impossible leadership situation. When Boutros-Ghali became secretary-general, the UN had become highly in demand to help deal with myriad crises. These included extensive African drought and starvation, global warming and pollution, Serbian ethnic-cleansing campaigns in Bosnia and Herzegovina, human rights abuses, terrorism and militant Islamic fundamentalism, violations of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, various civil wars, and peace negotiations in Cambodia, Afghanistan, and Somalia.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali of Egypt was secretary-general of the United Nations (UN) during 1992–1997. (Corel)

During his term in office, Boutros-Ghali witnessed a potentially momentous peace-making effort between Israel and the Palestinians in the 1993 Oslo Accords. As a result, the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) was created, and Israel and the Palestinians formally recognized each other for the first time. In 1994 Israel and Jordan concluded a peace treaty. The 1995 assassination of Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin seemingly derailed Arab-Israeli peace-making efforts, however.

Another Middle East conundrum haunted Boutros-Ghali's term as secretary-general: the aftermath of the 1991 Persian Gulf War. When that conflict ended in 1991, the UN came under considerable pressure—particularly by the Americans—to enforce the disarmament of Iraq by means of economic pressure and by UN-sponsored weapons inspections. Several times during Boutros-Ghali's tenure, the United States launched unilateral air attacks against Iraqi weapons and air facilities in retaliation for alleged

violations of the terms of the cease-fire. By 1996, the United States had all but accused the UN's chief of abdicating his responsibility to monitor and enforce sanctions and inspections of Iraq.

Boutros-Ghali's time at the helm of the UN was not an altogether happy one. The United States made him out to be a controversial figure, and his perceived failures only added to his burden. Indeed, he came under fire for the UN's inability to deal with Rwanda's murderous genocide in 1994 and his inability to rally support for UN involvement in the ongoing Angolan Civil War. Meanwhile, the deepening enmity between American leaders and Boutros-Ghali left him open to criticism that he had allowed too much U.S. influence in the UN and that the very role of the UN had now been clouded in the post–Cold War world.

In 1996 Boutros-Ghali sought a second term in office. While 10 UN Security Council nations (including Egypt) backed his continuation as secretary-general, the United States adamantly objected. He eventually capitulated to U.S. pressure to step down but not before engineering a replacement from Africa, Ghana's Kofi Annan. When Boutros-Ghali stepped down in 1996, he became the first secretary-general not to be reelected. In 1997 he became secretary-general of La Francophonie, an organization of French-speaking nations. He remained there until 2002. Since that tune, he has served as the president of the Curatorium Administrative Council at The Hague Academy of International Law.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Camp David Accords; Egypt; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Mubarak, Hosni; Oslo Accords; Rabin, Yitzhak; United Nations; United Nations Weapons Inspectors

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Bradley Fighting Vehicle

Lightly armored tracked infantry and cavalry fighting vehicle. In 1975 the U.S. Army requested proposals for an armored mechanized vehicle to carry infantry on the battlefield for combined arms operations with the new M-1 Abrams tank. The new vehicle would gradually replace the M-113 armored personnel carrier, which the army did not believe could keep up with the new tank.

The Food Machinery Corporation, later United Defense and then BAE Systems, produced the XM-723 prototype in 1975, which differed slightly from the actual production models. It was an armored tracked vehicle with a 20-millimeter (mm) gun and a 7.62-mm machine gun in a turret. It had a crew of three and could carry eight infantrymen. A tracked vehicle with six road wheels, the original Bradley was 21.5 feet long, 11.75 feet wide, and 8 feet 5 inches tall. Its 22.58 tons were moved by a 500-horsepower Cummins V-8 diesel, and it had a top speed of 41 miles per hour with a range of 300 miles. It was capable of crossing water at a speed of 4 miles per hour. Aluminum and spaced-laminated armor protected the hull.

The Bradley program evolved into the development of two vehicles, which in 1981 were named Bradley Fighting Vehicles and are produced by BAE Systems Land and Armaments. The M-2 is the infantry fighting vehicle, while the M-3 is designated as a cavalry fighting vehicle. The M-2 Bradley carries a crew of three—commander, driver, and gunner—as well as six infantrymen. The M-3 transports two cavalry scouts and additional radios and ammunition. Crew size remained unchanged at three. The interiors of the two models differed, and the only exterior difference were gun ports to allow the infantry to fire shoulder weapons from inside the M2.

Some Bradley production models began an upgrade to the M-2 and M-3 A2 models, which had engines capable of producing 600 horsepower and a stronger drive wheel allowing a top speed of 45 miles per hour. Internal armor and improved ammunition storage were also added in production.

Both models differed from the XM-723, as their upgraded turrets mounted a 25-mm Bushmaster chain gun and a 7.62-mm machine gun. The main gun automatically fired armor-piercing or high-explosive rounds as selected by the gunner, who could also select single or multiple shots for each fire mission. The bushmaster has a range of 1.2 miles. The vehicle could attack heavy armor with TOW (tube-launched, optically tracked, wire-guided) missile rounds, although it could not do so on the move but rather only after stopping for more than a minute and activating a collapsible launcher. Developers believed that the range of the TOW, 2.25 miles, and its ability to destroy any current armored vehicle with a missile that approached the speed of sound outweighed this drawback. The M-2 and M-3 also had smoke grenade launchers for concealment as well as the ability to generate their own smokescreen on the move. These models have a length of 21 feet 2 inches, a width of 10.5 feet, a height of 9.75 feet, and a weight of 25–33 tons, depending on the weight of additional armor for the A2 models.

The reduction in the number of infantrymen to six in the M-2 was controversial because of the impact on the force structure, but solid performance in the 1991 Persian Gulf War proved the viability of the reduced squad number. The U.S. Army's first order for the Bradley was in 1979 when 100 were to be produced, with subsequent orders for 600 yearly. By 1995, 6,375 vehicles had been delivered to the army, with 400 more produced for Saudi Arabia. About 2,200 Bradleys deployed for the 1991 Persian Gulf War, of which 1,619 were in maneuver units, with the rest at division level, in theater reserve, or declared excess.

Before the Persian Gulf War, work had already begun on upgrading the Bradleys, first to the A2 and then the A3 models. The A2 Bradleys had additional armor, which increased the weight

A Bradley fighting vehicle provides security as soldiers of the U.S. Army's 3rd Infantry Division conduct a joint clearing operation with local Abna'a Al Iraq (Sons of Iraq) through a group of small villages south of Salman Pak, Iraq, February 16, 2008. (U.S. Department of Defense)

to 30 tons and then an additional 3 tons with add-on tile armor. A 600-horsepower engine compensated for the additional weight.

Because of the threat of Iraqi tanks, the army rushed 692 A2s to the theater during Operation DESERT SHIELD in 1990, and by the time DESERT STORM began in early 1991, about half of the Bradleys involved were A2s. The Bradleys performed well during DESERT STORM. They had a reliability of 90 percent during the land war in spite of the fact that they traveled from 60 to 180 miles during the 100-hour land war. Twenty were destroyed, all but 3 from friendly fire, and only 12 were damaged, 4 of which were repaired quickly. The Bradleys kept pace with the Abrams tanks and accounted for more destroyed enemy armored vehicles than did the Abrams.

The conflict did reveal problems with the Bradleys, however. These led to further refinements, leading to the A3 model. Improvements included a position navigation system with GPS receiver. Coupled with sophisticated digital electronics and communications, the Bradley is now able to function in real time as an integral part of the combined arms team of tanks, attack helicopters, and other weapons systems. Better sights and a laser-range finder along with other digital upgrades allow for enhanced command and control as well as more lethal and reliable fire control. Upgrades to the identification of friend and foe (IFF) systems reduce the problem of friendly fire. Some crew functions were automated, and the vehicle's speed in reverse increased to match that of the tanks. The vehicle armor was also improved, with the requirement to resist rounds up to 30-mm and the introduction of reactive armor. The TOW missile system was changed to add a hydraulic lift for the launchers, and the range finder allowed the system to fire on the move. The wear and tear of operating in a desert environment also required changes to various components to reduce damage from sand and dust.

These changes have since been tested in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, launched in March 2003 to topple the rule of Saddam Hussein.

The Bradleys were an integral part of the mechanized infantry brigades in both the infantry and armored divisions deployed. The 100-hour ground war of DESERT STORM gave credence to the projection of a short conflict once the Iraqi capital was taken. That did not happen, however, and the conflict continues, thanks to a strong insurgency that began in earnest in 2004. Bradleys continued to be deployed, with units rotating to and from Iraq for 12- to 15-month deployments. By April 2006, some 50 Bradleys had been lost in combat, along with 20 Abrams tanks, 20 Stryker wheeled combat vehicles (deployed with some mechanized infantry units), and 20 M-113s, which continued to play a role in the conflict. The Bradleys performed well, but this conflict yielded many lessons learned, which will figure in further development of U.S. military forces.

Among these lessons is the impact of sustained combat on both men and matériel. Armored vehicles in the combat area operate at a tempo up to six times that in peacetime, with Abrams tanks driving 5,000 miles per year as opposed to 800 in peacetime. In spite of this, the army maintained an equipment readiness rate of 90 percent three years into the war in Iraq. Operation DESERT STORM validated the effectiveness of U.S. forces against a well-armed enemy in conventional unit-on-unit engagements. The conflict has also allowed evaluation of the tracked Bradley compared to the wheeled Stryker armored infantry vehicle in terrain that varies from desert sand to mountains and includes operations in large cities. More important will be the lessons learned from fighting militant insurgents who operate in a hit-and-run manner that includes use of improvised explosives capable of destroying armored vehicles.

As with the M-113 armored fighting vehicle, which is still in the inventory, the Bradley has been used as a platform for many functions. These include an air defense vehicle with Stinger rockets, an electronic fighting vehicle system, a fire-support team vehicle, an ambulance, and a platform for the stingray countermeasure system that detects enemy fire-control systems and destroys them with a laser transmitter. The multiple rocket launch system (MLRS) is based on the Bradley chassis.

DANIEL E. SPECTOR

See also

Infantry Fighting Vehicles, Iraqi; M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks

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Bremer, Jerry

Birth Date: September 30, 1941

U.S. diplomat, career U.S. State Department official, and administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq (2003–2004). Lewis Paul "Jerry" Bremer was born in Hartford, Connecticut, on September 30, 1941. He received a BA from Yale University in 1963 and an MBA from Harvard University in 1966. Later that same year, he joined the Foreign Service and began his lengthy career as a diplomat.

Bremer's tenure with the State Department featured posts as an assistant to National Security Advisor and then Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (1972–1976), ambassador to the Netherlands (1983), and ambassador-at-large for counterterrorism (1986). In 1981 Secretary of State Alexander Haig named Bremer executive secretary of the State Department, where he directed the country's round-the-clock crisis management and emergency response center.

In 2002 in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, Bremer was appointed to the Homeland Security Advisory Council. Considered an expert on terrorism, Bremer spent much of his career advocating a stronger U.S. position against states that sponsor or harbor terrorists.

After Iraqi forces had been defeated in the March–May 2003 war, on May 6, 2003, President George W. Bush named Bremer U.S. presidential envoy in Iraq. In this role, Bremer became the top executive authority in Iraq as the administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority. He was tasked with overseeing the beginning of the transition from the U.S.-led military coalition governing Iraq to Iraqi self-governance. Bremer was brought in to replace retired U.S. Army general Jay Garner, who had been put in

American Lewis Paul Bremer was director of reconstruction and humanitarian assistance in postwar Iraq (2003–2004). Among his controversial decisions accepted by the Bush administration was disbanding the Iraqi Army. (U.S. Department of Defense)

place only two weeks earlier. Bremer's job, which began just five days after Bush declared that major combat operations were completed, was to serve as the top civilian leader of Iraq until such time that the nation was stable enough to govern itself.

Garner's leadership has been generally praised but was not without its problems. Under Garner's watch, looting of commercial and government buildings had been rampant, including the alleged theft of priceless archaeological treasures from Iraqi museums. Iraqi citizens also faced growing problems with failing infrastructure and burgeoning street violence.

Bremer's first move was to increase the number and visibility of U.S. military police in Baghdad while making the reconstruction of the Iraqi police force a high priority. Bremer also pushed to speed up the rebuilding of Iraq's infrastructure and to make certain that government workers were being paid. Despite his efforts, however, violence—both sectarian and by insurgents—continued to mount, and Iraqis were becoming increasingly frustrated with the U.S.-led coalition. Bremer was also forced to postpone establishing an Iraqi-led transitional government.

Bremer is given credit for making some critically important decisions in his role as envoy. Among these were the removal of all restrictions against freedom of assembly, the suspension of the death penalty, and the establishment of a central criminal court. However, many were critical of some of Bremer's decisions, particularly his decision to disband the Iraqi Army and to remove members of Saddam Hussein's Baath Party from critical government positions. Bremer responds to his critics that there was, in truth, no Iraqi Army left for him to dissolve, as that task had already been accomplished by the war. He also claims that his Baath Party purge was directed at only the top 3 percent of the party leadership. During his tenure, Bremer was also the target of numerous failed assassination attempts. At one point, Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden placed a bounty of 10,000 grams of gold on the ambassador's head.

Despite the violence and the assassination attempts, Bremer was able to achieve many of his goals. On July 13, 2003, the Iraqi Interim Governing Council, chosen from prominent Iraqis, was approved. On March 8, 2004, the interim constitution was signed after being approved by the governing council. Then, on June 28, 2004, the U.S.-led coalition formally transferred limited sovereignty to the interim government. In a move that surprised many, Bremer left Iraq the same day. After his departure, U.S. ambassador to Iraq John Negroponte became the highest-ranking U.S. civilian in Iraq.

After leaving Iraq, Bremer embarked on several speaking tours and coauthored a book, *My Year in Iraq,* published in 2006. He is currently serving as chairman of the advisory board for GlobalSecure Corporation, a firm that deals with homeland security issues.

KEITH MURPHY

See also

Baath Party; Bin Laden, Osama; Garner, Jay Montgomery; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; Terrorism

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Brims, Robin

Birth Date: June 27, 1951

British Army general. Born on June 27, 1951, Robin Brims was educated at Winchester College and the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, before receiving a short-service commission as a second lieutenant in the Light Infantry on October 31, 1970. His short-service commission was converted to a regular commission on June 27, 1972. While a junior officer, Brims served tours in England, West Germany, and Northern Ireland before attending the Staff College at Camberley. He was subsequently promoted to major and appointed chief of staff to the 8th Infantry Brigade in December 1983, a position he held until January 1986.

From January 1986 until December 1987, Brims commanded a company in the Light Infantry, after which he was promoted to lieutenant colonel. In December 1987 he was appointed military assistant to the military secretary, and during January 1989 to December 1991 he commanded the 3rd Battalion, Light Infantry. Brims was then promoted to full colonel and served in staff positions in the Ministry of Defence until December 11, 1994.

On December 12, 1994, Brims was promoted to brigadier and appointed brigade commander of the 24th Airmobile Brigade based in Colchester, a position he held until November 1996. With this command, he deployed to Bosnia as part of the United Nation (UN) Rapid Reaction Force in 1995. On November 18, 1996, he was appointed chief of staff, Headquarters Northern Ireland, where he remained until January 11, 1999, at which time he became director of Army Plans and Resources. On January 12, 2000, he was promoted to major general and appointed to command the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Multi-National Division (South West) in Bosnia.

On November 11, 2000, Brims was appointed general officer in command of the 1st Armoured Division, a post he held until June 12, 2003. It was in this position that he was deployed to the Iraq War as part of Operation TELIC, the British component of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. On the eve of the Iraq War, the 1st Armoured Division numbered some 20,000 men and women and represented a larger British contribution to the war effort than had been the case in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, accounting for almost one-third

of the deployed allied land power. The division was composed of the 7th Armoured Brigade (the famed "Desert Rats"), the 16th Air Assault Brigade, and the 3rd Commando Brigade Royal Marines.

Brims's task in the Iraq War was to take and hold Basra, Iraq's second-largest city located in the southern part of the country, and to protect the oil fields and oil installations on the Faw (Fao) peninsula, which had been set on fire by Saddam Hussein's forces during the 1991 war. Beyond these general instructions, General Tommy Franks, the American commander of United States Central Command (CENTCOM), left the actual plan of battle to Brims's discretion.

Brims decided to have the 3rd Commando Brigade seize the Faw (Fao) peninsula and secure the oil fields while the 7th Armoured Brigade and 16th Air Assault Brigade lay siege to Basra, where they were later to be joined by the 3rd Commando Brigade. Despite making landfall in Iraq on the evening of March 20, 2003, Brims decided to be patient in the assault on Basra, inserting teams of Special Air Service (SAS) and Special Boat Service (SBS) snipers and reconnaissance squadrons into the city to gather intelligence but otherwise forming an impenetrable ring around the city without further advance.

On March 31 Brims ordered larger units to begin moving on the city, and on April 6 he ordered the main assault to begin. By that evening, the city was largely under British control. On April 7 members of the 16th Air Assault Brigade began to patrol the old portion of the city. The following day, Brims ordered his division to switch from combat operations to occupation mode. The Battle for Basra was over, but the battle for the hearts and minds of Iraq's Shia population was only just beginning.

On June 12, 2003, Brims was appointed deputy chief of operations at Permanent Joint Headquarters, Northwood, and left Iraq. Less than a month later, on July 11, 2003, the 1st Armoured Division handed over operations to the 3rd Mechanized Division, and it too departed Iraq. For his service in the Iraq War, Brims was awarded the Distinguished Service Order on October 31, 2003. He remained deputy chief of operations until March 2005, at which time he was promoted to lieutenant general and made commander of the Field Army. In this position, from April to October 2005, Brims again deployed to Iraq as the senior British military representative in Iraq and deputy commanding general of Multi-National Forces–Iraq. He held the post of commander of the Field Army until August 2007, at which time he retired from the army. Since then, Brims has served as the rector of Kurdistan University Hawler in the autonomous Kurdistani region of Iraq.

Benjamin Grob-Fitzgibbon

See also

Basra, Battle for; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Multi-National Force–Iraq; United Kingdom, Army, Iraq War

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Brown, James Gordon

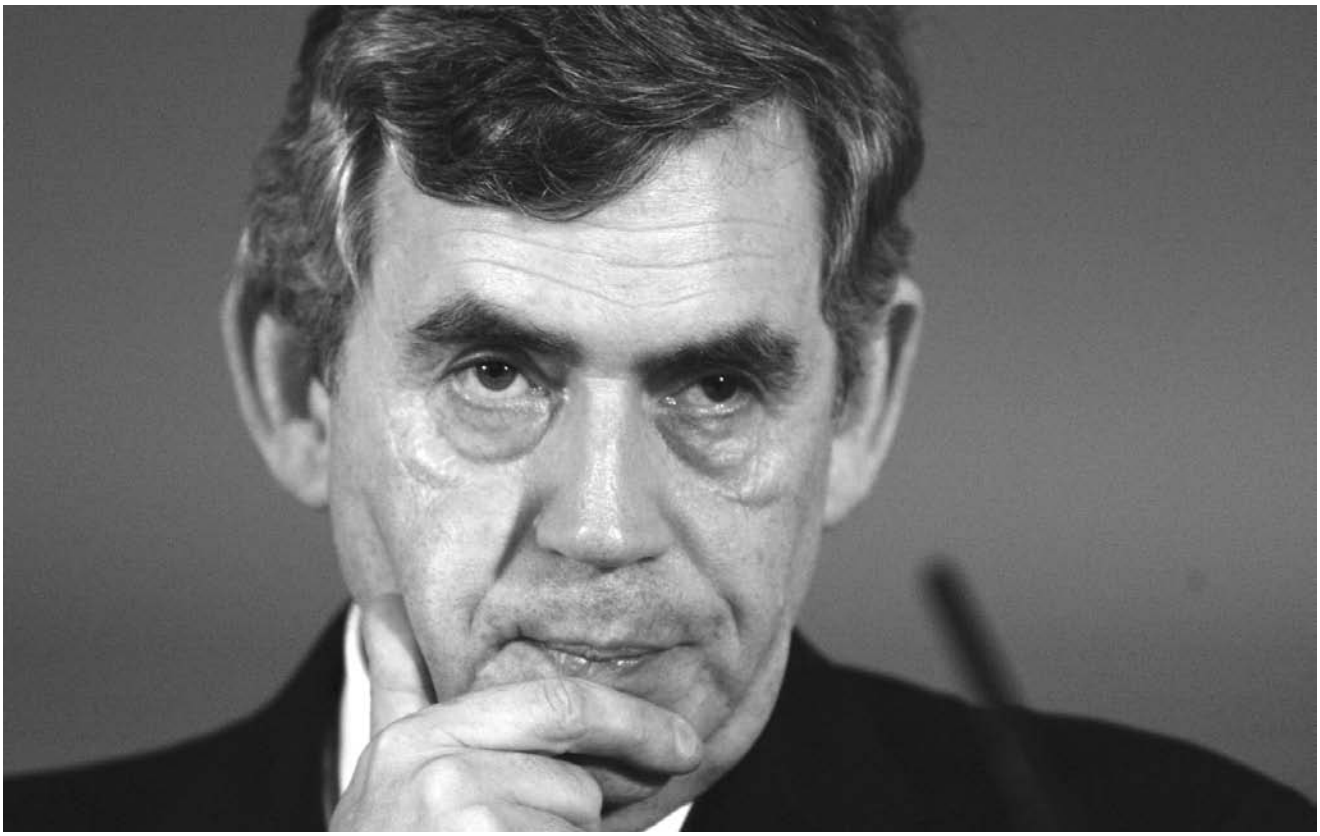
Birth Date: February 20, 1951

British Labour Party politician and chancellor of the exchequer (1997–2007) who succeeded Tony Blair as prime minister on June 27, 2007. James Gordon Brown was born on February 20, 1951, in Glasgow, Scotland, but grew up in Kirkcaldy. His father was a minister in the Church of Scotland. The younger Brown attended an accelerated program at Kirkcaldy High School and entered the University of Edinburgh at the age of 16. He studied history, eventually earning a doctorate in 1982. While a student, Brown served as rector and chair of the University Court. He briefly worked as a lecturer at Edinburgh and then taught politics at Glasgow College of Technology. Brown subsequently worked as a journalist and editor for Scottish Television during 1980–1983.

Brown first ran for Parliament in 1979 but lost to Michael Ancram. In 1983 Brown ran again and was elected to represent Dunfermline East (boundary changes later renamed this constituency Kirkcaldy and Cowdenbeath). He was also named chair of the Labour Party's Scottish Council. In the House of Commons, Brown shared an office with fellow Labourite Tony Blair, who was elected that year to represent Sedgefield. The two young, energetic politicians became fast friends, and their careers would be closely linked during their rise through government. Considered two leading modernizers, Brown and Blair set out to change the Labour Party. In 1987 Brown became the Labour Party's shadow chief secretary to the treasury, then controlled by the Conservative Party government. He served in that position until 1989, when he became shadow trade and industry secretary. He remained there until becoming opposition spokesperson on treasury and economic affairs (shadow chancellor) in 1992.

Brown reportedly wanted to run for the position of Labour Party leader in 1994, but he stood aside for Blair, who was elected that November. In 1997 the two achieved their goal of placing the Labour Party back in control after 18 years in the opposition. Rumors have since suggested that a deal between the two put Brown in charge of economic policy while Blair assumed the premiership, although that has never been confirmed. In May 1997 Brown was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, the equivalent of the U.S. treasury secretary. As chancellor, Brown presided over a long period of economic growth. He made the Bank of England independent and froze spending for two years. He controversially established five economic criteria that had to be met before allowing the public vote on joining the European Monetary Union. His methods were often called ruthless, but no one could argue with his record of high employment and low inflation.

By 2007, Brown was the longest-serving chancellor of the exchequer in modern British history. As Blair's popularity



British prime minister James Gordon Brown. (AP/Wide World Photos)

declined because of his support of the U.S.-led Iraq War, Brown appeared poised to assume the premiership. Indeed, Brown was the leading contender when Blair announced in May 2007 that he would step down on June 27. Brown formally announced his bid for leadership of the Labour Party on May 11, facing no opposition. He became prime minister on June 27 with the approval of Queen Elizabeth II.

Observers noted that Brown would not be a radical departure from Blair and the New Labour movement. However, he began to transfer several prime ministerial powers to Parliament and even some parliamentary powers to the general public. In the early days of his leadership, he faced an attempted terrorist attack on the airport in Glasgow and was praised for his handling of the incident. Although Brown pledged to address such issues as health care and housing during his leadership, he said that terrorism and the war in Iraq would remain at the forefront.

Although it was widely perceived that Brown was less enthusiastic about the Iraq War than Blair, Brown publicly remained staunchly loyal to the George W. Bush administration and the conflict in Iraq. At the same time, the prime minister has begun to draw down troops in Iraq, and he has more recently stated that he is becoming increasingly concerned about the Afghanistan War. The close relationship between London and Washington was reiterated in the very early days of the Barack Obama administration, especially by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. Beginning in the last quarter of 2008, the Brown government became enveloped in the financial meltdown that began on Wall Street, and by early 2009 the British economy was mired in deep recession.

Melissa Stallings

See also

Blair, Tony; United Kingdom; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy

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Brown, Monica Lin

Birth Date: May 24, 1988

U.S. Army soldier who was awarded the Silver Star. Monica Lin Brown was born in Lake Jackson, Texas, on May 24, 1988. Joining the army, she was trained as a medic and assigned to the 4th Squadron, 73rd Cavalry Regiment, 4th Brigade Combat Team, in Afghanistan. On April 25, 2007, Specialist Brown was in a convoy of four Humvees in eastern Paktia Province when insurgents set off a

roadside bomb, hitting one of the Humvees and wounding five of its occupants. Brown braved hostile small-arms fire and mortar rounds to run to the wounded and attend to them, shielding their bodies with her own. For her bravery under fire, Brown was awarded the Silver Star in March 2008, only the second American woman to be so recognized since World War II. Four army nurses were awarded the Silver Star in that conflict, and Sergeant Leigh Ann Hester received the Silver Star for bravery under fire during the Iraq War in 2005.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also
Hester, Leigh Ann

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Brzezinski, Zbigniew
Birth Date: March 28, 1928

International relations scholar, diplomat, and U.S. national security adviser to the James (Jimmy) Carter administration during 1977–1981. Born the son of a Polish diplomat in Warsaw, Poland, on March 28, 1928, Zbigniew Brzezinski received his PhD from Harvard University in 1953 and became a U.S. citizen in 1958. Following his graduation, he joined the faculty of Harvard and then moved on to Columbia University in 1960, where he stayed until 1977.

Brzezinski served as a foreign policy adviser to U.S. president John F. Kennedy and as a member of the State Department's influential policy planning staff during the Lyndon B. Johnson administration. In 1968 Brzezinski resigned his State Department post in protest over U.S. Vietnam War policies. He subsequently returned to academia and directed the Trilateral Commission from 1973 to 1976. After serving as foreign policy adviser to Jimmy Carter in his successful 1976 presidential campaign, Brzezinski was named Carter's national security adviser in 1977.

As national security adviser, Brzezinski played a critical role in the normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC) as well as in the 1978 Camp David Accords and the resultant 1979 peace treaty between Israel and Egypt. He was also instrumental in providing covert aid to the mujahideen fighters in Afghanistan after the Soviet Union invaded that country in 1979. Most significant perhaps to both Carter and Brzezinski was the 1978 Iranian Revolution and the resultant hostage crisis that began on November 4, 1979, and endured for 444 days, not ending until Ronald Reagan was sworn in as president on January 20, 1981, at which time the U.S. hostages were released. The crisis dominated the Carter administration in its last year and likely cost Carter his reelection bid. Brzezinski worked closely with the president to end the crisis, including the abortive hostage rescue mission in April 1980, but to no avail.

Following Carter's defeat in the 1980 election, Brzezinski returned to Columbia University. In 1989 he joined the faculty of Johns Hopkins University. He has written and edited numerous books on international relations and has served on the boards of myriad council and advisory committees. Considered something of a hard-liner while in office—especially vis-à-vis communism and the Soviet Union—in more recent years Brzezinski has been a critic of the George W. Bush administration's Global War on Terror and the 2003 invasion of Iraq, which Brzezinski claims was a monumental error.

Brent M. Geary

See also
Camp David Accords; Carter, James Earl, Jr.; Eagle Claw, Operation; Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War

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Professor of international affairs Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski served as a foreign policy adviser to Democratic presidents John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Jimmy Carter. He was Carter's national security adviser during 1977–1981. (Jimmy Carter Presidential Library)

BTR Series Armored Personnel Carriers

The Soviet/Russian-designed BTR series of armored personnel carriers (APCs) are some of the most ubiquitous armored transports on battlefields across the globe. The series includes several wheeled transports and one tracked version, as "BTR" is simply a designation given for any general infantry carrier. The BTRs followed the standard doctrinal practice of the "battlefield taxi," in which a modestly armored transport would bring infantry to the fight where they would then engage in combat dismounted. As a consequence, most BTR vehicles were lightly armed, primarily for protection against small-arms and artillery fire. Typical Soviet practice in the Cold War–era (1945–1991) was to ship obsolescent vehicles to client states, and thus many of these became part of the inventories of a number of Middle Eastern countries. This practice would change after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the downsizing of the Russian military, for state-run factories would then seek customers for their unsold inventories of more-modern equipment.

The earliest of these vehicles, the BTR-40, was a four-wheeled reconnaissance car based on the American White M-3 Scout Car that the Soviets had received via the Lend-Lease program during World War II. Numerous BTR-40s were exported to Soviet client states in the Middle East during the 1950s and 1960s, and they served mostly in reconnaissance roles and occasional infantry transport duties. However, this vehicle suffered from poor performance due largely to the inherent problems of cross-country mobility for a wheeled vehicle with just two axles.

A better cross-country armored transport was built in the early 1950s around the ZIL-157 chassis and was designated the BTR-152. It was an open-topped, six-wheeled vehicle that offered better mobility for a full infantry squad. The BTR-152 was a low-cost option that allowed the Soviets to motorize a large number of their units. These were shipped in large quantities to such countries as Egypt, Syria, Libya, and Iraq, and they saw extensive combat in the 1967 Six-Day War and 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War.

The BTR-152s were used not only as basic infantry carriers, but also as self-propelled antiaircraft platforms and tractors for towed artillery and antitank guns. Nevertheless, even a six-wheeled chassis was deemed insufficient to reduce the ground pressure on the tires and produce superlative cross-country performance. As a consequence, the Soviets embarked on an eight-wheeled transport program, which the Russians have maintained to this day.

The initial requirement for a new cross-country wheeled infantry carrier was initiated in 1959, and the resulting first vehicle, the BTR-60P, was delivered to Soviet forces by the end of 1960. By 1976, more than 25,000 BTR-60s had been produced by Soviet state factories, with many being exported to client states.

Iraqi national guardsmen move a BTR-80A armored personnel carrier into position in Baghdad to provide security for the Iraqi Democratic National Conference during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in 2004. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Armored Personnel Carrier Specifications

	Armament	*Armor*	*Crew/ Passengers*	*Weight (tons)*	*Length*	*Width*	*Height*	*Engine*	*Speed (mph)*	*Range (miles)*
BTR-50P armored personnel carrier	1 12.7-mm machine gun	14-mm maximum	2/14	13.97	22'4"	10'1"	6'6"	V-6 diesel; 240 horsepower at 1,800 rpm	27	160
BTR-60PB armored personnel carrier	1 14.5-mm KPVT machine gun	9-mm maximum	2/14	10.20	24'10"	9'3"	7'7"	2 GAZ-49B 6-cylinder gasoline; 90 horsepower each	50 (road); 6 (water)	310

Two primary models were produced—one with an open top and the other with an armored roof and a small turret armed with a 14.5-millimeter (mm) KPVT heavy machine gun. This version became the standard model, but both were shipped to Middle East nations in the 1960s and 1970s. Although the BTR-60 was an eight-wheeled vehicle that was fast and had some unique features, such as adjustable tire pressure and several firing ports for the troops within, it encountered significant performance problems, especially in a harsh desert environment.

The most critical problem involved the two 90-horsepower GAZ-49B engines used to drive the wheels on either side. It was extremely difficult to synchronize the two engines, and therefore many crews simply disengaged one of them, causing a subsequent loss in performance. This was a serious problem in loose terrain, such as some of the sandy areas of the Sinai peninsula, where Egyptian forces would operate in 1967 and 1973. Nevertheless, the BTR-60 was the infantry carrier of choice for many Middle Eastern countries that were cash-poor, as it was relatively inexpensive, easy to maintain, and easy for crews to operate. It continued to operate with Middle Eastern armies into the 1990s, and was still being used by Iraq as late as the 2003 Iraq War. Its deficient cross-country ability and thin armor made it an easy target for coalition ground and air forces during Operation DESERT STORM (1991) and the 2003 Iraq War. However, against more modestly armed opponents, it performed reasonably well.

The BTR-50 was the tracked equivalent of the BTR-60 and was based on the chassis of the PT-76 light tank. It was designed initially as a more expensive alternative for mechanized units, carrying infantry attached to Soviet tank forces. It still retained the battlefield taxi philosophy, and it was thus lightly armed with a 12.7-mm machine gun for self-defense. It was introduced in 1954, and like the BTR-60, it was exported in large numbers to Middle Eastern armies, forming the backbone of their mechanized units designed to escort tank forces into battle.

As a tracked vehicle, the BTR-50's cross-country performance was markedly superior to that of a wheeled vehicle, but this reduced its road speed compared to the BTR-60, and it was more complex to maintain and operate. The infantry exited the vehicle by climbing over the sides, and in later closed-topped versions this became difficult, as the men had to exit a series of large hatches. A similar version of this vehicle was built by Czechoslovakia and was known as the OT-62 Topaz. It too was exported to Middle Eastern nations.

The combat performance of these vehicles was unspectacular but sufficiently good to warrant continued use. They performed as designed, fulfilling their role as battlefield taxis. Many were destroyed in the host of wars in the Middle East in which they were used, including some lost during the coalition invasion of Iraq in 2003.

Unfortunately, there is little data as to the actual numbers lost in either the 1991 Persian Gulf War or Iraq War. However, of the 6,000 BTRs available to Iraq during the Persian Gulf War, probably about 1,000 were destroyed or abandoned. Upgraded versions of the BTR-60, such as the BTR-80 and 90, have seen limited export, with BTR-80s going to Turkey and BTR-90s specifically designed to meet the demands of the export markets of Middle East countries. However, they have seen little combat action.

RUSSELL G. RODGERS

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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Bulgaria, Role in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

A Balkan country with a land mass of 42,822 square miles. Bulgaria is bordered by Romania to the north, Greece and Turkey to

the south, Macedonia and Serbia to the west, and the Black Sea to the east. Its estimated 2008 population was 7.263 million people. Bulgaria was dominated by the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) from 1946 to 1990, when free elections were held with the collapse of communism. The BCP held a one-party monopoly in the country, which was closely allied with the Soviet Union as a member of the Warsaw Pact.

Since 1990 and the collapse of communism, Bulgaria has been a parliamentary democracy with a prime minister as head of government. Also since 1990, Bulgaria has taken aggressive steps to privatize its industries and move toward free-market capitalism. The transition has not been without sacrifices, however, including high unemployment and a period of civil unrest and hyperinflation during 1996 and 1997. Until 2001, Bulgarian politics were dominated by the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF). In June 2001 Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (Simeon II), son of Czar Boris III, became prime minister, which temporarily overturned the dominance of the BSP and UDF. He was in office until August 2005, when Sergey Stanishev of the BSP formed a coalition government. Despite internal struggles, political instability, and widespread corruption, Bulgaria sought close ties with the West.

Although Bulgaria did not participate in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, it did contribute to Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. Three months after assuming office and following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the United States, the Bulgarian government supported the United States and its allies in invading Afghanistan and toppling the Taliban regime, which had given Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda terrorist organization sanctuary. Bulgaria granted the United States and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces overflight, landing, and refueling privileges, and it allowed U.S. KC-135 Stratotanker refueling aircraft and hundreds of U.S. personnel to be stationed at its Sarafovo airbase. In February, 2002, Bulgaria sent a 40-member nuclear, biological, and chemical decontamination unit to Afghanistan. Four years later, it deployed 350 soldiers to assist in guarding the Kabul airport. The total Bulgarian troop contingent climbed to 460 by the end of 2008.

Bulgaria strongly supported the United States in the run-up to the Iraq War in 2003. It again offered the United States the use of its airspace and territory in support of possible military action against Iraq, for which it reportedly received $9 million. Then, despite overwhelming public opposition, in July 2003 Prime Minister Saxe-Coburg-Gotha dispatched what he called "a peacekeeping force" of a battalion of 480 men to help with the stabilization and reconstruction of Iraq. The men were responsible for general security and guarding the city center of Diwaniyah.

Saxe-Coburg-Gotha's decision to send troops to Iraq and his continued support over the years for the Iraq War was motivated principally by an expectation of securing political and economic advantage from the United States and its allies. The Bulgarian leader saw participation in the Iraq War as a means to facilitate admission into NATO and demonstrate that Bulgaria would be a reliable NATO partner. Admission into NATO was also seen as a prerequisite for membership in the European Union (EU). Finally, Bulgaria expected to be rewarded by Washington in recovering the $2 billion debt owed by Iraq, by participating in lucrative Iraqi reconstruction projects, and by having new U.S. military bases built in Bulgaria. Indeed, Bulgaria secured membership in NATO on April 2, 2004, and membership in the EU on January 1, 2007.

Between 2003 and 2005, Bulgaria rotated five infantry battalions, averaging about 500 soldiers each, in and out of Iraq. During the two-year span, the Bulgarians suffered 13 soldiers killed; dozens of others were injured.

After 5 Bulgarian soldiers and another 26 were wounded in an attack on December 27, 2003, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha faced intense opposition to withdraw the men from Iraq. Then Abu Musab al-Zarqawi's Iraqi-affiliated Al Qaeda group executed two Bulgarian truck drivers who had been abducted near Mosul on July 8, 2004. This prompted large antiwar protests in Bulgaria, particularly given that the prime minister's unwillingness to negotiate with the terrorists coincided with the release of a group of Filipino hostages after the Philippine government had agreed to withdraw its troops from Iraq.

With parliamentary elections scheduled for August 2005, the death of another Bulgarian soldier in March 2005, and the April 2005 shooting down near Baghdad of a Bulgarian-owned civilian helicopter by insurgents, which resulted in the death of its three Bulgarian crewmembers, the National Assembly voted to withdraw all its troops from Iraq by the end of 2005. In August, the opposition BSP won a plurality of votes and formed a coalition government, headed by Prime Minister Sergei Stanishev.

As promised, by the end of 2005, Bulgaria's battalion departed Iraq, handing over control to an Iraqi unit it had trained. However, Defense Minister Veselin Bliznakov announced on December 11, 2005, that Bulgaria would deploy 155 "noncombat troops" for what he called a "peacekeeping and humanitarian mission." Beginning in March 2006, these men were first tasked with guarding the Ashraf refugee camp near the Iranian border. Following the closure of the camp in June of 2008, the troops were transferred to Camp Cropper near Baghdad International Airport, where they guarded detainees undergoing a social reintegration program.

On May 26, 2006, the Bulgarian National Assembly ratified an agreement authorizing the United States to use two Bulgarian airbases and an army training center for the next 10 years. On November 13, 2008, Prime Minister Stanishev announced that Bulgaria's 155 soldiers would leave Iraq, and on December 17, 2008, these troops returned home. In all, Bulgaria contributed 11 different contingents of troops and a total of 3,231 soldiers to the U.S.-led forces in Iraq. Bulgarian forces suffered in all 13 dead. Bulgaria also has troops in international military missions in Afghanistan, Kosovo, and Bosnia.

STEFAN M. BROOKS

See also

ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; North Atlantic Treaty Organization

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Bull, Gerald Vincent

Birth Date: March 2, 1928
Death Date: March 22, 1990

Aerophysicist engineer and arguably the 20th century's top artillery designer. Born in North Bay, Ontario, Canada, on March 2, 1928, Gerald Vincent Bull was raised by an aunt after his mother died. An outstanding student, Bull was the youngest person ever to earn a doctorate from the University of Toronto. A superb engineer, in 1951 he went to work for the Canadian Armament and Research Development Establishment (CARDE). There, he developed an innovative alternative to expensive wind tunnels, firing the model down a barrel and using high-speed cameras to record its behavior during flight. His engineering prowess brought rapid promotions, and in 1959 he became the chief of CARDE's Aerophysics Department.

Ballistics expert Gerald Bull, right, shown in 1965 with Premier of Quebec Jean Lesage inspecting one of Bull's giant guns, was found shot to death in Brussels in 1990. News reports linked his death to the effort by Iraq to construct a huge gun capable of firing nuclear or chemical shells some 600 miles. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Bull had little patience for bureaucracy, however. He left CARDE in 1961. The brilliant engineer had a stubborn personality and deep commitment to developing the best artillery. These would drive him to accept employment with any agency willing to fund his dreams; ultimately, this cost him his life.

Shortly after leaving CARDE, Bull convinced the U.S. government that large guns were potentially more cost-effective platforms than rockets for launching small satellites testing nose cones for orbital reentry. The resulting U.S.-Canadian High Altitude Research Project (HARP) enabled him to study and demonstrate his ideas. He built a small test center along the Vermont-Quebec border to conduct model testing and a launch range in Barbados for flight tests. There, he modified an old U.S. Navy 16-inch gun, extended its barrel to 36 meters and developed special propellants and projectiles to launch projectiles weighing nearly 400 pounds to altitudes of some 110 miles. The project's entire cost was $10 million, or about twice that of a single Atlas missile launch.

Despite the demonstrated economy of his project, his enemies in CARDE convinced the Canadian government to withdraw funding. However, Bull was able to transfer all the assets to the corporation he had founded to manage the project. He then became a consultant to any military willing to fund his research.

Using the knowledge he gained from HARP, Bull became the world's foremost expert at extending the range of artillery shells. His use of "base bleed" technology to reduce the drag of the projectiles enabled him to extend the range by as much as 50 percent without reducing the projectile's throw weight. Bull was first hired by South Africa to develop artillery that could outrange the Soviet M-46 field guns being supplied to Cuban forces the South Africans were fighting in Angola. The resulting 155-millimeter (mm) gun was the world's longest-ranged field gun until the late 20th century. However, a change in American administration made his once legal work for South Africa a criminal activity. Bull was convicted of illegal arms trafficking for selling the guns and ammunition to South Africa. Imprisoned for six months and bankrupt, on his release Bull moved to Brussels, Belgium, and began to work for the People's Republic of China and Iraq.

Iraq was then locked in a long war with Iran (1980–1988). Impressed with Bull's guns, which Baghdad had acquired from South Africa, Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein hired Bull in 1981 to develop a "supergun" that Iraq could use for artillery purposes and to launch satellites into orbit. Bull designated the program Project Babylon. Although the international media and the Iraqi government reported that the gun was to be used to attack Israel, there was little to suggest that it might be a practical military weapon. The 150-mm long barrel was fixed along an embankment, and had a breech that exceeded 350 mm (14 inches) in breadth. The gun also weighed more than 2,100 tons. Reportedly, the gun was to be ready for test firing in 1991. Later media reporting indicates that Bull briefed both Israeli and British intelligence agencies on the project.

The supergun was not the only project he worked on for Iraq. Bull also agreed to assist Iraq in developing a multistage missile based on

the Soviet-supplied Scud. Ostensibly designed to strike targets deep inside Iran, the missile also had the capacity to strike Israel. Given Iraq's possession and use of chemical agents in its war with Iran, the Israeli government viewed the missile project as a major strategic threat. Bull reportedly received warnings from the Israelis to abandon the project. If he did, he ignored them. On March 22, 1990, Bull was found in his Brussels apartment, dead from five bullet wounds to the head. None of his neighbors heard the shots and the assassin or assassins have never been identified. Although United Nations (UN) inspectors destroyed Bull's Iraqi supergun and its supporting equipment after the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the South African G-5 155-mm served the Iraqi Army through three wars, and derivative variants remain in service with the German, Italian, Dutch, and Greek armies today. In fact, virtually all long-range artillery pieces and extended range ammunition rounds introduced into service since 2000 are based on Bull's design principles.

CARL OTIS SCHUSTER

See also

Artillery; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Project Babylon

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Burqan, Battle of

Event Date: February 25, 1991

Battle that occurred on February 25, 1991, the second day of ground combat during Operation DESERT STORM, between the U.S. 1st and 2nd Marine Divisions and elements of the Iraqi III Corps. Burqan is located in Kuwait, part of the vast Al Burqan oil fields. For the initial defense of occupied Kuwait, the Iraqis relied upon a defensive works known as the Saddam Line to stymie a coalition attack. Behind this, the Iraqis had placed infantry and mechanized divisions to contain any coalition breakthrough. Counterattacks would be carried out by divisions of the elite Republican Guard located farther to the north. However, the six-week coalition air offensive had significantly degraded Iraqi capabilities by the time the ground offensive was launched on February 24. The 1st and 2nd Marine Divisions broke through the Saddam Line that same day and headed for Kuwait City. Major General Salah Aboud Mahmoud, commander of the Iraqi III Corps, located in southeastern Kuwait, realized that the Marines had to be counterattacked in order to save the Iraqi army in Kuwait.

Mahmoud employed two brigades from the Iraqi 5th Mechanized Division with about 250 tanks and armored vehicles, along with smaller supporting units. These were to attack out of the cover of the Burqan oil field and catch the 1st Marine Division on its right flank as it advanced north, hopefully achieving surprise. The Iraqi attack was partially concealed by heavy morning fog and smoke from oil fields that the Iraqis had set ablaze to provide battlefield cover from coalition aircraft.

The Marines received some intelligence that an Iraqi attack could be expected, and began reorienting their defenses and calling in artillery during the early morning hours of February 25. The Iraqi attack materialized at 8:00 a.m., and the fighting continued for three hours. The attack had been preceded by the arrival of an Iraqi major at a U.S. Marine outpost, who rolled his T-55 tank up, surrendered, and then told his captors that the vehicles coming into view were about to open fire.

The Iraqi attack was furious, but the Marine positions held. Conditions were chaotic and the two sides often fought each other with minimal visibility. The Marines were assisted by the appearance of Cobra attack helicopters firing Hellfire missiles and directed from the ground. After the morning fog lifted, coalition fixed-wing aircraft were called in as well. The Marines were also helped by poor Iraqi tactical skills. The Iraqis attacked in predictable head-on patterns, made little effort to maneuver, and demonstrated abysmal marksmanship.

Marine casualties at the Battle of Burqan were negligible, although the Iraqis did manage to down a Marine OV-10 observation aircraft and a Harrier jet. The Marines destroyed 50 Iraqi tanks along with 25 armored personnel carriers and captured 300 prisoners. Additional Iraqi tanks and vehicles were destroyed in coalition air strikes. After the failure of Mahmoud's attack, the Iraqi General Staff ordered the III Corps to pull out of its positions in southeastern Kuwait, an order that precipitated a general rout of remaining Iraqi forces in Kuwait. While it ended in a decisive Iraqi defeat, the Battle of Burqan represents a rare example of the Iraqi Army taking an initiative during the Persian Gulf War.

PAUL W. DOERR

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; Kuwait, Liberation of; Mahmoud, Salah Aboud; Oil Well Fires, Persian Gulf War; Saddam Line, Persian Gulf War; United States Marine Corps, Persian Gulf War

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Busayyah, Battle of

Event Date: February 26, 1991

The Battle of Busayyah, Iraq, occurred on February 26, 1991, between U.S. and Iraqi ground units during the critical opening

phases of the ground campaign of Operation DESERT STORM. The engagement resulted in a victory for American forces, marked an important stage in the unfolding of the American strategic plan for fighting the ground campaign, and also generated a postwar controversy.

The Iraqi plan for the defense of occupied Kuwait was based on the belief that coalition forces had three possible invasion routes. The Iraqis expected an amphibious landing on the Kuwaiti coast; a direct attack from Saudi Arabia into southern Kuwait; or a movement through Wadi al-Batin, which delineated Kuwait's western border with Iraq. Coalition forces could possibly attack via any or all of these routes. The Iraqis believed, however, that coalition forces lacked the logistical and navigational capabilities to attack through Iraq's western desert, so their defenses did not extend much more than 100 miles to the west of Wadi al-Batin. The Iraqis built a line of static defenses and fortifications along Kuwait's southern border with Saudi Arabia, mined the Kuwaiti coast line, and amassed troops to defend the Wadi al-Batin. Iraqi infantry and motorized divisions were located behind the first line of defenses to contain potential coalition breakthroughs. Finally, the Iraqi Republican Guard was positioned farther north as a strategic reserve.

Aware of Iraqi intentions and expectations, coalition commanders drew up plans that would take advantage of Iraqi weaknesses. Two Marine divisions would storm into southern Kuwait to fix the Iraqi defenders in place. A diversionary attack would be launched in the Wadi al-Batin. But the main coalition attack would be carried out by the U.S. VII and VIII Corps, which would execute a giant left hook through the western Iraqi desert, designed to smash the Republican Guard divisions and encircle Iraqi troops in Kuwait. The tiny Iraqi crossroads town of Busayyah, located about 100 miles north of the Saudi-Iraqi border, was to be the pivot point on which the U.S. corps would turn. The town consisted of about 40 to 50 buildings located on a road oriented north to south. The Iraqi army was using the town as a corps logistical base and had positioned some 100 tons of ammunition there. Busayyah also served as headquarters for the Iraqi 26th Infantry Division, which was guarding the border opposite the U.S. VII Corps.

The ground phase of Operation DESERT STORM began on February 24, 1991. However, the Iraqi 26th Infantry Division, which was under strength and had endured heavy aerial and artillery bombardment, failed to offer any effective resistance to the VII Corps attack. Most surviving Iraqi troops quickly surrendered.

As VII Corps rolled northward, local Iraqi commanders reported only a small force of eight French tanks and four armored personnel carriers (APCs) headed for Busayyah. The inability to relay accurate information plagued the Iraqi effort during Operation DESERT STORM. In fact, Busayyah lay directly in the path of the VII Corps' 1st Armored Division, commanded by Major General Ronald H. Griffith. Iraqi headquarters dispatched just two armored brigades to reinforce Busayyah.

To defend Busayyah itself, the Iraqis had positioned only one infantry battalion, one commando battalion, and one company of T-55 tanks. The Iraqi defensive preparations included trenches ringing the town, defensive tank positions, and machine gun posts on rooftops. However, the Iraqi defenders were hopelessly outnumbered and outgunned. Their T-55 tanks, built in the 1970s, were simply no match for the technologically advanced U.S. M-1A1 Abrams tanks. Iraqi tanks were outranged by the Abrams, which could fire on the move and had vastly superior armor protection.

Forward units of the 1st Armored Division approached Busayyah late on the afternoon of February 25. The town had already been pummeled by U.S. Apache attack helicopters. Griffith decided to take the town rather than bypass it. Thus, the overall advance of VII Corps was accordingly delayed. The commander of VII Corps, Lieutenant General Frederick Franks Jr., approved Griffith's plan, a decision that caused friction with General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, who wanted the advance accelerated.

On the morning of February 26, Busayyah was subjected to a massive artillery bombardment. The 1st Armored Division fired 1,500 artillery shells and 350 rockets at the town, but a number of determined Iraqi survivors from the commando battalion continued to offer resistance. Unwilling to wait any longer, Griffith left behind a small task force to deal with the situation and ordered his division to resume the advance. VII Corps now headed east toward Iraqi Republican Guard positions for the decisive battles of the ground campaign. Iraqi forces dispatched the previous evening to assist in the defense of Busayyah had, meanwhile, been destroyed in transit by American air strikes. Iraqi resistance in Busayyah finally ceased later in the day of February 26.

Iraqi losses at Busayyah amounted to 11 T-55 tanks, 6 APCs, 11 trucks, 94 prisoners, and an undetermined number of soldiers killed. There were no American losses. Some critics allege that Busayyah was more of a skirmish than a proper battle and that Griffith used massive overkill to deal with a small, demoralized Iraqi garrison. Griffith rebutted that he had not wanted to leave an Iraqi force behind in Busayyah that could conceivably threaten his division's supply lines. After the war, Schwarzkopf alleged that the slow progress of VII Corps, including the delay at Busayyah, allowed units of the Iraqi Army to escape the coalition trap in Kuwait. Franks vigorously denied this charge. Overall, the seizure of the town allowed VII Corps to turn to the east and complete the final phase of the war.

PAUL W. DOERR

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; DESERT STORM, Operation; Franks, Frederick Melvin, Jr.; Griffith, Ronald Houston; M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; Wadi al-Batin, Battle of

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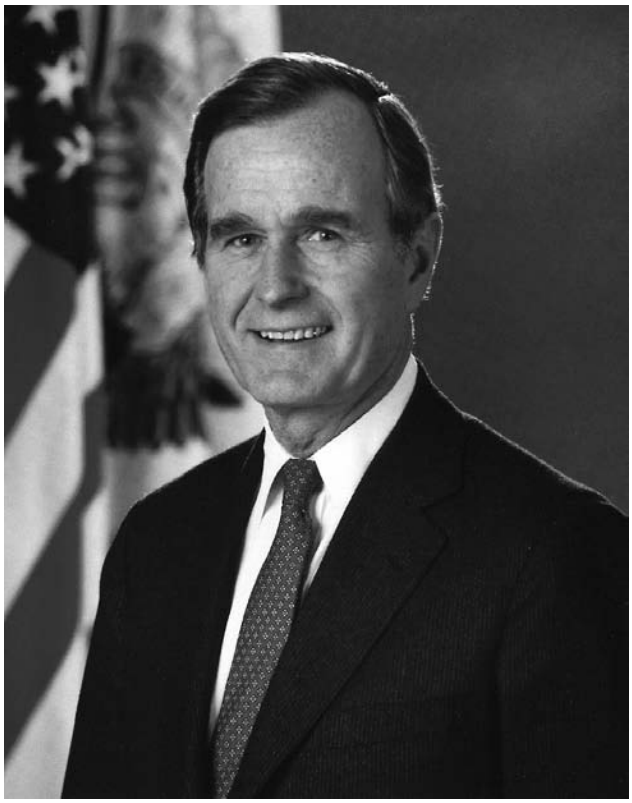
Bush, George Herbert Walker
Birth Date: June 12, 1924

U.S. congressman, ambassador, director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) during 1975–1976, vice president during 1981–1989, and president of the United States during 1989–1993. George Herbert Walker Bush was born on June 12, 1924, in Milton, Massachusetts, to a wealthy and patrician family. His father, Prescott Bush, was a prominent U.S. senator from Connecticut. Educated at the elite Phillips Andover Academy, on his 18th birthday the younger Bush enlisted in the U.S. Navy, becoming its youngest pilot and seeing service in the Pacific flying a torpedo bomber. He was shot down by Japanese aircraft and later rescued from the sea by an American submarine. After his World War II service, he married Barbara Pierce, graduated from Yale University with an economics degree, moved to west Texas, and embarked on a career in the oil business. Opening his own oil enterprise in 1950, by 1954 he was the president of Zapata Offshore Company. His oil dealings paid handsome dividends, and he had become wealthy in his own right in the span of a few years.

Bush entered electoral politics as a Republican in 1964, the year in which he lost a bid for the U.S. Senate. Undeterred, he won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1966. In 1970 he again ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate. President Richard M. Nixon appointed Bush ambassador to the United Nations (UN) in 1971. In this post for two years, Bush fought to preserve Nationalist China's (Taiwan) seat in that organization, an effort that was ultimately unsuccessful.

During 1973–1974, Bush served as the chairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC) at the direct request of President Nixon. Bush's tenure with the RNC took place during the Watergate Scandal that ultimately forced Nixon to resign in August 1974. Bush steadfastly defended Nixon, to little avail.

Bush then served during 1974–1975 in President Gerald R. Ford's administration as chief of the U.S. liaison office to the People's Republic of China (PRC). Although the United States and the PRC had not yet established full and normal diplomatic relations, Bush nonetheless acted as the de facto ambassador to the PRC. In 1975 he took over the CIA. The agency was then reeling from a series of shocking and embarrassing revelations about its role in assassination plots, coups, and other covert operations conducted in the name of the Cold War. Bush tried to rehabilitate the CIA during his tenure, and his efforts met with some success. He left the agency in 1977 after Jimmy Carter defeated Ford in the 1976 presidential election. Bush then became chairman of the First International Bank of Houston.



George H. W. Bush, shown here in 1989, was president of the United States during 1989–1993. Bush assembled the highly successful international coalition that drove Iraqi forces from Kuwait in 1991. An economic downturn helped cost him reelection in 1992. (Library of Congress)

In 1980 Bush sought the Republican presidential nomination but lost to former California governor Ronald Reagan. During the primaries, Bush assailed Reagan's political agenda, referring to his economic prescriptions as "voodoo economics." Despite such rhetoric, Reagan named Bush his running mate in an attempt to balance the ticket and provide a moderating force to his conservative platform. The pair went on to win an overwhelming victory in the 1980 elections. As vice president Bush loyally backed Reagan's hard-line Cold War policies. Bush did not wield much power in the administration, however, and what effects he did have on policy were well disguised. During Reagan's first term, military spending increased dramatically, and the administration provided considerable aid to foreign governments and insurgents to combat communism.

Bush bolstered these measures by traveling around the globe soliciting support for Reagan's policies, particularly in Central America. Bush met with Panamanian strongman Manuel Noriega, who had allied himself with the anticommunist Nicaraguan Contras. The Contras were fighting the Sandinista government and receiving U.S. military and financial aid. After Congress voted to cut off assistance to the Contras in 1983, the Reagan administration began covertly aiding them. Members of the National Security Agency (NSA) concocted a plan by which proceeds from the illicit

sale of weapons to Iran were diverted to the Contra rebels. When the Iran-Contra story broke in 1986, Bush denied any knowledge of the illegal operation. Questions remained about Bush's role in the Iran-Contra Affair when he ran for the presidency in 1988, but he nonetheless secured a sound victory that November over Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis.

When Bush took office in January 1989, the Cold War was winding down. During Ronald Reagan's second term, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union had improved remarkably, and in Bush's first year as president he continued to negotiate with Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev. In November 1989, the momentous fall of the Berlin Wall ushered in the end of the Cold War. Bush's reactions to the changes in Eastern Europe were calculatingly restrained. He and his foreign policy advisers were wary of antagonizing the Soviet leadership and were fearful that the Soviet military might be employed to stanch the prodemocracy movements. But Soviet weakness and Gorbachev's promises not to intervene led to a peaceful revolution. By January 1992 the Soviet Union had been officially dissolved, and later that year President Bush and the new Russian leader, Boris Yeltsin, declared an official end to the Cold War.

Bush dealt with a series of foreign policy crises, including China's brutal crackdown against protesters in Tiananmen Square during May–June 1990. This event severely strained Sino-U.S. relations, although Bush's experience as liaison to China in the 1970s may have been a moderating factor in that impasse. In December 1989, Bush launched Operation JUST CAUSE, which saw a U.S. invasion of Panama that resulted in the capture and extradition of Panamanian president Manuel Noriega. Noriega, formally an ally of the United States and someone with whom Bush had once conducted diplomatic business, was taken to the United States and tried on a variety of drug and drug trafficking charges.

After Iraq invaded and occupied Kuwait in August 1990, Bush successfully mounted an international coalition force that liberated Kuwait and dealt a crippling blow to Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's military. Almost immediately, the Bush administration made it clear that the Iraqi takeover of Kuwait would not be permitted to stand. To pressure Hussein to withdraw and to protect Saudi Arabia, the United States embarked on Operation DESERT SHIELD. This operation saw the eventual positioning of nearly 500,000 U.S. troops in the region, mostly in Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, Bush was carefully building an international coalition—which would include many Arab nations—that would ultimately expel Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The Bush administration was also building support in the UN, which on November 29, 1990, passed a resolution authorizing military action against Iraq if it did not withdraw by January 15, 1991. Bush's job in assembling such impressive international cooperation was undoubtedly made easier by the end of the Cold War. The Soviet Union did not interfere in the crisis and indeed gave its tacit support to the international coalition.

When the UN deadline passed and Hussein defiantly remained in Kuwait, the Persian Gulf War began, code-named Operation DESERT STORM. The conflict, which now had a 34-nation coalition arrayed against Iraq, began on January 17, 1991, with massive bombing raids against Iraqi targets by U.S. and coalition air assets. The next day, Hussein ordered Scud surface-to-surface missiles fired into Israel in an obvious attempt to draw the Israelis into the war and thereby break apart the unlikely multination coalition that included Arab states. The Bush administration implored Israel not to react to the attacks, which caused only light damage. It also sent Patriot air defense missile batteries to Israel that were intended to intercept and shoot down incoming Scuds. Although these had less success than was claimed at the time, the Patriots were a factor in Bush's success in keeping Israel out of the war. The Iraqis also fired Scuds into Saudi Arabia, but Hussein's ploy to split the coalition did not work.

On February 24, 1991, after sustaining a withering aerial bombardment campaign that destroyed much of Iraq's important infrastructure, the United States commenced the ground war to liberate Kuwait. It lasted less than 100 hours. On February 26, Iraqi troops were beating a hasty retreat from Kuwait. By February 27, with Iraqi forces badly beaten and with many surrendering, Bush, supported by Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell, brought the war to a close. A cease-fire was declared, and the Persian Gulf War was officially ended on February 28, 1991. The conflict liberated Kuwait, protected Saudi Arabian and Middle Eastern oil supplies, and had not turned into a larger conflagration, despite Iraqi missile attacks against Israel. However, Hussein's repressive regime was left firmly in place. Presciently and certainly ironically, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney defended the decision not to oust Hussein and invade Iraq because such a move would have "bogged [the United States] down in the quagmire inside Iraq."

Following the war, Bush enjoyed meteoric approval ratings. However, a deep economic recession combined with his inability to offer solutions to the downturn resulted in a near free fall in his popularity. In November 1992, he lost a close election to Democrat Bill Clinton. One of Bush's last significant accomplishments as president was the brokering of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which Clinton signed in 1993. Since leaving office, Bush has assembled his presidential library in Texas, has coauthored a book on foreign affairs, and has been involved in various humanitarian missions throughout the world. He remained largely silent on the difficulties his son, George W. Bush, faced as president between 2001 and 2009.

JUSTIN P. COFFEY AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Baker, James Addison, III; Bush, George Walker; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Iran-Contra Affair; JUST CAUSE, Operation; Nixon, Richard Milhous; Reagan, Ronald Wilson

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Bush, George Walker
Birth Date: July 6, 1946

Republican Party politician, governor of Texas (1995–2001), and president of the United States (2001–2009). George Walker Bush was born in New Haven, Connecticut, on July 6, 1946, and grew up in Midland and Houston, Texas. He is the son of George H. W. Bush, president of the United States during 1989–1993.

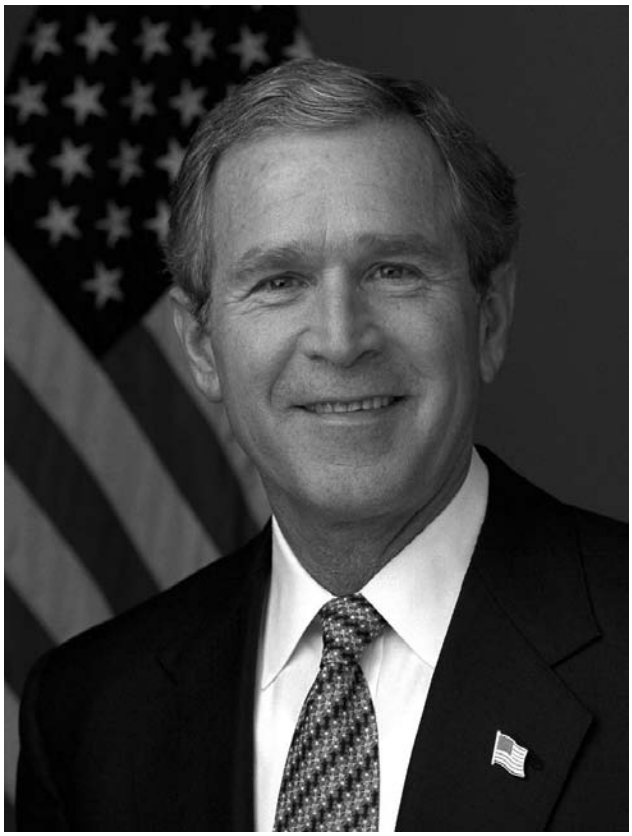
The younger Bush graduated from the exclusive Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, and from Yale University in 1968. He volunteered for the Texas Air National Guard after graduation and became a pilot, although questions later surfaced about his actual service. He earned an MBA from Harvard University in 1975 and returned to Texas, founding Arbusto Energy Company in 1977. He then served as a key staffer during his father's 1988 presidential campaign and later became one of the owners of the Texas Rangers baseball team.

In 1994, Bush was elected governor of Texas. As governor, he worked with the Democratic-dominated legislature to reduce state control and taxes. In 1996 he won reelection, by which time he had earned a reputation as an honest broker who could govern in a bipartisan manner.

In 2000, having set records for fund-raising and having campaigned as a "compassionate conservative," Bush easily won the 2000 Republican nomination for the presidency of the United States. His platform included tax cuts, improved schools, Social Security reform, and increased military spending. On foreign policy issues, he downplayed his obvious lack of experience but eschewed foreign intervention and nation-building.

The U.S. presidential election of November 2000 was one of the most contentious in American history. The Democratic candidate, Vice President Al Gore, won a slim majority of the popular vote, but the electoral vote was in doubt. Confusion centered on Florida. Eventually, after weeks of recounts and court injunctions, the issue reached the U.S. Supreme Court. On December 12, 2000, a deeply divided Court halted the recount in Florida, virtually declaring Bush the winner. For many Americans, Bush was an illegitimate and unelected president.

As president, Bush secured a large tax cut in hopes that this would spur the economy, and he pushed forward Social Security reform. He and the Republican-controlled Congress also enacted a tax rebate for millions of Americans in the late summer and early autumn of 2001. That same year, with prodding from the White House, Congress passed the No Child Left Behind Act, a standards-based reform measure designed to build more accountability into public education. Although the measure won broad bipartisan support, it later was criticized for being too narrowly conceived and incapable of accounting for differences in the way children learn. Many also came to believe that the mandate was not properly funded, especially in poorer school districts. In 2003, Bush was successful in passing a prescription drug act for U.S. citizens over the age of 65, but the measure ended up being far more expensive than originally forecast. Many also criticized the plan for being too complicated and offering too many options.



George W. Bush, son of President George H. W. Bush, was president of the United States during 2001–2009. His largely unilateral approach to foreign policy, as well as his decision to invade Iraq in 2003 and undertake it with inadequate troop resources have been widely criticized. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Bush sent many mixed messages about his commitment to environmental issues. Although he seemed to support the Kyoto Protocol dealing with climate change and global warming while campaigning in 2000, once in office Bush withdrew American support for the pact, citing conflicting scientific evidence on global warming. He also stated that the protocol could hurt the U.S. economy and American industry because neither India nor China had signed on to the agreement. His rejection of the Kyoto Protocol angered many environmentalists and other nations of the world that had already embraced the accord. This in fact was the first of many policy decisions that caused consternation in the international community. Throughout its first term, the Bush administration repeatedly downplayed the extent of global warming and the role human activities play in it. In its second term, it seemed more

accepting of the science on global warming, but took few steps to mitigate it. In 2002, Bush did sign legislation mandating the clean-up of the Great Lakes, but he also supported limited drilling for oil in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, which is anathema to environmentalists and conservationists.

The course of Bush's presidency was forever changed on September 11, 2001, when 19 hijackers associated with the Al Qaeda terrorist organization seized commercial airliners and crashed them into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. The attacks killed nearly 2,700 Americans and 316 foreign nationals. Over the next few days, Bush visited the scenes of the attacks, reassuring the public and promising to bring those responsible to justice. The catastrophe of September 11 seemed to bring legitimacy and purpose to Bush's presidency, although it tilted the economy further into recession.

On September 20, 2001, Bush appeared before Congress and accused Al Qaeda of carrying out the attacks. He warned the American people that they faced a lengthy war against terrorism. He also demanded that the Taliban government of Afghanistan surrender members of Al Qaeda in their country or face retribution. When the Taliban failed to comply, U.S. and British forces began a bombing campaign on October 7. Initially, the United States enjoyed broad international support for the War on Terror and its campaign to oust the Taliban from Afghanistan. Indigenous Northern Alliance forces, with heavy American support—chiefly in the form of air strikes—handily defeated the Taliban and by November 2001 had captured the capital of Kabul. Taliban resistance continued thereafter, but the multinational coalition was nevertheless able to establish a new government in Afghanistan.

The Bush administration also sought to improve national security in the wake of September 11. A new Department of Homeland Security was created to coordinate all agencies that could track and defeat terrorists. In October 2001, at the behest of the Bush administration, Congress passed the so-called Patriot Act, giving the federal government sweeping powers to fight the War on Terror. Many Americans were uncomfortable with this legislation and feared that it might undermine American freedom and civil liberties.

In 2002, the Bush administration turned its attentions toward Iraq. Intelligence reports suggested that Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein was continuing to pursue weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). When Bush demanded that he comply with United Nations (UN) resolutions seeking inspection of certain facilities, Hussein refused. Unfortunately, some of the intelligence dealing with Iraqi intentions and capabilities was faulty, and some have argued that the Bush White House pressured the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and other intelligence services to interpret their findings in a way that would support armed conflict with Iraq. Still others claim that the White House and Pentagon misled themselves and the public by reading into the intelligence reports more than what was actually there. By the end of 2002, the Bush administration had formulated a new policy of preemptive warfare (the Bush Doctrine) to destroy regimes that intended to harm the United States before they were able to do so.

In October 2002, Bush secured from Congress a bipartisan authorization to use military force against Iraq if necessary. Many in Congress had believed that all means of international diplomacy and economic sanctions would be exhausted before the United States undertook military action against the Iraqis. Such was not the case, however, for the White House seemed intent on war.

By the beginning of 2003, a military buildup against Iraq was already taking place. However, Bush's efforts to create a broad, multinational coalition failed to achieve the success of the Persian Gulf War coalition against Iraq in 1991. Nearly all of the forces were American or British, and the United Nations failed to sanction military action against Iraq, as it had done in 1990. The virtually unilateral U.S. approach to the situation in Iraq greatly angered much of the international community and even U.S. allies. Such longtime partners as France and Germany refused to sanction American actions in Iraq, and relations with those nations suffered accordingly. To much of the world, the Bush Doctrine smacked of heavy-handed intimidation and hubris that simply circumvented international law whenever the Americans believed unilateral action to be necessary.

Military operations commenced on March 19, 2001, and Baghdad fell on April 9. At that point, organized resistance was minimal, but manpower resources, while sufficient to topple Hussein, were clearly insufficient to maintain the peace. Rioting and looting soon broke out, and weapons stockpiles were pillaged by insurgents. Religious and ethnic tensions came to the fore between Sunnis, Shias, and Kurds. Far more American troops were killed trying to keep order in Iraq than had died in the overthrow of the regime.

Although Bush won reelection in November 2004 in large part because of his tough stance on the so-called War on Terror, support for the war in Iraq gradually waned, the consequence of mounting American military and Iraqi civilian dead, reports of American atrocities committed in Iraq, the war's vast expense, revelations that the White House trumped up or knowingly used questionable intelligence about Iraqi WMDs, and general mismanagement of the war effort. Meanwhile, large budget deficits and trade imbalances piled up. Clearly, the failure to find WMDs in Iraq undercut the stated reason for the attack, although Bush then claimed that the war was about overthrowing an evil dictatorship and bringing democracy to Iraq, a statement that was diametrically opposed to his insistence during the 2000 campaign that the United States should not undertake nation-building operations using the U.S. military.

The Bush administration was at first ambivalent toward the Arab-Israeli conflict, but with violence escalating, in August 2001 at the urging of Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, Bush issued a letter supporting the concept of a Palestinian state. September 11 and ensuing events in Iraq soon took precedence, however. Bush and his advisers realized that Arab support, or at least acquiescence, in his Iraq policies would be more likely if a peace process were under way.

On June 24, 2002, Bush publicly called for a two-state solution. He failed to outline specific steps but supported a process in which

each side would meet certain criteria before moving to the next step. The result was called the Road Map to Peace. Bush agreed to work with the European Union (EU), the UN, and Russia in developing it. This so-called Quartet developed a series of steps intended to provide assurances for each side but without involving the Israelis or Palestinians in its development.

The Road Map to Peace was unveiled in March 2003, just before the invasion of Iraq, but no details were announced. In June of that year, Bush arranged a summit conference at Aqaba, Jordan, involving Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel and Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). Progress on the plan stalled. The Bush administration's push for elections in the Palestinian-controlled West Bank backfired in January 2006 when these were won by the radical Hamas organization, which has called for the destruction of Israel and has continued to harass Israelis with random rocket attacks from Gaza and the West Bank. The peace process then ground to a halt. The Bush administration, faced with mounting American public dissatisfaction over the continuing American troop presence in Iraq, concentrated on that issue to the exclusion of virtually all other foreign developments.

Meanwhile, Bush suffered stunning setbacks at home. The White House was roundly denounced for its poor handling of relief efforts following Hurricane Katrina in the autumn of 2005 in which hundreds died in Louisiana and along the Gulf Coast. In the November 2006 midterm elections, the Republicans lost both houses of Congress, and Bush was forced to fire Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, whose tenure had been rife with controversy. Many Americans placed the onus of blame for the Iraq debacle on his shoulders. The year before, Secretary of State Colin L. Powell had resigned because of sharp differences he had with the White House's foreign policy; he has since publicly regretted being taken in by faulty pre–Iraq War intelligence. By early 2007, Bush was besieged by bad news: plummeting approval ratings, a war gone bad in Iraq with no end in sight, and incipient signs that massive budget deficits fanned by Bush's spending and failure to veto appropriation bills were beginning to undermine the economy.

In January 2007, amid increasing calls for the United States to pull out of Iraq, Bush decided on just the opposite tack. His administration implemented a troop surge strategy that placed as many as 40,000 more U.S. soldiers on the ground in Iraq. Within six months, the surge strategy seemed to be paying dividends and violence in Iraq was down. At the same time, however, a growing Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan was threatening to undo many of the gains made there since 2001. Many critics, including a number of Republicans, argued that Bush's Iraq policies had needlessly diluted the U.S. effort in Afghanistan. But Bush was hard-pressed to send significantly more troops to Afghanistan because the military was already badly overstretched.

In the meantime, the White House's controversial policy of indefinitely detaining non-U.S. terror suspects, most of whom were being held at the Guantánamo Bay Detainment Camp in Cuba, drew the ire of many in the United States and international community. Although most of the detainees were supposed to be tried in secret, military tribunals, few were ever brought to trial. Some observers have alleged abuse and mistreatment at Guantánamo, which further eroded America's standing in the world. More recently, several U.S. courts have weighed in on the detainees' status and have ordered that they be tried or released. In June 2008, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that terror detainees were subject to certain rights under the U.S. Constitution. Even more controversial has been the use of "coercive interrogation techniques" on terror suspects and other enemy combatants. A euphemism for torture, this has included waterboarding, which goes against prescribed international norms for the treatment of prisoners of war. The Bush administration at first insisted that it had not authorized coercive interrogation, but when evidence to the contrary surfaced, the administration claimed that waterboarding had been used on some suspects. The White House, and especially Vice President Dick Cheney, however, attempted to assert that the technique did not constitute torture.

Not all the news on the international scene was bad, however. After the departure of such neoconservatives as Rumsfeld and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, Bush's foreign policy became more pragmatic and less dogmatic. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice worked diligently to try to repair America's standing in the world, and she met with some success by the end of the administration. President Bush's 2003 Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, a multibillion dollar aid package to African nations hit hard by the AIDS epidemic, drew much praise in the United States and abroad.

By 2008, Bush's approval ratings were as low for any U.S. president in modern history. In the fall, the U.S. economy went into a virtual free fall, precipitated by a spectacular series of bank, insurance, and investment house failures, necessitating a massive government bailout worth more than $800 billion. Other corporate bailouts followed as more and more businesses teetered on the brink of insolvency. Unemployment began to rise dramatically in the fourth quarter of 2008, and consumer spending all but collapsed. The only bright note was a precipitous drop in the price of oil and gas, which had risen to dizzying heights in July 2008. Bush, a formal oil man, and Vice President Cheney, who had also been in the petroleum-related business, had been excoriated for the run-up in energy prices, which certainly made the economic downturn even more severe. By the time Bush left office in January 2009 the nation was facing the worst economic downturn in at least 35 years.

Tim J. Watts and Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush Doctrine; Cheney, Richard Bruce; enduring freedom, Operation; Global War on Terror; Hamas; Hussein, Saddam; iraqi freedom, Operation; Neoconservatism; Obama, Barack Hussein, II; Patriot Act; Powell, Colin Luther; Rice, Condoleezza; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; September 11 Attacks; September 11 Attacks, International Reactions to; Surge, U.S. Troop Deployment, Iraq War; Wolfowitz, Paul Dundes

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Bush Doctrine

Foreign/national security policy articulated by President George W. Bush in a series of speeches following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States. The Bush Doctrine identified three threats against U.S. interests: terrorist organizations; weak states that harbor and assist such terrorist organizations; and so-called rogue states. The centerpiece of the Bush Doctrine was that the United States had the right to use preemptory military force against any state that is seen as hostile or that makes moves to acquire weapons of mass destruction, be they nuclear, biological, or chemical. In addition, the United States would "make no distinction between the terrorists who commit these acts and those who harbor them."

The Bush Doctrine represented a major shift in American foreign policy from the policies of deterrence and containment that characterized the Cold War and the brief period between the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and 2001. This new foreign policy and security strategy emphasized the strategic doctrine of preemption. The right of self-defense would be extended to use of preemptive attacks against potential enemies, attacking them before they were deemed capable of launching strikes against the United States. Under the doctrine, furthermore, the United States reserved the right to pursue unilateral military action if multilateral solutions cannot be found. The Bush Doctrine also represented the realities of international politics in the post–Cold War period; that is, that the United States was the sole superpower and that it aimed to ensure American hegemony.

A secondary goal of the Bush Doctrine was the promotion of freedom and democracy around the world, a precept that dates to at least the days of President Woodrow Wilson. In his speech to the graduating class at West Point on June 1, 2002, Bush declared that "America has no empire to extend or utopia to establish. We wish for others only what we wish for ourselves—safety from violence, the rewards of liberty, and the hope for a better life."

The immediate application of the Bush Doctrine was the invasion of Afghanistan in early October 2001 (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM). Although the Taliban-controlled government of Afghanistan offered to hand over Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden if it was shown tangible proof that he was responsible for the September 11 attacks and also offered to extradite bin Laden to Pakistan where he would be tried under Islamic law, its refusal to extradite him to the United States with no preconditions was considered justification for the invasion.

The administration also applied the Bush Doctrine as justification for the Iraq War, beginning in March 2003 (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). The Bush administration did not wish to wait for conclusive proof of Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), so in a series of speeches, administration officials laid out the argument for invading Iraq. To wait any longer was to run the risk of having Hussein employ or transfer the alleged WMDs. Thus, despite the lack of any evidence of an operational relationship between Iraq and Al Qaeda, the United States, supported by Britain and a few other nations, launched an invasion of Iraq.

The use of the Bush Doctrine as justification for the invasion of Iraq led to increasing friction between the United States and its allies, as the Bush Doctrine repudiated the core idea of the United Nations (UN) Charter. The charter prohibits any use of international force that is not undertaken in self-defense after the occurrence of an armed attack across an international boundary or pursuant to a decision by the UN Security Council. Even more vexing, the distinct limitations and pitfalls of the Bush Doctrine were abundantly evident in the inability of the United States to quell sectarian violence and political turmoil in Iraq. The doctrine did not place parameters on the extent of American commitments, and it viewed the consequences of preemptory military strikes as a mere afterthought.

KEITH A. LEITICH

See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; Bush, George Walker; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; September 11 Attacks; Taliban; Terrorism; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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C

Cable News Network

See CNN

Camp David Accords

Start Date: September 5, 1978
End Date: September 17, 1978

Peace agreement reached between Egypt and Israel during talks held September 5–17, 1978, at Camp David, the U.S. presidential retreat in rural Maryland. During 1977 and 1978, several remarkable events took place that set the stage for the Camp David negotiations. In autumn 1977, Egyptian president Anwar Sadat indicated his willingness to go to Israel in the cause of peace, something that no Arab leader had done since the creation of the Jewish state in 1948. On November 19, 1977, Sadat followed through on his promise, addressing the Knesset (Israeli parliament) and calling for peace between the two nations. The Israelis welcomed Sadat's bold initiative but took no immediate steps to end the state of belligerency, instead agreeing to ministerial-level meetings in preparation for final negotiations.

In February 1978, the United States entered into the equation by hosting Sadat in Washington, D.C., with both President Jimmy Carter and Congress hailing the Egyptian president as a statesman and a courageous leader. American adulation for Sadat led to greater cooperation by the Israelis, and they thus agreed to a summit meeting in September at Camp David.

During September 5–17, 1978, Carter hosted a conference that brought together Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and their respective staffs at Camp David. Carter participated as an active player in the resultant talks. As was expected, the discussions proved difficult. Begin insisted that Sadat separate the Palestinian issue from the peace talks, something that no Arab leader had been willing to do before. Israel also demanded that Egypt negate any former agreements with other Arab nations that called for war against Israel.

Sadat bristled at Begin's demands, which led to such acrimony between the two men that they met in person only once during the entire negotiation process. Instead, Carter shuttled between the two leaders in an effort to moderate their positions. After several days of little movement and accusations of bad faith directed mostly at Begin, however, Carter threatened to break off the talks. Faced with the possibility of being blamed for a failed peace plan, Begin finally came to the table ready to deal. He agreed to dismantle all Jewish settlements in the Sinai peninsula and return it in its entirety to Egypt. For his part, given Begin's absolute intransigence on it, Sadat agreed to put the Palestinian issue aside and sign an agreement separate from the other Arab nations. On September 15, 1978, Carter, Sadat, and Begin announced that an agreement had been reached on two frameworks, the first for a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel and the second for a multilateral treaty dealing with the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The framework regarding Egypt and Israel had 11 major provisions: (1) the two nations would sign a peace treaty within three months; (2) this treaty would be implemented within two to three years after it was signed; (3) Egypt would regain full sovereignty of the Sinai to its pre–Six-Day War (1967) borders; (4) Israel would withdraw its forces from the Sinai, with the first such withdrawal to occur nine months after signature of the treaty; (5) Israel was to have freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal and the Strait of Tiran; (6) a highway would be built between the Sinai

U.S. president Jimmy Carter stands between Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, left, and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin, right, after the signing of the Camp David Accords on September 17, 1978. Forged during an unprecedented 13-day negotiating session at the presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland, the accords established a framework for peace between Israel and Egypt. The formal agreement, the Camp David Peace Treaty, was signed on March 26, 1979. (Jimmy Carter Presidential Library)

and Jordan to pass near Eilat with the guarantee of free passage through Israeli territory for both nations; (7) Egyptian forces in the Sinai would be limited to one division in the area 30 miles (50 kilometers) east of the Gulf of Suez and the Suez Canal; (8) there would be no other Egyptian forces in the Sinai; (9) Israeli forces would be restricted to four infantry battalions in the area 1.8 miles (3 kilometers) east of the international border with Egypt; (10) United Nations (UN) forces would be positioned in certain areas; and (11) the peace between the two nations would be complete, including full diplomatic recognition and an end to any economic restrictions on the other nation's goods, with free movement of goods and people.

The second framework, officially known as the "Framework of Peace in the Middle East," was far more general and skirted major issues. It contained seven major provisions: (1) UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 were recognized as holding "in all their parts" the basis for a peace settlement; (2) the peace settlement would be negotiated by Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and "the representatives of the Palestinian people"; (3) residents of the West Bank and Gaza would secure "full autonomy"; (4) Egypt, Israel, and Jordan were to agree on "modalities for establishing the elected self-governing authority" in these areas, and the Egyptian and Jordanian delegations "may include Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza or other Palestinians as mutually agreed"; (5) a withdrawal of Israeli forces would occur, with remaining forces grouped in certain agreed-upon locations; (6) as soon as the self-governing authority ("administrative council") had been established, a five-year transitional period would begin, by the end of which the final status of the West Bank and Gaza would have been agreed to, understanding that there would be recognition of "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements"; and (7) in the transitional period, representatives of Egypt, Israel, and Jordan as well as those of the self-governing authority "will constitute a continuing committee" to

agree on "the modalities of admission of peoples displaced from the West Bank and Gaza in 1967."

Despite a feeling of euphoria in the United States and an upward spike in Carter's approval ratings, the agreement in fact was a retreat from the president's own program in 1977 that called for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied lands with only minor territorial adjustments and a homeland for the Palestinian people based on self-determination rather than on autonomy under Israeli administrative control. Much was also simply left out. There was no mention in the framework of the future of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights or about the 1948 Palestinian refugees, the Israeli settlements in the West Bank, or the future of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which the United States steadfastly refused to recognize.

Over the next several months, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance made numerous trips to the Middle East to finalize the agreement. The United States promised that it would help organize an international peacekeeping force to occupy the Sinai following the Israeli withdrawal. Washington also agreed to provide $2 billion to pay for the relocation of an airfield from the Sinai to Israel and promised economic assistance to Egypt in exchange for Sadat's signature on a peace treaty.

Finally, on March 26, 1979, in a White House ceremony, Sadat and Begin shook hands again and signed a permanent peace treaty, normalizing relations between their two nations. Hopes that other Arab nations, particularly the pro-Western regimes in Jordan and Saudi Arabia, would soon follow Egypt's lead and sign similar agreements with Israel were quickly dashed. Indeed, the Camp David Accords produced a strong negative reaction in the Arab world, where other states and the PLO denounced the agreement and condemned Sadat for having "sold out" the Arab cause. Egypt was expelled from the Arab League, and several Middle Eastern nations broke off diplomatic relations with Cairo. Not until the mid-1990s would another Arab nation, Jordan, join Egypt in signing a peace agreement with Israel. Nonetheless, the Camp David Accords were, without doubt, President Carter's greatest foreign policy success.

Brent Geary and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Brzezinski, Zbigniew; Carter, James Earl, Jr.; Egypt; Palestine Liberation Organization

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Canada, Role in Persian Gulf and Afghanistan Wars

Canada is a large North American nation comprising 3.855 million square miles. Larger in area than the United States (3.794 million square miles), Canada is bordered to the south by the continental United States, to the west by the Pacific Ocean and the U.S. state of Alaska, to the east by the Atlantic Ocean and Greenland, and to the north by the Arctic Ocean. Its 2008 population was estimated to be 33.21 million people.

Canada is a representative parliamentary democracy loosely tied to the British monarchy. Queen Elizabeth II's governor-general is acting head of state while the prime minister is head of government. Canada's principal political parties include the Conservative, Liberal, and New Democratic parties and the Bloc Québécois.

In the immediate aftermath of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1999, Canadian prime minister Brian Mulroney was among the world's first leaders to condemn the attack. Within days, he dispatched three Canadian destroyers—the *Terra Nova, Athabaskan,* and *Huron*—to the Persian Gulf to help enforce United Nations (UN)–imposed sanctions against Iraq via a trade blockade. During Operation DESERT SHIELD, the Canadian government also dispatched the supply ship *Protecteur.*

In November 1990, after the United Nations authorized the use of force against Iraq, if necessary, Ottawa signaled its willingness to participate directly in a potential military confrontation with Saddam Hussein. When the Persian Gulf War began in January 1991, two squadrons of Canadian McDonnell Douglas/Boeing CF-18 Hornets, including support personnel, were integrated into coalition air forces. Canada also established a large field hospital in Qatar that treated many wounded soldiers.

In all, 4,500 Canadian military personnel—including sea-, air-, and land-based forces—served in Operation DESERT STORM. The peak deployment came in January 1991, when there were 2,700 personnel in theater. Canada's code name for the operations against Iraq was Operation FRICTION. Canada suffered no casualties in the war. The Persian Gulf War marked the first time that Canadian forces were engaged in combat since the 1950–1953 Korean War.

Afghanistan has been Canada's major overseas military commitment since 2002. The Canadian government initially offered 1,000 troops to the UN peacekeeping force in Afghanistan in 2002. In 2005, the outgoing Liberal government decided to deploy a total of 2,500 troops to Afghanistan to strengthen anti-insurgency efforts in the province of Kandahar. Since then, Canadian forces have fought side-by-side with Americans, British, Dutch, and other allies in several parts of the country as part of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). In March 2006, Canada took command of the 6,000-strong multinational brigade that operates under North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) rules of engagement. This force includes 100 commandos from the elite Joint Task Force 2 unit. By 2007, Canada's 2,500 soldiers constituted the fourth-largest contingent within the overall peacekeeping

A Canadian honor guard carries the remains of Canadian Army Private Sebastien Courcy during a ceremony at Kandahar Air Base, Afghanistan, July 17, 2009. Courcy was killed in action on July 16, 2009, during counterinsurgency operations in the Panjwaii District of Afghanistan. (U.S. Department of Defense)

force of 32,800 NATO-led troops in Afghanistan. Also in 2006, Canada assumed responsibility for the volatile southwestern province of Kandahar.

In 2004, Canadian forces in Afghanistan came under the command of Canadian general Rick Hillier, who was appointed a year later as chief of Canada's defense staff. The outspoken Hillier's experiences with the Taliban left him convinced that they are "detestable murderers." The fact that three generals with experience in irregular warfare in the Middle East and Afghanistan—chief of the defense staff General Hillier, his chief of strategic planning General Andrew Leslie, and Major General Walter Natynczyk—have risen to top positions within the Canadian forces brought fresh thinking about modern war fighting and about the need to reform Canada's military to be better suited for more robust requirements. Hillier refers to the Afghanistan conflict as the "three-block war," encompassing humanitarian assistance, peace support operations, and high-intensity conflict, all unfolding within a relatively small area.

Ottawa's Afghanistan deployment has had substantial domestic and international political significance for Canadians. As the most conspicuous contribution to the Global War on Terror, the Afghanistan operation is an opportunity to rebuild credibility in Washington after Canada's refusal to participate in the March 2003 invasion of Iraq and in the U.S. ballistic missile defense program. The Afghan engagement has essentially enabled Canada to play its part in the post–September 11 world without appearing to be at the beck and call of the American president. As an integral part of the NATO force, which is acting with a UN mandate in Afghanistan, the Canadian army is establishing its competence in difficult anti-insurgency operations. For Canadian prime minister Stephen Harper, who took office in February 2006, Afghanistan is the defining element in Canada's new image in the world.

The Canadian government emphasizes that it is fighting in a multinational engagement, and not in an "American war." Nevertheless, Canada's interests correspond closely with those of other Western nations, and these are portrayed as global and threatened by extremist ideology. Engagement has proven to be a workable alternative to the traditional blue-bereted UN peacekeeping missions, and it is emblematic of what Ottawa calls "Three D" defense, which also includes development and diplomacy. Not since the 1950–1953 Korean War has Canada been involved in such an extensive military effort and suffered so many casualties—some 98 deaths and over 300 wounded by the end of 2008. This casualty rate is proportionally higher than those of other NATO countries, including the United States. In an increasingly two-tiered NATO alliance, Canada now occupies the fighting tier, alongside the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Denmark. In

many respects, the Canadian military has transformed itself as a result of the conflict. Canada is also one of Afghanistan's largest donors, providing Can$650 million in aid through mid-2008 and pledging over $1 billion more. This assistance is the largest Canadian aid commitment ever made to a single country. In addition, it has been estimated that the total cost of the war, through 2011, will be between Can$14 billion–18 billion. By the end of 2008, the war's cost was estimated to be Can$10.5 billion.

By 2008, Canadian forces in Afghanistan consisted of one battle group, one strategic advisory team, one provincial reconstruction team, and a substantial number of special forces. The number of forces remained largely unchanged by year's end—approximately 2,800. Their equipment includes the German-made Leopard II main battle tank, the McDonnell Douglas (now Boeing) C-17 Globemaster strategic airlift aircraft, Lockheed Martin C-130J Hercules turbo-prop tactical lift aircraft, and numerous medium-lift helicopters. Canadians have been involved in multiple operations in Helmand and Kandahar provinces, and they engaged in intense combat at Pashmul in the summer of 2006.

Polls in 2007 revealed that about 50 percent of Canadians believe the mission in Afghanistan has failed and want it abandoned and their troops brought home. Many are appalled by the rising casualties and the sheer brutality of the fighting. One of the first political crises Prime Minister Harper faced in office involved the tradition of banning news media coverage of returning coffins from the war zone and the flying of flags at half-staff to mark the death of troops. Harper argued that the families should be able to grieve out of the limelight, but critics accused him of not honoring the dead by hiding their sacrifices. He was ultimately forced to back down.

The ensuing vigorous and emotional debates about Canadian involvement in the war merely underscored Canadians' uneasiness over their enhanced role in Afghanistan and the government's nervousness about unsteady public support for the conflict. Some Canadians see an Iraq-like quagmire, the wrong cause in the wrong place. Nevertheless, Canadians continue to debate what the appropriate global role should be for their country and military. Yet, realizing that the war in Afghanistan could go on for years, Harper ordered a substantial increase in military spending, to include the purchase of new transport helicopters, three new support ships, transport aircraft, and 2,300 supply trucks. His government hopes to increase the full-time military force from 62,000 to 75,000 and add 10,000 more reservists (who constitute 13 percent of the fighting forces in Afghanistan). Canada also dispatched a 216-soldier Disaster Assistance Response Team (DART) to Pakistan in late 2005 to provide emergency relief to Kashmir's earthquake victims.

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See also

Afghanistan; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Global War on Terror; International Security Assistance Force; North Atlantic Treaty Organization

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Carl Gustav Recoilless Rifle

An 84-millimeter (mm) recoilless rifle antitank weapon produced by the Saab Bofors Arms Company in Sweden. The Carl Gustav, first introduced into Swedish Army service in 1948, has been steadily modified over the years and currently serves in a variety of functions in armies around the world. It has seen widespread service in the Middle East wars.

The Carl Gustav competed with such weapons as the U.S. Bazooka, British PIAT (Projector, Infantry, Anti-Tank), and the German *Panzershreck.* The Carl Gustav utilizes a rifled barrel for spin, as opposed to fins attached to the warhead in the other weapon types. Its projectile moves at a higher velocity because of its recoilless firing system. However, it is also much harder to conceal one's position because of the great back blast of the recoilless system.

The Carl Gustav is a two-man, portable weapon system, requiring a gunner and one loader/ammunition carrier. The M2 version weighed 31.2 pounds. Lighter materials in the upgraded version of the weapon, the M3, allow for greater mobility and applicability. The M3 weighs only 18.7 pounds.

The United States military has used the Carl Gustav to destroy enemy trucks and lightly armored vehicles. It has also been employed as a bunker-busting weapon.

The Carl Gustav has been used successfully by coalition forces in Afghanistan (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM) and Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), primarily by the British Secret Air Service, U.S. Rangers and Special Forces, and Canadian infantry units. Nicknames given to the Carl Gustav include "Charlie G" by the British, "Carl G" by the Canadians, the Ranger Anti-Armor Weapon System (RAAWS) or "Goose" by the Americans, and "Charlie Gutsache" by the Australians.

The main round for the Carl Gustav is the high-explosive antitank (HEAT) round. The effective range of HEAT ammunition is about 2,500 yards, with penetration of up to 16 inches of armor. Newer HEAT rounds have been developed to counter reactive armor found on many modern tanks, but the primary use of the 84-mm HEAT round remains light armored vehicles. The High-Explosive Dual Purpose (HEDP) round is the round used mainly for the bunker-busting role. Maximum range for this round is some 1,100 yards, and it can penetrate up to 6 inches of armor. The Carl Gustav can also fire illumination rounds, smoke rounds, flechette (plastic dart) or Area Defense Munition (ADM) rounds, as well as many varieties of HEAT and HEDP rounds.

A Dutch marine demonstrates the 84-mm Carl Gustav recoilless rifle. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Many large-caliber recoilless rifles have been phased out of many armies around the world because of their weight and the availability of lighter, more powerful man-portable missile and rocket launchers. The Carl Gustav has repeatedly proven its versatility and will no doubt see battlefield service for many years to come.

JASON M. SOKIERA

See also

Antitank Weapons; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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Carter, James Earl, Jr.

Birth Date: October 1, 1924

U.S. Navy officer, Democratic Party politician, governor of Georgia (1971–1975), president of the United States (1977–1981), and Nobel laureate (2002). Born on October 1, 1924, in Plains, Georgia, James "Jimmy" Carter was raised on his family's farm close to the town of Archery, Georgia. After having attended Georgia Southwestern College and the Georgia Institute of Technology, he graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1946. He then pursued graduate work in physics at Union College and spent seven years as a naval officer working under Admiral Hyman Rickover in the nuclear submarine program. Carter eventually served on the nuclear submarine *Seawolf.*

Carter left the navy and returned to Georgia upon his father's death in 1953 to run the family farm, eventually building it into a large and prosperous enterprise. Carter entered state politics in 1962, serving two terms in the Georgia Senate. He also became a born-again Christian with a profound commitment to his Baptist faith. In 1966 he ran unsuccessfully for governor of Georgia. He spent the next several years tending to his booming agricultural concerns and methodically laying the groundwork for his planned 1970 gubernatorial campaign. He was elected governor of Georgia in 1970. As governor, he pursued a moderate approach. He also sought to bridge the racial divide by appointing African Americans to state offices, and he was the first governor from the Deep South to publicly denounce racial discrimination and segregation.

In December 1974, amid the fallout of the Watergate Scandal and an economy mired in a deep recession and plagued by high inflation, Carter decided to run for the presidency. Running as a

Washington outsider who promised to restore honesty and integrity to government, he secured the Democratic Party nomination. Attracted by his modesty, integrity, and moderate positions, many voters threw their support behind him. He went on to win the presidential election of November 1976 by a narrow margin.

Carter's first major act as president in January 1977 was to extend a pardon to draft evaders, military deserters, and others who had violated the Selective Service Act from 1964 to 1973 during the controversial Vietnam War. The psychic and political wounds from Vietnam had yet to heal, and the nation still remained deeply divided over its involvement in the war. Carter's move generated controversy among the public and elicited criticism from Congress, which contributed to a rift between it and the administration that only widened during the Carter presidency.

Carter was unable to inspire public confidence or to fulfill his election promise to end stagflation (rampant inflation coupled with economic recession). To solve the ongoing energy crisis, a contributory factor to economic stagnation, he proposed energy taxes, limits on imported oil, and greater reliance on domestic sources of energy. Congress largely stymied these plans. The Carter administration also deregulated the nation's airline industry, passed major environmental legislation to encourage cleanup of hazardous waste sites, revamped the civil service, and created the Departments of Energy and Education.

Carter frequently criticized other nations for human rights abuses, often linking economic and military cooperation to a country's commitment to the American ideals of freedom and equality. Such disapproval of the Soviets' treatment of political dissidents undermined détente and delayed Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) II negotiations, which finally resulted in a 1979 treaty never ratified by Congress because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan that same year. In response to the Afghan situation, the administration enunciated the Carter Doctrine, which committed the United States to protecting oil interests in the Persian Gulf. Carter also imposed a controversial and ineffective American grain embargo on the Soviet Union and ordered a U.S. boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow. In January 1979 he also extended full diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of China (PRC), effectively cutting most American ties with Taiwan.

Perhaps Carter's singular achievement as president came in his brokering of a peace between Israel and Egypt. He invited Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin to the presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland, in September 1978. The meetings between the heretofore implacable enemies were tense and nearly broke down numerous times. When Sadat threatened to quit the talks, Carter personally implored him to stay, and Sadat agreed. Begin also wanted to end the talks at one point, and Carter prevailed upon him to see the negotiations through.

Following two weeks of intense negotiations, a deal was reached for a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, known as the Camp David Accords. The treaty was signed on March 26, 1979. The accords represented a true diplomatic breakthrough, provided a framework for future Middle East peace initiatives, and helped temporarily bolster Carter's sagging popularity.

In 1976, Jimmy Carter of Georgia was elected president of the United States. Carter served only a single term, undone by the Iranian hostage crisis. In 2002, Carter was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his accomplishments, including brokering a peace deal between Egypt and Israel. (Library of Congress)

In September 1977, Carter signed the controversial Panama Canal Treaties, ceding the canal to Panama and ensuring the neutrality of the waterway. Congress narrowly ratified the treaties in March 1978, but Carter nevertheless came under additional fire for having ceded an important U.S. strategic interest.

If the Camp David Accords and the prospects of a wider peace in the Middle East were the most important of Carter's legacies, another conflict in the Middle East ultimately brought about his downfall. Indeed, the 1979–1980 Iranian hostage crisis doomed Carter's presidency. The genesis of the crisis was the steadfast and long-standing U.S. support of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran. Since 1953 when the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) helped engineer the overthrow and house arrest of prime minister Mohammad Mosaddeq, which paved the way for the shah's autocratic rule, the United States had supported the shah and sold him billions of dollars' worth of weaponry. Despite the shah's blatant

human rights abuses and increasingly dictatorial rule, the United States saw him as a key ally and an important stabilizing force in the volatile Middle East. The presidential administrations of Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford particularly sought to use the shah as a way to keep Soviet influence in the region to a minimum and to counteract Pan-Arabism. As protests and violence against the shah's rule increased in 1978 and early 1979, the Carter administration attempted to remain above the fray. Carter himself publicly praised the shah.

On January 16, 1979, however, a popular revolution forced the shah to flee Iran with his family. At first, Carter sought to recognize the new, interim revolutionary regime, but these efforts proved in vain. There was little chance that Carter's initiative would have lasted, however. In February, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini arrived in Iran after years of exile. This fundamentalist cleric, who was rabidly anti-Western and anti-American, would establish an Islamic republic in Iran. A plebiscite in the spring of 1979 overwhelmingly endorsed such a step, and Khomeini's party assumed the leadership of Iran.

In October 1979, the Carter administration decided to admit the shah to the United States for badly needed cancer treatment. Although he remained in the country for only a few weeks, the move enraged radical Iranian militants, who were egged on by Khomeini. On November 4, 1979, a group of radical Iranian students seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran, taking the Americans there hostage. Carter struggled tirelessly to defuse the crisis through diplomacy, but the Iran hostage crisis dragged on for 444 days and ruined his presidency. In the meantime, the price of oil rose dramatically, adversely affecting the U.S. economy. Interestingly, Carter never invoked the Carter Doctrine to protect Middle East oil. Such a move probably would have invited disaster, given the Soviet Union's December 1979 invasion of Afghanistan and the resultant tense relations between Moscow and Washington. In April 1980, a U.S. hostage rescue attempt disastrously failed, and Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance resigned in protest against the operation. The crisis and failure of the rescue attempt contributed greatly to Carter's defeat in the November 1980 presidential election. The hostages were released on January 20, 1981, only moments after Ronald Reagan was sworn in as president.

Carter has continued leading a vigorous public life following his presidency, acting as a mediator in international conflicts, working on the eradication of poverty, supervising elections in the developing world, promoting human rights, and writing books and memoirs. In 2002 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his accomplishments.

One of Carter's books, *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid,* published in 2006, created considerable controversy. In it, Carter held Israel primarily responsible for the continuing Palestinian-Israeli conflict and criticized the system of segregation of Palestinians. Many praised Carter for his candor, while others condemned the book as one-sided and filled with misconceptions. Carter also sharply criticized the George W. Bush administration, terming it "the worst in history" and has denounced former Britain prime minister Tony Blair's relationship with Bush, alleging that it is "blind (and) apparently subservient."

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See also

Camp David Accords; eagle claw, Operation; Iranian Revolution; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Reza Pahlavi, Mohammad

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Carter Doctrine

U.S. foreign policy precept enunciated by President James "Jimmy" Carter in 1980 that pledged the nation to protect American and Allied interests in the Persian Gulf. By 1980, the Carter administration, which had been engaged in an ongoing debate over the direction of U.S. foreign policy as détente faded, declared its determination to use any means necessary, including military force, to protect American interests in the Persian Gulf. These interests mainly involved Persian Gulf oil and regional shipping lanes.

On January 23, 1980, Carter, in his State of the Union message, declared that "an attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force." This emphasis on American military power marked a fundamental reorientation in Carter's foreign policy. Since 1977, in response to public disillusionment with the Vietnam War and disgust over the Watergate scandal, Carter had attempted to fight the Cold War with different weapons. While not ignoring the Soviet Union, he determined that U.S.-Soviet relations would not be allowed to dominate foreign policy formulation, a stance that he saw as having led to the costly containment policy and the tragedy of Vietnam. Instead, other nations, especially those in the developing world, would be considered in a regional rather than a global context. Additionally, the United States would assert its international predominance by emphasizing moral rather than military superiority by focusing on human rights and related humanitarian concerns.

By January 1980, however, the international climate had changed drastically. The Islamic Revolution in Iran had displaced America's longtime ally, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. On November 4, 1979, Iranian students seized the American embassy

in Tehran and took 70 Americans hostage. This precipitated a 444-day crisis during which the Carter administration could do little to free the hostages. Also, on December 26, 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, sparking a bloody nine-year war there. Faced with these twin crises—religious fundamentalist terrorism and communist advancement by military force—during an election year, Carter reoriented his foreign policy. Although he did not abandon his commitment to human rights, the issue was accorded a much lower priority in policy formulation and was no longer used as a major weapon with which to wage the Cold War. Instead, the administration's official posture reflected a more customary Cold War policy that emphasized the projection of military power and communist containment. In addition, a globalist perspective began to supplant the regionalist outlook, with increased emphasis on East-West issues. These trends were accelerated considerably under President Ronald Reagan, Carter's successor. The Carter Doctrine is still operative in American foreign policy, almost three decades after it was enunciated. Indeed, it was used as a partial justification for the 1991 Persian Gulf War and the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

DONNA R. JACKSON

See also

Carter, James Earl, Jr.; Containment Policy; Iranian Revolution; Soviet-Afghanistan War; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Casey, George William, Jr.

Birth Date: July 22, 1948

U.S. Army general, commander of U.S. forces in Iraq (Multi-National Force–Iraq) during 2004–2007, and army chief of staff since 2007. George William Casey Jr. was born on July 22, 1948, in Sendai, Japan; his father, a career army officer, was serving with the army occupation forces there. (His father, Major General George William Casey Sr., died in Vietnam in 1970 in a helicopter crash.) Casey spent his early life on army posts throughout the United States and Europe and graduated from Georgetown University in 1970, where he was enrolled in the Army Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC).

In August 1970, Casey was commissioned a second lieutenant in the army. During the next decade he served in a variety of command and staff positions. In 1980, he earned an MA in international relations from the University of Denver. Casey continued his military education at the Armed Forces Staff College, completing his studies there in July 1981.

Shortly thereafter, Casey was ordered to the Middle East where he worked with the United Nations (UN) Truce Observer Supervision Organization. From February 1982 to July 1987 he was assigned to the 4th Infantry Division based at Fort Carson, Colorado. In December 1989, he became a special assistant to the army chief of staff. He was then assigned as chief of staff of the 1st Cavalry Division at Fort Hood, Texas, where he later commanded that division's 3rd Brigade. In July 1996, he was promoted to brigadier general and sent to Europe, where he served as assistant commander for the 1st Armored Division in Germany and participated in the peacekeeping missions to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In 1999, following his advancement to major general, Casey commanded the 1st Armored until July 2001. At the end of October 2001, he was appointed lieutenant general and took control of Strategic Plans and Policy for the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In January 2003 he became director, Joint Staff of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. That October, he became vice chief of staff of the Army and was advanced to four-star rank.

Casey became a major figure in planning for the U.S. response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and for the 2003 invasion of Iraq. As director of the Joint Staff, he had been directly involved in the allocation of units and personnel for the Iraq operation. One of his assignments was the allocation of military personnel for administration in the occupied areas. In December 2002, with planning for the invasion in full swing, Casey ordered the formation of a follow-on headquarters for the postwar occupation but gave it few resources. It was in his capacity as director of the Joint Staff that Casey first encountered conflict over troop levels for the impending invasion, which occurred between the field commanders and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.

Conditions in Iraq in the wake of the March 2003 invasion became central to Casey's fortunes. For all of his success, Casey had attracted little notice outside military circles. This changed when he was assigned to head the commission to investigate the abuse of prisoners by American guards at Abu Ghraib Prison in late 2003.

In the summer of 2004, Casey was appointed to command U.S. and coalition forces (Multi-National Force–Iraq). By the time Casey took command, the Iraqi insurgency was in full swing, but the coalition response had been hampered by fundamental conflicts over strategy and tactics between the civilian commissioner in Iraq, L. Paul Bremer, and the military commander, General Ricardo Sanchez. Casey soon established a cordial working relationship with the new American ambassador to Iraq, John Negroponte.

Such a relationship was needed in the desperate situation the two men faced in 2004. Casey was shocked to discover that there was no counterinsurgency strategy. He and Negroponte thus worked to develop a coherent approach to combating the growing attacks on American forces and the threat of civil war. Casey's

strategy involved securing transportation infrastructure, containing insurgent violence by aggressively attacking insurgent bases, reaching out to Iraq's Sunni Muslims, and building up Iraqi security forces. Under Casey's direction, U.S. counterinsurgency operations took on a clearer direction, but violence in Iraq continued to escalate, and the war grew profoundly unpopular in the United States.

In March 2007, Casey turned over his command to Lieutenant General David Petraeus and returned to the United States to assume the post of U.S. Army chief of staff. Casey was cautious but noncommittal in his support of the troop surge implemented by the George W. Bush administration in January 2007. He also warned that U.S. Army resources were being stretched dangerously thin.

WALTER F. BELL

See also

Abu Ghraib; Bremer, Jerry; Bush, George Walker; Iraqi Insurgency; Negroponte, John Dimitri; Petraeus, David Howell; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Sanchez, Ricardo S.; Sunni Islam

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Air Force officers oversee the transport of coffins containing the remains of 20 U.S. servicemen killed during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. Pursuant to a Pentagon order of 2003, it was forbidden to disseminate to the public images such as this scene at Dover Air Force Base. Requests filed in 2004 under the Freedom of Information Act resulted in the successful release of more than 300 such photographs of flag-draped coffins and the honor guards charged with their transport. (U.S. Air Force)

Casualties, Operation DESERT STORM

Casualties for Operation DESERT STORM include those individuals killed, wounded, or captured in the operation that liberated Kuwait from Iraqi occupation and defeated Iraq during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Operation DESERT STORM officially began on January 17, 1991, with an air campaign that lasted over a month, and ended on February 28, after a 100-hour ground offensive by coalition troops.

Given the number of troops engaged, casualties for the war were extremely low, at least for the coalition arrayed against Iraq. Controversy has dogged the question of casualties on two counts. First, the percentage of friendly-fire deaths has been debated; second, there is no agreement on the number of Iraqi soldiers and civilians killed.

The coalition against Iraq was made up of 34 nations, including the United States. Before the war began, some press reports predicted coalition casualties as high as 30,000. The U.S. Department of Defense reported 148 American battle deaths and 145 noncombat deaths. A total of 467 Americans were wounded in action, but more than 3,000 others were injured in noncombat-related accidents. Some statistics actually estimated that had American troops not been deployed, more would have died of natural causes and from accidents than those killed in the Persian Gulf combat theater. The tactical use of air power, technological superiority, and efficient evacuation of the wounded to medical centers in Europe helped minimize U.S. combat deaths. The largest single loss of life was caused by an Iraqi Scud missile, which slammed into a U.S. military barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, on February 25, 1991. That incident killed 28 servicemen.

In addition to the official numbers of soldiers wounded in combat or accidents, the Department of Veterans Affairs has declared that more than 180,000 veterans of the Persian Gulf War were permanently disabled from mystery ailments, sometimes referred to as Gulf War Syndrome. One recent correction in U.S. casualty figures came in the case of U.S. Navy pilot Michael Scott Speicher, who was listed as killed in action (KIA) at the end of the conflict. Speicher's status was changed to missing in action (MIA), ironically the day after the U.S. Congress had authorized the use of military force in Iraq in October 2002.

In addition to U.S. losses, other coalition casualty figures include more than 300 wounded, as well as 24 British deaths, 2 French deaths, and 39 deaths among coalition Arab forces. An estimated 3,000 Kuwaitis died during the Iraqi occupation, some of whom were killed during coalition efforts to liberate the country

in February 1991. To this number may be added 1 death and 78 wounded among the Israeli population, which had been subjected to Iraqi Scud missile attacks during the conflict.

A major question surrounds DESERT STORM casualties related to "friendly fire" incidents, a euphemism describing the accidental death of service personnel because of their own or allied fire. Considering the small number of overall coalition deaths, an extremely high proportion was lost to friendly-fire incidents. Indeed, an estimated 46 Americans died as a result of friendly fire, as did 9 British military personnel. This fact led to an ongoing and occasionally acrimonious debate after the conflict's end about why friendly-fire incidents were so prevalent in such a short war.

Initial estimates placed Iraqi military losses at 100,000 killed, in what Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein had promised would be the "mother of all battles." However, later estimates reduced this figure considerably, to no more than 35,000. A U.S. Air Force survey based on Iraqi prisoner of war (POW) testimony estimated that Iraqi military forces lost only 20,000–22,000 killed. More than 300,000 were also believed to have been wounded. More than 70,000 Iraqi soldiers were taken prisoner by coalition forces. The number of Iraqi civilian casualties, which is even harder to pinpoint, varies widely, from 2,300 to 200,000. The government of Iraq purposely inflated casualty rates during the war in an attempt to gain support from the Islamic world. Although most estimates place actual civilian casualty numbers closer to the lower end of the spectrum, this issue has remained highly politicized.

The issue of "collateral damage," a euphemism for unintended civilian deaths and injuries caused by attacking intended military targets, is also steeped in controversy. The Persian Gulf War was one of the first conflicts in which civilian targets were studiously avoided; nevertheless, civilian casualties ensued, particularly as a consequence of the air war. One especially gruesome example occurred on February 13, 1991, at the Amirya bunker, where many civilian dead were captured in images broadcast around the world. That day, the U.S. Air Force dropped two laser-guided bombs on what the Americans asserted was an Iraqi command and control bunker. As it turned out, however, the bunker was also filled with Iraqi civilians, and 314 were believed to have been killed, including 130 children. The United States government subsequently accused the Iraqi government of using its civilian population as human shields, which is considered a war crime. Iraq and its defenders, however, accused the United States of knowingly attacking a civilian shelter. The incident was perhaps the most troubling of all civilian casualty incidents in the war.

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See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Friendly Fire; Gulf War Syndrome; Human Shields

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Casualties, Operation ENDURING FREEDOM

The War on Terror was launched on October 7, 2001, in Afghanistan, a response to the terror attacks against the United States of September 11, 2001. In terms of coalition casualties, as of the end of 2009 there had been 1,567 U.S. and coalition military deaths in Afghanistan as part of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM and the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). Americans have sustained the largest number of deaths, 946. The U.S. total includes Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) personnel. Not included among the number of American casualties are the deaths of armed American private security company personnel.

While American forces have suffered the most coalition casualties, other nations have also experienced a spike in the numbers killed in action in recent years, especially in 2009 when the total killed was double that of the previous year (520 vs. 295). Since 2006, after IASF expanded its jurisdiction to the southern regions of Afghanistan, which had previously been under U.S. military authority, the number of British and Canadian casualties increased. The highly volatile provinces of Helmand and Kandahar have been particularly dangerous for coalition forces. As of the end of 2009, British forces had suffered 245 killed. The war in Afghanistan has also resulted in the largest number of fatalities for any single Canadian military operation since the Korean War. As of the end of 2009, 118 Canadian troops had died.

Apart from the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada, coalition deaths by country as of August 2009 were as follows: France, 36; Germany, 35; Spain, 26; Denmark, 30; Italy, 22; the Netherlands, 21; Poland, 16; Australia, 11; Romania, 11; Estonia, 7; Norway, 4; Sweden, 4; Czech Republic, 3; Latvia, 3; Hungary, 2; Portugal, 2; Turkey, 2; Belgium, 1; Finland, 1; Jordan, 1; Lithuania, 1; and South Korea, 1.

Since Operation ENDURING FREEDOM began, there have been numerous incidents involving civilians killed during military operations against the Taliban and Al Qaeda. U.S.-led coalition troops and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces have maintained that great efforts have been made to avoid civilian casualties in efforts to eliminate the insurgency. They have complained that insurgents often blend in with local populations when under attack, thus increasing the risk of more civilian casualties. Many civilians, as well as Afghan soldiers and security forces, were killed by insurgent attacks, especially in 2006 resulting from suicide bombings.

Casualties, by Branch, in the U.S. Armed Forces during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (through April 3, 2010)

	U.S. Air Force	*U.S. Army*	*U.S. Marines*	*U.S. Navy (including Coast Guard)*	*Total*
Killed in action	20	454	92	32	598
Died of wounds	3	104	43	3	153
Nonhostile deaths	23	189	42	21	275
Wounded in action	142	4,057	1,207	104	5,510
Total casualties	188	4,804	1,384	160	6,536

As to exact numbers of civilians killed, the debate continues, with numbers varying markedly. Estimates of dead range as high as 50,000 in the invasion and ongoing war from all causes.

Beginning in 2007, insurgents launched attacks that were both more aggressive and greater in number. This has increased not only the number of collateral deaths but also the number of insurgent deaths. Casualties showed a dramatic increase in 2009. Afghan casualty totals are in dispute, but at least 5,500 Afghan security personnel had died through the end of 2009. Civilian deaths are even more difficult to ascertain. Insurgent losses are estimated at between 20,000 and 30,000, with 20,000 taken prisoner. The number of civilian deaths is very much in dispute. Through the end of 2009, they are believed to have numbered at least 25,000.

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See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Taliban; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

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Casualties, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM

Casualties as a result of combat operations in Iraq during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, which began on March 19, 2003, and continue to the present, have been a constant source of controversy, particularly in the United States. The quick and decisive victory won by the United States in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, which saw few American casualties, and the low initial American casualty count for the Afghanistan War, Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, had conditioned U.S. citizens and politicians to expect a speedy and relatively easy victory in Iraq. Although the initial combat phase (March 19–April 30, 2003) produced few U.S. and coalition combat deaths, the subsequent insurgency led to several thousand more, with the toll continuing to climb. Many responded to the mounting IRAQI FREEDOM casualty numbers with incredulity and calls for a full or total withdrawal of American troops from Iraq. Other nations with large troop deployments in Iraq—particularly Great Britain—experienced similar developments.

The U.S. Department of Defense provides a continuously running tally of American casualties. Its figures include numbers of American personnel killed in action (KIA) and wounded in action (WIA) in both official Operation IRAQI FREEDOM combat operations (March 19, 2003–April, 30, 2003) and postcombat operations (May 1, 2003–present). In the first phase of the war, 139 American military personnel were killed, and 545 were wounded. Total U.S. military deaths from both phases of IRAQI FREEDOM were 4,688 through the end of 2009, while the total number of American military personnel wounded in action during the same period is some 31,500. Of those wounded, a majority returned to active duty within 72 hours, classified as wounded in action, returned to duty (WIA RTD). Each fatality milestone has occasioned an outcry of opposition to the war, and when the casualty count topped 4,000 in spring 2008 and coincided with a particularly heated presidential primary campaign, these numbers became a source of even greater political controversy.

In addition to the U.S. casualties, through April 17, 2009, a total of 318 coalition troops had been killed, including 179 Britons. Also, the Iraq War has claimed the lives of 139 journalists. A total of 1,264 contractors have also been killed.

Although the Department of Defense makes information on U.S. casualties publicly available, precise figures documenting Iraqi casualties, both military and civilian, are more difficult to access, and nearly all figures come with caveats. Iraqi sources have reported that government agencies are not permitted to report the numbers of bodies buried daily. Credible sources indicate roughly 9,200 Iraqi combatant fatalities during the first phase of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM; estimates range from a low of 7,600 to a high of 10,800. According to the Iraq Coalition Casualty Count, an estimated 8,298 members of the Iraqi Security Forces (ISF) have been killed in combat, fighting Iraqi insurgents. The Iraq Coalition Casualty Count is one of the most thorough databases compiling this information, although the group does not provide numbers of wounded ISF personnel and its information is not considered reliable by European, Arab, or American academics. Current and credible estimates of the number of insurgents killed are among the hardest statistics to obtain, because membership in those groups is both fluid and clandestine. According to calculations made in September 2007, the number of insurgents killed after the fall of Baghdad in April 2003 was 19,492; casualties continue to accumulate, although a reliably sourced updated estimate has not been released.

Casualties, by Branch, in the U.S. Armed Forces during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (through April 3, 2010)

	U.S. Air Force	*U.S. Army*	*U.S. Marine Corps*	*U.S. Navy (including Coast Guard)*	*Total*
Killed in action	29	1,910	664	63	2,666
Died of wounds	0	605	187	2	794
Died while missing	0	6	0	0	6
Died while captured	0	5	0	0	5
Nonhostile deaths	22	676	171	38	907
Wounded in action	444	22,067	8,624	635	31,770
Total casualties	495	25,269	9,646	738	36,148

The number of Iraqi civilians killed during IRAQI FREEDOM has been widely disputed. The Lancet study of 2006, so-called for its publication in the British medical journal of that name, was carried out by Iraqi and American physicians and researchers from al-Mustansiriyya University and Johns Hopkins University through a cluster-survey of households where respondents had to show death certificates. It estimated a total of 426,369 to 793,663 Iraqi deaths to that date.

A third study, by experts from the Federal Ministry of Health in Baghdad, the Kurdistan Ministry of Planning, the Kurdistan Ministry of Health, the Central Organization for Statistics and Information Technology in Baghdad, and the World Health Organization carried out the Iraq Family Health Survey Study (IFHS) Group (known as the WHO study in the media). The IFHS study estimated 151,000 Iraqi deaths from March 2003 to June 2006. The study actually presented a range of deaths from 104,000 to 223,000 for those years.

Other sources have estimated Iraqi civilian casualties from the war and sectarian violence from 600,000 to more than 1,000,000. The independent British-based Opinion Research Bureau estimated 1,220,580 Iraqis deaths by September 2007. Other than deliberate underreporting, some sources pointed to the suppression of statistics by the Iraqi government in the belief that to do so would compromise efforts to quell violence.

Although there is disagreement on the actual number of civilian deaths in Iraq, there is general agreement that the numbers have been very high. Generally speaking, those who supported the war have denied the higher civilian casualty counts, while those who opposed the war held them to be valid.

The Iraq Coalition Casualty Count serves as a thorough clearinghouse for information on all coalition fatalities. During the period of official IRAQI FREEDOM combat (March 19–May 1, 2003), 33 soldiers from the United Kingdom were killed; no other coalition nation suffered any fatalities during this phase of operations. As of the end of 2009, the Iraq Coalition Casualty Count cites the following fatality numbers for other coalition nations: Australia, 2; Azerbaijan, 1; Bulgaria, 13; Czech Republic, 1; Denmark, 7; El Salvador, 5; Estonia, 2; Fiji, 1; Georgia, 5; Hungary, 1; Italy, 33; Kazakhstan, 1; Latvia, 3; Netherlands, 2; Poland, 22; Romania, 3; Slovakia, 4; South Korea, 1; Spain, 11; Thailand, 2; Ukraine, 18; United Kingdom, 176. The group does not provide WIA casualty figures.

A high suicide rate among U.S. military and veterans has become a special matter of concern. Although no clear answers for this have emerged, it has been attributed to extended tours, too little time off between tours, the nature of the conflict, circumstances at home, and other factors.

Periodic lulls in violence and the achievement of certain strategic objectives have resulted in temporary decreases in the rates of injury and death, but the nature of the guerrilla-style, low-intensity conflict that has characterized the Iraq insurgency and the continuing sectarian conflicts mean that casualties on all sides will likely continue to accumulate.

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See also

ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency

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Central Intelligence Agency

Primary civilian government agency charged with carrying out intelligence and espionage activities for the United States. The

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), created by the National Security Act of 1947, exercised primary responsibility for intelligence collection and analysis, but also for the conduct of covert actions.

The agency is the direct successor of the World War II Office of Strategic Services (OSS). In January 1946, President Harry S. Truman signed an executive order forming a Central Intelligence Group (CIG) patterned after the OSS, and on July 16, 1947, Truman signed the National Security Act, replacing the CIG with the new CIA as an independent agency within the executive branch. The CIA was to advise the National Security Council (NSC) on intelligence matters and make recommendations regarding coordination of intelligence activities. Although the original intent was only to authorize espionage, broad interpretation of the act's provisions led to authorization of covert operations. The director of central intelligence (DCI) was charged with reporting on intelligence activities to the president and Congress.

Known to insiders as "the Agency" or "the Company," the CIA played a key role in the overthrow of allegedly radical governments in Iran in 1953 and Guatemala in 1954. It was also active in assisting the Philippine government in crushing the Hukbalahap uprising; in Southeast Asia, especially in Laos, it operated Air America to funnel U.S. aid to anticommunist forces. Notable failures included the Bay of Pigs fiasco in Cuba in April 1961 and attempts to assassinate or discredit Cuban leader Fidel Castro. The CIA played an important role in the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, and its agents penetrated key governmental agencies in the Soviet Union. The CIA-sponsored Phoenix Program in Vietnam for the assassination of communist operatives engendered considerable controversy, as did its role in helping to oust Chilean president Salvador Allende in 1973. The CIA's involvement in assassination plots and domestic spying led to the creation of the President's Intelligence Oversight Board, as well as an Intelligence Committee in each house of Congress. The CIA failed to predict the 1979 revolution overthrowing the Shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. It provided important assistance to Afghan rebels following the Soviet invasion of that country. It also took part in the secret sale of arms to Iran arranged with the hostage release and funneling of the proceeds to Contra rebels fighting Nicaragua's

President George W. Bush, right, and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) director George Tenet, left, pose in the main entrance of agency headquarters in Langley, Virginia, on March 20, 2001. (AP/Wide World Photos)

leftist Sandinista government, the so-called Iran-Contra Affair. This activity led Congress in 1991 to pass a new oversight law to prevent a reoccurrence. The CIA did provide useful intelligence on the threat posed by Iraq to neighboring Kuwait, but it was caught off guard by the actual August 1990 invasion.

The sudden collapse of the Soviet Union beginning with the failed coup attempt against Mikhail Gorbachev in August 1991 came as a complete surprise to the agency. Although the CIA had warned that terrorists might attempt to seize control of civilian airliners and fly them into buildings, it failed to provide timely intelligence that might have prevented the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C.

In December 2004, President George W. Bush signed the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act. That legislation abolished the positions of director of central intelligence (DCI) and deputy director of central intelligence (DDCI) and created the positions of director of the Central Intelligence Agency (D/CIA) and director of national intelligence (DNI), which took over some of the responsibilities that had been formerly handled by the CIA. These reforms were in response to the lapses of intelligence over the preceding years, including the September 11, 2001, attacks, bogus reports of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) in Iraq, and other incidents that called into question CIA credibility and effectiveness.

The D/CIA is nominated by the president and approved by the U.S. Senate. Working with numerous staffs, the D/CIA is responsible for managing the operations, staff, and budget of the CIA. The D/CIA also oversees the National Human Source Intelligence division (HUMINT) and interacts with the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to monitor terrorist and extremist activities within the United States. The CIA is organized into four primary directorates: the National Clandestine Service; the Directorate of Intelligence; the Directorate of Science and Technology; and the Directorate of Support. All four directorates are supposed to work together to collect, analyze, and distribute intelligence that is deemed necessary to protect national security.

In 1999 CIA director George Tenet had developed plans to deal with the Al Qaeda terrorist organization, which was headquartered in Afghanistan. The CIA was soon involved in sending flights over Afghanistan with drones to gather intelligence information on the terrorist training camps there. Following the terror attacks on September 11, 2001, the CIA came under great pressure regarding its previous efforts to combat terrorism, which in turn prompted the 2004 changes described above to America's intelligence-gathering apparatus.

The CIA has also received considerable criticism for its role in the Iraq War. Indeed, the agency was blamed, rightly or wrongly, for the assertion that Iraq possessed WMDs, which was a key factor in the 2003 decision to invade the country. As it turned out, no WMDs were found, and public support for the war fell quickly after this was made public. Because the George W. Bush administration used the threat of WMDs as a justification for the war, the CIA's reputation was badly tarnished. As the war in Iraq continued, more information regarding early CIA involvement was released. Since then, numerous people have come forward claiming that a large percentage of CIA officials did not support what the agency was claiming about WMDs in Iraq. Many claim the CIA was pressured by the Bush administration to produce reports with intelligence that the administration wanted the CIA to find, and not necessarily the actual intelligence collected. More recently, the CIA has come under sharp criticism for its connection to the torturing of terrorist suspects, especially the controversial technique of waterboarding. Harsh interrogation techniques were officially authorized by top CIA officials (and approved by Vice President Richard "Dick" Cheney and President George W. Bush).

ARTHUR M. HOLST

See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; *Cole,* USS, Attack on; Counterterrorism Strategy; Dar es Salaam, Bombing of U.S. Embassy; Nairobi, Kenya, Bombing of U.S. Embassy; September 11 Attacks; Tenet, George John; Terrorism; Torture of Prisoners; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Central Treaty Organization

See Baghdad Pact

Chalabi, Ahmed Abd al-Hadi

Birth Date: October 30, 1944

Prominent Iraqi dissident and founder and leader of the U.S.-funded Iraqi National Congress (INC) from 1992 to 1999. Born on October 30, 1944, in Baghdad, Iraq, Ahmed Abd al-Hadi Chalabi, a liberal Shiite Muslim, was a member of one of Iraq's wealthiest and most influential families. Prior to the 1958 revolution that overthrew the Iraqi monarchy, Chalabi's father, a prominent banker, was president of the Senate and an adviser to King Faisal II.

Although the entire royal family and many of its supporters were murdered by the revolutionaries, Chalabi's family managed to

escape into exile, living primarily in England and the United States. Chalabi earned a BS in mathematics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1965. In 1969, he obtained a PhD in mathematics from the University of Chicago and subsequently taught mathematics at the American University in Beirut until 1977.

In 1977, Chalabi relocated to Jordan where he established the Petra Bank. Within two years, Petra Bank had become the second-largest bank in Jordan. In 1989, Jordanian Central Bank governor Mohammad Said Nabulsi ordered the 20 banks operating in Jordan to deposit 30 percent of their foreign exchange holdings with the Central Bank. When Petra Bank refused to comply with the order, the Jordanian government launched an investigation of the bank's holdings, which revealed that most of the bank's stated assets in fact did not exist. Chalabi then fled to the United Kingdom. Although Chalabi later claimed that the entire situation was the result of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's chicanery, the Jordanian government was forced to pay $200 million to depositors to avert the complete collapse of the Jordanian banking system. In 1992, the Jordanian government sentenced Chalabi in absentia to 22 years in prison for bank fraud. Chalabi continues to proclaim his innocence in the affair.

In 1991, immediately following the Persian Gulf War, Chalabi began lobbying influential members of the U.S. Congress, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and the Pentagon for funding to sponsor a coup against Saddam Hussein's government. In 1992, he formed the Iraqi National Congress. Between 1992 and 2004, Chalabi and the Iraqi National Congress received more than $30 million from U.S. government sources.

Many within the CIA and the U.S. State Department eventually became suspicious of Chalabi's ability to deliver on promises made concerning the opposition, and it attacked his veracity. But his close ties with former defense secretary and then-vice president Dick Cheney and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz enabled Chalabi to continue to receive funding until the eve of the 2003 Anglo-American invasion of Iraq. In 1999, Chalabi broke with the INC and established the National Congress Coalition, a group that considered itself a less Islamist alternative to other Iraqi opposition groups. During the U.S. occupation of Iraq, Chalabi served as one of the deputy prime ministers in Ibrahim al-Jafari's cabinet.

When it had become patently clear that there were no weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) in Iraq, the existence of which had been a major pretext of the 2003 war, the George W. Bush administration became more concerned about its connections with Chalabi. The information that he had been giving the administration since at least mid-2001 was either falsified or was unintentionally erroneous. Be that as it may, Chalabi steadfastly stood by the top-secret reports, much of which pointed to an illicit Iraqi program to build nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. It is surprising that the Bush administration would have given so much credence to Chalabi's assertions, unless it was because they supported the administration's own conclusions.

On May 20, 2004, U.S. and Iraqi forces raided Chalabi's residence to determine the extent of his duplicity in his dealings with American officials. Charges were briefly drawn up against him, but these were later dropped. Nevertheless, in November 2005, Chalabi flew to Washington, D.C. to meet with high-level Bush administration officials.

From December 2005 to January 2006, Chalabi was Iraq's oil minister, and in April 2005 he was appointed deputy prime minister, a post he held from May 2005 to May 2006. In the December 15, 2005, elections, Chalabi suffered a humiliating defeat in his quest to become Iraqi prime minister. Allegations that Chalabi was bolstering his relations with Iranians and supposedly passed secret information to them in 2004 further tarnished his reputation in Washington. Paradoxically, his reputation in Iraq was troubled by his close relationship with the Americans.

Chalabi continues to lead the National Congress Coalition. In October 2007, Iraqi prime minister Nuri al-Maliki appointed Chalabi to head the Iraq Services Committee, a group that brings together eight government service ministries and several Baghdad municipal agencies that are at the forefront of the recovery and modernization effort in postwar Iraq. By all indications, Chalabi performed effectively in this position.

Michael R. Hall

See also

Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Jafari, Ibrahim al-; Maliki, Nuri Muhammed Kamil Hasan al-; Wolfowitz, Paul Dundes

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Challenger Main Battle Tanks

British-designed main battle tank (MBT). The British Ministry of Defense placed its first order for the Challenger 1 series main battle tanks in 1978. The Challenger 1 was basically an improved Shir 2, modified to meet modern British Army requirements. The Shir 2 had originally been developed for export to Iran.

The Challenger 1's layout had the driver's compartment at the front, turret and fighting compartment in the center, and the engine and transmission in the rear. The Challenger 1 had a four-man crew. A Perkins Engines, Condor 12-volt, 1200 25-liter diesel engine developing 1,200 horsepower at 2,300 revolutions per minute powered the Challenger 1. Challenger 1 weighed 62 tons and measured 37.72 feet long (including the gun), 11.52 feet wide, and 9.68 feet high. It had an on-road range of 279 miles and a top speed of 37 miles per hour (mph).

Both the turret and hull incorporated Chobham armor, a classified mix of steel and ceramic layers that provided excellent protection against both conventional armor-piercing and high-explosive antitank rounds. The tank's original main weapon was a 120-millimeter (mm) rifled gun. Secondary armament included a 7.62-mm coaxial machine gun and an external 7.62-mm machine gun mounted at the commander's cupola. The Challenger 1 had a Marconi Command and Control Systems improved fire-control system (IFCS).

Challenger 1 tanks were deployed to Saudi Arabia in late 1990 as part of Operation DESERT SHIELD. The 7th Armoured Brigade deployed two regiments of Challenger 1 tanks, each equipped with 57 tanks. The 4th Brigade deployed one regiment of Challenger 1 tanks with 43 tanks. Both brigades were part of the British 1st Armoured Division. In early 1991, technicians upgraded the tanks by installing explosive reactive armor (ERA) on the nose and glacis plate of the Challenger 1, along with passive armor along the sides of the hull.

During Operation DESERT STORM, the British 1st Armoured Division protected the flank of the U.S. VII Corps. Its particular target was an Iraqi tank division, the 52nd Armored Division. The British armor decisively defeated the Iraqis during February 25–26, 1991. An Iraqi brigade commander later reported: "[I] did not know what a Challenger tank looked like until one showed up outside my bunker that morning." The Iraqis failed to knock out a single Challenger 1 during the entire campaign. Meanwhile, Challenger 1 crews were credited with destroying about 300 Iraqi main battle tanks. The American M1A1 Abrams tank and the British Challenger were the best tanks to fight in the Persian Gulf War. The Challenger's excellent long-range fire-control system achieved the longest confirmed kill of any tank during the war—a shot of more than three miles.

As with the American M1A1, the Challenger 1 was at least a generation ahead of any competing Iraqi tank. One of its main advantages was its ability to fire accurately while under way. Iraqi tanks could not do this. Also, compared to Iraqi tanks, Western tanks such as the Challenger 1 fired more lethal ordnance, depleted uranium shells, with far greater accuracy and at greater range.

In November 1986, Vickers Defense Systems began work on the design of the Challenger 2. The British government placed its first order for the Challenger 2 in June 1991. It featured a new turret design mounting a 120-mm rifled tank gun capable of firing a depleted uranium round. Its secondary armament was a coaxial 7.62-mm chain gun as well as an externally mounted 7.62-mm machine gun. The hull was almost identical to the hull of the Challenger 1. However, improvements in the chassis included more rugged steering controls and fire-retardant bag-type fuel tanks. The main engine featured 33 improvements in the electrical system, 11 improvements to the gearbox assembly, 11 improvements to the running gear, and 37 improvements to the vehicle electrics.

The Challenger 2 weighed 62.5 tons and measured 37.73 feet long (including gun), 11.48 feet wide (13.78 feet with armor appliqué), and was 8.2 feet high. Like its predecessor, the tank had a four-man crew. Its engine horsepower output is virtually identical, as are its performance statistics (range and speed). Compared to the Challenger 1, the main areas of improvement included a solid-state gun control equipment, more-modern fire-control equipment, a commander's gyro-stabilized panoramic day sight, rotor and mantlet gun mounting, gunner's gyro-stabilized sight, gunner's telescopic sight, thermal imager, and more-advanced Chobham armor. The superior fire-control equipment allowed the tank typically to engage a target in less than eight seconds.

During Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, the British included 116 Challenger 2 tanks in their deployed force. They operated in the 7th Armoured Brigade of the 1st (United Kingdom) Armoured Division. As had been the case in the Persian Gulf War, the Challenger 2s did not suffer much from hostile fire. The most serious damage to a Challenger 2 tank occurred on the night of March 25, 2003, during a series of contacts with Iraqi forces along the Shatt al-Basra Canal. A Challenger 2 attached to the Black Watch Battle Group mistakenly fired at a Challenger 2 serving in the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers Battle Group. The target's driver and tank commander were killed, and the other two crewmen were injured.

The Challenger 2 continues to be the United Kingdom's MBT, and will remain so for some time to come. Between 1993 and 2002, approximately 425 Challenger 2 tanks were manufactured.

JAMES ARNOLD

See also

Armored Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Explosive Reactive Armor; M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks

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Chamoun, Camille Nimr

Birth Date: April 3, 1900
Death Date: August 7, 1987

Prominent Lebanese politician and premier. Camille Nimr Chamoun (Kamil Shamun) was born on April 3, 1900, into a prominent Maronite Christian family at Dayr al-Qamar in Lebanon. Although a Maronite Christian, he came from the Shuf district where many Muslim Druze lived, and he thus understood the principle of local support. The Druze, largely concentrated in Lebanon's Shuf Mountains and western Beirut, had once dominated Mount Lebanon and the Maronites. The latter gained social ascendancy. The Maronites, originally followers of St. Maroun, are Eastern-rite Catholics recognized by Rome in the sixth century and were largely concentrated in the Mount Lebanon district, eastern Beirut, and some areas of south Lebanon. Muslims, Druze, and Christians did

Lebanese president Camille Chamoun, photographed in 1953. (AP/Wide World Photos)

not seriously engage in violent conflict until 1860 in present-day Lebanon when Druze and Muslims clashed.

Lebanese political tensions between religious groups also had roots in economics, as some Maronites had become wealthy through commerce and their ties with European powers. They opposed the unification with Syria preferred by some Muslims and other Christian groups. Each sect possessed feudal lords who commanded the political loyalties of peasants or residents of urban areas.

Chamoun received his elementary education at a Catholic school in Dayr al-Qamar and graduated from high school in Beirut in a Francophone educational system. During World War I, the Chamoun family was exiled for anti-Turkish and Lebanese nationalist activities on the part of Chamoun's father. Following the war, Lebanon became a French mandate, and French colonialism thus became a target of Lebanese nationalists. Chamoun, meanwhile, immersed himself in his studies. Upon graduation from the Faculty of Law at the University of Saint Joseph in Beirut and obtaining his law license in 1923, he became a successful lawyer, businessman, and property holder. He also began expressing his political views in articles for the newspaper *Le Reviel.*

Although the economy had expanded during the French mandate, there was much about the system of French-dominated governance that the Lebanese disliked, including press censorship and preference for French investors. Chamoun wanted this situation changed. In 1929 he won his first election campaign and became an elector, whose duty it was to help choose delegates to Lebanon's National Assembly. That year, he also married Zalfa Thabit, whose family had important connections in British social circles. Chamoun subsequently learned English and developed contacts with British politicians.

Chamoun's nationalism subsequently intensified, and upon winning election to the Chamber of Deputies in 1934 he sided with the Constitutional Bloc led by Sheikh Bishara al-Khuri, which sought an end to French domination. Chamoun won reelection in 1937 and was appointed minister of finance (although the Constitutional Bloc was a minority party). During World War II, he emerged as one of the crucial architects of Lebanese independence. In 1941, Free French and British forces invaded Lebanon and ousted the colonial government controlled by Vichy, which had collaborated with Nazi Germany. Britain supported Lebanese independence, a move that France opposed. Chamoun lobbied the British to ensure their continued support for nationhood. Such activities earned him the label from the French of "agent of British intelligence" and led to his arrest and imprisonment in November 1943, along with Khuri, and Riyadh al-Sulh. Massive public demonstrations, however, led to their release after only 11 days, on November 22, a day that has since been celebrated as Lebanon's Independence Day. The French government-in-exile agreed to allow Lebanon's independence.

Elections that year made the Constitutional Bloc the majority party in the National Assembly, and Khuri became president and Sulh prime minister. Chamoun became minister of finance. Then, because of his close ties to the British, Chamoun was made ambassador to Great Britain. He held this post during 1944–1946.

Chamoun's demonstrated political acumen helped bring British support for the withdrawal of French troops at a time when the French government had developed second thoughts about relinquishing total control of Lebanon. Chamoun also secured Lebanese membership in the United Nations (UN). Now enormously popular, he planned to become president, but Khuri moved to amend the Lebanese Constitution to allow himself another term. Chamoun subsequently resigned his ministerial post and cooperated with the opposition National Socialist Front Party led by Kamal Jumblat (Junblat), a Druze leader. Khuri remained president, but by 1951 his opponents gained a larger following, and widespread discontent over charges of corruption led to his resignation in 1952.

With Jumblat's support, Chamoun won election by the National Assembly as president. Chamoun now ran into a formidable problem. He had antagonized his Constitutional Bloc followers and many Maronites by having cooperated with Jumblat, and when he tried to win back these people, he antagonized Jumblat and many Druze, who opposed his pro-Western, conservative politics and alleged corruption. Nevertheless, Chamoun initiated several reforms: a change in the election system that weakened

the domination of public office by landholding aristocrats and urban elites; suffrage for women; and an independent judiciary. The economy expanded under Chamoun, and he promoted a free exchange of ideas, including relative freedom of the press.

Yet many members of the politically disadvantaged Muslim communities objected to Chamoun's refusal to let Lebanon join the United Arab Republic (UAR) in 1958, and Pan-Arabists who favored Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser held demonstrations that threatened to overthrow the government in June 1958. Chamoun believed that both his own power and Lebanese unity were imperiled. He claimed that the pro-Nasserists would make Lebanon socialist, and he called on the United States for assistance. President Dwight D. Eisenhower dispatched U.S. Marines to Beirut. This action brought charges that Chamoun was a tool of Western imperialism and was too close to the pro-Israeli United States. U.S. diplomat Robert Murphy helped persuade Chamoun to resign in 1958. He was succeeded by General Fuad Shihab, a Christian who nonetheless was popular with Lebanese Muslims.

Chamoun remained politically active. In 1959, he formed a new opposition organization, the National Liberal Party (al-Ahrar); he won election to the National Assembly in 1960 but was defeated in 1964 amid charges of gerrymandering. He again won election to the National Assembly in 1968 and 1972. He successfully maneuvered Sulayman Franjiyyah into the presidency in 1970. Chamoun held a succession of ministerial posts in the 1970s and 1980s.

In 1975, however, Lebanon's long-standing political and sectarian tensions erupted in civil war, and Chamoun obtained Israeli support for the Maronite forces. He helped found the Lebanese Front, heading it during 1976–1978. It was a mostly Christian grouping of different parties. Its united militia was known as the Lebanese Forces (LF). Chamoun was initially inclined toward Syria but then opposed the growing Syrian presence in Lebanon. In 1980 the LF was largely destroyed in a surprise attack by the Phalangists, the militia headed by Christian rival Bashir Jummayil.

The bloodshed in Lebanon continued. Following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, Chamoun entered into tacit cooperation with Israel against Syria, which was then occupying much of Lebanon and controlling its affairs. In 1984 Chamoun entered the National Unity Government as deputy prime minister, but the civil war, which by the end of the decade had claimed some 130,000 lives, overwhelmed this effort. Chamoun died in office in Beirut on August 7, 1987. Four years later, a peace accord was signed, although it took several more years for peace to return to most of Lebanon. Chamoun was one of the most significant figures of modern Lebanese politics.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Eisenhower, Dwight David; Lebanon; Lebanon, U.S. Intervention in (1958); Lebanon, U.S. Intervention in (1982–1984); Murphy, Robert Daniel; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; United Arab Republic

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Chemical Ali

See Majid al Tikriti, Ali Hassan al-

Chemical Weapons and Warfare

Chemical weapons use the toxic effects from man-made substances to kill or incapacitate enemy forces. Chemical weapons range from such riot control agents as tear gas and pepper spray, which cause short-term incapacitation, to lethal nerve agents such as tabun and sarin, which can kill humans with only a miniscule exposure. The use of living organisms, such as bacteria, viruses, or spores, is classified not as chemical warfare but as biological warfare. However, certain chemical weapons such as ricin and botulinum toxins use products created by living organisms.

Chemical weapons are typically described by the effects they have on victims. The major classes of chemical weapons are nerve agents, blood agents, vesicants, pulmonary agents, cytotoxic proteins, lachrymatory agents, and incapacitating agents. Nerve agents quickly break down neuron-transmitting synapses, resulting in the paralysis of major organs and quick death. Blood agents cause massive internal bleeding or prevent cells from using oxygen, leading to anaerobic respiration, seizures, and death. Vesicants, also known as blistering agents, burn skin and respiratory systems, either of which can be fatal. Pulmonary agents suffocate victims by flooding the respiratory system. Cytotoxic agents prevent protein synthesis, leading to the failure of one or more organs. Lachrymatory agents cause immediate eye irritation or blindness, although the effects are deliberately temporary. Incapacitating agents, also temporary, cause effects similar to drug intoxication.

The most important characteristics of an effective chemical weapon are its ability to be delivered accurately and its ability to persist as a danger to enemy troops. Throughout history, delivery methods for chemical weapons have evolved from simple dispersion, often by releasing a gas into the wind, to artillery shells or missile warheads containing chemical agents and to aerodynamic dispersal from aircraft. Since World War II, binary chemical weapons have been developed that contain two substances that are harmless by themselves but when combined form a weapons-grade chemical agent.

Primitive chemical weapons were used as early as the Stone Age, when hunter-gatherer societies used poison-tipped weapons for hunting. Sources of poisons included animal venoms and

A U.S. soldier training in protective clothing designed to protect against biological and chemical weapons, in Saudi Arabia during Operation DESERT SHIELD in 1990. (Derek Hudson/Sygma/Corbis)

vegetable toxins. Undoubtedly, poison-tipped weapons were also used in intertribal warfare. Ancient writings describe efforts to poison water systems to halt invading armies. Chinese texts from approximately 1000 BC describe methods to create and disperse poisonous smoke in war. Ancient Spartan and Athenian armies both used chemical weapons by the fifth century BC. The Roman Army, however, considered the use of poisons abhorrent, and Roman jurists condemned enemies for poisoning water supplies. With the dawn of the gunpowder era, besieging armies launched incendiary devices and poisonous projectiles into enemy fortifications. By the 19th century, inventors in Britain and the United States proposed the development of artillery shells containing toxic gasses.

During World War I (1914–1918), more chemical weapons were used than during any other war in history. At the Second Battle of Ypres (April 22, 1915), German troops opened canisters of chlorine gas and waited for the wind to push the gas into Allied trenches. Soon both sides were using artillery shells to deliver chemical attacks, incorporating a wide variety of chemical agents.

Although they caused a great deal of panic and disruption on the battlefield and caused more than 1 million mostly nonlethal casualties in World War I, chemical weapons were never decisive by themselves. The chemical weapons of the period were relatively weak by modern standards, and no army of the time had developed nerve agents. Although early gas masks and other countermeasures were relatively primitive, they did neutralize the chemical effects to some degree. The Germans, under the artillery genius Colonel Georg Bruchmüller, came the closest to achieving decisive breakthroughs with chemical weapons during the 1918 offensives, but the German Army didn't have the operational mobility to exploit the tactical advantage.

During World War II (1939–1945), chemical weapons were used in a few isolated instances, although both the Axis and the Allies had developed large arsenals of extremely toxic agents. Both sides feared retaliation by the enemy, and neither chose to use its massive stockpiles of chemical weapons.

In the Middle East, the first modern large-scale use of lethal chemical agents occurred during the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988). Early in the war, Iraq dropped bombs containing mustard agent and tabun on Iranian troops, causing 100,000 casualties including 20,000 deaths. Iraq accused Iran of having used chemical weapons first, but the allegations were never confirmed by United Nations (UN) investigators. Near the end of the war, the Iraqi government used chemical weapons against rebellious Kurdish Iraqi citizens.

During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Iraq was accused of launching Scud missiles with chemical warheads against Israel, although no traces of chemical weapons were found. Iraq did not strike the attacking coalition forces with chemical weapons. One possibility is that the Iraqis feared that the coalition would retaliate with its own chemical weapons or perhaps even tactical nuclear weapons. A more likely possibility, however, is that the Iraqis never had the planning and coordination time necessary to employ chemical

Major Classes of Chemical Weapons

Class	*Effects*	*Severity*	*Examples*
Blistering agents	Burn skin and respiratory system	Mild to severe	Lewisite and mustard gas
Blood agents	Cause internal bleeding, prevent oxygen uptake	Moderate to severe	Cyanogen chloride and hydrogen cyanide
Cytotoxic agents	Prevent protein synthesis	Moderate to severe	Ricin
Incapacitating agents	Produce effects similar to intoxication	Mild to moderate	Agent 15, KOLOKOL-1, and LSD
Lachrymatory agents	Cause eye irritation or temporary blindness	Mild to moderate	Bromine, thiophene, and xylyl bromide
Nerve agents	Break down neural synapses causing paralysis	Moderate to severe	Sarin, soman, and tabun
Pulmonary agents	Cause suffocation	Mild to severe	Chlorine, diphosgene, and phosgene

weapons. Virtually every successful use of chemical weapons in the 20th century was in an offensive operation, where the attacker had the initiative and necessary time to plan and tightly control the use of such weapons and their effects. Being on the defensive from the start, the Iraqis never had that flexibility.

Chemical weapons in the hands of terrorist groups pose a significant potential threat. On March 20, 1995, Aum Shinrikyo, a Japanese apocalyptic cult, released sarin gas on a Tokyo subway, killing 12 commuters and injuring more than 5,000. In 2002 the terrorist organization Al Qaeda released a videotape purportedly showing the deaths of dogs from a nerve agent. Al Qaeda has repeatedly announced its intention to obtain chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons.

There have been many attempts to prohibit the development and use of chemical weapons. In 1874 the Brussels Declaration outlawed the use of poison in warfare. The 1900 Hague Conference banned projectiles carrying poisonous gasses, as did the Washington Arms Conference Treaty of 1922 and the Geneva Protocol of 1929. None of the prohibitions proved sufficient to eradicate chemical warfare, however. The most recent effort to eliminate chemical weapons was the multilateral Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) of 1993. The CWC came into effect in 1997 and prohibited the production and use of chemical weapons. Numerous nations known to maintain or suspected of maintaining chemical weapons stockpiles refused to sign or abide by the treaty, including several in the Middle East. Egypt, Libya, and Syria, all known to possess chemical weapons, each refused to sign the CWC, although Libya acceded to the treaty in early 2004 and has vowed to dismantle its chemical weapons program.

Israel, long known to possess a sophisticated chemical weapons capability, signed the CWC but never ratified the agreement. Iran signed and ratified the CWC but refused to prove that it had destroyed known stockpiles of chemical weapons and does not allow international inspectors to examine its facilities.

In future Middle Eastern conflicts, chemical weapons are far less likely to be used in terrorist attacks than in large-scale military operations. Chemical weapons are not easy to use. They are difficult and awkward to store, transport, and handle; their use requires detailed and expensive planning and lead times; once they are released, their effects are difficult to predict and control; and one's own troops require specialized equipment and extensive training to operate in a chemical environment.

Paul J. Springer

See also

Al Qaeda; Biological Weapons and Warfare; DESERT STORM, Operation; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, Army; Terrorism; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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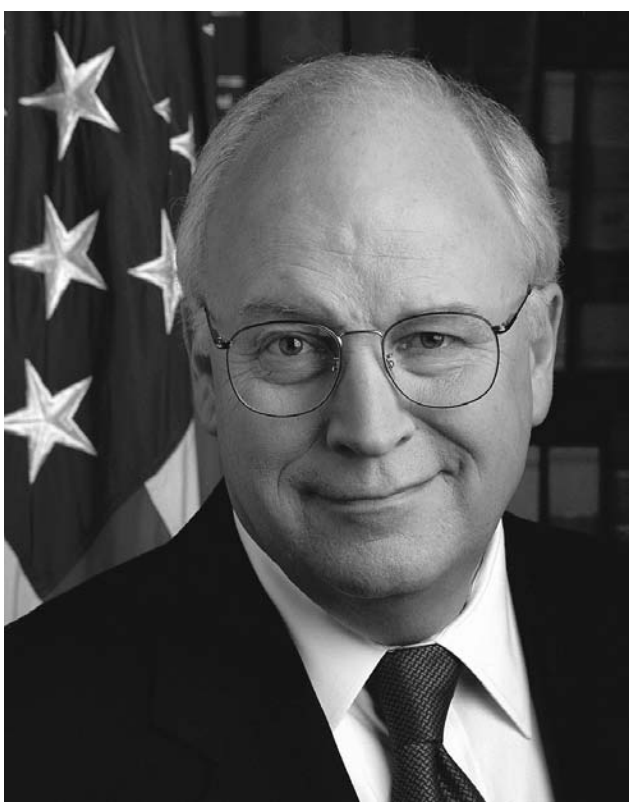
Cheney, Richard Bruce

Birth Date: January 30, 1941

Politician, businessman, secretary of defense (1989–1993), and vice president (2001–2009). Richard Bruce "Dick" Cheney was born on January 30, 1941, in Lincoln, Nebraska. He grew up in Casper, Wyoming, and was educated at the University of Wyoming, earning a BA in 1965 and an MA in political science in 1966. He completed advanced graduate study there and was a PhD candidate in 1968.

Cheney acquired his first governmental position in 1969 when he became the special assistant to the director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. He served as a White House staff assistant in 1970 and 1971 and as assistant director of the Cost of Living Council from 1971 to 1973. He briefly worked in the private sector as the vice president of an investment advisory firm. In 1974,



Republican Richard Cheney served as secretary of defense during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. A highly controversial yet powerful vice president of the United States during 2001–2009, he was a prime mover behind the decision to invade Iraq in 2003. (White House)

he returned to government service as President Gerald R. Ford's deputy assistant. In 1975, Ford appointed Cheney as White House chief of staff.

In 1978, Cheney was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, serving six terms. He was elected House minority whip in December 1988. Cheney was known for his conservative votes: he opposed gun control, environmental laws, and funding for Head Start.

Cheney became secretary of defense on March 21, 1989, in the George H. W. Bush administration. In this position, Cheney significantly reduced U.S. military budgets and canceled several major weapons programs. In addition, in the wake of the Cold War he was deeply involved in the politically volatile task of reducing the size of the American military force throughout the world. Cheney also recommended closing or reducing in size many U.S. military installations, despite intense criticism from elected officials whose districts would be adversely impacted by the closures.

As secretary of defense, Cheney also provided strong leadership in several international military engagements, including the December 1989 Panama invasion and the humanitarian mission to Somalia in early 1992. It was Cheney who secured the appointment of General Colin Powell as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1989.

Cheney's most difficult military challenge came during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. He secured Saudi permission to begin a military buildup there that would include a United Nations (UN) international coalition of troops. The buildup proceeded in the autumn of 1990 as Operation DESERT SHIELD. When economic sanctions and other measures failed to remove the Iraqis from Kuwait, the Persian Gulf War commenced with Operation DESERT STORM on January 16, 1991. A five-week air offensive was followed by the movement of ground forces into Kuwait and Iraq on February 24, 1991. Within four days, the UN coalition had liberated Kuwait. Cheney continued as secretary of defense until January 20, 1993, when Democrat Bill Clinton took office.

Upon leaving the Pentagon, Cheney joined the American Enterprise Institute as a senior fellow. He also became president and chief executive officer of the Halliburton Company in October 1995 and chairman of its board in February 2000.

Only months later, Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush chose Cheney as his vice presidential running mate. After a hard-fought campaign, the Bush-Cheney ticket won the White House in December 2000, although only after a court fight and having lost the popular vote.

Arguably one of the more powerful vice presidents in U.S. history, Cheney endured much criticism for his hawkish views (he is believed to have strongly promoted the 2003 Iraq War) and his connections to the oil industry (Halliburton won several contracts for work in postwar Iraq). He also raised eyebrows by refusing to make public the records of the national energy task force he established to form the administration's energy initiatives.

Many people who knew Cheney personally have asserted that he became a changed man after the September 11 terrorist attacks. He became, they say, far more secretive, more hawkish than ever before, and, some say, even paranoid, seeing terrorists everywhere. As one of the principal promoters of the U.S. invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), which began in March 2003, Cheney was well-placed to receive the burden of criticism when the war began to go badly in 2004. As the subsequent Iraqi insurgency increased in size, scope, and violence, Cheney's popularity plummeted. Following the 2006 mid-term elections, which caused the Republicans to lose control of Congress principally because of the war in Iraq, Cheney took a far lower profile. When his fellow neoconservative Donald Rumsfeld, the secretary of defense, resigned in the election's aftermath, Cheney was increasingly perceived as a liability to the Bush White House, which was under intense pressure to change course in Iraq or quit it altogether.

Cheney did not help his approval ratings when he accidentally shot a friend during a hunting trip in February 2006 and the information was slow to be released. Even more damaging to Cheney was the indictment and conviction of his chief of staff, I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby, for his involvement in the Valerie Plame-Joseph Wilson-CIA leak case. Some alleged that it was Cheney who first leaked the classified information to Libby and perhaps others, who in turn leaked it to the press. Cheney continued to keep a remarkably low profile. Beginning in 2007, a small group of Democrats in the House attempted to introduce impeachment proceedings against Cheney, but such efforts did not make it out of committee.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Bush, George Walker; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Libby, I. Lewis; Neoconservatism; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; September 11 Attacks; Wilson, Joseph Carter, IV; Wilson, Valerie Plame

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Cherrie, Stanley

Birth Date: May 11, 1942

U.S. Army officer who played a major role in the planning and execution of Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. Born on May 11, 1942, in the Bronx, New York City, Stanley Cherrie later moved with his family to Mauricetown, New Jersey. He was commissioned a second lieutenant of armor upon graduation from Rutgers University in 1964.

After completing officer basic and airborne school, Cherrie was assigned to Fort Lewis, Washington. From there he attended

rotary wing flight school, graduating in December 1966. In May 1967, after having formed the unit at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, he accompanied the 191st Assault Helicopter Company to Vietnam where he flew Bell UH-1C Huey gunships. In 1968, he returned to the United States and attended the Armor Officer Advanced Course at Fort Knox, Kentucky. In February 1971, Cherrie returned to Vietnam for his second combat tour. He served with H Troop, 17th Cavalry, 23rd Infantry Division in Chu Lai. In October of that year, he was seriously wounded when he stepped on a land mine; he lost his left leg below the knee and sustained other life-threatening injuries.

Following a lengthy period of rehabilitation, Cherrie successfully petitioned the army to remain on active duty in October 1972. He then served in successive assignments at Fort Benning, Georgia, and as a recruiter in New Orleans. He attended the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, after which he was assigned to the U.S. Retraining Brigade at Fort Riley, Kansas. In 1979, he was selected to attend the British Army Staff College in Camberley in England. Upon completion of that course, he was reassigned to the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment in West Germany where he served as regimental executive officer and commanded the 3rd Squadron. Cherrie attended the U.S. Army War College in 1984–1985 and was subsequently assigned as Academic Division Chief in the Center for Army Tactics, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.

In 1986, Cherrie, having been promoted to colonel, became the chief of staff of the 1st Armored Division, in Ansbach, West Germany. He then commanded the 3rd Brigade of the 2nd Armored Division (Forward) at Garlstedt.

After successful brigade command, Cherrie was assigned as the G3 Operations Officer for VII Corps in Stuttgart, West Germany, in June 1990. When Iraq invaded and occupied Kuwait in August 1990, President George H. W. Bush deployed U.S. forces to Saudi Arabia and directed that preparations be made for the ouster of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. As part of this deployment, Colonel Cherrie planned and oversaw the movement of VII Corps and its subordinate elements from Germany to Saudi Arabia. The corps consisted of 1st Armored Division, 3rd Armored Division, 1st Infantry Division, 1st Cavalry Division, British 1st Armoured Division, 11th Aviation Group, and 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment. The corps formed part of the 34-nation coalition to prevent Iraq from invading Saudi Arabia: Operation DESERT SHIELD.

When Iraq failed to respond to United Nations (UN) Resolution 678, which gave the Iraqis a deadline of January 15, 1991, to withdraw from Kuwait, coalition forces launched the invasion of Kuwait code-named Operation DESERT STORM. Following the intensive air campaign that began on January 17, U.S. and coalition forces began the liberation of Kuwait on February 24.

VII Corps, commanded by Lieutenant General Frederick M. Franks Jr., having assembled its forces and occupied attack positions in the Saudi Arabian desert, launched a massive armored attack. Simultaneously, the U.S. XVIII Airborne Corps executed a sweeping "left-hook" attack across the largely undefended desert of southern Iraq. For the next five days, Lieutenant General Franks and Colonel Cherrie directed the corps attack against the Iraqi forces. The coalition ground forces quickly overwhelmed the Iraqi forces, and 100 hours after the ground campaign started, President Bush declared a cease-fire.

Upon return to the United States in late 1991, Colonel Cherrie was assigned as the director, Center for Army Tactics at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Cherrie was promoted to brigadier general in March 1993 and was reassigned as the deputy chief of staff G2/G3 of the Allied Command Europe Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC) in Rheindahlen, Germany. In October 1994, Cherrie was reassigned to Baumholder, Germany, where he became the assistant division commander for maneuver of the 1st Armored Division. In December 1995, Cherrie and the division deployed to Bosnia as Task Force Eagle to conduct Operation JOINT ENDEAVOR, implementing the Dayton Peace Accords and enforcing the UN-mandated cease-fire. In June 1996, Cherrie returned to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where he assumed the duties as assistant deputy chief of staff for Training, U.S. Training and Doctrine Command, a billet he held until he retired from the army in February 1998. Upon retirement, he took a position as a defense contractor. He currently lives in Leavenworth, Kansas.

JAMES H. WILLBANKS

See also

Armored Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Planning for; Franks, Frederick Melvin, Jr.

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Chertoff, Michael

Birth Date: November 28, 1953

Lawyer, judge, and secretary of Homeland Security from 2005 to 2009. Michael Chertoff was born on November 28, 1953, in Elizabeth, New Jersey. The son of a rabbi, he entered Harvard University in 1971 and graduated magna cum laude in 1975. He earned his law degree from Harvard in 1978. He then served as a clerk for appellate judge Murray Gurfein and then for U.S. Supreme Court justice William Brennan. He was admitted to the bar in the District of Columbia in 1980 and joined the law firm of Latham & Watkins.

In 1983, Chertoff began working in the U.S. attorney's office in New York City, and was soon working on an organized-crime investigation with then-U.S. attorney and future New York mayor

Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff, right, with Chief David Aguilar, left, of the Border Patrol, during a press conference to discuss the Secure Border Initiative, February 9, 2006. (U.S. Department of Homeland Security/James Tourtellotte)

Rudolph Giuliani. When Giuliani left that investigation to prosecute a case involving corruption in city government, Chertoff became lead prosecutor in the trials of several organized-crime bosses. With successful convictions of the leaders of the Genovese, Colombo, and Lucchese crime families, Chertoff earned his bona fides as a talented trial lawyer.

Chertoff next became an assistant prosecutor for the state of New Jersey in 1987 and, after serving as interim U.S. attorney for the state, was named by President George H. W. Bush to the position permanently in 1990. He stayed at the post until 1994, when he returned to the firm of Latham & Watkins as a partner.

Beginning in 1994, Chertoff was special counsel to the committee investigating President Bill Clinton and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in what became known as Whitewater. In 2000, Chertoff investigated racial profiling as special counsel to New Jersey's state Senate Judiciary Committee. During the presidential campaign that year, he advised candidate George W. Bush on criminal justice issues. Beginning in 2001, Chertoff served in the new Bush administration as assistant attorney general in the criminal division of the Justice Department. During his tenure, he led prosecutions against suspected terrorist Zacarias Moussaoui, the "American Taliban" John Walker Lindh, and the accounting firm of Arthur Andersen, which was convicted of destroying documents related to the collapse of the Enron Corporation.

While Chertoff was with the Justice Department, the United States was attacked by terrorists on September 11, 2001. He was one of the first law officials to advocate treating terrorist suspects as "material witnesses" and detaining them without charging them with a crime, a stance he justified by claiming that because the nation was at war, it had a right and obligation to do whatever was necessary to keep the United States secure.

In 2003, President Bush nominated Chertoff to the post of judge for the Third Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals. Chertoff served as an appellate judge until his confirmation as secretary of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) on February 15, 2005.

Chertoff was often criticized for some of his hard-line positions. He was opposed to allowing judges discretion in the imposition of sentences, and argued that there is no constitutional right for a defendant to be free of coercive questioning by police. His supporters, however, believed that he was well suited to serve in protecting the nation's homeland security. Indeed, they pointed out that he had been concerned with the threat of terrorism long before September 11, 2001. In 1996, he argued in "Tools Against Terrorism," an article in the *New Jersey Law Journal,* that officials must have leeway in the prosecution of suspected terrorists, even if it means restricting some civil liberties.

In assuming leadership of the DHS, Chertoff gave up a lifetime appointment as appellate judge on the Third Circuit. He faced

the daunting task of overseeing some 22 separate agencies and over 170,000 employees. Chertoff's tenure became highly controversial after the government's bungled reaction to Hurricane Katrina, which struck the Gulf Coast—including New Orleans—in September 2005. Although the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) took the brunt of the criticism, Chertoff's sprawling agency included FEMA, and so blame was placed on his shoulders as well. Later, President Bush tasked Chertoff with helping usher comprehensive immigration reform through Congress, but when that failed in the summer of 2007, Chertoff's image was further tarnished. DHS includes the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). In 2008, Chertoff was criticized for having bypassed environmental protection laws during the hasty construction of a border fence between the United States and Mexico in the American Southwest. Those who believed that the Bush administration had not gone far enough to curb illegal immigration also cited Chertoff's weak and vacillating policies as part of the problem. After leaving office in January 2009, Chertoff planned to write and speak about his lengthy government experience.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Patriot Act; Terrorism; United States Department of Homeland Security

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Portrait of Jacques Chirac, president of France during 1995–2007. In foreign affairs, Chirac sought to restrain American hegemony and maintain French autonomy; he also promoted greater European integration. (Courtesy: Embassy of France; photo by Bettina Rheims)

Chirac, Jacques René

Birth Date: November 29, 1932

French politician who served as mayor of Paris (1977–1995), premier (1974–1976, 1986–1988), and president (1995–2007). Jacques René Chirac was born on November 29, 1932, in Paris to a middle-class Roman Catholic family. He attended the Lycées Carnot and Louis le Grand and both the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris and the École Nationale d'Administration. Upon graduation from the latter in 1959, Chirac embarked on a civil service career. In 1962 he became Premier Georges Pompidou's chief of staff. In 1967 Chirac was elected to the French National Assembly as a center-right Gaullist. He then held a series of important governmental posts, including state secretary of the economy (1968–1971), minister of agriculture and rural development (1972–1974), and minister of the interior in 1974.

Throughout this period, Chirac was more aligned with Pompidou than with the Gaullists but nevertheless was among the inner sanctum of Gaullist political circles. When Valéry Giscard d'Estaing was elected president in 1974, Chirac became premier, helping reconcile the Gaullist leadership to more social spending. In 1974–1975 Premier Chirac met with Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein to promote the interests of French businesses and oil companies in Iraq. Given the ties between the two nations, which were further advanced by Chirac, French companies sold the components necessary for the Iraqi nuclear reactor at Osiraq that was destroyed in an Israeli air strike in 1981. In the aftermath of the 1991 Persian Gulf War, documents seized suggested that the Iraqis had intended to use the facility as a means of constructing nuclear weapons.

Chirac resigned as premier in 1976, no longer able to bridge the gap between Giscard's policies and the more conservative Gaullists. In 1977 Chirac was elected mayor of Paris, a position he held until 1995 concurrently with the premiership. In 1981 he challenged d'Estaing for the conservative leadership, which may have contributed to socialist leader François Mitterrand's victory in the 1981 presidential election. As French patience with socialist economic prescriptions wore thin in 1986, the Right took control of the National Assembly, and Chirac again became premier.

In 1988 Chirac lost the presidential election to Mitterrand. This prompted Chirac to resign his post as premier, and some people began to write his political epitaph. Chirac was undeterred, however, and continued to set his sights on the presidency,

announcing in 1993 that he had no desire to become premier in another government. He finally achieved the presidency in 1995, leading a center-right coalition that promised tax cuts and continued social spending. Chirac proved to be relatively popular, and he won reelection in 2002.

Domestically, Chirac's policies centered on job creation, tax cuts, and trimming government spending, certainly the hallmarks of modern conservative thinking. However, government-mandated austerity programs and the trimming of the very generous French welfare state created considerable friction with the Left and centrist parties and precipitated a series of major labor strikes. The Chirac government also endured its share of scandals, and in the president's second term challenges from the Far Right (such as Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front party) and immigration issues that touched off nationwide rioting took up much of his administration's attention.

In foreign affairs, Chirac pursued a traditional Gaullist course by attempting to create a multipolar world capable of restraining American hegemony and maintaining French autonomy. However, he has differed from Gaullist foreign policy in his pursuit of greater European integration, generally along a French-German axis. In 1995 he created a national and international stir when he went forward with a nuclear test in French Polynesia, only to vow the next year that France would never again test a nuclear device. Chirac was a staunch proponent of the Constitution of the European Union (EU), and many viewed its defeat by referendum in France in 2005 as a personal failure for him.

Chirac was one of the first foreign leaders to condemn the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States and offer French support. He also advocated invoking the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) charter, which stipulates that an attack on one signatory is an attack on them all. Chirac supported the U.S.-led effort to topple the Taliban regime in Afghanistan in 2001 and 2002, and France provided a small troop contingent as part of the NATO effort there. In January 2006 Chirac publicly warned would-be terrorists that France was able and willing to retaliate with tactical nuclear weapons for any large-scale terrorist attack on his country.

Yet for all his antiterrorist rhetoric and his early support of the George W. Bush administration, Chirac refused to support the preemptory attack on Iraq that began in March 2003. In this stance he was joined by the leaders of Germany, now France's closest ally. France, which had long maintained commercial ties to Iraq, along with many other nations opposed the U.S. proposals to invade Iraq in 2003. Within the United Nations (UN), France favored a two-step process. One resolution would have required further inspections of Iraq's weapons program, while the second resolution would have been required to authorize the use of force in the case of a breach of trust. The Americans, meanwhile, worded the first resolution such that war would be a necessary means of restoring stability.

Chirac adamantly opposed the Iraqi invasion, believing that there was not yet adequate justification to go to war. He was, however, supportive of reconstruction efforts in Iraq. Chirac was also supportive of Saudi proposals to forestall the war by allowing Saddam Hussein to be exiled. Thus, Russia, the People's Republic of China (PRC), Germany, and France all issued statements calling for further inspections rather than war. Chirac also attempted to extend the weapons inspections for another 30 days, but the Americans chose to proceed.

Differences within Europe on Iraq disrupted one of the main pillars of the EU: a common foreign and security policy. This saw France and Germany heading a Europeanist bloc that acted with Russia and China on the UN Security Council to constrain the United States, while Great Britain, Italy, and many of the newer East European nations within the EU backed a more Atlanticist position that supported the United States in its war policy.

After deciding not to seek a third term as president, Chirac left office in May 2007. In retirement, he took up residence in a palatial apartment on the Quai Voltaire in Paris and joined the Constitutional Council of France, the nation's highest constitutional body. The council is charged with supervising national elections and referenda and upholding the statutes of the 1958 constitution.

Michael Beauchamp and Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Walker; France, Middle East Policy; Hussein, Saddam; Nuclear Weapons, Iraq's Potential for Building; September 11 Attacks, International Reactions to; United Nations; United Nations Weapons Inspectors

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Civil Reserve Air Fleet

U.S. civilian passenger and cargo aircraft that are contractually obligated by the Department of Defense to augment the U.S. military's airlift capabilities in times of war and other emergencies. The Civil Reserve Air Fleet (CRAF), formed in 1952 during the Korean War, is designed to be activated on short notice when airlift requirements exceed the military's airlift capacity. Currently, the CRAF is comprised of three components: international operations, national operations, and aeromedical evacuation operations. International operations are subdivided into long-haul and short-haul flights, while national operations are subdivided into domestic flights and Alaskan operations. Aeromedical operations may encompass both national and international flights.

Long-range international operations are made up of both civilian cargo and passenger aircraft capable of supplying transoceanic air-lift capacity. These are chiefly large wide-body commercial jets. For short-haul international or domestic operations, medium to small cargo and passenger jets are employed. The aeromedical evacuation operations are designed to employ civilian aircraft to

transport wounded individuals from specific combat theaters to regional military hospitals or military hospitals within the continental United States. These same aircraft can also be used to fly supplies and medical personnel into theater hospitals. The preferred aircraft for this purpose is the Boeing 767, for which the military has special kits that can quickly convert the plane's interior into a flying ambulance.

The Department of Defense maintains contracts with numerous civilian airlines that participate in the CRAF, and as an incentive for taking part in the program, the government promises airlines a certain amount of peacetime airlift business. As of 2008, CRAF contracts amounted to approximately $379 million, while additional peacetime business contracts amounted to more than $2.1 billion.

To qualify as a CRAF contractor, an airline must guarantee that a minimum of 30 percent of its CRAF-eligible passenger aircraft and 15 percent of its CRAF-eligible cargo planes will be maintained in ready status at all times. Ready status means that the aircraft and its crew must be ready to fly within 24–48 hours, depending on the type of aircraft. Four complete crews for each CRAF-designated aircraft must also be maintained on standby status at all times.

Currently, 37 civilian air carriers are involved in CRAF, with more than 1,300 aircraft designated for use by the military. That number includes 1,271 designated for international operations (990 long-haul aircraft and 282 short-haul aircraft), 27 aircraft for national/domestic purposes, and 50 for medical evacuation operations. These numbers are quite fluid and often change on a month-by-month basis. CRAF has a three-stage call-up system for eligible aircraft: Stage 1 is reserved for regional emergencies, Stage 2 is reserved for major conflicts overseas, and Stage 3 is reserved for full-scale national mobilization. The Air Mobility Command (AMC), supervised by the U.S. Air Force and part of the U.S. Transportation Command (TRANSCOM), regulates most of CRAF's operations and decides which stage should be implemented in the event of a conflict or emergency requiring additional airlift capabilities.

The AMC requires that all of its CRAF contractors meet Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) safety and operation guidelines and maintains its own team of airplane mechanics, engineers, and safety inspectors who conduct on-site inspections of airline equipment and facilities. Besides the aircraft themselves, AMC inspections scrutinize crew qualifications, training and instruction facilities, maintenance procedures, ground operations, and general quality-control procedures.

On August 17, 1990, the Department of Defense activated CRAF (Stage 1 and later Stage 2) for the first time in the history of the program. This was in response to the U.S. troop buildup in the Persian Gulf (Operation DESERT SHIELD), which began shortly after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990. Despite a few wrinkles early on, CRAF performed admirably well, helping to put in place more than 500,000 troops and many tons of supplies and military hardware. Between August 1990 and March 1991, CRAF aircraft flew two-thirds of all military personnel and one-quarter of all cargo to the Persian Gulf.

On February 8, 2003, in anticipation of the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq, CRAF was activated for the second time in its history, a Stage 1 mobilization. Stage 2 was implemented soon thereafter to augment the military's airlift capabilities. Once more, CRAF responded ably to the activation, using 51 commercial aircraft from 11 civilian airlines. CRAF flew some 1,625 missions during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, transporting 254,143 troops to the front. Sixteen commercial air carriers also transported 11,050 short tons of cargo during the same time period. CRAF was deactivated on June 18, 2003.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Aircraft, Transport; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; United States Transportation Command

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Clark, William Ramsey

Birth Date: December 18, 1927

Lawyer, U.S. attorney general of the United States under President Lyndon B. Johnson (1967–1969), and outspoken critic of U.S. wars in the Middle East since 1991. Born in Dallas, Texas, on December 18, 1927, William Ramsey Clark served in the U.S. Marine Corps from 1945 to 1946. He received his undergraduate degree from the University of Texas in 1949 and his MA (history) and JD degrees from the University of Chicago in 1950. Clark then joined the Dallas law firm of Clark, Coon, Holt & Fisher, a firm founded by his grandfather, and worked there for 10 years, losing only one jury trial. Because his father Tom had become an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1949, Ramsey avoided high court legislation except for one case in which his father recused himself.

Clark worked actively in Democratic Party politics, and in 1960 he campaigned for John F. Kennedy. In 1961 Kennedy appointed Clark assistant attorney general in charge of the Lands Division of the Justice Department (1961–1965). During his tenure, Clark instituted cost-cutting measures and reduced the backlog of cases. He also supervised other projects, mainly in the civil rights area. Clark headed federal civilian forces at the University of Mississippi after the 1962 riots there and served in Birmingham in 1963. He visited school officials throughout the South in 1963 to help them coordinate and implement desegregation plans. He also helped formulate the landmark 1964 Civil Rights Act.

As a consequence of his diligent work, Clark was appointed deputy attorney general in 1965. In this post he helped to draft

the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and after the riots in the Watts section of Los Angeles in 1965 he headed federal forces sent to find solutions to the problems that led to the violence. When Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach became undersecretary of state in 1966, President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed Clark acting attorney general. Five months later Johnson made the promotion permanent. Two hours after the official appointment, Justice Tom Clark announced his retirement from the Supreme Court to avoid any potential conflict of interest. On March 10, 1967, Ramsey Clark was sworn in as attorney general; his father administered the oath of office.

As attorney general from 1967 to 1969, Clark strongly supported civil rights for all Americans. He also opposed the death penalty, criticized police violence toward citizens and antiwar protesters, and steadfastly refused to use wiretaps except in cases of national security. These positions, in addition to his lenient stance on antiwar activities, attracted criticism from within the Johnson administration and from conservatives, who labeled Clark as soft on crime.

After leaving office in 1969, Clark actively opposed the Vietnam War, and in 1972 he visited North Vietnam to investigate American bombing of civilian targets. He also taught, first at Howard University (1969–1972) and then at Brooklyn Law School (1973–1981). Clark continued to practice law in New York City, and in 1974 he ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate. In 1980 he led a group of private citizens to Teheran, Iran, during the hostage crisis there, and in 1982 he made a private fact-finding tour of Nicaragua. Clark also found time to write a book, *Crime in America* (1970), that examines the social and economic causes and potential solutions to crime.

In more recent years Clark has proven even more controversial, as he vigorously and publicly opposed the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the Global War on Terror, the Afghanistan War, and the Iraq War. In 1991 Clark accused the George H. W. Bush administration of crimes against humanity committed during the Persian Gulf War. Clark views the Global War on Terror as a war against Islam and believes that the conflict is eroding American's civil liberties. He has even gone so far as to propose that Al Qaeda was not behind the September 11, 2001, attacks; instead he blames the U.S. government, which he believed planned and staged the event in order to wage war against the Taliban and Iraq. From 2003 to 2009, Clark was active in the drive to bring impeachment proceedings against President George W. Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney. After the 1999 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) bombing campaign of Yugoslavia, Clark charged the organization with 19 counts of genocide.

Equally controversial have been the clients he has chosen to defend. They include Radovan Karadzic, Slobodan Milosevic, former Liberian strongman Charles Taylor, and former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. Clark insisted that Hussein would be unable to receive a fair trial if it was held in Iraq.

Laura Matysek Wood

See also

Antiwar Movements, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Hussein, Saddam; September 11 Attacks

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Clarke, Richard Alan

Birth Date: October 1951

Longtime U.S. government employee, intelligence expert, and chief counterterrorism adviser on the U.S. National Security Council at the time of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks. Richard Alan Clarke was born in October 1951 in Boston, Massachusetts, to a working-class family. He earned an undergraduate degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1972 and then attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), where he earned a degree in management. His first job, beginning in 1973, was with the U.S. Department of Defense as a defense analyst keeping tabs on the number of Soviet nuclear warheads. After a series of appointments, Clarke was promoted in 1985 to the post of assistant secretary of state for intelligence in the Ronald Reagan administration. By this time Clarke had earned a reputation as being blunt and on occasion abusive.

Clarke continued to work with the George H. W. Bush administration as an assistant secretary of state for politico-military affairs during 1989–1992, helping on security affairs during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. In 1992 Secretary of State James Baker fired Clarke for his apparent defense of Israel's transfer of U.S. technology to the People's Republic of China (PRC). Clarke then moved to the National Security Council, where he began to specialize in counterterrorism. Clarke was a holdover in the William J. Clinton and George W. Bush administrations, continuing as a member of the National Security Council from 1992 to 2003.

Clarke's preoccupation was with counterintelligence. Among his contentions was that Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda terrorist organization was a growing threat to the United States. President Clinton agreed with this assessment, but he was not, after all, able to deal effectively with this threat. Clarke lobbied for a Counterterrorism Security Group to be chaired by a new national security official, the national coordinator for infrastructure protection and counterterrorism. Clinton approved this office by signing Presidential Decision Directive 62 on May 22, 1998.

Clarke then presided over a working group that included the counterterrorism heads of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA),

Former White House counterterrorism adviser Richard Clarke testifies before the 9/11 Commission in Washington on March 24, 2004. Clarke's memoir *Against All Enemies* is highly critical of the George W. Bush administration for failing to recognize the dangers posed by Al Qaeda. (AP/Wide World Photos)

the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Department of Defense, the Department of Justice, and the Department of State. But the national coordinator for infrastructure protection and counterterrorism had a limited staff of 12 and no budget; moreover, operational decision making could come only from the departments and agencies of the intelligence community. As Clarke has pointed out, he had the "appearance of responsibility for counterterrorism, but none of the tools or authority to get the job done."

Nevertheless, Clarke was in the middle of several counterterrorism operations. He was involved in decision making about the CIA's operation to apprehend Osama bin Laden in 1998. An Afghan team was to capture bin Laden at his residence at Tarnak Farms near Kandahar. This raid was called off because of a lack of confidence among CIA leadership, the White House, and Clarke that it would succeed.

Clarke continued his position on the National Security Council during the early years of the second Bush administration. Indeed, Clarke proposed a plan to combat Al Qaeda that included covert aid to the Afghan leader of the Northern Alliance, reconnaissance flights by the new unmanned aerial vehicle Predator, and ways to eliminate bin Laden as a threat to the United States, but there was little enthusiasm for this report by the Bush administration. In the meantime, the events of September 11, 2001, transpired, changing the American political landscape dramatically.

On September 12, President Bush instructed Clarke to try to find evidence that Iraqi president Saddam Hussein was connected to September 11. Clarke sent a report to the White House stating categorically that Hussein had nothing to do with the terrorist attacks, but there is no evidence indicating that Bush read the report. It was sent back to be updated and resubmitted, but nothing came of it.

Clarke left government service in January 2003 and became an outspoken critic of the Bush administration and its policies prior to September 11. This led the White House to engage in a character assassination campaign against him. Clarke testified for 20 hours during the September 11 Commission hearings and made national headlines for his apology that the government had failed to prevent the September 11 attacks. In the middle of the commission hearings, Clarke published his book *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror,* which gives his side of the controversy.

In his book, Clarke was especially critical of the Bush administration's 2003 invasion of Iraq. Most of Clarke's criticism stems from his belief that by redirecting attention away from bin Laden and Al Qaeda, the Bush administration allowed Al Qaeda to reconstitute itself into an ongoing threat to the United States. In Clarke's view, the invasion of Afghanistan was so halfhearted in its commitment of low numbers of American troops that bin Laden and nearly all of the Al Qaeda and Taliban leaders easily escaped. By not committing the necessary resources to rebuild Afghanistan, Clarke wrote, the Bush administration had allowed both Al Qaeda and the Taliban to threaten the pro-American Afghanistan state, all to depose Saddam Hussein. Clarke now does consulting work, teaches, and has authored two works of fiction since 2005.

Stephen E. Atkins

See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Bush, George Walker; Clinton, William Jefferson; Hussein, Saddam; September 11 Commission and Report; Taliban

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Cleland, Joseph Maxwell

Birth Date: August 24, 1942

U.S. Army officer, head of the Veterans Administration (1977–1981), Democratic Party politician, and U.S. senator (1997–2003). Born in Atlanta, Georgia, on August 24, 1942, Joseph Maxwell (Max) Cleland received a BA from Stetson University in Florida in 1964 and earned an MA in American history from Emory University the following year. Shortly thereafter he entered the U.S. Army, initially serving in the Signal Corps. After successfully completing Airborne School, in 1967 he volunteered for duty in Vietnam with the 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile). The next year, near Khe Sanh, Captain Cleland lost both legs and his right arm as a result of a grenade blast. He received numerous citations, including the Bronze Star Medal and the Silver Star.

Not released from the hospital until 1970, Cleland wasted little time in resuming a productive life. In 1971 he won a seat in the Georgia Senate and used his position to promote issues related to veterans and the handicapped. From 1975 to 1977 he served on the professional staff of the U.S. Senate Veterans Affairs Committee.

In February 1977 President Jimmy Carter nominated his fellow Georgian to head the Veterans Administration (VA). Speedy Senate confirmation followed, and Cleland became at age 34 the youngest person to ever head the VA and the first Vietnam veteran to hold the position. He launched a vigorous expansion of VA programs, including drug and alcohol treatment and counseling services. He also worked to improve the public image of the VA and Vietnam veterans. His tenure at the VA ended in 1981 with the election of President Ronald Reagan. Returning to Georgia, Cleland became secretary of state, holding that position from 1982 to 1996. In 1996 he received the Democratic nomination to fill the Senate seat vacated by Democrat Sam Nunn and won the election that November, joining such prominent Vietnam veterans as John Kerry (D-Mass.), Robert Kerrey (D-Neb.), and John McCain (R-Ariz.). In 2003 Cleland was among 29 Senate Democrats to vote for the authorization for war with Iraq. Later, he announced that he deeply regretted his decision and admitted that his vote was in part influenced by his upcoming reelection bid.

In 2002 Cleland experienced a bruising reelection campaign, running against Republican Saxby Chambliss. The election made national news after the Chambliss campaign ran incendiary television commercials implicitly questioning Cleland's patriotism because he had failed to support some of the George W. Bush administration's homeland security decisions. The ads featured likenesses of Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden. The ads were pulled amid much uproar, and Republican senators John McCain and Chuck Hagel chastised Chambliss for his tactless and mean-spirited campaign. Nevertheless, Cleland lost the election to Chambliss, who had no military experience at all.

The smear campaign against Cleland has been seen by some as a precursor of the later campaign that raised troubling questions about the Vietnam service of Senator John Kerry, who ran for president on the Democratic ticket in 2004. Cleland campaigned vigorously for Kerry, and when the anti-Kerry Swift Boat Veterans for Truth organization ran ads questioning Kerry's patriotism, war record, and troubling details regarding his award of the Silver Star and Purple Heart medals, Cleland paid a personal visit to President George W. Bush's Texas ranch to protest the ads. Cleland's appeal had little effect, however. Kerry lost the election to the incumbent Bush.

Cleland has written extensively on veterans' issues and the plight of Vietnam veterans.

David Coffey

See also

Bush, George Walker; Kerry, John Forbes; McCain, John Sidney, III; Swift Boat Veterans for Truth; United States, National Elections of 2004

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Cleveland, Charles T.
Birth Date: ca. 1956

U.S. Army general and longtime special operations officer with extensive experience in operations in Panama, El Salvador, and Bolivia in the decades before the 2003 Iraq War. Charles T. Cleveland was born around 1956 and is the son of a U.S. Army career enlisted man. Cleveland graduated from the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, in 1978. He had attended secondary school in Panama and had a good understanding of Latin American culture. By 1989, he was a captain and company commander in the 3rd Battalion, 7th Special Forces Group, in Panama. He was also the battalion operations officer. Besides sending teams into El Salvador to help the government there with an ongoing guerrilla war, Cleveland developed plans to train an antidrug police force in Bolivia. While inspecting a police camp in the drug-growing region of that nation, Cleveland helped defend it against an attack by guerrillas.

As relations between Panamanian president Manual Noriega and the U.S. government worsened during 1989, Cleveland developed plans and lists of targets for his unit in the event of a U.S. military intervention. When the U.S. invasion (Operation JUST CAUSE) was launched on December 19, 1989, Cleveland's plans were the basis for Special Forces operations in the country. The operations were successful, and Noriega was taken into custody in January 1991 to stand trial for drug trafficking in the United States. Cleveland displayed a keen ability to improvise and work with local populations to carry out operations and achieve results. During the 1990s, he continued to showcase his abilities during peacekeeping operations in the Balkans.

By early 2003, Cleveland was commanding the 10th Special Forces Group. When planning got under way for Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, Cleveland's group was assigned to northern Iraq. They were expected to help the 4th Infantry Division drive from Turkey to capture the major cities of Mosul and Kirkuk as well as the northern oil fields. When the government of Turkey refused to allow American forces across its territory, Cleveland's men were ordered to carry on. Subsequently, on the night of March 24 the entire 173rd Airborne Brigade, staging out of Italy, dropped into northern Iraq. Meanwhile, the Special Forces teams were to cooperate with local Kurdish forces to keep regular army and Republican Guard units in the area from reinforcing Baghdad. They also worked to destroy terrorist camps in the region.

Colonel Cleveland's command was code-named Task Force Viking and consisted of his 2nd and 3rd Battalions of the 10th Special Forces Group, supplemented by the 3rd Battalion of the 3rd Special Forces Group. Cleveland's men worked with 65,000 lightly armed Kurdish militiamen from different groups. While Cleveland was to use the Kurds to help defeat Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's supporters in northern Iraq, he was not to allow the Kurds to become so strong or independent that the Turks would fear an independent Kurdistan movement.

Cleveland's first objective when war broke out was to eliminate the Ansar al-Islam terrorist training camps in northeastern Iraq. Aided by Kurdish militiamen, the 3rd Battalion attacked on March 27. Ansar al-Islam positions were taken out by laser-guided bombs dropped by navy fighters, with direction from the Special Forces. Lockheed AC-130 Spectre gunships blasted those who tried to run. The camps were completely eliminated, although a number of fighters managed to flee.

Cleveland then concentrated his efforts on the four Iraqi corps defending the Green Line that separated the Kurdish territory from the remainder of Iraq. Again, the Special Forces teams employed airpower and advanced antiarmor missiles to weaken the Iraqi defenders. They punched holes through the Iraqi defenses, forcing the defenders to withdraw. On April 11, Cleveland, a few Special Forces troops, and about 100 Kurdish militiamen drove into Mosul, virtually ending the campaign in northern Iraq in complete victory.

Cleveland's accomplishment was recognized in his appointment as chief of staff of the Army Special Forces Command. He was also promoted to brigadier general and became commander of Special Operations Command South. In April 2008 Cleveland was appointed commander of Special Operations Command Central in the U.S. Central Command; he was promoted to major general in September 2008.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; JUST CAUSE, Operation; United States Special Operations Command

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Climate

See Afghanistan, Climate of; Middle East, Climate of

Clinton, Hillary Rodham
Birth Date: October 26, 1947

Attorney, former first lady (1993–2001), U.S. senator (2001–2009), presidential candidate in 2008, and secretary of state (2009–present). Hillary Diane Rodham was born on October 26, 1947, in Chicago and was raised in Park Ridge, a prosperous Chicago suburb. Her family was staunchly Republican, and during the 1964 presidential campaign, while still a high school student, she actively campaigned for Republican nominee Barry Goldwater. She entered Wellesley College in 1965, and by 1968 she had become disenchanted with Republican politics and the Vietnam

Hillary Rodham Clinton, the wife of former president Bill Clinton, was a U.S. senator from New York during 2001–2009. In 2009, Clinton became the secretary of state in the Barack Obama administration. (U.S. Senate)

War. By 1968 she supported the Democratic antiwar presidential candidate Eugene McCarthy; the following year she graduated with a degree in political science.

Rodham enrolled at Yale Law School, where she met fellow student Bill Clinton, whom she would later marry. Graduating in 1973, she took a position with a child-advocacy group. The next year she served as a staff attorney for the House Committee on the Judiciary during the Watergate Scandal that caused President Richard Nixon to resign in 1974. In 1975, she wed Bill Clinton.

In 1976, Bill Clinton launched his political career when he was elected attorney general of Arkansas. The next year, Hillary Clinton joined the Rose Law Firm, the premier legal firm in Arkansas, where she specialized in intellectual property law and continued pro-bono child advocacy legal work. Bill Clinton became governor of Arkansas in January 1979, the same year that Hillary Clinton became a full partner in the Rose Law Firm, the first woman to achieve such status. In 1981 Bill Clinton lost a reelection bid but was reelected in 1982; Hillary Clinton was again the first lady of Arkansas, an informal post that she would hold until her husband became president in January 1993. She continued her legal work and was active on several boards, including those of Arkansas-based Wal-Mart as well as Lafarge and TCBY.

Taking a leave of absence from the Rose Law Firm to help her husband campaign for the presidency in 1992, Clinton proved to be a formidable campaigner, repeatedly weathering allegations that her husband had engaged in extramarital affairs. After Bill Clinton upset incumbent president George H. W. Bush in the November 1992 elections, Hillary Clinton became first lady in January 1993. She was an activist first lady, certainly more so than any of her immediate predecessors. Some pundits likened her to Eleanor Roosevelt, but it quickly became clear that Clinton would be a far more influential first lady than even Roosevelt.

Hillary Clinton's role in White House policy making was derided by the right wing of the Republican Party, and even some mainstream Democrats openly questioned her central role in decision making. In 1993 her husband named her chairperson of the Task Force on National Health Care Reform, a move that in retrospect was probably not a wise idea. Many questioned Hillary Clinton's motives, and the secrecy in which she conducted much of the task force's business only added to the public's skepticism. In the end, her health care plan was deemed too bureaucratic and too burdensome for business. The plan died in the Congress and became a major campaign boon to the Republicans in the 1994 elections, which saw the Democrats lose their control of Congress. Despite the setback, Clinton actively promoted certain national legislation, including the State Children's Health Insurance Program in 1997. She traveled widely, ultimately visiting 79 nations.

Clinton was at the epicenter of the fruitless Whitewater investigation, a Republican-inspired inquiry into a decade-old land deal in which the Clintons had been involved in Arkansas. As such, she became the only first lady to be subpoenaed by a federal grand jury. Although years of probing and $50 million of taxpayers' money went into the Whitewater inquiry, neither Clinton was found to have engaged in any illegal activity. Unfortunately, however, Whitewater revealed a sexual dalliance between Bill Clinton and a White House intern, Monica Lewinsky, that mortified Hillary Clinton and led to the president's impeachment in December 1998. While Mrs. Clinton's allegation that the persecution of her and her husband was the result of a "vast right-wing conspiracy" may have been hyperbole, there can be little doubt that the Clintons were subjected to endlessly harsh scrutiny and criticism, particularly by Republicans and other detractors.

In 2000 the Clintons purchased a home in New York, and Hillary Clinton ran for the state's senatorial seat being vacated by retiring U.S. senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Clinton was at first running against popular New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani, and many believed that her chances of winning were not good. But after Giuliani dropped out of the race because of health problems, Clinton—now running against Rick Lazio, a relatively unknown congressman—was virtually assured a win. Clinton won the election by an impressive 12-point margin and took office in January 2001.

During her first term Clinton maintained a relatively low profile but garnered high marks for her intellect, excellent grasp of issues, and willingness to work in a bipartisan manner. Following the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States, Clinton strongly backed the George W. Bush administration's

response, including Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan and the 2001 Patriot Act. In October 2002 Clinton voted with the majority to grant the Bush administration authority to wage war in Iraq to enforce United Nations (UN) resolutions should diplomacy fail. She did not support an amendment that would have required another congressional resolution to invade Iraq. Meanwhile, Clinton visited both Afghanistan and Iraq to gauge the effectiveness of the U.S. war efforts there.

By 2005, already planning a run for the presidency in 2008, Clinton began to publicly criticize the Iraq war effort, noting the growing insurgency and the absence of firm plans to either extricate the United States from Iraq or quash the insurgents. She was careful to state, however, that a precipitous withdrawal was unwise if not dangerous, a position that chagrined many antiwar Democrats. Clinton did not back any of the Bush tax cuts, viewing them as economic grenades that would derail the economy, nor did she vote for Bush's two Supreme Court nominees, John Roberts and Samuel Alito.

In November 2006 Clinton, now quite popular with New York voters, won a landslide reelection. In early 2007 she began transferring leftover funds from her Senate race to her presidential campaign. On January 20, 2007, she announced her intention to form an exploratory committee for the 2008 presidential contest. That same year, she refused to support the Bush administration's troop surge in Iraq and backed unsuccessful legislation that would have forced the president to withdraw troops from Iraq based on a predetermined time line. Forced to deal with her affirmative vote for the Iraq War, Clinton now had to explain that she probably would have voted against the 2002 resolution had she been privy to accurate and reliable intelligence. Her position change left many wondering why she had taken so long to come to such a conclusion.

By the autumn of 2007, Clinton seemed the person to beat amid a large Democratic presidential field. Following a mediocre performance in a debate in October, Clinton's momentum began to slip. After placing third in the January 2008 Iowa caucus, Clinton's campaign began to slowly unravel as Senator Barack Obama made significant inroads with Democratic voters. After waging a well-run and valiant campaign, Clinton finally dropped out of the race on June 7, 2008, and endorsed Obama's candidacy. In 2009 Obama nominated Clinton as secretary of state, and she was subsequently confirmed in that position by the Senate. Since assuming the office, she has widely traveled the globe and has been particularly active in initiatives to repair U.S. relations with Western Europe and Russia that had deteriorated since the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Clinton, William Jefferson; Obama, Barack Hussein, II

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Clinton, William Jefferson

Birth Date: August 19, 1946

U.S. Democratic Party politician and president of the United States (1993–2001). William "Bill" Jefferson Clinton was born William Blythe in Hope, Arkansas, on August 19, 1946. His early life was characterized by hardships and struggles that formed his character and attitudes throughout his public life. His biological father, William Blythe III, was killed in an automobile accident prior to his son's birth, and young Blythe was raised by his mother, Virginia Kelley. His mother's marriage to Roger Clinton prompted William's adoption and the changing of his name to William Clinton just prior to starting secondary school.

Clinton was a bright and astute student who hoped to pursue a medical career until he met President John F. Kennedy on a Boys' Nation trip to Washington, D.C. This experience led Clinton to focus his future career aspirations on public service and politics. He received an academic scholarship to attend Georgetown University, where he earned a bachelor of science degree in international affairs. During his time at Georgetown, he spent a year assisting Arkansas senator J. William Fulbright. Clinton's credentials as a progressive Democrat and social liberal were further developed under the tutelage of this prominent senator. In 1968 as the United States was being transformed by social changes and wracked by protests against the Vietnam War, Clinton was selected as a Rhodes Scholar. He spent 1968 to 1970 studying at Oxford University. On his return to the United States, he enrolled in the Yale University School of Law.

While studying at Yale, Clinton met his future wife Hillary Rodham, who shared many of the liberal and progressive ideas that would become the hallmark of Clinton's political career. They were married in 1975.

Clinton's initial foray into national politics occurred shortly after receiving his law degree. In 1974 he was defeated in a congressional race for Arkansas's Third District. After a brief career as a professor at the University of Arkansas (1974–1976), he was named state attorney general and was elected governor in 1978 at age 32, the youngest governor in the nation. In 1980 he suffered a humiliating reelection defeat, caused by widespread opposition to an automobile licensing tax. Clinton's resiliency and commitment were apparent when he successfully regained the Arkansas governorship in 1982, a post he held until his election as president in 1992.

In the summer of 1992 Clinton secured the Democratic Party nomination to run against incumbent president George Herbert Walker Bush, a Republican. Clinton was bedeviled, however, by questions regarding his marital fidelity and the emerging Whitewater real estate scandal in Arkansas. In the race, he benefited from an economic downturn and businessman H. Ross Perot's Independent Party candidacy.

Clinton won the November 1992 election with a minority of the popular vote. During his first term he balanced domestic issues

William Jefferson Clinton, shown here in 2000, was president of the United States during 1993–2001. The country enjoyed prosperity during his years in office, but Clinton was unable to realize his goal of securing Middle East peace. (U.S. Department of Defense)

and foreign policy in a highly effective manner. At home, he lobbied unsuccessfully for major health care reform. Clinton was successful, however, in raising taxes and reducing expenditures to reduce—and then eliminate—the federal deficit and in pushing through major welfare reforms. In foreign affairs, he promoted free trade agreements, brokered peace efforts in the Middle East, removed U.S. military personnel from Somalia, and restored diplomatic relations with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The congressional elections of 1994, however, brought Republican majorities in both the House and Senate. The Republicans' "Contract with America," crafted chiefly by Republican congressman Newt Gingrich, called for reducing the role of government and continuing the conservative policies of Ronald Reagan and was a thorough repudiation of Clinton's presidency. A standoff between Clinton and congressional leaders led to a federal government shutdown in November and December 1995.

In the 1996 presidential campaign Clinton promised a tough approach to crime, supported welfare reform, called for reducing the federal deficit, and insisted on the need to continue affirmative action programs. Robert Dole, a respected senator and World War II veteran, was the Republican Party candidate. The booming U.S. economy and suspicions regarding the Republicans' agenda ensured a respectable Clinton victory. He was the first Democrat to secure a second presidential term since Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In 1997 Clinton submitted to Congress the first balanced budget in nearly three decades. The cooperation of congressional Republicans and major compromises by Clinton generated significant budget surpluses during the remainder of his presidency. By decade's end, the American economy was more robust than at any time since the mid-1960s, unemployment stood at a historic low, and the stock market had reached new highs.

In addition to significant domestic accomplishments, Clinton responded effectively to a series of international crises. In 1998 in response to Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's noncompliance with United Nations (UN) weapons inspections, Clinton authorized air strikes in Iraq (Operation DESERT FOX), and sanctions significantly hurt Iraq's economy yet without producing any significant change in the Iraqi dictator's behavior. In 1999 Clinton prodded a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military response to genocide conducted by Serbs against Albanians in Kosovo. He also worked mightily to secure a resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, a major Clinton administration goal.

Clinton constantly urged all sides to negotiate and come to an agreement, but his efforts were stymied by uncooperative leaders and events. The assassination of Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin in November 1995 and the terrorist attacks by Islamic groups since 1994 were accompanied by a turn to the Right in Israeli public opinion, which led to a right-wing cabinet under hard-line prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Netanyahu promised to bring peace and security but also pledged that he would not return any of the occupied territories. He delayed in carrying out troop withdrawals in accordance with the 1993 Oslo Accords, in which Israel had agreed to give up land for peace, while the Palestinian side failed to crack down on terrorism. Netanyahu also demanded that Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) move directly against the Hamas terrorist organization.

With tensions dramatically increasing, Clinton intervened directly and applied pressure on both sides. In October 1998 he succeeded in bringing together Netanyahu and Arafat at the Wye River estate in Maryland. Following days of difficult negotiations and sometimes bitter wrangling, Clinton secured agreement in what became known as the Wye River Accords. Israel agreed to withdraw from some additional 13 percent of West Bank territory, and the PNA renounced the use of terrorism and agreed both to suppress it and to eliminate the weapons that the PNA had stockpiled. The PNA also agreed to halt the most virulent anti-Israeli propaganda.

Netanyahu returned to Israel, however, to find strong opposition from within his ruling Likud coalition to the additional territorial concession. He nonetheless carried out a partial withdrawal. Meanwhile, although the PNA did crack down on militants, it failed to implement most of the provisions in the Wye River Accords, whereupon a month later Netanyahu suspended withdrawals.

Forced to call new elections, Netanyahu curried favor with the Israeli religious Right, alienating many secular Israelis. In the ensuing May 1999 elections, Netanyahu was defeated by the Labor coalition known as One Israel, headed by former Israeli Army chief of staff Ehud Barak.

Clinton reached out to Barak, whose premiership began with much promise but ended after only 17 months. Barak removed Israeli troops from southern Lebanon in May 2000, but negotiations with Arafat and the PNA ran afoul of right-wing charges that he was making too many concessions. Clinton again set up a meeting in the United States. During July 11–24, 2000, Clinton hosted a summit at the presidential retreat of Camp David, Maryland. Despite generous concessions by Barak the parties were unable to secure agreement, and a new wave of violence, the Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada, erupted. Clinton made one last try, this time at the White House during December 19–23, 2000. Both his and Barak's terms were nearing their ends. The U.S. plan, apparently endorsed by Barak, would have ceded to the Palestinians a greater percentage of the West Bank and Palestinian control of the Gaza Strip, with a land link between the two. Barak also agreed that Arab neighborhoods of East Jerusalem might become the capital of the new Palestinian state. Certain Palestinian refugees would also have the right of return to the Palestinian state and compensation from a fund raised by international donors. These concessions were anathema to the Likud Party and other Israeli rightists, but in the end, despite heavy pressure from Clinton, it was Arafat who rejected and torpedoed the agreement. Barak, who came under a storm of criticism for this process, was forced to step aside.

The Clinton White House also faced several foreign-inspired terrorist attacks on U.S. soil and on U.S. interests, the most serious of them being the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, the August 1998 truck bombing of two U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, and the bombing of USS *Cole* in Yemen in October 2000. The last two incidents were specifically linked to Al Qaeda, and the earlier attack was more than likely tied to the terrorist group. In retaliation for the 1998 embassy attacks, Clinton ordered cruise missile strikes against suspected Al Qaeda posts in Khartoum, Sudan, and in Afghanistan. The strikes were largely ineffective and engendered significant controversy in the United States and abroad. After leaving office and after the September 11, 2001, attacks by Al Qaeda, Clinton was insistent that his administration was fully aware of the danger that Al Qaeda posed to the United States but that it could not move quickly enough because neither the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) nor the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was certain beyond all doubt as to Al Qaeda's complicity in the earlier attacks. He claimed that battle plans were already in place for an invasion of Afghanistan and a massive hunt for Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, but the clock on his administration ran out before the plans could be put into motion.

Clinton's second term was also marked by personal scandal and legal problems. Kenneth Starr, the independent counsel investigating Whitewater, leveled against the president charges of sexual misconduct and lying to a federal grand jury. He did not, however, ever find evidence of wrongdoing in the Whitewater deal. In September 1998 the U.S. House of Representatives passed two articles of impeachment against the president, but in early 1999 the Senate acquitted Clinton on both counts along party lines. In order to end the Whitewater investigation, Clinton agreed to a five-year suspension of his law license and a $25,000 fine.

After leaving the presidency, Clinton assisted his wife in her successful senatorial campaign in New York and in her failed bid for the presidency in 2008, opened his own office in Harlem in New York City, and established a presidential library in Little Rock, Arkansas. He has also traveled extensively abroad and raised significant sums of money for charitable causes, including AIDS and, with former President George H. W. Bush, tsunami relief. Clinton also helped form the William J. Clinton Foundation, a global outreach enterprise that has helped millions of people around the world, and wrote his memoirs.

James F. Carroll and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Al Qaeda; Arafat, Yasser; Bin Laden, Osama; Clinton, Hillary Rodham; *Cole,* USS, Attack on; Dar es Salaam, Bombing of U.S.

Embassy; DESERT FOX, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Israel; Nairobi, Kenya, Bombing of U.S. Embassy; Netanyahu, Benjamin; Oslo Accords; Rabin, Yitzhak; Somalia, International Intervention in; Terrorism; World Trade Center Bombing

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CNN

Twenty-four-hour U.S. cable television network dedicated to presenting domestic and international news and credited with having revolutionized the coverage of live events during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. The Cable News Network (CNN) was founded in 1980, when cable television was not much beyond its infancy, by media impresario Ted Turner in Atlanta, Georgia. It was part of his Turner Broadcast System (TBS), which owned a number of stations and networks that were broadcast throughout the United States. CNN is now owned by media giant Time Warner. In 1982 Turner launched a companion network to CNN, first called CNN-2 and then renamed Headline News, that broadcasts a short 30-minute all-inclusive news show designed to give viewers a brief overview of national and international events. Unlike CNN, it cycles much of its news program several times throughout the day. CNN was the first commercially viable network in the country dedicated solely to news and news-related shows. As such, it is credited for having begun the phenomenon of 24-hour news programming.

With a current viewership exceeding 90 million U.S. households plus households reached by its Canadian counterpart, CNN is known for its in-depth news reporting, various interview-style news shows, the use of experts to add more dimension to news stories, and reporting in real time on location during breaking news events. CNN caters more to U.S. news events, and its coverage of international events is not as extensive as that of the British Broadcasting System (BBC), which is perhaps its most direct foreign competitor. CNN's international coverage has been criticized in some quarters, especially in the Middle East where detractors claim that the network reports news events with an American perspective that can sometimes compromise fairness and accuracy.

It was not until the 1991 Persian Gulf War that CNN became a household word for American television viewers. When Operation DESERT STORM began in January 1991, CNN was the only news network capable of broadcasting out of Iraq, which it did with much fanfare and excitement in the opening hours of the air campaign in Baghdad. Holed up in Baghdad's Al-Rashid Hotel, CNN correspondents John Holliman, Peter Arnett, and Bernard Shaw reported live, first from cell phones and then on camera, as U.S. bombs and rockets exploded around them. At one point, bombs fell so close to the hotel that viewers saw the reporters scrambling for cover under desks in the makeshift studio. The coverage transfixed the American public and catapulted CNN and its reporters into the limelight. CNN also managed to scoop its then-more powerful competition, namely the big three networks of ABC, CBS, and NBC. Other CNN reporters saw their stars rise during the Persian Gulf War, including Wolf Blitzer and Christiane Amanpour.

CNN's on-the-scene real-time news coverage continued, including its coverage of the infamous October 3–4, 1993, Battle of Mogadishu; the September 11, 2001, terror attacks; and, of course, coverage of Operation IRAQ FREEDOM in 2003. By the mid-1990s, Pentagon officials and other war planners had begun to refer to the "CNN Effect," which was the public's reaction to the actual unfolding of news events as they occurred in front on the camera. This, they realized, added an entirely new dimension to the management of public opinion in times of war or crisis and also forced civilian leadership to react to events in a faster and more decisive manner. Some critics of the CNN Effect point out that coverage of events in real time can give viewers a skewed perception of occurrences because they see only what is being shown on television at any given time. Other critics point out that the advent of 24-hour news networks has led to less careful news reporting in order to stay abreast of the competition and has encouraged news outlets to create news stories from information that may not, indeed, be very newsworthy.

Despite its critics, CNN has had an extraordinary impact on broadcast news reporting and the shaping of public opinion. In 1995 CNN began its online news network (CNN.com), which has further revolutionized the reporting of news events. Since then, those seeking news information do not have to be near a television set, and with the recent advent of handheld computer devices, CNN can broadcast via cell phones, Blackberries, and the like.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Media and Operation DESERT STORM; War Correspondents

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Coalition Force Land Component Command–Afghanistan

Prior to September 11, 2001, the U.S. Third Army, commanded by Lieutenant General Paul T. Mikolashek, served as the Army Component (ARCENT) for U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) and maintained a forward headquarters at Camp Doha, Kuwait. After the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center

and the Pentagon, CENTCOM—commanded by General Tommy Franks—responded to the new exigency.

Because ARCENT had already deployed to serve as the Coalition Force Land Component Command (CFLCC) for an exercise in Egypt, it did not assume control of land operations in the Afghanistan Joint Operational Area (JOA) as CFLCC-Afghanistan until November 20, 2001. Its mission as CFLCC was to direct land operations to destroy Al Qaeda and prevent the reemergence of international terrorist activities within JOA-Afghanistan and support humanitarian operations to create a peaceful and stable environment within Afghanistan. Mikolashek served as commander of CFLCC from November 20, 2001, until May 21, 2002, when command shifted to Lieutenant General Dan McNeil. At that point, CFLCC became a planning arm for the upcoming war in Iraq.

U.S. president George W. Bush ordered military action against the Taliban (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM) on October 7, 2001. CENTCOM developed two ground approaches into Afghanistan. On the northern approach, elements of the 10th Mountain Division deployed to provide security, with other army units providing logistical support, for Joint Special Operation Task Force–North. JSOTF-N, with air force and army special operations elements, established a forward operating base at Karshi-Kanabad (K2), Uzbekistan. Progress on the southern approach through two remote air bases in central Pakistan was secured initially by elements of the U.S. Marines Corps and later by elements of the 101st Air Assault Division. On November 20 the 10th Mountain Division established CFLCC-Forward headquarters at K2.

During November 25–26, 1,000 marines from the U.S. Fifth Fleet staged through Pakistan to a base near Kandahar to form the 1st Marine Expeditionary Brigade (MEB). Once it was firmly ashore, control over the 1st MEB shifted to the CFLCC. This permitted the CFLCC to expand its forces on the ground and, along with Southern Alliance and U.S. special operations units, to force the Taliban defenders of Kandahar to surrender the city on December 6.

In early December, ARCENT completed the CFLCC Operations Order for Land Operations in Afghanistan. Issued on December 11, 2001, this plan provided broad guidance for supervising the ongoing U.S. Army, Marine Corps, and Special Forces ground operations. Critical new tasks from CENTCOM, such as conduct detainee operations and sensitive site exploitation, created new unplanned requirements.

As many as 3,000 Taliban had surrendered to the Northern Alliance in November, and many had rioted as a result of their treatment. After processing, selected detainees would be held in temporary facilities constructed by the CFLCC at Kandahar and Bagram until they could be flown to the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay for further interrogation or military tribunals. ARCENT deployed military police to augment the marines and army infantry units initially pressed into performing these missions and to conduct the detainee aerial escort mission. By August 2002, ARCENT had processed more than 4,500 detainees, transferred 377 to Cuba, repatriated 129 others, and held a further 167 in Afghanistan.

As operations continued around Kandahar, an estimated 1,200 Al Qaeda along with some Taliban, including Osama bin Laden, were detected in caves and tunnels along the Pakistan border in eastern Afghanistan. The offensive against Tora Bora began on December 1, 2001, with intense air strikes supporting Afghan forces advised by the JSOTF-N. Operations continued for several days, with an estimated 200 killed. The escape of large numbers of Al Qaeda indicated the risks of relying on Afghans to achieve U.S. operational goals and prompted General Franks to employ conventional ground forces as well.

Beginning in January 2002, the CFLCC replaced the 1st MEB with Task Force (TF) Rakkasans (3rd Brigade, 101st Airborne Division) and the 3rd Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry Battalion. By the end of February, CFLCC forces had exploited 109 sensitive sites, inspected 59 suspected chemical sites, and delivered more than 1,000 tons of humanitarian assistance while also engaging numerous targets.

The CFLCC's next operation employed U.S. Army ground forces and Afghan allies against a buildup of Al Qaeda forces in the Shah-i-kot Valley. For better supervision, CFLCC-Forward, commanded by Major General Franklin L. Hagenbeck, relocated from Uzbekistan to Bagram on February 13 and became Coalition Joint Task Force (CJTF) Mountain.

Hagenbeck initiated Operation ANACONDA on March 2, 2002. Afghan forces maneuvered while two U.S. infantry battalions supported by army aviation established blocking positions on the slopes of the eastern ridge overlooking the valley. Because of the high altitude and weather, army helicopters would be operating at the outer limit of performance, and only Boeing CH-47 Chinooks would be used to lift the infantry. The assaulting troops suffered numerous wounded casualties on the first day in sharp firefights with Al Qaeda immediately after landing. U.S. infantry once again engaged the enemy in classic close combat, employing organic small arms and mortars. With Al Qaeda fighters so near that air support was often impossible, Hughes/McDonnell Douglas/Boeing AH-64 Apaches became the most effective fire support available to ground commanders despite withering small-arms fire that damaged all seven of the helicopters.

After the initial engagement, CJTF Mountain obtained additional ground and air assets. The battle continued for several days as the allied air forces worked with Apaches to engage and destroy the determined Al Qaeda fighters. Marine helicopters, flown from ships in the Arabian Sea, and additional Apaches deployed directly from Fort Campbell provided reinforcements. The CFLCC committed the 2nd Brigade, 10th Mountain, with two additional army infantry battalions as well as the Canadians. By March 10, CENTCOM estimated that allied ground and air forces had killed more than 500 of the enemy.

After ANACONDA, the CFLCC shifted its conventional and special operations forces south of Gardez and elsewhere in eastern Afghanistan against remaining Al Qaeda and Taliban enclaves. In mid-April 2002, the CFLCC received additional multinational

support from TF Jacana, with 1,700 British personnel drawn from the 3rd Commando Brigade.

At the end of April 2002, ARCENT conducted an assessment of its initial performance as CFLCC-Afghanistan. General Mikolashek observed that because of an imposed force cap of 7,000 personnel in country and unanticipated missions, the CFLCC had not been able to properly employ its units. However, the CFLCC had successfully and creatively integrated air, naval, marine, Special Operations, allied, and interagency forces in the conduct of a complex and unusual operation. In a move indicative of a long-term U.S. military commitment, XVIII Airborne Corps under Lieutenant General Dan McNeil deployed to Bagram on May 31, 2002, as Combined Joint Task Force 180 and assumed control of U.S. and coalition operations in JOA-Afghanistan. The total number of personnel under the CFLCC by the end of May 2002, at which time the command changed name and focus, was approximately 20,000. This change allowed ARCENT to refocus on the conduct of potential land operations against Iraq.

JOHN A. BONIN

See also

Al Qaeda; ANACONDA, Operation; Combined Joint Task Force 180; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, Initial Ground Campaign; Franks, Tommy Ray; McNeill, Dan K.; United States Central Command

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Coercive Interrogation

Methods of interrogation meant to compel a person to behave in an involuntary way or reveal information by use of threat, intimidation, or physical force or abuse. In particular, coercive interrogation has been used during the U.S. Middle East wars to obtain information from prisoners, especially those being held as terrorists. Coercive interrogation has been labeled by numerous individuals and organizations as inhumane torture and war crimes that violate international law. In addition, coercive interrogation has been criticized by many for being ineffective; critics contend that it leads to false confessions.

There are various techniques of interrogation that can be described as coercive, including, but not limited to, sleep deprivation, food deprivation, ceaseless noise, sexual abuse, forced nakedness, cultural humiliation, exposure to extreme cold, prolonged isolation, painful postures, beating, and waterboarding. Waterboarding, a highly controversial interrogation method, involves positioning a victim on his back, with the head in a downward position, while pouring water over the face and head. Soon, as water enters the nasal passages and mouth, the victim believes that drowning is imminent. Waterboarding is a favored interrogation technique because it leaves no visible marks on the victim and can be very effective in extracting confessions.

During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, records indicate that the U.S. military generally abided by international law concerning treatment of civilian and military detainees. However, there is ample evidence that Iraqis tortured American prisoners of war (POWs) by employing numerous coercive interrogation techniques. Coercive interrogation became a much larger issue during the George W. Bush administration after the Global War on Terror began in 2001. Although many international agreements signed by the United States forbid torture, President Bush, Vice President Richard Cheney, and his administration have supported the use of coercive interrogation in the Global War on Terror, the Afghanistan War, and the Iraq War. After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, the Bush administration acknowledged a need for new interrogation techniques.

Shortly after the September 11 attacks, the Bush administration worked to gain support for coercive interrogation techniques and began to change the definition of torture to better suit its needs. Numerous senior officials believed that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had to employ coercive interrogation techniques to deal with Al Qaeda suspects and other terrorists. The administration now began to devise arguments for going against prevailing prescriptions vis-à-vis torture. First, Bush believed that as commander in chief he could use the inherent powers given to him in the U.S. Constitution to stretch U.S. policy to best protect the citizens of the United States. The administration had argued repeatedly that terrorism is a major threat that cannot be fought with conventional means. Also, the White House repeatedly stated that coercive interrogation is not torture in the strict sense of the word. Most legal scholars on the subject disagree with this assessment.

Beginning in 2004, accounts surfaced of Iraqi prisoners being abused by U.S. soldiers in the Abu Ghraib Prison in Iraq. Pictures showing U.S. military personnel abusing and violating prisoners by various means proved highly incendiary. Some methods used included urinating on prisoners, punching prisoners excessively, pouring phosphoric acid on prisoners, rape, forcing prisoners to strip nude and attaching electrodes to their genitals, or photographing prisoners in compromising positions to humiliate them. Eventually, 17 soldiers and officers were removed from duty because of the Abu Ghraib scandal; some eventually faced criminal charges and trial.

The situation was compounded when the CIA was accused of having destroyed evidence of the torture of civilian detainees in 2005. There were apparently two videotapes (subsequently

destroyed) that contained images of Al Qaeda suspects being tortured. By 2007, the CIA admitted to some use of coercive interrogation. However, the agency admitted that this had happened rarely and that techniques such as waterboarding were used fewer than five times. In a television interview in December 2008, Vice President Cheney admitted that he has supported the use of waterboarding. More allegations of CIA-sponsored torture surfaced, but the Bush administration stuck to its support of coercive interrogation techniques, asserting that they were not cruel and unusual and therefore did not constitute torture. Nevertheless, under considerable pressure, Bush signed an executive order in July 2007 forbidding the use of torture against terror suspects; it did not, however, specifically ban waterboarding.

In early 2008, waterboarding was again a hot topic as Congress considered an antitorture bill designed largely to limit the CIA's use of coercive interrogation. The bill, which was passed in February 2008, would have forced the CIA to abide by the rules found in the *Army Field Manual on Interrogation* (FM 34-52). The manual forbids the use of physical force and includes a list of approved interrogation methods; waterboarding is not among them.

Arizona senator John McCain, who had been brutally tortured as a POW during the Vietnam War and had already engaged in a war of words with the Bush White House over the use of torture, voted against the bill. McCain, in defending his vote, argued that the CIA should have the ability to use techniques that are not listed in the *Army Field Manual of Interrogation.* He argued that there are other techniques available that are effective and not cruel and unusual. He continued to claim, however, that waterboarding is torture and illegal. Bush vetoed the February 2008 bill, and its proponents did not have the requisite votes to override it.

Arthur M. Holst

See also

Abu Ghraib; Al Qaeda; Bush, George Walker; Central Intelligence Agency; McCain, John Sidney, III; Torture of Prisoners

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Cohen, William Sebastian

Birth Date: August 28, 1940

Republican politician, U.S. senator, and secretary of defense (1997–2001). William Sebastian Cohen was born in Bangor, Maine, on August 28, 1940, to Russian immigrant parents. He attended Bowdoin College, graduating in 1962, and received a law degree from Boston University in 1965. After law school, he returned to Maine to practice law. Cohen subsequently became assistant county attorney for Penobscot and also served on the Bangor school board. In 1969 he was elected to the Bangor City Council, and during 1971–1972 he was mayor of Bangor.

In 1972 Cohen ran as a Republican to succeed Democratic congressman William Hathaway, who became a U.S. senator from Maine. Cohen won election to the U.S. House of Representatives and was reelected twice. In 1978 he ran against Hathaway for a Senate seat and won. During his three terms in the Senate (1979–1997) Cohen focused on national security issues, serving on the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Senate Intelligence Committee. He also served on the Governmental Affairs Committee. Cohen announced his retirement from the Senate in 1996 ostensibly to pursue other career objectives.

Later that year, however, after President Bill Clinton won reelection, Cohen was nominated to become secretary of defense. Although a Republican, Cohen was considered a moderate, and Clinton believed that his presence in the post would help to build a bipartisan consensus around his foreign policy. Cohen subsequently accepted the nomination, which sailed unanimously through the Republican-controlled Senate.

As defense secretary, Cohen focused on developing a lighter and more mobile and modernized fighting force and investing in

William Cohen, secretary of defense under President Bill Clinton during 1997–2001, speaks at Ramstein Air Base in Germany on April 8, 1999. (U.S. Department of Defense)

new weapons systems. He did this while continuing to maintain the "two regional wars" template that had been part of Pentagon planning for many years. That is, U.S. forces were to be kept ready to wage two regional wars simultaneously. Cohen also drew increasing attention to the dangers posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), and he oversaw the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) into Eastern Europe.

Cohen remained uneasy over troop commitments in the Balkans made during Clinton's first term, fearing that protracted humanitarian and peacekeeping missions might endanger U.S. forces. Cohen was also concerned that money expended on such endeavors might be better spent elsewhere. These monetary issues were real concerns for Cohen, given the budgetary constraints under which he had to work. Indeed, because of the Clinton administration's determined plan to erase decades-long budget deficits and pay down some of the national debt, spending more on defense during a time of peace was not a viable option.

Cohen oversaw U.S. operations in the Balkans during his tenure in office. When Serbian forces began ethnic cleansing against Albanian Muslims from Kosovo, the United States, in concert with NATO, responded with a bombing campaign to force the Serbs to the peace table. This operation began on March 24, 1999, and ended on June 10, 1999, when the Yugoslav government agreed to return to the negotiating table. A number of nay-sayers believed that the bombing campaign was folly, but the relatively quick success of it silenced many of Clinton's critics who had derided his Balkans policy. The low point of the operation occurred when faulty intelligence led to the mistaken bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade on May 7, 1999. Despite his reservations about troop deployments to the Balkans, Cohen nevertheless hoped to stop Serbian aggression. His public disagreement with General Wesley Clark, NATO's supreme allied commander who insisted that ground troops might be needed in Kosovo, led to the general's early retirement in 2000.

When Al Qaeda bombed U.S. embassies on August 7, 1998, in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya, Cohen oversaw the American response on August 20, 1998. Operation INFINITE REACH saw U.S. cruise missile attacks on sites in Afghanistan and Sudan. Much controversy surrounded the operation, however, as the Sudanese target in all likelihood was not a chemical weapons facility but rather a pharmaceutical plant. Some of President Clinton's detractors charged that the attacks were designed to take the public's attention off the Monica Lewinsky scandal, which was then being fully revealed.

Cohen also oversaw American military operations in Iraq. In 1998 after the consistent Iraqi failure to comply with United Nations (UN) weapons inspectors and Security Council resolutions, the United States and Great Britain authorized Operation DESERT FOX, which resulted in the bombing of Iraqi targets during December 16–19, 1998. Targets were chosen so as to disrupt the Iraqi regime but also to degrade the ability of the regime to produce WMDs. Some Republicans attacked the timing of the largely ineffective operation as politically motivated, as it occurred at the same time as House impeachment hearings. In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, many commentators criticized these responses as too tepid.

Since leaving office Cohen has been generally supportive of the Global War on Terror, although he has consistently argued that the nation should do more to gird itself for such an effort, including making shared sacrifices and instituting some form of compulsory national service. He currently presides over the Cohen Group, an international business consulting firm based in Washington, D.C., and has authored several books and many articles and essays. One of his latest writings is *Dragon Fly,* a novel published in 2006.

MICHAEL K. BEAUCHAMP

See also

Al Qaeda; Clinton, William Jefferson; DESERT FOX, Operation; INFINITE REACH, Operation

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Cold War

The ideological-political-military confrontation between the East, led by the Soviet Union, and the West, led by the United States, that lasted for nearly half a century, from shortly after the end of World War II until shortly before the collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991. Cold War considerations strongly influenced U.S. policy toward the Middle East after World War II. The deadlock between East and West was the single most momentous development in the post–World War II period and dominated the next half century. Put in its simplest terms, the Cold War was the ideological, military, and political rivalry that developed between the Soviet Union and the United States as each sought to fill the power vacuum left by the defeat of Germany and Japan. Profound differences in ideology and political philosophy, exacerbated by misunderstandings, bluff, pride, personal and geopolitical ambitions, and simple animosity between the two sides, grew until this contest became the Cold War.

At the end of World War II, a power vacuum existed throughout much of the world. In the defeat of Germany and Japan, the Allies had in fact destroyed traditional bulwarks against communist expansion. In Western Europe there was no single continental state sufficiently strong to block Soviet expansion. In the Far East there was only China, but it had been badly weakened by the long war with Japan and was in any case about to plunge into full-scale civil war.

Most Americans naively assumed that wars ended with the shooting, and domestic political considerations compelled the

rapid demobilization of the U.S. armed forces before the situation abroad had stabilized. Although the Soviet Union was actually much weaker in 1945 than was assumed at the time, British prime minister Winston Churchill expressed the view that only the U.S. nuclear monopoly prevented Soviet forces from overrunning war-devastated Western Europe.

In 1945 the Soviet Union had just emerged from a desperate struggle for survival. The German and Soviet armies had fought back and forth across and laid waste to vast stretches of the western Soviet Union. Twenty-five million people were left homeless, and perhaps one-fourth of the total property value of the country had been lost. The human costs were staggering, and there were as many as 27 million Soviet military and civilian dead. Certainly for the indefinite future, whatever government held power in Moscow would be obsessed with security; one led by the paranoid dictator Joseph Stalin was particularly vulnerable to such an obsession. This, rather than expansion, was the Kremlin's paramount concern in the immediate postwar years.

Despite all the destruction, the Soviet Union emerged from the war in the most powerful international position in its history. Soviet leader Stalin, who had seen the Western powers after World War I erect a cordon sanitaire in the form of a string of buffer states against communism, now sought to do the same in reverse: to erect a cordon sanitaire to keep the West out and not incidentally extend Soviet influence. This was for security reasons, but it was also to prevent the spread of Western ideas and political notions. To Western leaders the Kremlin seemed to have reverted to 19th-century diplomacy, establishing spheres of influence, bargaining for territory, and disregarding the United Nations (UN). Western leaders did not appreciate the extent to which concerns over security and xenophobia drove this policy.

Finally, there was an ideological dimension. Although its leaders had soft-pedaled it during World War II, Soviet leaders had never abandoned the goal of furthering international communism, and the Kremlin was ideologically committed to combating capitalism. It is thus inconceivable that Stalin would not have sought to take full advantage of the opportunities that presented themselves at the end of the war.

As with the United States, Soviet foreign policy was closely tied to domestic needs. Soviet leaders saw the advantage of confrontation with the United States as an excuse for enforcing authority and cooperation at home. The communist world had to appear to be threatened by encircling enemies. Millions of Soviet soldiers had been in the West and had seen, even in ruined Germany, a higher quality of life. They found their own system sadly wanting by comparison and expected improvements in their standard of living with the victory over fascism. Only a new announced threat from abroad would cause them now to close ranks behind the Soviet leadership. Playing the nationalist card would enable the Kremlin to mobilize public effort and suffocate dissent.

Although for different reasons, U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt shared with Stalin a strong antipathy toward European colonialism, and Washington encouraged the disintegration of these empires, including in the Middle East. While idealistic and correct morally, this stance nonetheless reduced the strength of U.S. allies and ensured that ultimately the United States would have to carry most of the defense burden for the noncommunist world.

Roosevelt gambled his place in history in part on the mistaken assumption that he could arrange a détente with the Soviet Union. His optimism regarding Stalin was ill-founded. By the spring of 1945 it was obvious, even to Roosevelt, that the Soviets were taking over Poland and Romania and violating at least the spirit of the Yalta Conference (February 1945) agreements regarding multiparty systems and free elections. Roosevelt died that April. His successor, Harry S. Truman, insisted on honoring wartime agreements and also insisted that U.S. forces withdraw from areas they had occupied deep beyond the lines assigned to the Soviets for the occupation of Germany. The American public clearly did not want confrontation or a global economic and political-military struggle with the Soviet Union. Americans were limited internationalists who merely wanted to return to domestic concerns and economic prosperity.

The Soviets, however, were angry over Washington's abrupt termination of Lend-Lease aid in August 1945. Ill will was also generated by the smooth cooperation of the Anglo-Saxon powers and Moscow's belief that the two constantly combined against the Soviet Union. The U.S. monopoly on the atomic bomb also aroused fear in the Soviet Union. Soviet concerns increased when the United States retained bomber bases within striking distance of Soviet industrial areas and undertook naval maneuvers in the Mediterranean Sea. The Soviet Union, however, rejected a plan put forth by the United States to bring nuclear weapons under international control; instead, the Soviet Union proceeded with its atomic research (aided by espionage) and exploded its own bomb in September 1949. The atomic arms race was under way.

Certainly American and British attitudes toward Soviet activity in Eastern Europe and the Balkans exasperated Moscow. Initially, Moscow permitted political parties other than the communists there, and now it seemed to the Kremlin as though the West was encouraging these parties against Soviet interests. At a minimum the Soviet Union required security, while the United States wanted democratic parties in a Western-style democracy. In only one country, Finland, did the Soviet Union and the West achieve the sort of compromise implicit in the Yalta agreements. In countries such as Poland and Hungary, noncommunist parties were highly unlikely to assure the Soviet Union of the security it desired, and Western encouragement of these groups seemed to Moscow to be a threat.

On the American side, the Russian moves kindled exasperation and then alarm as the Soviet Union interfered in the democratic processes of one East European state after another. In addition, the UN seemed paralyzed, for the Soviet Union, in order to protect its interests, made increasing use of its veto power in the UN Security Council. Despite this, Western pressure in the UN did help secure a Soviet withdrawal from northern Iran in 1946.

U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin during the Tehran Conference in Iran, November 28–December 1, 1943. (Library of Congress)

The Western powers were hardly unified. In Britain, left-wing Labourites criticized American capitalism and wanted to work with the Soviets. The French, especially interim president Charles de Gaulle, made vigorous efforts to build a third force in Europe as a counterbalance to the Anglo-Saxon powers and the Soviet Union. It is thus tempting to conclude that only Moscow could have driven the West to the unity achieved by 1949 by founding the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The British bore the brunt of the initial defense against communism. But for a variety of reasons, chiefly financial, Britain eventually had to abandon its role as world policeman. Nevertheless, Churchill, now out of power, sounded the alarm regarding the Soviet Union in a March 5, 1946, speech at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri. In what became known as the "Iron Curtain Speech," he warned that the Soviet Union had created an "iron curtain" from "Stettin on the Baltic to Trieste on the Adriatic," and he called for a "special relationship" between Britain and the United States to meet the challenge. Americans were not enthusiastic.

In early 1947 peace treaties were finally signed in Paris with many of the defeated states, but the Big Powers deadlocked over arrangements for Austria and Germany. By the spring of 1947 East and West were approaching a complete break over the German question. The Soviets were stripping their zone of everything they could move and failing to supply food to the three western zones as promised. Facing increasing costs and difficulties caused by a lack of Soviet cooperation, the British and Americans merged their zones economically at the beginning of 1947.

In addition to its demands on Iran, Moscow had pressured Turkey to return land lost by Russia at the end of World War I and also to permit the Soviet Union a share in the defense of the straits connecting the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. There was also trouble in Greece, where communist guerrillas opposed the royalist government. Fighting flared at the end of 1946, and the Greek communists secured material support from the three neighboring communist states of Yugoslavia, Albania, and Bulgaria.

In February 1947 the British government, which had been propping up the Greek government, informed the United States that it could no longer afford to do so. In response, on March 12, 1947, President Truman announced what came to be known as the

Truman Doctrine, stating that the United States would "support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." The United States had taken up the burden of the world's policeman.

In a remarkably short time, the U.S. Congress appropriated $400 million for Greece and Turkey. This U.S. attempt to draw a line against communist expansion was successful, and by the end of 1949 the Greek insurrection had been contained. The Truman Doctrine led directly to the Marshall Plan and NATO. On June 5, 1947, Secretary of State George Catlett Marshall announced a plan for the reconstruction of Europe in a speech at Harvard University. He promised that the United States would undertake financial assistance to Europe if the nations of Europe united, devised assistance plans for economic recovery, and concentrated on self-help and mutual assistance.

Behind this initiative lay the fear that continued economic troubles would weaken the resistance of the surviving Western nations to communism. Continued American prosperity was also tied to a European economic revival. The plan was deliberately drawn so as to be rejected by the Soviet Union, which insisted that other governments in Eastern and Central Europe under its sway also refuse to participate.

In December 1947 the U.S. Congress passed an Interim Act for $522 million in aid; the following April it appropriated $6.8 billion for the first 15 months of a program slated to run for four years. The aid came just in time to influence crucial elections in Italy, where the communists were making a bid for power. In four years Congress appropriated $13.15 billion in aid plus an additional sum for Asia, bringing the total to $14.2 billion.

Both the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan were early manifestations of the so-called containment policy against communist expansion. U.S. diplomat George Kennan, writing in the July 1947 issue of the *Journal of Foreign Affairs,* called for "a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies." Even Kennan did not visualize as total an implementation as occurred, however.

Containment and the Marshall Plan compelled the Kremlin to take more proactive measures to guarantee its hold on power and to rearm militarily. In October 1947 the Soviets established the nine-nation Communist Information Bureau, known as the Cominform. It took the place of the old Communist International (Comintern), which had been abolished in 1943 in order to show solidarity with the Soviet Union's allies. The new agency had as its goal the promotion of world communism.

In January 1949 Moscow established the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON). It was intended as an organization parallel to the Marshall Plan for integrating the national economies of the satellite nations with that of the Soviet Union. The Kremlin also announced its own program of economic assistance, known as the Molotov Plan, but under it the Soviet Union received more than it gave, as raw materials were often exchanged for shoddy and unwanted Soviet products.

In late November and early December 1947, the Council of Foreign Ministers (United States, Soviet Union, Britain, and France) made a final attempt at resolving the deadlock over Germany. It ended in impasse. The lines had hardened, and the Soviets tightened their control in their satellite states. One by one, surviving opposition leaders were purged. In February 1948 the communists seized power in Czechoslovakia. This sent a shock wave through Western Europe but also marked the zenith of communist expansion in Europe.

The first major confrontation of the Cold War occurred over Berlin. In early 1948 the three Western powers began discussing the establishment of a German government for their combined zones. The Western zones of the city of Berlin seemed vulnerable, an island deep within the Soviet zone of Germany. The Kremlin reasoned that if it could seize West Berlin, this might dishearten and intimidate the West. Angered by the planned Western currency reform for their zones, the Soviets began slowly cutting off surface access to the city on April 1, 1948. A week later the Western governments introduced new currency for their zones. This was the signal for the Soviet blockade to begin in earnest, and by early August it was complete. In this crisis, the Truman administration opted for a massive airlift operation. The Berlin Airlift went on for nearly a year. With a counterblockade hurting the Soviets, they finally backed down and lifted the siege.

By its pressure the Soviet Union had forced the West Europeans to confront the necessity of greater unity, prompting a series of treaties and organizations such as the Council of Europe and the European Common Market. Militarily, the Berlin emergency quickly brought about the Brussels Pact and the formation of NATO.

In June 1948 there was a significant break with tradition in American foreign policy. Powerful Republican senator Arthur H. Vandenburg drafted a resolution that was approved by the Senate. The resolution reaffirmed the U.S. policy of working with the UN. It was the sense of the Senate that the veto should be removed from all questions involving international disputes and the admission of new members. The resolution also associated the United States "with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, as affect the national security." This ran counter to President George Washington's admonition against "entangling alliances," which had been heeded since 1796.

On April 4, 1949, the North Atlantic Pact was signed in Washington by 10 European nations as well as the United States and Canada, binding them to a collective military security pact. The resultant NATO went into effect on August 24, 1949.

For the time being Europe enjoyed a breathing spell, but the status quo was about to change. In late August 1949 the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb, an event that shocked Washington and ended the U.S. atomic monopoly. In October 1949 the communists were victorious in China, and on June 25, 1950, the Cold War entered a dangerous new phase when forces of

Berliners watch a Douglas C-54 Skymaster aircraft landing at Tempelhof Airport in 1948 during the Berlin Airlift. The airlift was a massive lift of essential supplies flown into the Western zones of the city during 1948–1949. (Library of Congress)

the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea) invaded the Republic of Korea (ROK, South Korea), touching off the Korean War (1950–1953).

North Korean leader Kim Il Sung had conferred twice with Stalin, securing his approval for the invasion as well as the support of the People's Republic of China (PRC) leader, Mao Zedong. Stalin and Mao evidently believed Kim's confident assurances that the war would be over before the United States could mount an effective response. Fearful that South Korean leader Syngman Rhee might unleash hostilities in an attempt to reunify Korea, the United States had provided only defensive weapons to South Korea, while North Korea possessed a wide range of offensive weapons systems including tanks, heavy artillery, and aircraft. U.S. leaders had assumed that because the United States possessed the atomic bomb, North Korea would never invade South Korea.

In what Truman later characterized as the most difficult decision of his presidency, he decided to fight for Korea. U.S. forces arrived just in time and in sufficient numbers to stave off defeat. The UN also intervened, thanks to the poorly timed Soviet boycott of the Security Council. Following the Inchon invasion of September 1950 and the concurrent United Nations Command (UNC) breakout from the Pusan Perimeter, UNC forces invaded North Korea in an effort to reunify the nation. The Truman administration ignored Chinese warnings of possible intervention. As UNC forces drove to the Yalu River, the Chinese entered the war in force, and in November they smashed a UNC offensive and pushed south of the 38th Parallel. Gradually the lines stabilized, and the Chinese were driven north again.

The war then changed from a contest of movement to one of position and stalemate. The Western powers, and especially the United States, concluded that restoration of the prewar status quo would be sufficient and that reuniting Korea was not worth the risk of wider conflict. Armistice talks dragged on, hampered by the issue of prisoner exchanges. The fighting finally ended in an armistice agreement in July 1953, although no peace treaty has ever been signed in Korea. Throughout the rest of the Cold War and beyond, Korea remained one of the world's flash points.

The Korean War affected the Cold War in a number of ways. It led to the institutionalizing of the military-industrial complex in the United States and raised fears that the nation was morphing into a garrison state. After all its previous wars, the United States had disarmed. The U.S. military underwent a massive expansion during the Korean War, however, and remained militarily strong thereafter. The Korean War also led the Truman administration to

extend direct military assistance to the French in Indochina, where they had been fighting the communist-led Viet Minh since 1946.

The Korean War fed anticommunist paranoia in the United States and had a pronounced impact on developments in Europe, especially the rearmament of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, West Germany) because many professed to see parallels between a divided Korea and a divided Germany.

Both the Soviet Union and the United States had new leadership in 1953. Dwight D. Eisenhower took office in January as president of the United States, with John Foster Dulles as his secretary of state. Stalin died in March and was followed by a collective leadership that ultimately gave way to rule by Nikita Khrushchev.

Fear of thermonuclear war dominated the 1950s. The Soviet Union exploded its first hydrogen bomb in 1953, and Americans worried that the Soviets might strike the American heartland with long-range bombers. On the Soviet side, leaders were deeply concerned about the proven strategic bombing capability of the United States and the ring of U.S. overseas bases that surrounded the Soviet Union. A diplomacy of stalemate, based on mutual fear of destruction through nuclear weapons, held sway.

In January 1954 Dulles announced the Eisenhower administration's policy of massive retaliation, with heavy reliance on nuclear weapons in the event of a Soviet attack. This greatly concerned America's European allies, as the most likely location for a military confrontation was the European continent. Throughout the Cold War, Washington professed to believe in monolithic communism, the idea that all communist states moved together in lockstep, with Moscow calling the shots. This proved to be a mistaken notion, but it permeated American policy making.

In 1954 France suffered a resounding military defeat at Dien Bien Phu in northeastern Vietnam. The Indochina War had grown increasingly unpopular in France, and this defeat enabled the French politicians to extricate their nation from the war. Not coincidental to the timing of the battle, a conference was under way at Geneva to discuss problems in Asia. The resulting Geneva Accords of July 1954 provided for the independence of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Vietnam was temporarily divided at the 17th Parallel, with elections to take place in 1956 to reunify the country.

Ngo Dinh Diem, president of the Republic of Vietnam (ROV, South Vietnam), refused to permit the elections, however, and the Eisenhower administration firmly supported him in this stance. Washington pointed out that communists ruled the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV, North Vietnam) and that communists, once in power, had never allowed truly free elections that might unseat them. Nevertheless, Diem's decision led to a renewal of the struggle to unify Vietnam that became the Vietnam War (1957–1975).

Meanwhile, French Army regulars found themselves immediately transported from Indochina to fight in Algeria, where nationalist agitation led to violence in November 1954. The Algerian War simmered for a time but then grew in intensity and claimed increasing numbers of French soldiers. Ultimately, fears among the French settlers in Algeria and professional army officers that they were again going to be sold out by the Paris government led to a military putsch that brought the end of the French Fourth Republic in May 1958 and the return to power of General Charles de Gaulle, who established the Fifth Republic with a greatly strengthened presidency.

In the 1950s a group of nations was emerging as a self-proclaimed neutralist or nonaligned bloc, also known as the Third World or developing world to distinguish it from the Western powers and the communist bloc. Indian prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru became its leader, but other prominent spokesmen were Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia—a communist leader who had broken with and successfully defied Stalin—and Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. For Washington at least, this brand of neutralism—laced with a strong condemnation of colonialism and imperialism promoted by leaders of the developing world—often seemed to favor the Soviet Union.

In Europe, the major problem was the ongoing impasse over the settlements with Germany and Austria. The United States insisted on free elections throughout Germany, while the Soviet Union preferred direct talks between West Germany and the German Democratic Republic (GDR, East Germany). The Soviets also made it clear to their Western counterparts that the price for the reunification of Germany and Austria would be the permanent demilitarization of both states. Washington, however, firmly supported the creation of a West European army that would include West Germany. When that failed to materialize, a formula was then found for it to rearm within NATO.

In 1955 the Soviet government made a number of moves to ease the Cold War. Moscow established diplomatic relations with West Germany and agreed to release the last German POWs from World War II. Finland received the territory of Porkkala near Helsinki, which the Soviet Union had secured at the end of World War II. The Soviets also evacuated their naval base at Port Arthur in the Far East. Finally, the Soviets agreed to the Treaty of Belvedere that ended the occupation of Austria and restored it to full sovereignty, on the pledge of permanent Austrian neutrality and economic concessions. Leaders from the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France met in Geneva in July 1955 in an effort to resolve the impasse over Germany. Both sides refused to budge from their previous positions regarding Germany, however, resulting in continued impasse.

The continuing threat posed by the Soviet Union greatly boosted the movement toward European unification. The Council of Europe had been established in 1949. It was followed by the 1953 European Coal and Steel Community, and although efforts by the West European states to create a European army had failed, the European Economic Community (EEC) came into being in 1957.

The year 1956 saw two watershed events of the Cold War occur simultaneously: the Suez Crisis and the Hungarian Revolution. To meet a perceived growing threat by the Soviet Union in the Middle East, the United States had promoted the formation of the

Baghdad Pact in 1955. Iraq and Turkey were the original signatories, soon followed by Britain, Pakistan, and Iran. Many in the Arab world, especially the Egyptian leader Nasser, saw this treaty as nothing less than an attempt by the West to reassert its old colonial control over the Middle East.

In 1956 Nasser sought funding for a high dam at Aswan on the upper Nile. He saw this as a means of improving the Egyptian standard of living and strengthening his standing in the Middle East. At the same time, however, Nasser sought to secure new weapons that would place the Egyptian military on a par with that of Israel. Dulles promised U.S. assistance for the dam, but when he refused the Egyptian request for advanced weaponry, Egypt turned to the Soviet bloc. This incensed Dulles, who then withdrew the offer to help finance the dam. To pay for the project, Nasser therefore nationalized the Suez Canal.

Nasser's actions led to the formation of a coalition of Britain, France, and Israel against him. The British government had the largest stake in the Suez Canal Company and in its operations, and Prime Minister Anthony Eden developed an almost pathological hatred of Nasser and was determined to topple him. The French believed that Egypt was actively supporting the Algerian rebels, while the Israelis were angry over Nasser's decision to blockade the Gulf of Aqaba as well as Egyptian sponsorship of fedayeen (Arab commando) raids against the Jewish state. Leaders of the three powers therefore determined that Israel would invade the Sinai, giving Britain and France the excuse to intervene militarily to "protect" the canal.

The Israelis moved at the end of October, and the French and British governments demanded the right to occupy the canal zone. When the Egyptian government rejected the ultimatum, French and British forces invaded and occupied Port Said on November 5, 1956.

Both the Soviet Union and the United States demanded a withdrawal from Egyptian territory. While the Soviet Union threatened to send "volunteers," it was the United States that was critical. President Eisenhower put heavy economic pressure on Britain, obliging the allied forces to withdraw.

The Suez Crisis was a major event in the Cold War. Israel and Egypt were the chief winners. Although the blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba was ended, Nasser found himself a hero in the Arab world. The Suez Crisis marked the effective end of Britain as a world power and shattered the solidarity of the major Western powers.

Unfortunately for the West, the crisis came at the worst possible time, diverting attention from the concurrent Soviet action in Hungary. The Hungarian Revolution of late October and early November 1956 was one of the most dramatic events of the Cold War. Khrushchev's moves toward de-Stalinization in early 1956 had led to unrest in Poland in June 1956. Similar protests in Hungary that October became revolution. Encouraged by events in Poland and by the limited reforms subsequently introduced there, student demonstrators in Budapest protested the wide gulf between the stated goals of the communist regime and the reality of its rule. This demonstration led to widespread demands for democratic reform, an end to the hated security police and censorship, and Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. Hungarian premier Imre Nagy, brought to power in an effort to accommodate the reformists, was swept along by a revolutionary tide. He announced a host of changes that included free elections, an end to press censorship, and reform of the hated security police. The Soviets decided to intervene, finding Nagy's commitment to democratic reforms unacceptable, for if the situation in Hungary was allowed to stand, Soviet leaders feared that the movement would surely spread to other satellites.

British troops advance through Port Said, Egypt, as oil tanks burn in the background during the Anglo-French invasion of the Suez Canal area, November 10, 1956. (Bettmann/Corbis)

On November 4, 1956, Khrushchev sent 200,000 Soviet troops and 2,000 tanks into Hungary. Nagy called for resistance, and the Hungarians fought as best they could. Thousands of people died, and 200,000 Hungarians fled to neighboring Austria.

There was nearly universal condemnation of the Soviet action, but no action was taken, in part because the Soviet move was made while the Western powers were embroiled in the Suez Crisis. The lesson of the Hungarian Revolution for the peoples of the Soviet bloc was that the Kremlin could do as it pleased within its existing sphere of influence.

The Cold War appeared to spread in the late 1950s with increasing Soviet challenges in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia, especially in its support for so-called wars of national liberation. In an effort to reassert U.S. influence in the Middle East, the American

president announced the Eisenhower Doctrine in early 1957. The doctrine pledged the United States to support the independence of Middle Eastern countries against the threat of communism. The Eisenhower administration also continued to send significant economic and military aid to support South Vietnam.

The Soviet challenge also spread to space, as Khrushchev was keenly interested in his nation's space program. On August 17, 1957, the Soviets fired the first intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM)—the United States did not fire its first ICBM until the next year—and on October 4, 1957, the Soviets launched the first satellite into Earth's orbit. Sputnik 1 was especially embarrassing to the United States, as it was seen as a sign of Soviet scientific prowess and became more so when in December a much smaller U.S. rocket exploded on the launch pad. The United States did not place its first satellite into orbit until January 1958, and it was still far smaller than those launched by the Soviets. Sputnik 1 also marked the start of the Space Race between the two superpowers.

Many in the West questioned whether the United States still held an edge in military technology, and the notion spread that there was a so-called missile gap in which the Soviets held a sizable lead. Although Eisenhower knew, thanks to U-2 reconnaissance flights over the Soviet Union, that no missile gap existed, he could not make this information public. Democratic presidential candidate John F. Kennedy's charges of a missile gap therefore helped sway a close presidential election in November 1960, lost by Republican Richard Nixon, Eisenhower's vice president.

For NATO, the Soviet missiles posed serious problems. In order to offset its far smaller manpower strength, NATO members agreed to the placing of missiles on their soil. This elicited fears in Europe that a Soviet preemptive strike or counterstrike might wipe out sizable population centers. At the same time, other Europeans questioned whether the United States would actually risk nuclear attack on its own soil in order to defend Western Europe.

The irony was that at the same time Khrushchev trumpeted peaceful coexistence, he also embarked on a period of missile rattling, threatening on at least 150 different occasions the use of nuclear weapons against the West. Many feared that the unpredictable Khrushchev might precipitously launch a catastrophic war.

In 1958 Khrushchev ushered in a period of acute tension when he resumed the pressure on the Western powers over Berlin. Believing that he was dealing from strength, he attempted to secure a Western withdrawal from Berlin. Because the autobahn leading across East Germany to the Western zones of Berlin was the one place in the world where armed Soviet and U.S. forces faced one another, the situation was very tense indeed.

In November 1958 the Soviets simply informed the Western occupying powers that they considered the agreements governing postwar Germany to be null and void. Khrushchev demanded that Berlin be turned into a demilitarized free city, and he gave a deadline of six months—to May 27, 1959—for resolving the situation. In February 1959 he threatened to sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany that would give it control of access routes into the divided city. East Germany might then choose to close the routes, setting up the possibility of war should the West attempt to reopen them.

To Western leaders, Khrushchev's threats and posturing seemed reminiscent of those of Adolf Hitler before World War II, and they were determined not to yield to such pressure. In May 1959 the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, and France met in Geneva, where they endeavored to find a solution. Again there was no common meeting ground, but the three Western powers stood united, which may have given the Soviets pause. Khrushchev let his May deadline pass without taking action. The world breathed a collective sigh of relief as the Soviet leader probably lost his one chance for nuclear blackmail.

Khrushchev was somewhat mollified by an invitation from Eisenhower to visit the United States. The Soviet leader arrived in September 1959, just as the Soviets landed a probe on the moon. Khrushchev and Eisenhower held extensive talks and actually cultivated a cordial, friendly atmosphere, the so-called Spirit of Camp David. Khrushchev, for his part, denied that there was ever any deadline over settling the Berlin issue. The two leaders also agreed to hold a summit in Paris in May 1960 to discuss Germany. Eisenhower was scheduled to visit the Soviet Union shortly thereafter.

This thaw in the Cold War proved short-lived, if indeed it existed at all. It was formally broken by the Kremlin following the May 1, 1960, U-2 Crisis, in which the Soviets shot down one of the U.S. reconnaissance aircraft that had been making regular overflights of the Soviet Union. An angry Khrushchev stormed out of Paris, torpedoing the summit only a few hours after it began.

Neutralist leaders such as Nasser, Nehru, and Sukarno of Indonesia attacked the West in the UN. Khrushchev also delivered a speech before that body in September 1960. Strangely, he attacked the authority of the UN and particularly Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld. In the end, Khrushchev's bizarre behavior ended up alienating the neutralists.

Khrushchev's frantic leadership also created friction within the communist bloc. By 1960, a simmering dispute between the Soviet Union and the PRC erupted into full-blown antagonism: the Sino-Soviet split. Chinese leader Mao Zedong had dutifully followed Moscow's lead during the first decade of the Cold War, but cracks then began to appear in the relationship. For one thing, following the death of Stalin in 1953, Mao believed that he and not the new Kremlin leader was the logical leader of international communism. Mao was also much more confrontational toward the West than were the new leaders of the Soviet Union. Also, the Soviets had refused to share advanced nuclear technology with China and expand military aid. Then there was their 2,000-mile frontier border—the longest in the world—and disputes over Mongolia.

In the confrontation between the two communist giants, most of the other communist states lined up behind Moscow. In Europe, Beijing enjoyed the support only of Albania. By the spring of 1961 the split was sufficiently pronounced for the Soviet Union to cut off assistance to the PRC.

U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev at the presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland, during Khrushchev's vist to the United States in 1959. (U.S. Navy/Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library)

While this might have benefited the United States, leaders in Washington were in no position to take advantage of the split in the communist world. President Kennedy, who took office in January 1961, almost immediately faced a series of international challenges. The first was the outbreak of fighting in Laos, where communist, neutralist, and rightist factions vied for power. Then in April 1961, U.S.-trained and -sponsored Cuban exile forces landed on that island in an attempt to overthrow its now avowedly communist leader, Fidel Castro. The operation, conceived and largely planned under Eisenhower, was incredibly botched. Without air cover, which Kennedy refused to provide, the Bay of Pigs invasion was doomed to failure, and Kennedy was forced to take responsibility.

An apparently weakened Kennedy met with Khrushchev in June 1961 in Vienna, where the Soviet leader renewed his pressure on Berlin. Attempting to test the new U.S. administration, Khrushchev intimated that he wanted the issue settled by the end of the year. Yet Khrushchev merely trotted out the same demands, with the sole concession that Berlin might be garrisoned by UN or neutralist troops. This time the Soviets began harassment of some allied air traffic into the city, and the East German–West German border was for a brief period almost completely closed. Again, the Soviet leader threatened the use of nuclear weapons.

Khrushchev was determined to stabilize East Germany, which was fast hemorrhaging its population. By the summer of 1961, some 3.5 million people, among them the young and best educated, had fled to West Germany. The communist response came on August 13 with the erection of the Berlin Wall. The escape hatch of West Berlin was at last closed, and East Germans were now walled in.

Kennedy called for a sizable increase in defense spending and mobilization of some reserve and National Guard air transport units. The only military action undertaken by the United States, however, was to send 1,500 reinforcing troops along the autobahn and into West Berlin. The ugly concrete barrier remained, symbolizing both the failure of communism and the unwillingness of the West to take action.

In the autumn of 1961 the Soviet Union broke a three-year moratorium on nuclear testing to explode a series of large hydrogen bombs. This set the stage for the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962, the single most dangerous confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States of the Cold War and the closest the two sides ever came to thermonuclear war.

Castro had come to power in Cuba in early 1959 and soon transformed the island into a communist state. Increasingly dire conditions on the island, in large part the consequence of U.S. economic policies designed to unseat Castro, forced the Cuban leader to turn to the Soviet Union for economic and military aid. Anxious to secure his ally and buttress his own popularity at home, Khrushchev responded. Cuba, so close to the United States, appeared to Khrushchev in the spring of 1962 as the ideal means by which to offset the heavy advantage in long-range nuclear weaponry enjoyed by the United States. Placing Soviet medium-range missiles in Cuba 90 miles from U.S. shores, they suddenly became, in effect, intercontinental missiles.

The high-rolling Khrushchev ordered the secret placement of Soviet missiles on the island, hoping to present Kennedy with a fait accompli. Despite the contrary opinion of some key Soviet military officers, Kremlin leaders persisted in the belief that this could be accomplished without American detection. U.S. U-2 surveillance flights over Cuba, however, soon discovered the operation.

On October 22, 1962, in a dramatic television address, Kennedy revealed the presence of the missiles and demanded that they be removed. He ignored certain of his advisers who urged a preemptive military strike on the island, announcing a naval quarantine of Cuba instead. Peace hung in the balance for a week as Soviet ships carrying missiles continued toward the island nation.

On October 27 a U-2 was downed over Cuba by a surface-to-air missile. This event shocked even Khrushchev and may well have marked a watershed in his thinking. U.S. contingency plans called for an air strike if a U-2 was shot down, but Kennedy countermanded the order just in time.

Khrushchev's hand was weak, for the Soviet Navy was in no position to run the blockade. Convinced that the United States was about to invade Cuba, the Soviets arranged a face-saving compromise in which Castro, who had sought a preemptive Soviet nuclear strike on the United States, was all but ignored. Khrushchev

agreed to remove the missiles along with jet bombers and some Soviet troops from Cuba. In return, the United States pledged not to invade Cuba and agreed to withdraw older Jupiter missiles from Turkey. Massive Soviet economic assistance to Cuba continued, however. Khrushchev's misstep here was one of the chief causes of his ouster from power less than two years later, but it greatly strengthened Kennedy's hand and encouraged a stronger response to communist aggression elsewhere.

The United States became increasingly involved in Vietnam, supporting South Vietnam against an insurgency supported by North Vietnam that aimed to reunify Vietnam under communist rule. U.S. strategy here was prompted by both the containment policy and by the domino theory: the mistaken belief that if South Vietnam fell to the communists, the rest of South Asia would automatically follow. With the communist Viet Cong apparently on the brink of winning the war in 1961–1962, Kennedy increased American involvement in the conflict by dispatching both helicopters and additional American advisers. Both the PRC and the Soviet Union supported North Vietnam, although at considerably lower levels than the assistance provided by the United States to South Vietnam.

As each side raised the stakes, the Vietnam conflict slowly escalated. In 1965 President Lyndon B. Johnson, Kennedy's successor, began bombing North Vietnam and introduced U.S. ground troops into South Vietnam. Troop numbers steadily increased as North Vietnam escalated in turn, sending its regular forces south. Following the costly but ultimately unsuccessful communist Tet Offensive of January 1968 and a sharp drop in American public support for the war, Washington sought a way out.

The war cost Johnson the presidency. Facing sharp challenges from within his own party, he decided not to run again in 1968. That November Republican Richard Nixon won a very close race against Johnson's vice president, Hubert Humphrey.

Nixon, who was president from 1969 to 1974, carried out the policy of Vietnamization, or turning over more of the war to the South Vietnamese. But Vietnamization required time, and the war dragged on, with more U.S. casualties under Nixon than during the Johnson years, until a peace settlement was reached at Paris in January 1973 that enabled the United States to quit Vietnam "with honor." South Vietnam, largely abandoned by the United States, fell to a communist offensive in April 1975, however.

Even as the war in Vietnam wound down, other events were moving the Cold War from confrontation to cooperation, or détente. The latter policy originated with de Gaulle's return to power in France in 1958. Uncertain that the United States would risk nuclear retaliation on its own soil to defend Europe, de Gaulle sought to develop a French nuclear deterrent and the means to deliver it (the Force de Frappe). He also wanted to organize Europe as a third force between the United States and the Soviet Union. De Gaulle negotiated independently with the Soviets and made well-publicized trips to Poland and Romania appealing for European unity. Soviet leaders were quite content with de Gaulle's attacks on the United States, but they had no intention of giving up their hold on their satellites. In 1966, angry because the United States and Britain would not share control of nuclear weapons within NATO, de Gaulle withdrew France from the NATO military command.

West Germany was the next country to venture into détente. In the late 1960s, Foreign Minister Willy Brandt instituted what became known as Ostpolitik. This reflected a shift in attitude in West Germany regarding relations with East Germany. Under Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, West Germany had refused diplomatic relations with any nation that recognized East Germany. This policy had in part isolated West Germany as well as East Germany, however, and had cost West Germany trading opportunities with East Germany. Brandt believed that trade and recognition would help facilitate rather than impede German reunification.

The Czech government also attempted to take advantage of the new, more flexible attitudes brought by détente in 1968. Under the leadership of Alexander Dubçek, the regime introduced socialism with a human face, a host of reforms that ultimately included free elections and an end to censorship. Dubçek, himself a communist, claimed that these steps would in fact preserve communism.

The Soviet reaction was swift and decisive. In August 1968 an estimated 500,000 Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia, where they met only minimal resistance from a stunned population. The so-called Prague Spring was over. The Czechs did not fight, for to do so would have been futile.

To justify the action, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev announced what became known as the Brezhnev Doctrine. This held that whenever a communist regime was threatened, other communist

A Soviet tank rolls on despite the efforts of protesters who attempt to stop it during the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia to end the Prague Spring, August 21, 1968. (Libor Hajsky/CTK/AP/Wide World Photos)

states had the right and indeed the obligation to intervene. This doctrine would later be invoked to justify the Soviets' 1979 invasion of Afghanistan as well.

The Brezhnev Doctrine understandably alarmed the PRC. Strictly interpreted, the Brezhnev Doctrine could be applied against the PRC itself. Indeed, at the end of the 1960s the Soviets assembled considerable forces along their long common border with China, and Moscow did nothing to dampen rumors that it was contemplating a preemptive nuclear strike against China. In 1969 and 1970 there were actually armed clashes along the border that easily could have escalated into full-scale war.

Such Chinese concerns were a key factor leading to a thaw in relations with the United States. Since the communist victory in China in 1949, the PRC, even more so than the Soviet Union, had been the bëte noire of the conservative Right in the United States, which regarded the loss of China as nothing short of a sellout. The United States and the PRC did not have formal diplomatic ties, and their only talking ground was the UN or through third parties. That ended in February 1972 with the dramatic state visit of President Nixon to Beijing. Nixon, with impeccable Cold Warrior credentials from the 1950s, was perhaps the only U.S. president of the era who could have carried this off. The United States nonetheless moved cautiously, fearful of alarming the Soviet Union and disturbing détente. U.S. negotiators also ran up against the wall of Chinese insistence on the return of Taiwan, which Washington had regarded, since the Chinese Civil War, as the true representative of China. Finally, in 1978 under President Jimmy Carter, the United States established full diplomatic ties with the PRC. The U.S.-PRC thaw was one of the more interesting events of the Cold War and served somewhat to inhibit Soviet aggressive behavior.

Another significant part of détente was the extension of Ostpolitik by Brandt. When he became chancellor of West Germany in 1969, he decisively changed relations with the Soviet bloc nations. In 1970 he concluded a treaty with Moscow whereby West Germany recognized the existing border between East Germany and Poland, implicitly recognizing East Germany itself.

At the same time, even as the war in Vietnam continued, U.S. presidents Johnson and Nixon endeavored to engage the Soviets in a range of discussions. They even raised the possibility of improved relations with the Soviets, to include access to Western technology, if the Vietnam War could be settled. Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger went so far as to declare the world to be multipolar, with East-West relations no longer the central issue in international affairs.

Nixon did not let substantial Soviet aid to North Vietnam interfere with efforts to strengthen détente. Traveling to Moscow in May 1972, he signed two major agreements with Brezhnev: the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, which came to be known as SALT I, and an agreement of principles to regularize relations between the two superpowers. The document held that as each power possessed the capability to destroy the other and much of the rest of the world besides, there was no alternative to the two powers conducting their relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence. The two powers pledged to do their "utmost to avoid military confrontations and to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war." They also pledged to resolve their differences "by peaceful means."

To no one's surprise, this agreement did not usher in an era of perpetual peace. The Soviets, for one thing, had entered into the agreement in the hopes of securing Western trade, investment, and badly needed technology. In the new era of détente, Moscow hoped to achieve its ends while also supporting communist expansion in the developing world by means of proxy forces. Nixon, for his part, announced the Nixon Doctrine in 1973, a rough parallel to Soviet policy whereby the United States would assist other nations in defending themselves against communist aggression but would no longer commit American troops to this effort.

Following the end of the Vietnam War, the United States reduced defense spending to about 5 percent of gross national product (GNP)—from a high of about 9 percent during the war—while the Soviet Union's defense expenditures rose to more than 15 percent of GNP. The Soviet Union also obtained less for its defense spending than the United States and thus was less able to bear the burden of this expense. Certainly, the heavy claim of defense spending played a role in the ultimate collapse of the Soviet Union, but it is by no means clear that this alone brought an end to the Cold War.

Détente led to a tremendous increase in trade between Western nations and the Soviet bloc and greatly aided the communist bloc economies. West European nations and Japan gave extensive loans to the Soviet bloc, most of which were used to prop up communist regimes with short-term spending on consumer goods rather than to invest in long-term economic solutions. Much Western technology also flowed to the Soviet Union. The hope of those supporting détente was that improved trade and economic dependence on the West would discourage aggressive actions by the communist states.

While direct diplomatic confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States decreased in the period of the 1970s, both sides pursued the same goals by supporting proxy states especially in the Middle East and in Africa, the scene of a number of civil wars, including one in Namibia. The late 1970s saw not only an Angolan civil war fueled by support from both the Soviets and from the West but also the actual intervention of Cuban troops in that African nation. The Soviets also benefited from the overthrow of key American ally Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran in 1979. Soon the new Iranian regime had seized as hostages U.S. embassy personnel, beginning a protracted standoff with the United States.

Although President Carter met with Brezhnev in Moscow to approve yet another strategic arms reduction agreement (SALT II) in June 1979, Soviet leaders sent troops into Afghanistan to protect the pro-Moscow communist government there only five months later, sending U.S.-Soviet relations plummeting. Ultimately the Soviets dispatched to Afghanistan some 150,000 men as well as substantial numbers of aircraft and tanks.

Instead of rolling to victory, however, the Soviets came up against tough Afghan guerrilla fighters, the mujahideen, who received modest aid from the United States through Pakistan. It seemed a close parallel with Vietnam, where the Soviets kept an insurgency going against the United States and its allies for more than two decades with only a modest outlay of its own. Relations between the two superpowers suffered further when, to punish the Soviet Union for its actions in Afghanistan, President Carter imposed a U.S. boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics and then began a substantial U.S. military buildup that was continued under his successor.

The cost of globalism for the Soviet Union was also high. With the strain of Afghanistan, international aid commitments, and massive defense spending brought on by the large U.S. buildup and the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI, nicknamed "Star Wars") initiated by President Ronald Reagan, the Soviets simply could not keep up. Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev, who took power in March 1985, therefore had to deal with the consequences of decades of economic mismanagement.

Debate over the basing of the upgraded Pershing II missiles in Europe almost split NATO, but in the end the deployment of these missiles was one of the tipping points that put the Soviet Union on the slippery downward slope of an arms race that it could not win and that ultimately brought their economy to the brink of collapse.

A committed communist, Gorbachev nonetheless believed that the Soviet Union would have to reform itself if it was to compete with the West. His programs of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (transformation) were designed to rebuild the Soviet economy while maintaining communist control over the political life of the state. Unfortunately, his economic reforms produced scant improvement, and his moves to ease censorship often led to civil unrest and ethnic strife as well as national and regional independence movements.

Even as the Soviet Union slid toward chaos domestically, however, Gorbachev scored successes in foreign policy. In the course of two summit meetings with Reagan, he offered concessions and proposed sometimes striking solutions in a manner that led to improved U.S.-Soviet relations and agreements on the reduction of nuclear weapons, including the first agreement in history to eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons. In 1988 Gorbachev ordered the unilateral withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. He also promised publicly to refrain from military intervention in Eastern Europe, and he encouraged open elections in the states of the Soviet empire in Central and Eastern Europe.

After the surprising collapse of the government of East Germany and the dismantling of the Berlin Wall in the autumn of 1989, Gorbachev also agreed to the reunification of Germany and the inclusion in NATO of the new united Germany. Many observers credit Gorbachev, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1990, with being the driving force behind the end of the Cold War. Others cite weaknesses inherent in the Soviet system that had plagued it since its inception. Certainly, Gorbachev deserves great credit for managing the Soviet Union's implosion in a way that avoided significant bloodshed.

U.S. president Ronald Reagan with Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev in Red Square, Moscow, on May 31, 1988. (Ronald Reagan Presidential Library)

Although the Soviet leader's foreign policy was widely hailed abroad, the situation within the Soviet Union continued to deteriorate. Old-line communists considered Gorbachev's policies equivalent to treason. In 1990 several Soviet republics, including the Russian Soviet Federal Republic led by Boris Yeltsin, declared their independence. Gorbachev tried to stem this tide but was unsuccessful. Talks between Soviet authorities and the breakaway republics resulted in the creation of a new Russian federation (or confederation) in August 1991.

Also in August 1991, a number of high-ranking officials representing the rightist faction in the Communist Party placed Gorbachev under house arrest and attempted to seize power. Faced with Yeltsin's courageous intervention on behalf of opposition groups, the coup collapsed after two days. Gorbachev returned to Moscow but was now dependent on Yeltsin, who banned the Communist Party from the new Russian republic. Gorbachev resigned as general secretary of the Communist Party in August 1991.

In December 1991 the presidents of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus created a loose confederation known as the Commonwealth

of Independent States (CIS). Eight other republics subsequently joined, and the CIS formally came into being that same month. Gorbachev resigned as president on December 31, 1991, and the Soviet Union was officially dissolved.

The Cold War was over. Fortunately, it ended with a whimper rather than a bang. Few knowledgeable observers predicted that it would occur as it did. Most assumed that the Soviet Union was incapable of reforming itself and saw the Cold War ending only after the military defeat of the Soviet Union or if some sort of internal violent revolution were to occur in there. Almost no one had perceived the fragility and weakness of the economic and social structures in one of the world's superpowers that ultimately led to its demise.

Of course, the end of the Cold War did not extinguish international tensions and bloodshed. Problems in the Middle East remained unresolved, and the Russian aim to control its former satellite buffer states somewhat continued the Cold War, as in Ukraine and Georgia. Yugoslavia broke apart in bloodshed that threatened to erupt into wider conflict and eventually triggered armed NATO intervention; civil war and famine remained endemic on the African continent already being ravaged by AIDS; nuclear proliferation widened, intensifying the danger of terrorists securing nuclear weapons; and North Korea's dalliance with nuclear weapons remained an ongoing source of concern. If anything, the breakup of the bipolar world increased, rather than lessened, challenges facing the world's diplomats.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Carter, James Earl, Jr.; Carter Doctrine; Eisenhower, Dwight David; France, Middle East Policy; Germany, Federal Republic of, Middle East Policy; Gorbachev, Mikhail; Kennedy, John Fitzgerald; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Nixon, Richard Milhous; Reagan, Ronald Wilson; Soviet-Afghanistan War; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; Truman, Harry S.; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; United Nations; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present; Yeltsin, Boris Nikolayevich

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Cold War Peace Dividend, U.S. Troop/Force Structure Reductions

In the aftermath of the Cold War, the administrations of U.S. presidents George H. W. Bush and William J. Clinton sought to reduce military expenditures to secure a peace dividend whereby spending previously devoted to defense could be redirected to social programs, internal infrastructure improvements, etc. As early as the 1970s, U.S. officials had sought an elusive peace dividend from savings following the Vietnam War, which ended for the United States in January 1973.

In the late 1980s as Cold War tensions eased substantially, the George H. W. Bush administration developed plans to reduce the nation's force structure while also cutting spending on advanced weaponry, including weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). The administration pursued a three-track strategy that included reductions in standing troops and the redeployment of forces, consolidation of military bases and facilities, and arms control and disarmament efforts. All three tracks were interrelated. As arms control measures such as the 1990 Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe mandated significant cuts in standing military forces in Europe, the United States was able to redeploy and reduce troop strength and eliminate both foreign and domestic bases. The United States was also able to decommission sizable numbers of nuclear missile forces, a result of historic arms-reduction efforts begun under Bush's predecessor, President Ronald Reagan.

Under the Bush administration, the number of active duty U.S. military personnel was reduced from 2.24 million in 1989 to 1.92 million by 1992. The number of U.S. forces deployed overseas was also reduced significantly. For example, U.S. forces in Europe declined from 300,000 in 1989 to 150,000 by 1993. U.S. military expenditures fell from 5.5 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) to 4.8 percent from 1989. Overall, defense spending fell from $303.4 billion in 1989 to $273.3 billion in 1991 before rising again to $298.4 billion in 1992 with the costs associated with the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Bush reoriented U.S. defense policy so that the nation's military was no longer mandated to be prepared to fight two major military campaigns simultaneously (for instance, a World War II–style campaign in Europe and a similar effort in Asia). Instead, the Pentagon was required to be ready to fight simultaneously two regional conflicts of the size and scale of the 1991 Persian Gulf War. The administration also initiated a series of military facility closures and consolidations under the Base Realignment and Closure Commission (BRAC). Throughout the 1990s there were four rounds of cuts under BRAC, including the closure of 97 major domestic bases and 55 realignments. Overseas, more than 960 facilities were closed. BRAC produced $16 billion in savings during the 1990s, with annual savings thereafter of at least $6 billion.

In 1993 the Clinton administration launched the Bottom-Up Review (BUR) of U.S. defense needs and capabilities. BUR kept the requirement to fight two simultaneous regional conflicts but suggested a new approach, the win-hold-win strategy in which

the country would maintain the capability to win one regional war while preventing defeat in the second (the hold strategy). After victory in the first conflict, forces would be redeployed to the second to gain victory. BUR also recommended $105 billion in defense cuts through 1999. These recommendations became the basis for the Clinton administration's defense policy.

By 2000 U.S. forces had been reduced to 1.49 million, while defense expenditures had been cut to 3 percent of GDP. Defense spending declined from 1993 through 1998, falling from $291.1 billion in 1993 to $268.5 billion in 1998; however, spending did increase in 1999 and 2000, rising to $294.5 billion the last full year Clinton was in office (2000).

A range of problems emerged with the Cold War peace dividend. The first was that the reduction in defense expenditures contributed to the 1992–1993 recession, as defense firms cut research and production and laid off approximately one-third of all their civilian workers by the late 1990s. Especially hard hit were California, Massachusetts, and Texas, which were home to significant numbers of high-tech and defense-related firms. There was also a wave of mergers and consolidations among military contractors, resulting in an industry dominated by several large firms including Boeing, General Dynamics, Haliburton, Northrop Grumman, and Lockheed Martin. By 1998, more than 500 smaller defense firms had gone out of business or had been acquired by larger competitors.

In addition, the BRAC closings had a significant impact on many communities that had come to depend on military facilities to power the local economy. While some localities were able to recover quickly by using the former military facilities in new and often innovative ways, other towns and cities were hard-pressed to replace the impact of federal outlays. One result was increased political opposition to BRAC's recommendations. The cuts in military personnel were not accompanied by significant alterations in force structures in that the U.S. military continued to emphasize conventional forces designed to counter Cold War–style threats instead of transitioning to lighter, more mobile forces. Troop reductions also created future problems by increasing the reliance on military reserve units and National Guard forces. This became a major problem after 2003, when the George W. Bush administration attempted to wage two wars simultaneously without making any arrangements for a larger standing force.

Tom Lansford

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Clinton, William Jefferson; Cold War; National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993; United States Department of Defense, Military Reform, Realignment, and Transformation

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Cole, USS, Attack on
Event Date: October 12, 2000

The attack on USS *Cole* in Yemen on October 12, 2000, marked the first time a modern U.S. Navy warship was successfully targeted by terrorists. On October 12, 2000, the 8,600-ton displacement (full load), 506-foot-long U.S. Navy destroyer *Cole* (DDG-67) was docked in the Yemeni port of Aden for a refueling stop. At 11:18 a.m. local time, 2 suicide bombers in a small harbor skiff pulled alongside the anchored ship and detonated explosives. The blast killed both bombers and 17 members of the *Cole*'s crew; another 39 were injured.

The explosives blew a gaping hole in the ship's hull that measured 35 feet high and 36 feet long. Crew members aboard the *Cole* clearly recollect having seen the 2 men as they approached the ship. The bombers, however, made no untoward moves and indeed appeared friendly. Several aboard the *Cole* believed that the men were workers for the harbor services, collecting trash or performing some other kind of routine task. When the skiff neared the ship, there was no warning of trouble until the explosion.

Three days later, the stricken destroyer was taken aboard the Norwegian ship *Blue Marlin* off Yemen and transported to the United States. It reached its home port of Norfolk, Virginia, in December and continued on to Pascagoula, Mississippi, for extensive renovations. Repairs took approximately one year and cost more than $240 million. While still undergoing repair, the ship was towed a short distance to a mooring at Ingalls Shipbuilding in southern Mississippi on September 16, 2001, in a symbolic message of the nation's resolve following the September 11, 2001, World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks.

U.S. and Yemeni officials stated on the day after the bombing that key suspects in the affair had fled to safety in Afghanistan. There was no immediate credible claim of responsibility, but American officials made Al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden as the focus of their investigation. Still, however, some military and national security officials faulted the Bill Clinton and George W. Bush administrations for failing to take appropriate retaliatory measures after the bombing.

The *Cole* bombing prompted an investigation into the ease with which the attackers were able to approach the ship. An initial Pentagon inquiry found that the commanding officer had acted reasonably and that the facts did not warrant any punitive action against him or any other member of the *Cole*'s crew.

Coordination between U.S. and Yemeni officials investigating the incident was aided by a counterterrorism agreement signed by Yemen and the United States in 1998, and the trial of 12 suspects

The U.S. Navy destroyer *Cole* being towed from the port city of Aden, Yemen, by the oceangoing tug USNS *Catawba* following the attack on the destroyer on October 12, 2000, that badly damaged the *Cole* and killed 17 members of its crew. (U.S. Department of Defense)

formally commenced in June 2004. In late September 2004, Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri and Jamal Mohammed al-Badawi both received the death penalty for their participation in the terrorist act. Four other participants were sentenced to 5–10 years in jail.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Terrorism; Yemen

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Combined Forces Command, Afghanistan

The highest-level U.S. military command in Afghanistan for Operation enduring freedom from November 2003 to February 2007. By the spring of 2003, combat operations in Afghanistan had scaled down. As a result of the relatively stable environment in the country and to conserve manpower, which was now crucial with the beginning of Operation iraqi freedom in March 2003, the headquarters in Afghanistan shifted from a three-star corps-level command down to that of a two-star division level, designated Combined Joint Task Force 180 (CJTF-180). Overwhelmed with too many tasks, however, the CJTF focused on issues relating directly to military operations rather than on larger political and strategic concerns.

In the summer of 2003 the commanding general of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), General John Abizaid, decided that Afghanistan required a different and more effective headquarters organization that could focus on political-military efforts. In September 2003 Abizaid ordered the creation of a new three-star–level coalition headquarters in Afghanistan to take over high-level political, military, and strategic planning, which would permit the divisional headquarters to focus on combat operations. Newly promoted lieutenant general David W. Barno took command in October 2003.

Barno moved the new headquarters out of Bagram Air Base, which was the headquarters for CJTF-180, into the Afghan capital of Kabul. He began with a staff of six and had to borrow facilities and personnel from CJTF-180 to operate. Staff also came from active-duty personnel from all U.S. military services and from the U.S. reserve forces as individual ready reservists and individual mobilization augmentees, service members serving separately from rather than with a unit. Coalition partners also contributed personnel. Great Britain, for example, filled the deputy commander

position. In early 2004 the new headquarters was designated Combined Forces Command–Afghanistan (CFC-A). By 2005, the CFC-A had grown to a staff of more than 400 personnel, about 10 percent of whom were from coalition nations including France, South Korea, and Turkey. The CFC-A provided needed continuity because rotations of the staff were staggered to keep some personnel with knowledge and experience in the command at all times; meanwhile, combat units rotating through Afghanistan stayed for a year or less and were replaced with units often unfamiliar with conditions on the ground.

The CFC-A was responsible for Afghanistan as well as southern Uzbekistan, southern Tajikistan, and Pakistan, with the exception of Jammu and Kashmir. CFC-A commanders regularly traveled and coordinated with senior leadership in these countries. During the command's duration, Afghan and Pakistani leaders met with the CFC-A commander for a quarterly conference to coordinate border security and other issues. Under Barno's command, the CFC-A also had a close working relationship with the U.S. embassy in Kabul, headed by Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad. Taking a few staff members with him, Barno moved into an office in the embassy and lived in a trailer complex within the embassy compound. Barno and Khalilzad coordinated and integrated military and civilian efforts throughout Afghanistan.

In early 2004 Barno established regional commands, designated Regional Command East, Regional Command South, and Regional Command West. The regional commanders assumed responsibility for all military forces in their areas of operation. Before this change military units stayed on large bases, went out into the countryside to conduct an operation for a week or two, and then returned to their bases. The new organization allowed commanders to become more familiar with their areas of operation, work in them for the duration of their tours of duty in Afghanistan, and build relationships with local Afghans as part of a counterinsurgency campaign to prevent the reemergence of the Taliban and other insurgent groups.

One of the first tasks of the CFC-A was to create a campaign plan for Afghanistan to address security, stability, and reconstruction issues. Begun by the British director of planning, this campaign plan evolved into a counterinsurgency approach supported by the U.S. embassy, the Afghan government, and the international community. It required keeping the Afghan people the central focus of the campaign rather than killing the enemy. The strategy included a broad range of activities meant to defeat terrorism and deny the enemy safe sanctuary, enable the Afghans to provide their own security, promote good local and provincial governments, and encourage reconstruction.

During his tenure, Barno had to respond to accusations that American military personnel acted too aggressively and used firepower too heavily when conducting military operations. As a result, the CFC-A created a list of guidelines for American military personnel to follow during operations in order to reduce tensions with the Afghan people. One guideline, for example, required service members to ask locals to open locked doors whenever possible instead of forcing entry.

Lieutenant General Karl W. Eikenberry took over command of the CFC-A in May 2005, shifting the emphasis of operations back to fighting enemy forces. He also moved back into the military compound located at Bagram Air Base. Eikenberry oversaw the transition of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM from an American-led operation to an effort led by the international community. In mid-2005 the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) began to take responsibility for military operations in Afghanistan, beginning in the north and moving into the west and south. In late 2006 NATO assumed command of all operations throughout Afghanistan except for an area along the Pakistan border, which U.S. forces still control. With this shift in responsibility to NATO, Eikenberry supervised the closure of the CFC-A, which was deactivated in February 2007. Combined Joint Task Force 76, a division-level command based on the U.S. Army's Southern European Task Force and 173rd Airborne Brigade, both deployed from Italy, assumed responsibility for all U.S. forces in Afghanistan, while the Combined Security Transition Command–Afghanistan, another division-level command, retained the mission to train the Afghan National Army and police forces. Before the dissolution of the CFC-A, General John Abizaid presented the command with three Joint Meritorious Unit Awards.

LISA M. MUNDEY

See also

Abizaid, John Philip; Afghanistan; Barno, David William; Combined Joint Task Force 180; Combined Security Transition Command–Afghanistan; Eikenberry, Karl W.; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; United States Central Command

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Combined Joint Task Force 180

The highest-level U.S. military organization in Afghanistan during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM from May 2002 to November 2003. The Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) included the two-star divisional command from November 2003 to February 2007 and one of the two division-level U.S. military headquarters from February 2007 onward.

In December 2001 Major General Franklin L. Hagenbeck established a military headquarters to command U.S. Army forces operating in Afghanistan. In accordance with standard operations, it was designated Coalition Forces Land Component Command Forward, or CFLCC (Forward). Located in Karshi Kandabad, Uzbekistan, CFLCC (Forward) oversaw combat operations and logistics during the early phases of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, which had begun in October 2001. While CFLCC (Forward) commanded U.S. Army forces, other military units, such as air assets, special operations forces, and coalition troops, all reported through separate chains of command and to different commanders.

A new three-star corps-level headquarters was created to bring U.S. military forces in Afghanistan under one senior commander, who reported directly to United States Central Command (CENTCOM), the organization that has overall authority for U.S. military operations in the Middle East. In May 2002 Lieutenant General Daniel K. McNeill took command of the new headquarters, designated Combined Joint Task Force 180 (CJTF-180). It was established at Bagram Air Base, close to Afghanistan's capital, Kabul. Personnel for CJTF-180 came from the XVIII Airborne Corps Headquarters as well as from the U.S. Marine Corps, the U.S. Air Force, and coalition forces. A brigadier general from the U.S. Air Force acted as both the deputy commander for CJTF-180 and the commander for the air component. Aviation, logistics, Special Forces, and civil-military operations all reported to CJTF-180.

Hagenbeck's command, now renamed Coalition Task Force Mountain, became subordinate to CJTF-180. Coalition Task Force Mountain served as the tactical headquarters directing ground forces. The CJTF-180's mission focused on hunting down the remnants of the Taliban and Al Qaeda terrorist organization. Combat operations centered on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border and included air assaults into areas of suspected enemy activity, the use of aerial bombardment against enemy compounds, the capture of Al Qaeda and Taliban fighters and leaders, and the interception of enemy forces along the border. In 2002 the 82nd Airborne took over responsibility for CJTF-180, and the 10th Mountain Division returned for another rotation leading CJTF-180 in 2003.

American and coalition military operations successfully disrupted Al Qaeda and Taliban forces. By the spring of 2003 the military scaled back combat operations to focus on stability and reconstruction efforts. With this shift in focus and to save on manpower with a new war beginning in Iraq in March 2003, CJTF-180 was downsized to a two-star division. The smaller CJTF-180 continued to have responsibility for tasks usually given to three-star commands as well as the duties assigned to two-star headquarters. Overwhelmed with too many missions, CJTF-180 focused on issues relating directly to combat operations rather than the larger strategic concerns of a corps-level headquarters. To address this issue, CENTCOM ordered the creation of a new three-star headquarters in October 2003, designated Combined Forces Command–Afghanistan (CFC-A). While the CFC-A took over strategic and political efforts, CJTF-180 served as the two-star division-level command for combat operations. CJTF-180 then initiated a series of campaigns to fight the growing Taliban insurgency and clear the Afghanistan-Pakistan border of enemy forces. In December 2003 CJTF-180 forces also provided security for the Afghan *loya jirga* ("grand assembly") that chose a constitution.

When the 25th Infantry Division rotated into Afghanistan in April 2004, it took over responsibility for CJTF-180, which was renamed CJTF-76. CJTF-76 conducted combat and presence patrols in villages, air assault operations into suspected enemy strongholds, and cordon and search operations to cut off and surround suspected enemy compounds. It also provided security for national elections, supporting reconstruction efforts and tightening border security. By 2004 the Taliban had changed tactics from fighting coalition forces in large numbers to targeting soft nonmilitary targets, such as civilian aid agencies. As a response, the coalition adopted a counterinsurgency strategy to develop relationships with the Afghan people rather than focusing exclusively on combat operations to kill and capture enemy forces. In May 2005 the Southern European Task Force replaced the 25th Infantry Division as the CJTF-76.

In mid-2005 the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) began to take over responsibility for combat operations in Afghanistan, assuming full control in late 2006. With this change in command authority, the CFC-A was inactivated in February 2007, elevating CJTF-76 to the highest U.S. combat command in Afghanistan. The Combined Security Transition Command is the other divisional command and has the responsibility for training Afghan security forces. The CJTF controls Regional Command East, which encompasses 14 provinces along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. Its mission is to provide security along the border, support the Afghan Army and police forces, remove corrupt or ineffective provincial leaders, and continue to seek out and destroy Al Qaeda and Taliban forces.

The designation for the CJTF changed with each new rotation. During 2006–2007 the 82nd Airborne named it CJTF-82, and the 101st Airborne named it CJTF-101 during the next rotation. Although the CJTF has continued to search for suspected insurgents and has conducted combat operations to deny sanctuary to enemy forces, the Taliban regained strength and numbers during 2007 and 2008. As a result, the CJTF has refocused it efforts on killing enemy forces and an aggressive use of airpower.

LISA M. MUNDEY

See also

Afghanistan; Coalition Force Land Component Command–Afghanistan; Combined Forces Command, Afghanistan; Combined Security Transition Command–Afghanistan; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Hagenbeck, Franklin L.; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan; United States Central Command

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Combined Security Transition Command–Afghanistan

The mission of the Combined Security Transition Command–Afghanistan (CSTC-A) is to assist in the development of a stable Afghanistan, strengthen the rule of law, and combat terrorism by working in partnership with the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and other elements of the international community that are engaged in coordinated activities. As a primary component of this mission, the CSTC-A provides plans and programs and implements reforms for the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF), which consists of the Afghan National Army (ANA) and the Afghan National Police (ANP). On April 4, 2006, the Office of Security Cooperation–Afghanistan (OSC-A) was redesignated as the CSTC-A and headquartered at Camp Eggers in Kabul. The CSTC-A is a joint military services organization that draws military personnel from several coalition partners and employs thousands of civilian contract personnel.

The CSTC-A provides military and civilian personnel to help both the Afghan Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of the Interior organize, train, equip, employ, and support the ANSF in its war against the Taliban and Al Qaeda insurgency and its allied functions of providing internal security, fostering conditions for economic development, and gaining the support of Afghanistan's populace. The goal is to create an ANSF that is professional, literate, representative of the ethnic diversity of the country, and competent to perform its security functions.

Examples of specific tasks include recruiting soldiers and policemen; providing training both for the personnel and the recruiters; organizing the Ministry of Defense and Ministry of the Interior; mentoring the military general staff and civilian political leaders; acquiring weapons, uniforms, and equipment; and developing policies and processes required by a modern army and police force. The CSTC-A also assists the ANSF in establishing matériel acquisition systems, personnel systems, and other internal infrastructure needed for effective security forces and operations.

The CSTC-A, which is under the organizational control of the United States Central Command (CENTCOM), has several thousand military personnel and thousands of civilian contract personnel directly attached to it. It also has operational control over the Combined Joint Task Force–Phoenix (CJTF-Phoenix), which has a military strength of more than 6,000 personnel. CJTF-Phoenix concentrates directly on training, mentoring, and advising the ANA and the ANP. The CSTC-A also coordinates with other international groups that are engaged in similar tasks, such as the European Police Mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL Afghanistan).

The CSTC-A is a prime example of the evolving and changing administrative structures dedicated to developing and assisting Afghanistan in assuming responsibility for its own destiny.

Joe P. Dunn

See also

Afghanistan; Combined Forces Command, Afghanistan; International Security Assistance Force; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan; Task Force Phoenix; United States Central Command

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Cone, Robert

Birth Date: March 19, 1957

U.S. Army officer who assumed command of the Combined Security Transition Command–Afghanistan (CSTC-A) on July 16, 2007. The CSTC-A employs military personnel from a number of coalition nations and civilian contract agents in a wide range of activities to assist in the development of a stable Afghanistan. At the heart of this development is the building, training, mentoring, and professionalization of the Afghanistan National Security Forces (ANSF), which consists of the Afghan National Army (ANA) and the Afghan National Police (ANP). The CSTC-A reports to the United States Central Command (CENTCOM).

Robert Cone was born on March 19, 1957, in Manchester, New Hampshire, and was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the armor branch upon graduation from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1979. He earned a master of arts degree in sociology from the University of Texas at Austin in 1987 and a master of arts degree in national security and strategic studies from the Naval War College in 1988. He was promoted to brigadier general on May 1, 2004, and to major general on August 8, 2007.

Cone's previous command assignments included 1st Squadron, 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, III Corps, at Fort Bliss, Texas, and later at Fort Carson, Colorado, and 2nd Brigade, 4th Infantry Division (Mechanized), at Fort Hood, Texas. His staff

positions included executive officer, 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment, Fulda, Germany; operations officer, 4th Infantry Division, Fort Hood, Texas; director, Joint Advanced Warfighting Program, Institute for Defense Analysis, Alexandria, Virginia; and director, Joint Center for Operation Analysis, U.S. Joint Forces Command, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. Cone has also served as an instructor and an assistant professor at the U.S. Military Academy. His immediate previous assignment before becoming commanding general of CSTC-A was commanding general, U.S. Army National Training Center and Fort Irwin in California.

At an October 2008 ceremony to celebrate the inauguration of a sleeve insignia patch for the CSTC-A, Major General Cone reflected that over the last year during his command, the ANA had fielded 2 brigade headquarters and 24 battalions; 26 units had received a military competency rating to operate on their own; ANA units had led 62 percent of operations, which constituted a 14 percent increase over the previous year; the Afghanistan Army Air Corps was flying 90 percent of the missions to support the ANA; and 20,000 new ANP soldiers were in the field in 24 districts under reform.

JOE P. DUNN

See also

Afghan National Army; Afghanistan; Combined Security Transition Command–Afghanistan; United States Central Command

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Conscientious Objection and Dissent in the U.S. Military

Conscientious objection—the refusal to wage war because of religious, ethical, moral, philosophical, or humanitarian convictions—is a basic human right confirmed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and other United Nations (UN) conventions, including the nonbinding 1998 General Assembly resolution that explicitly asserts the right for soldiers already performing military service to claim conscientious objector status. In international law, conscientious objection is complemented by Article 4 of the Nuremberg Principles established after World War II, which mandates that following orders does not relieve one from responsibility for war crimes. Although bona fide conscientious objector status has been a part of the American identity since the Revolutionary War, conscientious objection by members of the U.S. armed forces since 2001 has frequently proven controversial, with many conscientious objectors imprisoned or driven into exile. Issues surrounding conscientious objector status and dissent during the 1991 Persian Gulf War were extremely limited in scope because of the very short duration of that conflict.

The U.S. Department of Defense Directive 1300.6 (revised 2007) provides a narrowed definition of conscientious objection. Conscientious objectors may be officially recognized if claimants establish "sincere objection to participation in war in any form, or the bearing of arms, by reason of religious training and/or belief." While the Defense Department guidelines do encompass "moral and ethical beliefs" outside traditional religion, they exclude "selective" conscientious objection to specific conflicts or modes of warfare. Each armed service has regulations codifying the processing of conscientious objector claimants (e.g., chaplain and psychiatrist interviews, a hearing before an investigating officer, Defense Department review board, etc). In accordance with inactive Selective Service guidelines for conscription, bona fide conscientious objectors are to be discharged from the military or reassigned to noncombatant duties.

Between 2002 and 2006, the Pentagon reported 425 requests for conscientious objector status, with 224 (53 percent) approved, covering both the Afghan War and the Iraq War. However, in September 2007 the U.S. Government Accountability Office acknowledged a potential underreporting of applicants. Meanwhile, a consortium of churches, veterans, and peace groups networked in the GI Rights Hotline has reported counseling thousands of soldiers who have experienced a crisis of conscience. Alleging that many conscientious objection claims are not represented in official figures because they never reach the Pentagon, the Center for Conscience and War has lobbied Congress for new legislation that would streamline conscientious objector processing and recognize the "selective" objection encompassed by UN guidelines and many religious doctrines. At the same time, dissenting soldiers have continued to manifest objection to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq in other ways.

Echoing similar actions by the GI Movement against the Vietnam War, these demonstrations of opposition to U.S. war policies are rooted in isolated acts of individual conscience. However, the current all-volunteer U.S. armed forces means that today's conscientious objectors are in an entirely different situation than those in the Vietnam War–era, when the draft brought hundreds of thousands into the armed forces involuntarily. Since today's conscientious objectors volunteered to join the armed forces, implying their willingness at least at the time of enlistment to engage in combat, the Defense Department understandably carefully examines each petition for conscientious objector status today.

The first soldier to publicly oppose Operation IRAQI FREEDOM was Marine Reserve lance corporal Stephen Funk, who learned of the possibility of claiming conscientious objector status just before his unit was activated in February 2003, a month before the war began. After missing deployment to prepare his conscientious objection claim, Funk turned himself in and explained that he went public with his claim to allow others to realize that conscientious objector status was an option. Because of his unauthorized absence, Funk's

conscientious objection claim was not processed, and he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a bad conduct discharge.

In the months that followed, as public criticism of the George W. Bush administration's justifications for the Iraq War intensified and American occupation policies drew international censure, more U.S. service members became disillusioned. By the beginning of 2006, according to a Zogby Poll, almost 30 percent of American troops in Iraq wanted the United States to withdraw immediately, and 72 percent believed that American forces should leave the country within a year. An *Army Times* poll conducted later that same year revealed that only 41 percent of soldiers believed the war should have occurred. Press reports have noted increased alcohol and drug abuse, and one out of three combat veterans has sought psychological counseling. Also, between 2002 and 2008, the U.S. Army suicide rate nearly doubled. Although other factors related to military service, such as more frequent overseas deployments, multiple combat tours, the pressures of family separations, etc., are more likely contributing factors in the rise in the negative statistics, opposition to the war should not be ruled out.

Meanwhile, roughly 150 members of the U.S. military have publicly refused to fight, resulting in criminal charges, imprisonment, and bad conduct discharges. Some of them were declared as prisoners of conscience by the human rights organization Amnesty International. The more highly publicized cases include Staff Sergeant Camilo Mejia, an army squad leader who refused to return to Iraq from leave in 2003 and sentenced to 12 months in prison; Kevin Benderman, an army sergeant and Iraq War veteran who resisted redeployment in 2005 and was sentenced to 15 months in prison; U.S. Navy petty officer 3rd Class Pablo Paredes, who abandoned ship in 2004 and was sentenced to 3 months' hard labor without confinement; and Texas Army National Guard specialist Katherine Jashinski, who after her conscientious objector

U.S. Army sergeant Kevin Benderman, center, is led away by military police on July 28, 2005, following his court-martial at Fort Stewart, Georgia. Benderman refused deployment to Iraq and had sought conscientious objector status. Acquitted of desertion, Benderman was found guilty of a lesser charge and sentenced to 15 months in prison. (AP/Wide World Photos)

claim was denied following 18 months of processing was court-martialed in 2006 for refusing weapons training in preparation for deployment to Afghanistan and was sentenced to 120 days of confinement. These cases unfolded amid the climate of a threefold increase, between 2002 and 2006, in the number of army soldiers court-martialed for desertion, defined by the military as being absent without leave (AWOL) for more than 30 days. Most deserters were to be serving in Iraq; desertion rates for those serving in Afghanistan have been considerably lower.

While tens of thousands of service members have gone AWOL since 2001, such absences range from as short as a few hours to as long as weeks and months. It is impossible to know for certain service members' individual reasons for being AWOL; however, some 200 have sought sanctuary in Canada, where more than three dozen have formally applied for political asylum. Refusing to consider the legality of the Iraq War, the sitting Conservative government refused to grant any of the AWOL Americans official refugee status. However, on June 3, 2008, the Canadian Parliament passed a nonbinding resolution asking the prime minister to allow conscientious objectors from wars not sanctioned by the UN to become Canadian residents. Canadian courts have stayed a number of threatened deportations.

Questions concerning the Iraq War's legality as well as the limited Defense Department definition of conscientious objection have also been highlighted in the prosecution of First Lieutenant Ehren Watada, a U.S. Army infantry officer who asserted in June 2006 that it was his "command responsibility" to refuse participation in "war crimes." In February 2007 a court-martial judge declared a mistrial, ruling that the legality of Watada's deployment orders was a "nonjusticiable political question." That October, the army's attempt at another court-martial was declared unconstitutional double jeopardy by a U.S. District Court, which ruled that Watada could not be tried on three of the five counts with which he was charged. At the end of 2008 Watada remained on active duty at Fort Lewis, Washington, as the Defense Department decided whether to appeal the case further or to try him on the two remaining counts of conduct unbecoming an officer.

The contested nature of active service members' First Amendment right to free speech provided the context for another high-profile development in military dissent. Knowing that soldiers are explicitly permitted by law to contact their congressional representatives, in late 2006 U.S. Navy seaman Jonathan Hutto instigated an "Appeal for Redress," an Internet statement and organizing tool that by the end of 2008 had mobilized more than 2,200 service members, including some 100 field officers, to publicly declare that "As a patriotic American proud to serve the nation in uniform, I respectfully urge my political leaders in Congress to support the prompt withdrawal of all American military forces and bases from Iraq. Staying in Iraq will not work and is not worth the price. It is time for U.S. troops to come home."

Hutto has sought assistance from and has been supported by David Cortright, a Vietnam War veteran and author of *Soldiers in Revolt,* an account of military dissent during that war; Courage to Resist, a San Francisco–based coalition of activists that originated in community support mobilized during Lance Corporal Funk's court-martial in 2003; and Iraq Veterans against the War (IVAW), the 1,200-member organization eventually joined by most of today's military objectors.

Modeled after the influential Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) group established in 1967, the IVAW was founded in 2004 at the annual convention of Veterans for Peace, a national peace group encompassing all veterans who have embraced nonviolence. Like the "Appeal for Redress," these organizations have capitalized on the credibility gained by their members having served their country in uniform to legitimate their antiwar message.

It is unknown what effect the new U.S. administration of President Barack Obama will have on the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq or the military policies related to conscientious objection and the growth of military dissent. It is clear, however, that the realities of combat will not change and that the legacy of America's Global War on Terror will continue to shape American society and its military for years to come.

The point needs to be emphasized that the vast majority of the members of the all-volunteer U.S. Armed Forces (as of 2009, this represents 1.5 million active component personnel and 850,000 in the reserve components), regardless of how they might personally feel about the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War, continue to perform their duties as they signed on to do. Despite several high-profile instances of war resistance and of military personnel claiming conscientious objector status, the impact of such actions has apparently not had an appreciable effect on armed forces recruiting or on reenlistment rates, both of which remain high.

Jeff Richard Schutts

See also

Abu Ghraib; enduring freedom, Operation; iraqi freedom, Operation; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Containment Policy

Key U.S. foreign policy strategy during the Cold War that was also applied in the Middle East. It is impossible to understand the origins and course of the Cold War without comprehending the policy, or doctrine, of containment. The concept can be traced back to February 1946 when George F. Kennan, deputy head of the U.S. mission in Moscow, sent an 8,000-word telegram to

Secretary of State James F. Byrnes. In the message, dubbed the "Long Telegram," Kennan provided both an analysis of Soviet behavior and a diplomatic strategy to deal with Moscow. Arguing that "at the bottom of the Kremlin's neurotic view of world affairs is the instinctive Russian sense of insecurity," Kennan went on to suggest that Soviet leader Joseph Stalin required a hostile international environment to legitimize his autocratic rule. Kennan also asserted that the Marxist-Leninist ideology upon which Stalin had built his regime contained elements of a messianism that envisioned the spread of Soviet influence and conflict with capitalism. The only way to stop the communist contagion, Kennan opined, was to strengthen Western institutions, apply appropriate counterforce when needed, and wait for the Soviet system to either implode under its own weight or sufficiently mellow so that it could be rationally bargained with. In short, the Soviets were to be contained. Kennan, however, was not at all specific as to how containment was to be achieved.

Although U.S. policy toward the Soviets had already begun to take on elements of containment, Kennan's missive struck like a lightning bolt in Washington. Indeed, Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal immediately took note of the telegram and used it as further justification for his own hard-line views of the Soviet Union. Kennan returned to Washington something of a hero to anti-Soviet hawks in the Harry Truman administration and became the first director of the U.S. State Department's policy planning staff. Kennan served in that capacity during April 1947–December 1949.

In the meantime, the containment policy continued to gain traction. The first public invocation of the strategy came in March 1947. Concerned about the communist insurgency in the Greek Civil War and instability in neighboring Turkey, Truman addressed a joint session of Congress, ostensibly to request aid money for Greece and Turkey. Clearly echoing Kennan's Long Telegram, Truman stated in what became known as the Truman Doctrine that we must "support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." The United States had now taken on the responsibility of helping any nation fighting against communism.

Next came the June 1947 announcement of the Marshall Plan (of which Kennan was the chief architect). The Marshall Plan aimed at fostering European reconstruction. But it was also a program clearly aimed at containing Soviet influence and keeping it out of Western Europe. In July 1947 Kennan anonymously wrote an article for the influential journal *Foreign Affairs.* Dubbed the "X" article for its supposed anonymity, it went even further than Kennan's earlier telegram. Using somewhat alarmist language, Kennan asserted that U.S. policy toward the Soviets must be a "patient but firm vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies." The "X" article gave full voice to containment, although Kennan would soon argue that policy makers had unnecessarily militarized the idea.

In November 1948 Truman approved a top-secret memo (NSC-20/4) from the National Security Council (NSC) that made the containment of Soviet influence a key precept of American foreign policy. The formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in April 1949 further entrenched containment. But up until 1950, containment had been largely limited to economic and institutional mechanisms. The Korean War changed that forever. In April 1950 the NSC had produced what is considered one of the seminal documents of the early Cold War. This report, known as NSC-68, was a call to arms. It presented in stark terms the low level of U.S. military capabilities while playing up Soviet motives and capabilities. The NSC claimed 1954 to be the "year of maximum danger," a time during which the Soviet Union would possess sufficient nuclear and conventional military capacity to launch a catastrophic strike against the United States. The only way to avoid such a possibility was to embark on a massive rearmament program. Truman shelved the project because the political environment would not have tolerated such an expensive program.

U.S. president Harry Truman addresses Congress on March 12, 1947. Truman spelled out what became known as the Truman Doctrine, a program whereby the United States would provide assistance to those countries resisting pressures from communism. It became the cornerstone of the U.S. containment policy. (Harry S. Truman Presidential Library)

After the Korean War began in June 1950, however, the political climate had indeed changed. Truman approved NSC-68 in September, and the nation undertook a massive and permanent mobilization, allowing it to react to crises anywhere in the world. Containment was now fully militarized and would remain so (although defense budgets would wax and wane) until the end of the Cold War. Containment not only produced a permanent and large military establishment—not to mention a constantly expanding nuclear arsenal—but also informed policy makers' thinking toward all type of foreign threats. Indeed, the domino theory, a corollary of sorts to containment, can be traced to the

Truman years, although it became de rigueur under Dwight Eisenhower and his immediate successors. Concerned that communist insurgencies in Indochina would result in a domino effect in which one nation after the other would fall to what was incorrectly assumed to be a monolithic communist empire controlled by Moscow, U.S. policy makers decided to hold the line in Vietnam. Ultimately, this thinking helped bring the long and tortuous debacle of the Vietnam War. The domino theory was also applied in other areas where communist advances were feared, including Africa, Central and South America, and the Middle East.

As the U.S. containment policy matured, critics from both sides of the political spectrum attacked it. Many on the Left, epitomized by Franklin D. Roosevelt's former vice president, Henry Wallace, attacked the policy from a moral standpoint, arguing that the United States was acting hypocritically by seeking to impose a stringent moral code on the Soviet Union that America itself often did not live up to. In effect, Wallace argued that the United States was not good enough to hold the Soviet Union to a standard of behavior that the United States was unwilling to apply to its own actions. Critics on the Far Right were just as vocal but argued that containment did not go far enough in rolling back communist global gains. Merely containing the spread of communism, many on the Right claimed, was a totally defensive measure that gave tacit acceptance by Washington of the status quo. Those espousing this position demanded that the United States instead take offensive action to roll back communism, regardless of the risks involved. Even somewhat more moderate critics, such as Walter Lippman, criticized the containment policy, predicting that the vast expenditure of economic and military resources that must be committed in the attempt to contain communism everywhere in the world would only weaken the United States more than it would harm the Soviet Union. Although these various arguments against containment waxed and waned during the nearly half century of the Cold War, they never completely disappeared.

During the 1970s as détente between the United States and the Soviet Union flourished and with the aftermath of the Vietnam War still fresh in Americans' minds, containment appeared less attractive. During President Ronald Reagan's tenure in office (1981–1989), containment was virtually abandoned. In its place was the belief that the Soviet Union should be defeated rather than merely contained. Reagan attempted to do this by engaging the United States in a major military buildup, announcing his controversial Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and signaling his intention to employ American nuclear might against any Soviet advance. The theory behind the approach was that the United States would force the Soviets into bankruptcy by forcing them to keep up with U.S. military advances. In the end the Soviet Union did fall, although it is inaccurate and overly simplistic to suggest that Reagan's policies alone caused the collapse. The Soviet system had within it the seeds of its own destruction. Kennan made that clear 50 years ago. And since Truman's time, every president employed all or part of containment to hasten the demise of the Soviet Union.

While not specifically formulated for the Middle East, the containment policy nevertheless informed U.S. policy in the region. Indeed, between the late 1940s and the end of the Cold War in 1991, the United States built alliances with various Middle Eastern nations in an attempt to check or contain Soviet influence in the region. An example of this was the Baghdad Pact, a treaty of mutual cooperation and mutual defense among the nations of Turkey, Iraq, Pakistan, Iran, and Great Britain agreed to in February 1955. Also known as the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) or the Middle East Treaty Organization (METO), it was part of a wider effort by the United States and the West in general to establish regional alliances to contain the spread of Soviet influence.

Until the 1979 Iranian Revolution, Iran was the strongest Middle Eastern U.S. ally and the recipient of hundreds of millions of U.S. dollars in aid and military hardware. Saudi Arabia and Israel have also been longtime U.S. allies in the region. The Carter Doctrine, enunciated in January 1980 by President Jimmy Carter, was a direct offshoot of containment. The doctrine held that the United States would employ military force if needed to forestall any threats to shipping or oil supplies in the region. Carter's declaration came at a time in which the Cold War had once more become active and détente had all but collapsed. The Soviets had just invaded Afghanistan, and it was quite clear that Carter was putting the Kremlin on notice that the United States would not permit further Soviet encroachments into the Middle East.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Baghdad Pact; Carter, James Earl, Jr.; Carter Doctrine; Cold War; Eisenhower, Dwight David; Reagan, Ronald Wilson; Reagan Administration, Middle East Policy; Truman, Harry S.

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Conway, James Terry
Birth Date: December 26, 1947

U.S. Marine Corps officer, veteran of Operations DESERT STORM and IRAQI FREEDOM, and the 34th commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps since November 2006. James Terry Conway was born in Walnut Ridge, Arkansas, on December 26, 1947. His family moved back

and forth between St. Louis, Missouri, and Walnut Ridge before finally settling in St. Louis in 1958. Conway graduated from Southeast Missouri State University in 1969 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps in 1970. His first duty station was Camp Pendleton, California. He then served aboard the aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk.* Conway next served in the 2nd Marine Regiment and as operations officer for the 31st Marine Amphibious Unit with sea duty in the western Pacific and in operations off the coast of Beirut, Lebanon, in 1983. Returning to the United States, he was for two years senior aide to the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). After completing further U.S. Marine Corps schooling in 1990, Conway took command of the 3rd Battalion, 2nd Marines. The next year he commanded the Battalion Landing Team during its eight-month deployment to Southwest Asia as a diversionary unit during Operation DESERT STORM.

In 1993 Conway assumed command of the Marine Basic School at Quantico, Virginia. He was promoted to brigadier general in December 1995. Conway's next assignment was to the JCS. In 1998 he served as president of the Marine Corps University at Quantico. Advanced to major general in 2000, he served as commander of the 1st Marine Division and was deputy commanding general of Marine Forces Central. In 2002 he was promoted to lieutenant general and assumed command of the I Marine Expeditionary Force, serving two combat tours in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. In Iraq, Conway's 60,000 men included not only U.S. marines but also U.S. Army troops, U.S. Navy personnel, and British Special Forces. His I Marine Expeditionary Force was among the first U.S. forces to enter Baghdad in March 2003 and also formed a key component in Operation VIGILANT RESOLVE in the First Battle of Fallujah in Iraq during April 4–May 1, 2004.

Conway was advanced to the rank of full general and assumed his current post as commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps on November 13, 2006. Upon assuming his post, he stated that he hoped to provide the nation with a U.S. Marine Corps fully prepared to meet any contingency in keeping with his motto, "Be most ready when the nation is least ready." He also set out to improve the quality of life for marines and their families and to reinstill the core values and warrior ethics that have served the U.S. Marine Corps so well in past conflicts.

RANDY J. TAYLOR

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; United States Marine Corps, Iraq War; United States Marine Corps, Persian Gulf War

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Cook, Robin

Birth Date: February 28, 1946
Death Date: August 6, 2006

British Labour Party politician, secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs (1997–2001), and leader of the House of Commons (2001–2003) who refused to support British prime minister Tony Blair's decision to go to war with Iraq in March 2003 and resigned his post as a result. Robin Cook was born on February 28, 1946, in Bellshill, Scotland, to a lower middle-class family. Cook studied at the University of Edinburgh, ultimately earning a master's degree in English there in 1968. Following in his father's footsteps, he taught school for a brief time before entering politics in 1971, at which time he became a councilman (councilor) in Edinburgh on the Labour Party ticket. In February 1974 he was elected to the British House of Commons, representing Edinburgh's central district. In 1983 his district changed to Livingston. Cook remained in Parliament until his untimely death in 2006.

Cook was in the left wing of the Labour Party and was especially critical of Britain's Conservative governments during the 1980s and into the 1990s. He only tepidly backed Labour leader Blair's attempt to modernize the Labour Party in the 1990s, believing it to be too rightist-leaning. Cook soon earned a reputation for his formidable debating skills and fiery oratory. He was also an excellent parliamentarian, effectively using the rules of the House of Commons to his own and his party's benefit. By the late 1980s Cook had risen through the ranks of the leadership, and in 1987 he began holding shadow cabinet posts (unofficial parliamentary posts that shadow official government posts held by the opposition party, in this case the Conservative Party). He was the shadow social services secretary (1887–1989), shadow health secretary (1989–1992), shadow trade secretary (1992–1994), and shadow foreign secretary (1994–1997).

In 1997 after many years in Britain's political wilderness, an invigorated Labour Party came to power, with Blair as prime minister. Cook was not entirely enamored with Blair, whom he found too conservative for his own taste, but Cook nevertheless welcomed Labour's ascendancy and sought out the highly coveted cabinet post of chancellor of the exchequer. Blair had apparently already promised that position to another Labourite, however, so Cook was offered the post of secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, which he readily accepted. Upon assuming office, he promised to return an "ethical dimension" to the United Kingdom's foreign policy, a statement that was viewed with considerable skepticism by many Britons.

Cook's tenure was marked chiefly by the British intervention—along with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—in the Kosovo War in 1999, which witnessed an air campaign that lasted for more than two months. The Kosovo intervention brought considerable criticism to both Blair and Cook because many Britons were uncomfortable with a military action that had not been officially blessed by the United Nations (UN).

After the June 2001 general elections, Blair and other Labour leaders implored Cook to return to the House of Commons, where they believed his leadership was now sorely needed. Cook reluctantly gave up his cabinet post and began serving as leader of the House of Commons and lord president of the council later that month. Cook immediately set about reorganizing Parliament, taking particular pains to bring about reform in the House of Lords. After the September 11, 2001, terror attacks against the United States when the Blair government began to move in unison with the George W. Bush administration, Cook found himself in the uneasy position of defending Britain's pro-American foreign policy initiatives. This became more and more difficult, however, as the United States and Great Britain moved closer and closer to a preemptive war against Iraq.

By early 2003, Cook was on record publicly and privately for his opposition to war against Iraq. He reportedly had numerous meetings with Blair and prepared several memoranda in which he implored the Labour government not to follow the United States in lockstep fashion toward war. When war looked inevitable, Cook resigned his position as leader of Parliament on March 17, 2003, just three days before the war began. His speech announcing his resignation made clear his opposition to a war in Iraq. Reportedly, Cook's speech was the first to receive a standing ovation in the House of Commons.

Cook remained in Parliament working quietly behind the scenes, but there can be no doubt that his dramatic resignation demonstrated how split the British electorate was on the subject of the Iraq War. Cook died suddenly from a massive heart attack while hiking near Sutherland, Scotland, on August 6, 2006.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Blair, Tony; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy

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Cornum, Rhonda

Birth Date: October 31, 1954

Physician, U.S. Army brigadier general, and one of two American servicewomen captured by Iraqi forces during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. During her captivity, Cornum was sexually assaulted by an Iraqi guard. This revelation and the way in which Cornum handled it helped change American attitudes toward women in combat roles and opened more duties to women. Rhonda Cornum was born on October 31, 1954, in Dayton, Ohio. She earned a PhD in biochemistry from Cornell University in 1978.

Cornum joined the U.S. Army that same year and conducted medical-related research in San Francisco. Later, she went to medical school at the Uniformed Services, University of the Health Sciences, in Bethesda, Maryland, earning an MD in 1987. Later that year she was a finalist for selection as an astronaut. Although she was disappointed when she was not selected, Cornum became a flight surgeon at Fort Rucker, Alabama.

In 1990 Cornum deployed to Saudi Arabia as a flight surgeon with the 101st Airborne Division as part of Operation DESERT SHIELD. On February 27, 1991, three days after the commencement of ground operations in DESERT STORM during fighting near Basra, a Lockheed Martin F-16 Fighting Falcon, flown by Captain William Andrews, was shot down. Andrews successfully ejected, although he suffered a broken leg. An initial rescue attempt failed to locate Andrews, however. A second rescue mission by the 101st Airborne including Cornum flew in a Sikorsky UH-60 Black Hawk helicopter to Andrews's last reported position.

Despite the overall destruction of Iraq's air defenses, Iraqi ground forces still retained significant antiaircraft capabilities. The Black Hawk in which Cornum was flying was shot down and crashed. Five of the eight team members were killed in the crash, and Cornum was severely injured. She had taken a bullet in one shoulder, and both her arms were broken. Iraqi soldiers pulled Cornum and other survivors from the wreck and threatened to shoot them. Instead, the Iraqis placed them in a truck and drove them to a prison in Basra. During the transit, Cornum was sexually assaulted by one of the Iraqi soldiers guarding her. Because of her injuries, Cornum was unable to resist the assault.

For the next eight days, Cornum was held prisoner. She later reported that she was treated well by the other Iraqi guards; they helped her with personal hygiene and other matters that she was not able to perform for herself because of her injuries. Although she was interrogated, she was not tortured or physically beaten, as were some other American prisoners of war (POWs). Cornum and the other American POWs were released on March 5, 1991. Cornum and Melissa Rathbun-Nealy, an army enlisted woman, were the only female POWs in the group.

The experiences of Cornum and Rathbun-Nealy as POWs were cited by some people who opposed American women in combat as reasons why women did not belong on the battlefield. In the spring of 1992 a congressional committee held hearings on the question of women's roles in the military. Cornum testified and revealed that she had been sexually assaulted. Although this experience was precisely what those who did not want women in combat warned about, Cornum's testimony helped convince most Americans that women could and should play a more central role in the military.

She argued that military women should be treated according to their talents and abilities. The fact that she had been sexually assaulted, she declared, was not relevant. According to Cornum, everything that happens to a POW is essentially nonconsensual, so her sexual assault was only one part of the experience.

Cornum's arguments helped sway opinion in favor of greater opportunities for women in the military. In April 1993 Secretary of Defense Les Aspin announced that more duties in the military, including some that might include combat, would be opened to women. That policy has continued to the present, as more and more tasks and roles have been opened to both genders.

Cornum remained in the army. Promoted to colonel, she subsequently commanded a medical unit in Tuzla, Bosnia. She also trained in urology and was named a staff urologist at the Eisenhower Medical Center in 1998. In 2003 she assumed command of the Landstuhl Military Hospital in Germany, the largest American military facility outside the United States. During her tenure, the hospital treated many American soldiers wounded in the 2003 invasion of Iraq. Cornum was often found working with the wounded, encouraging them and treating their wounds. She has since been promoted to brigadier general and was appointed assistant surgeon general for force protection.

Tim J. Watts

See also

Aspin, Leslie, Jr.; Women, Role of in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars; Women, Role of in Persian Gulf War

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Counterinsurgency

A warfare strategy employed to defeat an organized rebellion or revolutionary movement aimed at bringing down and replacing established governmental authority. Among the more confusing terms relating to the practice of warfare, the term "counterinsurgency" implies both the purpose of military operations and methods selected. U.S. interest in counterinsurgency soared in 2005 as it became increasingly apparent that an insurgency was gravely undermining the efforts of the United States and its allies to establish a new regime in Iraq after the 2003 Anglo-American–led invasion and occupation. To a lesser degree, a revived Taliban movement has also hindered U.S. progress in nation building in Afghanistan, and counterinsurgency tactics are being employed there as well.

Understanding the term "counterinsurgency" requires an appreciation of its logical opposite, insurgency. Counterinsurgency originated as a conceptual response to the spread of insurgencies, particularly as carried out by anticolonialist or communist movements during the Cold War from the late 1940s to the 1980s. Insurgents typically lacked key sources of power, such as financial wealth, a professional military, or advanced weaponry, that were available to established regimes or governments. Consequently, insurgents adopted asymmetric tactics and strategies that focused on avoidance of direct combat until such time as governmental power had been gravely weakened. Instead, skillful insurgents blended an array of methods including propaganda, attacks on public institutions and infrastructure, the creation of secret support networks, and use of unconventional or guerrilla combat tactics. By these means, insurgents could whittle away at the strength of existing regimes or occupying powers while slowly increasing their own capabilities.

U.S. interest in counterinsurgency, sometimes referred to as counterrevolutionary warfare, grew during the Vietnam War. Efforts to defeat the Viet Cong guerrillas in South Vietnam were considered important but more often than not took a back seat to the conduct of conventional military operations against the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN, North Vietnamese Army). With the American withdrawal from Vietnam in 1973, however, the U.S. military resumed focusing on conventional war, and the study of counterinsurgency by the U.S. Army waned. Even with the end of the Cold War in 1991, the U.S. military did not regard the study of counterinsurgency as equally important to the mastery of conventional combat.

To many, Operation Desert Storm in Iraq in 1991 justified the American focus on conventional combat. The Persian Gulf War provided an awesome demonstration of U.S. military proficiency and technology. Indeed, American dominance was so compelling that it may have dissuaded future potential opponents from attempting to challenge American might on any conventional battlefield. One result of this was perhaps to encourage adversaries to attack U.S. interests by asymmetric means, such as guerrilla insurgency tactics or terror. There was also a growing perception among enemies of the United States that American politicians and military leaders were extremely uncomfortable in situations in which they could not bring superior conventional military power to bear. The deaths of 18 U.S. Army soldiers on October 3–4, 1993, during a raid against a renegade warlord in Somalia may have been the exception that proved the rule. Largely a product of events in Somalia, Bill Clinton's casualty-averse posture of U.S. forces in subsequent peacekeeping missions in Haiti, Bosnia, and Kosovo during the 1990s tended to reinforce the view that Americans were reluctant to suffer any casualties in scenarios short of unconstrained conventional combat.

The startling terror attacks on U.S. soil on September 11, 2001, led to a swift reorientation in American military thinking. The immediate American response was to strike against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan that had provided refuge for Al Qaeda terrorists claiming responsibility for the attacks. Informed by its own support for the mujahideen guerrilla resistance to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan during the 1980s, the United States decided

Afghan president Hamid Karzai, right, listens as U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld, left, responds to a reporter's question at the Presidential Palace in Kabul, Afghanistan, on May 1, 2003. During the press conference, Rumsfeld announced the end of major U.S. military operations in Afghanistan and that the U.S. commitment would shift from combat to reconstruction assistance. Rumsfeld's statement proved premature. (U.S. Department of Defense)

to rely as much as possible on small teams of special operations forces, which would support allied indigenous forces with cutting-edge technologies, rather than on massed conventional forces. The fall of the Taliban regime within three months now placed American forces in the position of stabilizing a fledgling regime under Hamid Karzai.

Very soon the tools of counterinsurgency would prove most relevant in Afghanistan against surviving remnants of the Taliban that found sanctuary along the Pakistani frontier. One important measure taken was the creation and deployment of Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) beginning in 2003. These combined a small number of military specialists with representatives of various U.S. or other foreign governmental agencies possessing expertise in diplomacy, policing, agriculture, and other fields relevant to the process of fostering security and development. Found to be effective in Afghanistan in extending governmental reach to remote areas, the concept soon found application in Iraq as well.

In the meantime, the invasion of Iraq in March 2003, while initially marking another triumph of conventional operations, did not result in a smooth transition to a stable civilian government. Indeed, coalition forces in Iraq soon faced a formidable counterinsurgency challenge for which neither military nor civilian officials had fully prepared. In fact, many critics maintain that the early failure to establish public order, restore services, and identify local partners provided the insurgency, which Iraqis term "the resistance," with an interval of chaos that enabled it to organize and grow. Since Iraqi politics had consistently shown wave after wave of resistance, purges, and new coups, such a challenge could reasonably have been expected. Sectarian leaders and their militias began to assert influence, and Al Qaeda fighters infiltrated key provinces in anticipation of a new struggle to come.

By 2005, spreading ethnic and religious violence in Iraq resulted in the deaths of many civilians as well as local governmental and security personnel. Suicide bombings as well as the remote detonation of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) became signature tactics of the Iraqi insurgency. Furthermore, repeated attacks on United Nations (UN) personnel and foreign relief workers caused a virtual suspension of outside aid to the Iraqi people.

Recognition of the need to focus on counterinsurgency methods led to a vitally significant effort to publish a military doctrinal manual on the subject. An initial indicator of the official shift in U.S. military thinking was the release of Department of Defense Directive 3000-05 on November 28, 2005, which specifically acknowledged responsibility for planning and carrying out so-called support and

stability operations essential to any counterinsurgency campaign. Under the leadership of Lieutenant General David Petraeus during his tenure as commander, Combined Arms Center, and commandant of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 2006–2007, a team of writers and practitioners with experience in Iraq and Afghanistan undertook a crash project to draft, revise, and publish the new manual.

In his opening address to the Combat Studies Institute Military History Symposium on August 8, 2006, Petraeus set forth several points of emphasis of the soon-to-be-published U.S. Army Field Manual 3-24 (also known as U.S. Marine Warfighting Publication No. 3-33.5), titled *Counterinsurgency*. Asserting that T. E. Lawrence (of Arabia) had figured out the essentials of counterinsurgency during World War I, Petraeus contended that any prospect of success depended upon identifying capable local leaders, providing them necessary assistance without doing the hard work for them, fostering the development of public institutions, forming a partnership with existing security forces, and maintaining a flexible and patient outlook. In other words, counterinsurgency would require far more of military leaders than the performance of traditional and familiar combat tasks. Petraeus himself had practiced these principles in Iraq, where in late 2004 he served as the first commander of the Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq, which focused on the training of local personnel to become civilian and military leaders in Iraq.

Officially released in December 2006, *Counterinsurgency* attracted great attention in the press and conveyed the impression that the military was not stuck in an outmoded mind-set. Rather, U.S. Army and U.S. Marine Corps leaders on the ground in Afghanistan and Iraq became increasingly adaptive and creative in the search for improved solutions to the problem of combating insurgency where nation building was still very much in progress. *Counterinsurgency* devoted a majority of its eight chapters and five appendices to tasks other than war fighting. Lengthy sections also related to ethics, civilian and military cooperation, cultural analysis, linguistic support, the law of war, and ethical considerations.

Of course, the U.S. Army and the U.S. Marine Corps had not ignored the principles of counterinsurgency before the new doctrine was published. However, publication signaled to the American public and the U.S. Congress that the military was wholly committed to the implementation of counterinsurgency principles. Since the end of 2007, it would appear that the implementation of this new counterinsurgency doctrine was beginning to bear fruit, as there was a sizable diminution in violence in most parts of Iraq beginning in the fourth quarter of the year.

ROBERT BAUMANN

See also

Al Qaeda; Al Qaeda in Iraq; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Improvised Explosive Devices; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; Karzai, Hamid; Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Petraeus, David Howell; Somalia, International Intervention in; Taliban

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Counterterrorism Center

U.S. government agency designed to combat terrorism. In 1985, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) decided to create a new section to fight international terrorism. This decision came shortly after intelligence failures in Lebanon had led to the deaths in October 1982 of 241 U.S. marines when their barracks was bombed and the kidnapping and killing of CIA section chief William Buckley in 1982. President Ronald Reagan pressed CIA director William J. Casey to do something about terrorism.

Casey soon approached Duane R. "Dewey" Clarridge, a respected veteran field officer, to make a recommendation as to how the CIA could most effectively fight terrorism. Clarridge recommended an interdisciplinary center in the CIA that had an international reach and could utilize all the capabilities of the agency. Part of its mission was to launch covert action against known terrorists, so the Special Operations Group (SOG) was transferred to the Counterterrorism Center. It was to be a section staffed by 100 persons with representation from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Casey accepted Clarridge's recommendation and appointed him as its head. Instead of the original plan for a staff of 100, however, Casey authorized it at a staffing of 250. The Counterterrorism Center became operational in February 1986.

Clarridge's first target as head of the Counterterrorism Center was the Abu Nidal Organization (ANO). In the 1970s and 1980s the ANO, named after its leader, was the most violent terrorist group in operation and had become the number one terrorist threat. The CIA was able to recruit a source within the ANO, and this individual provided inside information. Much of it appeared in a State Department publication, *The Abu Nidal Handbook*. After this information became public, Abu Nidal became so concerned about penetration of his organization that he ordered the execution of a large number of his followers in Libya. This purge ended the effectiveness of the ANO.

The next target was Hezbollah (Party of God) in Lebanon. Hezbollah, which the United States considers a Shia terrorist organization, was blamed for complicity in the bombing of the U.S. Marine Corps barracks in Beirut, and factions that became a part of Hezbollah had taken hostage a number of Westerners. Among these was William Buckley, the CIA agent in Lebanon, who had died from harsh treatment. The campaign against Hezbollah was less successful, although it involved attempted assassinations of the leadership. Efforts to launch covert operations were

also hampered by the Lebanese position that the organization was no more terrorist than any other during the Lebanese Civil War period and was the only effective force in battling the Israeli and Israeli-proxy occupation of southern Lebanon.

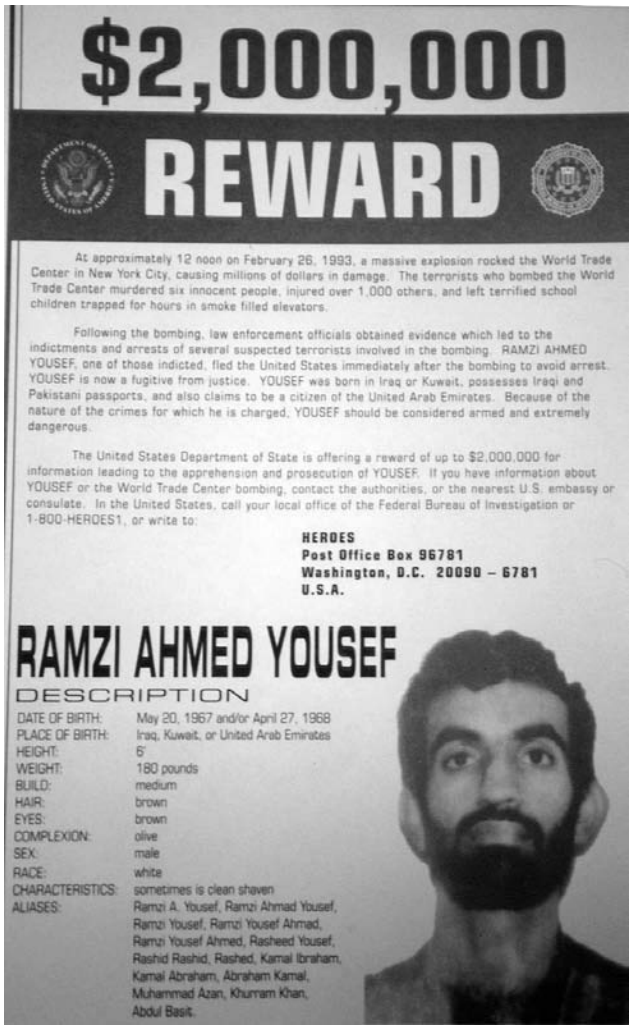
Clarridge soon became frustrated by the lack of support for the Counterterrorism Center. His role in the Iran-Contra Affair also led his superiors in the CIA to question his judgment. He maintained that Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North had misled him in the exchange of hostages from Iran for weapons to be used by the opposition Contras to fight against the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. Clarridge's goal had been to make the center a proactive force against terrorism. Instead, he found that his new boss, CIA director William Webster, who had assumed control of the CIA on May 26, 1987, was averse to risk. This lack of support led Clarridge to leave the Counterterrorism Center later in 1987.

Clarridge's successor, Fred Turco, picked the next major target for the Counterterrorism Center as the Peruvian Shining Path organization. Abimael Guzman, a philosophy professor, had founded the Maoist terrorist group in 1970, and it had opened a war against the Peruvian government. The Counterterrorism Center provided the Peruvian police with sophisticated electronic surveillance equipment and training that enabled them to capture Guzman in a Lima suburb in September 1992.

The Counterterrorism Center's activities assumed more importance in 1993. By this time the new head of the Counterterrorism Center was Winston Wiley, who had assumed the position in November 1992. Two events mobilized this activity. First was the murder of two CIA employees in Langley, Virginia, by Mir Amal Kasi on January 25, 1993. Believing the CIA responsible for countless Muslim deaths, Kasi opened fire with an AK-47 assault rifle just outside of CIA headquarters, killing the CIA employees in their automobiles. Kasi was from Baluchistan, and he managed to escape back to Pakistan, where he promptly disappeared. A special CIA unit was set up to locate and capture him; he was finally apprehended on June 15, 1997.

An even bigger task was investigation of the conspiracy behind the February 23, 1993, World Trade Center bombing. While the domestic investigation was left up to the FBI, the Counterterrorism Center established a subunit to gather intelligence about the bombing. Information was slow to surface, and at first the Counterterrorism Center suspected that it had been a state-sponsored terrorist operation, with Iraq, Libya, and Iran as the prime suspects. Over time, the intelligence analysts came to realize that it was an independent operation led by Ramzi Yousef. In a combined CIA-FBI operation, Yousef was captured in Islamabad, Pakistan, on February 7, 1995.

The Counterterrorism Center continued to target terrorist groups. First under Geoff O'Connell and then under J. Cofer Black, the center planned counterterrorist operations. Black's target was Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda. Black was also able to count on an expanded Counterterrorism Center. The center had grown from



Wanted poster for Ramzi Yousef, presumed mastermind of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. (Sygma/Corbis)

only 20 analysts in 1986 to 340 people, of whom more than a dozen were FBI agents, by early 2001. Despite the additions, the staffing of the Counterterrorism Center was too low to handle the volume of information flowing into it. Not surprisingly, the leaders and the staff of the Counterterrorism Center were caught unawares on September 11, 2001.

American pressure on Sudan had led bin Laden to move from Sudan to Afghanistan in 1996. Bin Laden, his family, and retainers traveled to Afghanistan by aircraft on May 18, 1996. The staff of the Counterterrorism Center thought that this presented a golden opportunity to capture bin Laden in transit. A proposal to do so was given to President William J. Clinton, but it never received presidential approval. Members of the Counterterrorism Center were furious over this lost opportunity.

Throughout the late 1990s, analysts in the Counterterrorism Center monitored bin Laden's activities from sources within Afghanistan. The problem was that bin Laden was constantly moving, so tracking him was almost impossible. There was also

an ongoing and unresolved debate in the Clinton administration about whether it was legal to assassinate bin Laden. Attorney General Janet Reno made it plain to George Tenet, head of the CIA, and Geoff O'Connell, head of the Counterterrorism Center, that any attempt to kill bin Laden was illegal. All schemes thus involved capturing bin Laden first and killing him only in self-defense.

Another problem was the issue of collateral damage in an attack on bin Laden. Isolating bin Laden from civilians was almost impossible. Members of the Counterterrorism Center wanted to proceed with covert action regardless of the likelihood of collateral civilian losses.

In the middle of the debate over bin Laden, the U.S. Navy destroyer *Cole* was attacked while anchored in the harbor in Aden, Yemen, on October 12, 2000. The attack killed 17 American sailors and wounded scores more. This incident caught the Counterterrorism Center by surprise. It thus took a while for the analysts to find the evidence connecting this attack with Al Qaeda, but the evidence was indeed found. Counterterrorism Center staffers sought retaliation, but the American military was reluctant to undertake any such operations and so advised the White House. To the leadership of the Counterterrorism Center, the only option was to support the Afghan leader General Ahmad Shah Massoud and his war against the Taliban. But the Clinton administration was reluctant to do this and forbade the Counterterrorism Center from increasing aid to him. The Clinton administration left office in 2001 with the problem of bin Laden and Al Qaeda unresolved.

Counterterrorism analysts continued to be frustrated by the inaction of the George W. Bush administration toward terrorism. Reports indicated increased activity by Al Qaeda, but the problem was that there was no evidence of what kind of operation it might undertake or where. A series of warnings came out of the Counterterrorism Center that Tenet took to President Bush and other prominent administration figures. These warnings coincided with similar warnings from the FBI. Some of them even made the case that Al Qaeda operatives might carry out an operation in the United States. What weakened these frequent warnings was the lack of specific details. The Bush administration listened to the warnings, noted the lack of specifics, and took no action. Bush wanted more specific intelligence before he would authorize any action.

Tenet now ordered the CIA to round up suspected Al Qaeda members to gather information on what Al Qaeda was planning. This tactic had two purposes: to gather intelligence and to delay Al Qaeda missions. Several Al Qaeda plots were uncovered, and a massive amount of intelligence material arrived at the Counterterrorism Center. The problem was that there were not enough translators and analysts to handle the mass of material. Frustration was high among the intelligence analysts because they were fearful that important information was being overlooked. In mid-July 2001 Tenet ordered the Counterterrorism Center analysts to search back in its files and its current information on bin Laden's major plots. He was suspicious that bin Laden might be targeting the United States for a terrorism mission. Tenet took what information the Counterterrorism Center had uncovered and presented the report titled "Bin Laden Determined to Strike in United States" to President Bush at his Crawford, Texas, ranch on August 6, 2001. In early September the Bush administration began to consider a plan to attack terrorism, especially bin Laden and Al Qaeda, but there was no sense of haste.

Following the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, resources poured into the Counterterrorism Center. By the summer of 2002 Tenet had expanded its staff to 1,500. This number of workers was able to handle 2,500 classified electronic communications a day, and it could produce 500 terrorist reports a month.

The Counterterrorism Center was also given the responsibility for the interrogations of important Al Qaeda prisoners. A series of secret interrogation centers was established in friendly countries. Meanwhile, top Al Qaeda prisoners were kept at an interrogation center, Bright Lights, the location of which was not known even to analysts in the Counterterrorism Center. These interrogations are ongoing, with some of the information making it back to intelligence circles. There have also been reports of CIA interrogators using questionable interrogation techniques and torture, including the controversial waterboarding process. The FBI refuses to have anything to do with these interrogations. Several news reports have confirmed this information, and CIA agents have become increasingly uncomfortable about their legal position over these interrogations. This nervousness about interrogation techniques led to controversy in December 2007 when news surfaced that the secret tapes of CIA interrogations had been destroyed in 2005. This action was defended by the then-head of the CIA, Michael V. Hayden, but there have been congressional efforts to hold hearings on whether this action was illegal.

Stephen A. Atkins

See also

Abu Nidal; Al Qaeda; Alec Station; Bin Laden, Osama; Bush, George Walker; Central Intelligence Agency; Clinton, William Jefferson; Coercive Interrogation; Counterterrorism Strategy; Hezbollah; Iran-Contra Affair; Tenet, George John; Terrorism

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Counterterrorism Strategy

A general approach toward the struggle against terrorism that involves the selection, distribution, and application of all resources and means available to achieve the desired aims (i.e., the prevention and/or eradication of terrorism). A successful counterterrorism strategy must target the vital dimensions of terrorism; address its current and prospective trends; reflect its rapidly changing nature, complexity, and flexibility; and employ a wide array of military, political, economic, social, ideological, cultural, law enforcement, and other means in often intermingled offensive and defensive efforts.

Terrorist activity, especially from Islamic extremists based in the Middle East, has in recent years demonstrated significantly increasing diversity and complexity. There is a wide range of participants with a diverse set of motivations, goals, structures, and strategies. Despite the destruction of the Al Qaeda sanctuaries in Afghanistan after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, this global terrorist clearinghouse network continues to operate and, utilizing global information technology, continues to recruit and train supporters, share experiences, coordinate activities of various widely dispersed terrorist cells, and advance its ideological and strategic goals. These include the eradication of Western influence and presence in the region and the overthrow of existing regimes that accommodate the Western powers.

More structured than Al Qaeda, Hezbollah, headquartered in Lebanon, retains some potential for regional and even overseas terrorist activity but currently is concentrating its efforts on securing additional political influence within Lebanon and is not engaging in violence within Lebanon against Lebanese. The Palestinian terrorist organization Islamic Jihad has continued sporadic terrorist activities, mainly within the framework of the Israeli-Palestinian confrontation. Syria and Iran view support for organizations such as Hamas and Hezbollah as a means to promote their own national interests and ambitions in the region.

The successful expansion of transnational terrorism, according to American analysis under President George W. Bush, owes much to the emergence of so-called failed states such as Afghanistan, where such terrorism was able to prosper, virtually unchecked, due to the combination of political and social disintegration, fierce civil strife, and a lack of interest and support from the international community. The concept of a failed state is, however, disputed in the region, where underdevelopment and incomplete political control are commonplace. According to the Western ideas about transnational terrorists, the latter use the paramount anarchy in the failed states as well as weak governmental control over some portions of territory to obtain safe haven and to set up their training camps and communication centers, exploiting the remains of local infrastructure. In the late 1990s Al Qaeda managed to secure a close alliance with the Taliban in Afghanistan. The Taliban, after being driven from power in Afghanistan in 2001, has managed to reestablish itself in certain areas, including the remote Afghanistan-Pakistan border.

Any effective counterterrorism strategy must also take into account new developments in strategy and tactics of the terrorist actors. The terrorists have constantly tried to acquire more lethal weapons. This is particularly true with respect to weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Until 2001 Al Qaeda, using sanctuaries in Afghanistan, planned to launch chemical or biological attacks on U.S. and European targets. In addition to the continuous pursuit of more deadly weapons, the terrorists persistently employ suicide bombings to increase the lethality of their attacks.

Terrorist leaders have also demonstrated their ability to adjust to changing conditions. The decentralized, loose organizational structure of Al Qaeda allowed it to continue to operate even after the loss of Afghanistan in 2001. This has been amply demonstrated in its terrorist attacks in Yemen, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Kuwait as well as in Istanbul, Madrid, and London. The U.S. government had argued that Al Qaeda operated a network that recruited and operated in the Muslim communities of Britain, Spain, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, and Belgium. Current thinking, however, sees Al Qaeda more as an inspiration to and clearinghouse for local groups who are autonomous of it. By active participation in the Iraqi insurgency since 2003, the terrorist networks have also acquired experience in urban warfare and enhanced their skills in ambush tactics, assassinations, and kidnappings.

The profound transformation, both in the scale and the complexity of operations that terrorists could undertake, allowed powerful, well-organized, and devoted groups and associations as well as smaller ones to evade state powers and to obtain global-reach capability. These terrorists are able to endanger the international security profoundly. Because the terrorist challenge amounts to a new form of warfare, successful counterterrorism strategy must constantly realign itself with the developments of the threats. Conventional military force has played a strong role in the struggle against alleged terrorism, as the long history of Israeli military campaigns against the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the Israeli-Hezbollah War of 2006, and the Gaza War of 2009 demonstrate. Israel's strategy of heavy punishment of a neighboring state for permitting and/or abetting terrorism, while inflicting disproportionate loss of life and property damage, does not seem to have ended terrorist activity, which its proponents regard as rightful and necessary resistance, and has led to serious criticism of the Jewish state, even from its traditional allies.

Special operations forces play an important role in the struggle against terrorism. While capable of a global reach, military operations against terrorists need to be pinpointed and limited in scale to avoid civilian and collateral damage. This is particularly important because of the inability or reluctance of particular governments to attack the terrorist leadership and cells directly. Special operations transcend national boundaries and reflect the transnational character of the struggle against terrorism. The Israeli experience of deep-penetration commando raids and targeted assassinations of terrorist leaders reveals the ability of

special operations to undermine the morale and disrupt activities of terrorist organizations and to violate state sovereignty as well as the terms of truces concluded with the enemy, although there are limits to what special operations can accomplish. Primarily, these special operations have angered the local population, making the resistance, or terrorism, that much more difficult to uproot.

Conventional military approaches retain their importance in dealing with state-sponsored terrorism, namely to wage wars against nations and achieve regime change, surely denying safe haven for the terrorists. At the same time, as the U.S.-led campaigns in Afghanistan after 2001 and Iraq after 2003 demonstrated, even victorious conventional campaigns can be complicated by ensuing insurgencies, which demand much greater flexibility on the part of the military. Here again, special operations come into play.

While the achievement of a decisive military victory remains elusive because of the dispersed and decentralized organizational structure of modern terrorism and while the use of military means resembles an endless war of attrition, the readiness to apply overwhelming and destructive military force can work to some extent. As recent changes in the policies of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) and Libya suggest, providing government bodies with enticements to stop terrorist activities can also work to curb terrorist activity. These include economic, territorial, and governing incentives.

Diplomacy is another essential tool in fighting terrorism. International cooperation is vital in collecting information on terrorist cells, which includes the tracking and disrupting of financial transactions, recruitment, and propaganda activities of the terrorists. It is also of paramount importance in seeking to isolate regimes that sponsor terrorism.

Intelligence gathering is essential in any successful counterterrorist strategy. Simply gathering the information is not sufficient; it must be properly disseminated and coordinated within government agencies. The failure of the U.S. intelligence community to provide early warning about the September 11 terrorist attacks demonstrates this all too clearly.

Defensive efforts within the framework of counterterrorism strategy focus predominantly on homeland security and encompass enhanced border security. This includes monitoring and protecting likely terrorist targets (transportation, communication systems, and other elements of infrastructure as well as high-profile objects and places of significant concentration of populations) using intelligence, law enforcement, and military means. While Israel over the years has dealt with existential threats by developing comprehensive, integrated, and highly effective systems of territorial defense, the United States and European countries remain vulnerable to terrorist attacks because of porous borders and/or the ability of the Islamic terrorists to strike from inside, mobilizing militants from the Muslim diaspora, particularly in Western Europe. While the Western democracies' domestic counterterrorism strategies have improved vastly since September 11, 2001, they still remain deficient compared to those of Israel.

Comprehensive and multifaceted counterterrorism strategies must also involve political efforts to mobilize domestic support, social and cultural efforts to resist extremist propaganda efforts, and a determination to resolve problems and issues that terrorists often use for their own advantage. This is perhaps the most challenging aspect of any successful counterterrorism strategy. Political activities should include the resolution of the regional disputes, especially the Israeli-Palestinian issue; the advancement of economic development; addressing economic inequality and poverty; the promotion of democracy; high-quality governance; and the rule of law.

Peter J. Rainow

See also

Al Qaeda; Central Intelligence Agency; Democratization and the Global War on Terror; Failed States and the Global War on Terror; Global War on Terror; Hamas; Hezbollah; Islamic Jihad, Palestinian; Martyrdom; Narcoterrorism; Taliban; Terrorism

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Crocker, Ryan Clark
Birth Date: June 19, 1949

Career U.S. diplomat. Ryan Clark Cocker was born on June 19, 1949, in Spokane, Washington. He attended University College Dublin and Whitman College in Walla Walla, Washington, from which he received his bachelor's degree in 1971. That same year he entered the U.S. Foreign Service. Crocker became a specialist in Middle East affairs, learning Persian and holding a wide variety of posts in the region. During 1984–1985 he studied at Princeton University, concentrating on Near East studies. Articulate, intelligent, and effective, Crocker moved quickly up the State Department's career ladder.

Crocker held diplomatic posts in Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Qatar, and Lebanon, among other nations, in addition to stints in Washington, D.C. He served as the U.S. ambassador to Lebanon (1990–1993), Kuwait (1994–1997), Syria (1998–2001), and Pakistan (2004–2007). From August 2001 to May 2003 he held the position of deputy assistant secretary of Near East affairs in the George

W. Bush administration. In January 2002 after the defeat of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, the Bush administration sent Crocker to Kabul as interim U.S. envoy to Afghanistan. Crocker was charged with reopening the U.S. embassy there.

After the major fighting was declared over in the 2003 invasion of Iraq, Crocker went to Baghdad in May 2003 where he served as the director of governance for the new Coalition Provisional Authority. He stayed in Iraq until August 2003. In September 2004 President Bush granted Crocker the rank of career ambassador, the highest-ranking ambassadorial position in the U.S. State Department. After being nominated for the position of U.S. ambassador to Iraq, Crocker was confirmed and assumed his new duties in Baghdad on March 29, 2007.

According to Karen De Young's biography of Colin L. Powell, in the autumn of 2002 Secretary of State Powell tasked Crocker and another official with drafting a memorandum outlining the potential risks of launching a war against Iraq. The result was a six-page report that stated unambiguously that ousting Saddam Hussein from power would likely lead to sectarian and ethnic turmoil. It also posited that the United States would face a long and expensive reconstruction effort in a postwar Iraq. The memorandum proved quite prescient.

In September 2007 Crocker was called upon to testify—along with General David H. Petraeus, commander of the Multi-National Force in Iraq—before the U.S. House and Senate on the progress of the war in Iraq. While carefully avoiding any politically charged rhetoric, Crocker reported that Iraq remained a troubled and traumatized nation. He also stated that he believed that Iraqi officials would eventually take control of their own affairs but that this would likely take longer than anyone had envisioned or desired. Crocker continues in his role as ambassador to Iraq and has expressed his pleasure with the progress made in Iraq since September 2007.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Afghanistan; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Iraqi Insurgency; Petraeus, David Howell; Powell, Colin Luther

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Cruise Missiles, Employment of, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars

Cruise missiles are unmanned aircraft launched from the air, sea, or land that cruise at various altitudes and speeds until they hone onto their targets. Cruise missiles can carry an explosive warhead (nuclear or conventional) or other lethal payloads, such as chemical or biological warheads. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM) and the 2003 Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), coalition cruise missiles proved reliable, accurate, and effective. They were launched from the land, air, and sea. In flight, they were difficult to detect and could fly indirect routes (low or high) to avoid heavily defended areas and could attack from any direction.

During DESERT STORM, the U.S. Navy's version of the cruise missile was the powerful Tomahawk land-attack missile (TLAM). The Tomahawk combined two new technologies: a small turbojet engine that powered the missile up to a speed of around 500 knots and a terrain-contour-matching system. This guidance system enabled it to navigate over land by matching its onboard radar's picture of the terrain below against a computer-developed map of its flight route to the target. Over water, it used a Global Positioning System (GPS) for navigation. The Tomahawks were particularly useful against well-defended targets. Instead of risking pilots and planes against such targets, they could be attacked with cruise missiles. However, technicians required about three days to reprogram a Tomahawk's guidance software. Consequently, the Tomahawks were not flexible enough to use in a rapidly changing environment. A variety of naval ships, ranging from destroyers and cruisers to nuclear-powered submarines as well as the renovated battleships *Missouri* and *Wisconsin,* carried TLAMs.

The 1991 Persian Gulf War saw the first major employment of land-attack cruise missiles. The anti-Iraq coalition opened Operation DESERT STORM by launching 122 of the U.S. Navy's Tomahawk missiles against key Iraqi air defense posts, radar systems, and communications facilities. Western cameramen operating in Baghdad filmed the low-flying slow-moving Tomahawks maneuvering through the city's streets to strike targets with amazing precision. During the entire Persian Gulf War, U.S. naval forces fired about 300 Tomahawks.

The first nighttime bombing mission of the Persian Gulf War began when seven Boeing B-52G Stratofortress bombers took off from a base in Louisiana. The bombers flew for 15 hours before releasing from their bomb bays the U.S. Air Force's version of the cruise missile, the AGM-86C ALCM (air-launched cruise missile). The bombers released about 35 ALCMs. Each of these missiles carried a 1,000-pound warhead. They also struck their targets with great accuracy. An estimated 89 percent of these cruise missiles hit their targets.

The success of U.S. cruise missile operations in the Persian Gulf War led to increased interest in these systems and spurred worldwide developments throughout the 1990s. By the late 1990s the original Tomahawk system aboard the U.S. Navy's vessels was replaced by a module that guided the missile by using the GPS. GPS navigation made the missile accurate to within three to six feet. Additionally, a Digital Scene Matching Area (DSMA) correlation feature was added to ensure that the missile would select the right target as it entered the target area by matching either a digital image of the target scene (radar, optical, or infrared or a combination of them) against an onboard image data base. DSMA was

particularly useful against mobile targets. Compared to those in the Persian Gulf War, these more sophisticated cruise missiles could be reprogrammed much faster, in three hours or less and sometimes in a matter of minutes. This allowed planners to act upon the most recent intelligence in an effort to target and kill the enemy.

Overall, the U.S. Navy's Tomahawks featured improved accuracy, reliability, and destructive capacity along with special antijamming features. They had an estimated range of 600 miles carrying a 1,000 pound warhead at a speed of 550 miles per hour. These improvements were first exhibited in Bosnia in 1995 and were confirmed during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in 2001, when some 70 Tomahawks attacked Taliban and Al Qaeda targets. By the time of the Iraq War, the U.S. Navy also had a much larger inventory of cruise missiles compared to its inventory on the eve of the Persian Gulf War.

The world at large became fully aware of the effectiveness of the improved cruise missiles during the 2003 Iraq War. On March 19, 2003, some 20 minutes after the expiration of the U.S. ultimatum demanding that Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein leave Iraq, U.S. Navy ships launched an estimated 40 BGM-109 TLAMs against selected targets, including a leadership compound used by senior Iraqi officers. The attack occurred about three hours after an intelligence report suggested that Hussein and his two sons were present at a specific leadership compound. The U.S. hoped that this so-called decapitation strike would kill Hussein, but it did not. On April 7 intelligence again thought that it had located Hussein. The ensuing failed effort to kill him again featured cruise missiles. The missiles performed perfectly; however, the intelligence was faulty. In total, the United States probably conducted about 156 time-sensitive strikes against Iraqi leadership, missile, and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) targets. Many of these strikes involved cruise missiles. The ability to reprogram the cruise missiles rapidly allowed planners to include cruise missiles in their strike packages.

On March 21, 2003, the air campaign component of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM intensified. Hundreds of air and cruise missile strikes attacked regime leadership and military targets in Baghdad and other major cities. About 500 U.S. Navy Tomahawks and 100 U.S. Air Force air-launched cruise missiles were fired. Two British submarines also fired cruise missiles.

March 21 also marked the combat introduction of the Royal Air Force's Storm Shadow missiles. The Matra Bae Dynamics Storm Shadow was a stealth cruise missile of about 2,860 pounds and carried a powerful conventional warhead. Storm Shadows were air-launched conventionally armed long-range standoff precision weapons, deployable during night or day in most weather and operational conditions. They were used to give British aircraft such as the Panavia Tornado Interdictor and the AV-8B Harrier long-range firepower so that they would not have to fly into heavily defended air space to attack high-value targets.

During ensuing operations, U.S. forces alone fired close to 20,000 guided weapons. They included 802 sea-launched BGM-109 TLAMs and 153 air-launched AGM-86 C and D CALCMs (conventional air-launched cruise missiles). An estimated 35 of the 140 U.S. Navy vessels operating in the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean were capable of firing the Tomahawks. The British also employed Tomahawks, including submarine-launched missiles, but the number fired remains classified.

Through the course of the Iraq War, the U.S. Air Force employed CALCMs against military command and control installations, structures, and buildings. They carried a heavier warhead (estimated at between 1,500 and 3,000 pounds, and there may have been two versions) than their naval counterparts and could be fitted with a hard-target penetrator, which made them particularly useful against heavily fortified Iraqi command and control centers.

The CALCMs featured advanced navigation software and a special GPS electronics module and antenna to prevent jamming from hostile electronic transmissions. The CALCMs also had the capacity to dive onto a target at an almost vertical plane or to attack from a shallow angle. This versatility increased the number of targets they could attack.

Compared to the 1991 Gulf War, the cruise missiles used in the Iraq War performed much better. The use of global positioning technology gave the cruise missiles greater accuracy and allowed them to fly more complicated missions. Other improvements increased their operational range to more than 1,000 miles, double the range of the cruise missiles used in DESERT STORM.

There were still some inevitable, and embarrassing, misses with cruise missiles plunging out of control and landing in Turkey or Saudi Arabia. The claimed failure rate was about 2 percent.

JAMES ARNOLD

See also

Missiles, Cruise; Tomahawk BGM-109 Land Attack Missile

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Cruisers, U.S.

Cruisers are warships possessing moderate armament and yet are capable of high speed. The ancestor of the cruiser is the 18th-century frigate, which was detached from a battle fleet to cruise in search of enemy forces. The Ticonderoga class (CG-47) formed the

backbone of the U.S. Navy's cruiser force during wars in the Middle East. Designed for versatility, these warships have performed a wide range of missions within carrier battle groups and amphibious assault groups and through independent operations.

Incorporating the hull design of the Spruance destroyer class (DD 963), the Ticonderoga class was initially conceptualized as a guided missile destroyer until redesignation in 1980. Displacing 9,600 tons with a beam of up to 55 feet and powered by four General Electric LM-2500 gas turbine engines, these cruisers can exceed 30 knots, with a range of 6,000 nautical miles at 20 knots. The crew consists of 24 officers and 334 sailors, although berthing is available for several dozen more.

The Ticonderoga class inaugurated the use of the Aegis weapons system for the most integrated and automated war-fighting capability on surface vessels worldwide. A central advantage to Aegis is the AN/SPY-1 phased-array radar that allows for continuous detection and tracking functions in all directions.

Ticonderoga-class cruisers, like the subsequently designed Arleigh Burke–class destroyers, enjoy an unparalleled degree of efficiency in managing a multithreat combat environment through Aegis. Twenty-two of the cruisers are equipped with the vertical launching system (VLS) for a more rapid employment of the Tomahawk land-attack missile (TLAM) with a range of at least 700 nautical miles, the standard missile (SM) for air targets, and the antisubmarine rocket (ASROC). The five pre-VLS cruisers relied upon two twin Mark 26 Mod 5 launcher systems. Two Mark 45 5-inch/54-caliber gun mounts provide naval gunfire support, antiship capabilities, and a limited antiair option. All Ticonderoga-class cruisers sport two launchers with a total of eight Harpoon antiship missiles with a range of better than 60 nautical miles. The combination of the SQS-53 hull-mounted and SQR-19 passive towed-array sonars give this class the ability to hunt submarines more effectively than any previous cruiser. Two Mark 32 Mod 14 torpedo launchers provide short-range protection against submarines. Two Mark 15 Mod 2 Falcon Phalanx close-in weapons system Gatling guns utilize depleted uranium or tungsten shells to deal with attacking aircraft and missiles at close quarters. All but the first two of the cruisers built have an embarked crew and maintenance team for the Sikorksy SH-60B Seahawk helicopter. The last ship in the class, *Port Royal* (CG-73) was commissioned in 1994.

In 1996, the *Yorktown* (CG-48) was selected as the pilot vessel for the U.S. Navy's Smart Ship Project to enhance automation in order to reduce manning requirements. Innovations such as fiber optic technology and wireless communications helped reduce the ship's crew by 4 officers and 44 sailors. The normal watch standing team on the bridge dropped from 70 to 3, with only 4 personnel necessary to monitor the entire engineering plant. As an outgrowth of the Smart Ship initiative, most of the Ticonderoga class has participated in the Integrated Ship Controls (ISC) program to cut costs through modernization without compromising mission readiness. In 2005, the *Cape St. George* (CG-71) initiated the practice of using digital navigation charts in place of roughly 12,000 paper charts.

Nine Ticonderoga-class cruisers participated in Operation DESERT STORM (January–February 1991); together they launched more than 300 Tomahawk missiles against Iraqi targets. This early neutralization of air defense and command and control centers helped isolate Iraqi units and facilitated a rapid and successful ground offensive. The *Normandy* (CG-60) became the first warship since 1945 to face combat on its maiden cruise and, in the process, fired more cruise missiles than any other vessel of its type. Other cruisers in theater were two Virginia-class nuclear-powered warships and one apiece from the Leahy and Belknap classes. The navy decommissioned all non-Aegis cruisers shortly thereafter.

Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (October 2001) included an entirely Aegis-equipped cruiser contingent of 15 warships. Since the Persian Gulf War, their targeting cycle for the Tomahawk had dropped from 101 minutes to 19 minutes. Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (March–April 2003) saw 11 Ticonderoga-class cruisers in action that played a major role in the firing of more than 800 Tomahawks. In February 2008 the *Lake Erie* (CG-70) used an SM-3 missile to down a U.S. satellite in orbital decay at a range of 133 miles. Speculation ensued that the operation served as a de facto experiment in reviving the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) of space-based weapons that stalled during the 1990s.

The five pre-VLS cruisers have been decommissioned, and the U.S. Navy's plan for the remainder of the class is a gradual phase-out during 2018–2029. The Cruiser Conversion program has been implemented to provide nearly all of these assets with the upgrades necessary to remain competitive. Among other things, missile defense capabilities will be enhanced, and larger-caliber guns will be added with extended range-guided munitions. The navy is considering design options (including a nuclear propulsion plant) for a CG(X) cruiser class to be constructed as multimission warships with augmented air and missile defense potential. The program is currently on pace to complete the first vessel in 2017.

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See also

Tomahawk BGM-109 Land Attack Missile; United States Navy, Afghanistan War; United States Navy, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Cultural Imperialism, U.S.

The term cultural imperialism refers to the process of imposing cultural values onto another culture or entity, often for the purposes of assimilation and political domination or long-term

economic ties. It is also seen in policies that assume that the cultural values of the dominant country are the norm, while those of another culture are deviant, traditional, or less desirable. The ambiguity in defining this term in relation to the Middle East stems from the highly politicized attitudes of the West toward the Middle East, coupled with an almost total ignorance of the region's cultures. A similar Middle Eastern lack of sustained contact with and knowledge of the United States and distrust of its political motives in the region exists, as well as a long-standing embrace and defense of traditionalism.

Imperialism implies the extension of power over another entity for exploitative purposes. Typically, this term is used in reference to empires, colonies, nations, and states. Culture generally refers to patterns of human activities and symbolic expressions. So, while imperialism takes the forms of military hostilities, political dominance, or economic leverage, cultural imperialism is a more subtle process achieved mainly through symbolism, language, education, and meaning via consumer products, civil institutions, and the media.

Since at least the turn of the 20th century, some have labeled the United States a cultural hegemon that practices the transmittal of cultural imperialism through both government-sponsored means as well as private enterprise. Indeed, the concept of "American exceptionalism," the idea that the U.S. democratic political system represents not only the best of all systems but should stand as an example, a "shining city on a hill" for other countries to emulate, dates back to the founding of the Republic. Much of this American attitude was embodied in President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, his plan to remake the post–World War I world by calling for self-determination of peoples and representative institutions. Nationalists throughout the Middle East embraced Wilson's program. At the same time, they saw no need to give up their own cultures.

Most Middle Eastern populations, while they had had little contact with Americans, had experienced extensive cultural imperialism accompanied by political manipulation at the hands of French, British, Italian, and other European nations. Thus in the case of Egypt, everything that was native Egyptian, or *baladi,* was degraded, whereas that which was foreign, of Turko-Circassion origin or Levantine, French, or British, was prized. Those who embraced the occupying foreigners and their cultures secured special legal and economic privileges through the capitulatory treaties.

The impact of Western cultural influences in the Middle East accelerated rapidly after World War II with the advent of modern communication and transportation technologies that figuratively shrunk the world. The sheer size and dominance of the U.S. economy in the decades after World War II ensured that American cultural values would spill into all corners of the globe, mainly through the media and consumerism. In the Middle East, as in other parts of the Third World, this influence mostly impacted the upper elites, but it also coincided with new governmental policies and national pride in indigenous language, customs, traditions, and the arts. Many countries in the region sought to overcome disadvantageous balances of trade, which accompanied colonial suppression of native industries. Many people saw and wanted American products and tried to buy them whenever possible. However, these came with heavy tariffs, as certain governments, such as Egypt until 1974, or Syria, applied protective policies so as to bolster indigenous industries and agricultural products. Western foods and customs of eating more protein foods, such as red meat and chicken, often displaced local consumption patterns as Western-style one-stop supermarkets replaced traditional markets.

As far as social culture was concerned, the worlds of the Middle East and United States and other Western nations were at polar opposites. Many in the Middle East did not understand or wish to replicate American individualism and societal independence, in which people live at great distances from their relatives, may marry or not as they choose, have relationships outside of marriage without censure, and are not expected to care for their parents in old age.

Many young people in the Middle East, however, embraced American popular culture, products, and business methods. In a number of countries, the United States Information Service offered English classes and general programs about the United States and American culture, which were very popular. At the same time, however, Arab populations were in general critical of U.S. Middle East foreign policy that appeared to offer unconditional support to Israel or that, even though principally intended to counter Soviet influence in the region during the Cold War, seemed intended to secure American dominance in the region.

In the 1970s the rise of more militant Islamist movements and groups coincided with economic changes that saw a greater influx of imported consumer goods, such as cars and electronic items, from the West, which not all could afford. Conservative and new Islamist groups were specifically critical of the way their nations' elites and youth aped Western styles and overspent to acquire the latest products. Many were highly suspicious of U.S. motives and saw American culture as antithetical to their own basic values.

This theme was the subject of a book in prerevolutionary Iran by Jalal-e Ahmad, which identified *gharbzadeghi,* or Westoxification, as a primary problem. Islamists elsewhere complained of women dressing in Western styles, and Islamic businesses and banks responded to consumers' desire to spend where they would not be contributing to usury.

U.S. cultural imperialism in the Middle East has been most evident in political campaigns and efforts to influence Islamic beliefs and societies since both the September 11, 2001 (9/11) terrorist attacks against America and the commencement of the Iraq War of 2003. It has manifested itself in a battle "to win the hearts and minds" of the Muslim world, specifically in Iraq and Afghanistan, but also to pressure the broader Islamic world to refrain from and reject militant Islamic policies. In this, the so-called Global War on Terror was used as a vehicle for promoting American culture in the region that had given birth to the 9/11 terrorists. The basic

logic of U.S. cultural imperialism followed that if American values could be brought to bear in radical Islamic societies, then potential terrorists would not hate America.

The official campaigns that involved winning "hearts and minds" claimed that the United States invaded Iraq in 2003 to overthrow an evil dictator and to establish democracy there. However, it was clear to most people in the Middle East that this was a war of choice, waged for other reasons, and many believed that securing Iraq's oil industry was a primary reason.

Americans had promoted democracy, although not its attendant cultural aspects, in a region historically dominated by authoritarian rulers and repressive regimes. However, in the case of key allies, U.S. foreign policy in the region had often downplayed democratization in favor of stability. Thus the United States had not promoted democracy in Saudi Arabia, nor did it insist that the Shah of Iran democratize or that the Egyptian and Syrian governments do so.

The Middle East was bombarded in the years following 2001 with Western critiques of its culture and deeply held religious beliefs. Such messages of cultural superiority were ill-timed, coming as they did after decades of programs aimed to build pride in national and religious identity.

Various U.S. organizations engaged in "Information Warfare," "Information Campaigns," or "Information Operations" and understood that such programs could be the strongest weapons in the Global War on Terror. The processes of this cultural imperialism are manifested primarily through media outlets, with the basic goal of the United States being to expunge the enemy's civil and governmental media and replace it with its own. For example, Iraqi radio and television stations were one of the first U.S. targets at the beginning of the March 2003 invasion. Iraqis laughed at many of these programs because they had extensive experience with official propaganda under Hussein's regime. The bright side was a mushrooming of many smaller news publications, even though many have been censored.

There were various tangible applications of what results in cultural imperialism by several branches of the U.S. government. The Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Office conceived of promoting positive images of the United States to the Arab/Muslim world after 9/11. The Office of Global Communications was also created immediately after 9/11 by the White House to synchronize official opinion among various organizations like the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Department of Defense, and the State Department. The Advertising Council of America, a World War II creation, formulated positive television advertisements for the White House. As per military operations, press agencies called "Coalition Information Centers" were created in November 2001 by the U.S. government to ensure that official opinions were aired during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan.

During the Iraq War, coalition air forces dropped leaflets with the intention of warning civilians of upcoming military dangers or to threaten Iraqi military forces of the dire consequences of resisting. The U.S. Department of Defense converted all Iraqi television stations into the al-Iraqiyya Network, while the State Department created a satellite and cable network, known as 911, for promoting American-friendly programming. Many other organizations also performed information operations funded annually by the federal government.

A more extensive example of an American information operation can be seen through Radio Sawa (Sawa meaning "together"). This station broadcasts in FM and medium-wave frequencies, day and night, to Middle Eastern and North African countries. It replaced the Voice of America in the region, which was never as popular as the BBC radio service. It took advantage of new rules that permitted establishment of private FM radio stations; in the past, all were state controlled. Syria and Saudi Arabia have not yet liberalized their radio station practices.

Listeners can also tune in to Radio Sawa via the Internet. Its stations are located in Washington, D.C., and Dubai, United Arab Emirates (UAE). In addition, Radio Sawa has several news centers in the region. The broadcast language is Arabic, and the content consists of information and entertainment programs friendly to American culture. It broadcasts a strange mix of Arabic, American, and Spanish music. It is a service of U.S. International Broadcasting, which is organized, managed, and funded by the Broadcasting Board of Governors, an agency of the State Department under supervision of the U.S. Congress. The station is meant to counterbalance the frequently anti-American Arabic news organizations. However, its impact is minimal in much of the region, where, like the decidedly unpopular American-created Alhurra (al-Hurra) television satellite channel, it is regarded as a propaganda outlet. Actually, far more popular than Radio Sawa are many smaller radio stations, some of which focus on Arabic musical heritage and now broadcast hard-to-find recordings, more popular types of music, or controversial news programs.

Despite American efforts, positive Arab sentiments toward the United States decreased with exposure to information warfare. Prior to 9/11, the Arab world was already resentful of American financial and moral support of Israel. However, immediately after 9/11, most moderate Arabs expressed genuine sympathy for American suffering and support for the Global War on Terror. This did not last long, however, as antipathy toward the United States skyrocketed in the wake of the 2003 Iraq War and the occupation and pacification campaign there. In the absence of a United Nations (UN) resolution calling for armed intervention in Iraq, many in the Arab world viewed the U.S.-led war as illegal, and the mere existence of Iraq's large oil reserves created skepticism toward the motives behind the American-led invasion amid U.S. calls for democracy and freedom. When no weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) were discovered in Iraq, many Muslims became even more cynical of U.S. motives. In Iraq, impatience with the continuing presence of American troops has also served to disillusion many who initially welcomed the action.

Kuwaiti merchant Mohammed Said listens to Radio Sawa on his portable radio in a vegetable market in Kuwait City. The U.S.-funded Radio Sawa uses music to help promote U.S. views with Arab listeners. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Many Arabs feared that the U.S. attempt to shape Iraq into a democracy would merely be the opening step in a U.S. effort to transform the entire region. Indeed, some U.S. officials, such as Paul Wolfowitz, had long asserted this to be a U.S. objective. People in the region do not object to democracy, but rather a pseudo-democracy set up by a foreign government by military means that imposes a particular set of foreign policies on the new government.

Many of the new political leaders in Iraq support the imposition of Islamic law, rather than the Iraqi civil code. Indeed, the Iraqi constitution sets out the role of Islamic law in Iraq. With the intensely Islamist atmosphere in Afghanistan and Pakistan, many American programs, products, and movies are highly controversial and are banned by Islamist conservatives throughout the region. Tying the creation of markets to democratization tends to confuse the issue of cultural imperialism in the Middle East.

Americans tend to believe in the universality of their goods, ideas, and culture, and that, deep within every Iraqi or Afghan, there is an American waiting to leap out. This is not the case.

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See also

Bush Doctrine; enduring freedom, Operation; iraqi freedom, Operation; Radio Baghdad

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Czech Republic, Role in Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Wars

Central European nation that was created on January 1, 1993, out of the former Czechoslovakia. The Czech Republic, which covers

30,450 square miles, had a 2008 population of 10.221 million people. It is bordered by Poland to the northeast, Germany to the west, Austria to the south, and Slovakia to the east. The government of the Czech Republic features a multiparty parliamentary democracy with a prime minister, who is head of the government, and a president, selected by both houses of parliament, who is head of state. The president's powers are more limited than those of the prime minister, at least on domestic issues. Recently, Czech politics have been dominated by three parties: the Civil Democratic Party (a rightist organization), the Czech Social Democratic Party (centrist-left), and the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (leftist).

The Czech Republic supported the U.S.-led coalitions in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the 2001 Afghanistan War, and the 2003 Iraq War. After gaining freedom from Soviet domination at the end of the Cold War in 1990, Czechoslovakia (and later the Czech Republic) engaged in a broad effort to integrate itself into the institutions of the West, including the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which it joined in 1999, and the European Union (EU), which it joined in 2004. Following the August 1990 invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, Czechoslovakia deployed elements of a chemical weapons battalion as part of the anti–Saddam Hussein coalition. The unit received significant praise from coalition partners for identifying and disposing of Iraqi chemical weapons stockpiles. The Czech government also granted permission for coalition forces to use its airspace and bases. Approximately 200 troops served in DESERT STORM.

The Czech Republic offered the U.S.-led coalition the use of its chemical weapons unit during the invasion of Afghanistan in late 2001. Elements of the unit were subsequently deployed to Afghanistan to support specific operations or missions. The Czech Republic also undertook three deployments of special operations forces between 2004 and 2008, staffed a field hospital in Kabul beginning in 2007, and dispatched a range of other units. In 2008 the Czechs established a provincial reconstruction team with 200 troops in Logar Province as part of the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). That same year, the Czech Republic also deployed an additional 65-member security force, bringing the Czech contribution to ISAF to more than 400 troops. The Czech Republic also donated military equipment, including helicopters, to the Afghan National Army.

The Czech Republic supported the U.S. effort to develop a coalition to overthrow Hussein's regime in Iraq in 2003, although it faced diplomatic pressure from France and Germany to oppose military action. In December 2003 the Czech Republic began participation in the Multi-National Force in Iraq. The Czech contribution to the coalition peaked at 300 troops, and various units were deployed, ranging from infantry forces to medical personnel. Czech forces were stationed mainly in the area in and around Basra and served within the British area of operations. Czech personnel served as trainers for the Iraqi security forces, both as part of the U.S.-led coalition and under the auspices of the NATO-led training mission to Iraq. The Czech trainers were stationed at the Iraqi armor training facility at Taji and in Baghdad. Beginning in 2007 about 100 Czech troops were stationed at a British base outside of Basra, where they provided base security and undertook reconnaissance missions.

Czech forces served six-month rotations. One Czech soldier was killed during the nation's deployment in Iraq. Although the government staunchly supported the coalition, public opinion in the Czech Republic opposed the nation's involvement in the Iraq War. Thus, as other nations began to draw down their forces or end their missions in late 2008, the government announced that it would withdraw its forces in December. The last troops left on December 30, 2008.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Nations' Contributions to; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Dahlan, Muhammad Yusuf
Birth Date: September 29, 1961

Palestinian politician and important figure in both Fatah and the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). Muhammad Yusuf Dahlan was born on September 29, 1961, in the Khan Yunis Refugee Camp in the Gaza Strip. His family had fled from Hammama, Palestine (now Nitzanim, Israel). Dahlan became politically active as a teenager in Khan Yunis, recruiting other youngsters for civic projects. He earned a degree in business administration from the Islamic University of Gaza, where he was also a student leader, and expanded his earlier activities to include charitable work such as the delivery of food and medicine but also the spreading of Palestinian nationalist propaganda. The organization he founded became the Fatah Youth Movement (Fatah Shabiba) in 1981.

By the time he was 25 years old, Dahlan had been arrested by the Israeli authorities on 11 separate occasions. Altogether he spent six years in Israeli prisons, becoming fluent in Hebrew in the process. One of the leaders of the First Intifada (1987–1994) in which the Fatah Youth Movement was very much involved, he was again arrested by the Israeli authorities in 1988 and deported to Jordan. He then went to Tunis, where he worked with the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

A protégé of PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, Dahlan returned to Gaza with Arafat in July 1994. Arafat appointed him to head the Preventive Security Service (PSS) for the Gaza Strip, a PLO security force, as well as to head Fatah in Gaza. The two posts made Dahlan one of the most powerful figures in the new PNA. With a police force of 20,000 men, Dahlan also became the most powerful figure in Gaza, which some came to refer to as Dahlanistan. To enforce his authority, Dahlan's associates reportedly used strong-arm methods, including torture. As with many other Fatah leaders, Dahlan became wealthy through PLO monopolies such as oil and cement and kickbacks on building contracts. The fact that he had been born in a refugee camp and had been imprisoned by the Israelis and had the loyalty of other such prisoners helped shield him from some Palestinian criticism, however.

As head of the PSS in Gaza, Dahlan was responsible for ensuring support from all members of Hamas for the 1993 Oslo Accords. Reportedly, he met regularly with Israeli security officials and U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) representatives to coordinate security issues. In 1995 following a number of Hamas suicide attacks, Dahlan, reportedly on the orders of Arafat, ordered the PSS to crack down on Hamas militants, arresting some 2,000 of them. The PSS also raided Islamic charities, schools, and mosques. Dahlan was able to succeed in such activities in large part because of the initial Palestinian support for the Oslo Accords and his tough methods. Because the Likud government of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in Israel was obstructionist toward the peace process, however, the PNA crackdown on militants soon lost support, and Dahlan himself backed off from it.

Dahlan was a regular member of negotiations with Israeli government officials on a variety of issues. He was also a participant in the Wye River negotiations (1999), and he took part in the Camp David Summit (2000) and the Taba negotiations (2001). Reportedly, he tried hard to secure a peace agreement at Camp David.

Dahlan's relationship with Israeli authorities cooled considerably with the beginning of the Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada in September 2000. Although he claimed that he remained committed to the peace process, Israeli officials blamed him for some of the violence in the Gaza Strip, and he was suspected of being involved in a November 2000 attack on an Israeli school bus. In May 2001

Muhammad Yusuf Dahlan, Palestinian politician and important Fatah and Palestinian National Authority (PNA) figure. (AP/Wide World Photos)

his motorcade came under attack from the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in Gaza, and four of his bodyguards were wounded. Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon denied that Dahlan was deliberately targeted and expressed regret for what the Israeli government later called an unfortunate mistake.

Dahlan reportedly offered to resign from the PSS in November 2001 in protest of the PNA's policy of arresting members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and Islamic Jihad. Arafat supposedly refused the resignation. Anticipating that Arafat would be forced to unify his security forces, Dahlan began to expand his authority among low-level commanders in the West Bank PSS, seeking to undermine the authority of its commander, Jibril Rajob. Reportedly enjoying the support of U.S. president George W. Bush's administration, Dahlan also began to see himself as the possible successor to Arafat. Expecting to be named to head the security service, Dahlan resigned as head of the PSS. Arafat, however, resisted U.S. pressure to unify the security services. Although in July 2002 Arafat appointed Dahlan as his national security adviser, the position was devoid of any real power, let alone control of security services.

When Arafat was pressured into naming Mahmoud Abbas as the PNA's first prime minister in February 2003, Abbas sought to name Dahlan as the minister of the interior. Arafat opposed this, and after considerable turmoil within the PNA leadership Arafat agreed in April that Abbas would retain that post as well as the prime ministership, while Dahlan would become minister of state for security affairs. Abbas then authorized Dahlan to restructure the PNA's Ministry of the Interior with a view toward cracking down on militants opposed to the peace process. In effect, Dahlan controlled some 20,000 security personnel but without having the title of interior minister. It proved an impossible situation, with a Likud government in Israel and Hamas militants both opposing the U.S.-sponsored Road Map to Peace. Dahlan instead proposed negotiations with Hamas to achieve a cease-fire, which was reached in July 2004. The cease-fire collapsed soon thereafter following the Israeli assassinations of Hamas and Islamic Jihad leaders.

Abbas resigned on September 6, 2003, and the new prime minister, Ahmed Qurei, dropped Dahlan from his cabinet. This decision led to protest demonstrations, especially in Khan Yunis, supporting Dahlan in Gaza and to Dahlan's posturing as a reformer when he called for elections in Fatah organizations that would bring in new leadership, although Dahlan was careful not to attack Arafat personally. Dahlan was seen as a prime mover in a wave of intra-Palestinian violence between his supporters and those favoring the Fatah old guard in the summer of 2004 in the Gaza Strip.

Appointed Palestinian minister for civil affairs, Dahlan had charge of coordinating with Israeli minister of defense Shaul Mofaz the Israeli pullout from Gaza. In January 2006 Dahlan narrowly won election to the Palestinian Legislative Council in the general elections as a representative of Khan Yunis.

In March 2007, over Hamas objections, Palestinian president Mahmoud Abbas named Dahlan to head the newly reestablished Palestinian National Security Council, which had control of all security services in the Palestinian territories. Dahlan resigned from this post in July 2007, but the National Security Council had already been dissolved following the Hamas takeover of Gaza in mid-June. Many in Fatah held Dahlan responsible for that easy Hamas victory, during which time he and key lieutenants were absent from Gaza. In the course of the fighting Dahlan's Gaza residence, which many Palestinians had come to view as a symbol of Fatah corruption, was seized by Hamas militants and then demolished.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Arafat, Yasser; Fatah; Intifada, First; Intifada, Second; Islamic Jihad, Palestinian; Netanyahu, Benjamin; Oslo Accords; Palestine Liberation Organization; Sharon, Ariel

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Daisy Cutter Bomb

See BLU-82/B Bomb

Damascus Agreement

Agreement signed on December 28, 1985, that was designed to end the Lebanese Civil War (1975–1990) by revising the Lebanese political system in favor of a more equitable distribution of power on behalf of Lebanese Muslims as compared to the Lebanese Christian representatives. In addition, the Damascus Agreement was meant to bring Lebanon into a closer relationship with Syria and to achieve the expulsion of Israeli forces from southern Lebanon. The agreement failed to end the civil strife within Lebanon, although in some ways it prefigured the more successful Taif Accords of 1989, which eventually brought an end to the lengthy civil war.

When Lebanon achieved its independence in 1943, the unwritten National Pact (*mithaq al-watani*) governed the political arrangement among the various Lebanese religious groups, including Maronite Christians, Greek and Syrian Orthodox Christians, Sunni and Shiite Muslims, the Druze, and other smaller sects. In essence, Lebanese Muslims agreed that their nation would be an affiliated Arab nation but would not seek annexation or intervention by Syria. The Maronite Christians in turn agreed not to seek annexation or intervention by European or other Western powers, as had occurred in the past. In addition, the government would be ordered so that the president would always be a Christian, the prime minister a Sunni Muslim, and the president of the National Assembly a Shia Muslim. Parliamentary seats were to be distributed on a 6:5 Christian-to-Muslim ratio because at the time of the last census in 1932, the Christian population was larger than the Muslim population. However, the ratio shifted, and the Shia community became the largest group in Lebanon. By the late 1950s, as a consequence of other political circumstances, Muslims demanded a change in the ratio in Parliament as well as other changes.

In 1948 the establishment of the State of Israel resulted in thousands of Palestinian refugees fleeing to Lebanon, further increasing the Muslim population. By 1975 the demographic changes in Lebanon had created growing frustration with the political status quo on the part of Muslims, who called for new arrangements based on the demographic changes. The Maronite Christians refused, and tensions increased especially after demonstrations by Palestinians and killings of Palestinian and Christian groups that, together with the other Lebanese disputes, resulted in a civil war. It lasted off and on until 1990, after the conclusion of the Taif Accords. The Palestinian Resistance Movement had been conducting attacks on Israel from southern Lebanon since 1969. Israel, however, charged that these actions had increased, and in the absence of a viable central government the Israelis invaded in 1978.

Israeli troops again invaded southern Lebanon in 1982. The invasion was initially successful, and the Israelis then moved against Beirut, which resulted in substantial civilian casualties. The Israelis also allowed Christian militias, with whom it was allied, to slaughter innocent Palestinian refugees within the refugee camps. In response, the United States, France, and Italy introduced peacekeeping forces into Lebanon. The American mission was short-lived, however. In October 1983 an Islamic suicide bomber drove a truck full of explosives into the U.S. Marine Corps barracks at the Beirut airport, killing 241 servicemen. As a result, in 1984 the Ronald Reagan administration maintained its peacekeeping force offshore on U.S. naval vessels, which greatly reduced its effectiveness.

The Israeli invasion served only to stir up Lebanon's seething ethnic and religious tensions. In addition, the Israeli invasion provided a pretext for Syria to inject its own forces into eastern Lebanon, ostensibly to protect the Lebanese from Israel but also to exert Syrian influence in Lebanon.

In 1985 the Israelis withdrew from Beirut and back into southern Lebanon, retaining about 10 percent of Lebanese territory as a buffer zone to reduce further attacks on their territory. The withdrawal of Israeli forces and the U.S. troops changed the balance of forces within the civil war. The Syrian-backed president, Amin Gemayel (Jumayyil), sought Syrian support in his war against Shia and Druze armed militias. The Syrians then moved troops into Lebanon to support him. Consequently, Syria was able to cajole the Lebanese factions to agree to a return to the peace table, which resulted in the Damascus Agreement of December 28, 1985.

The Damascus Agreement called for continued resistance to Israeli occupation in Lebanon and outlined the basic constitutional form of government for Lebanon, which was to continue to be republican and democratic. The agreement did address the basic demographic problem that had bedeviled the previous National Pact. The Damascus Agreement reduced the power of the Christian president by requiring the approval of the Muslim prime minister for most major decisions. In addition, the agreement expanded the Chamber of Deputies and called for equality among the sects there. Most importantly, at least from the Syrian perspective, it outlined a close relationship between Lebanon and Syria. In essence, it called for the mutual coordination of military strategy, foreign policy, security measures, economic relations, and education policy. Syria thus gained unparalleled power within Lebanon. The agreement was achieved in the face of immense Syrian pressure, for Syria then had some 40,000 troops stationed in Lebanon. The Damascus Agreement was thus designed to bind Lebanon to Syria while ending the civil war.

The Damascus Agreement failed to bring peace to Lebanon, however. Militias throughout the country continued their conflicts with one another and the government. After the end of Gemayel's presidency, his successor, General Michel Aoun, turned against the Syrians in 1989, resulting in conflict between Aoun's Christian forces and the Syrians and their militias and in Aoun's defeat. A workable peace plan would not emerge until 1989 under the auspices of the Arab League at Taif in Saudi Arabia. The Taif Accords built on much that had been contained in the Damascus

Agreement. The Taif Accords weakened the presidency and strengthened the premiership, expanded the Chamber of Deputies, and delivered more power to the Muslim majority by shifting the old 6:5 ratio to equal representation for both Christians and Muslims. The Taif Accords differed from the Damascus Agreement most dramatically by requiring a two-thirds vote by the Council of Ministers needed to change the implementation of the agreement, providing protection for minority rights, and omitting much of the language binding Lebanon to Syria.

Even after Taif, however, Syria continued to be immensely influential in Lebanese affairs and a major stumbling block to stability in Lebanon. Subsequent governments have implemented many elements of the Taif Accords without ending sectarianism, as the accords had demanded. A combination of pressures forced Syria to withdraw in 2005. Israel likewise has disrupted Lebanese efforts toward stability, most recently with its invasion into southern Lebanon in the summer of 2006.

MICHAEL K. BEAUCHAMP

See also

Hezbollah; Israel; Lebanon; Lebanon, U.S. Intervention in (1982–1984); Palestine Liberation Organization; Syria; Taif Accords

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Damluji, Maysoon Salem al-

Birth Date: 1962

Liberal Iraqi politician and women's rights activist. Maysoon (Maysun) Salem al-Damluji was born in Baghdad in 1962 to a prominent family of doctors and political figures. Damluji moved to London in 1962 when she and her family were forced to leave Iraq because they would not join the Baath Party. Settling in Britain, she graduated from the Architectural Association in London in 1985 and began a successful practice as an architect in West London. Despite residing in Britain, Damluji retained a keen interest in her homeland, at first promoting the arts among Iraqi exiles in Britain and, after 1990, becoming involved in active political opposition to the Saddam Hussein regime.

Within a few weeks of the end of the Hussein regime in 2003, Damluji returned to Baghdad. Soon she was active in women's rights there, forming the Iraqi Independent Women's Group. She became president of that organization and also edited its magazine, *Noon.* In late 2003 she accepted the post of deputy minister of culture in the new Iraqi administration and continued in that position with the transfer of Iraqi sovereignty. Damluji worked to save works of art produced during the period of Baath rule because these are considered to be the best art of the period, and often the artists had no connection with Hussein's regime. Many Shiite religious groups have opposed this approach, preferring to start afresh with purely Islamic art.

In February 2006 Damluji gave up her government post to become a member of the Iraqi parliament representing the city of Mosul. In the parliament, she has spoken out in favor of preserving human rights in the face of Sharia (Islamic law). Her stance on these issues has produced frequent threats on her life.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Iraq, History of, 1990–Present

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Dar es Salaam, Bombing of U.S. Embassy

Event Date: August 7, 1998

Bombing of the U.S. embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, by Al Qaeda terrorists. Early on the morning of August 7, 1998, Al Qaeda operatives, using a truck bomb, attacked the U.S. embassy, killing 12 people and injuring 86 others. U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) investigators concluded that the bomb was most likely planted in a refrigeration truck. The building suffered major damage and was deemed unusable. A year prior to the attack there had been a warning of a possible terrorist attack on the embassy, but it had been ignored because the source could not be verified.

The attack on the embassy in Dar es Salaam caused far fewer casualties than the nearly simultaneous attack on the U.S. embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, also targeted by Al Qaeda. In fact, none of the Dar es Salaam personnel inside the building were killed in the attack. The Tanzanian embassy was located farther from the city center, which helped to minimize civilian casualties. According to reports, the truck bomber was unable to penetrate the outer wall of the embassy because a water tanker had blocked its path. When the bomb detonated, the tanker absorbed much of the blast that otherwise would undoubtedly have caused greater damage to the chancery building.

The investigators concluded that Osama bin Laden, leader of Al Qaeda, had masterminded the embassy attacks. As a result, the U.S. government issued indictments against him and offered a $5 million dollar reward for his capture. In 2001 four men were convicted in U.S. federal courts and sentenced to life in prison for their role in the bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. However, to this date bin Laden remains at large.

In response to the attacks on the U.S. embassies, President Bill Clinton pledged to wage a war against international terrorism. In retaliation for the bombings, on August 20, 1998, the United States launched cruise missiles against three terrorist camps in Afghanistan and a suspected chemical weapons plant in Sudan. The operation was code-named INFINITE REACH. The attacks on the camps in Afghanistan killed 24 people but failed to kill bin Laden. The attack on the plant in Sudan came under great criticism because there was no corroborating evidence to justify the attack, and many believe that the plant produced pharmaceuticals rather than chemical weapons. That attack killed the night watchmen at the plant.

In the United States, some cynics accused President Clinton of mounting the retaliatory attacks to distract the public's attention from the still-unfolding Monica Lewinsky scandal. The cruise missile attacks precipitated massive protests around the world, mostly in Muslim countries. In addition, bin Laden pledged to strike the United States again, a threat that he made good on with the devastating attacks in New York and Washington, D.C., on September 11, 2001.

DANIEL KUTHY

See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Clinton, William Jefferson; INFINITE REACH, Operation; Nairobi, Kenya, Bombing of U.S. Embassy; Terrorism

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Debecka Pass, Battle of
Event Date: April 6, 2003

Engagement that unfolded in northern Iraq on April 6, 2003, during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. U.S. strategy for the Iraq War called for the major thrust against Iraq to come from the south. A secondary offensive featuring the 4th Infantry Division would move through Turkey and invade northern Iraq. When Turkey refused permission for the 4th Division to transit across its territory, however, strategists revised the plan for a northern thrust. The new plan called for a joint force consisting of the 173rd Airborne Brigade, the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit, and U.S. Army Special Forces operating in cooperation with Kurdish fighters known as Peshmerga ("those who face death").

The 10th Special Forces Group, commanded by Colonel Charlie Cleveland, opened the second front in northern Iraq. Its mission was to destroy training camps used by Ansar al-Islam terrorists and to prevent Iraqi forces in northern Iraq from reinforcing the units defending Baghdad. The particular objectives of the 10th Special Forces Group were the cities of Mosul and Kirkuk and the northern oil fields near these cities.

The basic unit of the Special Forces was the Operational Detachment-A, or A-Team. A captain commanded the 12-man A-Team with a warrant officer serving as second in command. Noncommissioned officers composed the balance of the team, with two each possessing specialty training in one of the five Special Forces functional areas: weapons, engineering, medical, communications, and operations and intelligence.

For the push into northern Iraq, the Special Forces utilized specially modified Humvees (high-mobility multipurpose wheeled vehicles). The Humvees served as a mobile headquarters and fighting platform, and they had sophisticated communications equipment to enable the men to call in air strikes. Each vehicle carried several machine guns, Mark 19 grenade launchers, sniper rifles, side arms, Stinger shoulder-fired antiaircraft missiles, and the new Javelin fire-and-forget antitank missile. The Stinger launcher and missile weighed about 50 pounds. Consequently, a single soldier could carry and operate it. The Javelin had a range of about 2,750 yards. The missile used an internal guidance system to fly to the target and then dive down to strike the top of an armored vehicle, its most vulnerable spot because top armor was thinner than front or side armor. The Javelins figured prominently in the April 6, 2003, Battle of Debecka Pass.

Two Special Forces A-Teams and forward air controllers (26 personnel in all) were given the task of securing a key intersection on Highway 2 near the town of Debecka in northern Iraq between the cities of Irbil to the north and Kirkuk to the south. Accompanied by as many as 80 Peshmerga fighters, the team deployed to block Iraqi troop movements along Highway 2 in either direction. However, a surprise Iraqi counterattack featuring some 150 infantry, eight armored personnel carriers, and four T-55 tanks with 100-millimeter (mm) main guns struck the Special Forces, forcing them to withdraw to a nearby ridge line.

From their new position the Americans engaged the approaching Iraqi armored forces with Javelin antitank missiles, .50-caliber machine guns, and Mark 19 40-mm grenade launchers. One Javelin destroyed an armored personnel carrier from a distance of 2,950 yards, 200 yards beyond the rated maximum engagement range. During this phase of the battle, of eight Javelins fired by the Special Forces, seven struck their intended targets, destroying five armored personnel carriers and two trucks. The Javelin strikes stopped the momentum of the Iraqi attack. The Iraqis then moved the tanks behind an earthen berm where they could not be targeted by the Javelins because the Javelins required the operator to have a clear line of sight to the target. The Iraqis did not know that the Americans had only three Javelins remaining.

Meanwhile, a request for air support brought U.S. Navy Grumman F-14 Tomcat fighters. U.S. Air Force forward air controllers operating with the Special Forces directed the Tomcats to attack the Iraqi armor at the intersection. In a case of mistaken identify, an F-14 Tomcat bombed friendly Kurdish fighters operating

behind the Special Forces, killing 16 Kurds and wounding another 45. A British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) film crew was present and broadcast a description of this incident as it occurred.

The Special Forces were holding their position until an Iraqi battery of D-20 towed 152-mm howitzers opened fire. The Special Forces had no answer to this fire and were again compelled to relocate. In their new position they received a resupply of Javelin missiles. The Americans were also able to see more clearly the Iraqi T-55 tanks as well as the surviving armored personnel carriers. The Special Forces again opened fire with the Javelins. When an Iraqi tank tried to change positions it emerged into the open, where it was promptly destroyed by a Javelin. This event broke the morale of the Iraqi forces.

At 12:45 p.m. local time, about 15 Iraqi soldiers appeared from a ravine indicating that they wished to surrender. Suddenly, two white Toyota Land Cruisers appeared and disgorged Iraqi security personnel, who began shooting down the surrendering Iraqi soldiers. A laser-guided bomb dropped from an American airplane then destroyed the Land Cruisers. During the final phase of the combat, another Javelin missile destroyed another Iraqi T-55 tank. The remaining Iraqi soldiers abandoned their vehicles and fled.

In a telephone interview in the autumn of 2003, one of the Special Forces sergeants in the battle attributed the American victory to the Javelin missiles. Without them, the Special Forces would not have been able to hold off the Iraqi tanks. The Americans suffered no casualties, but the Peshmerga sustained 16 dead and 45 wounded from the friendly fire incident; 1 civilian was also killed. Iraqi killed and wounded are unknown, but 20 were taken prisoner. The Iraqis also lost at least two T-55 tanks, eight armored personnel carriers, and four trucks. The Battle of Debecka Pass was an example of how small highly trained well-led units with sophisticated weaponry can defeat larger conventional units.

James Arnold

See also

Antitank Weapons; High Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicle; Iraqi Freedom, Operation; Peshmerga; T-54/55 Series Main Battle Tank

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Defense Intelligence Agency

Formally established at the direction of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara on October 1, 1961, the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) is the leading intelligence agency for the Department of Defense. The DIA is directly responsible for meeting the intelligence requirements of the secretary of defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), and each of the Combatant Commands. Prior to the agency's establishment, each of the military services collected and analyzed its own intelligence separately and disseminated the intelligence to its own service chiefs, components, and the Unified and Specific Commands (now called Combatant Commands).

The Defense Reorganization Act of 1958, which gave birth to the DIA, sought to reduce the duplication and uncoordinated efforts that derived from those separate efforts. It also hoped to provide integrated intelligence analysis and support to the JCS and secretary of defense. The DIA acquired the mandate for all aspects and phases of the Defense Department's intelligence production except those intelligence-collection platforms and activities specifically assigned to the individual military services.

The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis was the first major test for the DIA. That crisis was followed almost immediately by the Berlin Crisis. For a new agency, the DIA performed surprisingly well in both instances.

The Vietnam War saw the DIA become the primary authority and coordinating agency for military intelligence related to facilities and infrastructure. In the late 1970s the DIA also became the coordinating agency for any Defense Department relationships with foreign military intelligence organizations. By the 1980s the DIA became the Defense Department's coordinating agency for national collection assets as well as its spokesman before Congress on budgeting and national intelligence production priorities.

Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) Directors, 1988–Present

Name	*Rank*	*Branch*	*Dates of Service*
Harry E. Soyster	Lieutenant general	U.S. Army	December 1988–September 1991
Dennis M. Nagy (interim)	None	Civilian	September 1991–November 1991
James R. Clapper	Lieutenant general	U.S. Air Force	November 1991–August 1995
Kenneth Minihan	Lieutenant general	U.S. Air Force	August 1995–February 1996
Patrick M. Hughes	Lieutenant general	U.S. Army	February 1996–July 1999
Thomas R. Wilson	Vice admiral	U.S. Navy	July 1999–July 2002
Lowell E. Jacoby	Vice admiral	U.S. Navy	July 2002–November 2005
Michael D. Maples	Lieutenant general	U.S. Army	November 2005–March 2009
Ronald Burgess	Lieutenant general	U.S. Army	March 2009–present

A Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) photograph of Iraqi military headquarters. The DIA is the primary producer of strategic intelligence within the Department of Defense. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Driven by the lessons learned from the Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM, 1991), the DIA's authority and mission expanded in consonance with America's increasing integration of its military forces into a joint structure and operations. Combatant Command intelligence centers now report their production requirements to and acquire their operating funds from the DIA. Although dissenting intelligence analysis is included in the DIA's coordinated national intelligence assessments, the DIA's assessment has become the dominant one.

The September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States perpetrated by Al Qaeda and the sequella from these have placed a spotlight on the DIA and its activities. The September 11 Commission, charged with evaluating America's response to the 9/11 attacks, was critical of the DIA's inability to thwart them and called into question its ability to effectively compile and disseminate intelligence information to prevent another such terrorist attack.

Similarly, the DIA has been criticized by the Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs) Commission for its role in the faulty intelligence surrounding Iraq's alleged WMD program prior to the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq in March 2003. The George W. Bush administration was later embarrassed when no WMDs were found in Iraq. Their presence had been one of the key reasons for the invasion. Indeed, both commissions cited the DIA's failure to use open-source and human intelligence sources effectively. In all fairness, however, other intelligence agencies were criticized in similar fashion. The intelligence-gathering reforms based on the commission's recommendations began in 2005 but may not be fully implemented until the end of the decade. In 2005 a new cabinet-level intelligence position was created: director of national intelligence. The director serves as the president's chief intelligence adviser and also serves as principal adviser to the National Security Council and the Department of Homeland Security. As such, the post calls upon the director to coordinate information from the DIA and other intelligence-gathering agencies.

CARL OTIS SCHUSTER

See also

Bush, George Walker; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Nuclear Weapons, Iraq's Potential for Building; September 11 Attacks; September 11 Commission and Report; Terrorism; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Defense Meteorological Satellite Program

A satellite program developed by the U.S. Department of Defense to provide worldwide meteorological, oceanographic, and solar-geophysical data and imagery to the U.S. military for use in planning and executing military operations. The U.S. Air Force Space and Missile Systems Center (SMC), Los Angeles Air Force Base, California, designed, built, and launched the Defense Meteorological Satellite Program (DMSP) satellites. Since the launch of the first DMSP satellite in 1965, the air force has launched 34 more. In December 1972 the Department of Defense made DMSP data available to civil and scientific communities. In June 1998 the air force transferred the control of the satellites to the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), but the SMC retained responsibility for the development and acquisition of future DMSP satellites.

DMSP satellites send images and data to tracking stations in New Hampshire, Greenland, Alaska, and Hawaii. These sites in turn send the images to the U.S. Air Force Weather Agency (AFWA), Offutt Air Force Base, Nebraska; the 55th Space Weather Squadron, Falcon Air Force Base, Colorado; and the U.S. Navy's Fleet Numerical Meteorology and Oceanography Center (FNMOC), Monterey, California. The AFWA and the FNMOC process the images and data into a product that is then sent to military installations, where meteorologists develop up-to-date weather observations and forecasts for use by unit commanders in scheduling and planning military operations.

During the Vietnam War, early DMSP satellites supplied cloud-cover information to military headquarters in Saigon and to aircraft carriers in the Gulf of Tonkin for more precise planning of tactical air missions. DMSP imagery provided highly accurate weather forecasting that operational commanders used to plan air strikes over the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV, North Vietnam) and close air support over the Republic of Vietnam (ROV, South Vietnam), determine air-to-air refueling tracks, and plan rescue operations. The DMSP weather data eliminated the need for weather reconnaissance aircraft in Southeast Asia.

For Operations DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM from August 1990 to February 1991, the SMC procured the Rapid Deployment Imagery Terminal, which, supplemented by older weather terminals, provided DMSP data and images directly to the commanders of fielded forces in the Persian Gulf region. The terminals provided commanders with high-resolution nearly real-time weather information that allowed them to select targets and munitions, especially laser-guided weapons that required clear weather for accurate targeting, during the air campaign.

Commanders also used weather data and images to plan and redirect aerial and ground missions and optimize night-vision equipment and night-capable targeting systems. DMSP satellites also provided information to alert troops to sandstorms and to predict the possible use and spread of chemical agents.

In December 1990 the U.S. Air Force launched a third DMSP satellite to augment coverage in the Persian Gulf area. With the additional capability of detecting areas of moisture and standing water, DMSP imagery helped coalition ground forces plan movement routes into Kuwait during Operation DESERT STORM. DMSP and other weather satellites also provided extensive imagery and data of the oil fires, ignited by the Iraqi Army as it fled Kuwait in February 1991. The fires produced large smoke plumes, causing significant environmental effects on the Persian Gulf region.

There have been some problems with the terminals and dissemination networks, however. For example, the incompatibility of the four different types of terminals delayed the receipt of timely weather data. With rapidly changing weather conditions, field units often did not have the latest target-area weather data, and high-quality satellite imagery did not get to the flyers. Some navy ships could not receive DMSP data at all. These problems emphasized the need for more compatible and user-friendly systems. During Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM some of these problems had been eliminated, and DMSP provided badly needed weather data to troops in both theaters of war.

ROBERT B. KANE

See also
DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Oil Well Fires, Persian Gulf War

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Defense Satellite Communications System

A constellation of nine satellites in geosynchronous orbit 22,300 miles above the earth that provides high-volume secure voice and data communications among the White House, senior U.S. defense officials, and U.S. military forces in the field worldwide. The U.S. Air Force launched the first Defense Satellite Communications

System (DSCS) satellite in 1966. In 1967 DSCS I satellites transmitted reconnaissance photographs and other data from military headquarters in the Republic of Vietnam (ROV, South Vietnam) to Hawaii and from Hawaii to Washington, D.C. In 1968 the air force declared the satellite system, along with 2 fixed and 34 mobile ground terminals, to be operational and changed the system's name to the Initial Defense Satellite Communication System (IDCS).

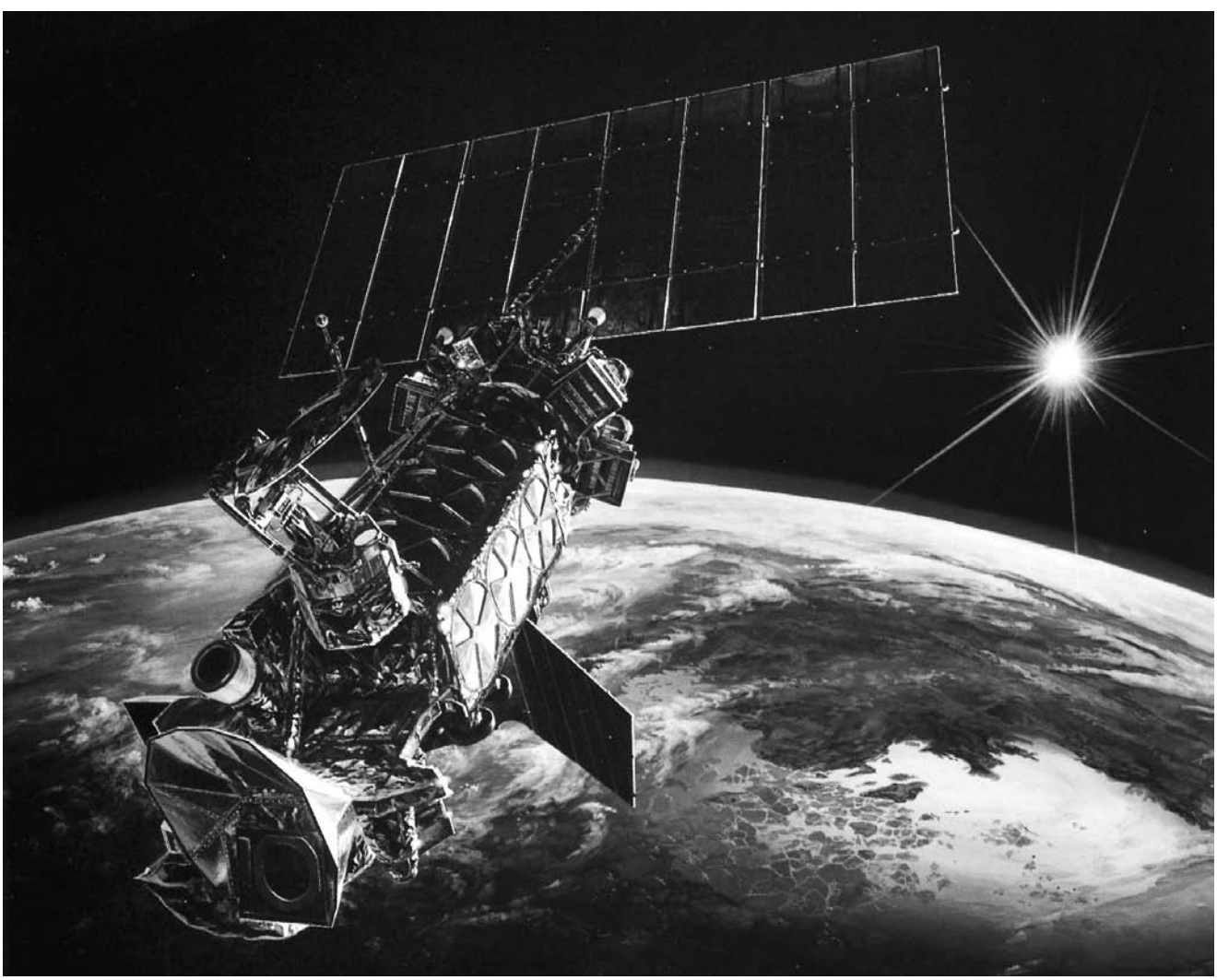
After having launched 26 IDCS satellites, the U.S. Air Force renamed the program the Defense Satellite Communications System (DSCS). In 1971 the air force began launching a more sophisticated satellite, DSCS Phase II (DSCS II). DSCS II, the first operational military communications satellite system to occupy a geosynchronous orbit, became fully operational in early 1979. By 1989 the air force had launched 16 DSCS II satellites.

In 1982 the U.S. Air Force launched the first DSCS III, the only current model of the DSCS family still operational, and achieved a full constellation of five satellites in 1993. The DSCS III satellites carry multiple beam antennas that provide flexible coverage over six communication channels and resistance to jamming.

The U.S. Air Force Space Command's Space and Missile Systems Center, Los Angeles Air Force Base, California, contracted with Martin Marietta to build the DSCS III satellites and ground segment. The Electronics Systems Center, Hanscom Air Force Base, Massachusetts, developed the air force portion of the terminal segment. The 3rd Space Operations Squadron, 50th Space Wing, Schriever Air Force Base, Colorado, provides command and control of the DSCS satellites.

During Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM (August 1990–February 1991), satellite communications provided essential command and control of deployed coalition forces. Although military communications were very tenuous at the start of DESERT SHIELD, U.S. military forces within the first 90 days established more military communications connectivity to the Persian Gulf than they had achieved in Europe over the previous 40 years.

Operation DESERT SHIELD forces communicated through a U.S. Navy Fleet Satellite Communications satellite (FLTSATCOM), a Leased Satellite (LEASAT) program satellite, and two DSCS satellites over the Indian Ocean. In addition, the U.S. Department of Defense



An illustration of a Defense Satellite Communications System (DSCS) satellite. (U.S. Air Force)

used FLTSATCOM satellites over the Atlantic Ocean and DSCS satellites over the eastern Atlantic to facilitate communications between the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) headquarters in the Persian Gulf and various headquarters in the United States.

DSCS III satellites also provided long-haul communications for U.S. military forces during Operations DENY FLIGHT (1993–1995) and ALLIED FORCE (1999) in the Balkans and Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM in the Middle East since 2001. Throughout these operations, communications requirements steadily grew, reaching the capacity of the DSCS satellites to provide for the increasing needs. For Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, the U.S. Air Force reconfigured the DSCS satellites to provide added bandwidth. The introduction of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs, or drones) and increased use of digital imagery and data in Middle Eastern combat operations contributed to the growing demand for large communications networks.

Since 2000 the U.S. Air Force, through the DSCS Service Life Enhancement Program (SLEP), has upgraded the last four DSCS III satellites prior to launch to extend the usable lifetime of the DSCS III satellites. In addition, the air force has incorporated several technology upgrades to increase the capabilities of the DSCS satellites prior to launch into orbit.

ROBERT B. KANE

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Satellites, Use of by Coalition Forces; United States Central Command; Unmanned Aerial Vehicles

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Dellums et al. v. Bush

Event Date: 1990

Lawsuit brought against President George H. W. Bush by U.S. representative Ronald V. Dellums and some 50 other members of Congress concerning the massive buildup of U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf that began in August 1990. The lawsuit, decided on December 13, 1990, by the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, sought to limit the president's ability to wage war without the explicit consent of Congress.

After Iraqi president Saddam Hussein sent his troops into Kuwait on August 2, 1990, quickly defeating and occupying the small oil-rich nation, the United States, working in concert with numerous other nations, began to assemble an international coalition in Saudi Arabia to force the Iraqis from Kuwait. The troops, part of Operation DESERT SHIELD, would number more than 550,000 by late 1990 and were also being used as a deterrent to a potential Iraqi incursion into Saudi Arabia.

Bush ordered the massive buildup without seeking any congressional authorization, but given that the deployments were at that point defensive in nature, he was not required to do so. What is more, it was not entirely clear in the autumn of 1990 that the troops would actually be involved in a war against Iraqi forces. International diplomacy and economic sanctions were still being applied to the Hussein regime in an attempt to force him from Kuwait without resorting to military action. Be that as it may, many in Congress, especially the Democrats, were wary of Bush's actions and hoped to force the White House to seek an up or down vote on the use of force in Iraq. Dellums and his colleagues thus filed the suit in a U.S. District Court, citing the 1973 War Power Act and Article I of the U.S. Constitution as the basis for the action.

Dellums, a left-of-center Democratic U.S. representative of California's Ninth District, was a rabid opponent of the Vietnam War and had a long voting record that demonstrated his abhorrence of large military budgets. He actively opposed development of the MX Missile and the B-2 Stealth bomber and consistently supported the agendas of big labor and environmental groups. It came as no surprise, then, that he would have objected to Operation DESERT SHIELD. By bringing suit against the president, Dellums and his coplaintiffs hoped to prevent Bush from employing troops in any sort of offensive capacity before receiving the explicit consent of Congress.

On December 13, 1990, the presiding judge in the case, Harold Greene, essentially threw the case out of court, asserting that the timing of the case was premature and that the issue had not become "ripe" for review. His ruling was based on a 1979 U.S. Supreme Court case, *Goldwater v. Carter,* in which Senator Barry Goldwater had brought suit against President Jimmy Carter for having abrogated a previously ratified treaty with Taiwan. The Supreme Court dismissed the case, claiming that it had not been brought at the appropriate time. Furthermore, Greene opined that there was not a viable case against Bush unless or until a majority of Congress demanded that Bush's troop deployments be stopped or reversed. Unless branches of government—in this case the Executive and Legislative branches—arrive at a complete impasse, the Judicial branch should not intervene, Greene continued.

Dellums et al. v. Bush would have been rendered moot even if Judge Greene had sided with the plaintiffs in the case. Indeed, in early January when armed confrontation with Iraq appeared almost certain, the Bush administration sought a vote on the use of military force by the U.S. Congress. It specifically requested an up or down vote by both the Senate and the House of Representatives, which is

essentially what Dellums and his coplaintiffs had demanded in the lawsuit. Fearful of fighting a large war far from American shores with no congressional authorization, Bush gambled that he had amassed enough support to request—and obtain—an authorization to wage war against Iraq if necessary. On January 12, 1991, the U.S. Senate gave its authorization in a 52 to 47 vote; the House voted 250 to 183 in favor of authorization. Four days later, on January 16, Operation DESERT STORM began. The case set precedents that were used again in the 1990s when the William Jefferson Clinton administration took action in Bosnia and after September 11, 2001, when the George W. Bush administration sought approval for Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; United States Congress and the Iraq War; United States Congress and the Persian Gulf War

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Delta Force

U.S. Army counterterrorism unit. The 1st Special Forces Operational Detachment–Delta (Airborne), officially known as the Combat Applications Group (CAG) and known commonly to the general public as Delta Force, is a Special Operations force of the U.S. Army Special Operations Command (USASOC).

Although the force has diverse capabilities, Delta Force's main task is counterterrorism. Delta Force is widely known for its activities during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM in the Persian Gulf War (1990–1991), Operation RESTORE HOPE (1993) in Somalia, Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (2001), and the U.S.-led Iraqi invasion in March 2003 (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). It is modeled on other elite counterterrorism forces worldwide, such as the British Special Air Service (SAS), the Australian Special Air Service Regiment (SASR), the Israeli Sayeret Matkal, and Germany's GSG-9.

Delta Force was established in 1977 in response to numerous terrorist incidents that had occurred in the 1970s. Its first commander was Colonel Charles Beckwith. From its inception, Delta Force was heavily influenced by the British SAS, a result of Colonel Beckwith's one-year-long exchange tour with that unit.

The force is organized into three operating squadrons (A, B, and C), which are subdivided into small groups known as troops. Each troop specializes in either HALO (high-altitude low-opening parachute insertion), HAHO (high-altitude high-opening parachute insertion), or scuba (self-contained underwater breathing apparatus) insertion. The troops can be further divided into smaller units as needed. Delta Force maintains support units that handle selection and training, logistics, finance, and the unit's medical requirements. Within these units is a vital technical unit responsible for maintaining covert eavesdropping equipment.

The Department of Defense doggedly protects detailed information about Delta Force and publicly refuses to comment on specifics about the unit. Delta Force is able to deploy anywhere in the world with 18 hours' notice. Delta Force capabilities include airborne operations; direct action operations; raids; infiltrating and exfiltrating by sea, air, or land; intelligence collection; recovery of personnel and special equipment; and support of general purpose forces.

Delta Force recruits its members solely from the U.S. Army, usually from the army Special Forces, specifically the Green Berets and Rangers. Headquartered in a remote facility at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, Delta Force's compound holds numerous shooting facilities, both for close-range and longer-range sniping; a dive tank, an Olympic size swimming pool; a climbing wall; and a model of an airliner.

Delta Force operatives are granted an enormous amount of flexibility and autonomy. They do not maintain a general uniformed presence and usually wear civilian clothing while on or off duty at Fort Bragg in order to conceal their identity. Hair styles and facial hair are also allowed to grow to civilian standards to allow for greater anonymity. In addition, Delta Force soldiers carry highly customized weapons. While the unit's weapon of choice is the M4 carbine, operatives often carry foreign weapon systems that are used by the enemy in the area of operation. This allows them to remain inconspicuous and to employ the ammunition from slain enemy fighters if necessary.

While Delta Force specializes in counterterrorism operations, it also engages in hostage rescue. For example, the unit took part in Operation EAGLE CLAW, the failed attempt to rescue the American hostages from the U.S. embassy in Iran in April 1980. The mission failed when a severe sandstorm clogged engine intakes on several U.S. helicopters, forcing them to abort the mission and leaving too few helicopters to successfully complete it. The mission ended in disaster when one of the remaining helicopters and a Lockheed C-130 Hercules transport plane had a midair collision that killed 8 servicemen. After the failure of EAGLE CLAW, the U.S. Army established the 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment to specialize in the type of air support necessary for special operations.

At the beginning of Operation DESERT STORM in 1991, Delta Force was deployed to the Persian Gulf to serve as bodyguards for senior army officials and to work with British SAS units to search for and destroy mobile Scud missile launchers in Iraq's northern deserts. The primary mission for both the SAS and Delta Force, however, was to locate and designate targets for destruction by coalition warplanes. This contributed immensely to the quick and relatively painless victory of coalition forces in the Persian Gulf War.

Delta Force was also involved in Operation GOTHIC SERPENT in Somalia. That operation led to the Battle of Mogadishu and was later detailed in Mark Bowden's *Black Hawk Down: A Story of*

Modern War (2000). In 2001 the unit also played an important role in overthrowing the Taliban regime in Afghanistan in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, the U.S. military response to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. Two years later Delta Force played a vital role in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, the Anglo-American operation to oust Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein from power. Accompanied by Navy SEALS from DEVGRU (the U.S. Navy Special Warfare Development Group), the unit entered Baghdad in advance of the attack to build networks of informants while eavesdropping on and sabotaging Iraqi communication lines.

CHARLENE T. OVERTURF

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; EAGLE CLAW, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Somalia, International Intervention in; United States Army, Afghanistan War; United States Army, Persian Gulf War; United States Army, Iraq War

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Democratization and the Global War on Terror

The link between democratization and the Global War on Terror has been one of the most controversial elements of post–September 11, 2001, U.S. foreign policy. However, democratization has also been a consistent plank of U.S. foreign policy, especially in the Middle East, although more often stated than fully supported. Democratization is the complex process whereby a democracy replaces a nondemocratic political regime or pluralism is increased. Free elections for government control, the participation of a legal opposition or multiple parties, the application of equal rights, and the extension of liberal rules of citizenship and laws are typically considered minimum requirements of democratization. In turn, the term "Global War on Terror" may take either of two meanings. First, it may refer to a general state of conflict against violent radicalism, broadly defined. In this sense, the George W. Bush administration contends that democratization is the key to winning the Global War on Terror, especially in the Middle East. Second, the term "Global War on Terror" may refer to a bundle of unilateralist and often forceful security strategies initiated by the United States after the September 11 terror attacks. This interpretation of the Global War on Terror is also closely associated with an assertive promotion of democracy, including by military imposition, as seen in the U.S.-led invasions of Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003). This entry focuses on the second meaning of the term "Global War on Terror."

The notion that democratization enhances national and global security is deeply rooted in the study of international relations as well as U.S. foreign policy. The liberal (sometimes called idealist) approach to international relations views nondemocratic governments as a primary cause of war. Eighteenth-century German philosopher Immanuel Kant proposed that "perpetual peace" requires an alliance of liberal states. Such governments, he reasoned, need the consent of citizens who are averse to the risks of war. In 1917 President Woodrow Wilson justified the U.S. intervention in World War I by condemning traditional balance-of-power politics as the undemocratic "old and evil order" that pushed nations toward war. Future world peace, Wilson asserted, must be founded upon political liberty. When he spelled out U.S. war aims in his Fourteen Points speech of January 8, 1918, Wilson made an international organization of nations one of them. The representatives at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 set up the League of Nations called for by Wilson, and its covenant was very much along the lines he proposed. While the U.S. Senate failed to ratify the treaty that would have brought U.S. membership in the League of Nations—and indeed the United States never joined that organization—liberal Wilsonian internationalism continues to influence U.S. foreign policy. President Franklin Roosevelt was a firm believer in Wilsonian principles and continued this approach. Roosevelt was an ardent champion of the successor to the League of Nations, the United Nations (UN), which came into being after World War II.

In recent years, scholars have turned to historical evidence to test whether or not democracies are indeed more pacific than undemocratic regimes. Proponents of the democratic peace theory argue that similar liberal institutions, cultures, laws, and linked economies make democracies especially unwilling to fight each other. Consequently, Michael Doyle argues that liberal democracies have reached a separate peace among themselves, although they remain insecure and conflict-prone toward nations that are not democratic.

Liberal theorists therefore expect that an increase in the number of democracies will expand existing zones of the democratic peace. Not all agree, however, on the full implications to the world system. For example, John Owen argues that a peaceful union of liberal countries would still need nondemocratic states against which to define themselves.

Many notable scholars, particularly those working in the dominant realist tradition of international relations, vigorously dispute the premises of democratic peace theory. They maintain, for example, that the theory neglects how peace among Western democracies during the Cold War was induced by a shared Soviet threat. Moreover, Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder conclude that emerging democracies are historically more, not less, war-prone than other states.

Such criticisms aside, democratic peace theory's impact on U.S. policy makers since the 1980s is hard to exaggerate. Proponents, including both Republican and Democratic presidents,

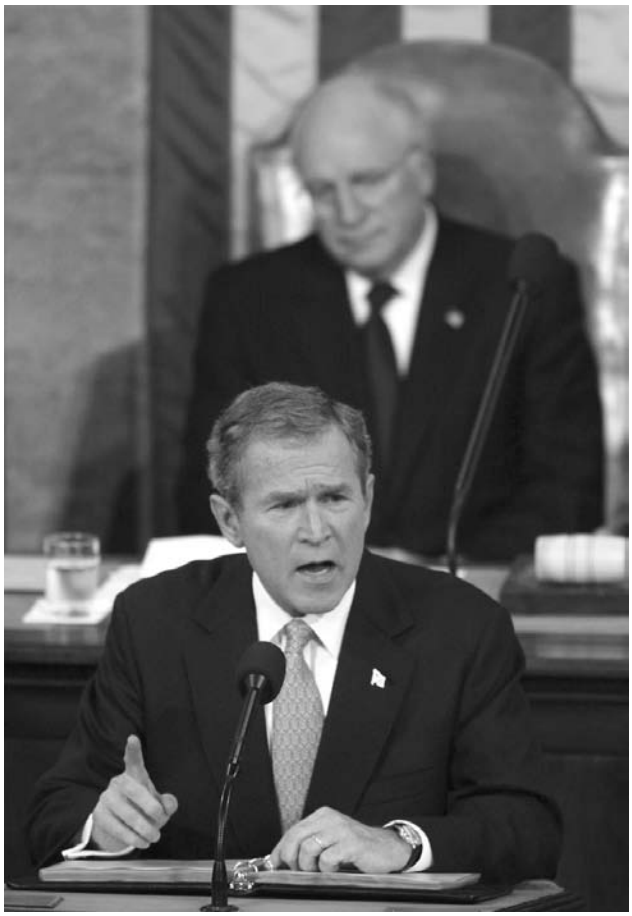
presented the 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall, the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union, and a roughly concurrent rise in the global number of democracies as bellwethers of a freer, more secure international order. Political theorist Francis Fukuyama's famous thesis on the emergence of Western liberal democracy (*The End of History and the Last Man*) as "the final form of government" captured liberalism's optimistic, even triumphal, spirit at the start of the post–Cold War era.

Complicating the picture, however, was the distinctive neoconservative political philosophy that also gained influence in the 1980s, especially within the Republican Party. With the Soviet collapse, neoconservatives contend that the proper role of the United States as the sole remaining superpower is to forge and maintain a benevolent world order. Neoconservatives share liberals' confidence that democracies do not fight each other, but they depart from traditional liberalism by arguing that the United States should shun reliance on international organizations—including the UN, toward which they have much antipathy—in promoting democracy overseas. Rather, the United States should be willing to use unilateral force if necessary to bring democracy to steadfastly nondemocratic states and regions.

Significantly, a public letter from associates of the neoconservative think tank Project for the New American Century urged President William J. Clinton to consider removing Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein militarily more than three years before the 2001 terror attacks. The 1998 letter was signed by numerous individuals who would go on to occupy top foreign and national security policy posts in the first and second George W. Bush administrations, including Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Douglas Feith, and U.S. representative to the UN John Bolton.

Neoconservative influence became most pronounced after September 11, which the Bush administration framed as an attack on liberal democracy around the world. Shortly after the invasion of Afghanistan, neoconservative speechwriter David J. Frum coined the phrase "Axis of Evil" to describe undemocratic Iran, Iraq, and North Korea for the president's January 2002 State of the Union address. This address was widely seen as setting the stage for further U.S. military action overseas. Other aspects of the Global War on Terror strategy reflect neoconservative precepts, including the Bush Doctrine of preemptive war, the decision to invade Iraq despite strong international and UN opposition, the belief that a lack of democracy in the Middle East fosters terrorism, and the argument that democratization justifies military action.

The ideas of Israeli politician and former Soviet dissident Natan Sharansky also align with neoconservative priorities. In 2005 President Bush praised Sharansky's recent work, which argues that the United States must lead the drive for democratization, as "a great book" that validated his own policies. However, observers note a decline in the more forceful aspects of the administration's prodemocracy rhetoric after Egyptian Islamists made notable gains in 2005 parliamentary elections and the armed Hamas movement won the Palestinian parliamentary elections of January 2006.



U.S. president George W. Bush delivers his first State of the Union Address to a joint session of Congress at the U.S. Capitol Building in Washington, D.C., on January 29, 2002. In his speech, Bush outlined his plan to fight the war against terrorism and characterized the nations of Iran, Iraq, and North Korea as forming an "Axis of Evil." (AP/Wide World Photos)

Policy makers continue to debate both the desirability of an alliance of democracies and the U.S. role in promoting democracy abroad. Critics of the current strategy linking democratization to national security and the Global War on Terror reflect a number of ideological and theoretical approaches and include former Bush administration officials. They can be divided into three major camps, with frequent overlap. One camp emphasizes pragmatism and feasibility. These critics see efforts to propel democracy via military invasion and occupation as unworkable, fed by false analogies to post–World War II Germany and Japan. They may also judge the strategy counterproductive, arguing that it heightens anti-Americanism and hurts the legitimacy of local prodemocracy groups in target countries. A second camp is rooted in ethical or nationalistic concerns. While some critics label the democratization strategy hypocritical in light of close American ties to Saudi Arabia and other undemocratic states, others assert that neoconservatives in the Bush administration have crafted a Global War on

Terror strategy that privileges Israeli over U.S. security concerns. A third camp argues that the Global War on Terror is a veiled and fundamentally antidemocratic attempt to enhance U.S. power in regions rich in important natural resources, such as oil.

The difficulty of installing stable, workable, and effective governments in Afghanistan and Iraq offer a prime example of the problems associated with linking democratization to the Global War on Terror. In nations that have no history of democratic organizations, imposing democracy—even by use of force—is rife with difficulties and contradictions. Furthermore, in nations in which the economic system was either nonexistent (such as Afghanistan) or badly damaged (such as Iraq), the cultivation of democracy is not as important as survival for the great majority of the citizenry. Democracy and widespread poverty and economic and social inequalities do not often go together very well.

RANJIT SINGH

See also

"Axis of Evil"; Bolton, John Robert, II; Bush, George Walker; Bush Doctrine; Failed States and the Global War on Terror; Feith, Douglas; Global War on Terror; Neoconservatism; Rice, Condoleezza; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Terrorism; Wolfowitz, Paul Dundes

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Dempsey, Martin E.
Birth Date: 1954

U.S. Army general and acting commander of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) during March–December 2008. Born in 1954, Martin E. Dempsey began his army career when he was commissioned a second lieutenant upon graduation from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in June 1974. His first posting, from June 1975 to June 1978, was as a scout and platoon leader in the 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment. In August 1982 Dempsey earned an MA degree in English from Duke University, and in 1984 he returned to West Point to teach English. After earning a master's degree in military art and science in 1988 from the Command and General Staff College (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas), Dempsey served as a battalion executive officer in the 3rd Armored Division in Friedburg, Germany. As operations officer and then executive officer for the 3rd Brigade, he deployed with the 3rd Armored Division to Saudi Arabia in Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM (1990–1991).

In 1993 Dempsey was assigned as chief of the Armor Branch at the U.S. Total Army Personnel Command in Arlington, Virginia. He then earned another master's degree, in national security and strategic studies, at the National War College in Washington, D.C., in 1995, the same year he was promoted to colonel. The next year Dempsey took command of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment at Fort Carson, Colorado. He has served in numerous leadership positions at all levels, including assistant deputy director for Politico-Military Affairs Europe and Africa J5. From July 1998 to September 2001 he was a special assistant to the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) in Washington, D.C.

In 2001 Dempsey was promoted to brigadier general, and from September 2001 to June 2003 he served in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, as a program manager and headed a U.S. effort to modernize the elite Saudi force assigned to protect the kingdom's royal family. From June 2003 to July 2005 Dempsey commanded the 1st Armored Division, and from June 2003 to July 2004 he served in Iraq in support of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. During his time in Iraq he had charge of the Task Force Iron command, consisting not only of the 1st Armored Division but also, attached to it, the 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment and a brigade of the 82nd Airborne Division. It was one of the larger divisional-level commands in the history of the U.S. Army. Dempsey's command tour coincided with the dramatic growth of the Sunni insurgency. He had charge of the Baghdad Area of Operations and received high marks for his handling of a difficult situation.

Dempsey redeployed his division to Germany and completed his command tour in July 2005. From August 2005 until the spring of 2007, he commanded the Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq with responsibility for recruitment, training, and equipment of the Iraqi Security Forces. Promoted to lieutenant general on March 27, 2007, Dempsey became deputy commander of CENCTOM at MacDill Air Force Base, Florida. He served in that post until March 28, 2008, when he was named acting commander of CENTCOM, temporarily replacing General David Petraeus. On December 8, 2008, Dempsey was promoted to full (four-star) general and assumed command of the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command.

GARY KERLEY

See also

Fallujah; Iraqi Insurgency; Petraeus, David Howell; United States Central Command

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Denmark, Role in Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Wars

North European nation covering 16,639 square miles. Denmark also included the Faroe Islands (540 square miles) and Greenland (839,900 square miles). Denmark proper is bordered by Germany to the south; the remainder is surrounded by the North Sea to the west, north, and east and the Baltic Sea to the southeast. With a 2008 population of 5.485 million people, Denmark is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary-style government. The monarch, Queen Margrethe II, who has reigned since 1972, is head of state. The head of government is the prime minister, although that individual undertakes significant executive responsibilities in the name of the queen. Danish politics have largely been dominated by multiparty coalitions, ranging from socialist-oriented parties to rightist conservative parties.

Denmark provided troops, equipment, and diplomatic support for the American-led coalitions during Operations DESERT STORM, ENDURING FREEDOM, and IRAQI FREEDOM. Denmark is generally considered one of the more Atlantic-oriented states of Europe, and the country has a long history of close security cooperation with the United States. Following the August 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Denmark provided modest naval assets as part of the Multi-National Force that enforced the United Nations (UN) sanctions against the regime of Saddam Hussein. Denmark subsequently contributed air, naval, and ground forces to the U.S.-led coalition that liberated Kuwait the following year. They numbered about 100 personnel in all. Partially in response to its experiences during the Persian Gulf War and to ensure that Denmark had the capability to quickly deploy forces in future conflicts, in 1995 the Ministry of Defense created a 4,500-member rapid reaction force, the Danish International Brigade. Units of the brigade would subsequently be deployed in peacekeeping operations in the Balkans as well as subsequent conflicts in the Middle East.

Denmark offered a variety of intelligence and security cooperation to the United States after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. Danish air crews were part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) airborne early warning force that was deployed to the United States following the attacks, and a Danish frigate was stationed in the Eastern Mediterranean as part of the NATO naval force that supported the U.S.-led coalition in Afghanistan. During Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, Denmark deployed a small military unit to support operations against the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan. In 2002 Denmark dispatched six Lockheed Martin F-16 Fighting Falcons to the region. It also undertook successive deployments of select special operations forces, the Jaegerkorpset, to Afghanistan. Denmark also participated in the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. By the end of 2008 Denmark's contribution to the ISAF numbered approximately 700 troops, stationed mainly in Kandahar and Helmand Province. There were also small contingents in Kabul and in Ghowr as part of a provincial reconstruction team. Between 2002 and January 2009, Denmark had lost 21 soldiers killed in Afghanistan.

At the beginning of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, Denmark dispatched a submarine and a frigate to support the initial invasion of Iraq. Meanwhile, on March 21, 2003, Denmark created Dancon/Irak (Danish Contingent Iraq) for deployment as part of the U.S.-led coalition that invaded and occupied Iraq. The unit was dispatched to Iraq in June 2003. Its peak strength was 545 troops. Dancon/Irak included armored reconnaissance units, a medical detachment, ordnance disposal troops, and various staff and logistics personnel. The Danish troops served six-month deployments and were stationed in the southern areas of Iraq, where they served in the British area of operations. Following the publication of cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad in Danish newspapers, Iraq temporarily broke off relations with Denmark in 2006, although Danish troops continued to serve as part of the international coalition. In August 2007 Dancon/Irak was withdrawn, although Denmark continued to maintain a small contingent of about 50 soldiers in Iraq to protect its embassy and to operate a helicopter reconnaissance unit. Denmark lost 7 soldiers killed in Iraq.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; DESERT STORM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Deptula, David A.

Birth Date: June 11, 1952

U.S. Air Force officer and one of the chief planners of the Persian Gulf War air campaign, first as a member of Colonel John Warden's Checkmate group and then as part of the U.S. Central Command's (CENTCOM) offensive air campaign planning group, known as the "Black Hole." Born in Dayton, Ohio, on June 11, 1952, David A. Deptula graduated from the University of Virginia with a bachelor's degree in astronomy in 1974 and earned a master's degree from the same institution in systems engineering in 1976. Having been enrolled in the U.S. Air Force ROTC as an undergraduate, Deptula entered the air force and completed flight training in 1977. He ultimately logged more than 3,000 flying hours, including 400 in combat in the Cessna T-37 Tweet, Northrop T-38 Talon, and McDonnell Douglas/Boeing F-15A/B/C/D Eagle. Deptula has been involved in operations, planning, and joint war fighting at unit, major command, service headquarters, and combatant-command levels.

U.S. Air Force lieutenant general David Deptula, deputy chief of staff for intelligence, talks to the press on July 23, 2009, during an unmanned aircraft systems briefing at the Pentagon. (U.S. Department of Defense)

When the Iraqi Army invaded and occupied Kuwait in August 1990, Lieutenant Colonel Deptula was assigned to the staff group supporting U.S. Air Force secretary Donald Rice. After General John Loh, the air force vice chief of staff, directed Colonel Warden to develop an air campaign plan for Central Command commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, Warden requested that Deptula be added to the Checkmate group. Deptula had previously worked for Warden and shared many of his airpower concepts.

Working with other like-minded officers, Warden developed the initial air campaign plan, which Warden called INSTANT THUNDER as a counter to the ROLLING THUNDER campaign of the Vietnam War. The plan won approval from both Schwarzkopf and Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) chairman General Colin L. Powell.

General Schwarzkopf then directed Colonel Warden to brief Lieutenant General Charles Horner, the Joint Air Forces Component commander (JFACC) in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on the air campaign plan. Warden selected lieutenant colonels Bernard Harvey, Ronald Stanfill, and Deptula to accompany him. When the Checkmate planners presented the INSTANT THUNDER briefing to Horner on August 20 they received a chilly reception, as Horner held to more traditional ideas on airpower employment. Because of these differences, Horner asked Warden to return to Washington but kept with him the three lieutenant colonels, including Deptula, who had accompanied Warden.

These former Checkmate planners now became the core of an offensive air campaign planning group, directed by then-Brigadier General Buster Glosson, formerly the commander of Joint Task Force (JTF) Middle East. Working with Glosson, Deptula guided the air campaign planning, blending the basic ideas of Warden's original plan with more operational reality. In two weeks of intensive efforts, the planning group, soon known as the "Black Hole," had developed the plan that Horner ultimately presented to General Schwarzkopf. Its central concept was to allocate the limited air assets that CENTCOM had available to specific target groups simultaneously and render them unable to function instead of attempting to destroy them, as had been doctrine in the past.

In late December 1990 General Horner created the Directorate of Campaign Plans by combining the former Black Hole with portions of the Central Command's Air Force (CENTAF) Combat Operations Planning Staff that performed D-Day defensive planning in case of an Iraqi offensive, the Air Tasking Order (ATO) staff that prepared the daily training ATO, and the Airborne

Combat Element (ACE) staff that manned the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft. The new organization had three elements: the Guidance, Apportionment, and Tasking (GAT) Division; the ATO Division; and the ACE Division. The GAT Division consisted of the Kuwait theater of operations, the Iraq (strategic), and the electronic combat, Scud, nuclear, biological, and chemical planning cells.

Working within the GAT Division, Deptula reviewed, selected, and assembled the completed targeting recommendations into a final Master Attack Plan (MAP). Deptula then reviewed the MAP with General Glosson and handed over the approved MAP to the GAT division night shift, which transcribed the MAP onto target-planning worksheets that, in turn, the ATO Division used to create the daily ATO. When the air campaign began in January 1991, the GAT division became the overseer of last-minute updates to the MAP and ATO to ensure overall execution of the plan. The coalition air campaign was highly effective and was credited with bringing the war to a quick conclusion with few allied casualties.

Following the Persian Gulf War, Deptula graduated from the National War College in 1994. He served as the JTF commander, Operation NORTHERN WATCH (1998–1999) and as director of the Combined Air Operations Center for Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in 2001. He was promoted to brigadier general in September 1999, major general in June 2002, and lieutenant general in October 2005. In December of that same year he became the JFACC for Operation UNIFIED ASSISTANCE, the South Asia tsunami relief effort, and in 2006 he was the standing JFACC for the Pacific Command. Thereafter, he served as commander of the General George C. Kenney Warfighting Headquarters and vice commander, Pacific Air Forces. Currently, Deptula is the deputy chief of staff for Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance, Headquarters U.S. Air Force, in Washington, D.C., where he is responsible for formulating policies and plans for and evaluates U.S. Air Force intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance capabilities.

ROBERT B. KANE

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Forces; DESERT STORM, Operation, Planning for; Glosson, Buster C.; Horner, Charles; INSTANT THUNDER, Plan; NORTHERN WATCH, Operation; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; Warden, John Ashley, III

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DESERT CROSSING, OPLAN

A plan developed in June 1999 to stabilize Iraq in the event of the death or overthrow of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. Following the liberation of Kuwait in 1991 during Operation DESERT STORM, the United States adopted a Middle East policy based, in part, on dual containment. Dual containment sought to restrain both further adventurism by Iraq and Iran's exportation of its Islamic fundamentalist revolution. With respect to Iraq, Hussein's actions and threats in the years immediately after the Persian Gulf War prompted the United States and its allies to react at least annually with several options—from low-end shows of force to the four-day intensive bombing campaign of December 1998 known as Operation DESERT FOX. For seven years, the Iraqi part of dual containment consisted of a cycle of provocation and response.

Late in 1998, U.S. National Security Advisor Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger stated in a speech that the United States would eventually remove Hussein from power and would do so with force if necessary. That speech effectively replaced dual containment with a policy of containing Iran while preparing for Iraqi regime change at a time and place of U.S. choosing. Following the speech, commentators and pundits focused on what it meant and how regime change might be accomplished.

The impact on the United States Central Command (CENTCOM) was somewhat different. One of the U.S. regional combatant commands, CENTCOM was responsible for U.S. military peacetime operations as well as combat operations in a geographic area that encompasses most of the Middle East, including Iraq.

In CENTCOM'S daily planning directorate staff meeting following the Berger speech, an epiphany of sorts occurred. The question that the planners believed should have been considered long before was what would happen to Iraq absent Hussein (for any number of reasons, including a coup, an accident, or regime-replacement operations) and consequently what would be the command's responsibilities in a potentially unstable situation. Key concerns were how unstable would Iraq be after two decades of centralized repression and what kind of response would be required to reestablish stability and prevent the potential crisis from spreading beyond Iraq's borders. Thus began a planning effort that resulted in a planning document or operation plan (OPLAN). An OPLAN provides broad concepts of operations versus operational detail. CENTCOM's effort in this regard came to be code-named DESERT CROSSING.

As DESERT CROSSING was developed over the next few months, it became evident that a true interagency response would be required. Intelligence estimates indicated that a post-Hussein Iraq would indeed be highly and dangerously unstable. Probable scenarios included ethnic strife fueled by the emergence of the majority Shia population and disenfranchisement of the ruling but minority Sunnis, retribution against the Sunni Baath Party, and efforts to secure autonomy or even independence by the Kurds in the north. Other possibilities included the emergence of one or more Hussein-like strongmen, interference by outside entities, fierce competition

among players within each of the three major Iraqi groups, and the expansion of a separate Kurdish state into Turkey and Iran. Stabilization would require not only military and police forces to provide security but also the application of numerous instruments of international power, including diplomacy; humanitarian, financial, and technical assistance; facilitation of a rational Iraqi political process; and coordination of the contributions that could be made by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs).

While CENTCOM planners could lay down broad concepts, the best product would result from an interagency effort. CENTCOM leaders believed that the most efficient approach would be a two- to three-day tabletop simulation to test the planners' assumptions and concepts. The resulting DESERT CROSSING seminar, held during June 28–30, 1999, brought together senior officials from the State Department, the Defense Department, the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency, and senior officers from the Joint Staff, the CENTOM staff, and the army, navy, air force, and marine commands subordinate to Central Command.

The seminar participants were organized into four groups: two replicated the U.S. interagency process, one represented Iraq, and one represented the international community. The two U.S. groups acted as the principals' committee (cabinet-level officials providing direct advice to the president) and deputies' committee (principals' deputies charged with considering alternative courses of action and making recommendations to the principals). Each of the four groups was presented with information that they would be likely to have in a real-world scenario and was asked to evaluate their options given the ideas contained in the draft OPLAN.

The simulation proved highly successful in developing valuable insights that helped to refine the plan. The key points considered included triggering events that would require U.S. and international intervention; reactions by neighboring states and what should be done about them; the assembling and maintenance of a military coalition; humanitarian concerns involved in an invasion of Iraq; the disposition of the Iraqi military postinvasion; the avoidance of a fragmented Iraq; the synchronization of humanitarian, military, and civilian activities in a postwar environment; and the development of an exit strategy.

The seminar exercise reached the following goals: the end result should be a stable, unified Iraq with effective governance in place and a military capable of defending Iraq's borders but not threatening to Iraq's neighbors; Turkish and Iranian interests must be understood, addressed, and managed, primarily through effective diplomacy; an international coalition would best be built around humanitarian considerations and a stable outcome; NGOs must be included; military and police forces would be required in large numbers to achieve and maintain the long-term broad-based security; and the actual interagency process, in accordance with standing presidential directives, should commence immediately to plan for the eventuality of regime change in Iraq.

OPLAN DESERT CROSSING was modified and refined as a result of the seminar. A planned follow-on seminar did not occur, however, and the revised plan was shelved to be used as a starting point should real-world events dictate an Iraqi invasion or regime change. When Operation IRAQI FREEDOM commenced in March 2003, DESERT CROSSING was largely ignored and was not utilized in the George W. Bush administration's planning.

JOHN F. SIGLER

See also

Berger, Samuel Richard; DESERT FOX, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Planning for; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present; United States Central Command

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Ricks, Thomas E. *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq.* New York: Penguin, 2006.

DESERT FOX, Operation
Start Date: December 16, 1998
End Date: December 19, 1998

American and British air campaign against Iraq during December 16–19, 1998, conducted in response to Iraqi resistance to United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) weapons inspectors carrying out their duties in searching for weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). The UNSCOM visits were being held under agreements reached at the end of Operation DESERT STORM in 1991.

President William J. (Bill) Clinton ordered the attacks with the objectives of degrading Iraqi development and delivery capabilities of WMDs, limiting the Iraqi ability to threaten neighboring states, and punishing President Saddam Hussein's regime for not supporting the United Nations (UN) inspection requirements. The DESERT FOX strikes occurred within the context of Operations NORTHERN WATCH and SOUTHERN WATCH, which had imposed no-fly zones in Iraq north of the 36th Parallel and south of the 33rd Parallel (originally the 32nd Parallel). These operations began after Operation DESERT STORM in February 1991 and lasted until the commencement of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in March 2003. U.S. Marine Corps general Anthony Zinni, commander in chief of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), planned and commanded Operation DESERT FOX, using U.S. Air Force, U.S. Navy, and U.S. Marine Corps resources as well as assets from the British Royal Air Force.

Operation DESERT FOX consisted of a brief, intense, and highly focused series of strikes against a carefully selected set of 100 targets in Iraq, including sites capable of producing and delivering WMDs, command and control centers, intelligence service and Republican Guard facilities, airfields, components of the integrated air defense system, and a petroleum site associated with illegal exports under the existing UN sanctions.

U.S. Army general Henry H. Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, briefs reporters regarding bomb damage assessment of selected Iraqi targets during Operation DESERT FOX, December 1998. (U.S. Department of Defense)

The attack force included 325 sea-launched Tomahawk cruise missiles, 90 conventional air-launched cruise missiles fired from American B-52 bombers, and 600 bomb strikes conducted by B-1 bombers (carrying out their first combat operation) and fighter aircraft flown from aircraft carriers and bases in Kuwait and neighboring Persian Gulf states. Saudi Arabia chose not to support direct combat missions against Iraq, and the French Air Force, which had been participating in the no-fly zone enforcement, also did not participate and subsequently withdrew from the theater.

The strikes were an impressive tactical success, with substantial target damage and no allied aircraft lost. However, the strategic results were less conclusive, and the impact of the strikes was debated until the issue of Iraqi WMDs was resolved by the invasion and occupation of Iraq during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

Some critics have charged that the operation was designed by President Clinton as a distraction from the impeachment process stemming from the Monica Lewinsky affair, which was then under way in the U.S. Congress, but no conclusive evidence has been discovered to support such an allegation. Additionally, some analysts believe that the operation was not a strong enough blow to achieve substantial results, and others noted that it created diplomatic challenges for the United States with selected diplomatic partners.

Although Operation DESERT FOX did not force Iraq to resume cooperation with the UNSCOM inspection program, it nonetheless significantly damaged elements of the targeted Iraqi capabilities, and although Saddam Hussein remained highly belligerent in his public comments, the strikes demonstrated American resolve and in general contributed to a strengthened containment of Iraq.

JEROME V. MARTIN

See also

Clinton, William Jefferson; DESERT STORM, Operation; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; NORTHERN WATCH, Operation; SOUTHERN WATCH, Operation; United Nations Special Commission; United Nations Weapons Inspectors; United States Central Command; Weapons of Mass Destruction; Zinni, Anthony Charles

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DESERT SHIELD, Operation
Start Date: August 1990
End Date: January 1991

Defensive staging operation from August 1990 to January 1991 that served as the vital precursor to Operation DESERT STORM, also known as the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Following the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), Iraq found itself in a perilous situation economically and strategically. Iraqi president Saddam Hussein had financed his war by loans on the anticipated revenue from oil production but by 1989 was more than $40 billion in debt to various Western lenders. In the postwar era, concerned by threats from a resurgent Iran and a powerful Israeli military, Hussein continued to expend enormous resources on his armed forces. By 1990 Iraq was hard-pressed financially, with only three months' cash reserves and a domestic inflation rate of almost 50 percent. Neighboring Kuwait and Saudi Arabia were essentially unsympathetic to Hussein's concerns for financial assistance and a downward adjustment in oil production to drive up the price of oil. Kuwait, especially, rebuffed the Iraqi leader's efforts to acquire Bubiyan Island and continued to pump oil from the al-Rumaylah oil field area on the Iraq-Kuwait border. High Kuwaiti oil production was also helping to keep oil prices low, exacerbating Iraqi financial problems. Following unsuccessful diplomatic maneuvering by Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak to diffuse the crisis and receiving mixed signals from the George H. W. Bush administration through U.S. ambassador to Iraq April Glaspie regarding U.S. intentions, Hussein moved his forces to the Kuwait border.

On August 2, 1990, two armored and one mechanized division of the Iraqi Republican Guard Forces Command crossed the border and invaded Kuwait. Simultaneously, Iraqi commando units attacked government installations in Kuwait City by helicopter. After only very limited Kuwaiti resistance, the Iraqis swept across Kuwait and moved toward the Saudi Arabian border.

Incorporating Kuwait as its "19th province," the Iraqi Baathist regime began a systematic program of absorbing the small kingdom's wealth and population. Iraq now controlled or threatened a major portion of the world's supply of oil. The Iraqis appeared to be poised to move militarily farther south against Saudi Arabia. The most likely objectives of such an attack would be the Saudi ports of Jubayl and Dhahran on the coast of the Persian Gulf. A successful strike there would end the kingdom's export of oil from the eastern provinces and directly threaten all oil producers on the Arabian Peninsula. At the very least, Iraq appeared to be able to pressure Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states regarding oil production. Such a strategic situation was unacceptable to the Bush administration.

The same day of the Iraqi attack, the commander of United States Central Command, General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, briefed President Bush, Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney, and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) General Colin Powell on military options available to the United States. Bush decided that if invited by the government of Saudi Arabia, the United States would send troops to the region to defend that kingdom. Three days later, characterizing the Iraqi invasion as "naked aggression" that would not stand unanswered, Bush demanded that Hussein withdraw all of his forces from Iraq.

President Bush also sent a small delegation led by Cheney to confer with King ibn Abd al-Aziz Fahd of Saudi Arabia on a possible response. Shown satellite imagery of Iraqi divisions arrayed along his kingdom's border, King Fahd agreed to receive American forces. His decision set in motion Operation DESERT SHIELD, which had four major objectives: to develop a defensive capability to deter Iraq from attacking Saudi Arabia, to defend Saudi Arabia if deterrence failed, to build a military coalition to participate in regional defense, and to enforce economic sanctions against Iraq as prescribed by the United Nations (UN) Security Council.

Between August 2 and November 29, 1990, the UN Security Council passed 12 separate resolutions concerning the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. These resolutions, generally passed unanimously or by overwhelming majorities, condemned both the invasion and Iraq's conduct of the occupation. In addition, the resolutions authorized an embargo of most imports to Iraq other than food and humanitarian aid supplies. Finally, Resolution 678 of November 29 authorized UN members to use "all means necessary" to enforce previous resolutions. It became the basis for military operations during Operation DESERT STORM.

Schwarzkopf determined that his first requirement was to deter Hussein from continuing his offensive south. The means of accomplishing this task was to introduce combat forces into the area of operations as quickly as possible. Immediately after the Iraqi invasion, the Defense Department ordered two aircraft carrier battle groups to move to the region, one in the eastern Mediterranean and the other in the Gulf of Oman. Saudi Arabian forces also established a screen line along the kingdom's northern border.

On August 7 U.S. Air Force F-15C fighter aircraft from the 1st Tactical Fighter Wing deployed to Saudi Arabia and began flying combat patrols along the border two days later. As in all DESERT SHIELD military deployments, these were highly publicized. U.S. aircraft departing Langley Field (near Washington, D.C.), landing in Dhahran and other locations in the kingdom, and taking off for combat patrols were constant images on international television. The goal was to impress senior Iraqi Army commanders and lead them to believe that there were more American forces in the region than were actually in place.

Ground forces, led by the 82nd Airborne Division from Fort Bragg, North Carolina, began arriving on August 9. This division had only a limited antitank capability, and soldiers joked that they were "speed bumps" in the path of a determined Iraqi assault. Certainly, there was not enough serious combat power on the ground during those first few weeks to defend the eastern portion of the kingdom. The first heavy ground forces arrived in late August when a brigade of the I Marine Expeditionary Force

Members of the U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne Division watch a CH-47 Chinook helicopter as it touches down during Operation DESERT SHIELD. (U.S. Department of Defense)

was ready for operations in the vicinity of Jubayl. On August 20 the lead units of the 101st Airborne (Airmobile) Division and the 24th Infantry (Mechanized) Division, all under the command of Lieutenant General Gary Luck's XVIII Airborne Corps, began arriving near Dhahran. The arrival of these two army units, with their Apache attack helicopters, M2 Bradley fighting vehicles, and M1A1 Abrams tanks, along with the large quantity of fighter and bomber aircraft in the theater, represented a significant counterweight to Iraqi forces along the border.

An important element of the diplomatic response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was the development of a military coalition willing and able to defend Saudi Arabia. These forces were assigned to two separate major commands, one American and the other Saudi Arabian. Schwarzkopf's Central Command commanded all U.S. forces and had operational control of all military units from the United Kingdom. Saudi lieutenant general Khaled Bin Sultan commanded the Joint Forces Command. This included command of Saudi Arabian military units, operational control of all Arab and Muslim forces in theater, and coordinating authority for French military forces. Schwarzkopf and Sultan managed operations through a coordination and communications integration center in Riyadh. Major coalition forces included the Egyptian 3rd Mechanized Division, the British 7th Armored Brigade, and the Syrian 9th Armored Division. All were in position by December 1990. In addition, more than 30 other nations contributed smaller contingents of ground, naval, and air units as well as large quantities of military and medical supplies.

By the end of October, Schwarzkopf had sufficient forces on hand to decisively defeat and destroy any potential Iraqi invasion. The U.S. Third Army was in place to control American army forces in Saudi Arabia. The XVIII Airborne Corps now had two heavy divisions (24th Mechanized and 1st Cavalry divisions), the 82nd Airborne Division, the 101st Airmobile Division, and the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment deployed in a defense in-depth along the eastern flank of the kingdom. The I Marine Expeditionary Force and the British 7th Armored Brigade reinforced these forces along the main avenue of approach toward Jubayl. In the Persian Gulf, the 4th Marine Expeditionary Brigade remained afloat and prepared to reinforce ground operations or conduct amphibious operations. Saudi Arabian mechanized forces acted as a covering force for this powerful force. To the west of the American defensive zone, Lieutenant General Khaled deployed almost five divisions of Saudi, Kuwaiti, Egyptian, and Syrian forces along the Saudi border with Kuwait and Iraq, blocking the avenue of approach along the

Wadi al-Batin. To the far west, the 6th French Light Armored Division protected the coalition's left flank in the Arabian Desert.

At sea, coalition naval units conducted extensive maritime intercept operations. Coalition warships challenged 7,500 merchant ships, carried out 964 boardings, and forced 51 ships to divert. These all but stopped the flow of supplies into Iraq. In the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, the coalition arrayed an impressive force of combat ships including six aircraft carriers, Aegis missile cruisers, and, for the last time in combat, the battleships *Wisconsin* and *Missouri* with their 16-inch guns and Tomahawk cruise missiles.

In the air, by mid-September 1990 the coalition deployed more than 2,400 aircraft, the bulk of these from the United States. Air units included the U.S. Air Force 4th, 37th and 48th Tactical Fighter Wings as well as several hundred navy and marine aircraft and fighter-bombers from many coalition partners.

As impressive as this assembled combat power was, Hussein seemed unmoved and refused to leave Kuwait. At the beginning of November, the Iraqi Army had committed in the Kuwait area 36 combat divisions of an estimated 400,000–450,000 men, some 4,000 tanks, 3,000 artillery pieces, and 2,800 armored personnel carriers. The Iraqi Army arrayed these forces in a series of defensive sectors along the border and extending in-depth back to the Euphrates River. In the center of the sector, the Republican Guard Forces Command deployed three heavy and several light divisions poised to counterattack any allied thrust into Kuwait. Iraq also possessed some 800 aircraft.

Generals Powell and Schwarzkopf therefore let Secretary Cheney know that they would require significant reinforcement if the president wished to eject the Iraqis from Kuwait. On November 8 President George H. W. Bush notified the world that the United States had decided to array sufficient forces in the Gulf region to wage an offensive campaign. The centerpiece of this reinforcement would be the U.S. VII Corps from Stuttgart, Germany. The 1st and 3rd Armored divisions, the 2nd Armored Division (Forward), and the 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment from Germany would join the 1st Infantry Division (Mechanized) from the United States in making up the corps' combat power.

The final phase of DESERT SHIELD was the movement of Lieutenant General Frederick M. Franks Jr.'s VII Corps units from Germany and the United States to Saudi Arabia. This was a massive undertaking because this was a heavy corps consisting almost entirely of armored and mechanized infantry forces. For example, each of the armored or mechanized infantry divisions had more than 22,000 soldiers, 1,940 tracked vehicles (such as tanks, infantry fighting vehicles, and self-propelled artillery), and 7,234 wheeled vehicles. Add to these totals the hundreds of helicopters and logistics units at division and corps, and the experience was similar to moving a small American city to a new location 8,000 miles away. Because of the offensive plans developing at Central Command, this entire deployment had to be accomplished in only 90 days.

The transportation figures indicate the scale of this deployment. More than 150 ships delivered a daily average of 4,200 tons of combat equipment and supplies. Civilian-chartered aircraft deposited 25 plane loads of soldiers a day, primarily at King Fahd Airport west of Dhahran. By the end of DESERT SHIELD in January 1991, more than 107,000 VII Corps soldiers and 51,000 vehicles and aircraft had been off-loaded at the ports and moved to a large assembly area in the Arabian Desert, just south of the Kuwait border. By the middle of January, more than 90 percent of VII Corps was in the area of operations. In addition to the American forces, the British, Egyptians, and Syrians contributed additional forces, bringing the coalition's overall military strength to approximately 650,000 men. With that impressive military force, General Schwarzkopf was ready to evict the Iraqi Army from Kuwait. At 2:38 a.m. on January 17, 1991, army Apache helicopters destroyed an Iraqi early warning radar system, initiating Operation DESERT STORM.

Operation DESERT SHIELD was an impressive undertaking. In less than a month after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, Schwarzkopf had assembled a multinational coalition of land, air, and maritime forces in Southwest Asia robust enough to defeat an invasion by the world's fourth-largest army. With the deployment of VII Corps, the American government, in astounding short order, moved a second army corps into assembly areas and set the conditions for rapid military success of Operation DESERT STORM. It was a dramatic demonstration of the political and military capabilities of the United States at the end of the Cold War.

STEPHEN A. BOURQUE

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; DESERT STORM, Operation; Dhahran; Fahd, King of Saudi Arabia; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, Air Force; Iraq, Army; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Iraq, Navy; Kuwait; Kuwait, Armed Forces; Powell, Colin Luther; Saudi Arabia; Saudi Arabia, Armed Forces; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; United Nations Security Council Resolution 678; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present; United States Army, Persian Gulf War; United States Coast Guard, Persian Gulf War; United States Marine Corps, Persian Gulf War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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DESERT STORM, Operation

The combat phase of the 1991 Persian Gulf War, pitting a multinational coalition led by the United States against Iraq. Operation DESERT STORM began on January 17, 1991, and ended on February 28, 1991. It followed on the heels of Operation DESERT SHIELD, a defensive and staging operation that began on August 7, 1990. The primary objective of DESERT STORM was to liberate the emirate of Kuwait, which had been invaded by Iraq on August 2, 1990.

This was the first major conflict of the post–Cold War era. As such, it showcased U.S. technical and military superiority. It also marked the end of the so-called Vietnam Syndrome in the United States, whereby the United States had been reluctant to commit troops in a foreign conflict.

From August 1990, the United States and its allies steadily built up their military assets in the Middle East. On November 8, President George H. W. Bush announced that he would increase the number of forces to enable an offensive capability. On November 29 the United Nations (UN) Security Council voted 12 to 2 in favor of Resolution 678 that authorized "all necessary means" to effect an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait by January 15, 1991. This provided the legal justification for the use of military force against Iraq after January 15.

On the eve of Operation DESERT STORM, Iraq appeared to have a formidable military machine. It had emerged from the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988) with the fourth-largest army in the world. Closer inspection, however, clearly gave a considerable advantage to coalition forces. Iraq deployed in the desert facing Saudi Arabia some 36 divisions of 400,000–450,000 men. The Iraqis possessed some 4,000 tanks and 3,000 artillery pieces. On paper, their air force capability seemed impressive also: some 1,000 aircraft and a Soviet-style integrated air defense system that included 7,000 antiaircraft guns and 10,000 antiaircraft missiles. The Iraqis also possessed several hundred Scud intermediary-range ground-to-ground missiles, capable of mounting chemical and biological as well as high-explosive warheads.

But the Iraqi troops were mostly young and relatively untrained conscripts, and much of their equipment was in fact second-rate. Thus, more than three-quarters of the Iraqi tanks were outdated Soviet T-55 and T-62 types. Even the newer T-72 models were still no match for the U.S. M-1 Abrams or the British Challenger. The T-72's main gun was inaccurate over 4,921 feet (1,500 meters); the U.S. M-1 could bring the Iraqi tanks under accurate fire at twice that range.

Ultimately, the coalition deployed some 650,000 men and women—of whom three-quarters were Americans—in Southwest Asia against Iraq. General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, head of the U.S. Central Command, had command of the U.S. and Western troops, while Saudi Arabia's Lieutenant General Khalid ibn Sultan ibn Abd al-Aziz al-Saud controlled the Arab forces. As of January 17, the coalition had 3,600 tanks and 2,400 aircraft. While the Iraqi Navy consisted of 13 fast-attack boats armed with surface-to-surface missiles and some small motor boats, the coalition boasted 230 ships from 20 nations. The United States alone supplied 6 carrier task forces (*America, John F. Kennedy, Midway, Ranger, Saratoga,* and *Theodore Roosevelt*) and 2 battleship task forces (*Wisconsin* and *Missouri*).

On January 15, 1991, the UN Security Council deadline expired. At 2:38 a.m. on January 17, U.S. Army Apache helicopters destroyed an Iraqi early warning radar system, initiating Operation DESERT STORM. It was the first day of what would be a 38-day aerial bombardment of targets inside Iraq. At the beginning of the war, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) General Colin Powell summarized the coalition strategy succinctly, which was "to cut [the Iraqi army] off and . . . to kill it." That meant that there would be two phases to the war. The first phase was defeating the Iraqi military by destroying its command and control centers, military communications, and logistical supplies such as food, fuel, and ammunition. Airpower accomplished the coalition goal.

The second phase consisted of defeating the Iraqi military through direct attacks during the ground campaign. Planners estimated that to accomplish these ends would require 32 days. Iraqi strategy meanwhile was based largely on the Iran-Iraq War experience. For the most part the strategy involved the construction of a network of trenches and berms across Kuwait and Iraq that were

Comparative Cost of America's Wars

War	*Cost**
American Revolutionary War	$1.8 billion
War of 1812	$1.2 billion
Mexican-American War	$1.8 billion
Civil War (Union)	$45 billion
Civil War (Confederacy)	$15 billion
Spanish-American War	$6.8 billion
World War I	$253 billion
World War II	$4.1 trillion
Korean War	$320 billion
Vietnam War	$686 billion
Persian Gulf War	$96 billion
Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (as of May 2009)	$942 billion

* Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan in 2009 dollars; all other wars in 2008 dollars.

designed to slow down any coalition advance. The Iraqis undertook only very limited offensive ground action, the most notable being a spoiling attack against the Saudi town of Khafji, just across the border. It was without major effect.

The first objective of the air campaign was to knock out Iraq's air defenses, especially the radar network and communication grids. The air attack commenced on January 17, and during the first 24 hours of the aerial campaign U.S. B-52 bombers had launched 35 Tomahawk cruise missiles, while U.S. Navy ships launched 106. The 1,300 sorties in the first day of combat equaled two weeks of those flown over Hanoi in North Vietnam during the two-week Christmas bombing campaign in 1972. The United States unleashed most of its impressive air arsenal, particularly the F-117 stealth bomber with radar-defeating characteristics that made it invisible at night. In response, Iraq launched numerous Scud missiles against Saudi Arabia and Israel. Coalition efforts to hunt down and destroy the Scuds were largely unsuccessful. The United States rushed Patriot antimissile batteries to Israel, and these and others in Saudi Arabia scored some kills, although they were not as effective as claimed at the time.

Between January 17 and February 23, the U.S. Air Force flew nearly 1,000 missions a day; the U.S. Navy added another 1,800 total, while the Royal Air Force flew 6,000. Nearly half of these were against Iraqi ground forces, with the loss of only 38 coalition aircraft, the lowest loss rate per sortie of any air combat in history and less than the normal accident rate per sortie in combat training. By the end of the war, coalition airplanes had dropped 88,500 tons of ordnance, of which 6,500 tons were new precision-guided weapons. A quarter of Iraq's electricity-generating capability was destroyed, and half of it was damaged. Night after night B-52s dropped massive bomb loads in attrition warfare; many Iraqi defenders were simply buried alive.

Schwarzkopf also mounted an elaborate deception to convince the Iraqis that the coalition would mount an amphibious assault against Kuwait. This feint pinned down a number of Iraqi divisions. In reality, Schwarzkopf planned a return to large-scale maneuver warfare.

On February 24, with the air campaign having accomplished its ends, the coalition launched the ground assault. Schwarzkopf's plan involved three thrusts. On the far left 200 miles from the coast, XVIII Airborne Corps of the 82nd Airborne Division and the 101st Airborne Division (Airmobile), supplemented by the French 6th Light Armored Division and the U.S. 24th Infantry Division (Mechanized) and 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, would swing wide and cut off the Iraqis on the Euphrates from resupply or retreat.

The center assault, the mailed fist of VII Corps, was mounted some 100 miles inland from the coast. It consisted of the heavily armored coalition units: the U.S. 1st and 3rd Armored divisions, 1st Cavalry Division, the 1st Infantry (Mechanized) Division, and the British 1st Armored Division. VII Corps's mission was to thrust deep, engage, and destroy the elite Iraqi Republican Guard divisions.

The third thrust occurred on the Kuwaiti border on the coast. It consisted of the U.S. I Marine Expeditionary Force of two divisions, a brigade from the U.S. 2nd Armored Division, and allied Arab units. It would drive on Kuwait City, with the job of liberating it from the Iraqis.

On February 24 coalition forces executed simultaneous drives along the coast, while the 101st Airborne Division established a position 50 miles behind the border. As the marines moved up the coast toward Kuwait City, they were hit in the flank by Iraqi armor. In the largest tank battle in U.S. Marine Corps history, the marines, supported by coalition airpower, easily defeated this force in a battle that was fought in a surrealist day-into-night atmosphere caused by the smoke of burning oil wells set afire by the retreating Iraqis. As the marines prepared to enter Kuwait City preceded by a light Arab force, Iraqi forces laden with booty fled north in whatever they could steal. Thousands of Iraqi vehicles were caught in the open on Highway 80 from Kuwait City and there were pummeled by air and artillery along what became known as the "highway of death." In the major opening engagement, these divisions came up against an Iraqi rear guard of 300 tanks, covering for the withdrawal north toward Basra of four Republican Guard divisions. The U.S. tankers were able to take the Iraqi armor under fire at twice the effective range for their opponents. The high muzzle velocity of the M1s enabled them to destroy the Iraqi tanks well beyond the range at which they could engage their opponents. In perhaps the most lopsided massed tank battle in history, the Iraqi force was wiped out at a cost of only one American dead.

Lieutenant General Frederick Franks Jr., commander of VII Corps to the west, enraged General Schwarzkopf by insisting on halting on the night of the February 24 and concentrating his forces rather than risk an advance through a battlefield littered with debris and unexploded ordnance and the possibility of casualties from friendly fire. When VII Corps resumed the advance early on February 25, its problem was not the Iraqis but rather an adequate supply of fuel; the M1s needed to be refueled every eight to nine hours.

The afternoon of February 27 saw VII Corps engaged in some of its most intense combat. Hoping to delay the coalition advance, an armored brigade of the Iraqi Medina Republican Guard Division established a six-mile-long skirmish line on the reverse slope of a low hill, digging in their T-55 and T-72 tanks there. The advancing 2nd Brigade of the 1st Armored Division came over a ridge, spotted the Iraqis, and took them under fire from 2,500 yards. The American tankers used sabot rounds to blow the turrets off the dug-in Iraqi tanks. The battle was the largest armor engagement of the war. In only 45 minutes, U.S. tanks and aircraft destroyed 60 T-72 tanks, 9 T-55 tanks, and 38 Iraqi armored personnel carriers. As VII Corps closed to the sea, XVIII Corps to its left, which had a much larger distance to travel, raced to reach the fleeing Republican Guards divisions before they could escape the trap to Baghdad.

At this point, before the elite Republican Guards divisions could all be destroyed, President Bush halted the war. Combat ended at

DISPOSITION OF FORCES AFTER THE PERSIAN GULF WAR, MARCH 1991

midnight Washington time on February 27 (8:00 a.m., February 28, in the Persian Gulf region). The ground war had lasted only 100 hours. This had a nice ring to it, but Bush had stopped the war because he feared the cost of an assault on Baghdad and also feared that Iraq might then break up into a Kurdish north, a Sunni Muslim center, and Shiite Muslim south. In addition, the president wanted to keep Iraq intact against a resurgent Iran. Powell called continued combat against a beaten foe "un-American."

The war was among the most lopsided in history. Iraq lost 3,700 tanks, more than 1,000 other armored vehicles, and 3,000 artillery pieces. In contrast, the coalition lost 4 tanks, 9 other combat vehicles, and 1 artillery piece. Of 600 M1 Abrams tanks that saw combat, none were penetrated by an enemy round; 3 were struck by depleted uranium shells fired from other M1s, but none of the 3 were permanently disabled, and there were no crew fatalities. This reflected the casualty rate. The coalition sustained combat deaths of only 211 (148 Americans, 47 British, 2 French, and 14 Egyptians), many of these from friendly fire. Iraqi military casualties totaled between 25,000 and 100,000 dead, but the actual figure is unknown. Some 2,278 Iraqi civilians died, hundreds of them in the Amiriyyah civilian air shelter. The coalition also took perhaps 86,000 Iraqis prisoner.

Iraq was allowed to escape with its best Republican Guard troops largely intact. At the time Schwarzkopf declared himself satisfied with the decision. But he also erred in allowing the beaten Iraqis as part of the cease-fire agreement to fly their armed helicopters; this along with other measures enabled the Iraqi government to crush resistance to Hussein's government.

The war was a remarkable renaissance of American military power from the ashes of Vietnam in the mid-1970s. It was an amazingly successful yet also unsatisfying war, for Saddam Hussein still held power in Iraq and remained there for another 12 years until a new war against Iraq was waged in 2003, that one under entirely different circumstances.

DINO E. BUENVIAJE AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, Air Force; Iraq, Army; Kuwait; Kuwait, Armed Forces; Kuwait, Liberation of; Powell, Colin Luther; Saudi Arabia; Saudi Arabia, Armed Forces; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; United Kingdom; United Kingdom, Air Force, Persian Gulf War; United Kingdom, Army, Persian Gulf War; United Kingdom, Marines, Persian Gulf War; United Kingdom, Navy, Persian Gulf War; United States; United States Air Force, Persian Gulf War; United States Army, Persian Gulf War; United States Marine Corps, Persian Gulf War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War; Vietnam Syndrome

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DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign

Start Date: January 17, 1991
End Date: February 25, 1991

Called by British air vice marshal R. A. "Tony" Mason the "apotheosis of twentieth-century airpower," the stunningly successful coalition air campaign prompted many to claim that Operation DESERT STORM may well be the first time in history in which a war was won from the air. As brilliant as subsequent land operations proved to be, the powerful Iraqi forces had already sustained devastating blows delivered by combined air operations of the coalition forces before the ground campaign commenced. This success resulted from both effective planning and skill in execution.

The precise execution of some of the air strikes during the campaign, presented so effectively on television, made it look too easy, almost facile. The public failed to grasp that such expertise was the result of long years of careful effort, superb training, and a brilliant procurement effort that had been under siege for many years.

Following the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein rejected demands from the world community that he withdraw his troops. Acting under the authority of United Nations (UN) resolutions, U.S. president George H. W.

A U.S. Navy F-14A Tomcat flies over burning Kuwaiti oil wells during Operation DESERT STORM in February 1991. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Bush then put together a grand coalition, including Arab states, to oust the Iraqi Army from Kuwait by force.

The buildup of U.S. forces there, first to protect Saudi Arabia and then to allow offensive operations against Iraq, known as Operation DESERT SHIELD, began on August 7, 1990. The most visible and immediate measure of support came in the form of airpower when the U.S. Air Force dispatched 48 McDonnell F-15C/D Eagles from Langley Air Force Base, Virginia, to Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. The longest operational fighter deployment in history, this nonstop flight required about 17 hours and seven en route in-flight refuelings. It proved to be the first step in the largest buildup of airpower in the history of the Middle East. By September 2 more than 600 aircraft were in place, buttressed by U.S. Navy and U.S. Marine Corps forces and by the deployed ground forces of Great Britain, France, and the Arab coalition nations. Iraq was effectively ringed by airpower, with two carrier battle groups operating in the Red Sea and four others operating in the Persian Gulf.

Despite this show of force, coalition forces did not arrive in the Persian Gulf with an air war plan in hand. The creation of the plan is still a matter of debate. Briefly, maverick colonel John Warden III, author of *The Air Campaign: Planning for Combat* (1988), was called upon to furnish an air war plan to Lieutenant General Charles A. Horner, commander of both U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) air forces and the Joint Force Air Component.

Warden and 20 colleagues in the Pentagon put forward what they called INSTANT THUNDER (so-named to signal its difference from the attenuated and ineffective Operation ROLLING THUNDER of the Vietnam War). Horner believed that INSTANT THUNDER was insufficiently detailed. Warden was then sent home, and Brigadier General Buster C. Glosson was ordered to transform the plan into a usable document. Ironically, as developed, the plan followed the broad brush strokes of Warden's ideas.

From Glosson's efforts, aided by Warden's Pentagon group, a new plan emerged from which the daily Air Tasking Order (ATO) could be created. Targets were selected and apportioned to the constituent air elements of the coalition forces, along with recommendations for aircraft types, numbers, and weapons to be used.

Ultimately the air plan called for securing and maintaining air superiority; attacking Iraqi political and military leadership by destroying the command and control networks; severing Iraqi supply lines; destroying all Iraqi chemical, biological, and nuclear capabilities; and destroying the elite Republican Guard units. In essence, the plan required history's most intensive air battlefield preparation prior to a land offensive.

Iraq appeared to be a formidable opponent, with the typical effective Soviet-style integrated air defense system. This latter included almost 1,000 aircraft, many of them flown by pilots with combat experience gained in the war with Iran; 7,000 antiaircraft guns; 16,000 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs); and a surprisingly modern command, control, and communications system.

The United States and its coalition allies possessed a powerful strike force of 2,614 aircraft. The countries represented in the air war and the number of aircraft they supplied were as follows: United States, 1,990; Saudi Arabia, 339; Great Britain, 73; France, 66; Kuwait, 43; Canada, 28; Bahrain; 24; Qatar, 20; United Arab Emirates, 20; Italy, 8; and New Zealand, 3. Of the total, 1,838 were fighters, bombers, or attack aircraft, and 312 were tankers.

Some crucial elements of the strike force were as yet unproven, particularly one of the key aircraft in the developed air plan, the Lockheed F-117A stealth fighter. It had been employed in Operation JUST CAUSE, the U.S. intervention in Panama, without notable success. Furthermore, there was no way of knowing whether or not the Iraqis and their military suppliers had crafted a defense against a stealthy aircraft.

Military operations against Iraq, known as Operation DESERT STORM, commenced on January 17, 1991. To achieve maximum surprise, air operations actually began on the morning of January 16, when seven Boeing B-52Gs departed Barksdale Air Force Base, Louisiana, carrying AGM-86Cs, nonnuclear versions of the cruise missile. These were reinforced by some 100 Tomahawk land-attack missiles (TLAMs) launched by battleships, cruisers, and destroyers stationed in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. The missile combination coincided with a stealthy but piloted attack force. The latter consisted first of 10 F-117As, which took off from Khamis Mushayt in southern Saudi Arabia at 12:22 a.m. on January 17. Also in action were the sophisticated U.S. Air Force MH-53J Pave Low and U.S. Army AH-64 Apache helicopters, the latter using their withering firepower in a direct attack on Iraqi early-warning radar systems. The stealth bombers dropped laser-guided bombs to cripple Iraq's air defense system, their success verified by the sudden end of Iraqi television transmissions. A lethal array of bombers, fighters, tankers, electronic warfare aircraft, and Wild Weasels (suppression of enemy air defense aircraft) were soon airborne in an attack that completely overwhelmed Iraqi defenses.

Thus began a savage campaign that devastated Iraqi air defenses and decisively defeated the Iraqi Air Force. The value of the F-117As had been firmly established; these aircraft had not been detected by the Iraqi radar, nor had any succumbed, as statistically they might have, to any one of many antiaircraft shells illuminating the night sky over Baghdad.

The air campaign proceeded flawlessly. Every one of coalition commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf's requirements and every feature of General Glosson's plan was met. The coalition forces scored 41 air-to-air victories during the war and 2 more in the following month. The United States suffered 35 losses in combat, while coalition forces lost eight aircraft, six of the latter being Royal Air Force Tornados lost in low-level attacks on heavily defended airfields. Twenty-two U.S. aircraft were also lost in noncombat accidents.

Sandstorms proved to be a significant deterrent to air operations, but the single most important factor that distracted planners from executing the air war plan as originally conceived was the emphasis given to the elimination of the Iraqi Scud threat. The Scud was a Soviet-developed tactical ballistic missile widely sold abroad. Iraq possessed some 600 Scuds, and these posed a strategic rather than a tactical threat. The Scud was not accurate but had the great advantage of being easily dispersed, and many were on mobile missile launchers. The principal coalition worry was the certainty of an Iraqi Scud attack on Israel and military response by the Jewish state that would unhinge the coalition. Iraq had carefully surveyed Israel for just such an attack for that exact reason.

The United States applied great pressure on Israel not to intervene in the war, but if Scuds caused significant damage to the Jewish state, it would be difficult for the Israeli government to resist public pressure for retaliation. Iraq fired its first two Scuds against Israel on January 17, followed by seven more the next day. In return for Israeli restraint, the United States supplied U.S. Army Patriot PAC-2 missiles and prepared an intensive Scud hunt that consumed an immense amount of time and resources. Iraq also fired Scuds against Saudi Arabia. Ultimately, the coalition flew some 2,500 sorties against the Scuds and their missile launchers, detracting from the other aerial effort but effectively diminishing the Scud threat so that firings dropped to one or less per day.

The coalition air campaign gutted the fighting strength of the Iraqi forces. In the 43-day war, the coalition flew some 110,000 sorties (a sortie being 1 flight by an individual aircraft). This effort placed an immense demand on aerial refueling capacity, with U.S. Air Force tankers refueling just under 46,000 aircraft (including U.S. Air Force, U.S. Navy, U.S. Marine Corps, and coalition units) and off-loading an incredible 110 million gallons of aviation fuel.

The coalition flew more than 44,000 combat sorties and dropped more than 84,000 tons of bombs. Of this amount, some 7,400 tons changed the shape of warfare, for they were precision-guided munitions (PGMs) with a much greater capability than those that had debuted in the Vietnam War. U.S. Air Force F-117s dropped more than 6,600 tons of PGMs, with U.S. Navy and U.S. Marine Corps aircraft dropping the remainder. Although fewer than 10 percent of the total tonnage expended, PGMs accounted for more than 75 percent of the damage inflicted on key Iraqi

AIR CAMPAIGN DURING THE PERSIAN GULF WAR, JANUARY 17, 1991
30°E
40°E
50°E
N
40°N
30°N
20°N
SOVIET UNION
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Ankara
TURKEY
from Fairford & Mildenhall, Great Britain
Incirlik
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
SYRIA
Mosul
Kurds: ethnic/religious group resisting Saddam Hussein's government
from Morón, Spain
CYPRUS
Akrotiri
Kirkuk
IRAQ
Beirut
LEBANON
Damascus
Baghdad
IRAN
Mediterranean Sea
Haifa
Tel Aviv
Amman
Jerusalem
EGYPT
ISRAEL
JORDAN
Nasiriyah
Basra
KUWAIT
Kuwait
B-52s from Barksdale Air Force Base, Louisiana, arrive at launch stations in Saudi Arabia and fire cruise missiles at targets in Iraq
Aqaba
Tabuk
Ar Ar
Wisconsin
Missouri
Ranger
Midway
Neutral Zone
Hafar al-Batin
Jubail
Dhahran
BAHRAIN
Riyadh
QATAR
Persian Gulf
Abu Dhabi
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
John F. Kennedy
Saratoga
Medina
Mecca
Taif
Red Sea
America
SAUDI ARABIA
from Diego Garcia
OMAN
Khamis Mushayat
Theodore Roosevelt (En route to Persian Gulf)
YEMEN
Arabian Sea
ETHIOPIA
0 200 400 mi
0 200 400 km
UN coalition country
Neutral country
Post–Gulf War: northern and southern no-fly zones patrolled by coalition aircraft
Allies
Air base
Air strikes
U.S. carrier / carrier battle groups
Sea-launched missile strikes
Iraq
Air base
Biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons plant
Scud missile attack

targets. The inventory of PGMs include Paveway bombs and Maverick, Hellfire, Tomahawk, and AGM-86C missiles as well as high-speed antiradiation missiles (HARMs) and a few other missile types.

Interestingly, the very success of the PGM may have sown the seeds of future difficulties in the Persian Gulf. The incredible accuracy of the PGM permitted F-117As to completely dislocate Iraqi command and control capability while inflicting only minor damage on the Iraqi capital. This led to a general perception that the value of the PGM lay not only in its lethality but also in its ability to avoid collateral damage. The PGM made warfare much more refined and much easier on the civilian populace. In the subsequent Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), the even more extensive use of PGMs inflicted decisive damage on Iraq's military capability, but this did not convince the populace that it was—or indeed could be—defeated. The situation was unique in modern warfare. As successful as the air campaign was in destroying the Iraqi electrical grid, fuel economy, and transport system and the Iraqi Air Force, it did not make a lasting impression on Saddam Hussein or the Iraqi people.

Nevertheless, the air campaign had a catastrophic effect upon the Iraqi military's ability to resist. Schwarzkopf had stipulated the requirements for the degradation of Iraqi effectiveness that would be necessary before an attack was begun. He later reported that this had been achieved, for when he made his land attack, intelligence estimates claimed that one-third of the Iraqi divisions were at 50 percent or lower strength, one-third at 50–75 percent, and one-third at full strength.

The considerable Iraqi armored force was decimated by tank plinking by A-10s and helicopters. The Warthog's performance rescued it from retirement and launched an entirely new career in U.S. Air Force service.

On February 24, 1991, the ground campaign began, its key being a massive armor attack on the western flank of the Iraqi Army, with the goal of cutting off and destroying Iraqi Republican Guard divisions in Kuwait. The ground forces were able to accomplish this assembly and execution in complete security, for the Iraqi forces were bereft of airpower, had no insight into coalition action, and were for the most part immobile. American and coalition forces were thus able to achieve a ground victory with only the most minor losses. The decimated Iraqi forces crumbled before the coalition ground offensive, and a cease-fire was granted after only 100 hours of ground warfare.

The great coalition victory was thus accomplished largely as a consequence of airpower's pummeling of the Iraqi Army in the weeks before the ground war began. The U.S. Air Force and U.S. Navy had put together a force of aircraft varying in age from more than 40 years (the B-52) to just a few years (the F-117A). The U.S. Air Force had labored under funding shortages and procurement limits for decades, yet it managed to field an intricate system of satellites, airborne command and control, stealth fighters, air superiority fighters, tankers (also 40 years old), and airlift so as to create a force that was unbeatable. Much was owed to the crews who operated the weapons. Satellites were tweaked to provide an optimum result for the combat theater. Ancient aircraft reached new reliability standards. Obsolete aircraft such as the Fairchild (later Boeing) A-10, Boeing B-52, and McDonnell Douglas F-4G Wild Weasels suddenly assumed new stature. Both stealth munitions and PGMs proved themselves. All of this effort and its resultant validation prepared the U.S. Air Force for the coming years of almost continuous combat but completely failed to convince the U.S. Congress and the public of the requirement to update aging systems.

WALTER J. BOYNE

See also

Air Defenses in Iraq, Persian Gulf War; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Forces; Iraq, Air Force; United Kingdom, Air Force, Persian Gulf War; United States Air Force, Persian Gulf War

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DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Forces

Allied air force components committed to the military effort against Iraqi military forces in the campaign to liberate Kuwait in January and February 1991 (Operation DESERT STORM). The air effort was dominated by the aviation assets of the U.S. Air Force and the U.S. Navy as well as fixed-wing and rotary-wing aviation resources of the U.S. Army and the U.S. Marine Corps. Additional air assets were provided by North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) states and from regional Arab states.

Overall planning and the command and control of coalition air operations for the defense of Saudi Arabia and for the offensive operations against the Iraqi military were led by the commander of U.S. Central Command Air Forces (CENTAF), Lieutenant General Charles A. Horner, who served as the joint air force component commander (JFACC) under U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) commander in chief General H. Norman Schwarzkopf. The Arab air forces were formally assigned to Saudi lieutenant general Prince Khalid ibn Sultan al-Saud, appointed as the Joint Forces commander by the Saudi government.

The integration of the NATO member forces—from the British Royal Air Force, the French Air Force, the Italian Air Force, and the Royal Canadian Air Force—was facilitated by long-standing shared tactics, techniques, and procedures and extensive training

in the European environment as well as by general equipment interoperability based on NATO standards. The integration of regional air forces was also facilitated by established bilateral relationships between the U.S. military and local forces, which included regular exercises. The intense planning, training, and preparation that occurred from the initial deployment of outside forces to Saudi Arabia in the autumn of 1990 to the implementation of Operation DESERT STORM in January 1991 allowed the allies to refine their strategic and operational concepts and ensure a well-coordinated tactical effort.

U.S. airpower was certainly the dominant component of the air campaign against Iraq in 1991. U.S. aircraft flew some 83 percent of the sorties (88 percent of the attack sorties and 66 percent of the air defense sorties) in the operation to free Kuwait from Iraqi control. However, the contributions by other allied air forces were operationally significant and were even more important as symbols of the broad international political support for the coalition.

The United Kingdom provided the largest deployed combat contribution apart from the U.S. forces, including 36 ground attack Tornados, 12 reconnaissance Tornados, 18 air superiority Tornados, 6 Jaguar ground attack aircraft, and 12 Buccaneer attack aircraft that provided laser designation for Tornados using precision-guided weapons. British Royal Air Force aircraft flew 5.1 percent of the combat sorties during the campaign.

The French Air Force provided 12 Mirage 2000 air superiority fighters, 12 Mirage F-1 attack and reconnaissance fighters, and 24 Jaguar ground attack aircraft. Additionally, Italy provided 10 ground attack Tornados, and Canada contributed 18 CF-18 dual-role fighters. The NATO member air forces as well as several other countries also contributed a range of other capabilities, including transport aircraft, helicopters, air refueling tankers, electronic reconnaissance platforms, and maritime patrol aircraft.

The Royal Saudi Air Force (RSAF) provided the largest component of the non-U.S. air forces, having an inventory of 69 F-15C air superiority fighters, 24 air superiority and 24 ground attack Tornados, 87 F-5 attack and reconnaissance fighters, and 24 Hawk attack (and trainer) aircraft. The RSAF also operated 5 E-3 AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System), which were integrated into the coalition's air defense system. The RSAF flew 6.5 percent of the sorties during the operation. Remnants of the Kuwait Air Force that escaped the Iraq invasion also participated in the liberation campaign, flying 15 Mirage F1s and 20 Skyhawks. Other Arab aircraft available for the defense of Saudi Arabia were provided by the Gulf Cooperation Council states, including 12 F-5s and 12 F-16s from Bahrain, 14 Mirage F1s from Qatar, and 14 Mirage IIIs and 12 Mirage 5s from the United Arab Emirates.

The biggest challenge in the air operation was coordinating and properly integrating the large numbers of aircraft from different countries and services to ensure an effective application of available force and, especially, to ensure that fratricide (shooting down friendly forces) was avoided in the heat of battle. As an example, fratricide concerns caused the coalition to limit the use of the Mirage F1 early in the conflict because the Iraqis also operated that fighter. However, as complete air supremacy was quickly established over the Iraqi Air Force, the Mirage F1s were fully integrated into the air operations.

Coordination was established by the centralized control role of General Horner as the JFACC and the use of a Master Attack Plan and the daily Air Tasking Order (ATO) that detailed all of the planned air missions for each day of combat operations. The coalition air campaign proved to be extremely effective, providing the foundation for the ground offensive and the liberation of Kuwait.

JEROME V. MARTIN

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; Horner, Charles; Saud, Khalid ibn Sultan ibn Abd al-Aziz al-; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.

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DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces

In response to the August 1990 Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait, the United States assembled a 34-nation coalition that ultimately freed Kuwait in Operation DESERT STORM in February 1991. A number of states contributed forces. Overall coalition strength totaled some 956,600 personnel. Precise strength figures are difficult to ascertain for a number of nations, as is breaking these down among land, air, and naval forces. Thus, Saudi Arabia claims on occasion to have committed as many as 100,000 troops to coalition forces, but because it was the principal host country, it is difficult to tell the number of Saudi troops actually taking part in Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM.

The United States supplied in its army and marine forces the bulk of the ground strength. Total U.S. strength on February 22, 1991, was 533,608 personnel, with some 333,565 of these in army ground combat forces, chiefly the U.S. VII Corps and XVIII Airborne Corps. The U.S. Central Command, commanded by General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, had overall direction of the war.

U.S. Army general John Yeosock was the U.S. Central Command army ground forces commander (ARCENT). The bulk of his forces were in the XVIII Airborne Corps and VII Corps. The principal components of the XVIII Airborne Corps were the

Coalition forces drive a T-72 main battle tank along a channel cleared of mines during Operation DESERT STORM in 1991. (U.S. Department of Defense)

101st Airborne Division (Air Assault), commanded by Major General Binford Peay; the 82nd Airborne Division under Major General James Johnson; the 24th Infantry Division (Mechanized) under Major General Barry McCaffrey; and the French 6th Light Armored ("Dauget") Division (heavily reinforced), commanded by Brigadier General Bernard Janvier.

VII Corps was commanded by Lieutenant General Frederick M. Franks. Its principal units were the 1st Armored Division, commanded by Major General Ronald H. Griffith, with the 3rd Brigade of the 3rd Infantry Division attached; the 3rd Armored Division, commanded by Major General Paul E. "Butch" Funk; and the 1st Infantry Division (Mechanized), commanded by Major General Thomas Rhame, with the 3rd Brigade of the 2nd Armored Division attached. VII Corps also had the 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment. Also attached was the United Kingdom's 1st Armoured Division, under Major General Rupert Smith.

Lieutenant General Walter Boomer commanded Marine Forces, Central Command (MARCENT). His forces included the I Marine Expeditionary Force composed of the 1st Marine Division under Major General James M. "Mike" Myatt, the 2nd Marine Division under Major General William Keys, and the 5th Marine Expeditionary Brigade. Attached to the marines to provide additional punch to the mostly M-60 tanks operated by the marines against the anticipated Iraqi armor threat was Colonel John Sylvester's 1st ("Tiger") Brigade of the U.S. Army 2nd Armored Division. At sea off the Kuwaiti coast as an amphibious threat to pin Iraqi coastal defense forces in place was the II Marine Expeditionary Force (afloat), commanded by Major General Harry W. Jenkins.

The Theater Reserve (or other forces under direct control of Schwarzkopf) included the 1st Armored Division. Deployed with the XVIII Airborne Corps, it was transferred to theater reserve by Schwarzkopf and then was released to control of the VII Corps on February 26, 1991. The U.S. Army 3rd and 5th Special Forces Groups were assigned deep-insertion missions as well as search and rescue for downed pilots.

Saudi Arabia provided the next largest contingent of forces, numbering between 52,000 and 100,000 troops. Saudi lieutenant general Prince Khalid ibn Sultan al-Saud headed the Joint Forces Command of all Arab forces in the war.

Britain contributed 43,000–45,400 troops. Its ground forces were under overall command of Lieutenant General Sir Peter de la Billiére. Britain initially deployed to the Persian Gulf the 7th Armoured Brigade (the "Desert Rats" of World War II fame). Later that deployment was increased to include a full division, designated the 1st Armoured Division, that was formed of different British divisions deployed in Germany. It was equipped

with the excellent Challenger 1 main battle tank. The British also brought with them the Warrior infantry fighting vehicle and the Scorpion and Scimitar light fighting vehicles.

Egypt had the next largest contingent: some 33,600–35,000 troops formed into the Egyptian II Corps under the command of Major General Salah Mohamed Attiya Halaby. It consisted of the 3rd Mechanized Division, the 4th Armored Division, and the 1st Ranger Regiment.

French forces numbered some 14,600–18,000 troops. The bulk of these were in the French 6th Light Armored ("Dauget" for the code name the French gave to the entire operation) Division (heavily reinforced), commanded by Brigadier General Bernard Janvier. The French relied on the somewhat outmoded AMX-30 B2 tank and the AMX-10P infantry combat vehicle.

Syria contributed 14,500 troops in its 9th Armored Division and 45th Commando Brigade, but its Soviet equipment presented problems in terms of distinguishing friendly forces from those of the foe. Morocco provided 13,000 troops, Kuwait provided 9,900, Oman provided 6,300, Pakistan provided 4,900–5,500, Canada provided 2,700 (4,500 total in theater), the United Arab Emirates provided 4,300, Qatar provided 2,600, Bangladesh provided 2,200, Australia provided 1,800, and Italy provided 1,200. Smaller numbers still were contributed by the Netherlands (600), Niger (600), Senegal (500), Spain (500), Bahrain (400), Belgium (400), the Republic of Korea (314), Afghanistan (300), Argentina (300), Norway (280), Czechoslovakia (200), Poland (200), the Philippines (200), Denmark (100), and Hungary (50). The aforementioned totals include naval and air units, and many, if not most, of the smaller forces did not see action during the war. Coalition major ground units were situated east to west, as follows. On the far east flank next to the sea was Joint Forces Command–East. Next came the Marine Expeditionary Force of the 1st and 2nd Marine Divisions, 5th Marine Expeditionary Brigade, and the attached U.S. Army's 1st Brigade of the 2nd Armored Division. To its immediate west was the Joint Forces Command–North (even though it was in the west) of additional Arab nation allied forces under bin Sultan's command. Farther west was the U.S. VII Corps, and then came the U.S. XVIII Airborne Corps, with the French taking up blocking positions to prevent any Iraqi force from threatening the coalition left flank.

Coalition ground forces fielded some 3,850 artillery pieces. While the coalition boasted 3,318 tanks, the Iraqis had an estimated 4,500. Yet it soon became apparent during Operation DESERT STORM that Iraqi tanks, even their newest, the Soviet T-72 Ms, were no match for the British Challenger 1 or American M-1 Abrams, which could engage their opponents at far greater range and with deadly accuracy. Modern navigation and night-vision equipment also allowed coalition ground forces to operate anywhere at any time. Morale in the coalition ground forces was far better than among the Iraqis, many of whom had suffered considerable losses during the preceding air campaign and units of which sought to desert at the first opportunity, often led by their commanding officers. Coalition ground forces not only had superior equipment but were also better trained in its use and were far better led.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Billiére, Sir Peter Edgar de la; Boomer, Walter; Franks, Frederick Melvin, Jr.; Funk, Paul Edward; Griffith, Ronald Houston; Keys, William Morgan; McCaffrey, Barry Richard; Myatt, James Michael; Peay, Binford James Henry, III; Saud, Khalid ibn Sultan ibn Abd al-Aziz al-; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; Yeosock, John J.

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DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Nations' Contributions to

The massive forces readied to expel Iraqi forces from Kuwait during Operation DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM numbered 737,000 troops, 190 naval vessels, and 1,800 aircraft. In its broadest definition, coalition forces encompassed 50 nations, each of which contributed military forces, funds, or logistical support. The United States provided the bulk of these resources—532,000 troops, 120 ships, and 1,700 aircraft—but it also was dependent upon and received strong coalition support. Coalition nations other than the United States provided 205,000 troops, 70 warships, 100 aircraft, and 1,200 tanks. In addition, monetary contributions brought the $61.1 billion cost of the war to the United States to a mere $7.2 billion. Other nations also aided the effort. For example, Turkey helped tie down significant Iraqi forces on its border and allowed European forces to use its air bases.

Militarily, the United States drew heavily upon its European allies, with the next largest contributors being the United Kingdom and France. These were significant. Britain, for example, provided 45,000 troops, 9 ships, and 5 fighter squadrons and 18 helicopters. Additionally, British air tankers refueled American aircraft en route to Saudi Arabia. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, the Netherlands,

and Hungary each sent medical teams, while Bulgaria opened its airspace to coalition aircraft. Germany provided $6.5 billion to the coalition while agreeing to take up the slack of defending Western Europe in the transfer of significant U.S. forces from there to the Persian Gulf. While most of the nations assisting the United States were part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Operation DESERT STORM was not an official NATO action. Luxembourg and Italy placed aircraft in their national airlines in coalition hands to aid in the logistical support of combat forces.

Besides forces arrayed under the United States Central Command (CENTCOM), there was also the Saudi-led Joint Force Command (JFC). It allowed Muslim/Arab nations to join the effort without placing their forces under direct U.S. control. Led by Saudi lieutenant general Khalid ibn Sultan, these forces from 24 nations helped defend Saudi Arabia as well as cover the flanks of the I Marine Expeditionary Force.

Saudi Arabia, fearing further Iraqi aggression, was a no-cost host to coalition forces. It provided 4,800 tents, 20 million meals, 20 million gallons of fuel per day, and bottled water to the entire theater. This was in addition to its contributing $16.8 billion to the coalition. The Royal Saudi Air Force (RSAF) was the second largest in the coalition and flew more than 12,000 sorties. This strong Saudi leadership allowed the Gulf Cooperation Council (Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates) and other nations such as Syria, Egypt, Morocco, Niger, Senegal, and Pakistan to commit military forces to the fight.

The United Arab Emirates (UAE), like Saudi Arabia, opened its ports and air bases to coalition forces while operating its 50 French-made Mirage jet fighters during the air campaign. In addition, the UAE contributed $4 billion to the coalition. Refugees from Kuwait constituted five brigades, two of which were mechanized. Pakistan sent its 7th Armored Brigade and an infantry battalion, while small Bahrain and Qatar sent 3,500 soldiers and a 7,000-man mechanized task force, respectively.

The African nation of Sierra Leone sent a medical team, while Niger sent a 480-man battalion and Senegal managed an entire infantry battalion. All of these forces were split into the JFC-East and JFC-North Army Corps, which helped cover the marine force that pushed into Kuwait. The JFC-East forces were the first to enter Kuwait City.

One nation conspicuously absent from the coalition was Israel, which was pressured by the United States not to intervene even after Iraqi Scud missiles rained down on the country. An assortment of nations, including Italy, Greece, Norway, Portugal, Argentina, Denmark, and Spain, provided naval ships. Many of these took part in the blockade of Iraq and conducted mine-clearing operations.

Other nations provided monetary support alone. Although the Republic of Korea (South Korea) sent a medical team, its major support came in the form of $355 million to the effort.

Japan practiced checkbook diplomacy. Initially giving $10 billion because constitutional constraints militated against the use of its military forces as part of an aggressive assault, Japan later sent several minesweepers to solidify its commitment. Afghanistan sent 300 mujahideen fighters to assist coalition ground forces in their attacks into Iraq.

ROBERT H. CLEMM

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Gulf Cooperation Council; September 11 Attacks; United States Central Command

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DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces

Multinational naval force that helped prosecute the 1991 Persian Gulf War and that assembled in the Middle East after Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990. Both Operation DESERT SHIELD and Operation DESERT STORM utilized coalition naval assets. Although U.S. Navy ships comprised most of the force that supported DESERT STORM and DESERT SHIELD, ships from 23 nations, including Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Spain, and the United Kingdom, also contributed naval assets. Altogether, 60 vessels from other coalition nations worked with the U.S. Navy (which utilized some 115 ships) to implement an effective blockade that intercepted thousands of merchant ships, conducted mine countermeasure missions, detected almost two dozen antiship mines, and supported the eventual military ground thrust that routed Iraqi forces.

By January 15, 1991, the deadline imposed by the United Nations (UN) for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait, U.S. Navy vice admiral Stanley R. Arthur, chief of the Central Command's (CENTCOM) naval forces, controlled an impressive fleet of more than 100 ships from his headquarters onboard the amphibious command ship *Blue Ridge.* The most potent of these were aircraft carriers. The *Saratoga, John F. Kennedy,* and *Midway* were in the theater with their escorts weeks before hostilities commenced, and the *America, Ranger,* and *Theodore Roosevelt* carrier groups joined them in January. The air wings of the six American carriers represented a substantial 20 percent of all coalition aircraft in the theater. The *Saratoga, John F. Kennedy, and America* comprised the core of Battle Force Yankee (also known as Red Sea Battle Force), which operated throughout the conflict in the Red Sea. Some additional ships, including platforms that could fire cruise missiles, were stationed in the eastern Mediterranean Sea.

Battle Force Zulu, operating in the central Persian Gulf, was the largest and most powerful naval fleet. It consisted of the *Ranger,*

Midway, and *Theodore Roosevelt* (and the reassigned *America* by mid-February); the battleships *Missouri* and *Wisconsin;* the *Tarawa* and *Nassau* as the core of an amphibious task force consisting of about 17,000 marines, 141 helicopters, and 25 planes; the Aegis-class cruisers *Bunker Hill* and *Mobile Bay;* and numerous smaller ships that served as escorts, supply ships, and hospital ships. These included ships from the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Canada, and Australia, placed under the tactical command of U.S. Navy rear admiral Daniel P. March, commander of the force. One of the Royal Navy ships, the *Gloucester,* served with American warships in the van of the fleet. This group screened for possible air, surface, and underwater threats to the capital ships positioned farther south.

The initial missions of the coalition naval forces revolved around securing control of the waters of the Persian Gulf. This included engaging Iraqi warships and attacking oil platforms. For instance, Surface Action Group Alfa, consisting of three American ships and three Kuwaiti fast-attack craft, patrolled the northern areas of the Persian Gulf. British ships carrying helicopters that could be outfitted with air-to-surface weaponry were particularly valuable in this effort. Supporting the air campaign and feigning an attack on the Iraqi forces' flank in Kuwait represented the primary missions of the naval forces within the overall war strategy.

U.S. Navy and U.S. Marine Corps aircraft flew hundreds of sorties against a wide variety of targets once the aerial attacks began on January 17, 1991. Eighteen ships in the theater fired almost 300 Tomahawk cruise missiles at Iraqi targets during the first two weeks of the conflict. As the coalition successfully prosecuted the aerial campaign, the Zulu force moved closer to Iraqi-held territory, and the battleships bombarded coastal areas for the first time in early February. Defending the multinational fleet was a top priority. Within the first month of fighting, 21 American, British, Australian, and Italian ships were tasked partially or fully to a multilayered air defense scheme. Five British minesweepers operated within range of the Iraqis' Silkworm missiles during the first two days of the ground assault, as did the battleship *Missouri* and its three escorts, two of which were also British. In a dramatic turn, the *Gloucester* shot down one of the antiship weapons fired at the fleet. The coalition's naval force also supported the decisive ground campaign, as when the *Wisconsin* shelled areas to support advances by U.S. marines.

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See also

Arthur, Stanley; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; United Kingdom, Navy, Persian Gulf War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations

Start Date: February 24, 1991
End Date: February 28, 1991

On August 2, 1990, Iraqi forces invaded Kuwait and speedily overran that small country. When Hussein rejected demands that he recall his troops, the George H. W. Bush administration took action. Washington feared that an unchecked Iraq would threaten Saudi Arabia, which possessed the world's largest oil reserves, and thus could control both the price and flow of oil to the West. Bush, a veteran of World War II, also saw Hussein as a new Adolf Hitler and was determined that there would be no "Munich-like appeasement" of aggression.

On paper, Iraq appeared formidable. Its army numbered more than 950,000 men, and it possessed some 5,500 main battle tanks (MBTs)—of which 1,000 were modern T-72s—along with 6,000 armored personnel carriers (APCs) and about 3,500 artillery pieces. Hussein ultimately deployed 43 divisions to Kuwait, positioning most of them along the border with Saudi Arabia.

In Operation DESERT SHIELD, designed to protect Saudi Arabia and prepare for the liberation of Kuwait, the United States put together an impressive coalition of 34 nations that included Syria, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia as well as Britain, France, and many other states. Altogether, coalition forces grew to 665,000 men and 3,600 tanks plus substantial air and naval assets.

Hussein remained intransigent but also quiescent, allowing the buildup of coalition forces in Saudi Arabia to proceed unimpeded. When the deadline for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait passed on January 15, 1991, coalition commander U.S. Army general H. Norman Schwarzkopf unleashed Operation DESERT STORM the next day. It began with a massive air offensive, striking targets in Kuwait and throughout Iraq, including Baghdad. In only a few days the coalition had established absolute air supremacy over the battlefield. The air campaign destroyed important Iraqi targets along the Saudi border. Night after night B-52s dropped massive bomb loads in classic attrition warfare; many Iraqi defenders were simply buried alive.

At the same time, Schwarzkopf mounted an elaborate deception to convince the Iraqis that the coalition was planning an amphibious assault against Kuwait. This feint pinned down a number of Iraqi divisions. In reality, Schwarzkopf had planned a return to large-scale maneuver warfare, which tested the U.S. Army's new AirLand Battle concept.

Schwarzkopf's campaign involved three thrusts. On the far left, 200 miles from the coast, the XVIII Airborne Corps of the 82nd Airborne Division and the 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault), supplemented by the French 6th Light Armored Division and the U.S. 24th Infantry Division (Mechanized) and 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, were to swing wide and cut off the Iraqis on the Euphrates River, preventing resupply or retreat. The center assault, the mailed fist of VII Corps, was to be mounted some 100 miles inland from the coast. It consisted of the following heavily armored coalition divisions: the U.S. 1st and 3rd Armored divisions, the 1st Cavalry Division, the 1st Infantry (Mechanized) Division, and the British 1st Armored Division. VII Corps's mission was to thrust deep, engage, and then destroy the elite Iraqi Republican Guard divisions. The third and final thrust was to occur on the coast. It consisted of the U.S. I Marine Expeditionary Force of two divisions, a brigade from the U.S. Army 2rd Armored Division, and allied Arab units and was to drive on Kuwait City.

On February 24 coalition forces executed simultaneous drives along the coast, while the 101st Airborne Division established a position 50 miles behind the border. As the marines moved up the coast toward Kuwait City, they were hit in the flank by Iraqi armor. In the largest tank battle in the history of the U.S. Marine Corps, the marines, supported by coalition airpower, easily defeated the Iraqis. The battle was fought in a surrealist day-into-night atmosphere caused by the smoke of oil wells set afire by the retreating Iraqis.

As the marines, preceded by a light Arab force, prepared to enter Kuwait City, Iraqi forces fled north with whatever they could steal. Thousands of vehicles and personnel were caught in the open on Highway 80 from Kuwait City and were pummeled by air and artillery along what became known as the "highway of death." Although media images of the destruction were dramatic, coalition troops found only about 200 Iraqi corpses amid the vehicle wreckage but did round up several thousand Iraqi prisoners hiding nearby in the desert.

The coalition now came up against an Iraqi rear guard of 300 tanks covering the withdrawal north toward Basra of four Republican Guard divisions. In perhaps the most lopsided tank battle in history, the Iraqi force was defeated at a cost of only one American death.

Lieutenant General Frederick Franks Jr., commander of VII Corps to the west, angered Schwarzkopf by insisting on halting on the night of February 24 and concentrating his forces rather than risking an advance through a battlefield littered with debris and unexploded ordnance and the possibility of casualties from friendly fire. When VII Corps resumed the advance early on February 25, its problem was not the Iraqis but rather the supply of fuel; because of the speed of the advance, the M1 Abrams tanks needed to be refueled every eight to nine hours.

The afternoon of February 27 saw VII Corps engaged in some of its most intense combat. Hoping to delay the coalition, an armored brigade of the Medina Republican Guard Division established a six-mile-long skirmish line on the reverse slope of a low hill, digging in their T-55 and T-72 tanks. The advancing 2nd Brigade of the 1st Armored Division came over a ridge, spotted the Iraqis, and took them under fire from 2,500 yards. The American tankers used sabot rounds to blow the turrets off the dug-in Iraqi tanks. The battle was the single-largest armor engagement of the war. In only 45 minutes, U.S. tanks and aircraft destroyed 60 T-72 and 9 T-55 tanks as well as 38 Iraqi armored personnel carriers.

Coalition tanks, especially the M1A1 Abrams and the British Challenger, proved their great superiority over their Soviet counterparts, especially in night fighting. Of 600 M1A1 Abrams that saw combat, not one was penetrated by an enemy round. Conversely, the M1A1's 120-millimeter gun proved lethal to Iraqi MBTs. It could engage the Iraqi armor at 1.86 miles (3,000 meters), twice the Iraqis' effective range, and its superior fire-control system could deliver a first-round hit while on the move. Overall, the coalition maneuver strategy bound up in the AirLand Battle worked to perfection. As VII Corps closed to the sea, XVIII Corps to its left, with a much larger distance to travel, raced to reach the fleeing Republican Guards' divisions before they could escape to Baghdad.

In only 100 hours of ground combat, coalition forces had liberated Kuwait. On February 28 President Bush stopped the war. He feared the cost of an assault on Baghdad and also feared that Iraq might then break up into a Kurdish north, a Sunni Muslim center, and a Shiite Muslim south. Bush wanted to keep Iraq intact to counter a resurgent Iran.

The war was among the most lopsided in history. Iraq lost 3,700 tanks, more than 1,000 other armored vehicles, and 3,000 artillery pieces. In contrast, the coalition lost 4 tanks, 9 other combat vehicles, and 1 artillery piece. In human terms, the coalition sustained 500 casualties (150 dead), many of these from accidents and friendly fire. Iraqi casualties are estimated at between 25,000 and 100,000 dead, but the true figure is unknown. The coalition also took 80,000 Iraqis prisoner. Perhaps an equal number simply deserted.

Following the cease-fire, Saddam Hussein reestablished his authority. In a controversial decision, Schwarzkopf had agreed in the cease-fire terms to permit the Iraqis to fly helicopters. This enabled Hussein to put down revolts against him by the Shiites in the south and the Kurds in the north, at great cost to the civilian population. Hussein also went on to defy United Nations (UN) inspection teams by failing to account for all of his biological and chemical weapons, the so-called weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). Ultimately, President George W. Bush would use the alleged presence of WMDs as an excuse to send U.S. and allied forces to invade and occupy Iraq in another war in March 2003.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

AirLand Battle Doctrine; Bush, George Herbert Walker; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Franks, Frederick Melvin, Jr.; Hussein, Saddam; Kurds; Kurds, Massacres of; Kuwait, Liberation of; Powell, Colin Luther; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; Weapons of Mass Destruction

A column of Iraqi prisoners captured on February 26, 1991, march to a processing center in Kuwait. A total of 86,743 Iraqis were held by coalition forces as prisoners of war (POWs) as a consequence of Operation DESERT STORM. (AP/Wide World Photos)

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DESERT STORM, Operation, Planning for

On August 2, 1990, Iraqi forces invaded and then occupied neighboring Kuwait. By the beginning of September 1990, some 40,000 U.S. troops had already arrived in the Persian Gulf, a force deemed sufficient to defend Saudi Arabia from potential Iraqi aggression. At that point, American leaders began seriously considering offensive options. President George H. W. Bush and some of his advisers, notably national security adviser General Brent Scowcroft, were growing increasingly skeptical that economic sanctions would compel an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. However, senior U.S. military leaders, including the commander in chief of U.S. Central Command, General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, emphasized that deployments suitable for the defense of Saudi Arabia were ill-suited for offensive operations. Indeed, in the beginning of October when Bush requested a detailed briefing regarding offensive options, U.S. Army planners were unready.

Then and thereafter, the army took the lead in planning a ground offensive. Army briefers described the hastily prepared first plan to Bush and his senior advisers on October 11, 1990. It involved four overlapping phases, beginning with a series of air strikes against Iraqi command and control facilities and culminating with a U.S. corps-sized attack into the teeth of the Iraqi defenses. Scowcroft questioned the wisdom of a frontal assault and wondered why the Iraqis could not be outflanked by a wide envelopment movement. Although this option had always been an obvious choice, only after this meeting did both the Pentagon and Schwarzkopf's staff begin to consider it in detail.

On October 31 Bush convened a meeting of the National Security Council (NSC) to resolve the question of whether or not to continue the buildup of forces in the Middle East. Thereafter, Bush authorized the deployment of more units to the region, including the tank-heavy VII Corps, then based in Europe. The additional ground forces permitted planners to conceive of a two-corps instead of a one-corps offensive. Terrain analysis indicated that

a flanking move was feasible, particularly if it took place before seasonal rains began. The favorable weather window was between January 1 and February 15.

To deceive Iraqi intelligence, Schwarzkopf ordered several rehearsals of major amphibious landings designed to convince Iraqi president Saddam Hussein that an amphibious assault against Kuwait was pending. Simultaneously, Pentagon planners seriously considered—but ultimately rejected—offensive operations to be launched from Turkey, Syria, and Jordan.

Meanwhile, army planners drew upon the AirLand Battle doctrine of maneuver warfare, originally developed to confront the Warsaw Pact in Europe, to perfect the ground plan. In its final form, the plan called for attracting Iraqi attention to the east and then launching a deep, wide sweep from the west that would enter southern Iraq and sever the main roads linking Iraq and Kuwait, thus isolating the Iraqi forces in Kuwait. One day before the flanking attack was to begin, the marines and multinational coalition forces were to attack along the coast to pin Iraqi forces in place. However, Schwarzkopf gave U.S. Marine Corps planners considerable freedom to develop their own plan of operations. Initially, the U.S. Marine Corps wanted to conduct an amphibious assault into Kuwait. The next U.S. Marine Corps plan called for an attack in-depth on a one-division front. Late in the planning, the U.S. Marine Corps shifted to an attack along a two-division front. Moreover, U.S. Marine Corps commander Lieutenant General Walter E. Boomer anticipated that the marines would reach Kuwait City within three days from the beginning of the attack. In other words, although no one realized it at the time, the U.S. Marine Corps planned for a breakthrough assault rather than Schwarzkopf's notion of a pinning attack. The net effect of this failure of communication between the two services was to drive the Iraqis rapidly in the direction they needed to move if they were to escape from the projected trap created by the U.S. Army's deep envelopment.

The U.S. Air Force took the lead in developing the air campaign. U.S. Air Force general Charles Horner selected Brigadier General Buster Glosson to develop the air campaign. Glosson and most air force officers were completely convinced that a decapitating strike against Hussein's government would possibly eliminate Hussein and his senior command and certainly prevent him from communicating effectively with his people or his military forces. The air plan took into account powerful Iraqi air defense systems, particularly around Baghdad. Consequently, the initial attack on Baghdad would feature stealth Lockheed F-117 Nighthawk aircraft and Tomahawk cruise missiles fired from U.S. Navy surface ships aimed at Iraqi command and control facilities, including the Baath Party headquarters, the International Communications Center, the Presidential Palace, the Government Control Center, and the Telecommunications Center. Subsequent attacks would target the Iraqi power grid. Meanwhile, U.S. Air Force McDonnell Douglas/Boeing F-15 Eagles would attack stationary Scud missile launchers in western Iraq. U.S. General Dynamics F111 Aardvarks, British- and Saudi-operated Panavia Tornados, and Boeing B-52 Stratofortress bombers would target Iraqi airfields. Air force and navy fighter-bombers and Grumman A-6 Intruders were tasked with attacking Republican Guard positions. Subsequent missions would assault an expanded target list, to include Iraq's military-industrial base, bridges, rail yards, and television transmitters.

Overall, the war plan successfully deceived the Iraqis, with the air assault achieving initial tactical surprise and the disposition of allied ground forces remaining concealed from Iraqi intelligence. However, planners failed to coordinate adequately marine, army, and air force strategy. Consequently, the rapid marine advance toward Kuwait City inadvertently contributed to the escape of Hussein's best formations, his Republican Guards. The survival of the Republican Guards later allowed Hussein to crush Shiite and Kurdish rebels and maintain his hold on power inside Iraq in the immediate aftermath of the war.

JAMES ARNOLD

See also

AirLand Battle Doctrine; Boomer, Walter; DESERT STORM, Operation; Glosson, Buster C.; Horner, Charles; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; Scowcroft, Brent

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DESERT THUNDER I, Operation
Event Date: 1998

U.S. plan to deploy more troops and equipment to the Persian Gulf in 1998 to deter Iraqi belligerency and to force Iraq to comply with United Nations (UN) weapons inspectors. In late 1997 Iraq had begun to take aggressive action that threatened to destabilize the region. Worse, Iraq continued to interfere with UN weapons inspection teams. In response, the United States initiated Operation DESERT THUNDER I to increase its military presence during negotiations between the UN and Iraq over its alleged weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) program.

Initially DESERT THUNDER referred to potential military operations against Iraq, but it later became the nomenclature for several troop deployments during 1998. Ultimately there were two main DESERT THUNDER deployments (DESERT THUNDER I and DESERT THUNDER II), with DESERT VIPER designated as the actual strike plan if one were to occur.

Early in 1998, U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) commenced the dispatch of land, sea, and air assets, including more than 35,000 U.S. and coalition forces, to the Persian Gulf region. Concurrently, General Anthony C. Zinni, CENTCOM commander,

established a permanent Coalition Joint Task Force–Kuwait (CJTF-KU) based at Camp Doha, Kuwait, commanded by Lieutenant General Tommy R. Franks, commander of Army Central Command's (ARCENT) Third Army.

Even as these forces took up positions, officials deployed a brigade task force from the 3rd Infantry Division at Fort Stewart, Georgia, to Kuwait. On January 18, 1998, that contingent left Hunter Army Airfield, Georgia, with 4,000 personnel and 2,900 short tons of equipment on 120 aircraft. They landed at Kuwait City International Airport 15 hours later. Having drawn prepositioned equipment, they were in their desert battle positions 48 hours afterward.

By February 28, 1998, 9,000 troops of the CJTF-KU were in fortified positions ready to defend Kuwait. Allies including Argentina, Australia, Canada, the Czech Republic, Hungary, New Zealand, Poland, Romania, the United Kingdom, and Kuwait rounded out the CJTF with liaison teams, aircraft support, special operations elements, chemical and biological units, base defense units, and field medical personnel and facilities.

Offshore in the Persian Gulf, a Maritime Preposition Force waited with equipment sufficient for one army and one marine brigade. Plans called for soldiers and marines to obtain their equipment from the ships near shore and deploy to the front if necessary. In addition, U.S. Navy, U.S. Air Force, and coalition air assets were stationed at ground bases and on aircraft carriers nearby.

During a three-week period in February and March, United States Transportation Command (USTRANSCOM) personnel supported the deployment by flying more than 300 airlift missions and nearly 200 air-refueling missions, transporting 10,000 passengers and 11,000 short tons of cargo. Simultaneously, the U.S. Navy aircraft carrier *George Washington* (CVN-73) arrived in the Gulf to join the carrier *Nimitz* (CVN-68) battle group. Later in the spring, the Forrestal-class *Independence* (CV-62) battle group relieved the *Nimitz,* leaving two carrier battle groups in the region. These Fifth Fleet assets joined coalition ships such as the British carrier *Invincible* (R-05), an antisubmarine warfare carrier, and the *Illustrious* (R-06), an Invincible-class light aircraft carrier, for a total of 50 ships and submarines and 200 naval aircraft.

During February as the 366th Air Expeditionary Wing (AEW) from Mountain Home Air Force Base, Idaho, prepared to deploy to Bahrain, the 347th Air Expeditionary Wing from Moody Air Force Base, Georgia, deployed to Bahrain as the first true Air Expeditionary Wing in the U.S. Air Force. After 120 days in theater, the 347 AEW was replaced by the 366th AEW on April 1, 1998. As this initial deployment wound down, the Third Army ARCENT moved its headquarters to Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, establishing ARCENT-SA. It had moved thousands of troops, civilian technicians, and more than $1 billion of equipment. Members of the 11th Signal Brigade also deployed to the region to provide long-haul communications services to the CJTF headquarters. In addition, 175 soldiers from the 86th and 504th Signal battalions deployed from Fort Huachuca, Arizona, to Riyadh.

During the buildup, UN secretary-general Kofi Annan flew to Baghdad to meet with Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. Annan convinced Hussein to allow uninterrupted weapons inspections. This meant an end to tensions for the time being. In June 1998 the *Independence* battle group returned to Yokosuka, beginning a deliberate drawdown of most of the U.S. forces.

DESERT THUNDER I had been the largest multinational force assembled in the Persian Gulf region since the conclusion of the 1991 Persian Gulf War. It demonstrated allied resolve and an ability to rapidly deploy combat troops when and where needed in short order. If an actual attack had been ordered, it would have been code-named Operation DESERT VIPER.

November 11, 1998, Iraq again refused to allow UN weapons inspections, resulting in the initiation of Operation DESERT THUNDER II. Again, CENTCOM moved its forces into position to initiate strikes into Iraq. During this operation an additional 2,300 troops were deployed, and once more Hussein backed down.

By December 1998, however, continued Iraqi intransigence prompted Operation DESERT FOX, during which allied forces destroyed several important Iraqi facilities during this brief engagement. DESERT FOX reportedly set back the Iraqi ballistic missile program by several years.

WILLIAM P. HEAD

See also

DESERT FOX, Operation; DESERT THUNDER II, Operation; DESERT VIPER, Operation; Franks, Tommy Ray; United Nations Weapons Inspectors

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DESERT THUNDER II, Operation
Event Date: 1998

U.S.-led troop buildup begun in November 1998 in the Persian Gulf designed to end Iraqi intransigence regarding United Nations (UN) weapons inspections. Less than three months after the end of Operation DESERT THUNDER I, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein again refused to allow UN weapons inspectors to conduct unhindered inspections of Iraqi weapons development facilities. This refusal to abide by UN Security Council resolutions led to the initiation of Operation DESERT THUNDER II on November 11, 1998. At the direction of the National Command Authorities (NCA), U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) began the deployment of forces and positioned in-theater assets in expectation of strike operations.

Specifically, DESERT THUNDER II was the U.S. deployment of an additional 2,300 troops to Kuwait, including advance parties from the 3rd Infantry Division and two marine expeditionary units, in mid-November in support of the Central Command Joint Task Force–Kuwait. By November 13, 1998, there were 23,500 troops in the area, including 2,600 soldiers, 14,300 sailors and marines, 5,600 air force personnel, and joint headquarters and other joint units comprising some 1,000 people.

Toward the end of November officials decided to halt the buildup, which left aircraft scattered between the continental United States, the Middle East, and various locations in Europe. The deployment also encountered administrative problems as well as mechanical failures that waylaid a number of aircraft. Eventually, those aircraft that did not reach bases in the Persian Gulf returned to their home stations.

By the beginning of December, senior Defense Department officials reported that there were about 25,000 military personnel in the area. U.S. Air Force personnel had increased to 7,600. Air assets included 267 land and carrier-based aircraft with air-to-air, air-to-ground, dual-role, and support capabilities as well as attack helicopters and fixed-wing gunships.

Other units comprised a cruise missile force, surface warships, a marine expeditionary unit, a Patriot missile battalion, a mechanized battalion task force, and a mix of special operations forces deployed in support of CENTCOM operations. To ensure in-theater force protection, military security personnel were also deployed.

In late November the impact of this second deployment resulted in Iraq's eventual, albeit short-lived, compliance with the UN weapons inspections. After only two weeks, however, the situation worsened again, and between December 16 and 19, 1998, Operation DESERT FOX occurred, during which actual military attacks were carried out. In it U.S. Air Force, U.S. Navy, and U.S. Marine Corps aircraft as well as British Royal Air Force aircraft and Tomahawk cruise missiles were employed against military targets in Iraq. The attacks were designed to force a recalcitrant Iraq to allow the inspection of its weapons research facilities as provided for in UN Security Council Resolution 687, agreed upon at the end of the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

Operation DESERT THUNDER II officially came to an end on December 22, 1998. A number of U.S. Defense Department officials were critical of the reluctance by the William J. Clinton administration to pursue a more aggressive military option in the seemingly endless conflict with the Iraqi dictator. Yet the immense difficulties involved with invading and occupying Iraq would later be revealed during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

WILLIAM P. HEAD

See also

DESERT FOX, Operation; DESERT THUNDER II, Operation; United Nations Weapons Inspectors

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DESERT VIPER, Operation
Event Date: 1998

Aborted military operation planned against Iraq in late 1998, part of the ongoing effort to coerce Iraq to adhere to arms inspections agreements. Based on Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's constant harassment of United Nations (UN) weapons inspectors and his on-again, off-again acceptance of UN resolutions in late 1997, the United States and its key allies deployed sizable forces to the region twice in 1998. The first deployment was code-named Operation DESERT THUNDER I; the second was Operation DESERT THUNDER II. The strike plan against Iraq was designated Operation DESERT VIPER. It should be noted that the Task Force 2-70 Armor After-Action Report also employed the designation Operation DESERT VIPER as the coalition's February 24–March 1, 1991, ground assault into Iraq and southern Kuwait during Operation DESERT STORM. This was not the official name of that operation, however, and there remains only one truly correct DESERT VIPER designation.

General Anthony Zinni, commander in chief of the U.S. Army's Central Command (CENTCOM), had previously asserted that because of Iraq's constant harassment of UN inspectors, the United States planned to bomb what American intelligence determined were the key Iraqi facilities involved in weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) production. For more than a year, from October 1997 to November 1998, Hussein continually interfered with UN inspectors. In response, the United States, supported by some other states, deployed forces to the area to coerce him to live up to his agreements. Each time UN forces came close to attacking, however, Hussein backed down. Both Operation DESERT THUNDER I and Operation DESERT THUNDER II were undertaken in preparation for an actual attack (DESERT VIPER).

The initial 1998 DESERT THUNDER buildup was scheduled to conclude with cruise missile attacks and air strikes directed against Iraq's ballistic missile program and other key military targets. However, on December 19 within eight minutes after the U.S. firing of BGM-109 Tomahawk land-attack missiles (TLAMs) at Iraqi targets, U.S. president Bill Clinton called off the attack upon assurances from Hussein that he would abide by the UN resolutions.

Although the first operation was halted in August, on November 11, 1998, UN inspectors were once again forced out of Iraq, and the United States undertook renewed preparations to launch Tomahawk cruise missiles. DESERT THUNDER II increased the number of forces in preparation for the DESERT VIPER assault. However, only minutes from launch time Hussein once more agreed to

terms. The missiles were shut down, and the assigned aircraft returned to base.

DESERT VIPER was never carried out. In mid-November 1998, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) General Hugh Shelton expressed his belief that the United States needed to "outfox the fox." The United States would launch the next attack with the forces in theater without the usual buildup. Hussein would thus have no advance warning and no chance to move his WMDs. On December 16 when the UN inspectors were again forced out of Iraq, the Americans initiated a 24-hour attack clock. Only 4 hours after the inspectors landed in Bahrain, coalition cruise missiles and attack aircraft began operations.

As General Zinni recalled, even though the Iraqis "had suspicions that we would hit them when the inspectors walked out, it turns out that the absence of visible preparations for the strike and the approach of Ramadan seems to have lulled them into a lackadaisical approach to their own preparations." Indeed, the Iraqis were caught unprepared.

Coalition forces attacked suspected WMD targets and other weapons development facilities over a three-day span. They bombed command and control centers, communication facilities, and Republican Guard targets. In addition, Third Army again deployed forces to defend Kuwait, and by late December the Joint Task Force in Kuwait numbered more than 6,000 troops.

Officially, the attacks ended on December 19, and DESERT THUNDER ended on December 22. DESERT VIPER ended with it. For a time, Hussein remained more malleable after DESERT THUNDER II was terminated.

WILLIAM H. HEAD

See also

DESERT THUNDER I, Operation; DESERT THUNDER II, Operation

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Clancy, Tom, with Anthony Zinni and Tony Kolz. *Battle Ready.* New York: Putnam, 2004.

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Destroyers, Coalition

Destroyers from other nations joined with the U.S. Navy to serve in the 1991 Persian Gulf War and the ongoing conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq as well as the wider Global War on Terror. Since early autumn 1990, numerous destroyers and frigates (and some smaller corvettes) from a variety of nations have been patrolling the waters of the greater Middle East as part of task groups, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) standing forces, antiterrorism units, and even U.S. aircraft carrier battle groups (CVBG). These ships as well as their U.S. Navy counterparts are, for the most part, descendants of early 20th-century torpedo boat destroyers. They are relatively small and fast warships designed to run down and destroy enemy motor torpedo boats that, by the years of World War I, presented a proven threat to capital ships. Nimble enough to give plausible chase yet also of a size that provided an effective platform for heavier longer-range weapons, torpedo boat destroyers by the mid-20th century had metamorphosed into an indispensable new class of warship called upon to escort convoys, hunt submarines, stand guard around aircraft carriers, and provide additional antiaircraft firepower to task forces centered around cruisers, battleships, and carriers.

By the last three decades of the 20th century, destroyers and frigates in some navies grew in size from the essential World War II standard of a ship approximately 370 feet in length and about 2,200 tons in displacement to the singular dimensions of the U.S. Navy's Kidd class of cruiser-size 1980s missile destroyers, stretching 564 feet in length and displacing up to 9,600 tons at full load.

Among European and other coalition navies, destroyers and frigates did not quite match this level of size expansion, but both types became decidedly larger than their earlier counterparts. Destroyers and frigates came to be less and less differentiated by relative size and instead were differentiated by mission and capabilities. In the Royal Navy, frigates of the Type 22 "Batch 3" group of the Broadsword class of the late 1980s (486 feet, 4,900 tons) were larger than any Royal Navy destroyer type until the new Daring class began to enter service in 2008.

Because of many years of experience with joint operations, standing NATO force exercises, United Nations (UN) deployments, and cooperative humanitarian responses, the navies of the United States and the coalition nations had developed an effective level of interoperability by the time of the Persian Gulf War, and this certainly has been maintained as the protracted operations centered on the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have progressed. In response to UN Security Council Resolution 665 of August 1990, destroyers and escorts from the coalition navies joined with U.S. Navy units to execute the naval blockade against Iraq. Some 60 coalition warships of different types undertook patrols, interception, and inspection of merchant ships bound to and from Iraq. Representing the navies of Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, and the United Kingdom, these destroyers and frigates became the mainstay of maritime security in the region.

As Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM continue, so does the rotation of U.S. and coalition naval units in and out of the theater. Following this paragraph is a representative sampling of the coalition destroyers and escorts participating in Operations DESERT SHIELD, DESERT STORM, ENDURING FREEDOM, and IRAQI FREEDOM as well as in antiterrorism campaigns and the more recent antipiracy initiatives in and around the Middle East. Emblematic of the wider focus necessarily employed since 2001 by the cooperating naval forces in this region was the establishment late in 2002 of three Combined Task Forces (CTF-150, CTF-152, and CTF-158) to ensure maritime security in the waters of the Gulf of Aden, the Gulf of Oman, the Arabian Sea, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean. Coming under the command of the U.S. Fifth Fleet and typically operating with a dozen or more destroyer types,

a U.S. cruiser, and a replenishment ship, these task forces have come to include escort vessels from Portugal, Turkey, Bahrain, Pakistan, and New Zealand in addition to the familiar core navies of the coalition forces.

A roster sampling summarizing the variety of coalition naval activities involving destroyer types follows:

Argentina: The Argentine Navy deployed the destroyer *Almirante Brown* (D-10) and the frigate *Spiro* (P-43) to the Persian Gulf in late September 1990 for blockade duty until their return to Argentina in April 1991.

Australia: The destroyer *Brisbane* (41) and the frigates *Adelaide* (01), *Sydney* (03), and *Darwin* (04) were very closely integrated with U.S. Navy units during DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. Built in the United States, they were siblings of the U.S. Navy Charles F. Adams class and the Oliver Hazard Perry class, respectively. As such, their defense and communications systems were highly compatible, so both the *Brisbane* and the *Sydney* were tasked in late January 1991 with providing a radar picket and antiaircraft shield for U.S. Battle Group Zulu as it moved deep into the northern Gulf. The Australian naval presence has continued during the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War, including the frigates *Anzac* (F-150), *Arunta* (F-151), *Stuart* (F-153), and *Parramatta* (F-154) in Combined Task Force (CTF) rotations.

Bahrain: The frigate *Sabha* (FFG-90) in 2008 became the flagship of CTF-152.

Belgium: The frigate *Wandelaar* (F-912) served in the Persian Gulf during December 1990 and January 1991.

Brazil: In 2008 the frigate *Greenhalgh* (F-46) became the first Brazilian Navy warship to be integrated into exercises with a U.S. Navy strike group.

Canada: The destroyer *Athabaskan* (DDH-282) and the frigate *Terra Nova* (DD-259) provided logistics coordination in the central Gulf during DESERT SHIELD, and the *Athabaskan* escorted the U.S. mine-damaged cruiser *Princeton* (CG-59) to safety at Bahrain in the midst of hostilities on February 18, 1991. Since 1997, a number of Halifax-class frigates, due to their compatibility, have been integrated into U.S. carrier battle groups operating in the Middle East, including the *Regina* (FFH-334), *Ottawa* (FFH-341), *Calgary* (FFH-335), *Charlottetown* (FFH-339), and *Winnipeg* (FFH-338). In August 2008 the *Iroquois* (DDH-280) and *Calgary* became components of CTF-150.

France: Part of the French naval force clustered around the aircraft carrier *Clemenceau* (R-98); the destroyers *Suffren* (D-602), *Dupleix* (D-641), and *Montcalm* (D-642); and the frigates *Protet* (F-748) and *Commandant Ducuing* (F-795), all operated primarily in the Red Sea during the Persian Gulf War. The frigates *Guepratte* (F-714) and *Commandant Birot* (F-796) have recently operated with CTF-150.

Germany: The frigates *Emden* (F-210), *Koln* (F-211), *Augsburg* (F-213), *Bayern* (F-217), *Mecklenburg-Vorpommern* (F-218), and *Augsburg* (F-213) have been in rotation with others of their type in the Bremen and Brandenburg classes as components of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM.

Greece: The frigates *Psara* (F-454), *Limnos* (F-451), and *Elli* (F-450) have been in rotation during ENDURING FREEDOM in recent years, while *Adrias* (F-459) foiled a pirate skiff attack in the Persian Gulf in October 2002.

India: The destroyer *Delhi* (D-61), with the frigates *Godavari* (F-20) and *Talwar* (F-40), established a presence in 2008 off East Africa and visited area ports. The frigate *Tabar* (F-44) was active in antipiracy patrols in the Gulf of Aden in November 2008.

Italy: The frigates *Orsa* (F-567), *Libeccio* (F-572), *Zeffiro* (F-577), and *Aviere* (F-583) and the corvettes *Minerva* (F-551) and *Sfinge* (F-554) all were deployed in the Persian Gulf War. The *Euro* (F-575) took up Gulf of Aden patrols in 2003, and the destroyer *Luigi Durand de la Penne* (D-560) operated with Standing NATO Maritime Group 2 (SNMG2) off Somalia on antipiracy duty from October 2008.

Japan: In the first Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF) deployment during hostilities since World War II, the Japanese government in 2002 approved the rotating presence of a JMSDF replenishment ship in support of Indian Ocean–based coalition forces. The *Towada* (AOE-422) and *Tokiwa* (AOE-423) were escorted in turn by, among others, the destroyers *Yudachi* (DD-103), *Ikazuchi* (DD-107), *Inazuma* (DD-105), and *Sawakaze* (DDG-170). In November 2007 the *Kirisame* (DD-104), providing logistics support for the *Tokiwa* (AOE-423), received word from Japanese officials that both ships were to be withdrawn from their supporting role in ENDURING FREEDOM.

Netherlands: The frigates *Jacob van Heemskerck* (F-812), *Witte de With* (F-813), *Philips van Almonde* (F-823), and *Pieter Florisz* (F-826) were on hand during the Persian Gulf War; more recently the *De Zeven Provincien* (F-802) and *Evertsen* (F-805) have been in rotation with CTF-150, concentrating on pirate activities around the Horn of Africa.

New Zealand: In 2008 the frigate *Te Mana* (F-111) joined the units of CTF-152 in patrols and exercises in the Persian Gulf.

Pakistan: CTF-150 came under Pakistani command in 2006; the *Shahjahan* (D-186) became the force's flagship. The *Tippu Sultan* (D-185) joined CTF-150 in 2008.

Spain: The frigates *Numancia* (F-83), *Diana* (F-32), *Infanta Cristina* (F-34), *Vencedora* (F-36), *Descubierta* (F-31), and *Cazadora* (F-35) were in the Persian Gulf during DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. The *Victoria* (F-82) patrolled the Gulf of Aden in 2002, and in 2003 the *Navarra* (F-85) became the CTF-150 flagship. The frigate *Juan de Borbon* (F-102) joined Standing NATO Maritime Group 1 (SNMG1) for an unprecedented 2008 foray into the Black Sea.

The French Navy destroyer *Dupleix* and the U.S. Navy destroyer *Preble* in the Arabian Sea, 2007. (U.S. Department of Defense)

United Kingdom: The Type 42 destroyers *Cardiff* (D-108), *York* (D-98), and *Gloucester* (D-96) as well as the Type 22 frigates *Battleaxe* (F-89) and *London* (F-95) and the Leander-class frigate *Jupiter* (F-60) were all on hand in the Persian Gulf War. On February 25, 1991, the *Gloucester*'s Sea Dart air defense system shot down an Iraqi Silkworm missile about to strike the U.S. battleship *Missouri* (BB-63). Among the many Royal Navy assets in rotation during ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM have been the destroyers *Liverpool* (D-92), *Edinburgh* (D-97), and *York* (D-98) and the frigates *Portland* (F-79), *Campbeltown* (F-86), *Chatham* (F-87), *Lancaster* (F-229), and *Montrose* (F-236).

GORDON E. HOGG

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; Destroyers, U.S.; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Standing Naval Force Atlantic

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Destroyers, U.S.

Originally known as torpedo boat destroyers and designed to protect the battle fleet against torpedoes, destroyers were utilized in hunting submarines, escorting convoys, and providing gunfire support in amphibious landings. Modern destroyers have grown more versatile to meet the demands of a smaller navy. In the wars in the Middle East, destroyers have routinely launched long-range missiles against targets while guarding against air, surface, and subsurface threats.

As Operation DESERT STORM commenced in January 1991, the Spruance class of 31 warships (6 in theater) served as the backbone of the U.S. Navy's destroyer force. Displacing 9,100 tons and carrying a crew of 30 officers and 352 sailors, these ships had a primary mission of antisubmarine warfare but also provided naval gunfire support as well as antiship and antiair capabilities. Over the years the ships have undergone a variety of upgrades to enhance their effectiveness. Twenty-four Spruance-class destroyers received the installation of a 61-cell vertical launching system (VLS) capable of deploying the Tomahawk land-attack missile (TLAM) and the Harpoon antiship missile with ranges in excess of 700 and 60 nautical miles, respectively. The remaining complement of weapons includes two 5-inch/54 Mark 45 guns, two Mark 32 torpedo tubes, and the vertically launched ASROC (antisubmarine rocket). Twin hangars allow for the maintenance and operation of two LAMPS (Light Airborne Multi-Purpose System) Mark III helicopters outfitted with sonobuoys and torpedoes.

Both a hull-mounted and a towed-array sonar rendered the Spruance class ideal for pursuing submarines. They relied upon the two 20-millimeter (mm) Mark 15 Phalanx close-in weapons systems (CIWS) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Sea Sparrow Point Defense Missile System for enemy aircraft and antiship cruise missiles.

The Spruance class also represented the navy's first attempt at using gas turbine power for warships. Four LM-2500 General Electric gas turbine engines (GTEs) give them a top speed of 33 knots and a range of 6,000 nautical miles at 20 knots. Their hulls and physical plant configuration were copied in the subsequent Kidd-class destroyers (DDG-93), and the hull of the Ticonderoga-class cruisers (CG 47) reflects a variation upon the Spruance-class design. Six Spruance-class destroyers fired 112 Tomahawks during the opening phase of Operation DESERT STORM.

Destroyers played only a very minor role in the Afghanistan War. Just nine participated in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (October 2001), when they launched Tomahawks against Taliban and Al Qaeda targets. Seven joined Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (March–April 2003) for Tomahawk strikes and other missions. The entire Spruance class was decommissioned in 2005 in favor of Aegis destroyers.

The Arleigh Burke–class destroyer (DDG-51) has been regarded as the navy's most capable and survivable surface combatant since its introduction to the fleet in 1991. This class displaces 8,300 tons, is capable of a peak speed of more than 30 knots, and has a cruising range of 4,400 nautical miles at 20 knots. A new hull design allows for better seakeeping at high speeds and in rough conditions. These warships are visually distinctive thanks to their "V" shape at the waterline and a tilted mast for reduced radar cross-section. Each Burke-class destroyer has a crew of some 30 officers and 302 sailors. Since 1994, they have been constructed with a hangar to house two LAMPS Mark III helicopters. Flight I of this class contained only a flight deck without permanently housed helicopters.

All Burke-class destroyers are equipped with the Aegis air defense system, featuring the SPY-1D phased array radar. Older rotating radars are only capable of registering a target once during each 360-degree cycle of their antenna. A separate tracking radar must then engage each contact. Aegis combines these functions with beams of electromagnetic energy transmitted simultaneously in all directions. Moreover, Aegis integrates the various weapons and sensor suites like no other system currently found in world navies. The Burke class employs a 90-cell vertical launching system (VLS) for missile launches (either standard, Tomahawk, or ASROC) against surface, air, and land targets. Antisubmarine warfare is facilitated through both hull-mounted (AN/SQS-53C) and towed array (AN/SQR-19) sonars. The latter is particularly effective, as its depth can be altered to place a sensor in the same temperature and acoustic conditions as a submarine to increase the likelihood of detection and tracking. The ships' antisubmarine warfare (ASW) helicopters can drop sonobuoys to help pinpoint target locations before torpedoes or the ASROC are brought to bear. The Aegis fire-control system also works in tandem with the Harpoon antiship cruise missile launcher and the 5-inch/54 gun. Engagement parameters can be preset such that Aegis can strike targets without further operator interface. The Block 1 upgrade to the Phalanx CIWS supplies the last line of defense against air threats by directing depleted uranium or tungsten shells through a Gatling gun.

The engineering plant features the latest in GTE technology with a high degree of plant automation through an interconnected system of control consoles. Four General Electric LM2500 GTEs supply propulsion, with three gas turbine generator sets (GTGs) providing 450 VAC, three-phase, 60-hertz power.

Survivability was a prime consideration in the planning for this class. The destroyer's internal spaces can be sealed off from the weather decks and further compartmentalized into several zones using the Collective Protective System (CPS) in the event of a chemical, biological, or nuclear attack. Dedicated facilities are available to decontaminate personnel exposed to harmful agents. The ships' all-steel construction with additional armor around vital systems offers enhanced protection against fragments from weapons detonations. The class is also equipped to withstand electromagnetic pulse damage. Sound isolators in machinery spaces have reduced noise output substantially. Halon firefighting systems that can be locally or remotely activated protect the engineering plant.

Fifteen Burke-class destroyers participated in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. Eleven joined the carrier battle groups engaged in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. During the latter conflict, they supported ground operation with Tomahawk launches.

Although the Burke-class has been hampered by cost overruns and poor performance by shipbuilders and subcontractors, the navy's goal is to produce 84 Aegis-capable surface combatants (including Ticonderoga-class cruisers) by 2010. By roughly 2020, the Burke class will require replacement. One possibility is the DDG-1000 *Zumwalt* DD(X) destroyer, which remains a controversial option debated within Congress and the Pentagon.

JEFFREY D. BASS

The destroyer USS *Spruance* in the Persian Gulf. A total of 31 of these ships served with the U.S. Navy beginning in 1975. Equipped with 5-inch guns and cruise missiles, the last Spruance-class ship was decommissioned in 2005. (U.S. Department of Defense)

See also

Cruisers, U.S.; Destroyers, Coalition; Tomahawk BGM-109 Land Attack Missile; United States Navy, Afghanistan War; United States Navy, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Destroyer Tenders, U.S.

Large depot vessels capable of tending to the supply, rearmament, and repair needs of destroyers, frigates, or cruisers. The last purpose-built destroyer tenders of the U.S. Navy were the six ships of the Samuel Gompers and Yellowstone classes. The *Samuel Gompers* (AD-37) was commissioned in 1967; its sister ship, the *Puget Sound* (AD-38), was commissioned in 1968. The *Yellowstone* (AD-41) was commissioned in 1980. Its sister ships, the *Acadia* (AD-42), *Cape Cod* (AD-43), and *Shenandoah* (AD-44), were commissioned in 1981, 1982, and 1983, respectively.

Dimensions were a length of 644 feet, a beam of 85 feet, and a draft of 22.5 feet. Maximum speed was 20 knots. The crew complement was 630 (45 officers, 585 enlisted). The ships were armed with two 40-millimeter (mm) grenade launchers and four 20-mm cannon.

Despite their being built in two phases, separated by more than a decade, these two classes were essentially of the same design and were planned to complement and replace the aging destroyer tenders of the World War II–era Dixie class. They share a common massive hull design with the seven submarine tenders of the Simon Lake, L. Y. Spear, and Emory S. Land classes, built between the mid-1960s and the early 1980s. Their intended clientele consisted of the Spruance-class destroyers, the nuclear-powered cruisers of the California and Virginia classes, and the Oliver Hazard Perry–class frigates, but these destroyer tenders could effectively support most other warship types, including amphibious vessels and aircraft carriers, auxiliaries, smaller patrol craft, and units of the coalition navies. Their two 6.5-ton cranes and a pair of heavy capacity 30-ton cranes gave them increased lift capability over the still-serving general repair ships of the Vulcan class (contemporaries of the Dixie class), whose duties the destroyer tenders were steadily supplementing—if not acquiring—by the 1980s and 1990s. Beyond stocking the huge range of supplies

and victuals necessary to sustain multiple alongside combatants' crews, each tender was a veritable arsenal of the ordnance and missile weaponry required to rearm ships in the combined force.

It was the *Acadia* that came to the aid of the *Stark* (FFG-31) at Bahrain after the U.S. Navy frigate was struck by two Iraqi Exocet missiles on May 17, 1987, while escorting reflagged oil tankers in the Persian Gulf. The *Acadia* fed the displaced crew of the *Stark* and conducted round-the-clock repairs to prepare both the ship and its complement for safe passage to the Bath Iron Works shipyard in the United States by late June 1987. During Operation DESERT SHIELD, both the *Acadia* and the *Yellowstone* were stationed in the troubled region beginning in the early autumn of 1990. As Operation DESERT STORM got under way, the *Puget Sound* and the *Cape Cod* joined the other two tenders in late February 1991 to enhance forward-deployed rearmament and repair capabilities for the coalition naval forces. After the cruiser *Princeton* (CG-59) was crippled by Iranian mines on February 18, 1991, in the Persian Gulf, the tender *Acadia* stood by and provided heavy repairs while the damaged ship was dry docked at Dubai. The *Yellowstone* joined the repair ship USS *Vulcan* (AR-5) in the Red Sea in tending to coalition naval units' repair and rearmament needs, basing these operations at Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, during DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. The destroyer tenders also featured substantial medical facilities, supplementing the care available from the hospital ships *Mercy* (T-AH-19) and *Comfort* (T-AH-20).

By the mid-1990s the U.S. Navy's approach to fleet support turned from dependence on forward-deployed vessels such as repair ships, destroyer tenders, and submarine tenders to a model that called on special repair teams to be flown in from the United States or the use of dry docks and facilities in friendly ports. All six tenders were decommissioned between 1994 and 1996.

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See also

Cruisers, U.S.; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; Destroyers, Coalition; Destroyers, U.S.; Repair Ships, U.S.; *Stark* Incident; Support and Supply Ships, Strategic; United States; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Dhahran

Located in Saudi Arabia's Eastern Province, Dhahran is the headquarters of Saudi Aramco (Arabian American Oil Company), the national oil company of Saudi Arabia and the largest oil company in the world. Dhahran is a fenced-in company compound for Saudi Aramco employees and their dependants. Founded in 1938, the compound consists of two main divisions: Dhahran proper and the newer Dhahran Hills, which are separated by a 27-hole golf course. As of 2004, there were 11,300 people residing in the Aramco compound. Although there are residents from various European nations, Arab nations, non-Western nations, and Saudi Arabia, more than half of the residents in 2004 were from the United States. As of 2008, however, Saudis constituted 85 percent of the Aramco workforce, with expatriates numbering only 15 percent.

Dhahran is frequently used to refer to the municipality of Dhahran as well as a metropolitan area that includes Dhahran, Khobar, Dammam, and surrounding communities. Metropolitan Dhahran has a population of some 1 million people. It is also home to King Fahd Petroleum and Minerals University and the largest airbase in Saudi Arabia.

Dhahran's origins can be traced back to 1933, when the Saudi Arabian government, encouraged by recent oil discoveries in neighboring Bahrain, signed a land concession agreement with Standard Oil of California (Socal). This agreement allowed the American company to search for oil in the Saudi kingdom. A Socal subsidiary, the California–Arabian Standard Oil Company, eventually discovered oil near Dhahran in 1938. That company, which changed its name to the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco) in 1944, was purchased by the Saudi government in 1980. In 1988 the Saudis changed the name of the company to Saudi Aramco.

To house the many foreign oil workers, Aramco built Dhahran, the first and largest of the four fenced-in company compounds in Saudi Arabia. After oil was discovered at Dammam Well Number 7 in 1938, the company decided to construct its headquarters on two barren hills in the area. The two hills, which were known in Arabic as *dhahran* ("two backs"), provided the name for the new community. Although the community is primarily made up of foreigners, the percentage of Saudi nationals has increased since 1980. Regardless, the compound is culturally and linguistically American. English is the common language, and Saudi Arabia's Islamic laws are not applicable, less strictly applied, or ignored within the compound. For example, women are allowed to drive in the compound, and there are no Islamic clothing restrictions. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the coalition utilized Dhahran's King Abdul Aziz Air Base in the fighting against Iraq.

Saudi Aramco's Industrial Security Department is responsible for traffic, security, and law enforcement within the compound. A terrorist attack occurred not far away on June 25, 1996, when terrorists bombed the U.S. military complex at Khobar Towers. Another attack killed 22 people at the Oasis Compound at Khobar in May 2004. Fears about attacks on the compound increased on February 25, 2006, when Saudi security forces interrupted two cars trying to enter the side gate of the Abqaiq oil facility. The

guards opened fire, and the vehicles, which had been packed with explosives, blew up and killed the 2 suicide-bomber drivers.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Saudi Arabia

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Dhahran, Scud Missile Attack on

Event Date: February 25, 1991

Iraqi Scud missile attack on a U.S. Army installation on February 25, 1991, at Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, during Operation DESERT STORM. The missile strike killed 28 soldiers, seriously injured 110 others, and lightly injured an additional 100 people. The Scud missile that hit the barracks and warehouse in Dhahran, located in eastern Saudi Arabia, was one of 46 such missiles launched from Iraq into Saudi Arabia during the Persian Gulf War. The Iraqis also fired 42 Scud missiles into Israel.

The Dhahran barracks at the time housed soldiers attached to the 475th Quartermaster Group. Iraq targeted Dhahran not only because of the army barracks located there but also because the city was the administrative headquarters for the lucrative Saudi oil industry and a significant seaport.

At 8:32 p.m. on February 25, 1991, the Scud warning sirens began to sound in Dhahran. This was by no means the first Scud missile attack on the area, and so by now the army personnel were well acquainted with the air raid procedures. Thirteen minutes later a Scud missile slammed into the compound, killing and injuring soldiers by its blast and affecting still others who were crushed to death or trapped by debris. The nearby surface-to-air Patriot missile batteries, six in all, recently redesigned from their originally intended antiaircraft role and deployed to Saudi Arabia to provide U.S. forces with at least some ability to intercept and destroy missiles before they could reach their targets, had failed to track and intercept the Scud missile. By this time in the conflict, the Patriot had a mixed track record of successfully intercepting Scuds both in Israel and in Saudi Arabia. This was in spite of media reports during the course of the preceding eight weeks indicating that the Patriot system was highly accurate, an impression that the U.S. Defense Department seemed in no hurry to correct.

A postattack investigation found that the Patriot's software system, which helped track the trajectory of incoming missiles, had malfunctioned. This, in combination with the army's inexperience using the Patriot as a missile interceptor, led to the failure to intercept the Iraqi missile at Dhahran and to prevent the great loss of life caused by the Scud. Indeed, prior to DESERT STORM, the Patriot system had never before been used to intercept Scud missiles, and it was not designed to be operated continuously for many hours at a time. This extended operation may have been a contributing factor to the failure of its software guidance system.

The Scud attack at Dhahran represented the single greatest loss of life for U.S. or coalition forces during all of Operation DESERT STORM and has spurred Defense Department efforts to develop purpose-designed antimissile systems.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Dhahran; Missile Systems, Iraqi; Patriot Missile System; Saudi Arabia; Saudi Arabia, Armed Forces

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Diego Garcia

British-held atoll in the Indian Ocean and site of a jointly controlled American and British naval air base. Diego Garcia is located in the southern Indian Ocean about 1,000 miles south of the Indian coast and 7 degrees north of the equator. The atoll is part of the Chagos Archipelago and is the largest atoll of the Chagos chain, which stretches from 4 degrees to 7 degrees north latitude. Because of its location, Diego Garcia has a tropical climate characterized by hot humid summers and warm wet winters. It receives upwards of 100 inches of rain per year. The island is also subject to tropical cyclones but only infrequently, and it has not been hit by a serious tropical storm in more than 40 years. Diego Garcia, which is relatively flat, comprises 66 square miles, only 12 of which are landmass; the remainder is coral reef and a huge lagoon, which is approximately 48 square miles in area. The land area almost completely surrounds the lagoon except for an opening in the north that leads to open ocean. Because of this, it is quite easy to limit marine access to Diego Garcia.

Portuguese mariners discovered the atoll in the early 1500s. It is presumably named after a Portuguese sea captain or explorer. Diego Garcia was uninhabited until the 1700s, at which time the French took control of the island and introduced slave labor to cultivate and process copra, which is the kernel of a cocoanut, used for cocoanut meat and highly prized cocoanut oil. Diego Garcia passed into British possession in 1814 at the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars. It has remained under British control since. The British continued to use the atoll for its rich cocoanut yields, although slave labor was abolished when Britain took control.

In the late 1960s the British and U.S. governments began to make plans to turn Garcia Diego into a naval and air force base. Beginning

in 1967, the British began relocating the small native population on the island to the Seychelles and Mauritius. By 1971 the last of the copra plantations was phased out, and the atoll had been depopulated. Per previous agreements, London leased the use of Diego Garcia to the U.S. government, which began to construct a joint naval and air force base there. Although Great Britain retains sovereignty over the island, the U.S. government controls the military base. By the 1990s, Diego Garcia was home to 16 different sea- and air-based commands, including the important U.S. Navy Support Facility. The Support Facility's function is to provide forward-deployed logistical support to operational forces in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. The Military Sealift Command located on Diego Garcia is also an important forward-based command.

There are presently about 40 British and 1,000 U.S. military personnel on Diego Garcia and an additional 2,500 support workers. Access to the atoll is limited, and it is not open to the general public. Because of its great isolation and restricted access, it is believed that the U.S. government is using the island as a small detention facility for captured members of Al Qaeda. The U.S. government has declined to verify this.

Outfitted with facilities and runways to accommodate the largest military aircraft, Diego Garcia was used during the 1991 Persian Gulf War as a staging area for American B-52 long-range bombers that conducted the aerial bombing campaign of Operation DESERT STORM in January and February 1991. It was also used as a refueling base during the conflict. In December 1998 during Operation DESERT FOX, B-52s based at Diego Garcia launched nearly 100 cruise missiles at Iraqi targets after Iraq refused to cooperate with international weapons inspectors. In 2001 during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan, the island served as a forward base for B-52 and B-1 bombers.

In Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, which commenced in March 2003, Diego Garcia once more played a critical role in the bombing campaign. It served as a base for B-1, B-2, and B-52 bombers, which were among the first to assault Baghdad in the opening hours of the campaign. Because Turkey forbade the United States from using its territory to attack Iraq in 2003, Diego Garcia played an even larger role than it had in the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

Diego Garcia was first built as a forward base of operations in case of war with the Soviet Union during the Cold War. The United States also wished to maintain a base relatively close to India, which at the time was tilting toward the Soviet orbit. However, after the Cold War when U.S.-Indian relations dramatically improved, both nations have used Diego Garcia as a staging area for joint naval exercises. This will likely maintain Diego Garcia's great strategic importance well into the 21st century as long as American priorities in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf region remain high. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) also claims the atoll as an alternate landing area for the space shuttle; in fact, it is the only designated landing facility in the Indian Ocean.

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See also

Al Qaeda; DESERT FOX, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; United States Navy, Afghanistan War; United States Navy, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Dock Landing Ships, U.S. and Coalition

Amphibious ships designed to transport and launch landing craft from a floodable internal dock through a gate at the stern. The dock landing ship (LSD) shares essential features with the amphibious transport dock (LPD).

Like the tank landing ship (LST), the LSD was a joint development project between the U.S. Navy and the Royal Navy during the early years of World War II. While the LST was easily built in great numbers and proved remarkably sturdy and adaptable in service, a blunt bow with large doors kept its speed down to 10 or 12 knots under even the best sea conditions, preventing the LST's integration into faster amphibious convoys. A U.S.-British design team proposed a larger ship displacing 9,200 tons at full load and extending 458 feet (compared to the LST at 4,000 tons and 328 feet), capable of 15 to 17 knots, with a conventional bow and forward superstructure that would carry two to three tank landing craft (LCT) in a partially covered well deck extending four-fifths the length of the ship. Unlike the LST, which thrust its bow upon the beach and discharged its tanks and trucks by means of a ramp to the shore, the LSD stood some distance offshore and launched its vehicle cargo aboard LCTs via the flooded well deck for the transfer to the beach. The LSDs, while not built in the same quantity as the LST, could carry and deploy the heaviest tanks in service.

Twenty-five ships of the Ashland class were built between 1942 and 1946, including 4 for the Royal Navy. Despite their relatively small numbers when compared to the more than 1,000 LSTs produced in U.S. shipyards, the fast dock landing ships may be the most important amphibious ships designed during World War II. By the end of 1970, all of the Ashland class had left U.S. Navy service.

The first postwar LSD construction program was prompted by the U.S. naval experience during the Korean War and by the desire to prevent a near-future LSD gap. The eight ships of the Thomaston class (LSD-28 through LSD-35) were built during 1953–1957 and were improved better-armed enlargements of their Ashland-class forebears. The hulls of Thomaston-class ships extended to an overall length of 510 feet, and the ships displaced 12,150 tons at full load. After decades of almost constant service that taxed both their structure and machinery, the Thomaston-class LSDs were decommissioned by 1989.

As the veteran Ashland class approached the end of its career, construction was begun on the five ships of the Anchorage class (LSD-36 through LSD-40) in 1967. Joining the fleet between 1970 and 1972, they had improved cargo, troop, and landing craft capacity over the Thomaston class. Their successors of the current Whidbey Island class (LSD-41 through LSD-48) were specifically designed and configured around the effective transport and operation of the advanced air cushion landing craft (LCAC) and increased cargo loads (the Harpers Ferry–class variants of this class, LSD-49 through LSD-52). Specifications for the Anchorage-class, Whidbey Island–class, and Harpers Ferry–class LSDs follow.

The Anchorage class (five ships, LSD-36 through LSD-40) was built by Ingalls Shipbuilding and General Dynamics during 1967–1972. Their dimensions were length, 553.3 feet; beam, 84 feet; and draft, 19.5 feet. Displacement was 8,600 tons (light) and 13,700 tons (full load). Speed was 22 knots (20 knots sustained). They had a crew complement of 374 (25 officers and 349 enlisted). They could carry 366 troops and 3 LCAC or 3 LCU landing craft in the well deck (430 feet by 50 feet). They had a vehicle cargo capacity of 15,800 square feet. There was also a helicopter pad fitted over the well deck but no hangar. They were armed with three twin 3-inch (76-millimeter [mm]) guns and two 20-mm Phalanx CIWS.

The Whidbey Island class of eight ships (LSD-41 through LSD-48) was built by Lockheed Shipbuilding and Avondale Industries, during 1981–1992. Their dimensions were length, 609.5 feet; beam, 84 feet; and draft, 20.5 feet. Displacement was 12,434 tons (standard) and 15,939 tons (full load). Speed was 22 knots, and range was 8,000 nautical miles at 20 knots. Crew complement was 310 (19 officers and 291 enlisted). They could carry 560 troops. Landing craft were 4 LCAC, 3 LCU, 10 LCM(8), 21 LCM(6), or 64 amphibious assault vehicles (AAVs) in their well deck (440 feet by 50 feet). Cargo capacity was 5,000 cubic feet marine cargo or 12,500 square feet vehicle space. There was a helicopter deck over the docking well but no hangar. The ships were armed with two 21-cell RAM (Rolling Airframe Missile) launchers, two 25-mm Bushmaster cannon, and two 20-mm Phalanx CIWS.

The Harpers Ferry class of four ships (LSD-49 through LSD-52) was built by Avondale Industries during 1991–1998. Dimensions were as for the Whidbey Island class. Displacement was 11,894 tons (light) and 16,740 tons (full load). Speed and range were the same as for the Whidbey Island class. Complement was 307 (19 officers and 288 enlisted). They could transport 400 troops. Landing craft capacity was 2 LCAC, 1 LCU, 4 LCM(8), or 9 LCM(6) in the well deck (180 feet by 50 feet). Cargo was 67,600 cubic feet

USS *Tortuga* (LSD-46) is a Whidbey Island–class dock landing ship. Commissioned in November 1990, it remains in active service. (U.S. Department of Defense)

marine cargo or 20,200 square feet vehicle space. There was a helicopter deck over the docking well but no hangar. Armament was the same as for the Whidbey Island class.

The United States originally planned to build 12 ships in the Harpers Ferry class, but with the unexpectedly precipitous dissolution of the Soviet Union late in 1991 and the de facto end of the Cold War, the order was reduced to 4. The move toward a blended cargo transport–dock landing ship in this development of the later Whidbey Island–class ships in any case reflected a U.S. Navy design trend first begun as early as 1957, which paralleled the plans for the Iwo Jima (LPH-2) class of amphibious helicopter assault ships. The U.S. Marine Corps, in fact, had hoped for more: an assault ship that could handle marine cargo, launch large landing craft such as LCUs, and function as a helicopter carrier, a wish that eventually would come true with the appearance of the Tarawa (LHA-1) class in the 1970s. At the time, however, such ships were simply out of reach financially, so the new amphibious transport dock (LPD), which would embark more than 900 troops, carry more than 2,000 tons of cargo, operate helicopters from a permanent deck, and still be able to launch heavy landing craft, was derived from the dock landing ship, coming into its own with the launching of the *Raleigh* (LPD-1) in 1962 and persisting prominently as a viable amphibious ship type into the 21st century. The specifications of the Raleigh class and the Austin class (the second group of original LPDs) are below. In 2000, construction began on the third and current iteration of the LPD, the San Antonio (LPD-17) class, the particulars of which also follow.

The Raleigh class of three ships (LPD-1 through LPD-3; *La Salle,* LPD-3, became command ship AGF-3 in 1972) was built by New York Naval Shipyard during 1960–1964. Dimensions were length, 521.5 feet (overall); beam, 84 feet; and draft, 22 feet. Displacement was 8,491 tons (light) or 14,865 tons (full load). Speed was 21.6 knots (20 knots sustained) and range was 16,500 nautical miles at 10 knots and 9,600 nautical miles at 16 knots. Complement was 397 (24 officers and 373 enlisted). They could carry 1,140 troops. Landing craft capacity was 1 LCU and 3 LCM(6), 9 LCM(6), 4 LCM(8), or 28 AAVs in well deck (168 feet by 50 feet). Cargo capacity was 12,500 square feet vehicle space. There was a helicopter deck over the docking well but no hangar. The ships were armed with three twin 3-inch (76-mm) guns and two 20-mm Phalanx CIWS.

The Austin class of 12 ships (LPD-4 through LPD-15) was built by New York Naval Shipyard, Ingalls Shipbuilding, and Lockheed Shipbuilding during 1963–1971. Dimensions were length, 570 feet; beam, 84 feet; and draft, 23 feet. Displacement was 11,050

The Landing Craft, Air Cushioned 58, assigned to Assault Craft Unit 5, prepares to enter the well deck of the amphibious dock landing ship USS *Harpers Ferry* (LSD-49) on September 23, 2009. (U.S. Department of Defense)

tons (light) or 17,595 tons (full load). Speed was 21 knots, and range was 7,700 nautical miles at 20 knots. Complement was 402 (28 officers and 374 enlisted). They could transport 840 to 930 troops. Landing craft carried were 1 LCU and 3 LCM(6), 9 LCM(6), 4 LCM(8), or 28 AAVs in the well deck (168 feet by 50 feet). Cargo capacity was 40,000 cubic feet marine cargo or 12,000 square feet vehicle space. They also carried 6 CH-46 Sea Knight helicopters. They were armed with two 25-mm Bushmaster cannon and two 20-mm Phalanx CIWS.

The San Antonio class of nine ships (LPD-17 through LPD-25) was begun by Northrop Grumman/Avondale in 2000, and the last ship is expected to join the fleet in 2014. Dimensions are length, 684 feet; beam, 105 feet; and draft, 23 feet. Displacement is 25,885 tons (full load). Speed is 25 knots (maximum) and 22 knots (sustained). Complement is 361 (28 officers and 333 enlisted). They can carry 720 to 800 troops. Landing craft are 2 LCAC, 1 LCU, or 14 AAVs in the well deck. Cargo capacity is 34,000 cubic feet marine cargo or 24,000 square feet vehicle space. Aircraft number 2 CH-53E Sea Stallion helicopters, 2 MV-22 Osprey tilt-rotors, or 4 CH-46 Sea Knight helicopters. They are armed with two 8-cell Sea Sparrow surface-to-air missiles (SAMs), two RAM missile launchers, and two 30-mm Bushmaster II CIWS.

Considerably larger than the predecessor Austin-class LPDs, the San Antonio–class ships all will feature fully integrated helicopter hangars that can store a single CH-53E Sea Stallion, two CH-46 Sea Knights, or one MV-22 Osprey. Two LCAC craft can be accommodated in the docking well, and a 24-bed medical facility also includes two operating rooms. These are the first U.S. Navy ships to employ the tall and pyramidal Advanced Enclosed Mast System, similar to mast structures on new European destroyers and frigates, giving them a distinctive almost futuristic profile when compared to the pole or lattice masts common on other U.S. warships. In a unique construction gesture acknowledging these ships' role in the Global War on Terror, the *New York* (LPD-21) incorporates steel salvaged from the ruins of the World Trade Center in its bow structure. According to U.S. Navy information on the San Antonio class, these ships constitute the functional replacement of more than 41 older ships, including the Austin-class LPDs, the Anchorage-class LSDs, the Newport-class LSTs, and amphibious cargo ships (LKA) of the Charleston class.

Somewhat before their projected retirements and especially during operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, these amphibious ships constituted part of the huge naval force gathered as part of the preparations for a massive northern Persian Gulf landing campaign—in the end a brilliant and persuasive feint—that never materialized. Nonetheless, most of the ships in these classes of LSDs and LPDs—excepting the San Antonio–class LPDs still under construction—contributed to Operations DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM, ENDURING FREEDOM, and IRAQI FREEDOM and, in some cases, to all three campaigns. The veteran Anchorage class was represented by the *Anchorage* (LSD-36), *Portland* (LSD-37), *Pensacola* (LSD-38), and *Mount Vernon* (LSD-39) during DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM, which also saw the participation of the Whidbey Island–classships *Germantown* (LSD-42), *Fort McHenry* (LSD-43), and *Gunston Hall* (LSD-44). LPDs joining in these Persian Gulf War operations were the *Raleigh* (LPD-1), *Vancouver* (LPD-2), *Ogden* (LPD-5), *Duluth* (LPD-6), *Dubuque* (LPD-8), *Denver* (LPD-9), *Juneau* (LPD-10), *Shreveport* (LPD-12), and *Trenton* (LPD-14).

An amphibious force as large as this aggregation was not deployed in such concentration for the subsequent Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM, but the effectiveness and versatility of these amphibious ships has made their rotating availability a mainstay of the U.S. naval presence in this theater. Of the above-named LSDs and LPDs, returning to the region for these campaigns were the *Anchorage, Portland, Gunston Hall, Ogden, Duluth, Dubuque, Shreveport,* and *Trenton.* The *Austin* (LPD-4), *Cleveland* (LPD-7), and *Ponce* (LPD-15) have deployed in support of both recent campaigns, as have the *Whidbey Island* (LSD-41), *Comstock* (LSD-45), *Tortuga* (LSD-46), *Rushmore* (LSD-47), *Ashland* (LSD-48), *Oak Hill* (LSD-51), and *Pearl Harbor* (LSD-52). As the more capable LPDs of the San Antonio class join the U.S. Navy, they will replace a number of these long-serving and versatile amphibious vessels.

Despite the U.S. Navy's primacy in amphibious warfare, other coalition navies have contributed analogous vessels in the region during ongoing operations. During Operation DESERT STORM, the French Navy in late January 1991 dispatched the specially fitted LPD *Foudre* (L-9011) to augment medical facilities and capabilities in Kuwait. The Falklands War veteran HMS *Fearless* (L-10), an LPD type of the Royal Navy, participated from the beginning of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM until relieved by the LPH HMS *Ocean* (L-12) in February 2002. The *Fearless* was decommissioned the following month; the new LPDs *Albion* (L-14) and *Bulwark* (L-15) replaced both the *Fearless* and the earlier-decommissioned sister ship *Intrepid* (L-11) as they joined the fleet in 2003 and 2005. Construction or acquisition of the LPD type has continued in Europe and elsewhere. The Argentine Navy acquired the French predecessors to the *Foudre,* the LSDs *Ouragan* and *Orage,* during 2006–2007; Spain completed two LPDs in 1998 and 2000; and the Netherlands, Portugal, and South Korea have recently built or will shortly commission examples of the type in their shipyards.

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See also

Amphibious Assault Ships; Amphibious Command Ships; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; Tank Landing Ships, U.S.; United States Navy, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Donkey Island, Battle of

Start Date: June 30, 2007
End Date: July 1, 2007

Minor military engagement between U.S. forces and Al Qaeda in Iraq insurgents during June 30–July 1, 2007. The Battle of Donkey Island occurred on the banks of a canal leading from Ramadi to Lake Habbaniyah near the city of Tash, south of the city of Ramadi, in Anbar Province, Iraq. The island is named for the wild donkeys native to the region. This skirmish pitted elements of the U.S. Army Task Force 1–77 Armor Regiment and the 2nd Battalion, 5th Marines, against a force of Al Qaeda in Iraq insurgents, who outnumbered the Americans.

The insurgent force had gathered in the area to launch a planned assault on Ramadi, employing daytime suicide attacks to break the shaky peace that had been recently established in the city. American forces discovered the company-sized insurgent force while conducting a routine patrol in Humvee vehicles on the evening of June 30. The insurgents had opened fire on the convoy. Despite being outnumbered, a U.S. platoon-sized element, along with the original patrol group, counterattacked with superior firepower a short while later and defeated the insurgent group after what turned out to be a 23-hour on-again, off-again gun battle. Although a clear military victory for the American forces, the engagement demonstrated that Al Qaeda in Iraq, along with other insurgent groups, still had the ability to organize forces effectively in an attempt to destabilize the Anbar region.

American forces suffered 2 dead and 11 wounded, while an estimated 32 insurgents were killed out of an estimated force of 40–70 fighters. U.S. forces also managed to destroy two trucks operated by the insurgents that had carried considerable numbers of arms and ammunition.

Richard B. Verrone

See also
Al Qaeda in Iraq; Iraqi Insurgency

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Dostum, Abd al-Rashid

Birth Date: 1954

Uzbek warlord, chief of staff to the commander in chief of the Afghan Army (2003–2008), and leader of the National Islamic Movement of Afghanistan. Born in Khwaja Dukoh in Jowzjan Province, Afghanistan, in 1954, Abd al-Rashid Dostum completed his national service as a paratrooper before commencing work in a state-owned gas refinery in 1970. During his employment he engaged in union politics and emerged as a communist union boss, a position he retained until 1978 when he joined the Afghan military in the fight against the Soviet Union's 1979 invasion.

In the early 1980s, however, Dostum began a six-year battle against the Afghan mujahideen as a regional commander of his own militia. By the mid-1980s his aptitude for rallying Uzbek and Turkmen mujahideen soldiers to both government and personal causes proved fruitful. With approximately 20,000 men under his command, he pacified the northern provinces and established control there. While his force recruited throughout his native Jowzjan Province and had a relatively broad base, the majority of his initial troops and commanders originated from Dostum's home village, Khwaja Dukoh, and represented the core of the force both during the civil war and upon the force's reconstitution in 2001. Despite his military prowess, Dostum's predilection for meting out merciless punishments on the enemy as well as his own men cemented his reputation as a skilled military tactician and a ferocious, uncompromising leader.

Initially allied with the government of President Mohammed Najibullah, in 1992 Dostum switched allegiance as the Soviet-backed government crumbled amid economic woes and internal strife. Despite his communist past, Dostum joined the moderate Tajik leader of the Northern Alliance, Ahmad Shah Massoud, in toppling the Afghan communist government and fought in a coalition against Gulbuddin al-Hurra Hekmetyar, the Kharuti Pashtun leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (Hezb-e-Islami Afghanistan) in 1992.

Between 1992 and 1997 Dostum ran a secular fiefdom based in Mazar-e Sharif and the surrounding provinces. Under his watch, women enjoyed the freedom to attend school, ventured outside without burqas, and were permitted to wear high-heeled shoes; Mazar-e Sharif's university had 1,800 female students. Boasting the last academic institution in Afghanistan, Mazar-e Sharif was the final bastion untouched by the oppression exercised by the Taliban regime.

As the Taliban forces of Mullah Mohammed Omar approached his stronghold, Dostum assumed a defensive stance and led his Turkmen and Uzbek forces into an ill-fated battle. In May 1997 Dostum's Uzbek commander in Faryab, Abd al-Malik, switched allegiance to the Taliban midway through a skirmish as the Pashtun leader of Balkh and Mazar-e Sharif, Juma Khan Hamdard, attacked from the east and obliterated Dostum's forces. By 1998,

with the gates to Mazar-e Sharif now open, Hamdard flowed into the secularized city with his Pashtun Taliban brothers, and Sharia law was enforced. Dostum went into self-imposed exile in Turkey, where he remained until April 2001. In 2000 he suffered an additional blow to his reputation upon the publication of Ahmed Rashid's book, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil, and Fundamentalism in Central Asia,* in which the author related the gruesome tale of a soldier being punished by Dostum for stealing.

In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, Dostum moved to redeem his reputation as a leader, and he offered his services to the United States in its quest to defeat the Taliban. With a small company comprising 2,000 horse-mounted rangers, Dostum and U.S. Special Forces secured a pivotal victory over the Taliban in the Hindu Kush Mountains in November 2001, thereby liberating much of northern Afghanistan.

Serving first as deputy defense minister to Afghani president Hamid Karzai, in 2003 Dostum also assumed the position of chief of staff to the commander in chief of the Afghan Army. In 2004 he entered the presidential race but captured only 10 percent of the vote. In response to this loss, Dostum resurrected the Uzbek militia force, much to the chagrin of President Karzai. In a bid to thwart his political endeavors, Karzai urged the commander who had defied Dostum, Abdul Malik, to return to the north and there establish a rival political party, Hezb-e Azadi-ye Afghanistan (Afghan Liberation Party). Karzai also placed a governor in Faryab who called for Dostum's indictment for war crimes. The measures were neatly countered, however, when pro-Dostum supporters rioted and drove the appointed governor out of Faryab later that year.

Because the north is one of the few areas of Afghanistan in which relative stability has been maintained, government opposition to Dostum has been more recently muted, and his authority prevails for the time being. Holding the northern provinces of Jowzjan, Saripul, Balkh, Faryab, Baghlan, and Kunduz, Dostum also assisted in the establishment of the Islamic National Party (Jumbesh-e-Milli Islami Afghanistan). In February 2008 Dostum reportedly ordered the kidnapping of a political rival, Akbar Bai. In the process, Bai's son and several associates were beaten and injured. Government forces subsequently surrounded Dostum's home, demanding that he be held accountable for the Bai incident. Dostum claimed that he had not ordered the kidnapping and refused to cooperate with a government investigation. As a result, he was stripped of his army position.

K. Luisa Gandolfo

See also

Afghanistan; Karzai, Hamid; Soviet-Afghanistan War; Taliban; Warlords, Afghanistan

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Downing, Wayne Allan

Birth Date: May 10, 1940
Death Date: July 18, 2007

U.S. Army officer, commander of U.S. Special Forces in Saudi Arabia during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, and acknowledged expert on terrorism and counterterrorism. Wayne Allan Downing was born on May 10, 1940, in Peoria, Illinois. He graduated from the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, in 1962. Assigned to the 173rd Airborne Brigade, he served two tours of duty during the Vietnam War, during which he was wounded.

In May 1977 Lieutenant Colonel Downing took command of the 2nd Battalion, 75th Infantry (Ranger) Regiment, beginning a lengthy career in special operations forces. Downing believed that training should be rigorous and that Rangers should learn how to deal with the unexpected. He quickly earned a reputation as a hands-on commander who could participate alongside his men in any operation they undertook.

In December 1989 Downing, now a major general, took command of the Joint Special Operations Command, under the U.S. Special Operations Command. That same month, U.S. forces invaded Panama in Operation JUST CAUSE to overthrow dictator Manuel Noriega. JUST CAUSE was the largest American military operation since Vietnam, and each branch of the military wanted to show that it had corrected deficiencies exposed in that earlier conflict. The Rangers and other Special Operations Forces (SOF) performed well in Panama, and although Noriega escaped the first attempts to capture him, he finally emerged from the Vatican compound and surrendered personally to Downing.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, Downing's SOF hoped to join the action against Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's forces. That autumn, they trained in Florida for Operation PACIFIC WIND, a plan to rescue American diplomats trapped in Kuwait City. U.S. Air Force Lockheed F-117 Nighthawk and McDonnell Douglas/Boeing F-15 Eagle strike aircraft would have blocked roads into the city by precision bombing while Downing's forces dropped into the embassy compound, freed the diplomats, and escaped. However, General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commanding general of Operation DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM, opposed the plan; fortunately, Hussein soon released the diplomats.

Schwarzkopf did not think particularly highly of SOF and gave them important—but not essential—jobs during DESERT SHIELD. They were employed mostly as liaisons to allied forces but undertook no combat missions. Downing continually proposed

operations to take advantage of his men's capabilities, such as attacking the Iraqi leadership, but Schwarzkopf rejected each suggestion.

At the beginning of DESERT STORM in January 1991 when Iraqi Scud missiles were launched from western Iraq against Israel, however, Schwarzkopf could no longer ignore the SOF. U.S. leaders feared that Israel would retaliate against Iraq for the missile attacks, causing Arab members of the coalition to pull out. British special forces had already begun operating in western Iraq, so Schwarzkopf authorized Downing to organize a joint force to hunt for and destroy Scuds and their launchers.

On January 30 Downing and 400 SOF troops arrived in Arar, a town in western Saudi Arabia. Beginning on February 7, the unit spent three weeks trying to find Scuds and destroy them or calling in air strikes. SOF teams swept through the region, and although they claimed the destruction of a number of Scuds, most experts now believe that these were decoys. The teams did destroy some of the Iraqi infrastructure, however, including electrical cables and communications. Even if they had not destroyed actual Scuds, Downing believed that his forces had disrupted Iraqi operations. The number of Scuds launched after SOF troops had entered Iraq during February 24–28, 1991, dropped dramatically.

Following DESERT STORM, Downing, now a lieutenant general, served as commander of the U.S. Army Special Operations Command, headquartered at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. He held this post during August 1991–April 1993. Promoted to full (four-star) general, he then became commander in chief of the joint U.S. Special Operations Command and held that post from May 1993 to February 1996, at which point he retired.

Thereafter, Downing lobbied for U.S. support of an indigenous Iraqi revolt against Saddam Hussein. Downing also served on task forces that investigated terrorist threats to the United States. For example, in 1997 he war-gamed a scenario in which terrorists used crop dusting planes to release chemical agents against U.S. targets. In 1996 immediately after retirement, he supervised the investigation of the terrorist bombing at the Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia that killed 19 U.S. servicemen. On October 9, 2001, in the immediate aftermath of the September 11 terror attacks, Downing came out of retirement to serve as deputy national security adviser for combating terrorism. He also organized an office within the National Security Council to combat terrorism and gather information about terrorists. Downing retired again from government service on June 26, 2002. From 2003 to 2007 he held the distinguished chair at West Point's Combating Terrorism Center. He was also a sought-after security consultant and a fixture on numerous television news programs. Downing died suddenly of bacterial meningitis on July 18, 2007, in Peoria, Illinois.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; JUST CAUSE, Operation; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; Scud Missiles, U.S. Search for during the Persian Gulf War; September 11 Attacks; Terrorism

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Dulles, John Foster

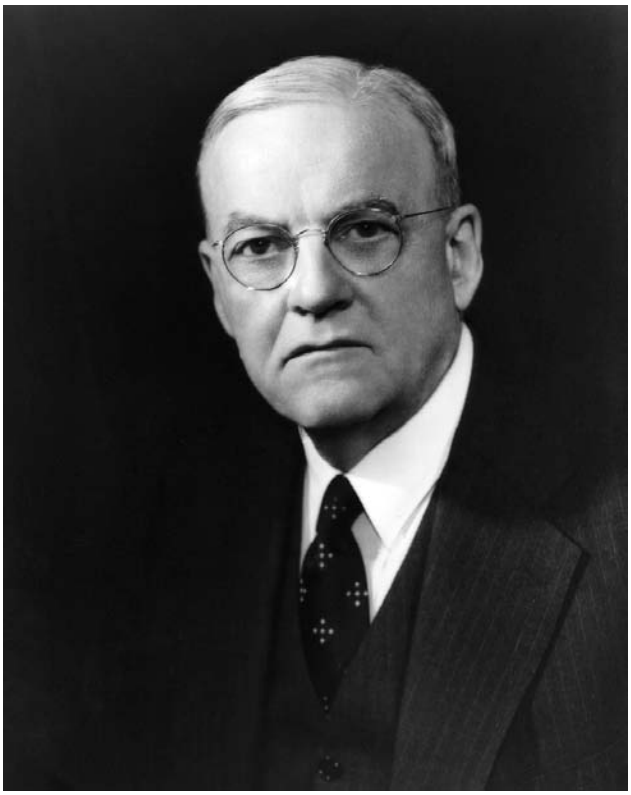
Birth Date: February 25, 1888
Death Date: May 24, 1959

Lawyer, briefly U.S. senator, staunch anticommunist, and U.S. secretary of state (1953–1959). Born in Washington, D.C., on February 25, 1888, John Foster Dulles graduated in 1908 from Princeton University, where he studied under Woodrow Wilson. In 1911 Dulles earned a law degree from George Washington University and joined the prestigious Wall Street law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell. Appointed to the U.S. delegation at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, Dulles unsuccessfully sought to restrain Allied reparations demands on Germany.

Active between the wars in internationalist organizations, Dulles initially opposed American intervention in World War II. Once American belligerency seemed probable, however, he focused intensely on postwar planning. He also became prominent in Republican politics, advising 1944 presidential candidate Thomas E. Dewey on international affairs. President Harry S. Truman, seeking to secure bipartisan political support for his foreign policy, included Dulles in virtually all major international meetings beginning with the 1945 San Francisco Conference that drafted the final United Nations (UN) Charter. Briefly appointed Republican senator for New York in 1948–1949, Dulles strongly supported creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). He also supported European integration as a means of strengthening the continent's economies and militaries.

By the late 1940s Dulles had become a dedicated anticommunist. When the Chinese communists won control of the mainland in 1949, he advocated American backing for Jiang Jieshi's (Chiang Kai-shek) Guomindang (Kuomintang, Nationalist) regime on Taiwan. In June 1950 when the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea) invaded the Republic of Korea (ROK, South Korea), Dulles urged U.S. intervention and the extension of protection to Taiwan. As a foreign affairs adviser to Dwight D. Eisenhower's Republican presidential campaign in 1952, Dulles argued that the Truman administration had been timorous in merely containing Soviet communism when it should have moved to roll back Soviet influence.

Named secretary of state by Eisenhower in 1953, Dulles deferred to the president's leadership. A supporter of Eisenhower's New Look defense policy of heavy reliance on nuclear weapons, Dulles rhetorically threatened to wreak massive retaliation against American enemies, tactics nicknamed "brinkmanship." In practice, however, he was often far more cautious. Although



Staunch anticommunist John Foster Dulles was U.S. secretary of state in the Dwight D. Eisenhower administration during 1953–1959. (Library of Congress)

Dulles's bellicose anticommunist rhetoric alarmed many European leaders, his policies proved pragmatic.

Dulles and Eisenhower presided over the end of the Korean War in July 1953, pressuring both sides to accept an armistice. They also established a series of military alliances in Asia. When possible Eisenhower avoided direct major military interventions, preferring to rely on covert operations orchestrated by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), headed by Dulles's younger brother Allen. The CIA played key roles in coups that overthrew Left-leaning governments in Iran in 1953 and Guatemala in 1954.

Indeed, the U.S.-sponsored coup in Iran that ousted Mohammad Mossadegh and strengthened Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi's hand showcased Dulles's approach to Middle East politics. Dulles believed that to advance American interests in Iran, the region had to remain free of major Soviet influences, free of leftist or communist regimes, and free of Pan-Arabism. Mossadegh's socialist policies and references to imperialism and Western exploitation did not sit well with Dulles or Eisenhower. In the Middle East, Dulles's ardent anticommunism was mixed with considerable concerns that the region's oil supplies would be compromised by instability or Soviet advances. The 1953 coup in Iran, while accomplishing its goals in the short term, served only to create significant long-term problems. As the shah of Iran became more autocratic throughout the 1960s and 1970s, many Iranians would hold the United States responsible for the excesses of his regime. When he was ousted by an Islamic fundamentalist revolution in 1979, U.S.-Iranian relations were severed.

In Indochina in 1954, Dulles and Eisenhower withstood pressure from U.S. military leaders and—after Britain had declined to assist—refused to authorize air strikes to rescue French troops surrounded by Viet Minh forces at Dien Bien Phu. Nevertheless, Dulles and Eisenhower ended up backing noncommunist South Vietnam by 1956.

Dulles and Eisenhower considered strengthening the U.S. West European allies as their first priority. Thus Dulles, seeking to reinforce NATO, also backed proposals for a multinational European Defense Community (EDC), a plan that France vetoed in 1954. While Dulles sought to help U.S. allies in Europe, however, he nevertheless deplored British and French imperialism.

Dulles's relations with Britain and France reached their nadir in 1956. Following the 1952 revolution, Gamal Abdel Nasser became Egypt's leader in 1954. Initially, Nasser sought military aid from the United States. The powerful Israeli lobby, however, prevented such assistance. Nasser then obtained arms from the Soviet bloc. This in turn led Dulles in 1956 to rescind an earlier American pledge to provide Nasser with funding for his project to build a dam on the Nile south of Aswan.

Believing he had been betrayed, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, which was co-owned by the British and French governments. While openly joining Dulles in negotiations with Egypt, British and French leaders covertly intrigued with Israeli leaders for an Israeli attack against Egypt that would enable Britain and France to intervene militarily in Egypt and regain the canal. The invasion began in early November 1956, just before the U.S. presidential election. Dulles and Eisenhower strenuously pressured all three powers to withdraw, which occurred in a matter of weeks. Nevertheless, the episode soured Anglo-American relations.

Although Dulles hoped to align the United States with nationalist forces around the world, the open growth of Soviet interest in the Middle East brought the January 1957 announcement of the Eisenhower Doctrine. Authored chiefly by Dulles, the doctrine conferred upon the United States the right to intervene militarily (if requested) against indigenous or external communist threats in the region. This provoked significant anti-Americanism throughout the world. Just four months after Eisenhower had enunciated the Eisenhower Doctrine and believing that Jordan's King Hussein faced a significant threat from indigenous communists, Dulles and Eisenhower responded by offering Hussein $10 million in economic aid.

The Eisenhower administration also responded to reported threats of Nasserists and political opposition to Lebanese president Camille Chamoun by dispatching the Sixth Fleet to the eastern Mediterranean. Anti-Chamoun demonstrators had attacked the Lebanese president's palace in May. A regional threat seemed more credible when the coup in Iraq in July 1958 brought down the monarchy and a second coup had been attempted in Jordan, although it failed. A British force arrived on July 17, 1958, at Hussein's invitation.

Two days earlier, on July 15, 1958, the first wave of nearly 15,000 U.S. troops landed in Lebanon to restore order. Many arrived without orders, and as they met no opposition and could not identify the rebels, they acted as a peacekeeping force and deterrent to other Middle Eastern countries. The crisis in Lebanon was soon over, and American troops departed Lebanon in the early autumn.

The emergence of Nikita Khrushchev as top Soviet leader in the mid-1950s seemed to promise a relaxation of Soviet-American tensions. As such, the Eisenhower administration hoped to conclude substantive disarmament agreements with Khrushchev. In practice, however, Khrushchev was often far from accommodating. The Soviets' success in launching the first space satellite (Sputnik) in 1957, Soviet possession of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, and Khrushchev's seeming readiness from late 1958 onward to provoke an international crisis over Berlin all alarmed American leaders, including the ailing Dulles, diagnosed in 1957 with cancer.

Although American nation-building efforts in both Taiwan and South Vietnam enjoyed apparent success, during the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis in 1958 Dulles was notably more cautious about gratuitously challenging either communist China or possibly, by extension, the Soviets. When his cancer worsened, he resigned as secretary on April 15, 1959. Dulles died in Washington, D.C., on May 24, 1959.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Chamoun, Camille Nimr; Egypt; Eisenhower, Dwight David; France, Middle East Policy; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Reza Pahlavi, Mohammad; Russia, Middle East Policy, 1991–Present; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; Suez Crisis; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Dumb Bombs

See Bombs, Gravity

Dunham, Jason

Birth Date: November 10, 1981
Death Date: April 22, 2004

U.S. marine and posthumous Medal of Honor recipient. Born in Scio, New York, on November 10, 1981, Jason Dunham joined the U.S. Marine Corps in 2000. In early 2004 he deployed to Iraq, where he served with the 3rd Battalion, 7th Marine Regiment. On April 14 Corporal Dunham was leading a patrol near Husaybah in reaction to an insurgent attack on a marine convoy. His patrol soon became engaged with insurgents in cars. One insurgent left his vehicle and engaged Dunham in hand-to-hand combat, in the course of which the insurgent dropped a hand grenade. In an attempt to save his patrol from injury, Dunham threw himself on the grenade, using his helmet to try to shield himself and his comrades. Severely wounded in the ensuing explosion, Dunham was evacuated from Iraq. He died at the Naval Medical Center, Bethesda, Maryland, on April 22, 2004.

On November 10, 2006, President George W. Bush announced on the occasion of the dedication of the National Museum of the Marine Corps at Quantico, Virginia, that Dunham had been awarded the Medal of Honor. Bush formally presented the medal to Dunham's family in a ceremony at the White House on January 22, 2007. Dunham was the first marine to receive the medal in the Iraq War and the first marine to be so honored since the Vietnam War. The U.S. Navy's newest Arleigh Burke–class destroyer (DDG-109), which is scheduled to enter service in 2010, has been named in his honor.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Bush, George Walker

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Dunwoody, Ann E.

Birth Date: 1953

U.S. Army general, the first woman to hold full general (four-star) rank, and currently the commanding general of the U.S. Army Materiel Command. Ann E. Dunwoody was born at Fort Belvoir, Virginia, in 1953. Her family has a long record of military service extending back five generations (her father, Harold H. Dunwoody, was a professional army officer who retired as a brigadier general). Dunwoody grew up on military installations in Germany and Belgium, where her father was stationed. She attended State University of New York College at Cortland and graduated in 1975 with a degree in physical education.

Dunwoody entered the army on graduation through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) program as a second lieutenant. Originally planning only to honor her two-year commitment, she found the service to her liking and decided to make it a career. Dunwoody's service has been entirely with the Quartermaster Corps. It began as a platoon leader with a maintenance

company at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Subsequent assignments took her to Kaiserlautern in Germany, Fort Bragg in North Carolina, and Fort Drum in New York, among other places. She earned an MS degree in logistics management from the Florida Institute of Technology in 1988 and an MS degree in national resource strategy from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces in 1995.

Staff assignments include service in the Office of the Chief of Staff of the Army; executive officer to the director, Defense Logistics Agency; and deputy chief of staff for logistics. Among notable command assignments have been that of the first woman to command a battalion in the 82nd Airborne Division (Dunwoody holds the Master Parachutist Badge). As executive officer and later division parachute officer for the 407th Supply and Transportation Battalion, 82nd Airborne Division, she deployed to Saudi Arabia during Operation DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM. In 2001 she commanded the I Corps Support Command in support of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan, and she had charge of establishing the Joint Logistics Command in Uzbekistan. In 2004 Dunwoody was the first woman to head the Combined Arms Support Command at Fort Lee, Virginia.

In 2005 Dunwoody became the army's top-ranking woman when she was promoted to lieutenant general and became deputy chief of staff of the army for logistics. Nominated to serve as the commander of the U.S. Army Materiel Command, she was confirmed by the U.S. Senate on July 23, 2008. She received her fourth star on November 14, 2008. Dunwoody married Craig Brotchie in 1990; he is now a retired air force colonel.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Logistics, Persian Gulf War; Women, Role of in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars; Women, Role of in Persian Gulf War

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Durant, Michael

Birth Date: July 23, 1961

U.S. Army chief warrant officer and pilot whose helicopter was shot down over Mogadishu on October 3, 1993, and who was held captive by a Somali warlord faction for 11 days. Michael Durant was born in Berlin, New Hampshire, on July 23, 1961. He enlisted in the army in August 1979 and trained as a helicopter pilot. He earned a BS degree in professional aeronautics and an MBA degree in aviation management from Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University.

On August 1, 1988, Durant joined the 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment, known as the "Night Stalkers." The unit has the mission of providing rotary-wing air support to special operations forces. Its mission includes organizing, equipping, training, resourcing, and employment of army special operations aviation forces worldwide. Durant participated in combat operations such as the invasion of Panama in 1989 and the liberation of Kuwait in 1991.

In the late summer of 1993, Durant was sent to Mogadishu as part of a United States Special Forces mission code-named Operation GOTHIC SERPENT, the primary goal of which was to capture the leaders of the United Somali Congress/Somali National Alliance (USC/SNA), including warlord Mohammed Farrah Aidid (Aideed). These individuals had been accused of staging attacks on United Nations (UN) peacekeeping forces on June 5, 1993, which resulted in the deaths of dozens of Somalis and Pakistani UN peacekeepers.

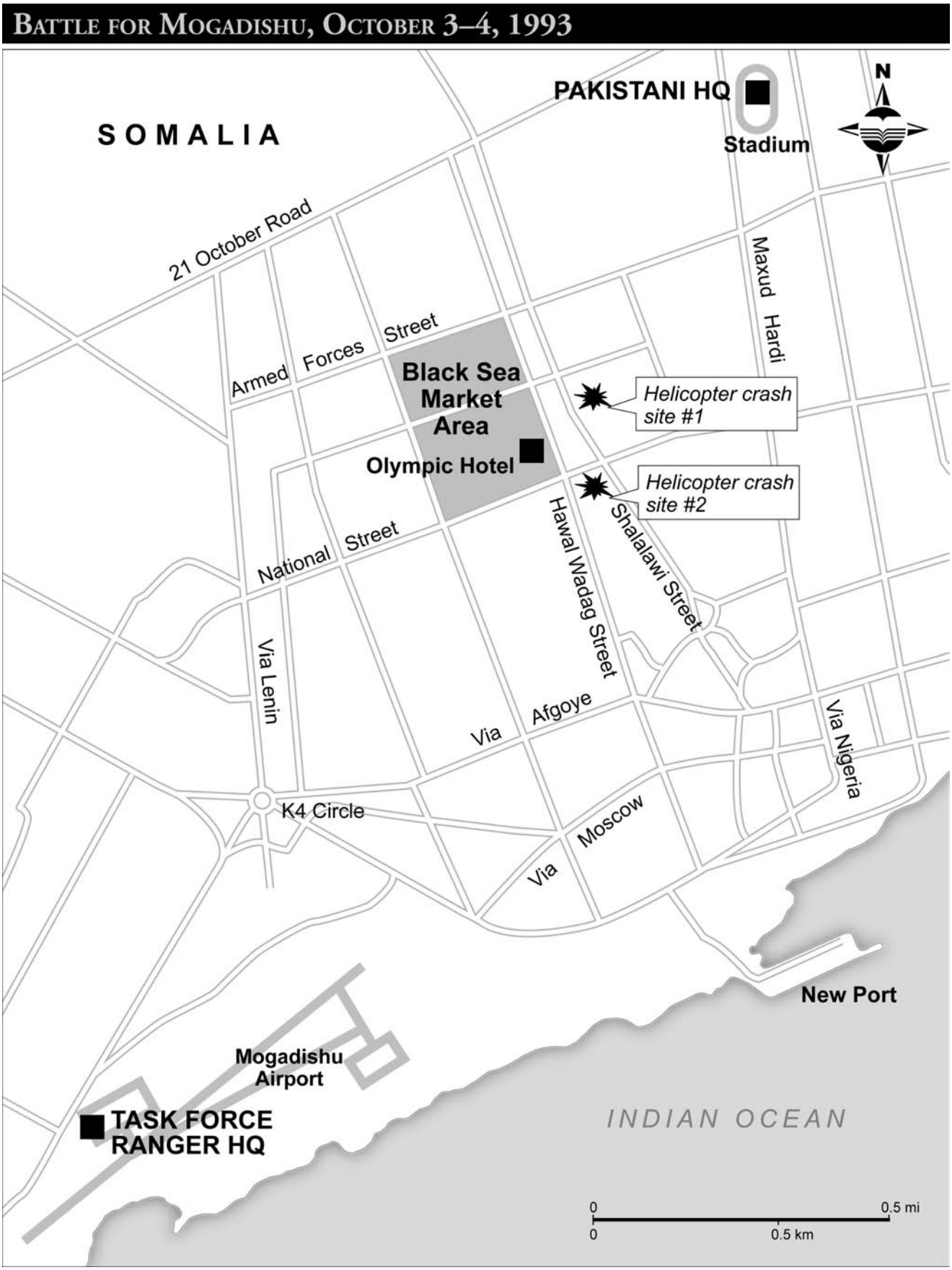
On the afternoon of October 3, 1993, Chief Warrant Officer-3 Durant was piloting his Sikorsky MH-60 Black Hawk helicopter as part of a special operations raid to capture USC/SNA leaders who were located in a house in the southern part of Mogadishu. The raiding forces included approximately 150 U.S. soldiers. The original plan was to enter the targeted house, capture the men, and drive them in armored vehicles and trucks back to the U.S. base located at Mogadishu Airport.

The plan came apart when hundreds of Somalis fired on U.S. soldiers in the streets of Mogadishu. Outgunned and exposed, the American forces suffered significant casualties. The fighting worsened after two Black Hawks providing air support to the forces on the ground were shot down. Durant was in the second helicopter.

An American search and rescue team reached the first helicopter but failed to get to Durant's aircraft before the Somalis captured him. U.S. forces were entangled in a pitched fight throughout the night and into the dawn of October 4.

Durant suffered severe back and thigh injuries during the crash. His three crew members were also badly injured. The helicopter's crew members were to be aided by two Delta Force snipers, Master Sergeant Gary Gordon and Sergeant First Class Randy Shughart, who volunteered for the rescue mission and were airlifted into the area near the crash site. Both died from enemy fire, however, and the remainder of Durant's crew also perished. Durant, the sole survivor, was then captured. Gordon and Shughart posthumously received the Medal of Honor for their bravery.

Durant was held captive by the USC/SNA militia for 11 days. Although he was badly injured, he showed steely resolve and did not divulge any information to his captors. He was released on October 14 following intense American pressure on the USC/


BATTLE FOR MOGADISHU, OCTOBER 3–4, 1993
SOMALIA
PAKISTANI HQ
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21 October Road
Maxud Hardi
Armed Forces Street
Black Sea Market Area
Helicopter crash site #1
Olympic Hotel
Helicopter crash site #2
National Street
Hawal Wadag Street
Shalalawi Street
Via Lenin
Via Afgoye
Via Nigeria
K4 Circle
Via Moscow
New Port
Mogadishu Airport
TASK FORCE RANGER HQ
INDIAN OCEAN
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SNA. After his return, Durant's picture was published on the covers of *Time, Newsweek, U.S. News and World Report,* and many newspapers.

Durant returned to active duty after recovering from his injuries. He retired from the army in 2001 as a chief warrant officer-4. He logged approximately 3,700 flight hours, 1,400 of them while wearing night-vision goggles. In 2003 Durant published a book titled *In the Company of Heroes* in which he described his years of service, with an emphasis on his 11 days of captivity in Mogadishu. The book appeared on the *New York Times* Bestseller List. Durant is now CEO and president of Pinnacle Solutions, Inc., an engineering services company located in Huntsville, Alabama.

Chen Kertcher

See also

Delta Force; Somalia, International Intervention in

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THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
MIDDLE EAST WARS

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THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MIDDLE EAST WARS

The United States in the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Conflicts

VOLUME II: E–L

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IRAQ
I R A N
Amman
Nasiriyah
Jerusalem
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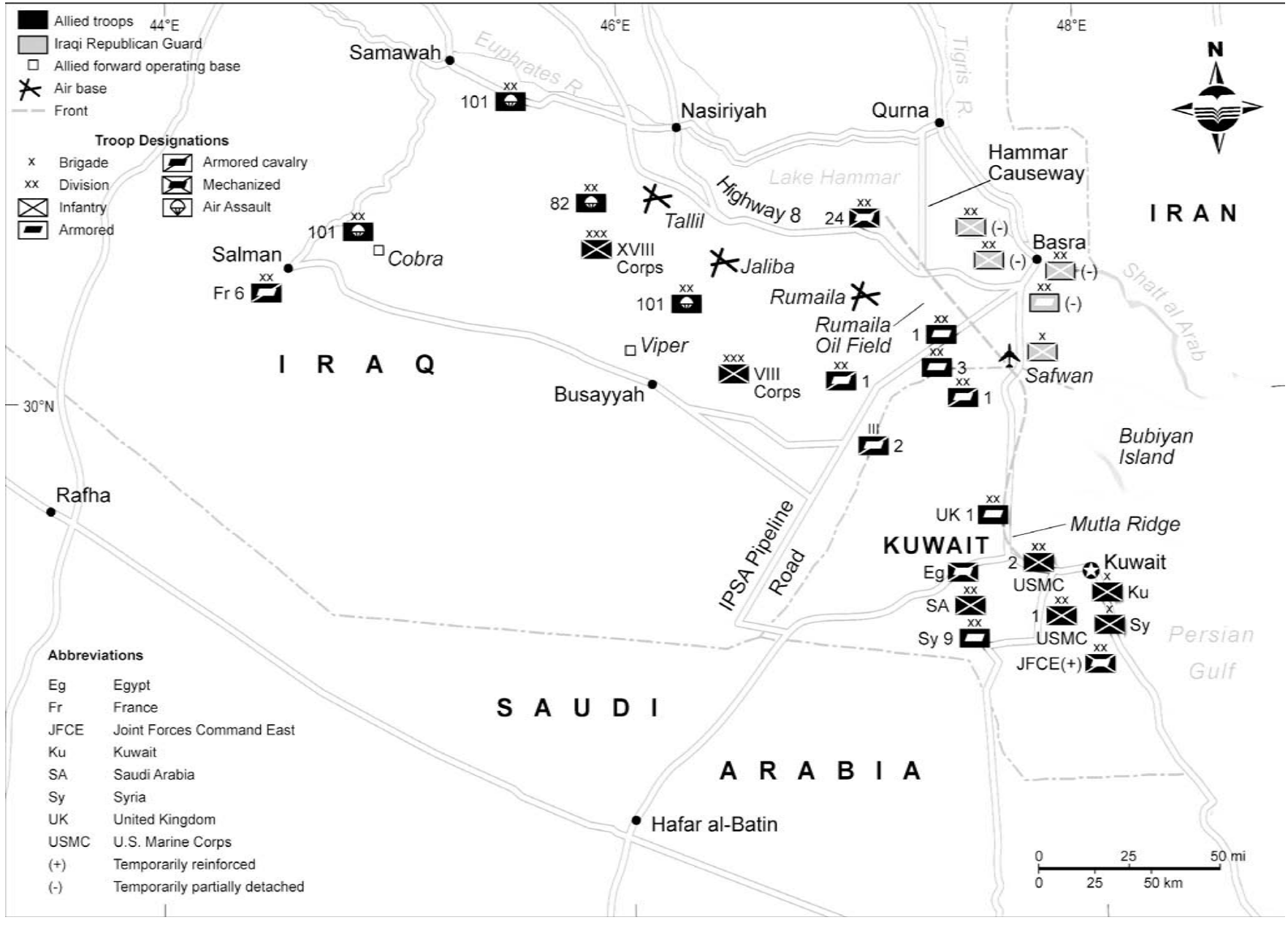
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
SAUDI ARABIA
20°N
Masirah
OMAN
SUDAN
YEMEN
ERITREA
Sanaa
Arabian Sea
DJIBOUTI
ETHIOPIA
SOMALIA
0 50 100 mi
0 50 100 km
30°E
40°E
50°E
60°E

Topography of the Middle East

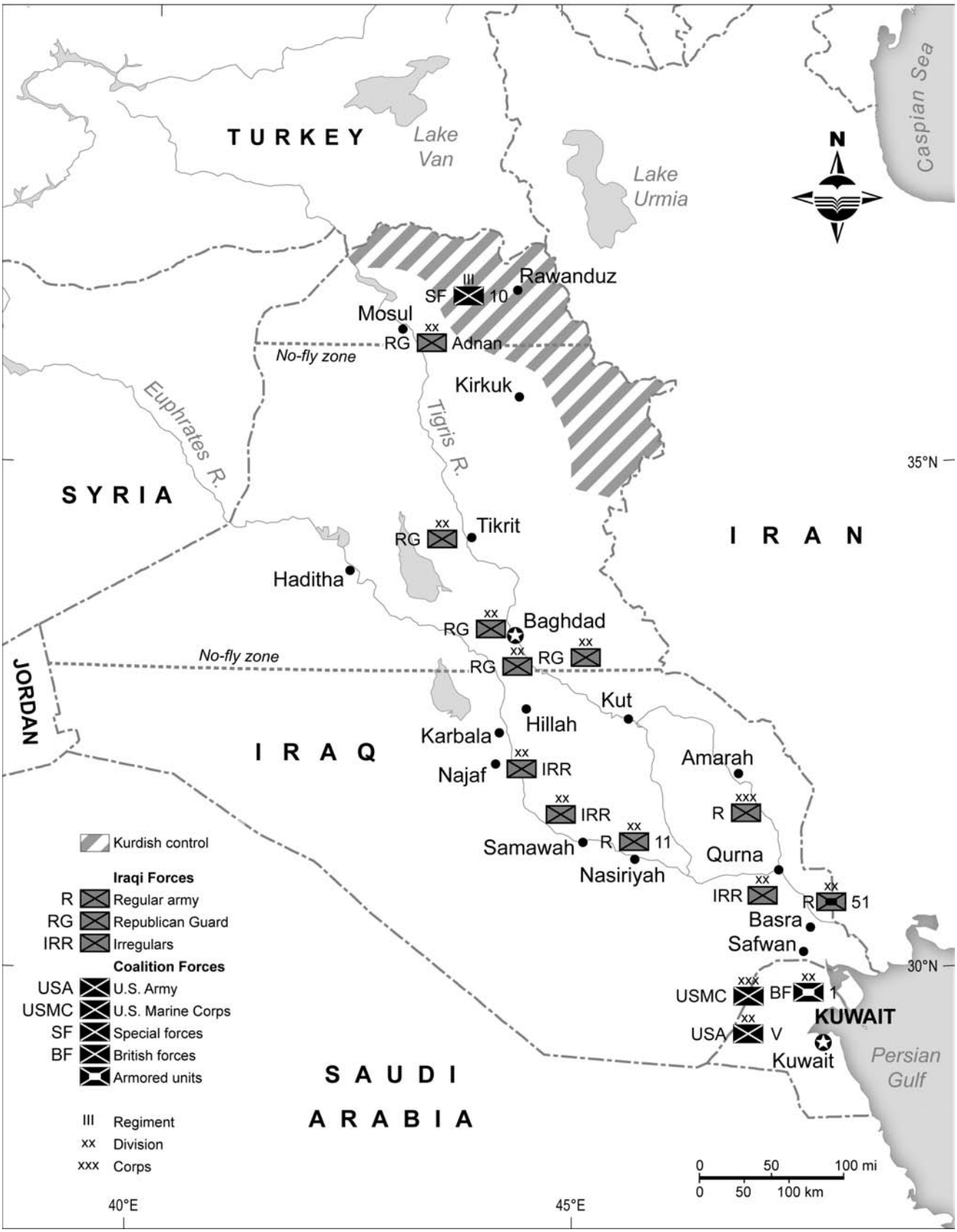
Coalition against Iraq, August 2, 1990–February 28, 1991

Troop Positions at the Close of Operation DESERT STORM



Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, 2001

Disposition of Forces on the Eve of the 2003 Iraq War



2003 Iraq War
40°E
45°E
N
Caspian Sea
TURKEY
Lake Van
Lake Urmia
173rd Airborne Brigade
Bashur
Mosul
Arbil
SOF
Sulamaniyah
Kirkuk
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
35°N
Bayji
Northern Oil Fields
SYRIA
Tikrit
I R A N
H1
Haditha
H2
Fallujah
Baghdad
Ramadi
JORDAN
H3
Rutbah
I R A Q
1st Marine Expeditionary Force
Karbala
Kut
VISOBS
SOF
Najaf
Amarah
V CORPS
VISOBS
Samawah
Qurna
Nasiriyah
Rumaila Oil Fields
Umm Qasr
Basra
30°N
Coalition Staging Bases
VISOBS
S A U D I
A R A B I A
Kuwait
Persian Gulf
KUWAIT
Coalition movements
Coalition air base
SOF Special operations forces
VISOBS Visual observers
0 50 100 mi
0 50 100 km

E

Eagleburger, Lawrence Sidney
Birth Date: August 1, 1930

Diplomat, influential adviser to several U.S. presidents, and U.S. secretary of state (1992–1993). Lawrence Sidney Eagleburger was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on August 1, 1930. He graduated from the University of Wisconsin–Madison with a BS in 1952 and immediately enlisted in the U.S. Army, serving during the Korean War (1950–1953) and attaining the rank of first lieutenant. Eagleburger returned to Madison to receive his MA in 1957. That same year he entered the U.S. Foreign Service, where we worked in Honduras and as a desk officer for Cuban affairs in the Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Eagleburger served in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, from 1961 to 1965 and returned to Washington in 1965 to serve as the special assistant on North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) affairs to presidential adviser Dean G. Acheson.

In 1969 President Richard M. Nixon's national security adviser Henry Kissinger appointed Eagleburger as his assistant. In September 1969 Eagleburger left the National Security Council to assume successive appointments in the Nixon administration to the U.S. mission to NATO, the Department of Defense, and the Department of State. Eagleburger served as the ambassador to Yugoslavia in the James (Jimmy) Carter administration from 1977 to 1980 before President Ronald Reagan appointed Eagleburger undersecretary of state for political affairs in 1982.

Retiring from the State Department, Eagleburger became the president of Kissinger Associates, Inc., a New York–based international consulting firm founded by Henry Kissinger, from 1984 to 1989. In 1989 President George H. W. Bush appointed Eagleburger deputy secretary of state, a position in which he served as Bush's chief adviser on Yugoslavia that, at the time, was descending into chaos as a result of the end of communist rule there. Controversy often marked Eagleburger's role as adviser on Yugoslavia. When he refuted reports that the Yugoslavian National Army and Serbian paramilitary forces had perpetrated war crimes, media outlets in both the United States and Europe labeled him a Serbian enthusiast.

In 1992 when Secretary of State James Baker resigned to manage Bush's unsuccessful reelection campaign, Eagleburger replaced him as acting secretary in August 1992. Eagleburger became secretary of state on December 8, 1992. When Bush left office in January 1993, Eagleburger joined the law firm of Baker, Donelson, Bearrnan and Caldwell as the senior foreign policy adviser. In 1998 he became the chairman of the International Commission on Holocaust-Era Insurance Claims, which offered $16 million to Holocaust victims and their heirs in 2005.

In 2002 Eagleburger publicly questioned the timing of a likely invasion of Iraq and stated that the evidence linking Saddam Hussein to weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) was not altogether conclusive. In 2003 after the Bush administration sharply reprimanded Syria and Iran, Eagleburger again openly warned that military action in either country could be disastrous. In 2006 he replaced Robert Gates in the Iraq Study Group, also known as the Baker-Hamilton Commission, charged by Congress with assessing the situation of the Iraq War. Eagleburger is currently the chairman of the board of trustees for the Forum for International Policy and serves on the Board of Advisors of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

CHRISTOPHER R. W. DIETRICH

See also
Baker, James Addison, III; Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Iraq Study Group; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Kissinger, Henry Alfred; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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EAGLE CLAW, Operation
Event Date: April 25, 1980

Failed U.S. mission to rescue American hostages being held in Iran on April 25, 1980, code-named Operation EAGLE CLAW. On November 4, 1979, during the Iranian Revolution, radical Iranian students seized the United States embassy in Tehran, taking 52 Americans captive. The ensuing hostage crisis created a division within the Jimmy Carter administration. National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski believed that the president had to take a hard stance and was an ardent proponent of a rescue operation. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance opposed military action and believed that persistent and carefully constructed negotiations could resolve the crisis. He maintained that a rescue attempt would in fact place the captives in greater danger. Vance considered the Iranian threats against their lives to be purely rhetorical, as dead hostages would be of no value to the Iranians. He argued that if the captives were rescued, the terrorists would simply take more hostages. The secretary of state also asserted that military action against Iran could turn the entire Muslim world against the United States.

President Carter resisted Brzezinski's initial pressure for a rescue mission. Carter, like Vance, feared that any military action would result in the execution of the hostages. The president did allow for tentative mission planning and preparation to begin, however.

On April 11, 1980, after the Iranian students publicly threatened the hostages, Carter gave his approval to a rescue attempt. Carter dismissed Vance's warnings about reprisals from other Middle Eastern countries, believing that Islamic fundamentalist Iran enjoyed little support from its Arab neighbors. The president determined that not taking action would be more costly than taking action. Indeed, he was especially concerned that the United States not appear soft on terrorism and weak in the eyes of leaders of the Soviet Union, with which relations had already rapidly deteriorated. Vance then resigned, having protested against the proposed rescue operation for nearly six months.

Carter and Brzezinski ordered the operation to proceed in accordance with four constraints: planning secrecy, protecting the lives of the hostages, keeping Iranian casualties to a minimum, and maintaining a small task force. The element of surprise was also encouraged. Carter met with the task force planners personally on April 16. The U.S. Army's Delta Force, commanded by Colonel Charles Beckwith, was charged with executing the raid, while Colonel James Kyle commanded the mission's air force elements. Meanwhile, White House Chief of Staff Hamilton Jordan met with representatives from Iran on April 18 in a final attempt to reach a diplomatic solution to the hostage crisis. He was informed that the Iranian government would not be able to address the issue until after parliamentary elections in mid-May. With his efforts to achieve an immediate diplomatic resolution frustrated, and under increasing pressure from the American public and media to take action, Carter authorized Operation EAGLE CLAW on April 23. He made a fateful pledge to the task force commanders that he would accept full responsibility for the mission.

The ill-fated rescue mission never reached Tehran. The plan failed because of weather conditions over the Iranian desert and an unfortunate set of circumstances that occurred at the mission's forward refueling point, code-named Desert One. On April 24, when the mission began, sandstorms caused the operation to fall an hour behind schedule. Mechanical failures reduced the eight navy RH-53D Sea Stallion helicopters in the mission to only five. Meanwhile, civilians in automobiles threatened operational secrecy by stumbling upon the forward refueling point. The decision to abort the mission because of the lack of serviceable helicopters had already been made when an accident occurred around 2:00 a.m. on April 25. A helicopter rotor struck an MC-130 transport aircraft on the ground, causing a massive explosion at Desert One. The task force, including five wounded, was evacuated immediately. Eight dead American servicemen and the four remaining Sea Stallions were abandoned in the desert.

The failed operation was a dark episode in Carter's presidency. In August 1980, an investigative body led by Admiral James L. Holloway analyzed Operation EAGLE CLAW. It concluded that the accident at the forward refueling point was the result of human error brought on by the dark, dusty, and cluttered conditions at Desert One. The government examined the state of U.S. special operations forces after the catastrophe at Desert One. The Senate Armed Services Committee consulted with Colonel Beckwith and drew several conclusions from the failed mission, including the importance of standardized training for all special operations forces and the need to create a permanent joint command. It also recommended the establishment of forward staging areas around the globe. These would allow special operations forces to be deployed faster and more efficiently. Based upon these findings, and those of the Holloway Committee, the Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) was formed on December 15, 1980. In 1987, Congress created the position of Assistant Secretary of Defense

Six marine-piloted helicopters head from the U.S. aircraft carrier *Nimitz* to the rendezvous at Desert One in Iran in April 1980 as part of Operation EAGLE CLAW, the failed attempt to rescue U.S. hostages held by Iran. (U.S. Department of Defense)

for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict and The United States Special Operations Command (USSOCOM). Passage of this legislation guaranteed regular funding, standardized training, and specialized weapons and equipment for special operations forces in all branches of the U.S. military.

The American hostages were not released until January 20, 1981. The failure to secure their freedom earlier undoubtedly helped Republican Ronald Reagan win the presidency in the November 1980 elections.

JEFFREY LAMONICA

See also

Beckwith, Charles Alvin; Brzezinski, Zbigniew; Carter, James Earl, Jr.; Delta Force; Iranian Revolution; Reagan, Ronald Wilson

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EARNEST WILL, Operation

Start Date: 1987
End Date: 1989

U.S. military operation designed to provide oil tanker escorts in the Persian Gulf from 1987 to 1989 during the last stages of the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988). During the Iran-Iraq War, both the Iranians and Iraqis carried out attacks on tankers and other merchant shipping in the Persian Gulf. This became known informally as the Tanker War. The Tanker War was essentially designed to inflict economic damage on the enemy. Iraq, lacking a significant navy, used planes to attack Iranian tankers and ports. Iraq did not have a tanker fleet, so Iran targeted the shipping of countries that favored Iraq, such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Iran used a variety of methods in its attacks, including small boats, mines, frigates, and aircraft. Kuwait was a nonbelligerent yet feared Iranian attacks on its tankers, which were critical to its status as a major oil and natural gas exporter.

In December 1986 and January 1987 Kuwait asked both the United States and the Soviet Union to protect 11 of its oil tankers from potential Iranian attacks. After much discussion, the United States agreed to place all 11 of the Kuwaiti-owned tankers under the U.S. flag and to escort them with warships through the Persian Gulf. The Ronald Reagan administration had three main motivations for agreeing to the escorts: to keep the Soviet Union out of

A line of reflagged Kuwaiti oil tankers transit the Persian Gulf under U.S. Navy escort in 1987 during Operation EARNEST WILL. (U.S. Department of Defense)

the oil-rich Persian Gulf, to improve diplomatic relations with Middle East allies, and to ensure the flow of oil to the West. Kuwait secretly agreed to provide free fuel for the escort operation.

Low-key planning for the operation, code-named EARNEST WILL, began in the spring of 1987. At the time, the United States had only a small naval contingent called the Middle East Force, consisting of seven ships, stationed in the Persian Gulf. Rear Admiral Harold Bernsen was the commanding officer of the Middle East Force. These ships were originally set to carry out the escorts with no augmentation. On May 17, 1987, during the EARNEST WILL planning stages, an Iraqi plane on a tanker attack mission mistakenly fired two missiles into the U.S. Navy Perry-class frigate *Stark,* one of the Middle East Force ships. This attack, held to be accidental, killed 37 U.S. sailors, drew increased public and congressional scrutiny to the upcoming escort operation, and led to increased coordination with Iraq in hopes of avoiding another such incident. The United States now sent more ships to the Persian Gulf and upgraded the capability of the Middle East Force in preparation for the late July start of EARNEST WILL.

The first official escort mission began on July 24, 1987, amid Iranian threats to disrupt the operation. The first Kuwaiti tankers to be reflagged and escorted were the *Bridgeton* and the *Gas Prince.* Three U.S. warships accompanied the two tankers from the Gulf of Oman to a position near Farsi Island in the northern Persian Gulf. At that point, the *Bridgeton* struck a submerged sea mine on July 27, 1987. The explosion caused little damage to the massive tanker, which continued on to Kuwait after a short delay. The United States quickly determined that the Iranians had laid the mines in the path of the convoy. Iran denied any involvement but continued to make veiled threats. Despite criticism from Congress and even from segments of the U.S. military, the Reagan administration ordered EARNEST WILL to continue. The escorts were temporarily suspended while minesweeping operations began. The escorts resumed in early August, with improvised minesweepers leading the way.

The mine threat prompted the United States to bring in Special Forces units and to increase intelligence-gathering efforts to prevent further mining. On the night of September 21, 1987, U.S. helicopters spotted an Iranian ship *Iran Ajr* laying mines and took the ship under fire. Navy SEALs boarded the *Iran Ajr* the next morning and took the surviving crew members as prisoners. The Reagan administration presented the mines seized from *Iran Ajr* as proof of the Iranian mining campaign.

In early October 1987 U.S. Special Forces outfitted the first of two oil barges converted into heavily armed mobile sea bases in the northern Persian Gulf. Small boats and helicopters based on the barges patrolled the area, watching for Iranian minelayers and other activity that might threaten the convoys. These efforts

virtually stopped the mining campaign in that area of the Persian Gulf. Iran periodically fired Silkworm missiles, and on October 16, 1987, one of the missiles struck a U.S.-flagged Kuwaiti tanker. The explosion blinded the captain, a U.S. citizen, and wounded several other members of the crew.

The United States retaliated with a naval bombardment of an offshore Iranian oil platform on October 19, 1987. According to intelligence reports, Iran used this platform along with others as command and control bases for tanker attacks. This bombardment was code-named Operation NIMBLE ARCHER and was commanded by Rear Admiral Dennis Brooks, who was stationed with a carrier task force in the Arabian Sea.

Following NIMBLE ARCHER, there were no confrontations between the United States and Iran for almost six months. The escorts continued with only minor problems throughout the winter of 1987–1988. In February 1988 the United States combined the forces in the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea into a joint command led by Vice Admiral Anthony Less.

On April 14, 1988, the U.S. Navy Oliver Hazard Perry–class guided missile frigate *Samuel B. Roberts* hit a mine while transiting through the central Persian Gulf alone. The mine severely damaged the ship and wounded 10 sailors. Only excellent damage control kept the ship afloat while it steered clear of the area. Further investigation found an extensive minefield with the same type of mines found on *Iran Ajr* and in other Iranian-laid minefields.

The United States planned a significant retaliatory measure, which took place on April 18, 1988. This day-long running battle was code-named Operation PRAYING MANTIS and involved nine American surface ships and a carrier air wing from the *Enterprise.* One of the mission goals was to sink an Iranian warship. The operation began with bombardments of two Iranian oil platforms. Iran sent various ships, boats, and planes to confront the U.S. ships throughout the day. Most of the Iranian force, including two frigates, were sunk or disabled by the Americans. The United States lost one helicopter with a two-man crew to an accident early in the evening. PRAYING MANTIS was the largest U.S. military combat operation to date in the Persian Gulf and the largest sea-air battle since World War II. Shortly after, the United States extended protection to all non-Iranian shipping in the Persian Gulf.

By the summer of 1988, Iraq clearly had the upper hand in the undeclared war with Iran. On July 3, 1988, the U.S. Navy Ticonderoga-class Aegis guided missile cruiser *Vincennes* accidentally shot down an Iranian passenger jetliner in the Strait of Hormuz. This incident was seen in Iran as further evidence that the United States was taking sides with Iraq, and it was one of the reasons the Iranian government decided to seek an end to the Tanker War and the Iran-Iraq War.

The Iran-Iraq War finally ended in August 1988, but the EARNEST WILL escorts continued until December 1989. Operation EARNEST WILL was mostly successful and laid the groundwork logistically and diplomatically for subsequent U.S. Persian Gulf operations.

HAROLD WISE

See also

Iran; Iran Air Flight 655; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Oil; Persian Gulf; PRAYING MANTIS, Operation; *Stark* Incident

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EASTERN EXIT, Operation

Start Date: January 2, 1991
End Date: January 11, 1991

Military evacuation of U.S. embassy personnel and foreign nationals from Somalia in January 1991. By late 1990, the ongoing civil war in Somalia was threatening to undo all aspects of that nation's social and political infrastructure, especially as President Mohamed Siad Barre's forces were on the verge of collapse. As the situation in Mogadishu deteriorated, on January 1, 1991, the U.S. embassy in the besieged city requested that Washington provide an immediate evacuation mission to remove embassy workers and foreign nationals from Somalia. By then, chaos reigned in the capital city as competing groups vied for control of Mogadishu, and numerous Americans and other foreign nationals not working in the embassy had sought refuge there. In all, 281 individuals would have to be evacuated from the embassy compound.

The George H. W. Bush administration reacted quickly, and by January 2 Operation EASTERN EXIT was under way. The evacuation would involve USS *Guam* (LPH-9), an Iwo Jima–class amphibious ship, and USS *Trenton* (LPD-14), an Austin-class amphibious transport dock. Also involved in the operation were the 4th Marine Expeditionary Brigade, a nine-man Navy SEAL team, an air force Lockheed AC-130 gunship, and other support elements. Special operations helicopters in the region were placed on alert, as were other air force aircraft. Operation EASTERN EXIT was running concomitantly with Operation DESERT SHIELD, which in just a few weeks would morph into Operation DESERT STORM, the coalition invasion of Iraq.

Plans for the evacuation included an airlift of the Americans from the airport at Mogadishu; however, as the situation on the ground continued to worsen, it became clear that the Americans would probably not be able to make the trip from the embassy to the airport. Also, fighting in and around the airport would have imperiled any attempt at an airlift. A Marine Air-Ground Task Force (MAGTF) was hastily assembled from elements on the *Guam* and *Trenton,* which included a reinforced helicopter squadron comprised of two squadrons of Boeing CH-46 Sea Knight medium-lift transport helicopters and several Sikorsky CH53-E Super Stallion heavy transport helicopters. The only hope of evacuating the embassy was by flying directly to it via helicopter and extracting the Americans there.

In the early morning hours of January 5, several CH-53E helicopters lifted off from the *Guam,* bound for the Mogadishu embassy with a 60-person security force. The long flight required two midair refueling operations, as the *Guam* and *Trenton* were still some 400 miles distant from the Somali coast even though steaming there at full speed. Arriving at the embassy shortly after 7:00 a.m., the security force landed and began immediately to secure the embassy compound and its perimeter. The first CH53-E lifted off about an hour later with 61 evacuees on board, bound for the *Guam.*

On January 6 just after midnight, the *Guam* and *Trenton* had arrived off the coast of Somalia, making the remainder of the airlift far easier. CH-46 helicopters were launched, 20 in all, in four waves. The first three waves evacuated the remaining civilians, while the last evacuated the security force. Before 4:00 a.m. on January 6, the airlift had been completed. As the last helicopter left the scene, looters had already begun to penetrate the embassy compound.

On January 11 all the evacuees arrived at Muscat, Oman, and the operation was declared complete. Among the 281 rescued were individuals from some 30 nations. In the voyage from Somalia to Oman 1 evacuee gave birth, bringing the final count of persons evacuated to 282. The unqualified success of Operation EASTERN EXIT was all the more remarkable because it occurred in the looming shadow of the Persian Gulf War. At the time, however, it received scant attention because of the imminent war against Iraq.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Somalia, International Intervention in

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Eberly, David William

Birth Date: May 26, 1947

U.S. Air Force officer and the senior-ranking allied prisoner of war during Operation DESERT STORM in 1991. William David Eberly was born on May 26, 1947. He earned a BS degree in business administration from Indiana University in 1969 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the air force through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC). After earning his pilot's wings at Columbus Air Force Base in Mississippi, he served in 18 locations around the world, including three assignments at the Pentagon, and logged more than 3,400 hours in fighter aircraft. He earned a master of arts degree from Central Michigan University in 1977.

Following flight school, Eberly was assigned as an instructor and staff officer in Air Training Command. He was then selected for a special one-year intern assignment in the Air Staff Training program (ASTRA) at the Pentagon. In 1977 he completed training in the McDonnell Douglas F-4 Phantom II at MacDill Air Force Base in Florida and was assigned to the 90th Tactical Fighter Squadron at Clark Air Base in the Philippines. In the spring of 1980 he graduated from the Armed Forces Staff College and then returned to fighter operations at Ramstein Air Base in West Germany, where he served as chief of standardization for the 86th Tactical Fighter Wing and as the operations officer of the 512th Tactical Fighter Squadron. In 1984 Eberly returned to the Pentagon, assigned to the Office of the Air Force Vice Chief of Staff.

After attending the Air War College in 1989, Eberly was selected to be deputy commander for operations of the 4th Tactical Fighter Wing at Seymour Johnson Air Force Base in Goldsboro, North Carolina. Within days of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, Colonel Eberly deployed to the Persian Gulf as the deputy commander of operations for the 4th Wing (Provisional) in Oman and Saudi Arabia.

On January 17, 1991, the air campaign of Operation DESERT STORM commenced, and Eberly took part in the initial night strikes into Iraq. On his second mission, January 19, his formation was targeted by seven Iraqi surface-to-air missiles, and his McDonnell Douglas F-15 Eagle was shot down over enemy territory. After ejecting, he and his weapons systems officer, Major Tom Griffin, evaded hostile forces for two days and three nights before being captured on the Syria-Iraq border. For the next 43 days, Eberly and 44 other allied prisoners were subjected to torture, starvation, and other forms of mistreatment in violation of the Geneva Conventions. After the cease-fire, Eberly and the final group of prisoners were released on March 5, 1991.

Eberly became the first commander of the newly activated 4th Operations Group at Seymour Johnson Air Force Base in April 1991 before returning to the Pentagon as a Joint National Security Council planner in 1992. Eberly's final assignment was as defense and air attaché at the U.S. embassy in Ottawa, Canada, from 1994 to 1997.

After retiring from the air force as a colonel in November 1997, Eberly wrote *Faith beyond Belief: A Journey to Freedom* (2002), detailing his experience as a downed airman and prisoner of war in Baghdad. He has appeared in a variety of Persian Gulf War specials on the History and Learning channels and has spoken to audiences across the country. Eberly also formed Main Street Vision, a company dedicated to continuing the fight against terrorism.

RANDY J. TAYLOR

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; Prisoners of War, Persian Gulf War

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Economic Effects of the Persian Gulf War on Iraq

For Iraq, the economic effects of the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf War were devastating. In 1988 Iraq emerged from an inconclusive eight-year war with its archenemy Iran deeply in debt, with much of its economy in ruins and having suffered hundreds of thousands of casualties. Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, had much to do with simple economics.

Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's subsequent refusal to withdraw unconditionally from its small wealthy neighbor led the United Nations (UN) four days later to impose broad economic sanctions on Iraq, which essentially amounted to an embargo on all Iraqi commercial and financial transactions. When economic sanctions failed to end Iraq's occupation of Kuwait, in January 1991 an international military coalition led by the United States attacked Iraq in a punishing one-month air campaign that destroyed much of Iraq's remaining infrastructure. That was followed by a 100-hour-long ground assault that evicted Iraqi military forces from Kuwait.

As a condition of ending the war and lifting the economic sanctions, Iraq agreed to account for and relinquish all of its stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) under the supervision of weapons inspectors operating under the UN. Because of repeated confrontations between Iraq and the United States along with Hussein's refusal to cooperate with UN weapons inspectors, economic sanctions remained in effect on Iraq for 13 years, until the overthrow of Hussein in April 2003.

On August 6, 1990, UN Security Council Resolution 661 prohibited both the importation and sale of any Iraqi products and goods "except payments exclusively for strictly medical or humanitarian

An Iraqi woman receives a ration of sugar. Food was in short supply after the United Nations (UN) imposed an embargo following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. (AP/Wide World Photos)

purposes and, in humanitarian circumstances, foodstuffs." The sanctions were viewed as among the toughest ever imposed on a country and reflected the world's outrage over Iraq's unprovoked invasion and subsequent brutal occupation of Kuwait. The sanctions, however, failed to have any impact on Iraqi government policy and only further contributed to the misery and poverty of the Iraqi people. Iraq's economy was almost exclusively based on oil exports, and because the sanctions outlawed the international sale of Iraqi oil, this deprived Iraq of its principal source of hard currency.

In response to the sanctions the Iraqi government resorted to rationing food, but the rationing was insufficient to meet recommended daily nutritional and health needs. Along with dwindling food supplies, medical care and other social services began to collapse in Iraq, and malnutrition, disease, and death, particularly among infants and young children, rose to alarming levels. As a consequence, there was growing opposition in the world community to the sanctions.

Any hope that the sanctions would be lifted following the liberation of Kuwait and the defeat of Iraq in February 1991 were dashed by Hussein's defiance of the UN. This led to an extension of the sanctions imposed on August 6, 1990, and linkage to the dismantlement of Iraq's stockpiles of WMDs per Resolution 687.

With the massive destruction inflicted on Iraq by allied forces during the Persian Gulf War—including the destruction of much of the country's power-generating system and other types of infrastructure such as water treatment and sewage plants—the misery and suffering of the Iraqi people increased. It is estimated that Iraq suffered $230 billion in losses to its infrastructure alone during Operation DESERT STORM. Interestingly, between 1993 and 1995, owing to rising oil prices and the partial rejuvenation of the Iraqi petroleum industry, Iraq's gross domestic product (GDP) actually rose before falling again in the second half of the decade. This was also a result of Iraq's illegal and clandestine exports of oil. Because of rising international opposition to the seemingly endless confrontation and stalemate between Iraq and the United States and the UN along with international sympathy for the growing suffering of the Iraqi people, in 1997 Iraq was allowed to sell oil in exchange for food and medicine. This program was administered through the UN.

The effect of the Oil-for-Food Programme is difficult to gauge, but it did stabilize the rapidly deteriorating state of Iraqi living conditions. The program was criticized for its slow pace and the fact that so-called dual use technology—items that had both civilian and military uses, such as chemicals to treat sewage—was banned. In addition, although in theory Iraq could sell as much oil as it could produce, Iraq's oil infrastructure was in dire need of repair and modernization because of the war with Iran followed by the Persian Gulf War and then the sanctions. Thus, Iraq could refine and export only a fraction of its vast oil reserves. Moreover, it was later revealed that the Oil-for-Food Programme was rife with abuse, corruption, and fraud. It should be noted, however, that the Oil-for-Food Programme was never intended to be a cure for the ill effects of the sanctions on Iraq but instead was intended to entice Hussein to finally cooperate fully with UN weapons inspectors.

Hussein, however, objected to the fact that sanctions were still in place years after the end of the Persian Gulf War and concluded—not without justification—that the United States and Great Britain would never lift the sanctions. Indeed, he professed to believe that the sanctions were designed to contribute to the overthrow of his regime. Besides that, the plight of the suffering Iraqis overshadowed external scrutiny of his repressive regime and review of his brutal human rights record, thereby providing him with a public relations weapon in his ongoing battle with the United States and Great Britain.

It is impossible to determine the overall effect of the sanctions on Iraq, but it is estimated that anywhere from tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands—perhaps even 1 million—Iraqis, disproportionately children, died under the sanctions regime during 1990–2003. Iraq was one of the few Arab states in the 1970s with an extensive middle class, a highly literate and college-educated population that included women, and a booming economy. Almost all of this was undone in the years leading up to 2003. It is important to note, however, that eight years of war with Iran, which preceded the Persian Gulf War, had already seriously damaged Iraq's economy. The sanctions most certainly made things even worse. By 2003, oil exports represented $7.4 billion of Iraq's total $7.6 billion in exports, meaning that Iraq was exporting virtually nothing beyond petroleum. These figures remained the same for much of the sanctions period, at least after the imposition of the Oil-for-Food Programme. This represented a loss of eight years of Iraq's total GDP simply from lost oil revenue. Some economists claim that Hussein's regime (1979–2003) effectively meant the loss of two decades' worth of GDP.

STEFAN M. BROOKS

See also

Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Iraq, Sanctions on

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Economic Impact of the September 11, 2001, Attacks

The financial impact of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States was particularly devastating to New York City and to the commercial airline industry. It was this economic damage as much as the physical damage that had appealed to Osama bin Laden when he helped plan the assaults. Indeed, he hoped to attack the United States at its source of strength and cause it considerable

economic distress. Because New York City is the hub of the nation's financial industry, it was very high on Al Qaeda's list of targets.

Bin Laden was successful in achieving his goals. Property losses, particularly in New York City, were high. Southern Manhattan, where the World Trade Center was located, was the center of New York City's government and international finance, and both were paralyzed for weeks. Nearby office buildings remained empty, and the subways stopped running. Also, tens of thousands of New Yorkers who lived below Canal Street were prevented from going there. All of the city's schools and bridges were also closed.

The economic impact was greatest and most long lasting in the airline industry, because the attacks were carried out using commercial airliners. The airlines were hit by massive insurance and litigation claims from the thousands of families of those killed or wounded in the attacks, and greatly enhanced postattack airport security also cost the airlines millions of dollars to implement and administer.

It took the American airline industry nearly five years to recover completely from 9/11. Both American and United airlines lost two aircraft each to the hijackers, but insurance covered most of those losses. What hurt the airlines the most was the loss of customers, many of whom were afraid to fly. Airports had been shut down around the country for several days, meaning millions of dollars in lost revenue. Even 10 days after the September 11 attack, New York City's three main airports were only operating 80 percent of their flights but with only 35 percent of passenger seats filled. Lost revenue from the three New York airports alone was around $250 million a day.

Compounding the problem was the rocketing cost of oil and the higher aviation premiums from insurers. In the period from September 11, 2001, to September 2004, the airline industry lost $23 billion. In October 2001 airline passenger traffic had dropped 23.2 percent in comparison to October 2000. An infusion of $1.5 billion of federal aid helped the airline industry, but a series of bankruptcies and mergers occurred in the next few years. Only gradually were the airlines able to move back toward financial health.

New York City experienced massive job losses and saw many buildings damaged or destroyed. Job losses have been estimated at 143,000 a month, with lost wages of $2.8 billion. Nearly 70 percent of the jobs lost and 86 percent of the wages lost were to persons with well-paying positions in finance, insurance, and banking, the industries that were hit the hardest. Building and property-damage losses have been assessed at $34 billion, with only about half that insured at value. It has been estimated that the city lost $60 billion in revenue, with $82 million coming from lost parking ticket revenue alone.

Perhaps the least long-lasting economic impact was in the stock market. On September 11, 2001, the hijacked aircraft crashed into the World Trade Center complex before the opening of the stock market. Damage to communications, evacuation orders, and rescue efforts led to the closing of the market for the next four days. When the stock market reopened on Monday, September 17, there was an immediate sell-off. On September 10 the Standard & Poor's 500 Index had closed at 1,092.54; when trading closed on September 17, the index stood at 891.10. By September 24, however, the stock market was climbing again, and by October 11 the index closed at 1,097.43, having erased all of the earlier losses.

The American economy as a whole rebounded from the September 11 attacks within months. One reason that the attacks did not have a more lasting impact was that they had been concentrated by geography and industry. Whereas New York City, and to a much lesser extent Washington, D.C., suffered economic dislocation from unemployment and property damage, the rest of the country was left relatively untouched. The economy dipped into a mild recession; however, the situation significantly worsened by the end of 2008.

The most difficult area to assess is the economic cost of confronting Al Qaeda in military actions in Afghanistan and Iraq and in new procedures and agencies created worldwide to confront terrorism. Al Qaeda strategists have often pointed out the enormous sums of money now being expended by the United States and other Western countries on this effort as opposed to the relatively modest amounts for Al Qaeda in waging jihad.

Stephen A. Atkins

See also
September 11 Attacks

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Egypt

North African nation encompassing 386,660 square miles. Egypt has an estimated 2008 population of 81.713 million people. The country is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea to the north, Libya to the west, Sudan to the south, and the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aqaba, and Israel to the east and northeast.

Egypt boasts one of the world's oldest civilizations. In 1798 Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt hoping to use it as a springboard to India. He defeated its Mamluk rulers but was then cut off there by British sea power. Upon the French departure, Ottoman military leader Muhammad Ali Pasha gained control over the country and secured the right to serve as its viceroy in return for suppressing rebellions in other Ottoman territories, the Arabian Peninsula, and Syria. Muhammad Ali's descendants ruled Egypt.

In 1869 a French company headed by Ferdinand de Lesseps, which had secured the concession from Egypt's ruler, opened the Suez Canal. It soon became of immense importance to Britain as

A view of the Cairo skyline, including Al-Azhar University and mosque. (iStockPhoto)

the imperial lifeline to India. In 1882 antiforeign riots gave the British government the excuse to send forces to the country and take control of Egypt. Although rising Egyptian nationalism led the British to cede nominal independence to Egypt in 1922, in effect the British government retained considerable control over the Egyptian government as well as maintained substantial military bases there. During World War II, Egypt remained an important Allied base. Its importance may be seen in that during the Battle of Britain, Prime Minister Winston Churchill diverted desperately needed military assets there. Axis and British forces clashed following an Italian invasion of Egypt in 1940, and the ensuing battles there were some of the most critical of the entire war. The expanded presence of Western troops in Egypt, however, fueled the fires of Egyptian nationalism and especially angered the Muslim Brotherhood, an antisecularist party that sought to dominate the country.

In 1952 a group of Egyptian Army officers overthrew King Farouk and seized power. Initially, the Free Officers chose as their leader Muhammad Najib, who was outmaneuvered by Gamal Abdel Nasser, who became president of Egypt. Nasser preached a populist and anti-imperialist philosophy that called for Arab unity and became known as Nasserism. Starting in 1961, he also promoted certain policies of Arab socialism.

Soon after becoming president, Nasser suppressed Egyptian Marxists, the labor movement, and the Muslim Brotherhood. In 1955 he signed an agreement with Czechoslovakia to purchase Soviet arms. This, his 1955 refusal to sign the pro-Western Baghdad Pact, and his association with the Non-Aligned Movement ran counter to British aims and also concerned policy makers, who did not differentiate local nationalisms from communism, which they hoped to contain in the region.

The United States rescinded its pledge to help fund Nasser's ambitious plan to build a high dam on the upper Nile at Aswan. Nasser then nationalized the Suez Canal to pay for construction of the canal. This step greatly angered British leaders. The French government was already upset over Nasser's perceived assistance to insurgent forces in Algeria who were fighting for independence there, and the Israelis were already angered over Nasser's decision to blockade the Gulf of Aqaba (Israel's access to the Indian Ocean) and Egyptian sponsorship of Palestinian fedayeen raids into the Jewish state. The British, French, and Israeli leaders then joined together to precipitate the 1956 Suez Crisis. Israeli forces then invaded the Sinai. When Egypt refused to allow the British to intervene to "protect" the Suez Canal, Britain and France attacked Egypt and landed troops.

The Soviet Union openly supported Egypt, and the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower also brought considerable pressure to bear, demanding that the British, French, and Israelis withdraw, which they did. Although Israel benefited from the crisis, Britain and France did not. And far from overthrowing

Nasser, the three nations had made him a hero in the Arab world. Nasser now expelled many foreigners and minorities and seized their property.

Nasser's government turned increasingly to the Soviet bloc, receiving both technical advisers and weaponry. Some 17,000 Soviet advisers eventually arrived in Egypt, and Egyptians were sent to the Soviet Union to receive advanced military training.

In 1958 Syrian officers and politicians prevailed on Nasser to join their country in the United Arab Republic, a three-year experiment in Arab unity. It was completely dominated by Egypt, and Syria withdrew from the union in 1961. That same year, the Egyptian government pursued more aggressive Arab socialist policies in the form of land reform, government seizure of private holdings, and further nationalizations. After 1962 the Arab Socialist Union, a single political party, dominated Egypt's bureaucratic and governmental structures. The party became even more important, for a time, after 1965.

The Egyptian military expanded throughout the Cold War and was equipped primarily by the Soviets. Egypt's chief military challenge was Israel's better funded and far better trained armed forces. During the Cold War a struggle developed between more progressive Arab states such as Egypt and Western-aligned monarchies such as Saudi Arabia; some scholars termed this the Arab Cold War. The Arab Cold War led Nasser to pursue secondary aims by supporting Yemeni republicans against the Saudi proxies of the royalists in Yemen in 1962. Egyptian forces were not highly successful in their intervention in Yemen, however, and were still bogged down there when the 1967 war with Israel began.

Convinced that Egypt was preparing to attack it because of second-country intelligence along with Egypt's closing of the Strait of Tiran, Israel mounted a preemptive strike that destroyed much of the Egyptian Air Force on the ground on June 5, 1967. Israel went on to defeat the Arab forces of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan and several Iraqi brigades in a six-day conflict. Egypt lost the Sinai, Jordan lost the entire West Bank of the Jordan River, and Syria lost the Golan Heights. The Israelis also secured Gaza from Egypt.

The debacle prompted Nasser to make the gesture of resigning, but wide-scale popular demonstrations by the Egyptian people blocked this. Recovering politically from the Six-Day War, Nasser then mounted a war of attrition against Israel that continued until 1970. Meanwhile, he continued to pursue his Arabist ideals and support the Palestinian cause. Palestinian and Syrian pressures in Jordan led to an inter-Arab crisis known as Black September (1970) in which militant Palestinians were expelled from that country. Nasser was personally involved in negotiating the aftermath of this crisis just prior to his death in 1970.

Nasser was succeeded by President Anwar Sadat, another member of the officer group that had come to power in 1952. Under Sadat, Egypt moved toward the West. Sadat expelled communist bloc advisers and purged Nasserists from the governmental elite. Egypt received more Arab aid and gradually opened its economy to foreign investment and joint partnerships.

Disillusioned with the lack of progress in the peace process, in 1973 Sadat joined forces with Syria to launch a surprise attack on Israel. The October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War began successfully for the attackers. Egyptian troops crossed the Suez Canal, and Syrian forces moved into the Golan Heights. Israel eventually beat back both the Syrian and Egyptian attacks. The Israelis crossed the canal themselves and cut off Egyptian forces on the east bank. Heavy pressure from the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Nations (UN) brought a cease-fire agreement.

Sadat had already effected economic and political changes and was modernizing the military. Egyptians regarded the 1973 war as an affirmation of the nation's strength, but Sadat knew that his nation country could not afford another costly war. He took the dramatic step of traveling to Jerusalem in 1977 to lay the groundwork for a peace agreement with Israel that was ultimately achieved in the 1979 Camp David Accords. This agreement returned the Sinai peninsula to Egyptian control. Egypt's participation in the bilateral agreement with Israel was very unpopular with other Arab nations, however, and they promptly cut off aid and tourism to the country for a time and expelled Egypt from the Arab League. Because of other political issues, including Sadat's failure to open the political system, the peace agreement soon became unpopular with many Egyptians.

New Islamic fundamentalist groups began to emerge in Egypt in the 1970s. Sadat had pardoned and released from jail members of the Muslim Brotherhood and allowed Islamist student groups to organize. One of these groups attempted to kill Sadat during a visit to the Military Technical Academy. The radical Islamic Jihad succeeded in assassinating Sadat in the course of a military review in October 1981.

Under Sadat's successor, Hosni Mubarak, the country continued its economic opening to the West via privatization and joint ventures, all the while maintaining a large military establishment. The most important challenge to the state internally in the decades of the 1980s and 1990s came from Islamist groups that mounted attacks against local officials and tourists. These groups as well as many professionals opposed normalized relations with Israel.

During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Mubarak joined the international coalition to oppose Iraqi control of Kuwait, and Egyptian troops participated in the liberation of Kuwait in February 1991. As a result of its support, Egypt also received loan waivers from the United States, Western Europe, and several Persian Gulf states in excess of $20 billion. In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, the Egyptian government voiced its support for the Global War on Terror but declined to deploy any troops to Operations ENDURING FREEDOM or IRAQI FREEDOM. Indeed, Egypt voiced its displeasure with the U.S.-led coalition invasion of Iraq; however, following the overthrow of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, Egypt publicly supported the Iraqi Governing Council. Since 2003, U.S.-Egyptian relations have been periodically strained because of disagreements over the war in Iraq and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, U.S. calls for increased democratization in Egypt, and suggestions that U.S. aid

might be cut off. In December 2006 Egypt's foreign minister called for an end to what he termed "nuclear double standards," which saw economic sanctions imposed against Iran because of its alleged program to acquire nuclear weapons but allowed Israel to develop and deploy nuclear weapons with complete impunity.

Egypt, on U.S. insistence, helped to isolate the radical Palestinian organization Hamas in the Gaza Strip, which after 2007 was under an economic blockade mounted by Israel and Western nations. Egypt closed its borders with Gaza, yet widespread smuggling occurred into Gaza from Egypt through an extensive system of tunnels. Although Egypt took a tougher line with Hamas than that organization expected, Egypt also played a key role in negotiations with Hamas and has hosted various meetings aimed at securing a new truce between it and Israel and an end to the economic boycott.

Israeli's all-out attack on the Gaza Strip during December 2008–January 2009 imposed serious strains on Egyptian-Israeli relations. In the spring of 2008 a series of attacks and attempted attacks on tourists occurred, and there was mounting discontent in the Egyptian military, both of which were attributed to the Gaza debacle.

Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arab League; Arab Nationalism; Camp David Accords; Egypt, Armed Forces; Mubarak, Hosni; Muslim Brotherhood; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Sadat, Muhammad Anwar; Suez Crisis

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Egypt, Armed Forces

The Egyptian armed forces that emerged following World War II were organized and equipped largely on the British model. At the beginning of the Israeli War of Independence in May 1948, the Egyptian Army was the largest of the Arab invading armies. The Egyptians fielded 40,000 men supported by more than 50 combat aircraft. Initially the Egyptian expeditionary force included 10,000 troops in five infantry battalions and one armored battalion along with some field artillery. By the end of the war the expeditionary force had grown to 20,000 men, more than 100 armored vehicles, and 90 artillery pieces.

Despite the size of the Egyptian force, the heaviest fighting in the first months of the war occurred on Israel's northern and central fronts rather than in the south. The Egyptian military faced logistical difficulties in trying to move through the Sinai peninsula and the Negev desert. Although the Egyptians did capture several kibbutzim, they also sustained heavy losses in manpower and equipment and were eventually halted near Ashdod.

Following intervention by the United Nations (UN) on May 29, a truce went into effect on June 11, 1948. Folke Bernadotte, the UN mediator, proposed a partition of the region that would have placed the Negev desert under Arab control. Egypt and Israel promptly rejected the plan, and Egyptian units resumed their advance on July 8, ending the cease-fire. During the first truce Israel had obtained much-needed aircraft and weaponry, primarily from Czechoslovakia. The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) now concentrated most of its efforts in the Tel Aviv–Jerusalem corridor, but the Egyptian military failed to maintain the initiative in the south and only achieved a bloody stalemate by the time a second UN truce went into effect on July 18. After three months of negotiations the second cease-fire broke down, and the IDF initiated a series of operations to push the Arabs back.

On December 22, 1948, the IDF launched Operation Horev, a massive push in the south to drive the Egyptian expeditionary force from Palestine. The operation succeeded in pushing the Egyptian Army out of the Negev and encircling it in the Gaza Strip. IDF troops also raided Egyptian territory in the Sinai, eventually obliging Egypt to accept a truce on January 7, 1949.

The two nations signed an armistice on February 24, 1949, the first between Israel and one of the Arab belligerents. According to the terms of the truce, the Gaza Strip remained under Egyptian occupation.

Conscription Policies of Selected Middle Eastern and North African Countries

Country	*Military Obligation*
Algeria	Males: 18 months
Bahrain	None
Egypt	Males: 18–30 months
Iran	Males: 18 months
Iraq	None
Israel	Males: 36 months Females: 24 months
Jordan	None
Lebanon	Males: 12 months
Morocco	Males: 18 months
Oman	None
Saudi Arabia	None
Syria	Males: 18–30 months
Tunisia	Males: 12 months
United Arab Emirates	None

During the early 1950s Egyptian and Israeli military units periodically raided and skirmished across the border, although no formal state of war existed. The Egyptian-Israeli armistice remained officially in place until 1956, when Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal. This action led to secret cooperation among Israeli, British, and French leaders in a plan to topple Nasser from power. Israel was to launch a drive into the Sinai, whereupon the British and French would intervene to save the canal. The plan called for British and French forces to assume control of a buffer zone extending 10 miles from the Suez Canal. The intended consequences also included the fall of Nasser's government.

On October 29, 1956, Israeli troops attacked the Gaza Strip and the Sinai peninsula, advancing quickly toward the Suez Canal. Britain and France offered to separate the warring armies, but Nasser refused. Two days later, British and French warplanes began bombing Egypt. Nasser thwarted the capture and reopening of the canal by ordering the sinking of 40 ships in the main channel. This forced the closure of the canal until 1957. The Soviet Union threatened to intervene on the side of Egypt, and the United States placed great diplomatic and economic pressure on Britain to withdraw its forces. The UN sent a peacekeeping force to the region, and by early 1957 all Israeli, British, and French forces had withdrawn from Egyptian soil. Nasser emerged from the Suez Crisis as a hero in the Arab world, which applauded him for having stood up to Israel and the Western powers.

The United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) remained in the Sinai, separating Israel and Egypt, until 1967, although the force gradually shrank in size over time. In 1967 Nasser began remilitarizing the Sinai. He also demanded and secured the complete withdrawal of UNEF troops on May 18, 1967. He then announced that Egypt would close the Strait of Tiran to all Israeli shipping on May 23. On May 30 Egypt and Jordan signed a five-year mutual defense pact, joining an already-existing Egyptian-Syrian alliance. Jordan agreed to place its troops under Egyptian command, and the Jordanians were soon reinforced by Iraqi troops, also under temporary Egyptian control.

Once again, Egypt fielded the largest military force among the Arab belligerents arrayed against Israel. But almost half of Egypt's mobilized manpower of 200,000 was fighting in a civil war in Yemen and was thus unavailable for commitment against Israel. Egypt's air force consisted of more than 400 warplanes, most purchased from the Soviet Union. The force included a sizable number of medium-range bombers that could reach Israeli targets in a matter of minutes.

On June 5, 1967, in a masterful preemptive strike, the Israeli Air Force (IAF) attacked Egyptian airfields, committing virtually every Israeli warplane to the massive raid. More than 300 Egyptian aircraft were destroyed on the ground, almost completely wiping out the Egyptian Air Force. The Israelis lost only 19 aircraft. The air attack, followed by raids on Jordanian, Syrian, and Iraqi airfields, ensured Israeli air supremacy for the duration of the Six-Day War, which raged from June 5 to June 10, 1967.

The Egyptian army in the Sinai consisted of seven divisions, including four armored divisions, nearly 1,000 tanks, more than 1,000 armored personnel carriers, and 600 artillery pieces. They were opposed by three Israeli armored divisions with approximately 700 tanks. The Israelis, using combined-arms tactics and close air support, quickly moved to encircle Abu Aqila and bypass Egyptian positions. When Abu Aqila fell, Egyptian forces attempted to retreat from the Sinai but were cut off by Israeli armor units in the mountain passes of the western Sinai. IAF warplanes continually attacked Egyptian ground troops, and although some units escaped, the Egyptian army was routed in only four days at a cost of hundreds of Egyptian combat vehicles. Following the cease-fire, the Sinai remained under Israeli occupation.

From 1968 to 1970 Egypt and Israel fought a limited war. Known as the War of Attrition, it consisted of a series of raids across the Suez Canal, Egyptian bombardments of Israeli positions in the Sinai, and Israeli commando raids against Egyptian targets. Hostilities began with an Egyptian artillery barrage against the Israeli-held east bank of the Suez Canal in June 1968. During the period of protracted struggle Nasser sought assistance from the Soviet Union, which supplied surface-to-air missiles (SAMs), warplanes, and Soviet advisers and trainers. On August 7, 1970, a cease-fire went into effect that prohibited further military buildup in the Canal Zone. Egypt immediately violated the agreement by installing new SAM sites along the canal itself.

During a cease-fire between Israeli and Egyptian forces in September 1970, an Egyptian soldier stands guard along the banks of the Suez Canal. (AP/Wide World Photos)

In 1973 Egyptian leader Anwar Sadat's effort to secure the Sinai brought the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, fought during October 6–26, 1973. Egypt sought to regain control of the Sinai peninsula and end the Israeli threat to the Suez Canal. At the same time Syria hoped to regain the Golan Heights, seized by Israel in 1967. Egypt and Syria caught the Israelis by surprise, attacking without warning on October 6, 1973. The Egyptian assault force against the Bar-Lev Line, the Israeli system of fortifications along the east bank of the Suez Canal, included large numbers of infantry antitank guided missiles intended to neutralize Israel's armored vehicles.

The Egyptians had also established the most powerful air defenses in the region, which temporarily neutralized Israel's air superiority. Most of the air defense network consisted of fixed installations along the canal. The Egyptian Army initially did not intend to advance beyond its air defense umbrella. Instead, Egyptian forces breached the Israeli defenses along the Suez Canal and then dug in to repel the inevitable counterattack. When the attack came, Israeli commanders were stunned by the Egyptian antiair and antitank defenses. Egyptian SAMs exacted a heavy toll on Israeli aircraft.

On October 14 the Egyptians, in response to pleas from the Syrians, launched a massive offensive eastward into the Sinai. Although they advanced more than 10 miles, these forces suffered heavy losses when they moved beyond the range of their SAM batteries along the canal. They were soon battered by Israeli warplanes and antitank missiles. The next day an Israeli counterattack crossed the Suez Canal, destroying Egyptian air defense emplacements and opening the skies to Israeli warplanes. As Israeli armored units poured across the canal, they cut off Egyptian forces in the Sinai and inflicted yet another humiliating defeat upon the Egyptians. On October 22 a UN-mandated cease-fire went into effect, preventing further bloodshed but also trapping the Egyptian Third Army, now cut off without access to supplies. The Egyptians did not regard the Yom Kippur War as a defeat by any means but instead saw in it a psychological victory in that they had crossed the Suez. Indeed, as a direct result of the conflict, the Sinai was returned to Egypt.

The tremendous costs of war to Egypt, both in economic and human terms, convinced Sadat to do what no other Arab leader had done, both in traveling to Israel to meet with Israelis and in pursuing a peace agreement that culminated at Camp David in 1978. Ordinary Egyptians, while not favoring war and seeing it as a cynical outcome of debt and politics, had no political input into Sadat's decision. The Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty, signed in 1979, included provisions for an Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai and Egypt's recognition of Israel's right to exist. Egypt was subsequently expelled from the Arab League, and Sadat was assassinated in 1981 by army officers of the Islamic Jihad movement who opposed his policies, including his negotiations with Israel, and hoped to overthrow the government.

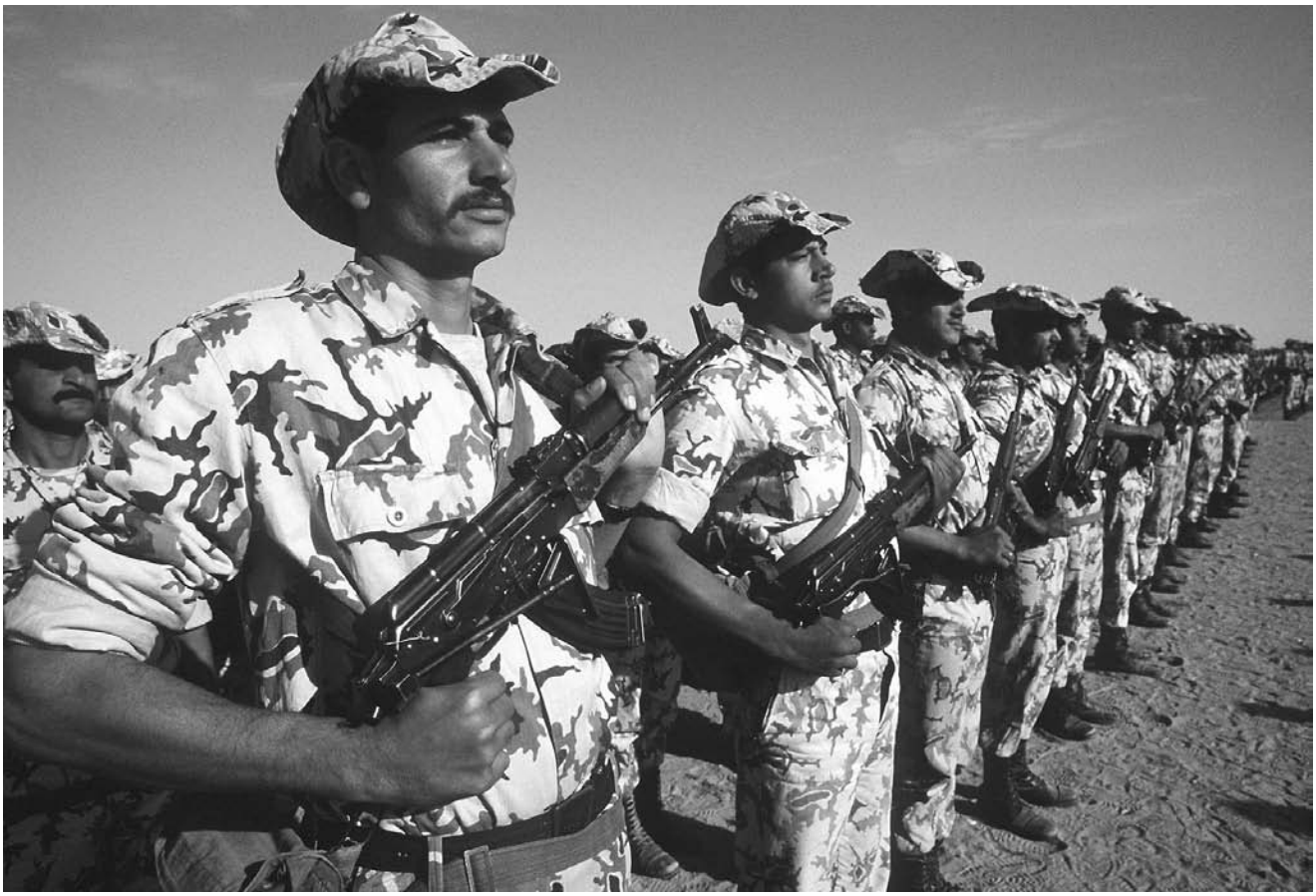
Assuming the Egyptian presidency upon Sadat's death, Hosni Mubarak, like all of Egypt's presidents a military officer, has sought to maintain a modern military force that is ready for combat. The Egyptian military is currently one of the largest forces in the Middle East and the world. All adult men are obliged to serve for three years in the military (although many serve a lesser period), with conscripts making up about half of the Egyptian active duty force at any given time. After the 1978 Camp David Accords, Egypt reduced its defense ties to the Soviet Union and rearmed with American, French, and British equipment. Some of this modern weaponry, including the American M-1 Abrams main battle tank, is assembled under license in Egyptian factories.

When Iraqi forces invaded and occupied Kuwait in August 1990, President Mubarak took his country into the international coalition that drove Iraq from Kuwait in 1991, ultimately providing about 35,000 troops to Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM.

At present, the entire Egyptian military numbers some 450,000 active, 254,000 reserve, and 405,000 paramilitary personnel. Egypt's first-line armored and mechanized forces are equipped with almost 900 American M-1A1 and 1,700 M-60A3 main battle tanks and more than 2,600 M-113 armored personnel carriers. The Egyptians still operate a number of older Soviet armored vehicles, including 450 T-62 main battle tanks and more than 1,000 BTR-50 and BTR-60 armored personnel carriers. The Egyptian Army also maintains a substantial force of field artillery, including cannon, rockets, and missiles, as well as a continually upgraded arsenal of air defense systems. Egyptian field and air defense artillery remains a mixture of American and Soviet systems. Egyptian troops are armed with the M16, AKM, and Soviet AK-47 assault rifles as well as the Misr assault rifle.

As with all military forces built on the Soviet model, Egyptian decision making was rigid and highly centralized. The Egyptians, like their Soviet mentors, were capable of developing highly complicated and sophisticated plans, as they demonstrated so effectively when they crossed the Suez Canal in 1973. But once the initial phases of the plan unfolded, the Egyptians lacked the tactical flexibility and the lower-level command initiative to exploit any initial advantages. The Israelis took advantage of this weakness every time. Since moving away from the Soviet model, the Egyptians have made great strides in improving their command and operating systems. The United States and Egypt have also hosted biennial multinational military exercises in Egypt, known as BRIGHT STAR. The biggest Egyptian military handicap, however, remains the fact that a large number of the country's enlisted conscripts are illiterate and poorly equipped to learn how to operate modern high-tech weapons systems.

The Egyptian Air Force, with some 580 fixed-wing aircraft and 121 armed helicopters, primarily flies American and French aircraft, including the Dassault Mirage 2000 and some 220 American General Dynamics F-16 Fighting Falcon fighters. It also continues to operate older fighter aircraft, including the American McDonnell F-4 Phantom and the Soviet Mikoyan Gurevich MiG-21. The primary Egyptian cargo aircraft is the ubiquitous American Lockheed four-engine turboprop EC-130E Hercules. Egyptian attack



Egyptian rangers armed with AK-47 assault rifles in formation in the course of a demonstration for visiting dignitaries during Operation DESERT SHIELD. (U.S. Department of Defense)

helicopters include the American Hughes (McDonnell Douglas/Boeing) AH-64 Apache.

The Egyptian Navy is a relatively small coastal force with some 20,000 personnel. It operates destroyers, submarines, missile boats, and patrol boats. The navy relies on the air force for maritime aerial reconnaissance and all air support.

Egypt's various paramilitary groups include the Central Security Forces, which has about 350,000 troops, operates under the control of the Ministry of the Interior, and is used chiefly for law enforcement and intelligence; the National Guard, numbering some 60,000 personnel; the Border Guard Forces, with about 25,000 personnel; and the Coast Guard, with some 5,000 personnel.

In recent years Egypt has spent on average about $2.5 billion per year on defense, which translates roughly to 3.4 percent of the Egyptian gross domestic product (GDP). Egypt has remained at peace with Israel since 1973, which has reduced Egyptian standing in the Arab world. Nevertheless, Egypt has benefitted significantly by improved ties with the United States and most of the members of the European Union (EU).

PAUL JOSEPH SPRINGER

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arms Sales, International; Camp David Accords; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Egypt; Mubarak, Hosni; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Sadat, Muhammad Anwar; Suez Crisis

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Eikenberry, Karl W.

Birth Date: 1952

U.S. Army general who served during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM as commander, Combined Forces Command, Afghanistan, from

May 2005 to February 2006. Born in 1952 and raised in Indiana, Karl W. Eikenberry graduated from the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, in 1973 and was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army. His education includes master's degrees in East Asian studies from Harvard University and political science from Stanford University. He also studied at the British Ministry of Defence Chinese Language School in Hong Kong and at Nanjing University in China. Eikenberry was a national security fellow at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

During his military career, Eikenberry has served as a commander and staff officer with mechanized, light, airborne, and ranger infantry units in both the continental United States and overseas in Hawaii, Korea, Italy, China, and Afghanistan. In 2001 he was promoted to major general and began direct support of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. He served two tours of duty in Afghanistan. During his first Afghanistan assignment (2002–2003), he was instrumental in building up the Afghan Army following the displacement of the Taliban government.

During Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, under the direction of Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Eikenberry led a survey team in Iraq during late 2003. The mission of the team was to determine the facts on the ground. Eikenberry reviewed the training of the Iraqi military and police and concluded that Iraqi security forces were not growing at a rate that could keep up with the burgeoning insurgency. At the time, Iraqi security training was controlled by the Coalition Provisional Authority. In the interest of centralized control over Iraqi security efforts, Eikenberry recommended that responsibility for the training and control of Iraqi security forces be given to the U.S. military instead. His recommendation was accepted by Rumsfeld and implemented by the U.S. commander in Iraq, Lieutenant General David Petraeus.

In 2005 Eikenberry was promoted to lieutenant general. During his second tour in Afghanistan (2005–2007), he served as commander of all North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) troops in the nation (Combined Forces Command, Afghanistan). He has testified before Congress multiple times regarding the progress and challenges of coalition forces in that country.

Eikenberry is the former president of the Foreign Area Officers Association and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He is widely published on national security subjects. His works include *Explaining and Influencing Chinese Arms Transfers* (1995) and *China's Challenge to Asia-Pacific Regional Stability* (2005). In January 2007 Eikenberry was assigned as deputy chairman of the NATO Military Committee in Brussels, Belgium.

BENJAMIN D. FOREST

See also

Combined Forces Command, Afghanistan; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan; Petraeus, David Howell; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

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Eisenhower, Dwight David

Birth Date: October 14, 1890
Death Date: March 27, 1969

U.S. Army general and president of the United States (1953–1961). Born in Denison, Texas, on October 14, 1890, Dwight David Eisenhower grew up in Abilene, Kansas, and graduated from the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, in 1915. He did not serve in combat during World War I. Following the war, he remained in the army and served in a variety of assignments at home and overseas.

In 1939 Eisenhower became chief of staff of the newly established Third Army. Promoted to brigadier general in September 1941 and major general in April 1942, he transferred to London in June 1942 as commander of American and Allied forces in Britain and a month later was promoted to lieutenant general. In November 1942 he commanded the Allied invasion of North Africa. Promoted to full (four-star) general in February 1943, he then oversaw the invasions of Sicily and Italy. In December 1943 he was named to command the Allied forces that invaded France in June 1944 (D-Day invasion). In December 1944 he was promoted to the newly created rank of general of the army (five-star).

From 1945 to 1948 Eisenhower served as chief of staff of the U.S. Army. He was president of Columbia University from 1948 to 1952. During this time he was actively involved in foreign and military affairs and politics. He strongly endorsed President Harry S. Truman's developing Cold War policies, including intervention in Korea in 1950. In January 1951 Eisenhower took leave from Columbia to serve as the first supreme commander of the armed forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

In 1952 the Republican Party, desperate to choose a candidate who would be assured of victory, turned to Eisenhower. As a candidate, he promised to end the Korean War but otherwise continue Truman's Cold War policies. Eisenhower won the November 1952 elections.

Under Eisenhower, U.S. defense commitments around the world solidified into a network of bilateral and multilateral alliances. A fiscal conservative uncomfortable with high defense budgets, Eisenhower introduced the New Look strategy of relying heavily on nuclear weapons rather than conventional forces. Critics of the New Look complained that it left the United States unprepared to fight limited wars. As president, Eisenhower fulfilled his campaign pledge to end the Korean War, seemingly threatening to employ nuclear weapons unless an armistice agreement was concluded. The armistice was signed in July 1953.

After Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin's death in March 1953, Eisenhower tried, unsuccessfully, to reach arms control agreements with the Soviets. In February 1956 Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev repudiated much of Stalin's legacy, a move suggesting that potential existed for a Soviet-American rapprochement. Soon afterward, Khrushchev expressed his faith that it might be possible for the East and West to attain a state of peaceful coexistence. Progress toward this end was patchy, however. From 1958 until 1961 he made repeated attempts to coerce and intimidate the Western powers into abandoning control of West Berlin. The May 1960 U-2 spy plane fiasco all but quashed peaceful coexistence and torpedoed any chances at arms control between the two superpowers.

Eisenhower consistently sought to entice nations in the developing world into the Western camp. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the Middle East. Of course, the Eisenhower administration had other motives in the region, not the least of which was the protection of vital oil supplies. If anticommunism and protection of oil were absolutes in America's Middle East policies, the suppression of Pan-Arabism (often linked to radicalism) was not far behind. Fond of using covert operations via the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles used the CIA to overthrow a reputedly leftist regime in Iran in August 1953. When Iranian prime minister Mohammad Mossadegh's policies began to go against the wishes of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi—a staunch U.S. ally—Eisenhower came to suspect that Mossadegh had communist leanings at worst or Pan-Arab inclinations at best. Neither was acceptable to Washington. Operation AJAX, launched in August 1953, fomented violent street demonstrations in Iran and stirred up support for the shah, who had left the country only days earlier. Mossadegh was forced to give up power and was arrested and detained. The shah was back in power by month's end. Pro-American stability had returned to the country, and its vast oil resources had been secured.

Three years later another Middle East crisis embroiled the Eisenhower administration in the region's affairs. Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser sought to purchase U.S. arms, and when the United States refused, Nasser brokered an arms barter deal with Czechoslovakia. This was followed by Egyptian recognition of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and fierce anti-U.S. rhetoric in the government-controlled Egyptian press. In response, in July 1956 the Eisenhower administration, followed by the British government, rescinded an earlier offer to grant Egypt a substantial loan for Nasser's project to build a dam on the Nile River south of Aswan.

Nasser then decided to nationalize the Suez Canal, a step that should not have surprised the Western powers. The British and French governments conspired with the Israeli government for the latter to launch an attack against Egypt that would threaten the canal. Britain and France then planned to intervene militarily themselves and overthrow Nasser.

The resulting Suez Crisis unfolded at the end of October and in early November. Enraged that France and Britain had not consulted the United States and worried about a Soviet intervention, Eisenhower put heavy pressure on the three nations, especially Britain, to remove their forces, which they did in November.

General of the Armies Dwight D. Eisenhower was supreme commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces, European Theater of Operations. He was subsequently the first commander of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces, then president of the United States (1953–1961). (Library of Congress)

Responding to Soviet threats of interference in future Middle East crises, in January 1957 Eisenhower put forth the Eisenhower Doctrine, pledging American military and economic assistance to any Middle Eastern country that sought to resist communism. Except for Lebanon and Iraq (prior to Iraq's 1958 revolution), few nations welcomed this doctrine, since most countries in the region believed that they had more to fear from Western imperialism than from Soviet expansionism. In April 1957 when Jordan's King Hussein came under intense pressure by Nasserists and other opponents, Eisenhower dispatched the Sixth Fleet to the eastern Mediterranean. His administration also provided the king with $10 million in economic aid.

The first significant test of the Eisenhower Doctrine came in 1958. In February of that year, Egypt and Syria whipped up Nasserist sentiments by their brief union in the United Arab Republic. This set the Eisenhower administration on edge, but it was events in Lebanon that activated the Eisenhower Doctrine. In May, Lebanon's Christian president, Camille Chamoun, who was opposed by a coalition of Muslim, Druze, and Christians in the Lebanese National Front, appealed to Washington for assistance.

Eisenhower's advisers decided to act in this instance, although too late to stave off revolution in Iraq or the Egyptian-Syrian political union. By July 15 the first contingent of some 15,000 U.S. marines landed on Beirut's beaches to restore order. U.S. forces departed Lebanon by the end of October.

Despite Republican claims during the 1952 presidential campaign that they would roll back communism, when workers rose against Soviet rule in East Berlin in June 1953 and again when Hungarians attempted to expel Soviet troops in October 1956, Eisenhower refused to intervene. Although he would not recognize the PRC, he reacted cautiously in the successive Taiwan Strait crises of 1954–1955 and 1958. His administration encouraged the government of South Vietnam in its refusal to hold the elections mandated for 1956 and provided military and economic assistance to bolster its independence. Eisenhower justified these actions by citing the domino theory, which holds that if one noncommunist area were to become communist, the infection would inevitably spread to its neighbors.

Besides the 1953 covert coup in Iran, the CIA supported a successful coup in Guatemala in 1954. Eisenhower and Dulles encouraged the CIA to undertake numerous other secret operations. These included plans for an ill-fated coup attempt against Cuba's communist leader, Fidel Castro.

After leaving office in 1961, Eisenhower backed American intervention in Southeast Asia, an area he specifically warned his successor John F. Kennedy not to abandon. Eisenhower died in Washington, D.C., on March 28, 1969.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Dulles, John Foster; France, Middle East Policy; Hussein ibn Talal, King of Jordan; Lebanon, U.S. Intervention in (1958); Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Pan-Arabism and Pan-Arabist Thought; Russia, Middle East Policy, 1991–Present; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; Suez Crisis; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Eisenhower Doctrine

Major Cold War foreign policy tenet regarding U.S. policy toward the Middle East enunciated by President Dwight D. Eisenhower on January 5, 1957, in the course of a special joint session of the U.S. Congress in which he addressed recent developments in the Middle East. Since the mid-1950s, both the United States and the Soviet Union had increasingly treated that area as a theater of Cold War competition. As the region decolonized, in 1950 Great Britain, the United States, and France had issued a statement expressing their hopes for continuing peace and stability in the Middle East and their desire to avoid an ever-escalating arms race there, especially between the Arab nations and the newly founded State of Israel. Such proclamations proved fruitless. When nationalist regimes resentful of their former colonial overlords won power in the region, most notably in Egypt, they increasingly looked to the Soviet bloc for economic and military aid, while Israel received substantial assistance from the United States. With American backing, in February 1955 Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, and the United Kingdom signed the Baghdad Pact, a mutual security treaty widely perceived as a mechanism for preserving Western influence.

In the summer of 1956 American resentment of the fact that Egypt nationalist president and former army officer Gamal Abdel Nasser had accepted substantial amounts of Soviet bloc weaponry led the United States to cancel economic assistance previously promised for a showpiece Egyptian development project, the Aswan Dam. Nasser decided to meet the projected funding shortfall by nationalizing the Suez Canal, which was owned and managed by the British and French governments and thus was a constant source of irritation to Egyptian nationalist pride. This strategically and commercially valuable waterway linked the Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea, enabling shipping to move between Europe and Asia without circumnavigating Africa. In November 1956 a brief war, usually called the Suez Crisis, erupted when Britain, France, and Israel invaded Egypt and tried to retake control of the canal, only to withdraw when Eisenhower and his secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, exerted heavy financial and diplomatic pressure to compel them to retreat.

During the Suez Crisis, the Soviet Union made what could be interpreted as threats of military action against Britain and France unless they removed their forces from Egypt. Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev had also recently sent troops to the East European Soviet satellite Hungary to prevent its secession from the Warsaw Pact. Shortly afterward, Khrushchev also indulged in somewhat threatening proclamations that his country would win the Cold War and "bury the Western powers." The Middle East contained the world's most substantial oil reserves, resources that were increasingly essential to the heavily energy-dependent American domestic economy and also to U.S. military capabilities. Convinced that the Middle East, where rising anti-Western nationalism and Arab resentment of Israel compounded the tumultuous political situation, had become a Cold War battleground, Eisenhower advocated a high level of U.S. involvement in the region, and he demanded that Congress grant him military and financial resources to aid Middle Eastern powers attempting to fend off communism. Eisenhower also asserted that when required, the United States would deploy American military forces in the region to oppose "overt armed aggression from any nation controlled

by International Communism." In March 1957 Congress passed a joint resolution endorsing Eisenhower's request, the beginning of extensive American involvement in the Middle East that would continue into the 21st century.

The Soviet Union was predictably hostile to the Eisenhower Doctrine, attacking it as a colonialist effort by the United States to replace British and French imperialism with its own hegemony, in defiance of the aspirations to national independence of the Arab peoples. Soviet officials were particularly incensed by the possibility of future American military interventions in the Middle East. The real objective of the United States, in Soviet eyes, was to impose a sort of military protectorate and protect its oil interests in the region. The Soviet Union reminded Arab countries of its own support for Egypt over Suez and urged them to look to themselves for protection against attempts at domination by outside powers. Clearly, the two Cold War superpowers now viewed the Middle East as a significant arena for strategic and economic competition, its various states constituting a potential sphere of influence from which each sought to exclude the other.

Many Arab states and radical nationalist elements were equally hostile to the Eisenhower Doctrine, condemning it immediately as a new form of Western colonialism. Proclamation of the Eisenhower Doctrine effectively dissipated any credibility that American actions during the Suez Crisis had won for the United States with Arab nationalist forces. The United States proved unable to prevent the Iraqi Revolution of July 1958, when radical army officers overthrew the Hashemite monarchy and killed the young king and several of his relatives. The Eisenhower administration did, however, intervene successfully in both Lebanon and Jordan in 1958 to shore up pro-Western governments that it feared might follow suit and succumb to radical leftist coups. These actions helped to reinforce the prevailing image of the United States in the Middle East as a conservative power wedded to the status quo and committed to supporting traditionalist and often illiberal regimes to resist more radical, progressive, and modernizing political forces.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Arab Nationalism; Baghdad Pact; Dulles, John Foster; Eisenhower, Dwight David; Lebanon, U.S. Intervention in (1958); Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; Suez Crisis; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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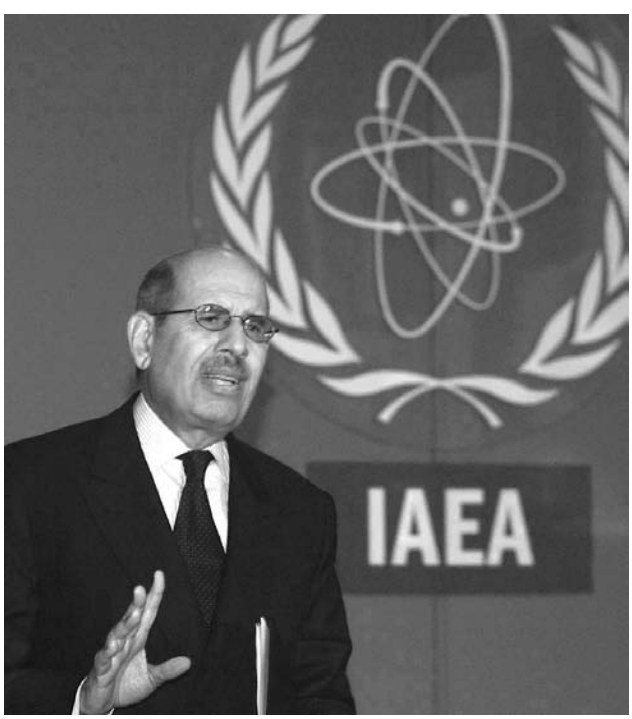
ElBaradei, Muhammad Mustafa

Birth Date: June 17, 1942

Egyptian diplomat, United Nations (UN) official, and director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) since 1997. Muhammad Mustafa ElBaradei (al-Baradei) was born in Cairo, Egypt, on June 17, 1942. His father was Mostafa ElBaradei, a lawyer and former president of the Egyptian Bar Association. The younger ElBaradei earned a bachelor's degree in law from the University of Cairo and a master's degree (1971) and doctorate (1974) in international law from the New York University School of Law.

ElBaradei joined the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1964. He was twice in the Egyptian permanent missions to the UN in New York and Geneva with responsibilities for political, legal, and arms control issues. In between these postings, during 1974–1978 he was a special assistant to the Egypt foreign minister. ElBaradei became the senior fellow in charge of the International Law Program at the United Nations Institute for Training and Research in 1980, and in 1984 he became a senior



Muhammad ElBaradei, director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), shown here at a news conference in Vienna on February 12, 2003. (AP/Wide World Photos)

staff member of the IAEA Secretariat, where he served as its legal adviser (1984–1993).

During 1984–1987 ElBaradei was also the representative of the IAEA director general to the UN in New York. During 1981–1987 he also taught as an adjunct professor of international law at the New York University School of Law. ElBaradei served as the assistant director general for external relations for the UN during 1993–1997. In January 1997 he accepted the position of director general of the IAEA.

Prior to the beginning of the 2003 Iraq war, ElBaradei and Hans Blix, the Swedish diplomat who headed the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) from January 2000 to June 2003, led the UN inspection team in Iraq. ElBaradei and Blix asserted that Iraq had no weapons of mass destruction (WMDs).

ElBaradei has since publicly questioned the WMD rationale used by the George W. Bush administration to initiate the Iraq War (2003). ElBaradei has also served as the point man for the UN in the ongoing controversy over Iran's alleged drive to develop nuclear weapons. In September 2005, despite U.S. opposition, ElBaradei was appointed to his third term as director of the IAEA. The Bush administration contended that ElBaradei had been reluctant to confront Iran on its ability to turn nuclear material into weapons-grade fissionable material. Nevertheless, in October 2005 ElBaradei and the IAEA were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for efforts "to prevent nuclear energy from being used for military purposes and to ensure that nuclear energy for peaceful purposes is used in the safest possible way."

ElBaradei favored a diplomatic solution to Iran's developing nuclear weapons capability and worked diligently through European and Russian diplomats along with the UN Security Council to limit Iran's nuclear capability. ElBaradei favored the imposition of diplomatic and economic sanctions on Iran sufficient to bring it into compliance with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Pact (NNPP) and the IAEA mission "Atoms for Peace." Despite criticism from Israel and the United States that his stance toward Iran was too lenient, in June 2008 Elbaradei issued a statement proclaiming that while the IAEA had been conducting exhaustive inspections there, it had not as yet been able to conclude with certainty that Iran had abandoned all plans for an atomic weapon. He urged Iran to be more forthcoming so that the verification process could be concluded. Not surprisingly, Elbaradei's comments were met with much derision in Washington and Tel Aviv. Elbaradei has also repeatedly dismissed any talk of the use of force against Iran, claiming that to do so would be counterproductive and invite a similar scenario that ensued after the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

Richard M. Edwards

See also

Blix, Hans; International Atomic Energy Agency; Iran; United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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El Salvador, Role in Iraq War

Central American nation with a 2008 population of 7.066 million people. Covering an area of 8,124 square miles, El Salvador is bordered by Guatemala to the west, Honduras to the north and east, and the Pacific Ocean to the south. El Salvador is a representative democracy with a presidential-style government. The president serves as both head of government and head of state. The nation's politics in recent years have been dominated by the conservative National Republican Alliance Party (ARENA) and the opposition leftist Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). Since 2000, however, ARENA's power has been steadily eroded by that of the FMLN, particularly in the legislature.

During the Iraq War, El Salvador emerged as one of the staunchest supporters of the U.S.-led coalition and maintained troops in Iraq longer than any other Latin American nation. Relations between the United States and El Salvador have been very close since the Salvadoran Civil War (1980–1992). During that struggle, the United States deployed special operations forces and military advisers to the country and provided more than $6 billion in military and economic assistance to the conservative government. In addition, there is a substantial Salvadoran population in the United States whose remittances home totaled more than $2.5 billion in 2008, or approximately 17 percent of El Salvador's gross national product (GNP).

Following the September 11, 2001, terrorist strikes against the United States, El Salvador pledged intelligence and security cooperation to the George W. Bush administration's Global War on Terror. In August 2003 El Salvador dispatched elements of a battalion of troops to Iraq. Salvadoran troop strength peaked at 380 in 2004, and the government maintained that number until 2007, when forces were reduced to 280. Salvadoran personnel were subsequently reduced to 200 in August 2008. The soldiers served six-month rotations and were initially deployed in the southern area of Iraq near Najaf as part of a contingent of Latin American states that served under the command of the larger Spanish-speaking deployment. Later, Salvadoran units were stationed in the eastern cities of Najaf, Hillah, and Kut. Salvadoran staff officers were also assigned to the headquarters units of the Multi-National Force in Baghdad.

Salvadoran forces engaged in a variety of humanitarian and reconstruction operations in Iraq. The soldiers completed more than 430 projects, ranging from school and hospital construction to road building to the creation of potable water facilities. After

El Salvador minister of defense General Otto Romero speaks to his country's soldiers during a visit to Camp Charlie in Al Hillah, Iraq, on May 17, 2005. El Salvador was the only Latin American nation to furnish troops to the coalition forces in Iraq. (U.S. Department of Defense)

the Dominican Republic, Honduras, and Nicaragua all withdrew their forces in 2004, El Salvador became the only Latin American country with forces still stationed in Iraq.

Although the government of President Elias Antonio Saca of the ARENA party strongly supported the Iraq War, the conflict was unpopular among the domestic population. Opposition was led by the FMLN, the former insurgency group that had fought ARENA during the Salvadoran Civil War. The conflict in Iraq became an issue in the 2004 national elections, but ARENA won the balloting, led by Saca, a popular ex-sportscaster who received 58 percent of the vote. ARENA faced growing pressure to withdraw the country's forces ahead of the next national elections in 2009.

As other nations withdrew forces from Iraq in 2008 when the United Nations (UN) mandate ended, El Salvador announced that it would end its deployment, and the Salvadoran troops were withdrawn in December 2008. More than 3,000 Salvadoran soldiers served in Iraq in 11 contingents of troops. The United States provided funding to cover most of the costs of the Salvadoran deployments. During El Salvador's involvement in Iraq, 6 Salvadoran soldiers were killed and more than 50 were wounded.

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See also

IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq

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ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation

ENDURING FREEDOM was the code name given to the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan that began on October 7, 2001. The purpose of the invasion was to topple the Taliban government and kill or capture members of the Al Qaeda terrorist group, which had just carried out the terror attacks of September 11, 2001. The Taliban had sheltered Al Qaeda and its leader, Osama bin Laden, on Afghan territory and provided the terrorists with bases, training facilities, and quite possibly financial support.

The United States faced major problems in planning a war against the Taliban and Al Qaeda. Prime among these were

Soldiers from the 101st Airborne Division out of Fort Campbell, Kentucky, check local residents for possible weapons or contraband in the vicinity of Narizah, Afghanistan, on July 23, 2002. (U.S. Department of Defense)

logistical concerns, for Afghanistan is a landlocked country quite distant from U.S. basing facilities. American planners decided that an alliance would have to be forged with the Afghan United Front (also known as the Northern Alliance), an anti-Taliban opposition force within Afghanistan. The Northern Alliance would do the bulk of the fighting but would receive U.S. air support, along with assistance, advice, and cash from U.S. special operations forces.

The war began on October 7, 2001, with American air strikes from land-based B-52 and B-1 bombers, carrier-based F-14 Tomcat and F-18 Hornet aircraft, and Tomahawk cruise missiles. These attacks were intended to knock out the Taliban's antiaircraft defenses and communications infrastructure. However, desperately poor Afghanistan had a very limited infrastructure to bomb, and the initial air attacks had only minimal impact. Al Qaeda training camps were also targeted, although they were quickly abandoned once the bombing campaign began. U.S. special operations forces arrived in Afghanistan on October 15, at which time they made contact with the leaders of the Northern Alliance.

The first phase of the ground campaign was focused on the struggle for the northern city of Mazar-e Sharif, which fell to the Northern Alliance forces led by generals Abdul Dostum and Ustad Atta Mohammed on November 10, 2001. The fighting around Mazar-e Sharif was intense, but U.S. air strikes, directed by special operations forces on the ground, did much to break Taliban and Al Qaeda resistance.

As the fighting progressed, the Taliban and Al Qaeda improved both their tactics and combat effectiveness. Camouflage and concealment techniques were also enhanced, helping to counter American air power. However, the Taliban's limited appeal to the population meant that the regime could not withstand the impact of a sustained assault. The repressive rule of the Taliban ensured that the Taliban never widened its base of support beyond the Pashtun ethnic group from which they originated.

Northern Alliance forces captured the Afghan capital of Kabul without a fight on November 13. On November 26 a besieged garrison of 5,000 Taliban and Al Qaeda soldiers surrendered at Kunduz after heavy bombardment by American B-52s. Meanwhile, an uprising by captured Taliban fighters held in the Qala-e-Gangi fortress near Mazar-e Sharif prison was suppressed with great brutality in late November.

The scene of the fighting then shifted to the city of Kandahar in southern Afghanistan. Because the Taliban had originated in Kandahar in the early 1990s, they were expected to put up a stiff fight for the city. Kandahar was attacked by Northern Alliance forces led by generals Hamid Karzai and Guyl Agha Shirzai, with U.S. special operations forces coordinating the offensive. The Taliban deserted Kandahar on December 6, and Taliban leader Mohammed Omar and the surviving Taliban elements went into hiding in the remote mountain regions of Afghanistan and Pakistan. The fall of Kandahar marked the end of Taliban rule in Afghanistan, only nine weeks after the beginning of the bombing campaign. On December 22, 2001, an interim administration, chaired by Hamid Karzai, took office.

Despite the rapid and efficient progress of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, Taliban and Al Qaeda elements remained at large in Afghanistan, and the operation failed to capture or kill either Osama bin Laden or Mohammed Omar. Bin Laden was believed to be hiding in mountain dugouts and bunkers located in the White Mountains near Tora Bora. A 16-day offensive in early December 2001 failed to find bin Laden. For this offensive, the United States once again relied on Northern Alliance ground troops supported by U.S. special operations forces and American air power. Later there would be charges that this offensive was mishandled, and an opportunity to take bin Laden was lost. Bin Laden escaped, probably into Pakistan through the foreboding but porous border that separates Afghanistan from Pakistan.

Despite the failure to capture or kill bin Laden, the United States could point to notable success in the so-called War on Terror by the end of 2001. The Taliban had been deposed and Al Qaeda was on the run, with many of its members and leaders having been killed or captured. This occurred despite the fact that the United States

deployed only about 3,000 service personnel, most of them special operations forces, to Afghanistan by the end of the year. The U.S. death toll was remarkably light, with only 2 deaths attributed to enemy action. Estimates of Afghan fatalities are approximate, at best. As many as 4,000 Taliban soldiers may have been killed during the campaign. Afghan civilian deaths have been estimated at between 1,000 and 1,300, with several thousand refugees dying from disease and/or exposure. Another 500,000 Afghans were made refugees or displaced persons during the fighting.

The United States attempted a different approach in March 2002, when Al Qaeda positions were located in the Shahi-Kot Valley near Gardez. On this occasion, U.S. ground troops from the 10th Mountain Division and the 101st Airborne Division led the way, along with special operations forces from Australia, Canada, and Germany, and Afghan government troops, in an offensive code-named Operation ANACONDA. Taliban reinforcements rushed to join the Al Qaeda fighters, but both were routed from the valley with heavy losses.

Since 2002 the Taliban and Al Qaeda remnants have maintained a low-level insurgency in Afghanistan. Troops from the United States and allied countries, mainly from North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member states, remain in Afghanistan operating ostensibly under the banner of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. An upsurge of Taliban insurgent activity beginning in 2006, however, has necessitated a series of coalition offensives.

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See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, Initial Ground Campaign; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, U.S. Air Campaign; Northern Alliance; Omar, Mohammed; Taliban

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ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces

Following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on targets in New York and Washington, the United States launched Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, which included six components: Operation ENDURING FREEDOM–Afghanistan (OEF-A), Operation ENDURING FREEDOM–Philippines (OEF-P), Operation ENDURING FREEDOM–Horn of Africa (OEF-HOA), Operation ENDURING FREEDOM–Trans Sahara (OEF-TS), Operation ENDURING FREEDOM–Kyrgrzstan (OEF-K), and Operation ENDURING FREEDOM–Pankisi Gorge (OEF-PK). OEF-K ended in 2004, OEF-PK ended in 2007, and like OEF-TS, none involved more than very limited naval forces, all of which were from the U.S. Navy.

Prior to initiating action against the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan on October 7, 2001, U.S. leaders assembled a coalition of forces from 50 nations, 12 of which contributed naval forces for varying lengths of time. The largest contributor to OEF has been the United States, which has deployed aircraft carrier battle groups in support of ENDURING FREEDOM operations in Afghanistan including, at varying times, the 9-ship *Enterprise* (CVN-65) battle group, the 10-ship *Carl Vinson* (CVN-70), and the 12-ship *Theodore Roosevelt* (CVN-71) battle group. France contributed a carrier battle group, consisting of the aircraft carrier *Charles de Gaulle;* the frigates *La Motte-Picquet, Jean Bart,* and *Jean de Viernne;* the attack submarine *Rubis;* the antisubmarine patrol ship *Commandant Ducuing;* and the tanker *Meuse* in 2002. The United Kingdom committed an aircraft carrier, 1 destroyer, 1 frigate, 1 amphibious ship, and 3 fleet submarines. Germany sent 3 frigates, a fast patrol boat group of 5 ships, and 4 supply ships. Canada dispatched 3 ships, while New Zealand and the Netherlands sent 2 frigates each. Other nations—including Australia, Bahrain, and Greece—provided a number of smaller warships. India dispatched a frigate to escort coalition shipping through the Strait of Melaka, and Japan provided naval support for noncombat reinforcement of OEF. Additional naval forces have come in the form of U.S. and French naval special forces and U.S. Seabee construction units at varying times.

On October 7, 2001, operations began with carrier-based Grumman F-14 Tomcats and McDonnell Douglas/Boeing/Northrop F/A-18 Hornets joining U.S. Air Force bombers and Tomahawk missiles being fired from American and British surface ships and submarines. Three months later (December 20, 2001), the United Nations (UN) Security Council formed the International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF) to direct operations inside Afghanistan, which would be administered through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The following May, the United States formed Combined Joint Task Force 180 (CJTF-180) to coordinate all coalition operations.

Warships coordinated their activities but did not combine to form a single operational unit, although in April 2002 ships from five nations sailed in formation for a photograph. They included the French aircraft carrier *Charles de Gaulle,* the U.S. carrier *John C. Stennis,* the Italian destroyer *Luigi Durand de la Penne,* the U.S. cruiser *Port Royal,* the French destroyer *De Grasse,* the Italian frigate *Maestrale,* the French frigate *Surcouf,* the Dutch frigate *Van Amstel,* and the British helicopter amphibious assault ship *Ocean.*

In January 2002, 1,200 U.S. Special Operations forces were dispatched to the southern Philippines in OEF-P with the aim of assisting Philippine forces in eradicating terrorist organizations operating in the area. U.S. Navy SEALs were included in the forces, which received logistical support from elements of the U.S. Seventh Fleet. In October 2002 Operation ENDURING FREEDOM was expanded to include Somalia and adjacent areas in the Horn of Africa with the formation of Combined Joint Task Force–Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA).

Combined Task Force 150 (CTF-150) was formed in 2002 to support OEF-HOA and Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (OIF). The focus of CTF-150 was the monitoring of shipping and countering piracy in the northern Persian Gulf, but it also has trained units of the Iraqi Navy. Warships from Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States have participated in CTF-150, which usually numbers about 15 ships and the command of which rotates among the participating navies in four- to six-month intervals. Commanders have included Spanish rear admiral Juan Moreno, British commodore Tony Rix, French vice admiral Jacques Mazars, Dutch commodore Hank Ort, Pakistani rear admiral Shahid Iqbal, German rear admiral Heinrich Lange, British commodore Bruce Williams, British commodore Duncan Potts, and U.S. rear admiral Kendall Card.

Ships of CTF-150 patrol the north Persian Gulf boarding and inspecting suspicious merchant ships. From 2006 onward, antipiracy operations became a focus of operations, as attacks on merchant vessels in the area increased dramatically from Somali pirates. In January 2007 elements of the *Dwight D. Eisenhower* U.S. carrier battle group joined CTF-150 to stand offshore to prevent the escape by sea of Al Qaeda members as air strikes were launched against suspected Al Qaeda targets in Somalia.

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See also

ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; United States Navy, Afghanistan War

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ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, Initial Ground Campaign

Start Date: October 7, 2001
End Date: December 17, 2001

Operation ENDURING FREEDOM opened on October 7, 2001, less than a month after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks perpetrated by Al Qaeda. The invasion of Afghanistan occurred when the Taliban government ruling the country refused to hand over Al Qaeda terrorist organization leader Osama bin Laden or cooperate with American efforts to bring those responsible for the attacks to justice. The stated goals of the operation were the capture of bin Laden and other Al Qaeda leaders, the destruction of terrorist training camps and infrastructure within Afghanistan, and an end to all terrorist activities there.

In the invasion the United States and its allies opted for an asymmetric strategy, which on the ground relied heavily on indigenous warlords who were opposed to the Taliban and Al Qaeda, especially the Northern Alliance, comprised mainly of Tajik, Uzbek, and Hazara forces.

Having first severely reduced the Taliban war machine in cruise missile attacks and air strikes, the U.S. Air Force then provided close ground support for the Northern Alliance. From the beginning of the war, the U.S. Air Force, supported by coalition tanker, cargo, and surveillance aircraft, enjoyed complete command of the air. With this and the fact that the fighting forces involved were relatively few in number, the country was vast, and the front lines were porous, the ground situation changed very quickly.

The general strategy was to cut off the Taliban lines of communications between the northern part of the country and their stronghold in the south, liberate those areas, and then eliminate the remnants of resistance in remote mountain areas. The ground fighting was left largely to the Northern Alliance, with U.S. and non-Afghan coalition military involvement during the initial phase of the ground war limited mainly to special operations and focusing on assisting the Northern Alliance's advance and coordinating it with the air strikes.

To oversee the allied land campaign, the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) established the Combined Forces Land Component Command (CFLCC), led by Lieutenant General Paul T. Mikolashek, that moved to Camp Doha (Kuwait) on November 20, 2001. In order to provide direct assistance to Northern Alliance forces and to conduct special operations, the Joint Special Operation Task Force Dagger, under Colonel John Mulholland, was deployed to Karshi Kandabad air base in Uzbekistan. It included the 5th Special Forces Group (Airborne); elements of the 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment; Special Tactics personnel from Air Force Special Operations Command; the 1st Battalion, 87th Infantry; and the 10th Mountain Division (Light). The British furnished unspecified numbers of special forces, including units of the Special Air Service (SAS) and Special Boat Service (SBS).

U.S. Special Forces began their operations on October 19, 2001, when they joined the 6,000-strong Northern Alliance force under General Abd al-Rashid Dostum in its attack on the strategic city of Mazar-e Sharif along with some 10,000 troops under Fahim Khan and Bissmullah Khan advancing through Panjsher Valley to Kabul. The Special Forces teams called and coordinated close air support provided by Rockwell/Boeing B-1 Lancer and Boeing B-52 Stratofortress bombers, Grumman F-14 Tomcat, McDonnell Douglas/Boeing F-15 Eagle and McDonnell Douglas/Boeing/Northrop F-18 Hornet fighter-bombers, and Fairchild Republic A-10 Thunderbolt II combat support aircraft. These attacked key Taliban command posts, tanks and armored vehicles, artillery pieces, troop concentrations, bunkers, and ammunition storage areas. The heavy application of airpower had a huge and demoralizing psychological effect on the Taliban

Residents look for their belongings amid the rubble of their destroyed houses in Kabul, Afghanistan, on October 17, 2001. (AP/Wide World Photos)

fighters and allowed Northern Alliance forces to soon seize key strategic targets. On November 9, 2001, the anti-Taliban forces secured Mazar-e Sharif.

From the north coalition forces carried out a rapid advance, surprising and outflanking the Taliban defenders. Boosted by large-scale defections among the local Taliban commanders, Northern Alliance forces ware able to retake many towns and villages without firing a shot. On November 14, 2001, Northern Alliance troops took the capital city of Kabul.

After that in just a few days of quick and fierce fighting and negotiated surrenders, all central and western Afghan provinces including the key city of Herat were liberated from Taliban control. To assist command and control functions in providing assistance to the Afghan forces, supplies and humanitarian aid via Task Force Bagram was organized at Bagram air base under the command of Colonel Robert Kissel. At the same time, a number of U.S. Delta Force commandos, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) agents, and British SAS and SBS and French intelligence agents were deployed in central Afghanistan to conduct strategic reconnaissance of targets linked to Al Qaeda.

On November 16, 2001, the siege of Kunduz, the remaining Taliban stronghold in the north, began with heavy air strikes over a nine-day period. During the siege the U.S. Green Berets along with British SAS and SBS forces assisted Northern Alliance troops under General Mullah Daud in the destruction of Taliban tanks, cargo trucks, bunker complexes, and personnel. On November 23, 2001, remaining Taliban forces in the Kunduz area surrendered. Some 3,500 prisoners of war (POWs) were transported to the fortress-prison in Mazar-e Sharif, where they subsequently rebelled and were only suppressed after several days of heavy fighting in which coalition airpower and U.S. and British Special Forces took part. This last battle of Mazar-e Sharif saw the first introduction of coalition conventional ground troops in Afghanistan: the 1st Battalion, 87th Infantry of the 10th Mountain Division (Light) from Uzbekistan, which helped to secure the perimeter around the fortress and secured the local airfield.

The next phase in the ground campaign was aimed at defeating the Taliban in its political and spiritual birthplace, the Pashtun heartland around the city of Kandahar. There, as early as October 19–20, 2001, a detachment of the U.S. Army Rangers who had

flown in from bases in southern Pakistan and Oman conducted swift assaults in Kandahar and secured a deserted airstrip, known as Camp Rhino, as a future forward operational base for hit-and-run raids. Following the scheme already tested in the north, the U.S. Special Forces established contacts with and supplied ammunition, weapons, and close air support to some 3,000 anti-Taliban Pashtun forces under Hamid Karzai and Gul Afha Sherzai, effectively establishing a new front by November 19, 2001.

On November 25 nearly 1,000 U.S. marines of Task Force 58 were ferried in from a carrier group in the Arabian Sea. Establishing a forward operational base at Camp Rhino, they joined the fight by cutting off the Taliban supply lines. In early December U.S. Army special operations troops, U.S. Navy SEALs, Navy Seabee construction teams, and Australian Special Forces reinforced the marines at Camp Rhino. Taliban forces surrendered Kandahar on December 6, and the marines secured its airport by December 13.

By mid-December, the remnants of the Taliban and Al Qaeda forces (about 2,000 militants) were besieged in pockets of resistance in the mountainous area of Tora Bora, with its extensive fortifications and stockpiles of weapons and ammunition, in the eastern part of Afghanistan. The operation in the Tora Bora area involved U.S. and British Special Forces, CIA paramilitaries, and about 2,000 Afghan tribesmen under Hazrat Ali. The U.S.-led coalition also employed Lockheed/Boeing AC-130 Spectre gunships for close air support and intense bombing of the underground tunnels with bunker-busting bombs. By December 17, 2001, the last cave complex in Tora Bora was cleared of enemy fighters.

From the point of view of its immediate and purely military aims, the ground component of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM was a highly successful effort that toppled the Taliban and inflicted severe damage to Al Qaeda and its Afghan allies. The joint application of air and ground assaults as well as intelligence operations and psychological warfare, frequently called synergetic warfare, strengthened the coalition's abilities to challenge the Taliban forces asymmetrically. The combination of familiar strategic and tactical approaches, including the application of overwhelming airpower assets, stealthy commando raids, and active and multifaceted support of proxy ground forces, allowed the United States and its allies to avoid committing a large number of their own troops in combat and prevented significant American losses (12 U.S. servicemen were killed in action in 2001) while creating necessary conditions for the swift and decisive destruction of the Al Qaeda sanctuary in Afghanistan.

At the same time, as the continued and even spreading Taliban-led insurgency has demonstrated since 2002, the broader task of stabilizing the country, even militarily, would be much more difficult, complicated by the fact that key Al Qaeda leaders, including Osama bin Laden, were allowed to escape.

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See also

Al Qaeda; ANACONDA, Operation; Casualties, Operation ENDURING FREEDOM; Coalition Force Land Component Command–Afghanistan; Dostum, Abd al-Rashid; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, Planning for; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, U.S. Air Campaign; Hekmetyar, Gulbuddin al-Hurra; Karzai, Hamid; McKiernan, David Deglan; Taliban; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

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ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, Planning for

Planning for Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan, began immediately after the connection had been established between the terrorist network Al Qaeda, which struck the United States on September 11, 2001, and the Taliban regime that had harbored Al Qaeda in Afghanistan. The initial name of the operation—Operation INFINITE JUSTICE—was dropped in deference to Muslim belief that only Allah can provide people with infinitive justice.

There were several relatively low-risk retaliatory options discussed at the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), which has primary responsibility for the region militarily. These included cruise missile strikes from ships, submarines, and aircraft; attacking Taliban and Al Qaeda training camps, barracks, command and control facilities, communications centers, and support complexes; and a combination of cruise missile assaults and a bombing campaign of 3–10 days to take out specific targets. At the same time, the declared strategic goals of the operation—to topple the Taliban regime, disrupt Al Qaeda's base of operations, and bring Al Qaeda's leader Osama bin Laden and his associates to justice—unavoidably determined the planning for the operation as a combination of air war with some sort of ground invasion.

From the very beginning, the strategic conditions in the Afghan theater presented serious challenges to the planners at CENTCOM, which was led by U.S. Army general Tommy R. Franks. Indeed, there were a number of daunting peculiarities and complexities. Afghanistan was already in the midst of the civil war. This conflict pitted Taliban forces (25,000–45,000 troops, 650 tanks and armored vehicles, 15 combat planes, 40 cargo planes, 10 transport helicopters, and some 20 missiles, old Soviet SA-7 and American-made Stingers), supported by some 3,000 Al Qaeda militants, who controlled about 80 percent of the country's territory, against their opponents of the Northern Alliance, a loose confederation

of warlords and factions (12,000–15,000 troops, 60–70 tanks and armored vehicles, 3 cargo planes, 8 transport helicopters, and some 25 surface-to-surface and short-range ballistic missiles), concentrated in the remote northern parts of Afghanistan.

The difficult mountainous terrain and harsh climate of Afghanistan and its archaic infrastructure shattered by more than 20 years of war enormously limited maneuverability and complicated the logistics of any modern military force. At the same time, these very conditions led light and mobile Taliban forces to believe that they could engage and exhaust any invader in sudden ambushes and attacks. Afghans had a history of successfully repelling invaders, particularly the British in the 19th century and, more recently, the Soviets in the 1980s.

Bearing in mind the harsh conditions of the theater and the fanatical character of the enemy, some military observers and analysts foresaw a long and bloody campaign in Afghanistan. According to some estimates, it would take as many as 100,000 U.S. troops to occupy and control the country. Such a large-scale operation would be put under additional risk by approaching winter, which limited the time available. The Taliban, for its part, expected that the United States would follow the Soviet example of a massive ground invasion. The Taliban therefore prepared to lure the Americans in and outmaneuver them, employing its key tactic of using highly mobile strike squads mounted on pickup trucks.

The general strategic scheme of the U.S. operation in Afghanistan was designed to avoid a Vietnam War–style gradual escalation and involvement in a long and bloody ground war. Thus, instead of committing a large number of U.S. ground troops, the Americans sought to execute the operation with a combination of air strikes and special operations, which would be closely coordinated with the U.S.-backed ground assault by the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance forces.

The American war plan for Afghanistan had important new elements, which reflected distinctive local realities and the intention of the U.S. command to engage the enemy asymmetrically, exploiting its vulnerabilities and outmaneuvering its strengths. The plan envisaged the use of the most advanced military and communications technology in the world on one of the world's most primitive battlefields. The dispersed nature of warfare in the Afghan deserts, high plateaus, and foreboding mountains as well as the decentralized structure of the Taliban and Al Qaeda forces demanded a major emphasis on special operations to take the fight to the enemy, keeping it off balance as well as seizing and maintaining the initiative on the battlefield. In coordination with an intense bombing campaign and military pressure from the Northern Alliance, this, it was hoped, would swiftly reshape the situation on the ground.

The political dimension of the war was of much importance also. The United States actively exploited the unpopularity and vulnerability of the Taliban regime inside and outside Afghanistan as a result of its violent character and extreme interpretation of Islamic law. To isolate the Taliban further, the United States publicly emphasized the just and defensive character of its war on terror and stressed the puppet role of the Taliban under Al Qaeda. U.S. representatives established contacts with the exiled Afghan king Zahir Shah, then living in Rome, who had some influence in the country, particularly among the Pashtuns, Afghanistan's largest ethnic group. Additionally, the military campaign would be paralleled by a large-scale humanitarian effort, with U.S. cargo planes conducting massive food drops for starving Afghans.

The United States would also work on managing the tremendous logistics problems of waging a war over such a long distance and in a landlocked country. The measures to undertake this would include access to bases and facilities in Bahrain, Oman, Pakistan, and Uzbekistan; flight rights over these and other countries; and efforts to achieve understanding with major regional players—India, China, and Russia—about American motives, aims, and actions. U.S. airlift capability using its midair refueling abilities (employing the McDonnell Douglas KC-10 Extender and Boeing KC-135 Stratotanker) was to play a critical role during the 2001 Afghan campaign. The logistical challenges of ENDURING FREEDOM also prompted the seizure of airfields inside Afghanistan at earlier stages of the campaign, and that was an important and integral part of the plan.

In planning and preparing for ENDURING FREEDOM and the Global War on Terror, the United States received active support from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and other allied countries, including intelligence cooperation and offers to put troops on the ground. The allied naval presence in the Arabian Sea was instrumental in creating additional pressure on Pakistan to join the coalition. Nevertheless, the Pentagon tried to avoid the multilateral bureaucratic wrangling it had experienced during the 1999 NATO bombing of Yugoslavia and carefully crafted the operation as a primarily American effort. The only exceptions were with the British and, to a lesser extent, the Australians. The British role in ENDURING FREEDOM (code-named Operation VERITAS by the British), while modest by comparison, had aims virtually identical with those of the Americans. The United States also placed much value on British contributions thanks to the professionalism and experience of the Britisn military, particularly Special Operations forces.

The completed plan was to occur in four consecutive phases while simultaneously executing multiple lines of operation. In Phase One, the United States planned to set conditions for the operation, including interservice coordination; buildup of forces; coalition-building, basing, and staging arrangements; and providing support for the Northern Alliance. The coalition had assembled a formidable U.S. force (three aircraft carrier battle groups with cruisers, destroyers, attack submarines, frigates, and support ships; more than 400 aircraft; and some 50,000 sailors, airmen, marines, and soldiers including Special Forces, about 4,000 of them deployed inside Afghanistan by the beginning of 2002); a British force (3 Royal Navy attack submarines, 1 support aircraft carrier, a naval task group, and 4,200 military personnel, including

A U.S. Navy F-18 Hornet aircraft carries out air-to-air refueling with a U.S. Air Force KC-10 Extender aircraft during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, 2001. (U.S. Department of Defense)

sailors, marines, and Special Forces), and a small detachment of the Australian Special Operations Forces.

The actual war (Phase Two) would begin with 3–5 days of a U.S.-British bombing campaign across Afghanistan using cruise missiles, jets from aircraft carriers, and strategic bombers (Northrop Grumman B-2 Spirit and Boeing B-52 Stratofortress aircraft) flying concurrently from the United States and Diego Garcia. Then the Northern Alliance forces would begin its attack on Taliban strongholds in the northern part of the country, securing the area for further movements. The Special Operations forces drawn from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Special Activities Division, U.S. Army Green Berets, and U.S. Navy SEALs were to execute reconnaissance and direct-action line of operation, making contact with the Northern Alliance troops on the ground and providing training and tactical support for them. The U.S. Air Force combat air controllers would also infiltrate the area to pinpoint enemy targets for the coalition strike aircraft (operational fires line of operation).

During Phase Three a limited number of coalition conventional troops would move in to eliminate the remaining pockets of enemy resistance. Even the conventional forces were to be employed unconventionally, by flexible and rapid-reaction airborne and helicopter-borne night assaults. The concluding Phase Four would concentrate on stabilization and rebuilding efforts in Afghanistan.

While the planning of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM did demonstrate creative and innovative approaches in addressing numerous challenges in Afghanistan and succeeded in eliminating Al Qaeda sanctuaries in the country, the continuing guerrilla war there, which followed the fall of the Taliban, has stimulated critical evaluations of the plan and the operation. Critics maintain that by putting so much effort in the quick and impressive toppling of the Taliban regime, the United States underestimated the complexity and urgency of the stabilization efforts needed in Afghanistan to consolidate the coalition's initial victory and bring Al Qaeda and Taliban top commanders to justice. Some critical assessments also blame the initial American plan for its failure to capitalize on the interim disagreements between Al Qaeda and Taliban and within the Taliban structure itself. There have also been critical overviews of U.S. coalition-building efforts. Some have argued that the Pentagon's determination to carry out the operation largely alone set the stage for the rift between the United States and Europe on the critically important issue of burden sharing that was to deepen the longer the war progressed.

PETER J. RAINOW

See also
Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Central Intelligence Agency; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Franks, Tommy Ray; Global War on Terror

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ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, U.S. Air Campaign
Event Date: October 2001

Following the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the United States requested that the Taliban-controlled government of Afghanistan hand over leaders of Al Qaeda, the terror organization responsible for the attacks. Among these was Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. The administration of President George W. Bush considered the Taliban's failure to extradite bin Laden and his compatriots to the United States with no preconditions as sufficient justification for invading Afghanistan.

Prior to the ground assault led by the Northern Alliance, the U.S.-led alliance began an aerial bombing campaign of Afghanistan in October 2001. The targets selected during the first wave of bombings in the initial phase of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM provide insights into the political bargaining by the United States to enlist support from Afghanistan's neighbors, Uzbekistan and Pakistan, into the antiterror coalition. In order to gain access to Uzbekistan's military facilities, the United States agreed to destroy the bases of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), located in Taliban-controlled Afghanistan. Several IMU bases in the Balkh and Kunduz provinces near the Uzbek border were among the first targets hit in Afghanistan. To secure the cooperation of Pakistan, the U.S.-led alliance agreed not to target key Taliban defensive positions in and around Kabul.

On October 7, 2001, American and British forces began the aerial bombing of Al Qaeda training camps as well as the Taliban air defenses. Initial strikes focused on the heavily populated cities of Kabul, Kandahar, and Herat. Within a few days most of the Al Qaeda training camps had been destroyed, and the Taliban air defenses had been neutralized. The bombing campaign then shifted toward communications and the command and control structure of the Taliban government. Two weeks into the bombing campaign, America's Afghan ally, the Northern Alliance, sought and received aerial support in its efforts to attack Taliban frontline positions. The bombing of population centers caused a refugee problem, however, as large numbers of Afghans fled to avoid the strikes.

In the next phase of the aerial campaign, Taliban frontline positions were bombed with 1,500-pound daisy cutter bombs and cluster bombs that caused extensive casualties. By early November, Taliban frontline positions had been wiped out. In the last remaining Taliban stronghold, Mazar-e Sharif, the United States carpet-bombed the Taliban defenders, enabling the Northern Alliance to take the city after several days of fierce fighting.

The early success of the bombing campaign in destroying Taliban positions was not without controversy. The relentless aerial bombing of Afghanistan led to a high number of civilian casualties, estimated at between 3,700 and 5,000. In fact, the civilian death toll surpassed those incurred during the 1999 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) bombing campaign of Kosovo and Serbia. When credible reports of bombing mishaps and accidental civilian casualties emerged, U.S. policy makers and military spokespersons consistently denied these claims. Nevertheless, the U.S. willingness to bomb heavily populated areas in Afghanistan using heavy ordnance bombs stoked fierce criticism of U.S. foreign policy. Allied and Muslim nations alike complained that the bombing victimized the innocent, exacerbated the humanitarian disaster in Afghanistan, and created widespread resentment across the Muslim world. Worse still, reports that U.S. troops participated in a massacre of Taliban prisoners of war in Mazar-e Sharif in late November 2001 further inflamed world opinion. In spite of the apparent success of the air campaign, however, Al Qaeda mastermind Osama bin Laden was not captured or killed and still remains at large.

KEITH A. LEITICH

See also
Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, Initial Ground Campaign; Global War on Terror; September 11 Attacks; Taliban

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Environmental Effects of the Persian Gulf War

The Persian Gulf War of 1991 made history as the most environmentally damaging war of modern times. On August 2, 1990, Iraqi forces invaded Kuwait, a country of about 1.7 million people that controlled some 10 percent of the world's oil reserves. When the Iraqi government refused to withdraw from Kuwait, a coalition

headed by the United States launched Operation DESERT STORM on January 17, 1991, to force Iraqi troops to quit Kuwait.

It was not long thereafter that environmental disasters began to occur. As early as January 19–23, 1991, Iraq was accused of releasing large amounts of crude oil into the Persian Gulf. Then, starting on January 22, 1991, a number of Kuwaiti oil wells were set ablaze, beginning with the Wafra field and moving northward. By February 1991 reports indicated that retreating Iraqi forces had ignited some 190 oil wells, and by the time coalition forces pushed out the last invaders from Kuwait in February 1991, Iraqi troops were alleged to have set alight 732 oil wells. It was estimated that 6 million barrels of oil per day were burning simultaneously. Although skeptics claimed that it could take years to extinguish all the fires, the last well fire was capped by coalition forces or contracted firefighters on November 8, 1991.

As a consequence of these Iraqi actions, oil droplets, soot, and smoke devastated large regions of the Persian Gulf. Moreover, other wells that retreating Iraqi troops had unsuccessfully tried to set afire spewed out oil that formed stagnant pools on the desert floor. Other environmental damage resulted from the effects of military and firefighting activity on the desert surface. For instance, Iraqi forces dug deep into the Kuwaiti land surface to build defensive fortifications, and roadbeds built to access blazing oil wells caused further wind- and water-erosion hazards.

The short- and long-term environmental impacts of the Persian Gulf War were immense, and its effects continue to this day. On land, these include groundwater contamination from sabotaged oil wells and seawater used to douse the fires. Desert vegetation was disrupted or killed. The release of approximately 11 million barrels of oil into the Persian Gulf from January 1991 to May 1991—an amount that doubled the previous world oil spill record—and the sinking of some 80 ships loaded with oil and munitions caused an unprecedented marine disaster that killed wildlife and washed up oil on more than 800 miles of Kuwaiti and Saudi Arabian beaches.

Scientific studies have indicated, however, that the effects on the global environment have been less damaging than initially feared. For example, German scientist Paul Crutzen had predicted that the fires would produce enough soot and smoke to cover half the Northern Hemisphere, while American researcher Carl Sagan had foreseen that the oil fires would alter monsoon patterns in Southern and Central Asia, leading to disastrous harvests and the equivalent of a nuclear winter. Nevertheless, these predictions largely ignored wind directions in the Persian Gulf region. Moreover, the weight of particulates from the burning wells prevented them from rising into the stratosphere. The climatic effects consequently were largely limited to the Persian Gulf region. Temperatures cooled in Kuwait, and physicians observed a rising incidence of asthma and other respiratory and eye ailments. The long-term effects of toxic exposure on area residents continue to be monitored.

The health effects of toxic exposure on U.S. Persian Gulf War veterans remain an area of medical controversy. Returning veterans reported symptoms such as fatigue, skin rashes, muscle and joint pain, headache, loss of memory, shortness of breath, and gastrointestinal problems, which collectively became known as the Gulf War Syndrome. It was conjectured that exposure to pesticides, debris from Scud missiles, chemical and biological warfare agents, and smoke or oil rain from fires may well lie at the root of this mysterious illness.

Another area of controversy involves the precise extent of Iraqi responsibility for the ecological disaster. For instance, former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark later argued that the United States, not Iraq, was primarily responsible. Even though as early as September 1990 Iraqi president Saddam Hussein had threatened to release large amounts of oil into the Persian Gulf, Clark contended that U.S. bombing targeted oil tankers and storage facilities. He also claimed that coalition military action, and not the Iraqis, started many of the oil well fires. Clark's conclusions, however, remained controversial and disputed. While it is a given that the coalition's Operation DESERT STORM unleashed certain environmental perils, the Iraqis themselves were responsible for the worst of them.

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See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Gulf War Syndrome; Oil Well Fires, Persian Gulf War

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Estonia, Role in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

Baltic nation that was part of the Soviet Union from 1940 until its independence in 1990. Covering 17,462 square miles, Estonia is bordered by Latvia to the south, Russia to the East, and the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Finland to the west and north, respectively. The nation's population in 2008 was some 1.308 million people. A pro-Western nation since its independence, Estonia has a democratic representative government run in parliamentary fashion; the prime minister serves as head of government and is nominated by the president in consultation with parliament. The president, nominally the head of state, is strictly limited in his executive powers.

Coalitions have dominated the Estonian government since 1991. Almost all of these have been formed by centrist, center-left, or center-right parties. Estonia's transition to a free-market economy was sometimes difficult, but in recent years its economic institutions have been lauded for their openness, and government social and economic reforms have produced a modern nation that harnesses high technology and free-market mechanisms.

Along with its fellow Baltic nations of Latvia and Lithuania, Estonia was a strong supporter of the United States in both Operation ENDURING FREEDOM and Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. Thanks to the long-standing U.S. support of Baltic independence during the Cold War and subsequent efforts by the United States to integrate these nations into the institutional framework of the West, including membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Estonia enjoyed close relations with the United States.

When terrorists struck the United States on September 11, 2001, Estonia immediately pledged increased intelligence and logistics cooperation and the use of its airspace for any U.S.-led military operations. In July 2002 Estonia deployed a small force of 10 soldiers to support Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan. Estonia later expanded its presence in Afghanistan as part of the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). By December 2008, Estonia had 150 troops in Afghanistan.

Estonian forces were engaged mainly in humanitarian and reconstruction projects. Estonian ordnance-disposal units also undertook minesweeping operations in and around Kabul as part of the ISAF. The Estonian government also provided the Afghan government with material donations to aid refugees. Through December 2008, Estonia had suffered three soldiers killed during its operations in Afghanistan.

During the diplomatic wrangling by the United States to develop a multilateral coalition against Saddam Hussein's Iraqi regime in 2002 and 2003, Estonia endorsed military action in Iraq and signed the Vilnius Letter, a document by eight Central and Eastern European countries that backed the George W. Bush administration. The letter was published on February 6, 2003, and highlighted divisions between the aspirant nations of the European Union (EU) and NATO, which generally supported military intervention, and existing members of both organizations, such as France and Germany, that opposed the invasion.

In June 2003 Estonia deployed an infantry platoon and a cargo unit to Iraq. Since its initial mission, the country has maintained about 40 troops in Iraq. Although the deployment was relatively small, it was a significant contribution from a nation whose total active duty military force numbered just 3,800. Estonian troops served six-month rotations. The infantry contingent was regularly assigned to operate with U.S. troops in security missions, and the Estonians received high praise from their American counterparts for their professionalism and conduct in Iraq. Most of the Estonian operations were in the Baghdad area and around Abu Ghraib. Estonia also stationed a small number of troops as part of the NATO-led mission to train Iraqi security forces.

In 2004 Estonia and the other Baltic nations became members of NATO and the EU. Estonia was one of the last members of the "coalition of the willing" to maintain its troop deployment in Iraq; however, in 2008 the government announced that it would end its mission in Iraq during the summer of 2009. Two Estonian soldiers had been killed during the nation's involvement in Iraq through the end of 2008.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Euphrates Valley

See Tigris and Euphrates Valley

Europe and the Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

In the first decade of the 21st century, the United States, with significant assistance from Great Britain, launched wars in Afghanistan in October 2001 and then against Iraq in March 2003 to overthrow governments those powers considered intolerable threats to their own interests and replace them with more amenable regimes. In the first conflict, the administration of President George W. Bush initially received almost unanimous support from European governments as it sought to deprive the radical Islamist Al Qaeda forces of the safe haven they had found in Afghanistan under the sympathetic Taliban regime. Al Qaeda had been responsible for the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States. The second war, designed to overthrow President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, proved more problematic, dividing European nations and provoking serious internal dissent and criticism in even those European countries whose governments supported American policies against Iraq.

By the time Bush had completed his second term in January 2009, even the British government, once Bush's strongest backer, had grown weary of involvement in what seemed to be one—if not two—almost interminable wars that produced a low level but constant toll of casualties among British troops.

The immediate reaction of Europeans to the terrorist attacks of September 1l, 2001, upon the United States was one of near-unalloyed sympathy for the American people and their

government. For the first time in its more than 50-year history, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) invoked the provision in its charter whereby an attack upon one member state constituted war against all. The source of the suicidal air raids upon the World Trade Center Towers in New York and the Pentagon building in Washington, D.C., was soon identified as Al Qaeda, headed by Osama bin Laden. The Taliban leaders refused to repudiate Al Qaeda and surrender bin Laden and his followers to the United States. With strong support from other NATO members, in October 2001 a coalition of American, British, Australian, and anti-Taliban Afghan Northern Alliance forces launched an invasion of Afghanistan. By the end of the year they had taken Kabul, the capital, and driven Taliban and Al Qaeda forces into the mountainous areas of Afghanistan bordering on Pakistan. In December 2001 the United Nations (UN) established the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) to help restore order in Afghanistan, first in the area around Kabul and eventually throughout the country. In the following years, many other European nations outside the original coalition contributed troop contingents to the ISAF.

Much has been made of America's failure to enthusiastically embrace NATO's early offers of support. In largely going it alone at first, the United States lost a lot of goodwill. Undoubtedly, this was a major political error that only reinforced many of the world's deeply held prejudices about American arrogance and unilateralism. On the operational level, however, there were reasons for this approach. The command and control of NATO's war against Serbia over Kosovo was a nightmare of command decision by committee. After that experience, U.S. military and political leaders vowed not to repeat it. The second reason is that with the exceptions of Britain and France, the rest of NATO's armies, navies, and air forces have sharply declined since the end of the Cold War. Although still impressive on paper, those armies—especially the German Bundeswehr—have been starved of funds and resources for almost two decades since the end of the Cold War. Much of their equipment is obsolete; their soldiers are untrained, unskilled, and unmotivated; and their communications systems are completely incompatible with modern systems. They have almost no logistics capability and no strategic lift.

While the invasion of Afghanistan attracted massive international support and almost every European country subsequently participated in some manner in the ISAF, the invasion of Iraq slightly less than 18 months later failed to win comparable backing. Before September 11, 2001, the Bush administration had focused primarily on the possibility of overthrowing President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, whose regime still remained in power a decade after his country's defeat in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Once apparent victory had been attained in Afghanistan, American officials quickly returned to their preoccupation with Iraq, erroneously arguing that close links existed between Hussein and Al Qaeda and that Iraq already possessed large quantities of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and was well on the way to producing many more, which would enable Hussein to destabilize and dominate the Middle East.

Bush's national security team sought to persuade the UN to pass resolutions demanding that Iraq allow inspection teams full access to all its potential weapons facilities and surrender or destroy all WMDs and authorizing the use of military force should Iraq refuse to comply. Bush argued that even if Iraq did not at that time pose a real military threat to the United States and its allies, it might do so in future, and preemptive action to overthrow Hussein's rule was therefore justified.

The Bush administration's efforts were energetically seconded by Tony Blair, the Labour prime minister of Britain, who had established a very close relationship with Bush. The two men shared what appeared to be an almost visceral hatred of Hussein and a passionate desire to overthrow his regime. Blair faced strong opposition from within his own Labour Party, many of whom rejected his rationale for war, including former foreign secretary Robin Cook, who resigned in protest as leader of the House of Commons. In March 2003 Blair won a parliamentary majority in favor of war, including most of the opposition Conservative Party, while some 135 Labour members voted against him. Broader public support for the war in Britain was at best lukewarm, with massive public demonstrations against an invasion of Iraq organized shortly before Britain and the United States launched their invasion.

Similar demonstrations took place across most of Western Europe, as Bush and Blair signally failed to convince the people and often the leaders of many other European countries that war against Iraq was either desirable or justified. In early 2003 they were unable to win a resolution from the UN fully endorsing military action against Iraq to enforce the existing ban on its possession or development of WMDs. Germany, France, and Russia (the latter two countries holding permanent UN Security Council seats with veto power) all strongly opposed the passage of such a resolution and were entirely unwilling to contribute troops to any invasion force. This stance attracted fierce verbal criticism from U.S. secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld, who derisively condemned the nations of "Old Europe"—meaning such long-established noncommunist West European nations as France and Germany—as being effete, spineless, and decadent, corrupted by too many years of comfortable prosperity, and contrasting them unfavorably with those of "New Europe"—such as postcommunist states including Albania, Azerbaijan, Bosnia, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Poland, Romania, and Ukraine—that were prepared to join in the "Coalition of the Willing," led by the United States and Britain, that went to war against Iraq in late March 2003.

The invasion itself was undertaken by U.S., British, and Australian military forces, but numerous other countries subsequently dispatched modest contingents of troops to assist in postinvasion efforts to restore order. Since Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and Spain had all done so by the end of 2003, the correlation between Old Europe and nonparticipation was by

no means precise. Rumsfeld's words, and such American actions as informal suggestions that patriotic Americans should refuse to eat French wine or cheese and should speak of "freedom fries" rather than "French fries," generated great resentment as well as ridicule in France and much of Europe.

At this juncture Robert Kagan, a well-known American political commentator and former diplomat, stirred up further controversy with a provocative article, arguing that whereas Americans possessed, respected, and were willing to deploy muscular military power to maintain global order, Europeans had a totally different mind-set, being relatively weak in terms of defense and thus placing a higher value on diplomacy, conciliation, cooperation, and tolerance. Kagan feared that unless the United States abandoned its growing unilateralism and displayed greater regard for European sensitivities, the ranks of the world's liberal democratic powers would be divided and ineffective on the international stage.

The apparently rapid coalition victory in Iraq and the overthrow of Hussein's government initially seemed to vindicate the invasion, somewhat moderating European governmental and popular opposition to it. Widely publicized revelations of the deposed regime's use of terror and brutality to maintain itself in power and crush antagonists gave some credibility to American and British claims that the dictator's removal was a victory for human rights. The failure to locate any substantial stores of WMDs in Iraq did, however, prove to be a continuing basis for controversy over the purpose of the war. At best it cast doubt on the reliability of the intelligence data they had been cited to support their case for military intervention in Iraq, and at worst it cast doubt on the good faith of top American and British political leaders. Official discomfiture in both countries was compounded by public revelations in May 2003 that Blair and his advisers, like the Bush administration, had massaged intelligence data so as to greatly exaggerate the strategic threat from Iraq to its neighbors and others. The suicide in July 2003 of David Kelly, a scientist in the British Ministry of Defense suspected of leaking this information to the media, added further bitterness to this controversy, which the January 2004 report of a public inquiry headed by Lord Hutton failed to resolve.

These revelations were only one reason why popular disillusionment with the conflict in Iraq became steadily more pronounced throughout much of Europe. The tactics that the United States used to prosecute suspects in both Iraq and the Global War on Terror aroused widespread public revulsion and destroyed much of the credibility of American claims that the invading forces were defending liberal democracy and human rights. In 2004 photographs and videotapes of the abuse, torture, and humiliation of Iraqi political detainees by American troops at Abu Ghraib prison were widely circulated in the international media and proved particularly embarrassing to the United States. So too did the Bush administration's sanction of so-called enhanced interrogation techniques, considered torture and disreputable by many, in disregard of the Geneva Conventions; the detention without trial or legal redress at the U.S. overseas military facility at Guantánamo, Cuba, of hundreds of alleged terrorists; and the rendition, or kidnapping, in foreign jurisdictions of individuals suspected for some reason of involvement in terrorist activities and their physical transfer to countries where harsh interrogation methods were employed. Most European governments, even those such as Germany that declined to sanction the invasion of Iraq, permitted American intelligence and security operatives to undertake such renditions within their countries. Anti-American sentiment mounted almost across the board in Europe, and condemnation of American disregard for liberal values and human rights and the insensitive unilateralism of the United States in international affairs was widespread.

Most European nations, including France and Germany, which had opposed the war in Iraq, nonetheless contributed funding and sometimes personnel to aid and training programs intended to assist both Iraq and Afghanistan. While refraining from any military involvement in Iraq, in October 2003 the German Bundestag did vote to send German forces to Afghanistan, and by February 2009 Germany had the third-largest national contingent of troops in the ISAF, although these were restricted to reconstruction rather than combat operations.

In most European nations, war weariness with what seemed unwinnable conflicts also steadily intensified. Although Bush

Demonstrators in Amsterdam march in protest of U.S. involvement in Iraq. One protester wears a George W. Bush mask. (Shutterstock)

declared an end to major combat operations in Iraq early in May 2003, for several years the situation in Iraq remained extremely unstable, with the country deeply divided among majority Shiite, Sunni, and Kurdish political groupings. The new coalition-backed Iraqi government initially failed to win military or political control of large swaths of territory. Violence and insurgency, sometimes involving Al Qaeda operatives from outside Iraq, had escalated by 2006 to a point where a state of virtual civil war existed in much of the country. Casualties among the foreign occupation forces as well as deaths among Iraqi government personnel and civilians mounted steadily, and significantly more coalition troops died in action after the supposed end of major hostilities than before. Foreigners of all nationalities, including journalists, civilian security personnel, businesspeople, and others, also became repeated targets of kidnappings and murder by a variety of Iraqi insurgent elements, as increasingly were Iraqis themselves, causing a huge number to flee the country. Anglo-American preoccupation with the war in Iraq meant that fewer resources of every kind, personnel, economic assistance, or attention, were devoted to Afghanistan. By 2005 Taliban and other insurgent forces in Afghanistan had regrouped, posing a major military threat to that country's stability and undermining the authority of the Afghan government in substantial areas of its own territory.

In many European nations, radical Islamic elements of the population deeply resented their governments' involvement in hostilities in Iraq and Afghanistan and, more broadly, what they perceived as disrespect for their own religious faith and values. The emergence of Muslim extremists ready to resort to violence aroused growing concern across Western Europe. One consequence was increased official security surveillance of the Muslim communities in each nation, generally undertaken in conjunction with government-sponsored efforts to reach out to and enter into dialogues with the less radicalized portions of their substantial Muslim populations. In March 2004 extremist Spanish Muslims exploded several bombs on commuter trains at the Madrid railway station, killing 191 people and injuring 1,800. In July 2005 British Muslims launched similar suicide bombing attacks on the London transport system, leaving 56 dead and around 700 injured. Further terrorist attempts took place in Britain in the summer of 2007 shortly after Gordon Brown replaced Blair as Labour prime minister. Violence against individuals who were seen as unfriendly to Islam also occurred. In May 2002 the independent Dutch politician Pim Fortuyn, who had condemned Islam as intolerant and called for an end to further Muslim immigration into the Netherlands, was assassinated. Two years later, in November 2004, the Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh, another well-known personality who had strongly criticized Islam, was likewise assassinated by a Muslim extremist. In 2005 a Danish newspaper published uncomplimentary cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad, provoking massive demonstrations from Muslims within Denmark and outside Danish embassies across the Middle East on the grounds that these were racist. Most European governments found the emergence of indigenous Muslim terrorism among their own populations an ominous development.

As the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq continued with little apparent prospect of any conclusive resolution, European governments bent to popular pressure and became less willing to contemplate indefinite military involvements in those countries. Three days after the Madrid bombings, a new government won power in Spanish elections and shortly afterwards withdrew the remaining Spanish troops from the occupation of Iraq. Hungary, the Netherlands, and Portugal likewise withdrew their forces from Iraq in 2005; Italy and Norway followed suit in 2006. Early in 2007 the United States adopted a new policy of a surge of temporary troop increases in Iraq combined with intensive efforts to strengthen the Iraqi government, eradicate hard-line opponents, win over potentially friendly elements, and train Iraqi security and other personnel in the hope of stabilizing the country. The withdrawals of European forces continued, with Lithuania and Slovakia removing their troop contingents in 2007. In 2008 the Iraqi government itself requested the gradual removal of coalition forces, and all remaining military personnel from Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Macedonia, Moldova, Poland, and Ukraine were gone by December of that year. By early 2009 only Romania and Britain still had troops in Iraq.

Brown, the new British premier, was widely believed to be a far less enthusiastic supporter than Blair of both wars. To the dismay of American officials, in late 2007 Brown withdrew British forces from Basra Province and the city of Basra in Iraq and restricted their mission to training the Iraqi military. Brown also reduced the number of British troops in Afghanistan.

In November 2008 the election as president of the United States of Barack Obama, a Democrat who had not voted for intervention in Iraq and planned a phased withdrawal of virtually all American forces in that country, brought at least temporarily a new warmth, even euphoria, to U.S. relations with Europe. European officials and the public generally welcomed Obama's decisions to end the use of so-called enhanced interrogation techniques against terrorist suspects and to close the detention center at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. They also applauded his efforts to reach out to Islamic leaders and populations around the world and his emphasis on multilateral rather than unilateral solutions to international problems. Less popular with European governments and their people was Obama's belief that while the situation in Iraq was under control, mounting military and political problems in Afghanistan and across the border in neighboring Pakistan warranted a major boost in American and allied forces deployed in Afghanistan as a preliminary to stabilizing those countries. In the spring of 2009, Obama announced his intention of temporarily increasing American deployments in Afghanistan from 32,000 to between 50,000 and 60,000 personnel, and he called upon other countries that belonged to the NATO alliance to send additional troops to the ISAF.

In February 2009, 34 European countries still had more than 30,000 military personnel in Afghanistan, with the largest

London Muslims march to protest a Danish newspaper's publication of a cartoon portraying the Prophet Muhammad wearing a bomb-shaped turban, February 16, 2006. (iStockPhoto)

contingent, 8,300, coming from Britain. Their response to Obama's request for greater manpower was decidedly unenthusiastic. Belgium promised an additional 150 men and four jet fighters; France pledged to send a few hundred troops, with additional personnel for the European Gendarmerie Force, to help train the new Afghan police, plus some Eurocopter Tiger attack helicopters; Italy contributed an additional 800 support troops to assist with police training and economic development; Poland offered 320 additional combat troops to help with the security of forthcoming Afghan elections; Spain offered a further 450 for the same purpose; Slovakia promised up to 176 more troops; Georgia promised as many as 500 troops; and Sweden promised between 100 and 125 troops. In early 2009 British premier Brown increased British troops levels from 8,000 to 8,300, a number he pledged to increase temporarily to 9,000 until after the August 2009 elections in Afghanistan. Overall, these new forces amounted to perhaps 4,000 additional personnel altogether, well below the major boost for which Obama had hoped.

It was clear, moreover, that some European nations, including the Netherlands, intended to bring all their troops home within two years, and several, including Britain, Poland, and Spain, planned to reduce their Afghan commitments once the summer 2009 elections were over. Across Europe, governments and the public alike had been worn down by a steady trickle of casualties and believed that almost a decade of inconclusive war in Afghanistan was long enough. As Taliban and Al Qaeda forces enjoyed a resurgence in Afghanistan and even more in neighboring Pakistan, it was clear that while most European governments wished the Obama administration well, the United States itself would have to find the great bulk of whatever resources were needed to bring the war in Afghanistan to a conclusion that American officials considered acceptable.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Europe and the Persian Gulf War; France, Middle East Policy; Germany, Federal Republic of, Middle East Policy; International Security Assistance Force; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Russia, Middle East Policy, 1991–Present; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy

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Europe and the Persian Gulf War

The invasion of Kuwait by Iraq on August 2, 1990, caught Europe in the midst of a major political transformation. Indeed, the sudden unraveling of the Cold War and the implosion of the Soviet bloc had created a political vacuum in a region whereby old habits and rivalries were giving way to a new European configuration.

By 1990 the sudden collapse of Soviet domination over Eastern Europe, the accepted unification of Germany (the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic would formally reunite on October 1, 1990), and the end of the Warsaw Pact all created a major political shift, leaving European countries uncertain about their future course of action. In such a context, French and Germans saw the period as an opportunity to reaffirm European influence. On the other hand, nations such as Great Britain expressed concern—shared by the United States—about a reinforced European community and feared the emergence of a rival force that would diminish both the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and British influence within it.

The nature of West European collaboration before the collapse of the Soviet bloc made the undertaking of common European military operations outside Europe difficult. First and foremost, West European countries were from the outset prepared to act and intervene only within the context of the NATO partnership. Furthermore, France and Britain were the only two states that had military forces capable of mounting and sustaining relatively large-scale overseas operations. Italy and Spain had naval units operation in the Mediterranean but not the capability of sending large troop deployments abroad. Finally, except for Britain and France, no European nations had the resources to face a powerful and large Iraqi Army, and most European nations did not have an infrastructure capable of supporting a foreign intervention.

In addition, public opinion in most European countries was hostile to any form of military intervention outside Europe. Not only did France, Italy, and Spain wish to maintain an autonomous Middle Easy policy, but a foreign intervention posed the serious risk of dividing public opinion. The British stood alone and presented a different picture. The 1982 Falklands War had shown that a foreign intervention, supported by the United States, could indeed gain public support.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait, European reaction was initially limited and somewhat subdued. There was, of course, official condemnation of the invasion and support for United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 661. France, Great Britain, and the Federal Republic of Germany all froze Iraqi funds but did little else. It took a month for the West European nations to coordinate their policy. Although Britain, France, Greece, Italy, and the Netherlands decided to send naval forces to the Persian Gulf, it was only on September 9, more than five weeks after the invasion, that they were able to coordinate this step with U.S. forces already in the area. By the end of September, approximately 30 European warships were in place enforcing the UN embargo on Iraq. France and Great Britain joined Belgium, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands in the air defense of Turkey, a fellow NATO member. France and Britain were, however, the only West European nations to dispatch ground forces to protect Saudi Arabia (Operation DESERT SHIELD) and also take part in the subsequent coalition invasion of Iraq (Operation DESERT STORM).

Difficulties in coordinating a common European policy and diplomacy demonstrated the limited diplomatic influence and capacity of the Europeans. In fact, the Persian Gulf War clearly demonstrated the limited nature of European integration in 1990; the shifting balance of power and reconfiguration of the political structure hindered a common and strong European response to the crisis, leaving leadership largely in the hands of the United States.

MARTIN LABERGE

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; France, Role in Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Germany, Federal Republic of, Middle East Policy; Italy, Armed Forces in Iraq and Afghanistan; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Spain, Role in Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Wars; Turkey, Role in Persian Gulf and Afghanistan Wars; United Kingdom; United Nations Security Council Resolution 661

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Explosive Reactive Armor

Explosive reactive armor (ERA) is a common form of add-on armor employed in many armored fighting vehicles (AFVs), such as tanks. AFVs utilize an armor casing to protect the crew and the machinery against strikes from enemy antitank weapons. The antitank weapons, in turn, work by piercing the armor and killing the crew or damaging hardware and software. ERA is only effective against chemical energy antiarmor weapons, such as high-explosive antitank (HEAT) rounds. ERA is not effective against kinetic energy weapons, such as sabot rounds.

In the late 1970s the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) developed the new ERA technology to protect AFVs. The concept underlying ERA was accidently discovered in 1967–1968 by a German researcher, Manfred Held, who was then working in Israel. Held and his team conducted tests by firing shells at wrecked tanks left over from the 1967 Six-Day War. They noticed that tanks that still

contained live ordnance exploded and that this explosion could disrupt the penetration of a shaped charge. This insight led to the manufacture of ERA.

ERA utilizes add-on protection modules, called tiles, made from thin metal plates layered around a sloped explosive sheath. The sheath explodes when it senses the impact of an explosive charge, such as a HEAT projectile. By creating its own explosion the HEAT warhead detonates prematurely, which prevents the plasma jet of molten metal from the shell penetrating into the crew compartment of the AFV. Explosive reactive armor is most effective against HEAT rounds. Once used, an ERA tile has to be replaced.

The early ERA models effectively defended tanks and other AFVs from single strikes. However, after they performed their task, the explosive sheath was spent, leaving the AFV vulnerable to another shell in the same location. More recent reactive armor uses a combination of energetic and passive materials to withstand multiple strikes. These modern designs employ smaller tiles and more complex shapes to offer optimal plate slopes to counter potential threats including missile warheads, exploding shells, and rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs).

In early 1991 technicians installed ERA on the nose and glacis plate of Challenger 1, the main battle tank of the British Army. Likewise, the U.S. Army Materiel Command applied reactive armor plates to the U.S. Marine Corps M60-series tanks. Since that time, modern AFVs such as the Abrams M-1A2, the British Challenger 1 and 2, and a variety of Russian tanks have all demonstrated excellent protection by using ERA.

New generations of antitank guided missiles continue to pose a threat. In addition, in urban combat such as that which occurred in the Iraq War after 2003, enemy infantry armed with RPGs fired from multiple directions at close range have the potential to overwhelm the target's ERA. One downside to the use of ERA is the potential to harm nearby friendly troops. In times past, infantry soldiers commonly used tanks as a means of transport. They would even ride on the tanks as they entered combat. ERA-equipped tanks made this practice too dangerous.

During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the Iraqi military fielded almost 6,000 main battle tanks ranging from the obsolete T-55 to the modern T-72. Iraqi tanks lacked ERA. The main Iraqi battle tank, the T-72, had reactive armor but not ERA.

Development of ERA technology has continued. Advanced versions of ERA were based on better understanding of the science associated with ERA systems, and they utilized lower masses of explosives. These considerations have had significant implications on the logistics, storage, and handling of AFVs and protection systems without a reduction in the protection levels. Future ERA models are likely to employ so-called smart armor concepts that will integrate sensors and microprocessors embedded into the armor. These devices will sense the location, type, velocity, and diameter of the projectile or jet and trigger smaller explosive elements precisely tailored to defeat a specific penetrator.

James Arnold

See also

Challenger Main Battle Tanks; M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks; Medina Ridge, Battle of; T-54/55 Series Main Battle Tank; T-62 Main Battle Tank; T-72 Main Battle Tank

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Fadhila Party

Shia Iraqi political party headed by Abd al-Rahim al-Husayni since May 2006 and part of the United Iraqi Alliance (UIA) until March 2007. Nadim al-Jabiri presided over Fahdhila (Islamic Virtue Party) prior to May 2006. Although the Fadhila Party is Islamist in focus, it does not follow Iraq's Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Husayn al-Sistani but instead remains loyal to Ayatollah Muhammad al-Yaqubi, a follower of Grand Ayatollah Muhammad Sadiq al-Sadr (murdered on the orders of Saddam Hussein in 1999). Yaqubi's faction is technically a branch of the Sadrist Movement, but neither he nor Fadhila are adherents of Muqtada al-Sadr. In fact, they are seen as a rival faction to Sadr's followers.

The party's principal base of power is in southern Iraq, and it is most prevalent in the southern city of Basra. The majority of Fadhila's adherents are relatively poor Shiites, and its slogan is "made in Iraq," to differentiate it from the Shia parties linked to Iran. Prior to the January 2005 elections in Iraq, the first nationwide plebiscite since the Anglo-American–led invasion in March 2003, Fadhila joined the Shia-dominated UIA, a political coalition representing more than 20 groups and parties. The UIA won a majority of seats in the interim Iraqi National Assembly, and in the December 2005 elections, which chose a permanent parliament, Fadhila captured 15 seats. In the January–December 2005 interim government, a prominent member of Fadhila, Hashim al-Hashimi, was given the important Ministry of Oil in the new government. Charges of inefficiency and corruption, however, plagued that office. In Basra, where Fadhila was important in the provincial government, it joined with the Dawa movement (distinguished from the main Dawa Party) and the secular Wifaq movement in order to best the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI) party.

When Husayni took control of the party in May 2006, he pulled Fadhila out the new Iraqi government, meaning that it had no clout in the governmental structure. Husayni alleged that there was "too much interference" in Iraqi internal affairs by U.S. occupation forces. The more likely reason for Fadhila's intransigence was the fact that the party did not secure control of the Ministry of Oil when the permanent government was seated after the December 2005 elections.

In May 2007 Fadhila withdrew from the UIA, claiming that the latter was too secular and was fanning the flames of sectarianism in Iraqi politics. The move angered the UIA and caused Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki to worry that other parties might quit the UIA and weaken the government. The party disagrees with the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council (SIIC, formerly SCIRI) idea of a "Shiite" region based on southern and central provinces. In March 2008 the Iraqi Army moved against the Mahdi Army in Basra, leaving Fadhila and the Badr Corps alone there.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Allawi, Iyad; Maliki, Nuri Muhammed Kamil Hasan al-; Sadr, Muqtada al-; Sistani, Sayyid Ali Husayn al-; United Iraqi Alliance

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Fahd, King of Saudi Arabia

Birth Date: ca. 1922
Death Date: August 1, 2005

King of Saudi Arabia (1982–2005) and 11th son of the founder of Saudi Arabia, Abd al-Aziz ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Saud (commonly known as Ibn Saud). Fahd ibn Abdel Aziz al-Saud was born in 1922 or 1923 in Riyadh, the current capital of Saudi Arabia. At the time of his birth his father was in the process of building modern Saudi Arabia, and during the 1920s Ibn Saud gained control over the Hejaz, the western region where the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina are located.

Fahd was one of Ibn Saud's 37 officially recognized sons. According to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's 1992 Basic Law, only sons and grandsons of monarchs are eligible to be kings of Saudi Arabia. Fahd was the eldest of the so-called Sudayri Seven, the seven sons fathered by Ibn Saud with his favorite wife, Hussah bint Ahmad al-Sudayri. These seven brothers formed a close-knit group within the Saudi royal family. Fahd's full brothers include Sultan bin Abd al-Aziz, the minister of defense since 1963 and crown prince since August 1, 2005; Nayif bin Abd al-Aziz, the interior minister since 1975; and Salman bin Abd al-Aziz, the governor of Riyadh. All of his brothers are considered potential future kings of Saudi Arabia.

As the absolute monarch of Saudi Arabia, King Fahd ibn Abdel Aziz al-Saud (1982–2005) pursued close relations with the United States and oversaw Saudi Arabia's transformation from poverty to riches during the post–World War II oil boom. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Fahd was educated at the Princes' School, which was established by Ibn Saud to educate members of the royal family. In 1945 Fahd accompanied his half brother Faisal to New York City to attend the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN). At the time Faisal, who eventually became Saudi Arabia's third king, was the foreign minister.

From 1953 to 1960 Fahd served as the minister of education. In 1959 he led the Saudi delegation to the meeting of the League of Arab States. In 1964 he became interior minister. In this capacity, he ordered mass arrests after several terrorist attacks on oil facilities and government ministries. He also reportedly put down a coup attempt in 1968. Later he assumed the post of second deputy prime minister.

Following the assassination of King Faisal by his nephew on March 25, 1975, Fahd was named crown prince of Saudi Arabia. He assumed full control of daily management of the government in that year. It was assumed that King Khalid would abdicate in 1978 after hip and open heart surgery, but his health then improved. Nonetheless, by 1981, because of King Khalid's incapacitating illness, Fahd became the de facto ruler of Saudi Arabia. In August 1981 Crown Prince Fahd advanced an eight-point plan to solve the Israeli-Palestinian-Arab dispute consisting of Israeli withdrawal from 1967 to 1948 boundaries, dismantling of post-1967 Israeli settlements, guaranteed freedom of worship for all religious groups at the holy sites, affirmation of the right of return for Palestinians and compensation for those who did not wish to return, and a transitional UN authority over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip leading to an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital, a guarantee of peace for all nations in the region, and a guarantee of the agreements by the UN or selected UN member states. Israel rejected the proposal.

Following the death of King Khalid on June 13, 1982, Fahd formally assumed the throne. During his reign, Fahd pursued a policy of open friendship with the United States while also attempting to take a leading role in Islamic and Arab issues in the Middle East. He encouraged fairly aggressive economic development policies in Saudi Arabia based on the nation's vast oil wealth and consistently sought to develop plans for economic diversification. Although Saudi Arabia remained one of the most traditional Islamic societies during Fahd's rule, advancements were nevertheless realized in technology, infrastructure, and education. Within Saudi Arabia, Islamic fundamentalists were the king's greatest critics.

On November 22, 1979, heavily armed ultra-Wahhabists, led by Juhayman Utaybi, seized the Haram, or Grand Mosque, at Mecca and held hostages there for two weeks until the Wahhabists were ousted. Utaybi and 62 others were subsequently beheaded. The rebels had accused the Saudi royal family of bowing to secularism and had proclaimed one of their leaders to be the Mahdi. Later, Iranian Islamic revolutionaries made similar claims in a propaganda war against the Saudis.

In August 1990 after Saddam Hussein's forces invaded and occupied Kuwait, Fahd agreed to allow U.S. and allied troops into

Saudi Arabia. He did this mainly out of concern that Hussein also had his eye on Saudi Arabia and its vast oil reserves. Fahd's decision earned him the condemnation of many Islamic conservatives in his own country as well as extremists such as the terrorist leader Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden himself was from a wealthy Saudi family.

After 1990 Fahd and Hussein became implacable enemies. Fahd was an avid supporter of the UN. Indeed, that organization's backing of the plan to expel Iraqi forces from Kuwait helped Fahd in his decision to allow U.S. troops access to his country. He also supported the Palestinian cause and repeatedly criticized the Israeli government's policies toward the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

After Fahd suffered a debilitating stroke in 1995, many of his official duties as monarch were delegated to his brother, Crown Prince Abdullah. Although Fahd still attended government meetings, he spent increasing amounts of time on his 200-acre estate in Marbella, Spain. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Fahd's government fully supported the Global War on Terror and mounted its own counterterrorism campaign against the Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula movement within Saudi Arabia. Fahd died of pneumonia in Riyadh on August 1, 2005. At the time of his death, he was considered one of the richest men in the world, with a personal fortune worth more than $20 billion. He was succeeded by his brother Abdullah.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Abdullah, King of Saudi Arabia; DESERT STORM, Operation; Faisal, King of Saudi Arabia; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Saudi Arabia

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Fahrenheit 9/11

Documentary film released on June 25, 2004, by Michael Moore that sharply criticized the George W. Bush administration's handling of the Global War on Terror and rationale for the March 2003 invasion of Iraq. *Fahrenheit 9/11* earned record box office receipts for a documentary but did not achieve the filmmaker's goal of preventing the reelection of Bush.

Moore is an iconoclastic author, filmmaker, and liberal activist whose controversial work enjoys considerable commercial success. His best-selling books—*Stupid White Men* (2002) and *Dude, Where's My Country* (2003)—both satirized and challenged the nation's political establishment. Moore's excellent documentary *Roger & Me* (1989) focused on the director's efforts to secure a meeting with General Motors chief executive officer Roger Smith. Moore had accused Smith of abandoning the filmmaker's hometown of Flint, Michigan. In *Bowling for Columbine* (2002), Moore addressed the subject of guns and violence in American society. At the 2003 Oscar Awards, Moore received an Academy Award for *Columbine* as best documentary feature. The filmmaker used the occasion to make a brief speech criticizing the U.S. invasion of Iraq.

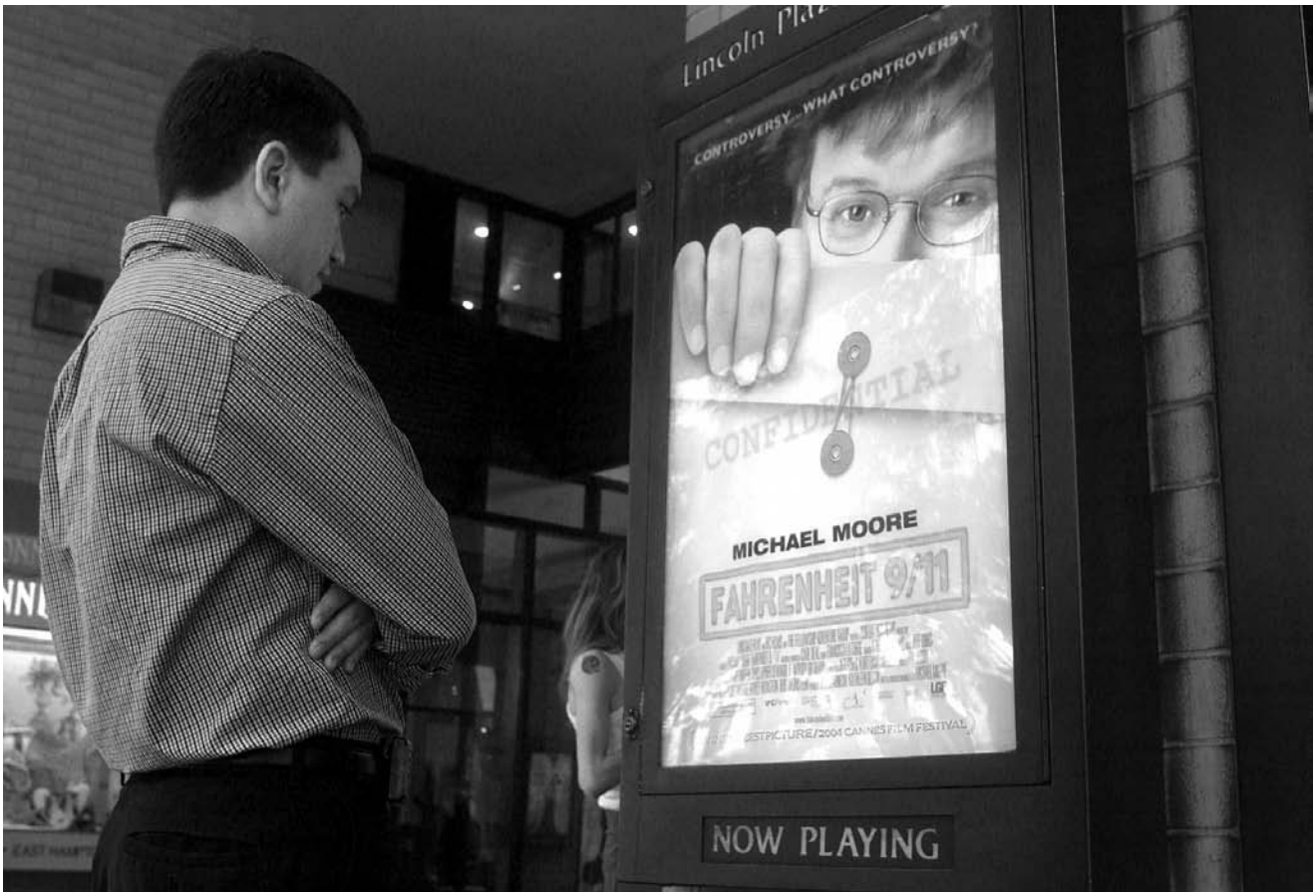
Moore's controversial Oscar appearance was the beginning of a political firestorm that engulfed his next feature, *Fahrenheit 9/11.* On May 22, 2004, *Fahrenheit 9/11* was awarded the prestigious Palme d'Or at the 57th Cannes Film Festival. Moore's detractors sneered that the award was another example of French anti-Americanism; however, there was only one French citizen on the nine-person jury. Prerelease publicity for the film was also assured when executives of the Disney Corporation blocked their subsidiary Miramax from distributing the film. Lion's Gate, however, was willing to replace Disney. Moore asserted that Disney was bowing to political pressure from the Bush administration.

Fahrenheit 9/11 earned $23.9 million on its first weekend of release in Canada and the United States, making it the number one box office hit of the weekend. This was all the more remarkable because the film was in limited release. In fact, those weekend receipts alone exceeded the total amount earned by Moore's *Bowling for Columbine,* which was the largest-grossing documentary film before *Fahrenheit 9/11.* By the weekend of July 24, 2004, the film was in European release and had grossed more than $100 million.

In *Fahrenheit 9/11,* Moore indicts the Bush administration for manipulating the outcome of the 2000 presidential election as well as mishandling the Global War on Terror and the occupation of Iraq. Employing information from Craig Unger's *House of Bush, House of Saud* (2004), Moore critiques the close relationship between the Bush family and Saudi officials, observing that most of the 9/11 hijackers were Saudis rather than Iraqis. Moore also chastises the U.S. military for targeting the poor and minorities in recruitment campaigns for the Iraq War.

Moore focuses on the story of Lila Lipscomb from Flint, Michigan. Lipscomb was initially a strong supporter of the Iraq War, but she began questioning the war after her son was killed in the conflict. A grieving Lipscomb asks Moore why her son had to die in a needless conflict. Moore concludes the film by asserting that the nation must never again send its brave young men unnecessarily into harm's way. This theme was reiterated by Moore in his book *Will They Ever Trust Us Again?* (2004).

Critics on the political Right labeled the film as in-your-face propaganda, attacking Moore and the accuracy of his arguments. Moore responded that his critics failed to understand that documentaries were not objective and that *Fahrenheit 9/11* might be best described as an op-ed piece. Although acknowledging that his film was indeed opinionated, Moore defended the accuracy of his case. Perhaps Moore's condemnation of corporate media's support for the war accounted for the growing criticism of the film in the mainstream press and media. Historian Robert Brent Toplin asserts that Moore's detractors were successful in casting doubt upon the veracity of the film. Accordingly, many Americans who



A moviegoer looks at a poster of director Michael Moore peering over an envelope stamped "confidential" in an advertisement for the controversial documentary *Fahrenheit 9/11*. The film takes a critical look at the policies of the administration of U.S. president George W. Bush. (AP/Wide World Photos)

firmly supported the war effort refused to see the film. The negative political reaction to the film was also apparent in its failure to garner any Academy Award nominations. Moore did not submit his film for consideration as a documentary, hoping to attain a Best Picture nomination.

However, those who shared Moore's political perspective flocked to the film. By January 2005 it had grossed $220 million in world distribution. And more than 2 million DVD copies, record sales for a documentary, were purchased upon the DVD's release on October 5, 2004. Although a target of the political Right, Moore remains politically active and in 2007 released *Sicko,* a scathing documentary that indicts the state of the American health care industry. He was criticized by some when it became known that he had filmed part of the movie in Cuba, a potential violation of the long-standing U.S. embargo against that island nation.

Ron Briley

See also

Bush, George Walker; Iraqi Freedom, Operation; Moore, Michael

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Failed States and the Global War on Terror

A failed state is characterized as a nation whose governing institutions do not provide minimum services to its population, especially in terms of security. Although still not accepted by many political experts, the concept of failed states gained currency during the George W. Bush presidency as a way of rationalizing interventionism in the Global War on Terror or explaining how 9/11 could have arisen. The concept of failed states was discussed in a volume edited by Robert Rotberg and then became part of an index in the influential journal *Foreign Policy* to measure certain facts in a number of countries.

In the popularized concept of failed or collapsed states, they may be paralyzed by corruption, unable to initiate or maintain economic or development programs, and have ineffective judicial systems and little democracy. The novel factor now of interest as

supposedly the true test of failure is the presence of large-scale endemic violence. The concept of failed states was specifically crafted to explain the rise of Osama bin Laden, so it was employed to identify ungoverned or poorly governed areas that harbor those who are violent.

A primary function of the state is to provide security for its citizens by means of what German sociologist Max Weber referred to as a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence. Failure to maintain this monopoly, by permitting or being unable to prevent nonstate groups to exercise violence on a large scale within the borders of the state, calls into question the existence of the state as a system of governance.

Those who employ the label "failed states" may point to Afghanistan, Lebanon, and perhaps Pakistan. Failed states became an issue in the years following World War II as new nation-states were established in the European powers' former colonial empires and as former colonies rebelled and abruptly gained their independence. Some of these new states lacked strong central-governing bureaucratic institutions or well-trained government officials and civil servants. They were unable to govern their territories and populations in an efficient manner, leaving many of their citizens to search for other sources of basic services and security.

Many of the new states' borders were not aligned with ethnic or tribal boundaries, which had been in place for decades and in some cases centuries, creating new territorial conflicts or making old ones worse. This resulted in groups within the states attempting to take on some of the powers normally held by the state, either as a means to provide security for themselves and their constituents or simply to attain autonomous power within the state's boundaries.

One supposed central characteristic of a failed state is the breakdown of law and order. This is often the result of the increased power of criminal organizations such as drug cartels, militias, insurgents, and terrorist organizations arrayed against the poor-quality military and security forces of the state.

With the weakening and failure of the state, areas of these nations may come under the control of these organizations, especially as they become more capable of imposing their will on the security forces and leadership of the state. The concept of failed states has been particularly important in the U.S. approach to the Global War on Terror because most terrorist organizations seek areas of weak governmental control, which they take advantage of for the purposes of training, organization, and staging attacks.

Terrorist organizations may take advantage of state weakness in a number of ways. Terrorists often seek to operate from regions that are difficult to reach due to geographical distances from the country's center or because of difficult, typically mountainous, terrain, or both. In some cases, such as in Afghanistan under the Taliban, the central government may welcome a terrorist organization such as Al Qaeda as an ideological ally. Sometimes the terrorists will come to an informal agreement of "live and let live" with the government, promising not to challenge government authority or get involved in domestic politics in return for a free hand to operate in their sanctuaries. Attacks in Pakistan by a rebuilt Taliban in 2008 have led to attempts by the Pakistani government to arrange such an agreement with the terrorists. Because failed states are still considered sovereign by their citizens and governments, military action by other states against terrorist organizations in their territory involve issues of international law and politics that relate to interstate conflict and war.

While the American-led invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 was aimed at Al Qaeda, it was premised on the overthrow of the Taliban regime and reconstructing Afghanistan so that it would no longer serve as a haven for terrorist organizations. However, the Taliban remain active in Afghanistan, and the insurgency that followed the quick 2001 American victory over the Taliban and Al Qaeda illustrates how difficult it can be to establish a strong state until adequate leadership and institutions can be established, positioned, and strengthened.

ELLIOT P. CHODOFF

See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; Democratization and the Global War on Terror; Global War on Terror; Hezbollah; Lebanon; Pakistan; Taliban; Terrorism

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Faisal, King of Saudi Arabia

Birth Date: ca. 1903
Death Date: June 1975

Third king of Saudi Arabia, reigning from 1964 to 1975. King Faisal ibn Abd al-Aziz al-Saud was born in Riyadh in 1903 (some sources claim 1906), the fourth son of King Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud, founder of the Saudi dynasty. In 1925 Faisal, in command of an army of Saudi loyalists, won a decisive victory over Hussein ibn Ali in the Hejaz region of western Arabia. In reward Faisal was made the governor of Hejaz the following year. After the new Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was formalized, he was named minister of foreign affairs in 1932, a post he would hold until 1964.

During the first oil boom of 1947–1952, Faisal played a key role in shaping Saudi policies. In 1953 when his elder half brother Saud became king, Faisal was declared crown prince and continued as foreign minister. In 1958 during an economic and internal political crisis, a council of princes within the Saud family sought to oust Saud and replace him with Faisal. Faisal was unwilling to endorse

During his reign as king of Saudi Arabia from 1964 to 1975, Faisal ibn Abd al-Aziz al-Saud raised his country from near-feudal status to a modern society that still strongly adherred to Islamic teachings. (Library of Congress)

this political change. Instead, Faisal received full executive powers as president of the reconstituted Council of Ministers. Saud and some supporters seized executive authority again in 1960 when Faisal was out of the country, and in response Faisal resigned.

Faisal returned to the government in 1962, when he assumed virtually full executive authority. When Saud's health began to fail, Faisal was appointed regent, assuming office on March 4, 1964. On November 2 of that year he became king after his brother Saud was finally officially forced to abdicate by the ruling family and left for Greece.

Although a traditionalist in many ways, King Faisal proved to be a farsighted innovator and administrator who modernized the ministries of government and established for the first time an efficient bureaucracy. In the course of his reign he also initiated a number of major economic and social development plans. Under Faisal, the industrial development of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia began in earnest.

Using Saudi Arabia's vast oil revenues, which grew from $334 million in 1960 to $22.5 billion in 1974, Faisal established state benefits, including medical care and education to the postgraduate level. His government subsidized food, water, fuel, electricity, and rents. Faisal also introduced reforms such as girls' schools and television, which were hotly protested. Indeed, these reforms were opposed by many Saudis, including members of the royal family, who saw them as counter to the tenets of Islam.

Saudi Arabia joined the Arab states in the Six-Day War of June 1967, but Faisal was devastated when Israel won the conflict. In 1973 he began a program intended to increase the military power of Saudi Arabia. On October 17 he withdrew Saudi oil from world markets, quadrupling the price of oil worldwide. Reacting to U.S. assistance to Israel during the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, Faisal's action was the primary force behind the 1973–1974 oil crisis, which limited American and European access to Saudi oil. It also empowered the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), which was further empowered to set the supply and price of oil supplies. In 1974 Faisal was named *Time* magazine's Man of the Year.

On March 25, 1975, Faisal was shot and killed by his nephew, Prince Faisal ibn Musad. It is generally believed that the prince wanted to avenge his elder brother, who was killed by security forces in a clash over the introduction of television into the kingdom in 1966. Ibn Musad's father had sought vengeance against his son's killer, but the ruler had deemed that the authorities were in the right. Some speculated that when the younger Faisal was in the United States, drug use might have further impaired his judgment. Musad was captured shortly after the attack. Declared sane, he was tried and found guilty of regicide and was beheaded in a public square in Riyadh in June 1975. King Faisal was succeeded by his half brother, Crown Prince Khalid ibn Sultan.

James H. Willbanks

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Oil; Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries; Saud, Khalid ibn Sultan ibn Abd al-Aziz al-; Saudi Arabia

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Faisal II, King of Iraq

Birth Date: May 2, 1935
Death Date: July 14, 1958

King of Iraq from 1939 to 1958. Faisal was born in Baghdad on May 2, 1935, the only son of the second king of Iraq, Ghazi II, who died in an automobile accident in 1938. Until Faisal turned 18, his uncle, Abd al-Ilah, served as regent of Iraq and de facto head of state.

Faisal meanwhile studied at the Harrow School in Great Britain with his cousin, the future King Hussein of Jordan. The two men enjoyed a close relationship, and their two countries based on their Hashimite lineage retained important commercial and political ties. In 1952 Faisal graduated and returned to Iraq.

Current and Former Monarchs of Selected Middle Eastern and North African States

Current Monarchies

Country	*Type of Monarchy*	*Current Ruler*	*Ruling Since*
Bahrain	Constitutional	King Hamad bin Isa al-Khalifa	1999
Jordan	Constitutional	King Abdullah II	1999
Kuwait	Constitutional	Emir Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah	2006
Morocco	Constitutional	King Muhammad VI	1999
Oman	Absolute	Sultan Qabus ibn Said	1970
Qatar	Absolute	Emir Sheik Hamad ibn Khalifa al-Thani	1995
Saudi Arabia	Absolute	King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz al-Saud	2005
United Arab Emirates	Absolute	Sheik Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahayan	2004

Former Monarchies

Country	*Monarchy Until*	*Last Monarch*
Egypt	1953	King Fuad II
Iran	1979	Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi
Iraq	1958	Faisal II
Libya	1969	Sayyid Hasan ar-Rida al-Mahdi as-Sanussi
Tunisia	1957	Muhammad VIII al-Amin
Yemen	1962	Muhammad al-Badr

Following World War I, the British received a League of Nations mandate over Iraq. The British were soon confronted with a fierce rebellion against their rule during 1920–1922, however. In restoring order and stability in Iraq, they installed on the Iraqi throne a member of the Hashimite family, Faisal I (the grandfather of Faisal II), to whom they had earlier promised the throne of Syria. Some Iraqis viewed the members of the Iraqi royal family as foreigners, as they hailed from the Hejaz, a western area of the Arabian Peninsula. Others supported Faisal I, who had symbolized the Arab cause for independence in the Arab Revolt. Many political followers of Faisal I accompanied him from Syria to Iraq, including Iraqi former Ottoman Army officers who provided a base of power for him. His son Ghazi was popular with Iraqis but was not an adept ruler. The royal family's pro-British policies and those of Nuri al-Said Pasha, who had held as many as 48 cabinet positions, including repeated stints as prime minister, caused Faisal II and the regent to be viewed by Iraqis as puppets of the British government.

By 1940 the most powerful group in Iraqi politics was the Golden Square of four army colonels, led by Colonel Salah al-Din al-Sabagh, an Arab nationalist who supported the Palestinian cause. The British regarded the Golden Square as a distinct threat and sympathetic to the Axis cause. In April 1941 Colonel Rashid Ali al-Gaylani, part of this group, engineered a military coup in Iraq, sent Abd al-Ilah into exile, and proclaimed himself regent. Gaylani sought to pursue a foreign policy independent of the United Kingdom. The young King Faisal went into seclusion outside of Baghdad. Within a month, however, a combined force of the Royal Iraqi Air Force, Jordan's Arab Legion, and a contingent of British troops defeated Gaylani's forces and restored Abd al-Ilah as regent. Faisal II then returned to Baghdad. In May 1953, upon his 18th birthday, he assumed full governing responsibility over Iraq.

In his policies, Faisal II was guided by his mentor and uncle, Abd al-Ilah, and pro-British prime minister Nuri al-Said. Many Iraqis became disillusioned with Faisal's foreign policy during the 1950s, however. Arab nationalists opposed the government's pro-Western stance on diplomatic issues. In 1955 Iraq joined the U.S.-inspired anti-Soviet Middle East Treaty Organization (also known as the Baghdad Pact). Its members included Iraq, the United States (as an associate member), the United Kingdom, Turkey, Pakistan, and Iran. The Arab nationalist president of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser, strongly opposed the pact, arguing that threats to the Middle East originated in Israel rather than in the Soviet Union. During the 1956 Suez Crisis, Iraqis supported Egypt's resistance to the coordinated attack undertaken by Great Britain, France, and Israel. The Iraqi government's relationship with Great Britain, however, caused tensions concerning the rise of Nasserists and Pan-Arabists in Iraq after this crisis.

In response to Egypt's February 1, 1958, union with Syria known as the United Arab Republic (UAR), the Hashimite monarchs of Jordan and Iraq created the Arab Federation of Iraq and Jordan on February 14, 1958. Faisal II became head of state of the new federation.

In June 1958 King Hussein of Jordan requested military assistance from Iraq to quell disturbances fueled by Arab nationalists. Faisal ordered troops to Jordan, including a division of the Iraqi Army under the command of General Abd al-Karim Qasim, a staunch opponent of British ambitions in the Middle East. On July 14, 1958, using the troop movements as a cover, Qasim overthrew the monarchy and proclaimed a republic. Members of the royal family, including King Faisal II, were murdered and their bodies mutilated. Prince Zayid, the youngest brother of Faisal I, was in London at the time of the coup and became the heir-in-exile to the

Iraqi throne. When Zayid died in 1970, he was succeeded as heir-in-exile by his son, Raad, an adviser to Jordan's King Abdullah.

MICHAEL R. HALL AND SHERIFA ZUHUR

See also

Baghdad Pact; Hussein ibn Talal, King of Jordan; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Nuri al-Said; Pan-Arabism and Pan-Arabist Thought; Suez Crisis; United Arab Republic; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy

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Fallon, William Joseph

Birth Date: December 30, 1944

U.S. Navy officer and commander, U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), during 2007–2008. William Joseph "Fox" Fallon was born in East Orange, New Jersey, on December 30, 1944, and grew up in Merchantville, New Jersey. He was commissioned in the U.S. Navy through the Navy ROTC program after graduating from Villanova University in 1967. That December he completed flight training and became a naval aviator. He later graduated from the Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, and the National War College, Washington, D.C. Fallon also earned an MA degree in international studies from Old Dominion University in 1982.

Fallon's career as a naval aviator spanned 24 years, with service in attack squadrons and carrier air wings. He logged more than 1,300 carrier-arrested landings and 4,800 flight hours. Fallon began his career in naval aviation flying an RA-5C Vigilante in Vietnam, later moving on to pilot the A-6 Intruder beginning in 1974. He served in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian oceans on the carriers *Saratoga, Ranger, Nimitz, Dwight D. Eisenhower,* and *Theodore Roosevelt.*

Fallon's commands included Attack Squadron 65, deployed aboard the *Dwight D. Eisenhower* (May 3, 1984–September 5, 1985); Medium Attack Wing One at Naval Air Station, Oceana, Virginia; Carrier Air Wing Eight, aboard the *Theodore Roosevelt* deployed in the Persian Gulf during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM (Fallon led 80 strike air missions into Iraq and Kuwait during August 1990–February 1991); Carrier Group Eight (1995); Battle Force Sixth Fleet as part of the *Theodore Roosevelt* Battle Group during the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) combat Operation DELIBERATE FORCE (August 29–September 14, 1995) in Bosnia; and Second Fleet and Striking Fleet Atlantic (November 1997–September 2000).

Fallon held numerous staff assignments. He also served as deputy director for operations, Joint Task Force, Southwest Asia in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia; deputy director, aviation plans and requirements on the staff of the chief of Naval Operations in Washington, D.C.; assistant chief of staff, plans and policy for Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic (his first flag officer position); deputy and chief of staff, U.S. Atlantic Fleet; and deputy commander in chief and chief of staff, U.S. Atlantic Command.

Fallon was promoted to full (four-star) admiral and became the 31st vice chief of naval operations, a post he held from October 2000 to August 2003. While serving in that capacity, he publicly apologized to the president of Japan following a collision between the U.S. submarine *Greeneville* and the Japanese fishing training ship *Ehime Maru* off the coast of Hawaii in February 2001. In 2002 Fallon asserted before the U.S. Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works Committee that the ability to conduct military operations superseded obedience to environmental laws. He then took command of the U.S. Fleet Forces Command (October 2003–February 2005) and the U.S. Pacific Command (February 2005–March 2007), where his approach to the People's Republic of China (PRC) was less confrontational than previous commanders and was not well received by some American policy makers who favored a tougher stance toward the PRC.

In March 2007 Fallon replaced General John P. Abizaid of the U.S. Army to become the first naval officer to take command of CENTCOM. Fallon's tenure lasted only one year, from March 16, 2007, to March 28, 2008. Although the impetus for his abrupt retirement as CENTCOM commander is not disputed, its voluntariness is. Despite the fact that Fallon was publicly lauded by President George W. Bush and Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, Gates noted that Fallon's resignation was due in part to controversy surrounding an article by Thomas P. M. Barnett titled "The Man between War and Peace," published in *Esquire* magazine on March 11, 2008. In it, Fallon was quoted as having disagreements with the Bush administration on the prosecution of the war in Iraq and over a potential conflict with Iran regarding its nuclear weapons program. The article portrayed Fallon as resisting pressure from the Bush administration for war with Iran over the latter's pursuit of a nuclear weapons program. Besides Fallon's rather open opposition to Bush's war policies, the admiral purportedly disagreed with General David Petraeus over Iranian covert exportation of weapons to Iraqi insurgents and the pace of future American troop reductions in Iraq. Many believed that Fallon was forced out principally because his superiors blamed him for the failure to halt Iranian weapons from entering Iraq.

RICHARD M. EDWARDS

See also

Abizaid, John Philip; Bush, George Walker; Gates, Robert Michael; Petraeus, David Howell

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Fallujah

City located in central Iraq, within the so-called Sunni Triangle, and a center of insurgency activity after the March 2003 Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq. On the eve of the Iraq War, Fallujah had a population of approximately 440,000 people, the great majority of whom were Sunni Muslims. The city is located along the Euphrates River about 42 miles to the west of the capital city of Baghdad. The city consisted of more than 2,000 city blocks laid out in regular grid fashion. A typical block grid featured tenements and two-story concrete houses surrounded by courtyard walls and divided by narrow alleyways. Highway 10, a two-lane road that runs through the city, becomes a four-lane throughway in the city's center.

The area encompassing Fallujah has been inhabited for many centuries, and its history can be traced back at least as far as the reign of the Babylonian king Hammurabai, during 1780–1750 BCE. After the Babylonian captivity of the Jews and beginning in circa 219 CE, the area now encompassed by Fallujah became a center of Jewish learning and scholarship that included many Jewish academies. This lasted until circa 1050. The city was a crossroads during the many centuries of Ottoman rule.

Following World War I the British established a mandate over the area of Iraq. With a rise of Iraqi nationalism, in April 1941, during World War II, there was a coup that brought Rashid Ali al-Gaylani to power. He formed a cabinet that contained a number of individuals with Axis connections. Encouraged by hints of Axis aid, Gaylani refused to honor a 1930 treaty that allowed the transportation of British troops from Basra across Iraq. The Iraqi government also positioned troops and artillery around British bases in Iraq. In the ensuing fighting, British troops defeated the Iraqi Army near Fallujah.

In 1947 the city had just 10,000 inhabitants, but it grew exponentially in the decades to follow because of Iraq's growing oil wealth, Fallujah's strategic position along the Euphrates, and Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's program designed to make it a centerpiece of his power base beyond Baghdad. Many Sunnis from the city held positions within the government, and the ruling Baath Party claimed many important ties to Fallujah. The city came to be highly industrialized under Hussein's rule, although westward-running Highway 1, a four-lane divided superhighway, bypassed the city and caused the city to decline in strategic importance by the early 2000s. Fallujah retained its political importance thanks to the many senior Baath Party members from the area.

During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, bridges spanning the Euphrates River in Fallujah were targeted by coalition aircraft. In

Members of the U.S. Navy assigned to a mobile construction battalion patrol a Fallujah street one day before the January 30, 2005, national elections in Iraq. (U.S. Navy)

the process several markets were hit, resulting in substantial civilian casualties. As many as 200 Iraqi civilians may have been killed in these bombing raids.

During the initial stages of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM Fallujah remained largely unaffected by the fighting because Iraqi troops who had garrisoned the city fled, leaving considerable military equipment behind. However, as the war progressed and Hussein's regime was toppled, Fallujah was struck by a spasm of violence and looting, with individuals sacking military storage areas, stores, hospitals, and restaurants. To make matters worse, Hussein had released all political prisoners held in the nearby Abu Ghraib Prison, which flooded the area with an assortment of bitter political exiles and criminals who delighted in the anarchy of Fallujah in the spring and summer of 2003. Inhabitants fled the city by the thousands, leaving behind the remnants of their lives and livelihoods. A large percentage of the male population of Fallujah was unemployed, and they proved to be a major source of recruits for the Iraqi insurgency movement. The Iraqis of Falluja perceived themselves as having lost the status they had enjoyed under Hussein and believed that they had little to gain in a new governmental system dominated by his former enemies.

In April 2003 U.S. occupation forces finally attempted to exert control over the city, but by then the major damage had already been done, and the city was increasingly anti-American. Sunni rebels had soon taken root in Fallujah, as had foreign insurgents allied with Al Qaeda. Operation VIGILANT RESOLVE (the First Battle of Fallujah), launched in April 2004 by U.S. forces, failed to wrest the city away from the insurgents. During November–December 2004 U.S. and Iraqi security forces launched Operation PHANTOM FURY (the Second Battle of Fallujah), a large and bloody affair that caused the insurgents to flee the city. However, the coalition and Iraqi forces had to conduct yet another operation in Fallujah in June 2007.

Since then Fallujah's population has trickled back into the city, but they have returned to a disaster zone. Half of the city's housing was destroyed, much of its infrastructure lay in ruins or disrepair, and city services were absent. Reconstruction has advanced slowly, and it is estimated that almost 150,000 refugees still reside in massive tent cities on the outskirts of Fallujah. In 2009 the Iraqi government estimated the population of the city at 350,000, but Fallujah struggles to return to normalcy.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Al Qaeda in Iraq; Baath Party; Fallujah, First Battle of; Fallujah, Second Battle of; Hussein, Saddam; Iraqi Insurgency; Sunni Triangle

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Fallujah, First Battle of

Start Date: April 4, 2004
End Date: May 1, 2004

A U.S. offensive, the principal goal of which was to retake the Iraqi city of Fallujah after insurgents had seized control of it. Codenamed VIGILANT RESOLVE, it occurred during April 4–May 1, 2004. Sunni insurgents, including Al Qaeda fighters, had steadily destabilized Anbar Province in Iraq in the aftermath of the 2003 U.S.-led invasion. Fallujah, located some 42 miles west of Baghdad in the so-called Sunni Triangle, emerged as a focal point for anticoalition attacks. The town was dominated by salafist groups who were extremely suspicious of all outsiders, particularly foreigners; family and clan ties dominated personal relationships. The collapse of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's regime had left some 70,000 male inhabitants in the city unemployed, providing a major source of recruits for the Iraqi insurgency movement.

Growing violence in Fallujah in March 2004 led the U.S. military to withdraw forces from the city and conduct only armed patrols. On March 31 insurgents ambushed four contractors working for Blackwater USA, a private contracting company that provided security personnel to the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA). The insurgents dragged the bodies through the streets and then hanged them from a bridge. Television cameras transmitted the grisly images around the world, prompting a strong response to offset the perception that coalition forces had lost control of the area.

In an effort to regain control of the city and the surrounding province, the U.S. military launched a series of operations against suspected insurgent groups and their bases. The lead unit was the I Marine Expeditionary Force (I MEF), which had been deployed to Anbar in March. The ground forces were supported by coalition aircraft and helicopter units. U.S. lieutenant general James Conway had overall command of the operation. On April 4 some 2,200 marines surrounded Fallujah. They blockaded the main roads in and out of the city in an effort to allow only civilians to escape the fighting. The commanders on the ground believed that the marines should remain outside of the city because they lacked the troops to effectively control the area and the population; nevertheless, they were ordered to seize the city.

In the opening days of the operation, U.S. forces conducted air strikes on suspected targets and undertook limited incursions into Fallujah, including a strike to take control of its main radio station. At least one-quarter of the civilian population fled the city as insurgents used homes, schools, and mosques to attack the marines, who responded with devastating firepower that often produced high collateral damage and civilian casualties.

Within the city there were an estimated 15,000–20,000 insurgent fighters divided among more than a dozen insurgent groups of various origins. Some were former members of Hussein's security forces. They were armed with a variety of weapons, including light arms, rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs), mortars, and

U.S. Army armor withdraws from the U.S. military checkpoint at the entrance to Fallujah, Iraq, April 30, 2004. (AP/Wide World Photos)

improvised explosive devices (IEDs). The insurgents used guerrilla tactics against the marines, including ambushes, mortar attacks, and mines and IEDs. Sniper fire was common throughout the operation. U.S. forces responded with artillery and air strikes, including the use of heavily armed Lockheed AC-130 gunships. Support from Bell AH-1W Super Cobra attack helicopters, however, was limited because of significant ground fire. Meanwhile, the marines attempted to secure neighborhoods one or two blocks at a time using air support and tanks.

There were problems coordinating movements in the dense urban environment, especially because maps were not standardized between the various units. Meanwhile, many of the remaining Iraqi security forces within the city either joined the insurgents or simply fled their posts. After three days of intense fighting, the marines had secured only about one-quarter of Fallujah.

In response to the escalating violence, the failure of the marines to make significant progress in the city, growing pressure from Iraqi political leaders, and increasing domestic pressure on the George W. Bush administration that was largely the result of media coverage, the U.S.-led CPA ordered a unilateral cease-fire on April 9 and initiated negotiations with the insurgent groups. The marines allowed humanitarian aid into the city; however, in spite of the cease-fire, sporadic fighting continued. Throughout the negotiations, it was decided that the United States would turn over security for the city to a newly formed ad hoc Iraqi militia force, the Fallujah Brigade. The United States agreed to provide arms and equipment for the brigade, which included former soldiers and police officers of the Hussein regime.

On May 1 U.S. forces completely withdrew from Fallujah, but they maintained a presence outside of the city at an observation base. More than 700 Iraqis had been killed in the fighting (the majority of these, perhaps as many as 600, were civilians), while 27 U.S. marines were killed and 90 were wounded.

The Fallujah Brigade failed to maintain security and began to disintegrate during the summer of 2004. Many of its members joined or rejoined the insurgency, and the military announced that Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the leader of Al Qaeda in Iraq, was headquartered in Fallujah. The coalition undertook a second campaign in Fallujah in the autumn of 2004, code-named Operation PHANTOM FURY.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Fallujah; Fallujah, Second Battle of; Iraqi Insurgency; United States Marine Corps, Iraq War

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Fallujah, Second Battle of

Start Date: November 7, 2004
End Date: December 23, 2004

Major battle fought in and around the city of Fallujah, some 42 miles west of Baghdad, between U.S., Iraqi, and British forces and Iraqi insurgents (chiefly Al Qaeda in Iraq but also other militias). Following the decision to halt the coalition assault on Fallujah in Operation VIGILANT RESOLVE (the First Battle of Fallujah) during April–May 2004, the U.S. marines had withdrawn from the city and turned over security to the so-called Fallujah Brigade, an ad hoc force of local men who had formerly served in the Iraqi Army. The Fallujah Brigade failed dismally in this task, giving the insurgents another chance to claim victory and attract additional recruits. During the summer and autumn months, the Fallujah police turned a blind eye as the insurgents fortified positions inside Fallujah and stockpiled supplies. The Iraqi interim government, formed on June 28, 2004, then requested new efforts to capture and secure Fallujah.

A U.S. marine at an observation post in Fallujah, Iraq, during Operation NEW DAWN on November 10, 2004. (U.S. Army)

In preparation for the ground assault, coalition artillery and aircraft began selective strikes on the city on October 30, 2004. Coalition ground forces (American, Iraqi, and British) cut off electric power to the city on November 5 and distributed leaflets warning people to stay in their homes and not use their cars. This was a response to insurgent suicide bombers who had been detonating cars packed with explosives. On November 7 the Iraqi government announced a 60-day state of emergency throughout most of Iraq. Because of all these warnings, between 75 and 90 percent of Fallujah's civilian population abandoned the city before the coalition ground offensive began. Many of these fled to Syria, where they remain as refugees.

The Americans initially labeled the assault Operation PHANTOM FURY. Iraqi prime minister Ayad Allawi, however, renamed it AL-FAJR (New Dawn). The operation's main objective was to demonstrate the ability of the Iraqi government to control its own territory, thereby bolstering its prestige. The American military focused on the important secondary objective of killing as many insurgents as possible while keeping coalition casualties low. About 10,000 American soldiers and marines and 2,000 Iraqi troops participated in Operation AL-FAJR. Some Royal Marines also took part. The American forces involved had considerable experience in urban combat.

The assault plan called for a concentration of forces north of Fallujah. Spearheaded by the army's heavy armor, army and marine units would attack due south along precisely defined sectors. The infantry would methodically clear buildings, leaving the trailing Iraqi forces to search for insurgents and assault the city's 200 mosques, which coalition tacticians suspected would be used as defensive insurgent strong points. Intelligence estimates suggested that some 3,000 insurgents defended the city, one-fifth of whom were foreign jihadists. Intelligence estimates also predicted fanatical resistance.

Ground operations associated with the Second Battle of Fallujah commenced on November 7, 2004, when an Iraqi commando unit and the Marine 3rd Light Armored Reconnaissance Battalion conducted a preliminary assault. The objective was to secure the Fallujah General Hospital to the west of the city and capture two bridges over the Euphrates River, thereby isolating the insurgent forces inside the city. This preliminary assault was successful, allowing the main assault to commence after dark the following evening. The American military chose this time because it knew that its various night-vision devices would provide it a tactical advantage over the insurgents. Four marine infantry and two army mechanized battalions attacked in the first wave. M-1A2 Abrams tanks and M-2A3 Bradley infantry fighting vehicles provided mobile firepower for which the insurgents had no answer. The M-1A2 Abrams tanks exhibited the ability to absorb enormous punishment and keep operating. The speed and shock of

the massed armor overwhelmed the insurgents, enabling the American soldiers to drive deep into Fallujah. Iraqi forces also performed surprisingly well. After four days of operations, coalition forces had secured about half the city.

By November 11 the methodical American advance had driven most of the insurgents into the southern part of Fallujah. Three days of intense street fighting ensued, during which time the Americans reached the southern limits of the city. On November 15 the Americans reversed direction and attacked north to eliminate any insurgents who had been missed in the first pass and to search more thoroughly for insurgent weapons and supplies. For this part of the operation, the ground forces broke down into squad-sized elements to conduct their searches. By November 16 American commanders judged Fallujah secured, although the operation would not end officially until December 23, by which time many residents had been allowed to return to their homes.

U.S. casualties in the Second Battle of Fallujah were 95 killed and 560 wounded; Iraqi Army losses were 1l killed and 43 wounded. Insurgent losses were estimated at between 1,200 and 2,000 killed, with another 1,000 to 1,500 captured. The disparity in the casualties indicated the extent of the coalition's tactical advantage. Indeed, postbattle army and marine assessments lauded the tremendous tactical skill in urban warfare displayed by American forces. However, the intense house-to-house fighting had caused the destruction of an estimated 20 percent of the city's buildings, while another 60 percent of the city's structures were damaged. The tremendous damage, including that to 60 mosques, enraged Iraq's Sunni minority. Widespread civilian demonstrations and increased insurgent attacks followed the Second Battle of Fallujah. Although the 2005 Iraqi elections were held on schedule, Sunni participation was very low partially because of the Sunnis' sense of grievance over the destruction in Fallujah.

James Arnold

See also

Al Qaeda in Iraq; Allawi, Iyad; Fallujah; Iraqi Insurgency; Sunni Islam; Sunni Triangle

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Falwell, Jerry

Birth Date: August 11, 1933
Death Date: May 15, 2007

Conservative and often controversial American fundamentalist Baptist pastor, educator, author, televangelist, and pro-Israel activist. Jerry Lamon Falwell was born in Lynchburg, Virginia, on August 11, 1933, and graduated with a degree in Bible studies from the Baptist Bible College in Springfield, Missouri, in 1956. That same year he returned to Lynchburg and founded the Thomas Road Baptist Church (TRBC). Church membership grew from the original 35 members in 1956 to more than 24,000 members by 2007. Falwell also founded Lynchburg Baptist College (now Liberty University) in 1971.

In 1979 Falwell and Ed McAteer founded the Moral Majority, a conservative Christian lobbying group that stood against abortion, pornography, feminism, and homosexuality and advocated for an increased role of religion in public schools and traditional family values. The Moral Majority was highly influential in the election of Republican Ronald Reagan to the presidency in 1980 and also championed continued American support of Israel. Meanwhile, Falwell had developed a national following through his television and radio programming. The *Old Time Gospel Hour,* still in production and aired nationally until 2004, broadcasts the TRBC's Sunday morning services. Since 2004, the television program has aired only locally in the Lynchburg market. *Listen America Radio* produces three-minute news and commentary segments featuring the opinions of various conservatives.

During the 1990s Falwell was a vehement opponent of President Bill Clinton and First Lady Hillary Clinton. Falwell actively promoted a video titled *The Clinton Chronicles* that accused the Clintons of complicity in the suicide death of White House counsel Vincent Foster.

Falwell's resolute support of Israel has been referred to as an example of the Christian Zionism common among fundamentalist Christians. He and other American Christian Zionists contend that conservative American Christians are the staunchest and most loyal supporters of Israel and that this bloc, 70 million strong, will closely monitor American policies toward Israel. In January 1998 Falwell stated that if need be he could contact 200,000 evangelical pastors on behalf of Israel. He proved this point when he responded to President George W. Bush's April 2002 prodding of Israel to remove its tanks from Palestinian towns on the West Bank with a personal letter of protest followed by more than 100,000 e-mails from Christian conservatives. The tanks remained, and Bush issued no follow-up call for their withdrawal.

Falwell believed that the return of the Jews to their homeland would initiate a prophetic cycle that began with the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple in 70 CE. The formation of the State of Israel in 1948 was the necessary component that restarted the prophetic cycle, which will end with the Second Coming of Jesus. Israel's retaking of the Western (Wailing) Wall, the only remaining wall of Solomon's original temple, and of the Temple Mount during the 1967 Six-Day War were seen as a further progression of the cycle that would ultimately lead to the end of the world. Falwell viewed the continued war and upheaval in the Middle East as drawing the world closer to Armageddon, the final battle played out as prophesied in the Revelation of John.

Reverend Jerry Lamon Falwell (1933–2007), American fundamentalist Baptist pastor, educator, author, televangelist, and pro-Israel activist. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Falwell viewed Israel as the catalyst necessary for the completion of this cycle. To this end, he agreed with former Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin that the boundaries of ancient Judea and Samaria must be maintained at all costs. Falwell therefore opposed all land concessions to the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), including the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. He thus saw Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's signing of the 1993 Oslo Accords and offer to trade land for peace as a terrible sin.

Falwell also asserted that Islam is not a religion of peace and that the Prophet Muhammad was a "terrorist." In an act that was perceived by Falwell's followers as proving his point, a fatwa encouraging the murder of Falwell was promptly issued by Iranian clerics on October 11, 2002, after Falwell's incendiary characterization was aired on CBS on national television in October 2002. Falwell continued to lobby for the interests of the Christian Right and remained an important emblem to advance its agenda up until his death in Lynchburg on May 15, 2007.

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See also

Begin, Menachem; Rabin, Yitzhak

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Fao Peninsula

See Faw Peninsula

Fast Combat Support Ships

Underway replenishment ships that combine the capabilities of fleet oilers, combat stores ships, and ammunition ships in

servicing fast aircraft carrier battle groups. In 1953 the U.S. Navy converted the *Conecuh* (AO-110, the former German supply ship *Dithmarschen*) into the first replenishment oiler. Its characteristics influenced the design of the purpose-built U.S. fast combat support ships. Eight ships were built. The first four were the Sacramento-class (AOE-1 through AOE-4). These joined the fleet during 1964–1970. In addition to the *Sacramento* (AOE-1), these included the *Camden* (AOE-2), *Seattle* (AOE-3), and *Detroit* (AOE-4). Their dimensions were length, 794.75 feet; beam, 107 feet; and draft, 39.3 feet. They displaced 18,700 tons (light) and 53,600 tons (full load). They had a speed of 27.5 knots and a range of 10,000 nautical miles at 17 knots or 6,000 nautical miles at 26 knots. Complement was 601 (27 officers and 574 enlisted). Cargo capacities were 177,000 barrels of fuel, 2,150 tons of munitions, 500 tons of dry stores, and 250 tons refrigerated stores. They carried two UH-46 Sea Knight helicopters and were armed with a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Sea Sparrow 8-cell surface-to-air missile (SAM) launcher, two Vulcan Phalanx close-in weapons systems (CIWs), and four 12.7-millimeter (mm) machine guns.

The four Supply-class ships (T-AOE-6, T-AOE-7, T-AOE-8, and T-AOE-10) were commissioned during the period 1994–1998. In addition to the *Supply* (T-AOE-6), they included the *Rainier* (T-AOE-7), *Arctic* (T-AOE-8), and *Bridge* (T-AOE-10). Dimensions for this class were length, 754.75 feet; beam, 107 feet; and draft, 39 feet. They displaced 19,700 tons (light) and 48,800 tons (full load). They were capable of 26 knots and had a range of 6,000 nautical miles at 22 knots. Complement was 188 (160 civilians and 28 naval personnel). Cargo capacities were 156,000 barrels of fuel, 1,800 tons of munitions, 400 tons of refrigerated stores, and 250 tons of dry stores. Each carried three UH-46 Sea Knight helicopters. Weapons were removed upon their transfer to the Military Sealift Command (MSC).

Originally based on a late 1950s' plan to convert battleships of the Iowa-class to fast underway replenishment ships that incorporated the capabilities of the *Conecuh,* the *Sacramento, Camden, Seattle,* and *Detroit* were finally developed from an alternate new-construction design after the prohibitive complications and costs of adapting the heavily armored and compartmented battleship hulls for service as auxiliaries became evident. Maintaining a link to the Iowa-class nonetheless, these ships' hull lines mirrored the sleek aspect of the fast battleships. Their graceful clipper-bowed hulls supported minimal superstructure, which was punctuated by the distinctive M-framed cargo and hose-handling posts, and was capped aft with a funnel that would be equally at home atop a cruise liner. A large helicopter pad covered each ship's stern. The *Sacramento* and *Camden* each were powered by half of the main machinery from the unfinished battleship *Kentucky,* which led to their engine rooms acting as seagoing classrooms in the 1980s for engineering crews assigned to the newly reactivated Iowa-class ships.

The Sacramento-class ships were the largest underway replenishment ships in naval service anywhere, and their hull designation "AOE" combined the "AO" of a fleet oiler with the ammunition ship's "AE" in order to express their unique capabilities, which also included supplying stores along with fuel and munitions to aircraft carriers, battleships, cruisers, destroyers, and virtually any other ship type in the fleet. Not only did their improved fuel transfer systems and advanced cargo handling stations revolutionize and accelerate the connected underway replenishment via cables and support lines to ships maneuvering alongside, but their helicopters were also capable of the rapid ship-to-ship resupply to other vessels in the formation of ordnance and stores via vertical replenishment at rates up to three tons per minute. A single AOE of either the Sacramento or Supply class would be capable of sustaining a conventionally powered aircraft carrier, its air group, and three escort vessels cruising nearly halfway around the world. Their speed and enormous capacity quickly made the AOEs indispensable to the operations and flexibility of the modern carrier battle group.

For most of their operational years, the *Sacramento* and *Camden* were based on the U.S. west coast (Bremerton, Washington); the *Seattle* and *Detroit* were based on the east coast (at Norfolk, Virginia). All but the *Camden* took part in Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM: the *Sacramento* was on station from January to March 1991 with the *Saratoga* (CV-60) battle group, the *Seattle* operated from September 1990 to March 1991 with the *John F. Kennedy* (CV-67) battle group, and the *Detroit* moved from its Mediterranean station into the Red Sea on August 24, 1990, and was on hand with the *Saratoga* battle group for DESERT STORM operations until early February 1991.

The four original AOEs also participated in the early stages of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM: the *Sacramento* served with the *Carl Vinson* (CVN-70) battle group (October–December 2001), the *Detroit* serviced the *Theodore Roosevelt* (CVN-71) battle group (October 2001–March 2002) and the *Enterprise* (CVN-65) battle group (October 2003–March 2004), the *Seattle* joined the *Kennedy* battle group (March 2002–July 2002 and again during June–December 2004), and the *Camden* operated with the *Abraham Lincoln* (CVN-72) battle group (July 2002–May 2003) and was on station at the outset of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM on March 20, 2003.

The *Camden* made a final deployment with the *Vinson* battle group from January through August 2005. The *Sacramento* was decommissioned in 2004, while the *Camden, Seattle,* and *Detroit* left service in 2005.

The characteristics of the U.S. Navy's next group of four fast combat support ships were based on the design and capabilities of the Sacramento class, but the Supply-class ships are powered by gas turbines, whose demands for internal engineering space are less than those posed by the Sacramento-class boilers and turbines and allow for a slightly smaller ship with nearly equal capacities (see specifications above). Only a pair of blunter, squarer funnels and a straighter bow distinguish this class visually from its forebears. Plans in 1992 called for an AOE-9 (the name *Conecuh*

The combat support ship USS *Camden* and the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Carl Vinson* flank the Military Sealift Command combat stores ship USNS *Mars* and oiler USS *Pecos* during a vertical replenishment operation off the coast of Sri Lanka, 1994. (U.S. Department of Defense)

was proposed) to follow the *Arctic,* but the funding was diverted to other uses, and the construction was cancelled. In 1993 AOE-10 was authorized and named the *Bridge.*

The Supply class, like the Sacramento class, employs connected underway replenishment and vertical replenishment, and each can replenish up to four ships simultaneously. The Fast Automated Shuttle Transfer (FAST) system for connected underway replenishment was first employed by the U.S. Navy in the Sacramento-class and was replaced by the more capable and automated Standard Tensioned Replenishment Alongside Method (STREAM) system, which has greatly increased the rate of fueling at sea. The Supply-class ships were delivered to the fleet with the STREAM system as standard equipment.

The *Supply* (AOE-6), *Rainier* (AOE-7), *Arctic* (AOE-8), and *Bridge* (AOE-10) were designed with many automated features that reduced the size of their crews relative to those of the Sacramento-class, and their phased transfer to the MSC involved transitional modifications that would lead to even smaller and more efficient blended naval and civilian crews managing the ships' systems at a reduced cost. USS *Supply* was decommissioned from the U.S. Navy in July 2001 for refit and direct transfer to the MSC's Naval Fleet Auxiliary Force, emerging as USNS *Supply* (T-AOE-6), followed in June 2002 by USNS *Arctic* (T-AOE-8), USNS *Rainier* (T-AOE-7) in August 2003, and USNS *Bridge* (T-AOE-10) in June 2004. The prefix "USNS" stands for "United States Naval Ship," denoting an MSC vessel with a largely civilian crew. All weapons as well as some radar and communication systems were removed during the ships' preparations for transfer to the MSC, and improved accommodations characterized the renovations to all crew areas.

During the early stages of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, the *Arctic* operated with the *Enterprise* carrier battle group from October to November 2001, the *Bridge* maintained station with the *John C. Stennis* (CVN-74) battle group (December 2001–May 28 2002), and the *Supply* deployed to the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean with the *George Washington* (CVN-73) battle group from June through December 2002. The *Rainier* joined the *Constellation* (CV-64) battle group for that carrier's last deployment, in support of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM and Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (November 2002–June 2003), and *Arctic* accompanied the *Roosevelt* carrier battle group in theater from February through May 2003. All four Supply-class fast combat support ships continue

their deployments in support of ongoing naval operations associated with Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM. The *Supply* and *Arctic* are based on the east coast, with home ports at Earle, New Jersey, and Norfolk, Virginia, respectively. The *Rainier* and *Bridge* are both stationed at Bremerton, Washington.

During Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM and Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, smaller but analogous combat support ships from other coalition navies also were on station, including the Royal Australian Navy's *Success* (OR-304); the Royal Canadian Navy's *Protecteur* (AOR-509); the French Navy's *Durance* (A-629), *Marne* (A-630), and *Var* (A-608); the Royal Netherlands Navy HNLMS *Zuiderkruis* (A-832); and the Portuguese Navy's *Sao Miguel* (A-5208).

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See also

Aircraft Carriers; Battleships, U.S.; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; Military Sealift Command; Support and Supply Ships, Strategic; Underway Replenishment Ships

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Fatah

Highly influential political, military, and governing faction within the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Fatah, meaning "victory" or "conquest," is a reverse acronym of Harakat al-Tahrir al-Watani al-Falastini (Palestinian National Liberation Movement) and was formally organized on December 31, 1964.

For much of its official history Yasser Arafat (also PLO chairman from 1969 until his death in 2004) served as the party's leader, although the beginnings of Fatah date to the late 1950s when Palestinian groups began fighting the Israelis during their occupation of the Gaza Strip. Fatah's founders include Arafat, Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad), and Khalid Hassan. Fatah was a combination of a political organization and paramilitary cells, the objective of which was the liberation of Palestine, armed resistance to Israel, and the creation of a Palestinian state. From the late 1960s, Fatah was larger than many of the other groups under the umbrella of the PLO because their Marxist-Leninist doctrines limited their recruiting. Consequently, Fatah has experienced a larger Muslim-to-Christian ratio than the small progressive parties. Indeed, all of its founders with the exception of Arafat were members of the Muslim Brotherhood. And because Fatah controlled much of the monetary resources of the PLO, it wielded considerable influence.

Fatah has undergone many transformations over the years and until very recently hardly resembled a political party in the traditional sense. In its first years the group eschewed the establishment of a formal organizational structure and indirectly appealed to the Palestinian diaspora in Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq, the Gulf States, and Western countries. Fatah had a following not only in the diaspora but also in the important structures such as the General Union of Palestinian Students, the General Union of Palestinian Workers, and the General Union of Palestinian Women. Fatah published an occasional periodical titled *Filastinuna* (Our Palestine).

Early on and from the 1967 defeat in the Six-Day War until about 1974, Fatah embraced the concept of armed confrontation as the primary means of achieving a unified independent Palestine. Fatah's pragmatism ensured it a large base of support and also created a de facto ideology that stressed Palestinian unity, with the idea that although Palestinians might have varied approaches to their problems, they could all be united in their three major goals: the destruction of Israel, political freedom from Arab nations, and the creation of a Palestinian state.

Although Fatah did not initially maintain an organizational hierarchy (it was more along the lines of an uncoordinated series of factions, each led by a different head), it did quickly establish a coherent military force capable of harassing the Israelis. Several militant groups based in Jordan were involved in attacks on Israel, among them the Asifah group, and their actions and the Israeli response caused a crackdown and their expulsion by King Hussein of Jordan. That expulsion in 1970, known as Black September, did, however, create fissures between the rightists and leftists within Fatah and with the broader Palestinian movement. When Fatah reconstituted itself in Lebanon beginning in 1970, it found that resisting involvement in the internal machinations of its host country was impossible. This made it more prone to pressure from other Arab states. Soon enough, conflict among Fatah members surfaced when some in the group began to espouse a two-state solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Soon embroiled in the Lebanese Civil War that began in 1975, the Palestinian resistance groups continued to sponsor attacks against Israeli interests, including two massive assaults on Israeli territory in 1975 with the loss of many lives. In 1982 the PLO (and thus Fatah) was forced out of Lebanon by the Israeli invasion of that country. From 1982 to 1993 the Fatah leadership, along with the PLO, was located in Tunisia. In 1983 an anti-Arafatist revolt occurred that was led by Said Muragha (Abu Musa). He created a splinter group known as Fatah Uprising, which was backed by Syrian officials. Meanwhile, Fatah's Revolutionary Council and the Revolutionary Council Emergency Command both broke with

Fatah over policy issues. Despite these setbacks, Fatah remained the preeminent Palestinian faction, and Arafat maintained an iron grip over Fatah.

Many in Fatah's leading group had supported a two-state solution ever since the Rabat Conference of 1974 and realized that this meant tacit recognition of Israel. Fatah's leadership also concluded that armed conflict was not moving the organization any closer to its goal of a Palestinian state. By 1988 Arafat had recognized Israel's right to exist explicitly and proposed the pursuit of diplomacy and a land-for-peace arrangement.

Arafat supported Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein in the 1991 Persian Gulf War because of Hussein's support of Fatah. This support, however, led to the mass forced exile of Palestinians from Kuwait after the war and difficult economic times for the Palestinians in general. Consequently, as the effort to reach a comprehensive accord in Madrid was occurring, Arafat had agreed to a secret Palestinian-Israeli track in Oslo, Norway.

The 1993 Oslo Accords and the 1994 creation of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) witnessed the relocation of the PLO and Fatah to Gaza and the West Bank. This finally centered the Palestinian power base in Palestine after almost 50 years of transience. By this time, however, the Palestinians were no longer entirely represented by the Tunisian old guard of Fatah. Younger leaders were frustrated with the policies of the longtime exiles and with major financial difficulties and corruption. They acquired experience in the First Intifada and represented grassroots interests in the West Bank and Gaza. Also, Islamist organizations such as Islamic Jihad of Palestine and especially Hamas had begun to attract more support from the Palestinian population than Fatah was attracting. Arafat clung to power, still recognized for his many years of devotion to the Palestinian cause. In January 1996 he was elected as the PNA's first president. He now simultaneously held the positions of PLO chairman, PNA president, and leader of Fatah.

Fatah essentially controlled the PNA bureaucracy, although the fissures within the organization began to grow deeper. While Fatah attempted to push ahead with the Palestinian-Israeli peace process, certain members who were opposed to it began to sabotage Arafat. Now the group was divided by hard-liners versus peace proponents, old guard versus youths, and bureaucrats versus revolutionaries. The Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada, which broke out in September 2000, saw the embattled Fatah become even more divided against itself. Fatah member Marwan Barghuti was accused of organizing a militia called al-Tanzim, the goal of which was to attack Israeli forces. And in 2002 the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, another faction consisting of local militias and theoretically aligned with Fatah, began launching major attacks against Israeli forces as well. To punish the PNA for a particularly heinous suicide bombing in the spring of 2002, the Israelis reoccupied much of the West Bank. Arafat was trapped in his own headquarters, and much of the rebuilding and the infrastructure in the West Bank was destroyed. Israeli officials had periodically launched campaigns against Arafat's leadership, and these were now revived.

Now under enormous pressure from Israel and the United States, Arafat reluctantly acquiesced to the creation of a new position within the PNA, that of prime minister. In April 2003 he named Mahmoud Abbas to the post. However, after months of infighting, Abbas resigned from office in September 2003. Then in February 2004, 300 Fatah members resigned in unison to show their contempt for their leadership. A hasty convening of Fatah's Revolutionary Council was called, but the meeting accomplished nothing and resulted in bitter recriminations from all sides.

Arafat died on November 11, 2004, and this threw Fatah and the PNA into more turmoil. Days after Arafat's death, Fatah's Central Committee named Farouk Qaddumi to replace him. This was in itself problematic because Qaddumi, unlike his predecessor, did not support the peace process. Meanwhile, Abbas was named to succeed Arafat as PLO chairman. For the first time, Fatah and the PLO were not controlled by the same person. After bitter political machinations, Fatah decided to put Abbas up as its presidential candidate in the January 2005 election. Abbas was strongly challenged in this by Barghuti, who vowed to run as an independent from a jail cell in Israel. Barghuti, who came under intense pressure to bow out, finally did so, opening the way for Abbas's victory in January 2005.

Abbas's victory, however, was not a harbinger of a resurgent and unified Fatah. In the December 2004 municipal elections for the PNA, Hamas had racked up impressive gains. Then, in December 2005 Barghuti formed a rival political alliance, al-Mustaqbal, vowing to run a new slate of candidates for the January 2006 PNA legislative elections. At the last moment the two factions decided to run a single slate, but this temporary rapprochement was not sufficient to prevent a stunning victory for Hamas. In fact, Hamas's strength did not rest simply on the divisions within Fatah. Indeed, Hamas won 74 seats to Fatah's 45, although Hamas had captured only 43 percent of the popular vote. The election allowed Hamas to form its own government and elect a prime minister, Ismail Haniyeh, who assumed the premiership in February 2006. As a result of the Hamas victory, the United States and some European nations cut off funding to the PNA in protest of the group's electoral success. This placed the PNA in a state of crisis, as no civil servants could be paid, and hospitals and clinics had no supplies. For more than a year, and despite an agreement between Hamas and Fatah, the U.S. government continued to state that only if Hamas renounced its violent intentions against Israel in a format satisfactory to Israel and the United States would any funds be allowed into the PNA.

On March 17, 2007, Abbas brokered a Palestinian unity government that included both Fatah and Hamas, with Hamas leader Haniyeh becoming prime minister. In May, however, violence between Hamas and Fatah escalated. Following the Hamas takeover of Gaza on June 14, Abbas dissolved the Hamas-led unity government and declared a state of emergency. On June 18, having been assured of European Union (EU) support, Abbas also dissolved the National Security Council and swore in an emergency Palestinian government. That same day, the United States

Palestinian Fatah supporters hold up flags with a picture of Marwan Barghuti, a popular Fatah leader jailed in Israel. They are attending a rally in the West Bank city of Ramallah in 2008, marking the movement's 43rd anniversary. (AP/Wide World Photos)

ended its 15-month embargo on the PNA and resumed aid in an effort to strengthen Abbas's government, which was now limited to the West Bank. On June 19 Abbas cut off all ties and dialogue with Hamas, pending the return of Gaza. In a further move to strengthen the perceived moderate Abbas, on July 1 Israel restored financial ties to the PNA.

Today Fatah is recognized by Palestinians as a full-fledged political party, with the attendant organizational structures that have in fact been in place for several decades. Competition between the PLO's four major parties caused problems in the past, but today it is Fatah's competition with Hamas that appears more pressing. Hamas does not belong to the PLO and refused to recognize its claim as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. The 2006 elections revealed greater support for Hamas than Fatah among Palestinians. The Israeli government refused to recognize the Hamas victory in the elections, however. Fatah and the U.S. government also refused to deal with Hamas. In June 2007 Hamas seized full control of Gaza, where its elected government had been ruling since January, and drove out Fatah. Gaza was now largely cut off economically from the rest of the world and more than ever was an economic basket case. Meanwhile a virtual civil war between Hamas and Fatah continued, and when Israel began a major campaign against Hamas in December 2008, Fatah could do little but watch the killing of hundreds of Palestinians in Gaza.

The Fatah-Hamas split has impacted surrounding Arab states. Saudi Arabia initially pushed for a unity government, but U.S. secretary of state Condoleezza Rice opposed these efforts. In the wake of the Gaza War, Egypt and Saudi Arabia found themselves opposed by Qatar, Syria, and others but again tried to negotiate a unity government along terms that might satisfy the Israelis.

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See also

Arafat, Yasser; Hamas; Intifada, Second; Islamic Jihad, Palestinian; Lebanon; Lebanon, Civil War in; Lebanon, Israeli Invasion of; Oslo Accords; Palestine Liberation Organization

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Fatwa

The fatwa (singular, *responsa*) or fatawa (plural, *responsae*) is a question and answer process referred to in the Qur'an (4:127, 176) that began in early Islam as a means to impart knowledge about theology, philosophy, hadith, legal theory, religious duties, and, later and more specifically, Sharia (Islamic law). Fatawa may deal with a much broader series of subjects than did the Islamic courts, and a fatwa, unlike a court ruling, is not binding. The reason it is not binding is that in a court, a *qadi* (judge) is concerned with evidentiary matters and may actually investigate these and hear two sides to an argument, but a cleric or authority issuing a fatwa is responding instead to just one party, should the question involve a dispute, and as the question might be formulated in a particular way.

In modern times a fatwa is usually defined as a legal opinion given by someone with expertise in Islamic law. However, so long as a person mentions the sources he uses in a legal opinion, other Muslim authorities or figures may issue fatwa. A modern fatwa usually responds to a question about an action, form of behavior, or practice that classifies it as being obligatory, forbidden, permitted, recommended, or reprehensible. Traditionally, a fatwa could be issued by a Muslim scholar knowledgeable of both the subject and the theories of jurisprudence. These persons might be part of or independent from the court systems. However, other persons might issue fatawa as well. Muslim governments typically designated a chief mufti, who was in the role of the sheikh of Islam in the Ottoman Empire.

In the colonial period the Islamic madrasahs (madaris is the Arabic plural), which can mean either simply a school or a higher institute of Islamic education, began in some cases to include a fatwa-issuing office, a *dar al-ifta.* Muslim governments continued efforts to control and limit the issuing of fatawa, as in the Higher Council of Ulama or the Permanent Council for Scientific Research and Legal Opinions in Saudi Arabia or the Council of Islamic Ideology in Pakistan. However, many Muslim authorities—from lesser-trained sheikhs to political figures to legal specialists classified as *fuqaha* (specialists in jurisprudence), mujtahids, and muftis—issue fatawa. Some are no more than a short response to the inquiry, whereas others are recorded, published, or circulated along with explanations.

For many reasons, including the development of differing legal schools within Islam and the history of opinions concerning religious requirements as opposed to mere duties, fatawa may conflict with each other. For example, the legal opinions concerning women's inheritance under Jafari, or Twelver Shia law, and that given by a Hanafi Sunni jurist would differ. At times, even councils of jurists from a single sect may issue a complex opinion with, for instance, each indicating their agreement with or reservations about different implications or subquestions of a fatwa.

Muslim countries today may govern with civil laws that are partially dependent on principles of Islamic law or are derived in part from Ottoman law. When matters of civil legal reform are discussed, then the opinions of religious authorities might be consulted. A fatwa may also be issued by popular figures outside of the venue of civil authorities. Other countries, however, operate on the basis of uncodified Islamic law. At the supranational level, there is no single authoritative person or body that can settle conflicting issues or declare binding fatawa in Islamic law (as the pope and the Vatican issue religious decrees for Roman Catholicism).

In 1933 clerics in Iraq issued a fatwa that called for a boycott of all Zionist-made products. In 2004 the very popular Egyptian Sunni Muslim cleric and scholar Yusuf al-Qaradawi declared a fatwa similarly calling for a boycott of goods manufactured in Israel or the United States.

Other much-disputed questions have concerned the necessary resistance of Palestinians to Israeli rule or the actual status of Palestine and the status of Iraqi resistance to coalition forces. Many fatawa were issued earlier to confront foreign occupation in Muslim lands, in Morocco, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and elsewhere. Modern responses that affect the right to wage jihad (holy war) concern the land's status (dar al-Islam) as an Islamic territory. That is the generally agreed status of Iraq and of Palestine because of the presence of the holy sites at the al-Aqsa Mosque complex, from which the Prophet Muhammad experienced the Miraj and the Isra (the Night Journey and the Ascent to Heaven, respectively), as well as other holy sites in Palestine. Because the country is an Islamic land and yet many Palestinian Muslims cannot visit their holy sites or practice their religion and have had their lands and properties seized, some fatawa assert that jihad is, in this context, an individual duty, incumbent on Muslims. Divergent fatawa identify the country, now Israel, as *dar al-kufr,* a land of unbelief (somewhat like India under British rule) from which Muslims should flee, as in a highly disputed fatwa by Sheikh Muhammad Nasir al-Din al-Albani. While Palestinian Islamic Jihad issued a lengthy fatwa in 1989 that legitimated suicide attacks by Palestinians in the context of jihad, no leading clerics actually signed this document. It could be countered by a statement by the grand mufti of Saudi Arabia, made on April 21, 2001, that Islam forbids suicide attacks and is referred to as if it were a formal fatwa. On the other hand, Sheikh Qaradawi issued a fatwa in 2002 that said women could engage in martyrdom operations in conditions when jihad is an individual duty.

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See also
Jihad; Sharia

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Faw Peninsula

Strategically important peninsula located in southeastern Iraq, adjacent to the Persian Gulf. The Faw (Fao) peninsula lies to the south and east of Basra, Iraq's principal port and second-largest metropolis, and west of the Iranian city of Abadan. The peninsula separates Iraq from Iran and lies to the immediate west of the critical Shatt al-Arab waterway, which is Iraq's only access to the sea and only seagoing route to the port at Basra. Control of the Faw peninsula has thus been strategically essential to Iraq, as loss of control there likely means being cut off from access to the Persian Gulf.

The Faw peninsula is also important because it has been home to some of Iraq's biggest oil installations, including refineries. The country's two principal terminals for oil tankers—Khor al-Amayya and Mina al-Bakr—are also located here. The only significant population center on the peninsula is Umm Qasr, the base of former Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's navy.

The Faw peninsula was a center of attention during the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War and was the site of several pitched battles, as both nations struggled to control the Shatt al-Arab waterway. In February 1986 Iranian forces were able to overwhelm the poorly trained Iraqi forces charged with guarding the peninsula. Despite desperate fighting the Iraqis were unable to dislodge the Iranians from the area, even in the face of numerous offensives. The Iranians were then able to threaten Basra and Umm Qasr and use the Faw peninsula as a base from which to launch missiles into Iraq, into naval and merchant assets in the Persian Gulf, and into Kuwait, which was backing Iraq in the war. In April 1988 the Iraqis launched a new and determined effort to dislodge the Iranians from the peninsula. With almost 100,000 troops, heavy artillery, and aerial bombing that included chemical weapons, the Iraqis finally drove the Iranians out after a 35-hour offensive.

In the lead-up to the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the Faw peninsula and Shatt al-Arab waterway became a bone of contention between Iraq and Kuwait, as both nations jockeyed to control access to Umm Qasr as well as two small adjacent islands. Hussein used the dispute as part of his justification for the August 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. When Operation DESERT STORM began in January 1991, coalition air forces heavily bombed the Faw peninsula, wiping out much of Iraq's naval assets and oil facilities. Although no significant ground actions occurred there, Iraqi shipping was closed down by the bombardment, meaning that Iraq was cut off from any seaborne trade or resupply efforts.

During Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, which began in March 2003, American and British plans called for the immediate seizure and occupation of the Faw peninsula to deny Iraq access to the Persian Gulf and to open Umm Qasr and Basra to humanitarian and military resupply missions. Military planners also hoped to secure the peninsula before Iraqi troops could damage or destroy its oil facilities.

The coalition attack on Umm Qasr, led by U.S. and British marines and Polish special land forces, began on March 21, 2003, but ran into unexpectedly heavy Iraqi resistance. After four days of sporadically heavy fighting, however, Umm Qasr and the Faw peninsula had been largely secured, and the adjacent waterway had been cleared of Iraqi mines. Pockets of Iraqi resistance endured in the "old city" of Umm Qasr until March 29, when the entire peninsula had essentially been occupied and secured. Almost immediately coalition forces opened the port at Umm Qasr, which then became the primary entrepôt for humanitarian and civilian aid to Iraq.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Basra; DESERT STORM, Operation; Iran-Iraq War; Iraqi Claims on Kuwait; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Kuwait; Kuwait-Iraq Diplomacy; Persian Gulf; Shatt al-Arab Waterway; Umm Qasr, Battle of

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Faylaka Island Raid

Event Date: February 1991

Aborted raid planned for February 22, 1991, to immediately precede the ground war component of Operation DESERT STORM. The raid was code-named DESERT DAGGER and later DESERT SLASH. Faylaka Island lies in the northern part of the Persian Gulf and is a key to control of the Kuwait Bay. More than 2,000 Faylakawis were expelled when the Iraqis invaded and established defenses on the island during 1990–1991.

The Faylaka Island Raid was intended as a diversionary attack to prevent the Iraqis from moving reinforcements to the west, against the main body of coalition forces. By mounting the raid the day before the ground attack was intended to begin, planners hoped to fix Iraqi coastal defenses in place. It was supposed to take place along with an amphibious assault of the Kuwaiti port of Shuaybah. In the end, the Faylaka Island raid was canceled over concerns about Iraqi minefields. The credible threat of an amphibious landing, however, was just as important to coalition commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf's overall plan as an actual landing would have been.

By February 1991 the Iraqi forces on Faylaka Island consisted of the 440th Marine Infantry Brigade. Nominally the brigade

included 2,500 troops along with supporting artillery, tanks, and air defense artillery. Unlike U.S. marines, however, the Iraqis were not considered elite troops. They were comparable to the American marine defense battalions of World War II, intended to build and man defenses but not to operate in offensive roles. The island was, however, strongly protected by minefields in the shallow waters offshore and minefields ashore on the most likely invasion beaches.

In the planning for DESERT STORM, American commanders expected to launch an amphibious assault at some point in time. This faced many problems, however. These included the shallow water along the Kuwaiti coast that would keep most American ships from approaching close enough to land to employ their main batteries against inland targets. They also feared the many sea mines known to have been laid by the Iraqis. Preliminary plans had suggested an amphibious assault at Shuaybah, a Kuwaiti industrial port, in order to establish a logistical supply center for forces driving up the coast. Improvements in the road network in northern Saudi Arabia, however, reduced the need for this. At a commanders' conference on February 2, 1991, Schwarzkopf agreed to hold off on the Shuaybah landing. Instead, he agreed with a proposal from Vice Admiral Stanley R. Arthur for a large-scale raid on Faylaka Island.

On February 6 Arthur issued orders to begin planning the raid. The core of the raid was to be a landing by two U.S. marine battalions by helicopter and surface craft. They would destroy as much Iraqi military equipment and defenses on the island as possible and then withdraw after about 12 hours. Another goal was to kill or capture as many Iraqi defenders as possible. To draw attention away from the forthcoming attack on the western flank, the raid was scheduled to occur one to two days before ground operations began.

The raiders were to be drawn from the 4th Marine Expeditionary Brigade (MEB), a regimental combat team that included artillery, armor, aircraft, and supporting units. One battalion would be landed by helicopter in a recreational area on the south side of Faylaka, supported by gunships. It would attack west and northwest toward Zawr. The other would come ashore in landing craft on the beach at the recreational area. These troops would secure the beach and assist in the destruction of nearby Iraqi forces and defenses. An armored force consisting of 35 lightly armored vehicles (LAV), 8 tanks, and 20 Humvee-mounted TOW antiarmor missiles would provide cover for the eastern flank and assist in the destruction of any armored targets. The landing was set for 2:30 a.m. because of the tides. After completing their mission, the marines would then withdraw after darkness that evening.

To provide additional support, tiny nearby Awhah Island would be captured by a special marine operations unit before the landing on Faylaka. Four 155-millimeter howitzers would then be landed on Awhah to provide direct fire support for the marines on Faylaka, to be withdrawn after the marines left that place.

Coalition aircraft had been granted permission to drop any unexpended ordnance on Faylaka Island during the air portion of DESERT STORM, so the defenses there had already been degraded. The greatest threat to the amphibious raid was from Iraqi mines. To defeat them, a combined British and American minesweeping force would clear a lane 15 miles long. An area closer to Faylaka would then be cleared to provide maneuvering room for the gunfire support ships. Besides the amphibious assault ships and minesweeping craft, naval support for the raid included the Iowa-class battleships *Missouri* and *Wisconsin.* Each battleship had nine 16-inch guns that could lob 2,700-pound shells more than 17 miles.

Some confusion occurred on February 11 when Arthur issued an order for his ships to prepare to move. Schwarzkopf believed that it was an order to execute the raid, issued without his permission. After the misunderstanding was cleared up, planning went ahead. The raid was finally scheduled to take place on February 22. On February 18, however, the Iwo Jima–class amphibious assault ship *Tripoli* and the Ticonderoga-class guided missile cruiser *Princeton* both struck mines in an area believed to have been cleared of them. The minesweepers were brought back to clear this area, and the raid was postponed a day.

As the beginning of the ground war approached, the scale of the Faylaka Island Raid was revised downward. Each time, the landing force was made smaller until the commanders finally realized that the dangers of launching a diversionary raid against Faylaka were simply too great. The possible loss of life was also a real concern for military and political leaders. In the end, the *Missouri* simply shelled Faylaka Island on the night of February 23. The next day the ground war began. Many of the marines who had been assigned to the raid against Faylaka Island were used to form a reserve for marine units pushing up the coast of Kuwait.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Arthur, Stanley; DESERT STORM, Operation; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; United States Marine Corps, Persian Gulf War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Fayyad, Muhammad Ishaq al-

Birth Date: 1930

One of the five grand ayatollahs who make up the *marjaiyya* (the highest level of Shiite clerics), the informal council of Iraq's senior resident Twelver Shia religious scholars, of Najaf. He has frequently served as the council's representative public voice in the post-2003 invasion of Iraq. Born in 1930 in a small village in the Afghan

province of Ghazni to a family of farmers, Muhammad Ishaq al-Fayyad is an ethnic Hazara, a Dari-speaking people who reside in Afghanistan and parts of Iran and northwestern Pakistan. Despite this the grand ayatollah is fluent in Arabic, although Western reporters and scholars who have met him say that he speaks it with a distinct Dari Afghan accent. He is widely considered to be one of the most influential members of the *marjaiyya* (meaning those who can be emulated, or followed, as spiritual guides) and is also one of the most publicly engaged, arguably even more so than Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Husayni al-Sistani, Iraq's most senior Shia scholar.

Fayyad, like many young Muslims from religious families, began his informal religious studies early, at the age of 5, learning the Qur'an from the village mullah, the local religious scholar. According to some reports, Fayyad and his family moved to Najaf when he was 10 years old. As he grew older he began studying other subjects, including the Arabic language and grammar, rhetoric, logic, Islamic philosophy, *ahadith* (traditions of the Prophet Muhammad and the 12 Shiite Imams), and Islamic jurisprudence. He ultimately pursued his studies under the supervision of Grand Ayatollah Abu al-Qasim al-Khoi, one of Iraq's senior resident Shia scholars during the 1970s and the most senior during the 1980s until his death in 1992.

According to accounts from individuals close to both Fayyad and Khoi, the former excelled at his studies and is widely acknowledged to have been one of the latter's best students. Some reports hold that Fayyad was, in fact, Khoi's best student and now is the most senior member of the *marjaiyya,* but he did not seek to chair the council because scholars who are not Iraqi or Iranian have little chance of gaining followers among Arabs and Iranians, who make up the majority of the world's Shia. In 1992 when the *marjaiyya* was left without a chair after Khoi's death, Fayyad, along with the council's other members, supported Sistani for the position.

Following the March 2003 invasion and subsequent occupation of Iraq by the United States and Great Britain, aided by a relatively small coalition of other countries, Fayyad proved to be the most willing to engage with the Americans and British. Unlike Sistani, he has met occasionally with U.S. and British officials, both diplomatic and military, in order to relay the position of the *marjaiyya.* Fayyad has stated that Iraqi law must take into account Islamic religious law, particularly with regard to social and family issues. He has spoken out strongly against forced secularization of Iraqi society and has argued that there can be no absolute separation of the state from religion. However, like Sistani, Fayyad has also rejected the implementation of an Iranian-style governmental model for Iraq, one based on Grand Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's concept of *wilayat al-faqih,* the governance of the supreme religious jurist in the absence of the twelfth Imam, Muhammad al-Mahdi, whom Twelver Shias believe went into a mystical "hiding" or occultation in the 10th century and who will return at a time appointed by God.

Thus, Fayyad has gone on record as being opposed to clerical rule in Iraq, although he does believe that the *ulama* (Muslim religious scholars) should exercise some influence over Iraqi society, specifically ensuring the protection of Muslim moral and social values. According to a December 2007 report from the Associated Press, Fayyad was supervising the seminary studies of Muqtada al-Sadr, the populist Iraqi Shia leader and head of the Sadr Movement, although Fayyad and the *marjaiyya* do not approve of Sadr's approach toward politics and have pressured him to clamp down on his more militant followers.

The *marjaiyya* backed the United Iraqi Alliance (UIA), a loose coalition of mainly Shiite Arab political parties that includes the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council (SIIC) and the Party of Islamic Call (Hizb al-Da'wah al-Islamiyya), in the January 2005 interim elections and the December 2005 formal elections. Despite their early support, Fayyad and his council colleagues reportedly became increasingly critical of the UIA's performance, particularly the combative political sectarianism of the SIIC (then known as the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, or SCIRI) and the Islamic Dawa Party. The *marjaiyya,* through senior spokespeople for the various members, let it be known in the latter half of 2008 that it would not back any slate of candidates and would instead urge its followers to vote for the party or parties that had the best plan for improving the situation in Iraq.

Christopher Anzalone

See also

Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Islamic Dawa Party; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Sadr, Muqtada al-; Shia Islam; Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council; United Iraqi Alliance

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Fedayeen

Term used to refer to various (usually Muslim) groups or civilians who have engaged in either armed struggle or guerrilla tactics against foreign armies. The term "fedayeen" is the English transliteration of the term *fida'iyuna,* which is the plural of the Arabic word meaning "one who is ready to sacrifice his life" (*fida'i*) and referred historically to different types of Muslim fighters, including Muslim forces waging war on the borders; freedom fighters; Egyptians who fought against the British in the Suez Canal Zone,

An overturned vegetable truck on the road to Beersheba, Israel. The driver was slightly wounded when the truck was fired upon by fedayeen on April 7, 1956. (Israeli Government Press Office)

culminating in a popular uprising in October 1951; Palestinians who waged attacks against Israelis from the 1950s until the present (including fighters of Christian background); Iranian guerrillas opposed to Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi's regime in the 1970s; Armenian fighters in Nagarno-Karabakh (also Christian); and a force loyal to Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein (the Fedayeen Saddam) during the Iraq War that began in 2003.

Following the rejection by Jewish and Arab leaders of the 1947 United Nations (UN) partition plan that would have created a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and the resulting declaration of the State of Israel the following year, Palestinian refugees were driven from their homes and flooded into the areas surrounding the new Jewish state. Anti-Israel activity became prevalent, particularly in West Bank and Gaza Strip areas. Supported by money and arms from a number of Arab states, Palestinians carried out attacks against Israeli military forces and also Israeli settlers, and in 1951 the raids became more organized. These fighters were referred to as fedayeen since they were an irregular rather than a government force. The fighters created bases in Egypt, Jordan, and Lebanon, with Egyptian intelligence training and arming many of them. Between 1951 and 1956 the fedayeen orchestrated hundreds of raids along the Israeli border, killing an estimated 400 Israelis and injuring 900 others.

The fedayeen operated primarily out of Jordan and Lebanon, causing these countries to bear the brunt of the retaliation campaigns carried out by the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and paramilitary groups. Fedayeen attacks and subsequent retaliations were significant factors in the outbreak of hostilities during the 1956 Suez Crisis. The fedayeen also launched attacks into Israel from the Jordanian-controlled territory of the West Bank. The fighters included those associated with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and various other militant groups.

King Hussein of Jordan was initially supportive of the groups, but by 1970 he deemed their presence detrimental to Jordan and a threat to his own political power. Although based in refugee camps, the fedayeen were able to obtain arms and financial support from other Arab countries and therefore clashed with Jordanian government troops who attempted to disarm them beginning in 1968. The civil war that erupted in 1970 during what has been called Black September saw the eventual defeat and removal of the fedayeen from Jordanian soil.

The fedayeen were forced to recognize Jordanian sovereignty via an October 13, 1970, agreement between PLO leader Yasser Arafat and King Hussein. Although PLO members often participated in commando raids, the PLO denied playing a role in several

terrorist attacks. After being ousted from Jordan, the PLO and the fedayeen relocated to Lebanon, where they continued to stage attacks on Israel. At present, the terms *fida'iyuna* and *fida'iyin* are still used by many Arabs for Palestinian militants, and the Arabs see the militants as freedom fighters who struggle for the return (*awda*) of their lands and property in Palestine.

Fidayan-e Islam (in Farsi there is an "e"; in Arabic there is none) was the name taken by a radical Islamist group opposed to the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran beginning in the 1940s. Between 1971 and 1983 these Iranian fedayeen carried out numerous attacks, including political assassinations, against people supportive of the Pahlavi regime. The same name was adopted by a radical group in Islamabad, Pakistan. The freedom fighter term was also given to a group created by ousted Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein. The Fedayeen Saddam was so-named to associate the force with patriotic self-sacrifice and anti-imperialism. Initially led by Hussein's son Uday in 1995, the group's leadership was handed over to his other son, Qusay, when it was discovered that Uday was diverting Iranian weaponry to the group. Many of them became part of the Iraqi resistance, or *muqawamah,* who following the March 2003 U.S.- and British-led invasion used rocket-propelled grenades, machine guns, and mortars to attack coalition forces, forces of the new Iraqi government, and Sadrists. In January 2007 the group recognized Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri as the rightful leader of Iraq and secretary-general of the Iraqi Baath Party following the execution of Saddam Hussein.

Jessica Britt and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Abu Daoud; Hussein, Qusay; Hussein, Saddam; Hussein, Uday; Hussein ibn Talal, King of Jordan; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Iraqi Insurgency; Jordan; Palestine Liberation Organization; Reza Pahlavi, Mohammad; Suez Crisis; Terrorism

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Feith, Douglas

Birth Date: July 16, 1953

Attorney, foreign and military policy expert, noted neoconservative, and undersecretary of defense for policy (2001–2005). Born on July 16, 1953, in Philadelphia, Douglas Feith attended Harvard University, earning a BA degree in 1975. In 1978 he earned a law degree from Georgetown University. While in law school, Feith interned at the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, where he met Fred Iklé, John Lehman, and Paul Wolfowitz. After graduation Feith practiced law in Washington, D.C., and wrote articles on foreign policy. As Feith grew older, he developed positions on foreign policy that would eventually identify him as a neoconservative who believed in the use of force as a vital instrument of national policy.

Feith entered government service in 1981 during the Ronald Reagan administration, working on Middle East issues for the National Security Council. Feith then transferred to the Department of Defense as special counsel for Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle and later served as deputy assistant secretary of defense for negotiations from March 1984 to September 1986. After that Feith left government to form a law firm, Feith & Zell, P.C., which he managed until 2001, although he continued to write and speak on international affairs.

In April 2001 President George W. Bush nominated Feith as undersecretary of defense for policy. Confirmed in July 2001, Feith held that position until August 2005. His tenure would prove to

Former U.S. undersecretary of defense Douglas Feith at a press conference at the U.S. Embassy in Kabul, Afghanistan, in September 2002. Feith and his staff were subsequently accused of developing dubious intelligence linking Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein and Al Qaeda as a justification for launching the Iraq War. (AP/World Wide Photos)

be highly controversial. At the Pentagon, Feith's position was advisory; he was not within the military chain of command, yet his office held approval authority over numerous procedures. He was the number three civilian in the Pentagon, next to Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz.

As undersecretary, Feith became associated with three projects that, although well known, did not bear fruit. First, he hoped to engage America's opponents in the Global War on Terror in a battle of ideas. In the late autumn of 2001 Feith supported the development of the Office of Strategic Influence (OSI), a division of the Department of Defense that would seek to counter propaganda sympathetic to terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda through psychological campaigns. The clandestine nature of the OSI and a lack of oversight forced Rumsfeld to close it down in February 2002.

Second, Feith advocated the arming of a force of Iraqi exiles to accompany the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003. According to Feith, the idea was not well received in the Pentagon, the State Department, or the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Third, before Operation IRAQI FREEDOM began, Feith and his staff developed a plan for the creation of an Iraqi Interim Authority (IIA), which would have allowed for joint American-Iraqi control of Iraq after the defeat of Saddam Hussein's regime, as a prelude to a new Iraqi government. This plan was nixed by U.S. administrator in Iraq L. Paul Bremer in the autumn of 2003.

During his time at the Pentagon, Feith became a lightning rod for criticism of the Bush administration's conduct of the Global War on Terror and the Iraq War. He has been blamed for a myriad of policy miscues in Afghanistan and Iraq, and some have accused him of pursuing policies that led to the highly damaging Abu Ghraib Prison scandal in 2004. Former vice president Al Gore called for Feith's resignation in a speech at New York University on May 26, 2004.

In various press accounts, Feith has been accused of setting up a secret intelligence cell designed to manipulate the prewar intelligence on Iraq to build a case for war. Feith's account of events in his memoirs differs considerably, however. He presented the Policy Counter Terrorism Evaluation Group, which evaluated prewar intelligence, as a small group of staffers tasked with summarizing the vast amounts of intelligence that had crossed his desk. Far from being a cadre of Republican political operatives, he argued, the small staff included Chris Carney, a naval officer and university professor who won a seat in Congress in 2006 as a Democrat.

In addition, Feith was accused of attempting to politicize intelligence and to find and publish evidence of links between Iraq and Al Qaeda that did not exist. In his memoirs, Feith states that he tasked career intelligence analyst Christina Shelton with reviewing intelligence on Iraqi–Al Qaeda connections and that she developed a view that was critical of the methods by which CIA analysts examined that intelligence. A subsequent Senate Intelligence Committee investigation concluded that staffers of the Office of the Undersecretary of Defense for Policy did not, in fact, pressure intelligence analysts into changing their product. However, intelligence and military analysts as well as other policy experts and media were either concerned by the scrutiny of or influenced by Rumsfeld's and Feith's office, and this did in fact affect their products.

In August 2005, with both Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz gone and discredited and the Bush administration's war and national security policy under attack from both Democrats and Republicans, Feith tendered his resignation and left government service. In 2006 he took a position at Georgetown University as visiting professor and distinguished practitioner in national security policy. His contract at Georgetown was not renewed in 2008. Also in 2006, Feith published his memoirs, *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terrorism,* which offered a sustained defense of his reputation and an explanation of the decisions that he made while serving in government. The book hardly appeased his legion of critics and detractors, however, and Feith now operates on the margins of policy, but his ideas still retain influence.

MITCHELL MCNAYLOR

See also

Abu Ghraib; Bush, George Walker; Global War on Terror; Neoconservatism; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Wolfowitz, Paul Dundes

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Field Army Ballistic Missile Defense System

Prototype antiballistic missile defense system of the late 1950s and early 1960s built for the U.S. Army to provide battlefield defense against enemy tactical ballistic missiles. Although the army did not field the Field Army Ballistic Missile Defense System (FABMDS), the work on this system assisted in the development and fielding of the army's Patriot missile system.

After the end of World War II, the U.S. Army recognized the threat posed to its ground forces by enemy short- and medium-range ballistic missiles. In 1951 the army developed the criteria for a future mobile surface-to-air missile (SAM) system, which it designated the SAM-A-19 antimissile missile (AMM). The modern term for this AMM would be Theater Ballistic Missile Defense (TBMD).

In 1952 the army formally began the SAM-A-19 program as Project Plato. From 1953 to 1956 Sylvania Electric and Cornell Aeronautical Lab conducted the formal design studies, and in September 1956 the army selected Sylvania's XSAM-A-19 design as the basis for further development. Because the Plato missile would be designed for speeds of Mach 6 to 8, the main focus of the initial

studies included the aerodynamic and thermodynamic problems of hypersonic flight.

The contractors continued the development of components for the Plato system until February 1959, when the army cancelled the program before building any further prototypes. As an interim measure, the army decided to upgrade the SAM-A-25/MIM-14 Nike Hercules with a very limited antimissile capability. Because the need for a defense system against ballistic missile attacks had not gone away, in September 1959 the army began the FABMDS program as a long-term replacement for the cancelled Plato system.

From September 1959 through May 1960 the army conducted an in-house study to properly define the future FABMDS. The resulting requirements included a fully mobile antiaircraft/antimissile system that could engage at least four targets at the same time with a kill probability of over 95 percent against a ballistic missile. The army then asked for proposals from the defense industry and by July 1960 received seven proposals. Later, in September 1960, the army awarded contracts for a feasibility study to Convair, General Electric, Martin, Hughes, Sylvania Electric, and Raytheon. The following summer, the army reviewed the results of the studies and selected General Electric to develop its FABMDS.

The General Electric FABMDS was a relatively large and heavy system that reduced its mobility. However, it would have provided defense against the widest possible range of threats, including ballistic missiles with a range of 55–930 miles. Its guidance and control system was most probably some combination of semiactive radar and/or radio-command guidance. Because the FABMDS missile would have been armed with a nuclear warhead, it had obvious restrictions on minimum altitude and range.

The Department of Defense eventually concluded that the limited defense promised by the proposed FABMDS, using then state-of-the-art technology, did not warrant the high development time and cost. As a result, it did not issue a development contract to General Electric and formally cancelled the program in October 1962. However, the army immediately replaced the cancelled FABMDS program with a new program, the Army Air-Defense System-1970 (AADS-70). In actuality, the AADS-70 was essentially a continuation of the FABMDS under a different name. In 1964 the army renamed the AADS-70 the Surface-to-Air Missile-Development (SAM-D). This program eventually led in the development of the MIM-104 Patriot.

Robert B. Kane

See also
Patriot Missile System

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Film and the Middle East Wars

While the 1991 Persian Gulf War superseded the Vietnam War as America's great televised war, the Global War on Terror launched against perceived radical Islamist threats in the wake of the September 11, 2001, attacks against the United States and subsequent military campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq may well become known as the first of the multimedia wars. With a plethora of online data available, the public has available to it a wide range of sources for images and analyses of the conflicts. Consequently, movies based on contemporary conflicts face a difficult task, that of competing with a flood of documentaries and Internet-based information. The documentary film has risen to unprecedented prominence, while many fictional movies have met with either failure or little more than modest success. Whether this failure is due to the success of documentaries, mounting criticism of ongoing conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, public rejection of the theatrical films' general antimilitary themes, or other factors is a difficult question to answer.

Certainly, earlier filmmakers faced problems in trying to sell the Korean War (1950–1953) to an indifferent public, and the one Korean blockbuster, *M*A*S*H* (1970), did not emerge until well after the armistice, when America was engaged in the even more controversial war in Vietnam. In fact, the film's director, Robert Altman, admitted later that *M*A*S*H* is actually a film about the Vietnam War but that he had to disguise it by setting it ostensibly during the less controversial Korean War or he would not have been allowed to make the film at all. Also, apart from John Wayne's prowar *Green Berets* (1968), the major Vietnam movie successes—such as *Coming Home* (1978), *The Deerhunter* (1978), *Apocalypse Now* (1979), *Platoon* (1986), and *Full Metal Jacket* (1987)—also emerged well after the conflict. Current filmmakers dealing with continuing wars in the Middle East lack the benefits of hindsight and are, in essence, forced to write a script of ongoing conflicts with unknown outcomes. Other limitations may well also influence the success of movies focusing on modern Middle Eastern wars: bleak desert and urban settings limit visual appeal, the heavily armored gear-laden soldiers of today are hard to distinguish as individual characters, and Middle Eastern combatants and civilians often function as little more than type characters. Moreover, it may well be that movies about ongoing conflicts have yet to find their voice.

1991 Persian Gulf War

The Persian Gulf War unleashed a great media spectacle whereby war itself gained the status of a blockbuster movie, directed by a governmental media giant with leading generals in a starring role and a dénouement celebrated by parades of triumphant returning forces. Unlike any other war in U.S. history, the Persian Gulf War unfolded in real time on American televisions screens in highly dramatic fashion. Before, during, and after the brief conflict, the documentary gained a new prominence in the genre of the war film. Propaganda preceded the war, as with *Saddam Hussein—Defying*

the World (1990; updated 1992), and major television networks supplemented their 24-hour coverage with a spate of documentaries, all released in 1991, such as CNN's *Operation Desert Storm: The War Begins;* CBS's three-part *Desert Triumph;* and CNN's six-part *War in the Gulf: The Complete Story.* Other documentaries of the same year highlighted the star "actors" of the conflict, as in ITN's *General H. Norman Schwarzkopf: Command Performance;* ABC's *Schwarzkopf: How the War Was Won; Operation Welcome Home: Victory in the Gulf,* featuring General Colin Powell and the New York victory homecoming; and PBS's update of its 1983 *Frontline* program *Vietnam Memorial 1991,* which contrasted the homecoming of Vietnam veterans with those of the Persian Gulf War.

A similar patriotic fervor characterizes the IMAX documentary *Fires of Kuwait* (1992), which celebrates firefighters from 10 countries battling the oil field infernos that resulted from conflict. More critically, prominent German filmmaker Werner Herzog documented postwar devastation inside Kuwait in *Lessons of Darkness* (*Lektionen in Finsternis,* 1992). With little actual war footage apart from a series of images of bombs falling on cities, filmed through the surrealistic filter of night-vision cameras, the sparsely narrated episodes present an inferno of lakes and deltas of black oil and burning towers of flame. Furthermore, as a counterbalance to CNN renditions of Operation DESERT STORM, *Lines in the Sand* attacks government media control, seeing the war as a "national therapy session" to drive out memories of Vietnam, a critical stance also reflected in two other 1991 documentaries, *The Gulf Crisis Tapes* and *The Desert Bush.*

Media control is also the target of *Counterfeit Coverage* (1992), unveiling the collaboration between Kuwaiti citizens and the Hill and Knowlton public relations firm to promote U.S. intervention. The satirical *Gulf Bowl Cabaret: For All You Do, This Scud's for You* (1992) further reflects mounting criticism of the Persian Gulf War, a movement perpetuated some 10 years later on the eve of a new military campaign against Iraq by documentaries such as *The Hidden Wars of Desert Storm* (2001), which attacks the media war and questions the reasons for U.S. involvement. Ongoing controversy about Gulf War Syndrome among veterans and allegations of a significant rise in the rates of postwar Iraqi cancer and birth defects as a result of alleged chemical and germ warfare, alongside the effects of radioactive depleted uranium, continue to spur documentaries, such as the recent *Gulf War Syndrome: Killing Our Own* (2007).

Apart from documentaries, the Persian Gulf War inspired a handful of movies a few years after the end of the brief war. *Courage under Fire* (1996) centers upon an investigation to determine whether Captain Karen Walden deserves a Medal of Honor after she dies fighting Iraqis following the crash of her rescue helicopter. Amid conflicting evidence, Lieutenant Colonel Serling, in charge of the investigation, is forced to confront his own insecurities about his own Gulf deployment. The bizarre *Uncle Sam: I Want you . . . Dead* (1996) features the corpse of an American soldier killed in Kuwait that crawls out of his casket to torment his enemies, including crooked politicians and draft dodgers.

Three Kings (1999), another irreverent look at the Persian Gulf War, follows three U.S. soldiers who, led by a major from the U.S. Army Special Forces, set off into Iraqi territory in an attempt to steal Kuwaiti gold seized by the Iraqi Army. During their journey, however, they encounter and rescue civilians who have risen up against Saddam Hussein's regime and are now abandoned by the coalition. *Tactical Assault* (1999) is a revenge thriller about a deranged U.S. Air Force pilot who, after being shot down to stop him from shooting an unarmed passenger jet, tries to get even with his former commander. *Mad Songs of Fernanda Hussein* (2001) transposes the Persian Gulf War to the New Mexico desert by tracing the stories of three characters: a Latina previously married to Saddam Hussein's namesake, a teenage antiwar protestor, and a traumatized Persian Gulf War veteran.

Two British television movies, *The One That Got Away* (1995) and *Bravo Two-Zero* (1999), both based on Chris Ryan's book *The One That Got Away,* combine fact and fiction in the story of an eight-man Special Air Service (SAS) team delegated to take out Saddam Hussein's Scud missiles and sever Iraqi communication lines. In an arduous journey marked by technological breakdowns and bad weather, only one survivor manages to reach safety in allied Syria. Also based on fact, *Live from Badhdad* (2003) deals with two CNN journalists who remained in Baghdad once others had pulled out.

The Manchurian Candidate (2004) is a recycled version of the Korean War–based novel by Richard Condon (1959) and the subsequent film (1962). Here, however, international weapons manufacturers replace communist agents as the insidious forces who brainwash a Persian Gulf War platoon and plan to take over the White House. The similarly bizarre *Jacket* (2005) tells the story of a veteran who, falsely accused of murder, travels in time in an effort to escape impending death under the care of a sadistic doctor.

On a more realistic level, *Jarhead* (2005) deals with a war that never really happens for a group of marine recruits. This movie, perhaps the best to emerge about the Persian Gulf War to date, traces the shenanigans of a group of marines from boot camp to 175 days of waiting for action in Saudi Arabia before Operation DESERT STORM begins. After their deployment in Kuwait the war ends within five days but not without their exposure to harrowing images of charred enemy bodies and blazing oil derricks. Itching for real military action, two snipers are delegated to wipe out the sorry remnants of Iraqi Republican Guards, only to have the action countermanded by other forces determined to gain glory with an air strike.

From the Arab perspective, few significant films have emerged. *The Gulf War: What Next?* (1991), a collection of five brief films with Arab directors commissioned by British television, attempts to demonstrate the repercussions of Persian Gulf War developments throughout the Arab world. The response is overwhelmingly personal, as with Nejia Ben Mabrouk's *Research of Shaima,* which follows the filmmaker in an attempt to trace a Baghdad girl whose face she has seen on television. Shortly after the end of the

In a scene from the Sam Mendes film *Jarhead,* marines play football in the desert heat wearing full combat gear. (Francois Duhamel/Universal Studios/Bureau L.A. Collection/Corbis)

Persian Gulf War, Saddam Hussein commissioned *Hafer al-Batin* to detail an alleged war crime, the burial by U.S. bulldozers of live Iraqi soldiers dug in along the Saudi border. Released some years later, *The Storm* (2000) deals with Egyptians' equivocal reactions to the Persian Gulf War, while *Dawn of the World* (2008) tells the story of an Iraqi Marsh Arab who, killed in battle, sends his cousin to care for his wife.

Afghanistan War

Cinematically, the conflict in Afghanistan, launched 10 years after the Persian Gulf War, could, like the Korean War, be termed the "forgotten war," for it has inspired relatively few movies to date. As with the Persian Gulf War, documentaries predominate. Released soon after September 11, 2001, the National Geographic documentary *Afghanistan Revealed* (2001) includes interviews with Afghan resistance leader Ahmad Shah Massoud, killed two days before the 9/11 attacks; Taliban prisoners with the Northern Alliance; and refugees from the Taliban. In support of the U.S. counterattack against Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, Mullah Mohammed Omar, and the Al Qaeda network held responsible for 9/11, *Operation Enduring Freedom: America Fights Back* was released in 2002, supported by the U.S. Department of Defense and introduced by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.

Soon, however, dissident voices sounded, as with Irish filmmaker Jamie Doran's *Massacre in Afghanistan—Did the Americans Look On?* (2002), amid protests and denials from the U.S. State Department. The documentary focuses on the alleged torture and slaughter of some 3,000 prisoners of war who had surrendered to U.S. and allied Afghan forces after the fall of Konduz. Some years later, the PBS *Frontline* documentary *Return of the Taliban* (2006) reported the resurgence of the Taliban on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border.

Focusing on international journalists covering the conflict, *Dateline Afghanistan: Reporting the Forgotten War* (2007) highlights the dangers and frustrations of war reporting. More controversially, Alex Gibney's *Taxi to the Dark Side* (2007) deals with a young Afghan taxi driver allegedly beaten to death at Bagram Air Base. In an attempt to counter mounting criticism of the U.S.-led engagement in Afghanistan, the 2008 episode of *War Stories,* a series narrated by Oliver North, focuses on "The Battle for Afghanistan." This episode follows a U.S. Marine Corps battalion deployed in Helmand Province. Concurrently, other documentaries from allied forces in the International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF) reflect growing disquiet about mounting casualties, as in *Waging Peace: Canada in Afghanistan* (2009).

One of the earliest movies dealing with Afghanistan is perhaps the most powerful, Michael Winterbottom's *In This World* (2002) that begins in the Shamshatoo refugee camp in Peshawar on Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province, where some 50,000 Afghan refugees, displaced either by the Soviet invasion of 1979 or the post-9/11 U.S. bombing, lead a miserable existence. Two teenagers set out on the ancient Silk Road in an attempt to reach London. The film was first shown at the Berlinale Film Fest, and the premiere of the film preceded a massive antiwar demonstration at the Brandenburg Gate.

September Tapes (2004) follows a filmmaker and his team in an attempt to find Osama bin Laden. Using a combination of real and spurious documentary footage to chronicle their way, the group eventually disappears as it approaches Taliban fighters. While the Danish movie *Brothers* (*Brødre,* 2004) powerfully probes sibling rivalry and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) psychoses, little of this film actually deals with the Afghanistan War. Captured by Afghani rebel fighters after surviving a helicopter crash, the central character is manipulated into killing his feckless fellow prisoner to save his own life. Upon his return to Denmark after rescue, he is severely traumatized.

On a different tack, the American movie *Lions for Lambs* (2007) suggests dissent about the war by tracing three stories involving a warmongering Republican senator, a skeptical journalist, and a California university professor, two of whose students have been trapped behind enemy lies in Afghanistan and a third student who needs convincing to do something with his life. In a bizarre twist, the hero of *Ironman* (2008), a successful arms trader captured by Afghan insurgents, escapes only to return to America as a pacifist. He no longer wants weapons that he has designed to be deployed against American forces. *Lone Survivor* (2009) is based on the memoir of U.S. Navy Seal Marcus Luttrell, the lone survivor from his unit during Operation REDWING on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. Yet another little-known movie release, *The Objective* (2008), is concerned with Special Operations reservists who go missing on a mission in Afghanistan. Although dealing with covert arms supplies to the mujaheedin after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, *Charlie Wilson's War* (2007) is still relevant in the current context, as its recent date of release suggests: by arming its anti-Soviet allies of the past, many of whom later joined the Taliban, the United States had been in essence aiding its present foes.

A number of Middle Eastern movies have also addressed the conflict. Set shortly before 9/11, Iranian producer Mohsen Makhmalbaf's *Kandahar* (originally titled *Safar-e Ghandehar,* 2001) follows an Afghan Canadian woman who sets forth on a disturbing journey to find her sister and displays the Taliban's savagery. Afghans also produced their own movie, *The White Rock* (2009), about a massacre of refugees by the Iranians in 1998. In a dark comedy, Afghani writer-director Siddiq Barmaq's *Opium War* (2008) is about two American airmen who crash into a remote poppy field and attack an old Soviet tank, which they assume shelters Taliban or Al Qaeda fighters. It turns out that this is the home of a family forced to grow opium poppies to survive.

Iraq War

The ongoing conflict in Iraq has inspired the bulk of documentaries and movies to date. Accompanying the intense debate about the presence of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) in Iraq, United Nations (UN) weapons inspector Scott Ritter released a documentary, *In Shifting Sands: The Truth about UNSCOM and the Disarming of Iraq* (2001), for distribution in 2003. *Uncovered: The Whole Truth about the Iraq War* (2003) deals with media treatment of the developing push to invade Iraq; an expanded version appeared in 2004. One of the most controversial documentaries came from Al Jazeera, the Arab news network. *Control Room* (2004) follows the Iraqi war from the American military information station in Qatar to the streets of Baghdad during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, showing Iraqi civilian casualties, dead American soldiers, and U.S. assaults that kill a number of journalists, including an Al Jazeera cameraman when the network's Baghdad office is attacked. Other documentaries, such as *Alpha Company: Iraq Diary* (2005), shot by Gordon Forbes as a journalist embedded with a reconnaissance battalion, and *The War Tapes* (2006), shot by soldiers themselves, deal with the everyday lives of U.S. forces in Iraq. An Emmy Award–winning documentary, *Baghdad ER* (2006), moves the perspective to a military hospital, while *Gunner Palace* (2005) consists of firsthand accounts of servicemen faced with a dangerous and chaotic military situation. A Veterans' Day special, *Last Letters Home: Voices of American Troops from the Battlefields of Iraq* (2005), features the families of eight men and two women killed in Iraq. Also with a personal focus, *The Ground Truth: After the Killing Ends* (2006) addresses the effects of the war, including PTSD, on veterans, family members, and friends.

As the conflict lengthened, criticism of the war's handling became more intense. In *Iraq for Sale: The War Profiteers* (2006), four major U.S. government contractors came under attack for profiteering and doing shoddy work. In a series of 35 interviews with former government officials alongside journalists and former servicemen, *No End in Sight* (2007) focuses on the major mistakes of the Iraqi occupation, which include disbanding the Iraqi Army and dismissing experienced bureaucrats. With *Ghosts of Abu Ghraib* (2007) yet another Iraq War scandal reached the screen, this time examining the events of the 2004 Abu Ghraib torture and prisoner abuse scandal, a theme also taken up in Errol Morris's *Standard Operating Procedure* (2008). In a further condemnation of the foreign policies of the George W. Bush administration, *Finding Our Voices* (2008) weaves together the voices of 8 people, including former government officials and soldiers who refused to return to Iraq.

Other documentaries focus on the effects of the conflicts on the people of Iraq. In *About Baghdad* (2004), exiled Iraqi writer Sinan Antoon returns to his city to probe recent developments in a collage of walking tours through war-ravaged streets, interviews with political prisoners tortured under the Hussein regime, conversations

with intellectuals, and commentaries by the outspoken Antoon. Similarly, *In the Shadow of the Palms* (2005), shot by Australian filmmaker Wayne Coles-Janess, offers footage of the lives of Iraqis before Hussein's deposition, during the fall of the government, and throughout the U.S. occupation. An Iraqi-made documentary, *Dreams of Sparrows* (2005), follows director Haydar Daffar's team in encounters with Iraqi citizens, a project that results in a crew member's death. Two documentaries from 2006, *My Country, My Country* and *The Blood of My Brother,* focus on individual Iraqis caught up in the bloodshed of the growing Shia insurgency.

Predictably, studies of Saddam Hussein have accompanied the Iraqi conflict. Among these, *Our Friend Saddam* (2003) examines the dictator's earlier relationship with Western countries who supplied him with weapons, a theme also taken up in a 2004 French television documentary, *Saddam Hussein: Le procès que vous ne verrez pas* (Saddan Hussein: The Trial You Will Not See). *Saddam Hussein: Weapon of Mass Destruction* (2005) chronicles the rise and fall of the dictator, while *America at a Crossroads: The Trial of Saddam Hussein* (2008) raises questions on procedural aspects of the trial and the ethnoreligious differences within Iraq that it mirrors.

One of the earliest Iraqi War–based movies, *Saving Jessica Lynch* (2003), evoked accusations of media manipulation when it was revealed that the "rescue" of Private Lynch, supposedly captured in an ambush, did not take place; rather, the Iraqi hospital in which she was under treatment willingly handed her over to military forces. *Over There* (2005), a television series about a U.S. Army unit on its first tour of duty, met with little success in spite of explosions, amputations, and grisly footage. An Italian movie, *La tigre e la neve* (*The Tiger and the Snow,* 2005), is a love story about a man who attempts to court a woman writing the biography of an Iraqi poet in Baghdad. Unsuccessful in his attempt, he is finally mistaken as an Iraqi insurgent and arrested. *American Soldiers* (2005) deals with an American patrol's struggle against fedayeen fighters; eventually they release mistreated prisoners, running afoul of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Also a combat movie, *A Line in the Sand* (2006) deals with two soldiers with different views of the war who survive an ambush and struggle to reach safety. Based on an incident of November 19, 2005, *The Battle for Haditha* (2007) investigates the alleged murder of 24 Iraqi civilians by marine forces in retaliation for a roadside bombing. Using creative nonfictional filming techniques that combine a soldier's home movies, documentaries, newscasts, and Internet postings, *Redacted* (2007) is based on a real event wherein a squad persecutes an innocent Iraqi family and rapes a young girl.

Other recent movie releases focus on a chaotic battlefront, as in the seven-part television series *Generation Kill* (2008), where members of the U.S. Marine Corps 1st Reconnaissance Battalion face unclear conditions and military ineptitude. *The Hurt Locker* (2008) deals with the sergeant of a bomb disposal team who recklessly exposes his subordinates to urban combat, while *Green Zone* (2009) is a fictional treatment of a U.S. Army inspection squad hunting for WMDs, misled by covert and faulty intelligence. *No True Glory: Battle for Fallujah* (2009) takes up the familiar theme of the confusion and frustration of the Iraqi insurgency in its account of the fighting in Fallujah in 2004 between insurgents and U.S. forces.

Increasingly, however, Iraq War movies have turned to the home front. After harrowing experiences in Iraq, for instance, four soldiers in *Home of the Brave* (2006) must deal with their physical and psychological trauma upon their return home. Similarly, *Four Horsemen* (2007) focuses on four high school friends: one is killed in action, another is permanently maimed, and the remaining two return to Iraq after leave. The main character in *Stop Loss* (2008), however, refuses to return when, as a decorated hero, he experiences PTSD following his first tour of duty. With a different twist, *In the Valley of Elah* (2007) is about a father's search to discover what has happened to his soldier son Mike, who has gone absent without leave (AWOL) after his return from Iraq. A complex investigation leads to shocking discoveries: first that Mike had been guilty of prisoner abuse in Iraq and second that his fellow soldiers have stabbed him and dismembered his body. Similarly, the British television movie *The Mark of Cain* (2007) follows three young men who suffer the effects of what they have seen and done after their tour of duty. Dealing with family bereavement, *Grace Is Gone* (2007) concerns a father's difficulty in breaking the news of his wife's death in Iraq to his two daughters.

Among Iraqi-made movies, *Ahlaam* (2005), directed by Mohamed Al-Daradji, an exile during Hussein's reign, was inspired by the sight of psychiatric patients let loose in the streets of Baghdad in the wake of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. The movie focuses on a mental institution and interweaves the narratives of three characters. Filming in 2004 proved dangerous, for Al-Daradji and three crew members were once kidnapped twice in the same day. *Valley of the Wolves* (2006), based on a popular Turkish television series, is set in northern Iraq and begins with U.S. forces capturing 11 Turkish special forces soldiers.

An Egyptian black comedy, *The Night Baghdad Fell* (2006), was extremely popular. It lampooned American officials, and the story line dealt with preparations to prevent the United States from continuing its invasion into Egypt. Condoleezza Rice and U.S. marines figure in the repressed fantasies of the film characters. An earlier comedy, *No Problem, We're Getting Messed Over,* featured an Egyptian who sends his son to Iraq to deliver mangoes and then must rescue him from a U.S. prison. He falls into Hussein's hiding place and is fired on by insurgents, arrested by Americans, and taken to President Bush, who forces him to wear a beard and confess to bombing the U.S. embassy.

Global War on Terror

While films dealing with the ongoing conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq are virtually inseparable from the Global War on Terror, other documentaries and movies address the conflict in a more general Middle Eastern context. Arabic films have portrayed this topic for several decades. A classic piece portraying a conventional view of

Matt Damon and Alexander Siddig, who starred in Stephen Gaghan's political thriller film *Syriana*. (Sygma/Corbis)

Islamist terrorists was *Irhabi* (The Terrorist) of 1993, starring Adel Imam. John Pilger's documentary *Breaking the Silence: Truth and Lies in the War on Terror* (2003) criticizes American and British involvement in the Middle East since 9/11, questioning the real motives for the Global War on Terror, as does Noam Chomsky's *Distorted Morality* (2003), which claims that America is the world's biggest endorser of state-sponsored terrorism. Most notably, Michael Moore's *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004), which holds the current box office record for a political documentary, attacks the Global War on Terror agenda of the Bush government, alleging connections with Saudi royalty and the bin Laden family. The film provoked rebuttals, such as *Fahrenhype 11* (2004). Produced by the BBC in 2004, the documentary series *The Power of Nightmares: The Rise of the Politics of Fear* parallels the American Neo-Conservative movement with radical Islamism, arguing as well that the threat of Islamism is a myth perpetuated to unite the public through fear. Subsequent documentaries include *The Oil Factor: Behind the War on Terror* (2005), which examines the link between U.S. oil interests and current conflicts, and *The Road to Guantánamo* (2006), a docudrama on four Pakistani brothers who, in Pakistan for a wedding, venture into Afghanistan. Captured, they spend three years at Guantánamo Bay.

American movies have addressed the theme of rampant Muslim terrorism for decades, and recent films carry on the tradition. The global oil industry is the focus of *Syriana* (2005), a political thriller in which a CIA operative is caught up in a plot involving a Persian Gulf prince. Inspired by terrorist bombings in Saudi Arabia in 1996 and 2003, *The Kingdom* (2007) follows a Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) inquiry into the bombing of a foreign-worker complex. In *Rendition* (2007), a terrorist bomb kills an American envoy, and the investigation leads to an Egyptian American who, after arrest, is sent overseas for torture and interrogation. Touching upon all recent Middle Eastern conflicts, Oliver Stone's recent *W.* (2008) is not only a mildly entertaining biopic of President George W. Bush but also a withering representation of the decision making that preceded the declaration of a Global War on Terror and military deployments in Afghanistan and Iraq. Other of the film's episodes includes a flashback to President George H. W. Bush's decision to stop the Persian Gulf War early and pull out U.S. troops at the end of the conflict.

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See also

Abu Ghraib; Al Jazeera; Antiwar Movements, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Bin Laden, Osama; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; *Fahrenheit 9/11;* Global War on Terror; Gulf War Syndrome; Hussein, Saddam; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; Moore, Michael; Music, Middle East; Omar, Mohammed; Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan; Vietnam Syndrome

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Firdaws Bunker Bombing

See Amariyah Bunker or Shelter Bombing

Fox M93 NBC Vehicle

See Fuchs M93 NBC Vehicle

France, Middle East Policy

France, whose interests in the Middle East date back many centuries, acquired extensive imperial interests in the region during the 19th century, gradually annexing or acquiring protectorates or special rights in Lebanon, Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco. During the 1854–1856 Crimean War, France protected Ottoman Turkey against Russian incursions, while French engineers and capital were later behind construction of the Suez Canal. France played a prominent role in Egyptian affairs until 1882, when the French government rejected a cooperative military effort against Egypt and when Britain occupied the country. France's stake in the former Ottoman Empire expanded under the World War I Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916), whereby France eventually gained mandates over the Levant (present-day Syria and Lebanon). It effectively administered the regions as colonial territories until World War II began in 1939.

After World War II France maintained substantial cultural influence in its former territories, but the French Middle Eastern empire rapidly shrank as its former colonies demanded and—sometimes humiliatingly for France, as in Algeria—gained independence. This process was also occurring in Africa, and active resistance to French rule occurred in Asia with the Indochina War (1946–1954). Meanwhile, France's 1956 effort with Britain and Israel against Egypt over the nationalization of the Suez Canal ended in fiasco. Over time, traditional ties to former colonies and economic self-interest made France broadly pro-Arab in the protracted Arab-Israeli conflict.

French interest in the Middle East dates back to the Crusades of 1096–1291, which received major backing and participation from the French monarchy. By the 16th century, French leaders considered the Ottomans a valuable counterbalance to rival Hapsburg power in Europe. In 1535 François I of France and Ottoman sultan Suleiman I signed a treaty of accord and friendship, whereby the latter effectively recognized France as the protector of Latin Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Suleiman granted France economic and legal privileges known as the capitulatory treaties, or capitulations, whereby France exercised legal jurisdiction over French merchants and received other most-favored nation commercial rights in Ottoman territories. One of these treaties had been forged with the rulers of Egypt centuries earlier in the aftermath of a crusade. Others were extended to King Louis XV in 1740 and Napoleon I in 1802. French commerce dominated the Mediterranean well into the mid-18th century.

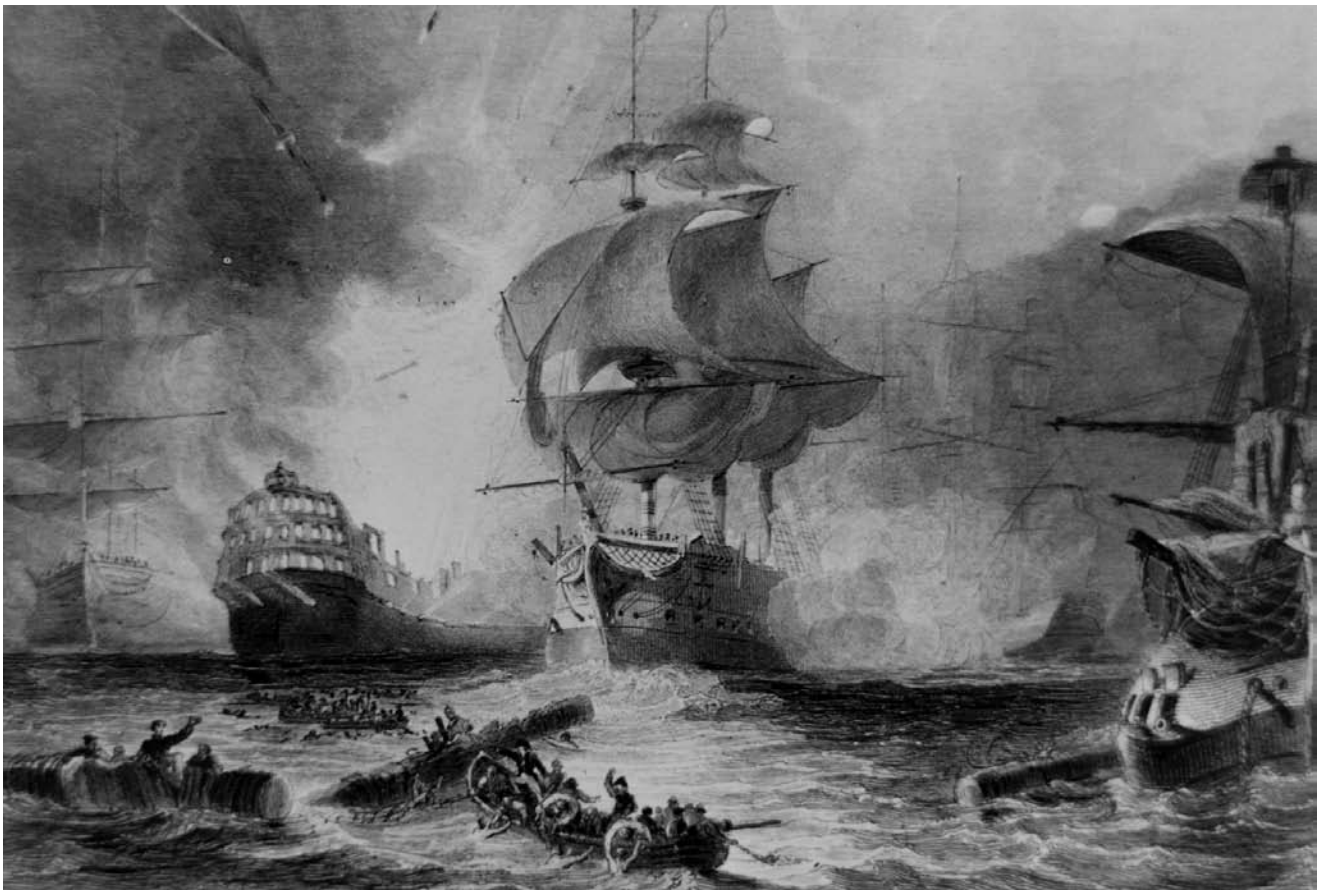
By the late 18th century French leaders also viewed the eastern Mediterranean as an arena for imperial competition with Great Britain and other powers, usually at the expense of the increasingly crumbling Ottoman Empire. As a possible prelude to a drive on Britain's Indian territories, in 1798 General Napoleon Bonaparte invaded and conquered Mamluk-administered Egypt, which was then under Ottoman sovereignty. Napoleon's subsequent advances into Palestine and Syria halted when, thanks in large part to British sea power, he failed to take the city of Acre. Napoleon returned to France in 1799, and the remaining French troops in Egypt surrendered to the British in 1801, thereby ending the unpopular French occupation.

Throughout the 19th century Ottoman weakness provided opportunities for France and other European powers to acquire colonial possessions and quasi-imperial rights and privileges in the Middle East. Early 19th-century British ties with the Ottoman government were a major reason that, during the 1820s and 1830s, France backed the efforts of independent-minded Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt to gain greater autonomy from his Ottoman overlord. In 1840, however, the French declined to assist him when British and other European powers curbed his authority.

The Anglo-French entente that characterized Napoleon III's reign during the 1850s and 1860s led France and Britain to cooperate extensively in the Middle East. Seeking to restrain Russian ambitions against Ottoman territory, the two joined forces against Russia in the 1854–1856 Crimean War. In Lebanon, France claimed special rights as protector of the substantial Maronite Christian community and intervened to assist its clients during 1842–1845 and again in 1860, when it collaborated with Britain to end major civil strife. France's commercial interests in Lebanon, then part of Syria, were centered in the silk industry.

The Anglo-French entente was not permanent, as France's weakness after its 1870 defeat by Germany encouraged other powers to encroach upon its sphere of influence. In 1854 and 1856 French engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps obtained concessions from the Egyptian government to build a canal across the Isthmus of Suez, a waterway that would considerably shorten transit time between Asia and Europe by enabling ships to avoid circumnavigation of the African continent. The French and Egyptian governments provided the capital for the Suez Canal Company, which would own and operate the canal for 99 years and which, built with French expertise, opened with great fanfare in 1869.

At this time, French and British nationals jointly administered Egypt's debts. In 1875, however, the continuing financial



The decisive British victory at the Battle of the Nile on August 1, 1799, stranded Napoleon Bonaparte's army in Egypt and re-established Royal Navy dominance in the Mediterranean. (Clarke, James Stanier and John McArthur. *The Life and Services of Horatio, Viscount Nelson—from his Lordship's Manuscripts*, 1840)

difficulties of Viceroy (Khedive) Ismail Pasha of Egypt forced him to sell the Egyptian stake in the Suez Canal to the British government. Seven years later, to bitter French resentment, Britain occupied Egypt and took over its administration. This occupation had been planned as a joint British-French venture, but the fall of the French cabinet led the French to renege, and the British then went in alone. In the latter 19th and early 20th centuries, however, French bankers lent money to the Ottoman government. Under the terms of these loans, French nationals and other Westerners supervised and administered some Ottoman revenues.

During the 19th century France also acquired a North African empire at Ottoman expense. In 1830 France conquered Algeria, which was incorporated outright into France, to become three French departments. Four decades of sporadic military operations against the Muslim Arab and Berber populations ensued before French control was assured, and numerous French colonists settled in Algeria. During 1881–1883 France made neighboring Tunisia a protectorate. In 1912 Morocco also became a French protectorate. In East Africa, the French acquired Djibouti during the 1880s and sought to expand their African possessions into the southern Sudan, provoking the 1898 Fashoda Crisis with Great Britain, which considered the Sudan to be part of Egypt. In the aftermath of the crisis, France finally renounced all designs on the Sudan. The net effect of this was to concentrate French imperial efforts in Africa and make possible an entente with Britain.

World War I intensified French appetites for colonial concessions in Ottoman-administered territory. In early 1915 Britain agreed to allow Russia to acquire Constantinople, the Ottoman capital that commanded the strategic Dardanelles Straits connecting the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. France responded by claiming much of the Levant and in 1916 concluded the Sykes-Picot Agreement with Britain. This allocated French rule over coastal Syria and Lebanon and much of the Anatolian province of Cilicia, a sphere of influence that would include the remainder of Syria and the Mesopotamian province of Mosul. The agreement also guaranteed French participation in an international administration of Palestine.

The 1919 Paris Peace Conference modified these provisions, and France abandoned Mosul and Palestine to be ruled as British mandates. In return, the French received a mandate that gave it full control over all the Levant, essentially comprising present-day Syria and Lebanon. Growing Turkish nationalism meant that although the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres recognized French control of Cilicia, France could not enforce its rule and abandoned this claim under the subsequent 1923 Treaty of Lausanne.

French rule over Syria and Lebanon proved contentious. During 1925–1926 French forces suppressed an armed rebellion in Syria. In

1936 France signed treaties granting both Syria and Lebanon independence within three years, although France retained military base rights in both states. But the treaties were never ratified or implemented, and instead in 1939 France restored colonial rule. After France's defeat by Germany in June 1940, French administrators in Syria and Lebanon supported the Vichy government, which negotiated an armistice with Germany. In June 1941, however, British and Free French forces took over the areas, and Free French representative General Georges Catroux promised independence to both. After a number of military and political clashes between French officials and the Lebanese and Syrians, France withdrew all its forces from the two states, which became fully independent in 1946.

The French position in North Africa was almost equally precarious. During the 1920s, capable French general Louis-Hubert Lyautey suppressed insurgencies in Morocco, but nationalist forces nonetheless burgeoned. Serious nationalist unrest occurred in Tunisia in 1938, and despite having been banned in the late 1930s, nationalist parties existed in Algeria. In June 1940 administrators in France's North African colonies backed the Vichy regime, but in November 1942 Allied forces launched a successful invasion there. Despite strong French opposition in all three states, Allied and Axis wartime propaganda alike encouraged independence movements.

Morocco's sultan adeptly headed his nationalist forces, eventually winning independence in 1956. A guerrilla war led by activist Habib Bourguiba began in Tunisia in 1952, bringing autonomy in 1955 and full independence in 1956. In Algeria, politically influential French settlers, known as *colons,* adamantly opposed independence, and a brutal eight-year conflict, led by the *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN, National Liberation Front), began in 1954, killing between 300,000 and 1 million Algerians, and toppling the French Fourth Republic. Finally in 1962 French President Charles de Gaulle granted the country independence.

Most *colons* thereupon hastily returned to France, whose population split bitterly over the war. Under agreements reached in 1965, French companies retained control of Algerian oil and gas resources, but following repeated disputes, the Algerian government nationalized majority holdings in these companies in 1971.

Despite a vaunted close identification with Arab interests, in 1947 France voted to partition Palestine and in 1949 recognized the new State of Israel. In 1950 France joined Britain and the United States in the Tripartite Declaration, imposing an arms embargo on all parties in the Middle East conflict. This effectively preserved the existing status quo, and by 1955 France had become a major arms supplier to the Israeli military. Anger over perceived Egyptian support for the Algerian FLN was one reason that France, alarmed by Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal in July 1956, joined Britain and Israel in October 1956 in an abortive military expedition to Egypt intended to retake control of the canal. Within 10 days American economic pressure forced Britain and then France and Israel into a humiliating and much resented withdrawal.

In the late 1950s France helped Israel develop a nuclear capability, but once Algeria won independence, Franco-Arab tensions relaxed, and French strategic and economic interests brought a tilt away from Israel. Before the 1967 Six-Day War, de Gaulle sought to restrain Israel from launching a preemptive strike and in June imposed a complete arms embargo on all parties to the conflict, a measure that primarily affected Israel. An angry de Gaulle subsequently urged unconditional Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, and from late 1969 onward France became a major arms supplier to several Arab states. During and after the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, France heeded Arab demands, reinforced by an oil embargo on offending nations, to cease supplying arms to Israel. French officials promoted a pro-Arab stance in the European Economic Community (EEC), urged admission of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to international bodies, and in October 1981 endorsed the Palestinian call for a national homeland.

During the 1980s French policies toward the Middle East conflict became more evenhanded as France became a target for assorted Lebanese, Iraqi, Iranian, Palestinian, and other terrorists. Although France had sheltered the exiled Iranian ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who became head of the revolutionary Iranian government in 1979, France supplied significant quantities of arms to Iraq during the subsequent Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), and the asylum France afforded various post-1979 Iranian political exiles strained relations with the new regime.

France still felt special responsibility for Lebanon and in July 1982 contributed troops to a multinational United Nations (UN) task force to oversee the evacuation of Syrian and PLO fighters, first from Beirut and later, in December 1983, from Tripoli. In 1984

French troops in Port Said on December 27, 1956, prior to their departure from the Suez Canal Zone after French and British forces had invaded Egypt during the Suez Crisis of that year. (AFP/Getty Images)

France also sent observers to monitor the Lebanese cease-fire, but heavy casualties brought their withdrawal two years later. From 1980 until 1987, when Libyan forces withdrew, France sought with only moderate success to exert political and military pressure on Libya to cease its incursions against neighboring Chad.

France acquiesced and participated in the 1991 Persian Gulf War when a U.S.-led international coalition drove Iraq out of oil-rich Kuwait, which Saddam Hussein had forcefully annexed. In 1993 France, along with Britain and the United States, also launched air strikes against Iraq to protest Hussein's infractions of UN sanctions; such operations recurred frequently throughout the 1990s. During the 1990s and early 2000s, French sales of arms and other goods to Iraq, Iran, and other regimes that the United States found unpalatable nonetheless provoked considerable U.S. rhetorical condemnation.

In the late 1990s the presence of several million North African immigrants and migrant workers in France contributed to the growing strength of extremist right-wing political groups who resented and campaigned against the immigrants' arrival. After the extremist Al Qaeda organization launched the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the United States, the French government expressed full support for the United States in moves to track down terrorists and to invade Afghanistan, Al Qaeda's territorial base. Indeed, France feared that fundamentalist Muslims might launch similar attacks on French soil. In 2001 and again since 2003, French soldiers have taken part in various operations against Taliban fighters and other insurgents in Afghanistan. More than 4,000 French troops have served in Afghanistan. In 2004, with anti-Semitism burgeoning dramatically in France, the French government banned Muslim girls in state-run schools from wearing the hijab (or headscarf) in class, a measure that provoked spirited national and international debate.

French leaders nonetheless deplored and refused to endorse the spring 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, and for at least a year French and American officials engaged in bitter and highly undiplomatic attacks on each other's countries. Dominque de Villpin, French foreign minister from 2002 to 2004, was especially critical of the invasion of Iraq. The July 2005 Muslim terrorist attacks on London's transportation systems raised new fears that France would soon become a terrorist target and that French Muslims might become objects of popular suspicion and harassment. French Muslims for their part were thoroughly angered by official neglect, discrimination, and rising racist sentiment encouraged by leaders such as Étienne Le Pen. By summer 2007 Franco-American relations were on the rebound, largely as a result of Nicolas Sarkozy's election to the French presidency earlier in that year. Sarkozy promised to mend relations with Washington, and thus far he has made numerous substantive steps toward that end.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Algerian War; Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Egypt; enduring freedom, Operation; Iran-Iraq War; iraqi freedom, Operation; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Kuwait; Lebanon; Libya; Morocco; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; September 11 Attacks; September 11 Attacks, International Reactions to; Suez Crisis; Syria; Terrorism; Tunisia; Turkey, Role in Persian Gulf and Afghanistan Wars; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; United States, Middle East Policy, 1917–1945; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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France, Role in Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars

West European nation covering 211,208 square miles, with a 2008 population of approximately 64.058 million. France is bordered to the west and northwest by the Atlantic Ocean and the English Channel; to the northeast by Belgium, Luxembourg, and Germany; to the east by Switzerland and Italy; and to the south by the Mediterranean Sea and Spain. A prosperous and highly industrialized nation whose economy is ranked eighth in the world, France is a democratic, semipresidential republic. Since the inauguration of the Fifth Republic in 1958, the French government has had a bicameral parliamentary system in which much executive power is vested in a popularly elected president, who is head of state. The prime minister, who is elected by parliament, serves as head of government. The French president wields considerable clout, especially in foreign and military affairs and national security. Since 1990 France has had three presidents: François Mitterand (1990–1995), Jacques Chirac (1995–2007), and Nicolas Sarkozy (2007–).

Following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, France participated in Operation desert shield and Operation desert storm, which led to the liberation of Kuwait in February 1991. The French mission, code-named Operation daguet (French for a species of deer), involved army, air force, and navy personnel; however, the bulk of the forces came from the army. General Michel Roquejoffre commanded the French forces. France was, after Great Britain, the second-largest non-U.S. contributor of troops to the war. France contributed 18,000 troops (of whom 14,500 were army ground troops). France also supplied 2,100 vehicles of all types, including

In October 1990, following the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, France sent aircraft to Qatar. Here, a Mirage F-1 of the Qatari Air Force is protected by U.S. troops with a grenade launcher. (U.S. Department of Defense)

45 tanks, 60 combat aircraft, 120 helicopters, and an aircraft carrier and other smaller naval ships. The bulk of the French troops were in the 6th Light Armored Division, but a cavalry unit and an engineering regiment from the French Foreign Legion were also attached to the division. French troops remained under French command, but in January 1991 they were placed under tactical control of and fought alongside the U.S. XVIII Airborne Corps during DESERT STORM.

After Iraq invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990, French president François Mitterand dispatched to the Persian Gulf a French naval task force that included the aircraft carrier *Clemenceau.* Seven days later, the United Arab Emirates requested military aid from France, and later that same month France increased its naval strength in the Persian Gulf. As a military buildup of U.S.-led forces in Saudi Arabia continued, and Iraqi president Saddam Hussein seized French residents in Iraq and Kuwait as hostages and announced his intention to use them as human shields, the first French force contingent—about 100 troops and 10 helicopters—arrived in Saudi Arabia on September 10, 1991. Four days later Iraqi forces invaded the French ambassador's residence in Kuwait, prompting Mitterand to deploy 4,000 French troops to Saudi Arabia and approximately 30 fighter aircraft (Sepecat Jaguars). By the end of October, French forces in Saudi Arabia numbered almost 6,500 men.

As Saddam showed no willingness to withdraw unconditionally from Kuwait, France increased its military presence in Saudi Arabia with an additional 5,000 troops and two dozen fighter aircraft in early December. By early January 1991 an additional 4,000 French troops arrived in Saudi Arabia. French forces now numbered more than 10,000 troops and 1,450 vehicles, including 45 AMX-30B2 tanks. Six weeks later, on the eve of Operation DESERT STORM, French forces numbered some 18,000 men.

The French army contingent of the 6th Light Armored Division was deployed with the U.S. XVIII Airborne Corps along the far western part of the Saudi-Iraqi border. Its objective was to invade and secure western Iraq and thereby protect the flank or rear of the bulk of the coalition ground forces deployed to the east along the Saudi-Kuwait and Saudi-Iraqi borders, where most of Iraq's army was entrenched. Most of the coalition ground forces were positioned to invade Kuwait or southern Iraq, but allied commanders feared that Iraqi forces, particularly the Republican Guard with a large contingent of tanks and armored vehicles, might try to outflank these forces and encircle coalition forces to the north and south. Accordingly, the 6th Light Armored Division was tasked with invading and securing western Iraq to prevent this from occurring.

After more than a month of a devastating air campaign against Iraqi forces and targets in Kuwait and Iraq, the ground campaign began on February 24, 1991. The initial objective of the French forces was the seizure of an Iraqi airfield at Salman. Although French forces crossed the border unopposed, they later encountered elements of the 45th Iraqi Mechanized Infantry Division. Supported by French helicopters, the French ground forces defeated the Iraqi forces, captured 2,500 prisoners, and secured the airfield at Salman. After achieving their initial objective on the first day, French forces, along with those of the United States, pushed deeper, occupying the central part of southern Iraq, including major highways connecting Baghdad to southern Iraq. Four days later, after a 100-hour ground offensive that completely overwhelmed Iraq's beleaguered forces, Kuwait was liberated, and the Persian Gulf War came to an end.

Nine French soldiers died during the Persian Gulf War, including during the ground campaign. Two soldiers were killed while clearing explosives near Salman on February 26, 1991, and about 50 French soldiers were injured during the four-day ground offensive.

Since early 2002 France has also contributed troops to Afghanistan as part of the some 50,000-strong North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF). NATO's ISAF mission was to bring security and prosperity to Afghanistan by fighting terrorism and denying the Taliban and its Al Qaeda allies the use of that country as a sanctuary; promoting democracy by supporting the democratic

government of Afghanistan, currently under President Hamid Karzai; and rebuilding the country's ruined economy after two decades of war. By early 2009 some 2,500 French troops were deployed in the country, mostly in the capital of Kabul but also in the southern city of Kandahar, where French fighter aircraft are based and provide air support for NATO ally troops. France has also trained more than 3,800 Afghan military officers and Afghan Special Forces units. In seven years, 25 French soldiers have died in Afghanistan, and more than 100 have been injured.

With mounting violence in Afghanistan and a rise in attacks by the Taliban, on March 26, 2008, French president Nicolas Sarkozy announced the deployment of an additional battalion of troops to eastern Afghanistan close to the Pakistan border, raising the number of French troops to about 3,300. Despite the death of 10 French troops and wounding of 21 in a Taliban ambush 30 miles east of Kabul on August 18, 2008, and polls showing strong public opinion against the French mission in Afghanistan, Sarkozy announced that his "determination remained intact" to continue France's mission in that country. A month later, the French parliament voted to continue that mission over the objections of the opposition Socialist Party. Foreign Minister François Fillon informed the National Assembly that withdrawing French troops from Afghanistan would mean that Paris is indifferent to Afghanistan's fate, no longer assumes its responsibilities, and abandons its allies.

In the wake of the August 18, 2008, attack on French forces, France sent transport and attack helicopters, drones, surveillance equipment, mortars, and 100 additional troops. By year's end it had drawn down some of its troops, which then numbered about 2,700 men.

The French government under Jacques Chirac refused to sanction the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq in 2003. As a result, France did not participate in that endeavor, and it has steadfastly refused to send troops, even for postwar reconstruction and humanitarian efforts. France's unwillingness to support the United States and Great Britain in the Iraq War severely strained relations with the United States for several years. Making matters even worse was persistent public criticism of the war effort emanating from Paris. Since President Sarkozy assumed office in 2007, there have been efforts by both sides to heal the rift, and Franco-American relations have steadily improved.

Stefan M. Brooks

See also

Chirac, Jacques René; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; France, Middle East Policy; International Security Assistance Force; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Franks, Frederick Melvin, Jr.

Birth Date: November 1, 1936

U.S. Army officer and commander of VII Corps during the 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM). Born in West Lawn, Pennsylvania, on November 1, 1936, Frederick Melvin Franks Jr. graduated from the United States Military Academy, West Point, and was commissioned as an armor officer in June 1959. Following an initial assignment in Germany with the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment, he attended the Armor Officer Advanced Course at Fort Knox, Kentucky, and then entered Columbia University, earning master's degrees in both English and philosophy before returning to West Point as an English instructor in 1966.

In 1969 he rejoined the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment, then stationed in Vietnam, and served as an operations officer. Seriously wounded during the Cambodian incursion in 1970, he fought to remain on active duty and as an armor officer, in spite of the amputation of his left leg. Following tours at the Armed Forces Staff College and the Department of the Army Staff, he took command of the 1st Squadron, 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, at Fort Bliss, Texas, in 1975. In 1982, after an assignment with the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, he returned to the 11th Cavalry, stationed in Germany, as its commander. Promoted to brigadier general in July 1984, Franks commanded the Seventh Army Training Command and in 1985 returned to the United States as the deputy commandant of the Army's Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. There he was instrumental in implementing small-group instructional techniques in the Regular Course and inaugurating a staff procedures course for senior captains (Combined Arms and Services Staff School, CAS3). In addition, he oversaw the expansion and refinement of the School of Advanced Military Studies into one of the U.S. Army's most important educational institutions.

Franks returned to the Pentagon and in August 1987 became the first J-7 (Plans) on the newly reorganized Joint Staff as a major general. Returning to Europe in 1988, he assumed command of the 1st Armored Division and, a year later, following his advancement to lieutenant general in August 1989, VII Corps. During the next year he transformed the corps staff from essentially a garrison organization to a more agile, mobile command headquarters, just in time for its deployment to the Middle East in November 1990 during Operation DESERT SHIELD. While in Saudi Arabia, VII Corps grew into the largest and most powerful tactical command ever fielded by the U.S. Army, with more than 3,000 tanks, 700 artillery pieces, and 142,000 soldiers organized into five heavy divisions, an armored cavalry regiment, an aviation brigade, and the supporting organizations needed to execute the army's AirLand Battle Doctrine.

After breaking through the Iraqi defenses at the beginning of Operation DESERT STORM, Franks maneuvered the VII Corps to confront and destroy two of the Iraqi Republican Guard Force's best units, the Tawakalna Mechanized and Medina Armored Divisions. Overall coalition commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf

U.S. Army lieutenant general Frederick M. Franks commanded VII Corps, the powerful formation that included several armor divisions, during Operation DESERT STORM in 1991. (U.S. Army)

publicly criticized Franks for moving too slowly and allowing elements of the Republican Guard to escape destruction by withdrawing toward Basra. In his later memoirs, written with Tom Clancy, Franks rebuts Schwarzkopf's criticisms and gives his own version of events.

Advanced to four-star rank in August 1991, Franks headed the Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) and directed the army's educational and doctrinal programs, adjusting them to meet the needs of the post–Cold War era. He retired from the service in November 1994.

Since his retirement from active duty, Franks has continued to serve as an army consultant, particularly for the Battle Command Training Program. He has served as chairman of the VII Corps Desert Storm Veteran's Association and has traveled extensively to speak and lecture. Franks has also served on a number of boards, including the board of trustees for West Point. Since January 2005 he has been chairman of the American Battle Monuments Commission, the organization responsible for managing and maintaining America's overseas military cemeteries from World Wars I and II.

STEPHEN A. BOURQUE

See also

AirLand Battle Doctrine; DESERT STORM, Operation; Republican Guard; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.

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Franks, Tommy Ray

Birth Date: June 17, 1945

U.S. Army general. Tommy Ray Franks was born in Wynnewood, Oklahoma, on June 17, 1945. After studying briefly at the University of Texas, Franks joined the U.S. Army in 1965 and went into the artillery. He served in Vietnam, where he was wounded three times. He again attended the University of Texas but dropped out and rejoined the army after being placed on academic probation. Franks later earned a master's degree in public administration at Shippensburg University (1985). He also graduated from the Armed Forces Staff College in 1967, and in 1972 he attended the Field Artillery Center at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

From 1976 to 1977 Franks attended the Armed Forces Staff College in Norfolk, Virginia, and in 1984–1985 he attended the U.S. Army War College at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. He advanced through the ranks, and by the time of Operation DESERT STORM in 1991 he was serving as an assistant division commander of the 1st Calvary Division. Franks was appointed brigadier general in July 1991 and major general in April 1994. From 1994 to 1995 he was assistant chief of staff for combined forces in Korea. Franks was advanced to lieutenant general in May 1997 and to general in July 2006.

After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, Franks was named U.S. commander of the successful Operation ENDURING FREEDOM to topple the Taliban in Afghanistan. In early 2003 he took command of Central Command (CENTCOM) for Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, the invasion of Iraq that began in March 2003.

Franks was a principal author of the war plans for the ground element of the invasion of Iraq and was an advocate of the lighter, more rapid mechanized forces that performed so well during the ground campaign. Franks designed a plan for the 125,000 U.S., 45,000 British, 2,000 Australian, 400 Czech and Slovak, and 200 Polish troops under his command. His plan involved five ground thrusts into Iraq, with two main thrusts—one by the I Marine Expeditionary Force up the Tigris River and one through the western desert and up the Euphrates by the army's 3rd Armored Division.

The plan allowed for great flexibility, and even though CENTCOM advertised a shock-and-awe bombing campaign, in fact there

As commander of the U.S. Central Command, Army general Tommy Franks led the successful military efforts that toppled the Taliban in Afghanistan in 2001 and overthrew Saddam Hussein in Iraq in 2003. (U.S. Department of Defense)

was never any such intention. Franks's plans called for a near-simultaneous ground and air assault. When missiles struck Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's compound on March 19, 2003, ground forces moved into Iraq. Franks emphasized speed, bypassing cities and Iraqi strong points. Contrary to media reports that coalition forces were "bogged down" and had not occupied many cities, Franks maintained that this was by design: CENTCOM did not want the Iraqis to see the method and tactics by which coalition forces planned to take Baghdad demonstrated in advance in Basra or Najaf.

Franks's campaign was an unqualified success, going farther, faster, and with fewer casualties than any other comparable military campaign in history. This reflects what Franks calls "full-spectrum" war, in which troops not only engage the enemy's military forces, but also perform simultaneous attacks on computer/information facilities, the banking/monetary structure, and public morale.

During the campaign, American forces operated in true "joint" operations, wherein different service branches spoke directly to units in other service branches. The plans also featured true "combined arms" operations in which air, sea, and land assets were all simultaneously employed by commanders in the field to defeat the enemy.

Although sources suggest that Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld offered Franks the post of army chief of staff when the ground war ended in late April 2003, Franks wanted to leave the army to pursue other interests. He retired in late May 2003 and subsequently wrote his memoir, *American Soldier* (2004). Franks's departure was fortuitous for him, as he left Iraq prior to the start of the Iraqi insurgency and thus avoided most of the criticism that it engendered. In retirement, Franks started his own consulting firm that deals in disaster recovery operations. He also sits on the boards of several large corporations.

Larry Schweikart

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; enduring freedom, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; iraqi freedom, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; September 11 Attacks; United States Central Command

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Friendly Fire

Friendly fire, fratricide, or blue-on-blue are attacks involving troops firing on their own units, usually unknowingly, in which they wound or kill members of their own force. Although military establishments work hard to prevent such incidents, they are inevitable in the fog of war. Of the 613 American casualties in the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf War (including Operations desert shield and desert storm), 146 were killed in action, and 35 died in so-called friendly fire incidents. Of 467 wounded, 78 were as a result of friendly fire. Nine British soldiers were killed in such incidents, and 11 others were wounded during desert shield/desert storm. Remarkably, with thousands of coalition aircraft flying missions in the Kuwaiti theater of operations, no coalition aircraft were lost in the conflict to friendly fire.

A total of 28 separate incidents of friendly fire were recorded during the war. Sixteen of these occurred in ground-to-ground engagements in which coalition ground forces mistakenly fired on other coalition ground forces. In these incidents, 24 coalition troops were killed and 27 were wounded. Nine died in friendly fire incidents involving aircraft striking ground targets. In all, 11 servicemen were killed and 27 were wounded by air-to-ground friendly fire incidents.

Nonhostile Deaths in the U.S. Military during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM

	U.S. Air Force	*U.S. Army*	*U.S. Marine Corps*	*U.S. Navy*	*Total*
Operation DESERT SHIELD	9	21	18	36	84
Operation DESERT STORM	6	105	26	14	151
Total	15	126	44	50	235

In the air-to-ground incidents, the majority of the incidents involved fixed-wing aircraft; two involved attack helicopters. Four attacks involved U.S. Air Force planes. One U.S. Marine Corps aircraft was also involved, while two U.S. Army attack helicopters were involved in friendly fire attacks. Three incidents involved air-to-ground attacks from undetermined sources. Coalition naval forces also experienced three friendly fire attacks, although no personnel were injured or killed in these cases.

The majority of the friendly fire incidents during the war involved armored units and personnel; the majority of these were U.S. Army armored units and crew members. One tank crew of 4 men, 15 men in an armored fighting vehicle, 1 armored personnel carrier crewman, and 4 infantrymen were killed by friendly fire. The majority of these casualties involved armor-piercing tank rounds designed to destroy targets using kinetic energy. Of the 65 soldiers wounded in friendly fire incidents, only 9 were not in armored vehicles at the time of the incident.

Two incidents involving friendly fire were particularly deadly. The first serious friendly fire incident resulting in deaths during the Persian Gulf War involved U.S. Marine LAV-25 units fighting near the city of Kafji. Anti-tank missiles fired by other vehicles in the unit struck two Marine LAV-25 vehicles, destroying both. Twelve marines were killed in the attack. The second incident involved British Army armored units of the C Company, 3rd Royal Regiment of Fusiliers, that were mistakenly attacked by a U.S. Air Force Republic-Fairchild A-10 Thunderbolt II (Warthog) aircraft. In that case, the aircraft fired anti-armor missiles at vehicles thought to be Iraqi. The aircraft were flying at 8,000 feet to avoid Iraqi antiaircraft fire and were not able to visually identify the vehicles as British. Two British vehicles were hit, resulting in 9 soldiers killed and 11 wounded. The number killed equaled those killed by enemy fire in the entirety of the war.

Friendly fire incidents have also occurred in the Afghanistan War (Operating ENDURING FREEDOM) and the Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). In the Afghanistan War four Canadian soldiers were killed and eight others wounded on the night of April 18, 2002, when a U.S. Air Force Lockheed Martin F-16 Fighting Falcon dropped a bomb on their unit during a night-firing exercise near Kandahar. Subsequently court-martialed, Air National Guard pilot Major Harry Schmidt blamed the accident on drugs ("go pills," which he said the pilots were encouraged to take during missions) and the fog of war. Found guilty of dereliction of duty, he was fined and reprimanded.

The best-known friendly fire incident in Afghanistan was the killing of Pat Tillman, who left a promising and lucrative National Football League (NFL) career to serve in the army following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States. Tillman was serving as a corporal with the 2nd Ranger Battalion when he was shot and killed at close range by three shots to the forehead on April 22, 2004, in what was initially reported as an ambush on a road outside the village of Sperah, about 25 miles southwest of Khost near the Pakistan border. An Afghan militiaman was also killed, and two other rangers were wounded. The subsequent cover-up regarding the circumstances of his death ultimately caused great outrage in the United States. The first investigation held that the deaths were the result of friendly fire brought on by the intensity of the firefight, but a second, and more thorough, investigation held that no hostile forces were involved in the firefight and that two allied groups had fired on each other in confusion following the detonation of an explosive device. The incident continues to be the subject of considerable speculation.

Among numerous other friendly fire incidents in Afghanistan, a U.S. Air Force F-15 called in to support British ground forces dropped a bomb into the same British unit, killing two British soldiers and wounding two others. Two Dutch soldiers were also shot and killed by men from their same unit, and British Javelin anti-tank missiles killed two Danish soldiers during an operation in Helmand Province. On July 9, 2008, nine British soldiers were wounded during patrol when a British helicopter fired upon them.

The so-called Black Hawk Incident was the most costly single incident of friendly fire during U.S. and coalition operations in Iraq. It occurred during Operation PROVIDE COMFORT—the effort to protect the Kurds of northern Iraq from Iraqi military attack. On April 14, 1994, two U.S. Air Force F-15s mistakenly identified two U.S. Army UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters flying over the northern part of the country as Iraqi Mil Mi-24 Hind helicopters and shot them down. The attack killed all 26 U.S., United Kingdom, French, Turkish, and Kurdish military personnel and civilians aboard.

During the Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), U.S. aircraft attacked Kurdish and U.S. special forces, killing 15 people, including a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) reporter. As the result of a design flaw, which rendered missile operators unable to identify friendly aircraft, a Patriot missile downed a Lockheed F-18 Hornet aircraft near Karbala, killing the pilot. Another Patriot shot down a British Panavia Tornado, killing its 2-man crew.

In fighting at Nasiriyah on March 23, 2003, an A-10 Warthog supporting the ground effort there attacked marines on the north side of a bridge after mistaking them for Iraqis, killing six. Among other incidents, an American air strike killed eight Kurdish soldiers, and a British Challenger II tank came under fire from

another British tank during a nighttime battle; the Challenger's turret was blown off, and two crew members were killed.

The incidents related above demonstrate only friendly forces firing against their own side and do not include the numerous casualties inflicted by mistake on noncombatants.

Steven F. Marin and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Casualties, Operation DESERT STORM; Casualties, Operation ENDURING FREEDOM; Casualties, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM; PROVIDE COMFORT, Operation; Tillman, Patrick Daniel

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Front de Libération Nationale

See National Liberation Front in Algeria

Fuchs M93 NBC Vehicle

Military reconnaissance, armored personnel vehicle designed to detect and protect its crew against nuclear, biological, or chemical (NBC) materials on a battlefield and other areas of military activity. Until 1989 or so, the U.S. military focused on countering the Soviet threat, especially in Central and Western Europe. Soviet use of chemical and biological weapons was never discounted, but following the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, that threat was reassessed. During the Yom Kippur War Israel captured many Soviet armored vehicles that had the capacity of operating in a chemical environment without the crew being encumbered by unwieldy protection suits and filtering masks. Because these same weapons were designed for use in a war in Europe, the conclusion was that Soviet military doctrine included use of offensive chemical agents, requiring protection for Soviet forces passing through already contaminated areas.

The result of these findings was a program begun in the 1980s to develop a reconnaissance vehicle that would detect, identify, and provide warning to friendly forces of chemical contamination, as well as the hazards of biological agents and radiological contamination. The U.S. Chemical Corps had responsibility for this program.

In 1979 the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, West Germany) fielded a new armored personnel carrier (APC), the Tpzl (Transportpanzer1) Fuchs. This vehicle was a successor to the 1960s-era American M-113 tracked APC. The Fuchs, known in the United States as the Fox, was a wheeled vehicle manufactured by Thyssen-Henschel. The original Fox had a crew of 2 and could carry 10 soldiers, the same capacity of the tracked M-113. Like the M-113, the Fox could serve as a platform for a wide range of military needs. West Germany had already configured the Fox as an NBC reconnaissance vehicle.

The U.S. Army, as the lead agency for NBC defense, decided to explore the use of the M-113 or the Fox as a platform upon which to build an NBC reconnaissance vehicle to identify and mark hazards from weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). In September 1986 the Army began a program to lease 48 German Fox vehicles and in October cancelled the M-113 program. Negotiations with the Germans led to an agreement in March 1990 for General Dynamics to manufacture the Fox in the United States. Until it could be type classified, the Fox was identified as the XM-93 Fox NBC Reconnaissance Vehicle.

The XM-93 required a four-man crew. It was a 6-by-6 wheeled vehicle with sloped armor and featured six-wheel drive, with the forward four wheels providing steering. It weighed 37,400 pounds and measured 22.2 feet long, 9.74 feet wide, and 8 feet high. It had an overpressure system that allowed the crew to operate in a contaminated area without being encumbered by bulky NBC protective suits and masks. The Mercedes-Benz-built eight-cylinder diesel engine provided 320 horsepower to propel the vehicle at speeds of up to 65.2 miles per hour (mph) and up a 60 percent slope. It had armor to protect against small-arms fire of up to 14.5 millimeters, as well as mine protection. It was amphibious at a speed of 6.2 mph and had a maximum range of 497 miles.

The Fox featured a chemical mass spectrometer programmed to identify a wide range of chemical hazards and a remote marking device that could mark the hazards. Radiological detection equipment allowed the crew to identify and mark radiological hazards. There was no capability to identify biological hazards, but the overpressure system provided crew protection.

After August 1990, when Iraq invaded Kuwait, the XM-93 moved from the regular pace of research, development, testing, and fielding to a high-priority item for immediate use. It became evident that the United States would deploy forces to the Persian Gulf to contain the Iraqis and potentially expel them from Kuwait. Iraq had used chemical weapons in its war with Iran from 1980 to 1988 and had also employed them against its own Kurdish population.

On August 7, 1990, Brigadier General Robert D. Orton, chief of the chemical corps and commandant of the Chemical School, directed the establishment of a command center in the school to coordinate NBC defense support for deploying forces. The 24th Infantry Division had already been alerted for movement to the Persian Gulf, and on August 8 it requested use of the XM-93s at Fort McClellan for testing. Two experts from Germany flew to Fort McClellan to assist in "Americanizing" the vehicles by equipping them with U.S. machine guns, radios, and smoke grenade launchers. The vehicles, painted in desert camouflage, left to join the 24th on August 12 and were loaded onto ships for deployment. Eight soldiers from the school also left to man the vehicles and train the 24th

The Fuchs (Fox) M93 NBC Vehicle. Built in Germany, both the United States and Great Britain purchased the Fuchs, which is used to test for nuclear, biological, and chemical contamination on the battlefield. (U.S. Department of Defense)

in their use. All this was possible because of the close coordination of the NBC defense organizations in Germany and the United States. There were liaison officers at both NBC schools, and on August 4 General Orton advised the liaison officer at Sondhofen that requests for assistance with the XM-93 were likely to come soon.

Eventually the Germans provided 60 of these vehicles. These were "Americanized" and also equipped with air conditioning for operation in the heat of the Persian Gulf. The German NBC School at Sondhofen also translated operating manuals and trained eight U.S. Army and Marine platoons. By the start of Operation DESERT STORM in January 1991, there were about 40 Fox vehicles in the theater, a number that increased to 61 by the end of hostilities in February. Crews trained specially for their operation manned the vehicles.

The XM-93 performed reasonably well, but the rapid deployment did lead to problems. Among these were a lack of a doctrine regarding its use; overestimation of its capabilities to detect chemical vapors while the vehicle moved faster than 5 mph; a lack of time to train operators fully and to test their performance before deployment; a Vehicle Orientation System that was not useful in off-road operations over long distances; problems with the sampling wheel in off-road conditions; and false alarms caused by diesel fuel, smoke from burning oil fields, and vehicle exhaust. A normal development and fielding program would have probably precluded these problems, and all were noted for further development of the NBC Reconnaissance Vehicle, which in 1998 entered into service as the M-93A1 Fox.

The M-93A1, of which there are currently more than 120 in the U.S. military, corrected the deficiencies of the XM-93 that were identified in 1990 and 1991. It features updated, more automated chemical and radiological equipment that reduces the crew requirement to three. The M-21 remote sensing chemical alarm allows 180-degree rotation, and there is a monitor for the vehicle commander that provides either the screen from the MM-1 mass spectrometer or the M-21's aiming camera. A separate screen is provided to the crew member operating the MM-1 in the rear of the vehicle. There is a Global Positioning System (GPS) that more accurately locates the vehicle and allows precise marking of hazards. This, along with the communications system in the new vehicle, provides automatic production and broadcast of NBC warning reports. The M-93A1 is manufactured in both the United States, by General Dynamics, and Germany, by Thyssen Henschel. Other North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries, as well as several nations in the Middle East, have acquired the M-93A1. Research is ongoing to add a credible biological weapons detection capability.

DANIEL E. SPECTOR

See also

Biological Weapons and Warfare; Chemical Weapons and Warfare; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Funk, Paul Edward

Birth Date: March 10, 1940

U.S. Army officer. Paul Edward Funk was born in Roundup, Montana, on March 10, 1940, and graduated from Roundup High School in 1957. Interested in ranching, he entered Montana State University, where he joined the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC). In 1961 he earned a bachelor's degree in animal husbandry with ambitions of becoming a veterinarian but was also commissioned a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army. After completing Army Officers' Basic Training, the Armor Advanced Training School, and Helicopter Flight School, Funk saw combat during the Vietnam War. He then returned to Montana State University, where he earned a master's degree in psychological counseling in 1972 and a doctorate in education in 1973.

As a commander, Funk always looked for ways to improve his troops' performance. Convinced that rigorous training was the key to battlefield success, he designed a training program that ensured his troops were among the army's most prepared. Funk held a variety of posts both in the United States and abroad. He was promoted to brigadier general in 1987 and to major general in 1990.

In 1990–1991, when President George H. W. Bush decided to drive Iraqi occupation forces from Kuwait, Major General Funk was ordered to Saudi Arabia to prepare for a likely invasion of Iraq and Kuwait. His 3rd Armored Division of 22,553 men was then the most powerful armored division in U.S. history. As commanding officer of the division, Funk immediately began training his troops when they arrived in Saudi Arabia. Funk's division was assigned to VII Corps, commanded by Lieutenant General Frederick Franks. VII Corps' mission was to destroy the Iraqi Republican Guard's mechanized forces.

On February 24, 1991, the first day of the ground war of Operation DESERT STORM, the 3rd Armored Division encountered only light resistance. Late in the afternoon of the second day, however, Funk's troops engaged the Tawakalna Division of the Republican Guard. During the next 48 hours the fighting was fierce, with weather deteriorating and sand storms packing 60-mile-per-hour winds. As such, ground forces had to accomplish the mission without air support. After two nights of intense mounted combat, the Iraqi commanders surrendered. The 100-hour-war ended on February 28, 1991. Funk's "Spearhead Division," as it was known, inflicted massive equipment and personnel losses on three Iraqi divisions, while sustaining only minimal equipment losses and personnel losses itself. The 3rd Division had only seven men killed in the fighting.

After the war, Funk was reassigned to Washington, D.C., where he worked with the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). He was promoted to lieutenant general in 1993 and retired from military service at that rank on January 1, 1996.

Funk now breeds Herford cattle at his Spearhead Ranch near Fort Hood, Texas, and works at the Institute for Advanced Technology of the University of Texas at Austin. He has been active as a television consultant and military affairs analyst and a speaker at veterans' events.

RANDY TAYLOR

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; Franks, Frederick Melvin, Jr.; Republican Guard

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G

Gadahn, Adam Yahya
Birth Date: September 1, 1978

American indicted in October 2006 by a U.S. federal court for treason, providing material support to the Al Qaeda terrorist organization, and aiding and abetting terrorists because of his ties to Al Qaeda. It is alleged that Gadahn worked as a translator and a media adviser for Al Qaeda, possibly attended an Al Qaeda training camp, and acted as a spokesman for the organization.

Adam Yahya Gadahn (also known as or referred to as Abu Suhayb al-Amriki, Abu Suhayl al-Amriki, Abu Suhayb, and Azzam al-Amriki [meaning Azzam the American]) was born Adam Pearlman in Oregon on September 1, 1978. His father, born Jewish, had become a Christian before his son's birth and changed his last name to Gadahn. Adam spent his early life on a goat farm in rural Winchester, California. Home-schooled by his parents, he moved in with his grandparents as an adolescent in Santa Ana, California, and became a Muslim during a period of involvement with the Islamic Society of Orange County. In the late 1990s he left the United States for Pakistan, maintaining intermittent contact with his family until 2001.

By early 2004 Gadahn was wanted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) for questioning. He appeared in his first Al Qaeda video that October. He is believed to have remained in Pakistan until at least 2008.

The 2006 indictment in *U.S. v. Gadahn* cites excerpts from Gadahn's videos as evidence of his crimes, including his declaration of membership in Al Qaeda, which he describes as "a movement waging war on America and killing large numbers of Americans," on October 27, 2004; his warning of attacks on Los Angeles and Melbourne, on September 11, 2005; his admonition to Muslims on July 7, 2006, that they should not "shed" any "tears" over attacks on Western targets; his lament on September 2, 2006, about the state of America's "war machine"; and his reflection on September 11, 2006, about the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, in which he refers to the U.S. as "enemy soil." After the indictment, Gadahn continued to appear in more videos. On May 29, 2007, he referenced the shooting massacre at Virginia Tech, which occurred on April 16, 2007, and intimated that Al Qaeda had even grislier plans. On January 7, 2008, he urged attacks on President George W. Bush during the president's visit to the Middle East.

In early 2008 Internet rumors began to circulate that Gadahn had died in the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Predator strike that killed Abu Laith al-Libi. The FBI was unable to confirm or deny these reports, and intensified its efforts to gather intelligence on Gadahn's whereabouts. Suspicions of Gadahn's death were reinvigorated in September 2008, when he failed to release a video marking the anniversary of 9/11; however, in early October Gadahn appeared in a message focusing on the U.S. relationship with Pakistan and the American economic crisis.

Gadahn's primary service to Al Qaeda has been as a propagandist, whether by conveying Al Qaeda's official messages in English; providing Arabic-to-English translations for others' messages, including perhaps those of Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden; or by capitalizing on his status as an American convert to their cause. He remains high on the FBI's list of Most Wanted Terrorists. Gadahn is the first American to be charged with treason since World War II, and he remains the only person currently charged with this capital crime. Even John Walker Lindh, an American captured in Afghanistan during the 2001 invasion of that nation, was charged with less serious crimes.

Despite the gravity of the charges against Gadahn, most observers contend that they are largely symbolic, citing significant obstacles to capturing and prosecuting him. Although Gadahn has not been implicated in any violence against Americans, his actions underscore the importance of media in the Global War on Terror, and the difficulty in controlling it.

Rebecca A. Adelman

See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Global War on Terror; Terrorism

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Galloway, Joseph Lee

Birth Date: November 13, 1941

Newspaper correspondent and writer. Joseph Lee Galloway was born on November 13, 1941, in Refugio, Texas. He became a newspaper reporter at age 17 and within two years was a bureau chief for United Press International (UPI), in the Kansas City office. In early 1965, as U.S. involvement in Vietnam intensified, Galloway undertook the first of his three tours as a war correspondent for UPI in Vietnam.

In September 1965 the 1st Cavalry Division departed Fort Benning, Georgia, for its base camp at An Khe in the Central Highlands of the Republic of Vietnam (RVN, South Vietnam). In late October, a large People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN, North Vietnamese Army) force attacked the Plei Me Special Forces Camp, and U.S. forces then began an effort to locate and destroy the PAVN forces. On November 14 Lieutenant Colonel Harold G. Moore and the lead elements of the 1st Battalion, 7th Cavalry Regiment (Airmobile), were airlifted by helicopters into the Ia Drang Valley, initiating the first major battle of the Vietnam War between the U.S. Army and PAVN forces. Soon after Moore's troopers arrived at Landing Zone (LZ) X-Ray, they were surrounded by 2,000 PAVN regulars. Another 2,000 awaited other U.S. troops as they arrived later.

From November 14 to 18, U.S. forces at LZ X-Ray and later LZ Alpha, supported by air strikes, managed to hold their positions. On the evening of November 14, Galloway joined the engagement, intending to gather information for a newspaper article. He soon found himself aiding wounded American soldiers while under heavy fire and, with a borrowed M-16, returning fire at PAVN troops attempting to overrun the position. After suffering heavy casualties, the PAVN eventually broke off the attack. In the aftermath of the battle, the surviving Americans withdrew from the area. While Moore considered the battle a draw, since the enemy ultimately reoccupied the Valley, General William Westmoreland, commander of Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV), hailed it as a victory. Many believe that this battle set the pattern for U.S. ground operations during most of the war.

Galloway spent more than 40 years as a foreign correspondent and bureau chief for UPI, and as senior editor and writer for *U.S. News & World Report.* His reports from Vietnam were invariably accurate, highly informed, and unbiased. Besides his tours in Vietnam, Galloway spent time overseas in Japan, Indonesia, India, Singapore, and the Soviet Union.

In 1990–1991 Galloway covered the Persian Gulf War, accompanying the 24th Infantry Division during its famous end-run around Iraqi defenses. Allied commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf called Galloway "the finest combat correspondent of our generation—a soldier's reporter and a soldier's friend." *Vietnam* magazine once called Galloway "the Ernie Pyle of the Vietnam War," a reference to the legendary World War II war reporter and relentless champion of the American G.I.

In 1992 Galloway and Lieutenant General Harold G. Moore coauthored the best-selling book *We Were Soldiers Once . . . And Young* about their experiences in the Ia Drang Valley in 1965. In 2002 the book was made into a popular film with Barry Pepper playing Galloway and Mel Gibson portraying Moore. Both the book and film received critical acclaim. The coauthors recently collaborated again on the 2008 sequel, *We Are Soldiers Still: A Journey Back to the Battlefields of Vietnam.*

On May 1, 1998, Galloway received the Bronze Star Medal with the Valor Device for his actions at Ia Drang. He is the only civilian to receive such a medal for the Vietnam War. Shortly thereafter, Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund (VVMF) members created the Joseph L. Galloway Award, which is presented to war correspondents serving with U.S. troops overseas. In the autumn of 2002 Galloway joined Knight Ridder as its senior military correspondent, working in the organization's Washington bureau. During this time he also served as a special consultant to Secretary of State Colin L. Powell. More recently, Galloway was an outspoken critic of President George W. Bush and his Iraq War policies, including a caustic commentary titled "When Will It End?" published on March 13, 2008. Perhaps more significantly, Galloway was an unrelenting critic of Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and his management of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. He was especially critical of what he regarded as Rumsfeld's general lack of concern for the needs and welfare of the troops sent to fight those wars; Rumsfeld's theories of war fighting that initially condemned U.S. forces to fight without adequate equipment; and the shoddy and disgraceful health care provided to wounded veterans. As one of the very few American journalists with a widely respected command of the details of military matters, as well as the tremendous respect of the U.S. military itself, Galloway is far more difficult to dismiss than most other critics of the Bush administration.

William P. Head

See also

Bush, George Walker; Media and Operation desert storm; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; War Correspondents

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Garner, Jay Montgomery

Birth Date: April 15, 1938

U.S. Army general who, after retirement from active duty, in 2003 served as the first civilian director of the Office for Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA) for Iraq. Jay Montgomery Garner was born on April 15, 1938, in Arcadia, Florida. After service in the U.S. Marine Corps, he earned a degree in history from Florida State University and secured a commission in the army. He later earned a master's degree from Shippensburg University in Pennsylvania.

Garner rose steadily through the ranks, holding a series of commands in the United States and in Germany and rising to major general by the time of the Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM) in 1991. Garner helped develop the Patriot antimissile system and oversaw the deployment of Patriot batteries in Saudi Arabia and Israel during the Persian Gulf War. Garner subsequently managed efforts to improve the Patriot systems and to finalize and deploy the joint U.S.-Israeli Arrow theater antiballistic missile systems. He also worked with Israel, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia on the sale of the Patriot system. Garner next commanded Operation PROVIDE COMFORT, the coalition effort to provide humanitarian assistance to Kurds in northern Iraq. He directed international forces that included U.S., British, French, and Italian troops in the delivery of food, medicine, and other supplies, and in efforts to prevent reprisals by Iraqi government forces. Garner was subsequently named to command the U.S. Space and Strategic Defense Command.

Garner retired in 1997 as a lieutenant general and assistant vice chief of staff of the army. In September 1997 he was named president of SY Technology, a defense contractor, and he served on a variety of advisory boards on security issues, including the Commission to Assess United States National Security Space Management and Organization.

In March 2003 Garner was named head of ORHA for the Coalition Provisional Authority of Iraq, to coincide with Operation IRAQI FREEDOM and the allied postwar occupation. In this post, Garner was the senior civilian official during the initial period after the overthrow of Saddam Hussein in April 2003. He reported directly to the U.S. military commander in Iraq, General Tommy Franks. Garner's previous service in the region and work during Operation PROVIDE COMFORT made him an attractive candidate for the position, and the George W. Bush administration hoped that he would be able to integrate civilian and military occupation efforts in Iraq.

Former U.S. Army general Jay Garner, who was named by U.S. president George W. Bush director of the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance in Iraq following the overthrow of Saddam Hussein. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Garner's occupation strategy emphasized a quick turnover of appropriate authority to the Iraqis and a withdrawal of U.S. and coalition forces to protected bases outside of major urban areas. He also advocated early elections to create an interim Iraqi government with widespread popular legitimacy. Senior defense officials opposed his plans, however, and argued that too rapid a withdrawal of coalition forces would create a power vacuum and might lead to increased sectarian strife. U.S. officials also sought to ensure that former political and military officials linked to Saddam's Baath Party would be purged from their positions (a policy known as de-Baathification). Meanwhile, Garner's status as a former general and his close ties to Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld undermined his ability to work with nongovernmental organizations and non-U.S. officials. Both groups saw him as an indication that the United States was not committed to democratic reform in Iraq.

Garner was confronted with a range of challenges. There was a growing insurgency being waged by Saddam loyalists and foreign

fighters, and the country's infrastructure was in worse condition than anticipated as a result of the international sanctions of the 1990s, coalition military action, and a scorched-earth policy carried out by the former regime to deny assets to the invading forces. As a result, Garner was unable to restore basic services in a timely manner.

After initially dismissing the nation's security forces, Garner recalled policemen and initiated a new recruitment and screening process to expedite both the return of former police officers without close ties to the regime and the hiring of new officers. This was part of a broader effort to counter growing lawlessness in major cities, such as Baghdad. Garner also made the initial Iraqi appointments to various ministries as part of the foundation of a transitional government.

Garner was critical of the failure of the United Nations (UN) to immediately end sanctions on Iraq, and he called for the world body to act quickly to facilitate economic redevelopment and the rebuilding of the country's oil-producing infrastructure. Nevertheless, the blunt and plainspoken Garner faced increasing criticism for the deteriorating conditions in Iraq. He was replaced on May 11, 2003, by career diplomat L. Paul Bremer, who reported directly to Rumsfeld instead of to the coalition's military commander. Most members of Garner's senior staff were also replaced. Garner returned to the United States to work in the defense industry. He has remained largely silent on his short and tumultuous tenure in Iraq.

Tom Lansford

See also

Bremer, Jerry; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Patriot Missile System; PROVIDE COMFORT, Operation; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

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Garrison, William F.
Birth Date: June 27, 1944

U.S. army general and major figure in special operations who commanded Operation GOTHIC SERPENT in 1993, the failed effort to capture Somali warlord Mohammed Farrah Aidid (Aideed). William F. Garrison was born on June 27, 1944, in Palo Pinto County, Texas, and joined the U.S. Army as a private in 1966. He was selected for officer candidate school and received his commission the next year. His education includes a bachelor's degree from Pan-American University and an MBA from Sam Houston University. During two tours of duty in Vietnam, Garrison was wounded and decorated for valor.

The Vietnam War led Garrison to believe that the U.S. Army needed to develop its special operations capabilities more fully. He spent the majority of his career in special operations forces and was regarded as an innovative tactician and strong advocate for unconventional forces. Garrison rose steadily through the ranks, and upon promotion he became one of the youngest army officers to be promoted to colonel, brigadier general, and major general. He held posts in army intelligence and in the 1st Special Forces Operational Detachment–Delta (Delta Force).

Garrison had correctly foreseen that the army needed to transition from its reliance on heavy, conventional forces and weapons systems to a leaner, more mobile fighting force that could adapt to different missions around the globe. Garrison sought to better integrate the rapid advancements in communications and technology into unconventional tactics. He also urged greater integration and collaboration between the special operations forces of the different services.

In 1992 U.S. forces led an international peacekeeping mission in Somalia dubbed RESTORE HOPE, which had as its goals the ending of a bitter civil war and amelioration of the attendant humanitarian crisis. Fighting between warlords in the capital of Mogadishu had prevented repeated efforts to end the conflict. In June 1993 an ambush killed 24 Pakistani peacekeepers; in response the United Nations (UN) Security Council passed Resolution 837, which called for the capture of Somali warlord Mohammed Farrah Aidid (Aideed) and others held responsible for the brutal attack.

International efforts were now directed at apprehending warlord Aidid and his senior aides. In August 1993 Garrison was placed in command of a task force, code-named Operation GOTHIC SERPENT, that included army rangers, members of Delta Force, and other special operations forces. The general's main mission was to conduct operations to suppress the warlords and capture Aidid. When intelligence indicated that a major meeting of senior Aidid supporters was about to take place in Mogadishu, Garrison ordered a task force into the city on October 3.

The strike was a coordinated attack that included the insertion of a Delta Force unit to capture the warlords, supported by helicopters and rangers who were to create a perimeter around the target site. Meanwhile, a motorized ranger column was to travel through Mogadishu and extract the prisoners being held by Aidid's men and the U.S. forces. The American forces included 160 men, 16 helicopters, 3 aircraft, and 12 mechanized vehicles. Garrison wanted to ensure the element of surprise and believed that a small, mobile force would be able to move quickly through the streets and achieve its objectives. Consequently, he did not seek to involve the slower, heavily armored units of other UN forces in the area. Meanwhile, officials in President Bill Clinton's administration, who sought to avoid the perception of escalating the conflict, denied Garrison's requests for infantry fighting vehicles and aerial gunships.

The operation initially went off as planned, including the capture of several senior aides to Aidid; however, Somali clan fighters quickly surrounded American forces and engaged them. The Somalis shot down first one, and then another, U.S. helicopter with shoulder-launched rocket-propelled grenades. The task force

became bogged down by efforts to reach and rescue the crews of the downed helicopters, and several pockets of U.S. forces were cut off from each other. Eventually, a relief column that included UN troops and the U.S. 10th Mountain Division was assembled to extract the remnants of Task Force Ranger.

Garrison oversaw the conduct of the engagement from his base on the outskirts of the city. The so-called Battle of Mogadishu resulted in 19 U.S. dead, 73 wounded, and 1 captured. Televised footage of U.S. dead being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu created substantial domestic pressure in the United States for an end to the U.S. presence in Somalia. All U.S. forces were withdrawn by 1995.

After Operation GOTHIC SERPENT, Garrison was appointed commander of the John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. On August 3, 1996, the day after Aidid was killed in Somalia, Garrison retired from the army as a major general. He has since been involved in private business ventures and lecturing.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Aidid, Mohammed Farrah; Delta Force; Somalia, International Intervention in; United States; United States Special Operations Command

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Gates, Robert Michael

Birth Date: September 25, 1943

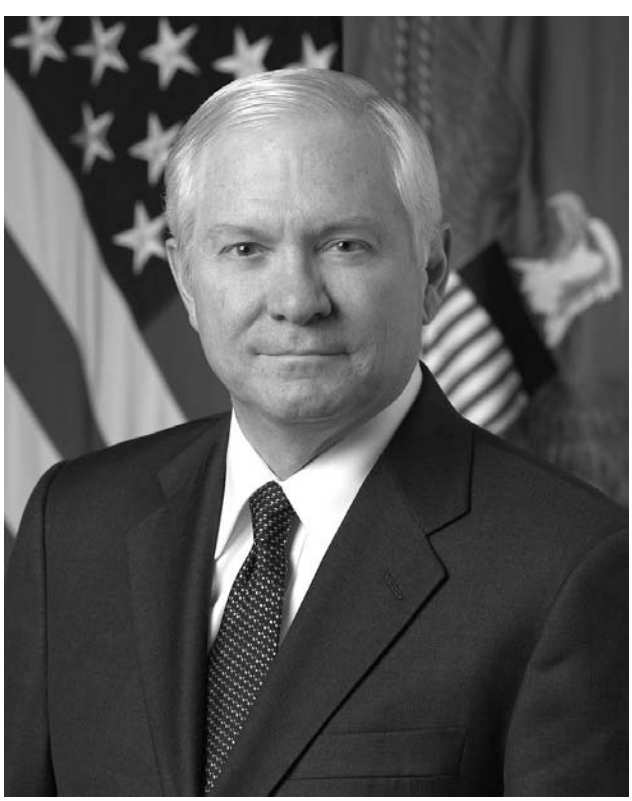
U.S. Air Force officer, president of Texas A&M University, director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and secretary of defense from 2006. Robert Michael Gates was born in Wichita, Kansas, on September 25, 1943. He graduated in 1965 from the College of William and Mary with a bachelor's degree in history, then earned a master's degree in history from Indiana University in 1966, and a PhD in Russian and Soviet history from Georgetown University in 1974.

Gates served as an officer in the U.S. Air Force's Strategic Air Command (1967–1969) before joining the CIA in 1969 as an intelligence analyst, a post he held until 1974. He was on the staff of the National Security Council (NSC) from 1974 to 1979, before returning to the CIA as director of the Strategic Evaluation Center in 1979. Gates rose through the ranks to become the director of central intelligence (DCI)/deputy director of central intelligence (DDCI) Executive Staff (1981), deputy director for intelligence (DDI) (1982), and deputy director of Central Intelligence (1986–1989).

Nominated to become director of the CIA in 1987, he withdrew his nomination when it appeared that his connection with the Iran Contra Affair might hamper his Senate confirmation. He then served as deputy assistant to the president for National Security Affairs (March–August 1989) and as assistant to the president and deputy national security adviser from August 1989 to November 1991.

The Iran Contra Affair erupted in 1987 when it was revealed that members of President Ronald Reagan's administration had sold weapons to Iran and illegally diverted the funds to the Nicaraguan Contras, the rightist anti-Sandinista rebels. Gates's political enemies assumed that he was guilty because of his senior status at the CIA, but an exhaustive investigation by an independent counsel determined that Gates had done nothing illegal, and on September 3, 1991, the investigating committee stated that Gates's involvement in the scandal did not warrant prosecution. The independent counsel's final 1993 report came to the same conclusion. In May 1991 President George H. W. Bush renominated Gates to head the CIA, and the Senate confirmed Gates on November 5, 1991.

Gates retired from the CIA in 1993 and entered academia. He also served as a member of the Board of Visitors of the University of Oklahoma International Programs Center, and as an endowment fund trustee for William and Mary. In 1999 he became the interim dean of the George Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University, and in 2002 he became president of Texas A&M University, a post he held until 2006.



Former Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) director Robert Gates replaced the controversial Donald Rumsfeld as U.S. secretary of defense in 2006. New president Barack Obama continued Gates in the post.
(U.S. Department of Defense)

U.S. Secretaries of Defense, 1989–Present

Name	*Dates of Service*
Dick Cheney	March 21, 1989–January 20, 1993
Les Aspin	January 21, 1993–February 3, 1994
William Perry	February 3, 1994–January 24, 1997
William Cohen	January 24, 1997–January 20, 2001
Donald Rumsfeld	January 20, 2001–December 18, 2006
Robert Gates	December 18, 2006–present

Gates remained active in public service during his presidency, cochairing in January 2004 a Council on Foreign Relations task force on U.S.-Iran relations, which suggested that the United States engage Iran diplomatically concerning that nation's pursuit of nuclear weapons. Gates was a member of the Iraq Study Group (also known as the Baker-Hamilton Commission; March 15, 2006–December 6, 2006), a bipartisan commission charged with studying the Iraq War, when he was nominated to succeed the controversial and discredited Donald Rumsfeld as defense secretary. Gates assumed the post on December 18, 2006.

In addition to the challenges of the Iraq War, Gates was faced in February 2007 with a scandal concerning inadequate and neglectful care of returning veterans by Walter Reed Army Medical Center. In response, he removed both Secretary of the Army Francis J. Harvey and Army Surgeon General Kevin C. Kiley from their posts. Gates further tightened his control of the Pentagon when he did not recommend the renomination of U.S. Marine Corps general Peter Pace as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) that June. Pace would have certainly faced tough questioning by Congress. It was also Gates's job to implement the so-called troop surge initiated by Bush in January 2007.

In March 2008 Gates accepted the resignation of Admiral William Joseph "Fox" Fallon, commander of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), a departure that was due in part to the controversy surrounding an article by Thomas P. M. Barnett titled "The Man between War and Peace," published in *Esquire* magazine on March 11, 2008. The article asserted policy disagreements between Fallon and the Bush administration on the prosecution of the war in Iraq and potential conflict with Iran over that nation's nuclear arms program. Gates rejected any suggestion that Fallon's resignation indicated a U.S. willingness to attack Iran in order to stop its nuclear weapons development.

Unlike his abrasive predecessor, Gates has brought an era of calm and focus to the Pentagon and has appeared far more willing to engage in discussion and compromise over matters of defense and military policy. In April 2009 Gates proposed a major reorientation in the U.S. defense budget, which would entail deep cuts in more traditional programs that provide for conventional warfare with such major military powers as Russia and China, and shift assets to those programs that would aid in fighting the insurgencies in both Iraq and Afghanistan. Among his proposed cuts were missile defense, the army's Future Combat Systems, navy shipbuilding, new presidential helicopters, and a new communications satellite system. Gates would delay development of a new air force bomber and order only 4 additional F-22 fighters for a total of 197, while purchasing as many as 513 of the less expensive F-35 strike fighters over the next five years. Purchases of large navy ships would be delayed. At the same time, the new budget would provide for a sharp increase in funding for surveillance and intelligence-gathering equipment, to include the Predator-class unmanned aerial vehicles, and increase manpower in the army to include special forces and the Marine Corps. These decisions triggered major debate in Congress over defense spending and priorities. In December 2009 Gates was the first senior U.S. official to visit Afghanistan after President Barack Obama announced his intention to deploy 30,000 additional military personnel to that country.

Richard M. Edwards

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Central Intelligence Agency; Fallon, William Joseph; Iran-Contra Affair; Iraq Study Group; Iraqi Freedom, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; National Security Council; Pace, Peter; Reagan, Ronald Wilson; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

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Georgia, Role in Iraq War

Nation located in Transcaucasia and a Soviet republic until 1991. Encompassing 26,911 square miles, Georgia borders Russia to the north; Azerbaijan to the east; Armenia and Turkey to the south; and the Black Sea to the west. Its 2008 population was estimated at 4.631 million people. Georgia's transition to independence and freedom was fraught with violence, beginning with a Soviet crackdown against independence protestors in April 1989 that resulted in 20 deaths and hundreds of injured. Tensions between Georgians and Abkhazians and South Ossetians, two autonomous non-Georgian ethnic groups within greater Georgia, resulted in a brief but violent civil war from December 1991 to July 1992 in which hundreds died.

Georgia is a representative democracy with a unitary, semi-presidential government. The president is head of state, and the prime minister is head of government. The president holds the preponderance of executive power. In recent years, Georgia's political landscape has been dominated by the United National

Movement, a center-right party that is pro-Western and nationalist in outlook. The Rightist Opposition coalition is the other major political force. It strongly supports pro-business elements in Georgia, and favors low taxes and reduced regulation of industry, as well as increased defense spending.

Georgia provided one of the largest military contributions to the U.S.-led Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. Georgia's military deployment was undertaken as part of a broader effort to improve relations with the United States to offset Russian influence in the Caucasus region. The Georgian government also hoped that involvement in Iraq would bolster its chances for membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Beginning in 2002 Georgia engaged in a broad, multiyear effort to reform and modernize its military. The United States provided $64 million in military aid and dispatched approximately 200 advisers to assist the Georgians through the Georgia Train and Equip Program (GTEP). The U.S. assistance was part of the broader Global War on Terror and was initially designed to enhance the counterterrorism capabilities of the Georgian military through training and advanced equipment for four battalions. GTEP ended in 2004, but a follow-up initiative, the Georgia Sustainment and Stability Operations Program, continued until 2007 and provided U.S. training and assistance for units preparing to deploy to Iraq.

Georgia strongly supported the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq and deployed troops to the country in August 2003. Georgia's initial deployment grew to about 800 troops and then peaked at 2,300 soldiers in mid-2008. In addition to participation in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, from 2005 to 2008 Georgia also contributed a battalion of approximately 550 troops to the United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI). At first, the Georgians deployed for Operation IRAQI FREEDOM were stationed in Baghdad and undertook general security missions; however, beginning in 2007, Georgian forces were deployed along the border with Iran and tasked to interdict smuggled weapons, goods, and narcotics. The battalion assigned to UNAMI remained stationed in Baghdad within the "Green Zone." Georgian units worked primarily within the U.S. area of operations.

Georgian troops served six-month deployments; service in Iraq was voluntary. More than 6,000 Georgian troops served in Iraq. Unlike the domestic constraints faced by other members of the coalition, the Georgian government's decisions to participate in IRAQI FREEDOM generally enjoyed public support. Georgia had long sought NATO membership, and in a 2008 referendum, 77 percent of Georgians voted in favor of NATO accession. Although the United States endorsed Georgia's NATO bid, other members of the alliance blocked the effort at the April 2008 Bucharest Summit. Instead, NATO issued a pledge that Georgia would eventually be able to join the alliance.

In August 2008, when fighting between Georgian troops and separatists in South Ossetia escalated, Georgia announced that it would redeploy 1,000 of its troops back to Georgia. When Russia then intervened in the fighting and invaded Georgia, the remaining forces were recalled, and Georgia ended its mission in Iraq. The United States provided logistical support for the withdrawal, drawing a sharp protest from Russia. However, the United States did not take stronger action against the Russian move, to the disappointment of the Georgian government. Five Georgian soldiers were killed during the nation's involvement in Iraq.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq

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Germany, Federal Republic of, Middle East Policy

Three major factors determined the Middle East policies of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, West Germany) from its foundation in 1949 until German reunification in 1990. The first factor, one that led to what has often been called West Germany's special relationship with the State of Israel, was *Schuldgefühl,* or the sense of culpability for the destruction of Jewish life and property before and during World War II. During 1949–1950, the newly established West German government, under pressure from Israel and Western allies, held itself morally responsible for the crimes of the Third Reich and therefore obligated to provide financial and material restitution to Israel.

The second factor lay in West Germany's solid placement in the Western sphere of influence during the Cold War, an alliance reinforced when the West German government received full sovereignty in 1955 and joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In seeking to maintain amicable relations with the Arab states, thereby blocking the growth of Soviet influence in the area, West Germany's Middle East policy by and large reflected that of the Western allies and, from the 1970s onward, that of the European Economic Community (EEC), or the European Union (EU), as it was renamed in 1993. Since the end of the Cold War, however, the focus has shifted to preventing the spread of regional conflict, international terrorism, and an exacerbation of refugee crises.

The third factor lay in West Germany's rapid development as a major industrial nation, which made it increasingly dependent on Middle Eastern oil resources and eager to maintain bilateral trade. West German policy thus had to tread a fine line to fulfill its moral obligations to Israel without compromising relations with Arab oil producers.

Although a controversial move in Israel, in September 1951, with the new state in economic crisis, Israeli officials approached the West German government for reparations payments. Eager to mark a decisive break with the Nazi past, West German chancellor

West German chancellor Konrad Adenauer and Israeli prime minister Moshe Sharett sign the Luxembourg Reparations Agreement of 1952. The Bonn government agreed to provide Israel 3 billion German marks in commodities and services over a 12-year period. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Konrad Adenauer saw in such reparations a chance to rehabilitate the international image of the new Germany. Negotiations led to the signing of the Luxembourg Reparations Agreement in September 1952 and its ratification in March 1953. West Germany thereby promised to pay the State of Israel 3 billion German marks (DM) in commodities and services over the next 12 years. Israel agreed to place orders with West German firms, which in turn would receive direct payment from the West German government. A provision allowed for about one-third of the payments to be made to British oil companies for shipments to Israel. Israel also promised to distribute about 450 million DM to the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany, a body that represented almost two dozen Jewish organizations with headquarters outside Israel.

German technological assistance also strengthened the faltering Israeli economy. Five power plants quadrupled Israel's generating capacity from 1953 to 1956. Other assistance included oil supplements, installations of industrial plants, railroad tracks and cars, improved telegraph and telephone communications, irrigation pipelines for the Negev desert project, and more than 60 ships.

The subsequent decade proved, however, the difficulty of maintaining good relations with both Israel and the Arab states. In 1955 moves to establish diplomatic relations between West Germany and Israel prompted Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser to threaten to recognize East Germany. According to the West German Hallstein Doctrine, which was in effect from 1955 to 1969, West Germany claimed the exclusive right to represent the German nation. The West German government was also obligated to break off diplomatic relations with any state that recognized East Germany. Fear of antagonizing the Arab world and spurring the growth of Soviet influence in the Middle East forced West Germany to back down and delay recognition of Israel.

Other problems ensued when the United Nations (UN), the United States, and several Arab countries asked West Germany to withhold payments under the Luxembourg Agreement during Israel's advance on the Suez Canal in the Sinai Campaign of 1956. This time West Germany refused, holding fast to the initial treaty. Nevertheless, tension with Israel erupted with the disclosure that a number of scientists at a Stuttgart institute were involved in developing missiles for Egypt. Although the West German cabinet dismissed the scientists, it was unwilling to intercede when a number of the researchers relocated to Cairo. The conflict ended only when most of the scientists, fearful for their safety or lured by more profitable contracts, returned to West Germany.

A crisis with Egypt came to a head when it was revealed in 1964 that West Germany had secretly been training Israeli troops and supplying weapons to Israel. Although the Bonn government,

under public pressure, soon stopped the shipments, it now made good its delayed decision to recognize Israel. No sooner had West Germany and Israel exchanged ambassadors in 1965 than Algeria, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Iraq, Kuwait, Sudan, and Egypt severed diplomatic relations with Bonn.

In an attempt to mollify the Arab states at the end of 1965, Chancellor Ludwig Erhard promised neutrality in future Arab-Israeli disputes, a move reinforced by Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger's emphasis on the need for good relations with Arab countries during his inaugural address of 1966. Nevertheless, diplomatic ties with the Arab world were restored only after the new government of Chancellor Willy Brandt abandoned the Hallstein Doctrine after 1970 and adopted new foreign policies.

With West Germany's awareness of the Arab world's growing political and economic power in the 1970s, the Ostpolitik (Eastern Policy) launched by the government of Brandt sought to improve relations with the Arab nations and West European states. Thus, it announced that West German foreign policy would reflect that of the EEC. While stressing that West Germany would not forget its responsibilities to Israel in light of the Nazi past, Brandt emphasized that West Germany's Middle East policy would address the legitimate rights of all states, Arab and Israeli alike.

Consequently, West Germany supported the EEC's call for Israel to withdraw from areas it had occupied during the June 1967 Six-Day War. Declaring itself neutral during the October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, West Germany protested against the U.S. use of port facilities at Bremen to resupply Israel. These moves led to improved German-Arab relations, and by 1974 all the Arab states that had broken off diplomatic ties with West Germany in 1965 resumed relations with Bonn. Consequently, when the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) announced its oil embargo on October 17, 1973, West Germany faced only relatively light cutbacks of 5 percent per month.

Within five years, West Germany more than doubled its exports to Arab states, and an increasing flow of economic delegations and diplomatic visits ensued. Other indications of a shift in West Germany's Middle East policy occurred when Chancellor Helmut Schmidt publicly voiced criticism of Israel's settlement policy to Israeli premier Menachem Begin in June 1979. The following month, former chancellor Brandt and Austrian chancellor Bruno Kreisky met with Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasser Arafat. In June 1981 West German spokespersons expressed dismay at the Israeli bombing of Iraq's nuclear installations at Osiraq and a year later, upon Israel's invasion of Lebanon, joined other EEC members in short-term economic sanctions against Israel. Nevertheless, pressure from his cabinet and Israel forced Schmidt to abandon a tentative arms deal with Saudi Arabia in 1981.

Under Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who voiced a determination to improve German-Israeli relations, West German Middle East policy adopted a more subdued tone, even though unfortunate wording marred the chancellor's first visit to Israel in January 1984. He stated that as the first chancellor of the postwar generation, he enjoyed "the grace of late birth" and thus had not been involved in the crimes committed under the Third Reich. This faux pas laid him open to accusations that he was trying to escape responsibility for German actions between 1933 and 1945. Tensions rose again in 1987 when Israeli president Chaim Herzog expressed concern about West German weapons sales to Saudi Arabia. By and large, however, Middle Eastern policy during the mid- to late 1980s played a relatively minor role in West Germany's Foreign Office, overshadowed by relations with the crumbling Soviet bloc in Central and Eastern Europe.

Years earlier, in 1967, Iran had acquired a 5MWe nuclear reactor, intended for research, from the United States and established its Atomic Energy Foundation in 1975. In a pattern somewhat similar to German involvement in Egypt, a West German company, a subsidiary of Siemens, helped the Iranians in their endeavor to build a nuclear power plant at Bushehr. This plant was crippled and bombed in the Iran-Iraq war. Given the change in the Iranian regime, the United States pressured the Germans and others to cease involvement in reconstruction at Bushehr in 1991.

Reunified Germany had also faced a major international crisis with Iraq's August 1990 invasion of Kuwait and the subsequent wider Persian Gulf War early in 1991. Following the Iraqi seizure of several hundred hostages, many of whom were German, Chancellor Kohl's government came under intense public pressure to negotiate with Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, in spite of EEC resolutions to hold firm. Kohl therefore hesitantly backed Brandt's mission to Baghdad, which led to the release of 175 hostages from 11 countries on November 9, 1990, but Kohl also faced criticism for Germany's unilateral action.

The German government found itself in a further difficult position in the face of a U.S. request to contribute troops to a UN-backed effort to drive Iraq from Kuwait. The German *Grundgesetz* (Basic Law) precluded German military involvement, as it limited the Bundeswehr (German armed forces) to defensive actions within the traditional area covered by NATO. Furthermore, massive public antiwar demonstrations and parliamentary opposition impeded Kohl's efforts to amend the constitution.

Nevertheless, the German government voiced full support for alliance efforts and, in place of military participation, resorted to checkbook diplomacy, contributing the equivalent of about $7 billion to the American-led intervention. In addition, Germany extended to the United States full use of its territory for transport and resupply, contributed substantial amounts of military equipment, and deployed a minesweeping unit in the eastern Mediterranean. Also, Germany not only sent jet fighters and antiaircraft missile units to Turkey but also stationed more than 1,000 troops there to protect Turkish airfields.

In the wake of Hussein's threats of chemical warfare against Israel and the launching of Scud missile attacks on January 18, 1991, Germany reacted promptly, sending to Israel 250 million DM in humanitarian aid, Fox armored reconnaissance vehicles for antichemical warfare, and air defense missiles. This reaction

was prompted, at least in part, by public exposure that German companies had earlier contributed to Iraq's store of missiles and chemical agents. After the end of the war, German minesweepers operated in the Persian Gulf from April through July 1991, and following the March 1991 Kurdish uprising, Bundeswehr personnel assisted in founding refugee camps in Iran and Iraq.

Germany's Middle East policy remained relatively passive for the remainder of Kohl's chancellorship, even though Germany was the first country to establish a diplomatic mission, temporarily in Jericho and later in Ramallah, in 1994 with the founding of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), in the wake of the Madrid Peace Process (1991) and the Oslo Accords (1993). Germany soon became the most important European economic supporter of the PNA, contributing about 23 percent of EU total funding.

Another significant development during the Kohl administration paved the way for a stronger German military role in the Middle East and other parts of the world. On July 12, 1994, Germany's Federal Constitutional Court declared that German troops could participate in UN peacekeeping missions and out-of-area NATO or Western European Union (WEU) undertakings backed by the UN, provided that a majority vote in the Bundestag approved such actions.

Even though Kohl's successor, Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, stated in his inaugural address of 1998 that Germany's historical responsibilities to Israel and peace in the Middle East would best be furthered by economic aid, bilateral trade, and infrastructural measures, Germany now began to assume a more active diplomatic role. This was largely prompted by the escalation of Palestinian-Israeli conflict after the failure of the U.S.-led negotiations at the 2000 Camp David Summit. After a suicide attack on March 27, 2002, killed 29 people in Netanya, Israel, and Israel responded with a massive campaign against cities in the West Bank, German foreign minister Joschka Fischer presented a proposal titled "Ideas for Peace in the Middle East." In it he called for a roadmap laying out a timetable for Israelis and Palestinians to arrive at a two-state solution, overseen by a quartet consisting of the United States, the EU, the UN, and Russia. Fischer's proposal evolved into the Road Map to Peace presented on April 30, 2003, to Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon and newly elected Palestinian prime minister Mahmoud Abbas.

Further signs of a more involved German role included Arafat's visit to Berlin in the spring of 2000 and Schröder's return visit in the fall of that year. Several months later, following a suicide bombing outside a Tel Aviv discotheque in June 2001, Fischer began a course of shuttle diplomacy, appealing to Arafat for a swift condemnation of the violence and urging Sharon against retaliation. The Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada of 2002, however, led to a significant cooling of relations with Israel when on April 9 Chancellor Schröder announced the suspension of arms sales, called for the early creation of a Palestinian state, and asked that Israel immediately withdraw from recently seized territory. Outspoken criticisms of Israel's role among German political figures, most notably from Jürgen Möllemann, deputy chairman of the Federal Democratic Party, further exacerbated tensions with Israel and were only defused by Möllemann's forced resignation.

German chancellor Gerhard Schröder, right, and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, left, on their way to a press conference after discussions regarding the Middle East peace process and bilateral relations in the Chancellery in Berlin, March 27, 2000. (AP/Wide World Photos)

After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, Germany's Middle East policy focused on international terrorism. Pledging unconditional political and military support for President George W. Bush's War on Terror, Schröder made an initial commitment of 3,900 German troops to Afghanistan. Less than a year later, however, the German government refused to commit troops to the U.S.-led coalition invasion of Iraq on the grounds that with 10,500 soldiers already serving in foreign countries (out of a total active force of 284,500), the Bundeswehr was spread thin. In addition, the Schröder government objected to the absence of a UN mandate, inconclusive evidence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, and the lack of a clear post-victory plan. Schröder was joined in his criticism of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM by France, perhaps Germany's closest ally. Schröder's refusal to join IRAQI FREEDOM cooled relations with Washington but aided his bid for reelection in the autumn of 2002. Nevertheless, since the coalition takeover of Iraq, Germany has conducted training programs for Iraqi military, police, security, technical, and medical personnel. In addition, Germany's financial contributions have included $652,000 for program funding and airlift of Iraqi personnel, $155

million to the coalition and UN/World Bank Trust Fund, and $8 million toward Iraqi elections.

With Chancellor Angela Merkel's grand coalition government taking office on November 22, 2005, German foreign policy has undergone a pronounced shift, particularly by way of strengthened ties with Washington and Israel. Soon after her inauguration and shortly after the Islamic militant party Hamas won the Palestinian parliamentary elections on January 26, 2006, Merkel paid a state visit to Israel and met with acting prime minister Ehud Olmert and with Abbas, now the Palestinian president. At the time Merkel took a tough stand, emphasizing that no negotiation with Hamas should occur unless the organization recognized Israel and renounced terrorism. She also stated that Iran had "crossed a red line" in its nuclear policy and constituted a threat to Israel and all democratic countries. Subsequently, Germany supported the EU decision to suspend direct aid to the PNA on April 10, 2006.

The 2006 Lebanese War prompted yet another major change in Germany's Middle East policy. On September 13 Merkel announced her cabinet's "historic decision" to send troops to the Middle East to enforce a truce between Lebanon and Israel. Continuing sensitivity about Germany's role in the Holocaust, however, limited the rules of engagement, which stipulated that German forces would not be placed in combat that could involve Israeli forces. Consequently, German naval forces were delegated to patrol the Lebanese coastline. As of November 18, 2006, Germany had deployed 1,021 troops in Lebanon.

Meanwhile, German public opinion has favored a pullout of German forces from Afghanistan, and by late 2007 polls indicated widespread support—both from the left and right—for a German withdrawal. Merkel, however, has made no promises or moves that would indicate a German withdrawal from Afghanistan, and at least 2,000 German troops continue to serve with the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), the military arm of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) that has been operating in Afghanistan for several years. However, the so-called national caveat applied to the deployment of Bundeswehr troops means in effect that they can only be committed in the northern part of Afghanistan and not in the south, where the main security threat is located. German efforts to build an effective Afghan police force have largely been a failure so far.

Anna M. Wittmann

See also

Abbas, Mahmoud; Arafat, Yasser; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; France, Middle East Policy; Hamas; Intifada, Second; Lebanon; Oil; Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries; September 11 Attacks, International Reactions to; Sharon, Ariel; Suez Crisis; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Ghilzai Tribe

The largest and best-known Afghan tribe, a subset of the predominant Pashtun tribe. Also known as Khilji or Ghalji, the Ghilzai peoples are located mainly in the southeastern portion of Afghanistan, roughly between Ghazni and Kandahar. There are also large numbers to be found in western Pakistan and the Suleiman Mountains. In the last several decades, they have staunchly opposed Durrani-led Afghan governments and supported the Taliban regime, before it was toppled by U.S.-led forces in late 2001.

Although the Ghilzai's precise origins are uncertain, some ethnologists believe that they are descended from Turkish bloodlines and can trace that relationship to at least the 10th century CE. Most Ghilzai speak Pashto and/or Dari, a form of Persian. By the early 18th century, the group had become ascendant in what is now Afghanistan, and Mirways Khan Hotak, a Ghilzai, ruled the region from 1709 to 1738. By the late 1800s, however, many Ghilzai had been driven into northern and eastern Afghanistan by the Durrani, which explains their continuing antipathy toward that group. In 1978 the Ghilzai were the major instigators of the revolt against Mohammad Daoud Khan's government, which triggered the Soviet intervention and occupation of Afghanistan that began the following year. Although the succeeding three rulers of Afghanistan, all backed by the Kremlin, were Ghilzai, a large number of the mujahideen fighting the Soviet occupation were themselves Ghilzai. Historically, the group has been nomadic, in opposition to its chief rival tribe, the Durrani, which tends to be sedentary.

During the 1990s, while Afghanistan was convulsed by civil war after the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, the Ghilzai dominated the rising Taliban movement, which sought to institute an Islamic theocracy over Afghanistan. Indeed, Taliban leader and head of state, Mullah Mohammed Omar, was a member of the Ghilzai tribe. Today, the Ghilzai's population in Afghanistan is thought to number about 9 million, with an additional 1 million located in western Pakistan. They thus make up as much as one quarter

of the total Afghan population. Almost all Ghilzai adhere to Sunni Islam (of the Hanafi School), and most are devoutly religious. In present-day Afghanistan, the Ghilzai oppose the government of President Hamid Karzai, who is Durrani, and many are part of the resurgent insurgency movement that is attempting to topple the government, rid the nation of Western (chiefly U.S.) influences, and reinstall a Taliban regime.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Afghanistan; Karzai, Hamid; Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Omar, Mohammed; Soviet-Afghanistan War; Taliban

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Glaspie, April
Birth Date: April 26, 1942

U.S. diplomat. April Glaspie was born on April 26, 1942, in Vancouver, Canada. She graduated from Mills College in 1963 with a bachelor's degree and from the John Hopkins University Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Relations in 1965 with a master's degree. She entered the U.S. diplomatic corps in 1966 and held a variety of posts, mainly in the Middle East. From 1989 to 1990 Glaspie served as ambassador to Iraq, appointed to that post by President George H. W. Bush. She was the first woman appointed as a U.S. ambassador to an Arab state.

Fluent in Arabic, Glaspie is best remembered for a meeting with then-Iraqi president Saddam Hussein on July 25, 1990, eight days before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Two transcripts exist of this meeting: excerpts provided by the government of Iraq to the *New York Times* and published on September 23, 1990, and an American version from a cable, sent by the U.S. embassy in Baghdad, summarizing the meeting.

Some have alleged, based on both transcripts but particularly the Iraqi version, that Glaspie's statements to Saddam Hussein encouraged him to invade Kuwait by giving him the impression that the United States was disinterested in Iraq's feud with Kuwait, including its military buildup along the Kuwaiti border. According to the Iraqi transcript, Glaspie allegedly gave Hussein a "green light" to invade Kuwait by telling him that "we have no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait . . . and [Secretary of State] James Baker has directed our official spokesmen to emphasize this instruction." The American transcript, however, has Glaspie first asking Hussein about his intentions, given his declaration that recent Kuwaiti actions were the equivalent of military aggression and his deployment of troops along Kuwait's border. Only then did she say, "We take no position on these Arab affairs," without specifically mentioning the border dispute between Iraq and Kuwait. According to the U.S. cable, however, the ambassador made clear that the United States could "never excuse settlements of dispute by other than peaceful means."

Because Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was unexpected in Washington, Glaspie's words were seen by some as encouraging Hussein to invade Kuwait. Although she clearly did not take a position regarding Iraq's border dispute with Kuwait, this neutrality is not equivalent to an endorsement of an Iraqi invasion. Also, it should be remembered that no one other than the Iraqi leadership expected an invasion—not the United States, Kuwait, the rest of the Arab world, nor Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak, who was mediating the dispute and had brokered a series of upcoming meetings between Iraq and Kuwait. Instead, most believed that Hussein was merely bluffing to intimidate Kuwait into forgiving Iraq's large debts, amassed during its eight-year war with Iran (1980–1988), and into lowering its oil production to raise the price of oil and thus enhance Iraqi revenues.

Even if Hussein had indeed asked to meet with Glaspie to gauge her response regarding America's position on Iraq's dispute with Kuwait and she had communicated U.S. opposition, it is highly unlikely that Hussein would have been deterred from invading Kuwait by mere words alone, particularly given the fact that the United States had scant military resources to back up any such warnings. On the other hand, the meeting between Hussein and Glaspie raises a cautionary note from which all diplomats can learn: that is, what one does not say can be just as telling as what one actually utters.

After leaving Iraq following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Glaspie was posted to the U.S. Diplomatic Mission to the United Nations (UN). She concluded her diplomatic career as consul general in Cape Town, South Africa, retiring in 2002.

Stefan Brooks

See also

Baker, James Addison, III; Bush, George Herbert Walker; desert shield, Operation; desert storm, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Kuwait; Kuwait, Iraqi Invasion of; Kuwait-Iraq Diplomacy

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Global War on Terror

Term used to describe the military, political, diplomatic, and economic measures employed by the United States and other allied governments against organizations, countries, or individuals that are committing terrorist acts, that might be inclined to engage in

terrorism, or that support those who do commit such acts. The Global War on Terror is an amorphous concept and a somewhat indistinct term, yet its use emphasizes the difficulty in classifying the type of nontraditional warfare being waged against U.S. and Western interests by various terrorist groups that do not represent any nation. The term was coined by President George W. Bush in a September 20, 2001, televised address to a joint session of the U.S. Congress, and has been presented in official White House pronouncements, fact sheets, State of the Union messages, and such National Security Council (NSC) position papers as the National Security Strategy (March 2006) and the National Strategy for Combating Terrorism (February 2003 and September 2006 editions). Since 2001, the Global War on Terror has been directed primarily at Islamic terrorist groups but has also been expanded to include actions against all types of terrorism. During the Bush administration, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates also called it the "Long War."

As with the Cold War, the Global War on Terror is being waged on numerous fronts, against many individuals and nations, and involves both military and nonmilitary tactics. President George W. Bush's September 20, 2001, announcement of the Global War on Terror was in response to the September 11, 2001, terror attacks against the United States, which led to the deaths of some 3,000 civilians, mostly Americans but representing civilians of 90 different countries.

Although the war constitutes a global effort, stretching into Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Americas, the Middle East remains a focal point of the effort. The ongoing conflict and the manner in which it has been waged has been the source of much debate. There is no widely agreed-upon estimate regarding the number of casualties during the Global War on Terror because it includes the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and the war in Iraq, as well as many acts of terrorism around the world. Some estimates, which include the U.S.-led coalition invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and the invasion of Iraq in March 2003, claim that well over 2 million people have died in the struggle.

Following the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, the United States responded quickly and with overwhelming force against the organizations and governments that supported the terrorists. Evidence gathered by the U.S. government pointed to the Al Qaeda terrorist organization. Al Qaeda at the time was being given aid and shelter by the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. On September 20, 2001, President George W. Bush announced to a joint session of Congress that the Global War on Terror would not end simply with the defeat of Al Qaeda or the overthrow of the Taliban but only when every terrorist group and terrorist-affiliated government with a global reach had been defeated. These broad aims implied attacks on countries known to support terrorism, such as Iran and Syria. Bush further assured the American people that every means of intelligence, tool of diplomacy, financial pressure, and weapon of war would be used to defeat terrorism. He told the American people to expect a lengthy campaign. Bush also put down an ultimatum to every other nation, stating that each had to choose whether they were with the United States or against it. There would be no middle ground. Clearly Bush's pronouncements were far-reaching, yet the enemies were difficult to identify and find.

Less than 24 hours after the September 11 attacks, the North American Treaty Organization (NATO), declared the terrorist attacks of 9/11 to be against all member nations, the first time the organization had made such a pronouncement since its inception in 1949.

On October 7, 2001, U.S. and coalition forces (chiefly British) invaded Afghanistan to capture Osama bin Laden, the head of Al Qaeda, to destroy his organization, and to overthrow the Taliban government that supported him. Eventually Canada, Australia, France, and Germany, among other nations, joined that effort. However, when a U.S.-led coalition invaded Iraq in March 2003, there was considerable international opposition to this campaign being included under the rubric of the Global War on Terror. One problem for national leaders who supported President Bush's policies was that many of their citizens did not believe that the overthrow of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein was really part of the Global War on Terror and questioned other reasons stated by the Bush administration to justify the U.S.-led invasion. International opinion polls have shown that support for the War on Terror has consistently declined since 2003, likely the result of opposition to the Bush administration's preemptive invasion of Iraq in 2003 and later revelations that Iraq possessed neither ties to Al Qaeda nor weapons of mass destruction.

The Global War on Terror has also been a sporadic and clandestine war since its inception in September 2001. U.S. forces were sent to Yemen and the Horn of Africa in order to disrupt terrorist activities, while Operation ACTIVE ENDEAVOR is a naval operation intended to prevent terror attacks and limit the movement of terrorists in the Mediterranean. Terrorist attacks in Pakistan, Indonesia, and the Philippines led to the insertion of coalition forces into these countries as well and concerns about the situation in other Southeast Asian countries. In the United States, Congress has also passed legislation intended to help increase the effectiveness of law enforcement agencies in their search for terrorist activities. In the process, however, critics claim that Americans' civil liberties have been steadily eroded, and government admissions that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and other agencies have engaged in wiretapping of international phone calls without requisite court orders and probable cause have caused a storm of controversy, as have the methods used to question foreign nationals.

The Bush administration has also greatly increased the role of the federal government in the attempt to fight terrorism at home and abroad. Among the many new government bureaucracies formed is the Department of Homeland Security, a cabinet-level agency that counts at least 210,000 employees. The increase in the size of the government, combined with huge military expenditures—most of which are going to the Iraq War—has added to the massive U.S. budget deficits.

Attorney General John Ashcroft, center, is seen on video screens discussing the secret Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court's wiretap ruling on November 18, 2002, in Washington, D.C. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Proponents of the Global War on Terror believe that proactive measures must be taken against terrorist organizations to effectively defeat global terrorism. They believe that in order to meet the diverse security challenges of the 21st century, a larger, global military presence is needed. Without such a force, they argue, terrorist organizations will continue to launch strikes against innocent civilians. Many of the people argue that the United States, Great Britain, Spain, and other countries, which have been the victims of large-scale attacks, must go on the offensive against such rogue groups and that not doing so will only embolden the attackers and invite more attacks. Allowing such organizations to gain more strength may allow them to achieve their goal of imposing militant Islamist rule.

Critics of the Global War on Terror claim that there is no tangible enemy to defeat, as there is no single group whose defeat will bring about an end to the conflict. Thus, it is virtually impossible to know if progress is being made. They also argue that "terrorism," a tactic whose goal is to instill fear into people through violent actions, can never be truly defeated. There are also those who argue against the justification for preemptive strikes, because such action invites counterresponses and brings about the deaths of many innocent people. Many believe that the Iraqi military posed no imminent threat to the United States when coalition forces entered Iraq in 2003, but the resultant war has been disastrous for both the Iraqi and American people. Civil right activists contend that measures meant to crack down on terrorist activities have infringed on the rights of American citizens as well as the rights of foreign detainees. Furthermore, critics argue that the war and the amount of spending apportioned to military endeavors negatively affects the national and world economies. Others argue that the United States should be spending time and resources on resolving the Arab-Israeli problem and trying to eradicate the desperate conditions that feed terrorism.

As support for the Global War on Terror effort has diminished, the debate over its effectiveness has grown. From late 2007 to the beginning of 2009, terrorist attacks have continued, and the deliberation over the best way to ensure the safety of civilian populations around the world continues.

As of March 2009, the new Barack Obama administration is not using the terms "Global War on Terror" or "Long War" in defense fact sheets. It has instructed U.S. government agencies to use the term "Overseas Contingency Operations." White House press secretary, Robert Gibbs, has explained that Obama is "using different words and phrases in order to denote a reaching out to many moderate parts of the world that we believe can be important in a battle against extremists." However, the term "Global War on Terror" is still deeply embedded.

Gregory W. Morgan

See also

Counterterrorism Strategy; enduring freedom, Operation; iraqi freedom, Operation; September 11 Attacks; Terrorism

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Glosson, Buster C.
Birth Date: March 14, 1942

U.S. Air Force officer and director of campaign plans for U.S. Central Command Air Forces (CENTAF) in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and commander of the 14th Air Division (Provisional), U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Buster C. Glosson was born on March 14, 1942, in Greensboro, North Carolina. He graduated from North Carolina State University in 1965 and entered the U.S. Air Force through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC).

Glosson received his pilot's wings in 1966. By the end of his career he had accumulated more than 3,600 flying hours in the Cessna T-37 Tweet, Northrop T-38 Talon, Northrop F-5 Freedom

Fighter, and the McDonnell Douglas F-15C/E Eagle. Glosson flew numerous combat missions during the Vietnam War, commanded the Air Force Fighter Weapons Squadron and two tactical fighter wings, and held a variety of major command and Air Staff assignments. He was promoted to brigadier general on July 1, 1988.

When the Iraqi army invaded Kuwait in August 1990, Glosson had just completed a one-year assignment as deputy commander, Joint Task Force Middle East, CENTCOM. On August 20, 1990, Colonel John A. Warden briefed Lieutenant General Charles A. Horner, the Joint Air Forces Component commander (JFACC), in Riyadh on the INSTANT THUNDER air campaign plan. Not enamored with the plan, Horner asked Warden to return to Washington. Within two days, however, Horner appointed Glosson as the director of CENTAF Campaign Plans and assigned to him the three lieutenant colonels that Colonel Warden had brought with him.

Glosson, together with Colonel David A. Deptula, guided the air-campaign planning, blending Warden's ideas with the existing operational situation. Within two weeks, Glosson's planning group, soon known as the "Black Hole," had completed an executable plan, using INSTANT THUNDER as the foundation. In early September, Glosson briefed General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of CENTCOM, on the plan, the central concept of which was to allocate CENTCOM's limited air assets to neutralize specific target groups, but not necessarily to destroy them. On October 10 Glosson presented an updated and more detailed plan to President George H. W. Bush, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) General Colin Powell.

In late December 1990 General Horner created the Directorate of Campaign Plans, with Glosson as its chief, to transition the plans into a higher state of readiness in preparation for possible combat. The new organization combined the former Black Hole with portions of the CENTAF Combat Operations Planning Staff, which performed D-Day defensive planning in case of an Iraqi attack; the Air Tasking Order (ATO) staff, which prepared the daily training ATO; and the Airborne Combat Element (ACE) staff, which manned the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft. The new organization had three elements: the Guidance, Apportionment, and Tasking (GAT) Division; the ATO Division; and the ACE Division.

Within the GAT Division, Colonel Deptula reviewed, selected, and assembled the completed targeting recommendations into a final Master Attack Plan (MAP). He then reviewed the MAP with Glosson and gave the approved MAP to the GAT Division night shift, which transcribed the MAP onto target-planning worksheets, which, in turn, the ATO Division used to create the daily ATO. When the air campaign began in January 1991, the GAT Division oversaw last-minute updates to the MAP and ATO to ensure minimal impact of these changes to the approved ATO. To take care of last-minute high priority changes, Glosson created an alert force of eight General Dynamics F-111F Aardvarks on the ground.

On December 5, 1990, the air force activated the 14th Air Division (Provisional) (AD[P]), consisting of the deployed air force fighter wings. Horner selected Glosson, who retained his position as director of campaign plans, as its commander. As a result, Glosson directly commanded the fighter squadrons while he simultaneously planned their commitment in the upcoming air campaign.

The strategic air campaign began on January 17, 1991, and lasted 10 days. As early as January 24, Glosson began planning the shift of sorties to Phase III, the attrition of Iraqi ground forces in Kuwait. On January 27, 1991, CENTAF declared air supremacy and shifted to Phase III, but both Glosson and Deptula thought that the phase had begun too early. From January 27 on, the broad systematic attack concept of INSTANT THUNDER transitioned to a more traditional battle of attrition in which aircraft concentrated on bombing well-defined target sets. Glosson received major credit for the efficacy of the air campaign, which ensured a quick allied victory over Iraqi forces. On June 1, 1991, he was promoted to major general.

In 1992 Glosson became air force deputy chief of staff for plans and operations, responsible for the development of the requirements and force structure to support U.S. forces with air and space power. He was promoted to lieutenant general on June 1, 1992.

In December 1993 Secretary of the Air Force Sheila Widnall admonished General Glosson for improper intervention with a promotion board, and he retired six months later at the rank of lieutenant general. In 2003 Glosson wrote a book titled *War with Iraq: Critical Lessons.*

ROBERT B. KANE

See also

Deptula, David A.; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Forces; DESERT STORM, Operation, Planning for; Horner, Charles; INSTANT THUNDER, Plan; Warden, John Ashley, III

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Gog and Magog

Apocalyptic term appearing in both the Hebrew Bible and the Christian New Testament, as well as in the Qur'an. Gog and Magog

also appear in folklore. They are variously identified as supernatural beings, national groups, or even lands.

The first reference to Magog appears in the "Table of Nations" in Genesis 10:2, with Magog given as one of the sons of Japheth. The first reference to Gog and Magog together is in Ezekiel 38:2–3, where Yahweh (God) warns the prophet, "Son of man, set thy face against Gog the land of Magog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal, and prophesy against him. . . . Behold, I come against thee, O Gog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal." The same command is repeated at the beginning of Chapter 39, but there is no clear identification of either the ruler or his country. In Chapter 39:5–6, Gog is identified as being accompanied in his invasion of Israel by the nations of Persia, Ethiopia, Libya, and Gomer, as well as the house of Thogorma.

Because of the sheer number of peoples identified by Ezekiel as taking part in the invasion of Israel, some have asserted that Gog is simply a generic figure for all the enemies of Israel and that reference to it in the Apocalypse denotes the enemies of the Church. The book of Revelation 20:7–8 reads: "And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go out to deceive the nations what are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them to battle: the number of whom is as the sand of the sea." The Qur'an refers in 18:94 to Yajuj and Majuj (Gog and Magog) and claims in 21:96–97 that they will be "let loose" when "the True Promise," meaning the Day of Resurrection, "shall draw near."

Scholars have endeavored to identify Gog historically. One possible source is the Lydian king known to the Greeks as Gyges, or in Assyrian inscriptions as Gu-gu. Others say that Gog and Magog are two tribes and refer to either the Khazar kingdom in the northern Caucasus or the Mongols. Apparently, Gog may also have been used in ancient Israel to identify any northern population. Throughout history there have been repeated claims that Gog and Magog represent particular peoples, including the Goths.

Some extremists in the Arab-Israeli conflict have used the phrase "Gog and Magog" to justify the unjustifiable. Some have claimed that Ezekiel's prophesy of the invasion of Israel by a vast number of enemies refers to the present conflict in the Middle East, in which the Islamic nations will all invade Israel, and that this great conflict will see the rise of the Antichrist and end with the destruction of Israel's enemies by God Himself. At the outbreak of World War II, Avraham Stern, founder of the terrorist group Lehi, declared that the war was a struggle between Gog and Magog and that this justified increased violent action against the British Mandate for Palestine.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also
Bible; Qur'an

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Goldwater-Nichols Defense Reorganization Act

Congressional act, formally known as the Department of Defense Reform Act of 1986, designed to enhance the ability of the U.S. Armed Services to operate more effectively in joint operations. This act, named for its lead sponsors Senator Barry M. Goldwater (R-Ariz.) and Congressman William "Bill" Nichols (D-Ala.), was designed to address lingering problems associated with the compromises made in the crafting of the National Security Act of 1947, which established the Department of Defense structure. Congressional sponsors and defense reform advocates had pushed for the changes to address problem areas generated by bureaucratic inefficiencies and interservice competition, as well as issues that had been identified in prior combat operations, ranging from the Korean War to Operation URGENT FURY (the U.S. invasion of Grenada in 1983).

The primary objectives of the Goldwater-Nichols Act were to strengthen civilian authority, improve the military advice provided to senior civilian leaders, reduce the effects of service parochialism and interservice rivalry, enhance the role of the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) and the Joint Staff, and improve the operational authority of the commanders in chief (CINCs) of the unified combatant commands.

The Goldwater-Nichols Act strengthened the authority of the Secretary of Defense and made the chairman of the JCS the "principal military adviser" to the president, secretary of defense, and the National Security Council (NSC). Previously, under a system requiring unanimity, the JCS had provided collective recommendations, which were often watered-down compromises made among the service chiefs. Prior to the passage of Goldwater-Nichols, any service chief, to protect the parochial interests of his own service, could block a Joint Staff action. The new act established the chairman as the final approval authority for all Joint Staff actions, allowing the chairman to override any service objections. Although the chairman and the individual service chiefs remained outside the formal operational chain of command (which flows from the president, through the secretary of defense, directly to the combatant commanders in the field), the reforms allowed the president and the defense secretary to pass operational orders to the combatant commanders, including both the geographic theater joint commanders and the functional joint command commanders through the JCS chairman.

The act also established a vice chairman position for the JCS and revised the Joint Staff responsibilities to clarify and enhance the staff's role in the planning and decision-making process. Goldwater-Nichols also adjusted the defense personnel system to encourage service in joint organizations and to require that senior officers have career experiences and professional education that provide a joint perspective in their leadership roles. Additionally, the act clarified and enhanced the roles of the CINCs. At the time the act was passed, the JCS chairman was Admiral William J. Crowe Jr., although the first chairman to be appointed under the new structure was General Colin L. Powell.

The effects of Goldwater-Nichols were clearly evident in the conduct of Operation DESERT SHIELD and Operation DESERT STORM, in 1990 and 1991 respectively, in response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. During the conflict, General Powell played a key role in the national leadership as the principal military adviser. Additionally, President George H. W. Bush and Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney used Powell as the primary conduit for orders flowing to the theater CINC, General H. Norman Schwarzkopf. Schwarzkopf also found it useful to pass information back through the JCS chairman, as well as to report directly to the defense secretary and the president.

Within the theater itself, Schwarzkopf fully exploited the Goldwater-Nichols authority and the emphasis on joint efforts to create a highly effective joint and coalition force structure and to conduct a well-coordinated joint campaign for the liberation of Kuwait. Operation DESERT STORM was viewed by many analysts as a validation of the wisdom of the reforms implemented by the Goldwater-Nichols Act. In October 2002 Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld directed that the functional and regional CINCs be referred to as "combat commanders" or "commanders," arguing that there can be but one commander in chief—namely the president of the United States. During U.S. military operations in Afghanistan (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM) in 2001 and Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM) in 2003, the wisdom of Goldwater-Nichols was once again clearly evident, as both operations were conducted with a great deal of efficiency and joint effort.

JEROME V. MARTIN

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Powell, Colin Luther; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.

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Gorbachev, Mikhail
Birth Date: March 2, 1931

Last president of the Soviet Union (1988–1991) and general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) during 1985–1991. Born on March 2, 1931, in Privolnoye, Stavropol Province, Russia, to a peasant family, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev joined the Komsomol (Communist Union of the Young) in 1946. That same year he began driving a harvester for an agricultural cooperative. In 1951 he entered the Law Faculty of Moscow State University, where he earned a law degree in 1955.

Returning to Stavropol following his studies in Moscow, Gorbachev enjoyed a remarkably rapid rise within the ranks of the CPSU, first through various posts in the Komsomol and then in the party apparatus in Stavropol during the second half of the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s. Gorbachev became a member of the CPSU Central Committee in 1971, a candidate member of the Politburo in 1979, a full member in 1980, and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in March 1985. A keen politician, Gorbachev's political ascendancy was further promoted by Mikhail Suslov and particularly by Yuri Andropov, one-time head of the Committee for State Security (KGB) and general secretary of the CPSU from 1982 to 1984.

Once in power, Gorbachev consolidated his position within the party and proceeded to move forward with internal reforms. He termed his reform agenda perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost (openness). What soon became called the "politics of perestroika" was a process of cumulative reforms, ultimately leading to results that were neither intended nor necessarily desired.

Perestroika had three distinctive phases. The first phase was aimed mainly at the acceleration of economic development and the revitalization of socialism. The second phase was marked by the notion of glasnost. During this period, Gorbachev emphasized the need for political and social restructuring as well as the

Former president of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev, who is widely credited with playing a key role in ending the Cold War. (Library of Congress)

necessity of dealing openly with the past. Media freedoms were enhanced considerably as part of this process. In the economic arena, limited market-oriented elements were introduced, and greater latitude was given to state-owned enterprises. The third and final phase of perestroika was aimed at democratizing the Soviet political process. Reformers created a new bicameral parliament, and new procedures allowed for the direct election of two-thirds of the members of the Congress of People's Deputies. In March 1990 the Congress abolished the CPSU's political monopoly, paving the way for the legalization of other political parties.

Perestroika's third phase was also marked by some incongruous paradoxes. While the power of the CPSU was waning, Gorbachev's power was on the increase. In October 1988 he replaced Andrei Gromyko as head of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Seven months later, Gorbachev became chairman of the new Supreme Soviet. Finally, in March 1990 the Congress elected him president of the Soviet Union, a newly established post with potent executive powers. At the same time, Gorbachev's economic reforms were yielding little fruit. Civil unrest, interethnic strife, and national and regional independence movements, particularly in the Baltic and Caucasus regions, were already overshadowing perestroika.

Although his domestic reforms had been disappointing in their results, Gorbachev enjoyed remarkable successes in foreign policy. He quickly eased tensions with the West. Two summits with U.S. president Ronald Reagan (Geneva in 1985 and Reykjavik in 1986) paved the way for historic breakthroughs in Soviet-U.S. relations and nuclear arms reductions. On December 8, 1987, the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, the first agreement in history that eliminated an entire class of nuclear weapons, was signed by both nations.

In succeeding years, Gorbachev's international stature continued to grow, although his popularity at home plummeted. In 1988 he ordered the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, ending his nation's disastrous decade-long struggle there. He also promised publicly to refrain from military intervention in Eastern Europe. In fact, Gorbachev embraced the new democratically elected leadership in the region. Especially significant was his agreement to the reunification of Germany and the inclusion of the new united Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, West Germany) in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1990, Gorbachev is generally considered by some in the West to be the driving force behind the end of the Cold War. While others do not go that far, attributing the Soviet Union's collapse to the inherent weaknesses in the Soviet system, Gorbachev is praised for managing the collapse without undue bloodshed.

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 triggered Operation DESERT SHIELD, a huge multinational military buildup led by the United States. Gorbachev was generally sympathetic to the coalition's mission of expelling Iraqi forces from Kuwait. In the lead-up to the war, however, Gorbachev urged caution in the use of military force and asked that the coalition powers allow adequate time for sanctions to work. In the weeks immediately preceding the war, he attempted but was unsuccessful in efforts to mediate a peaceful end to the conflict. When the conflict began in January 1991, Gorbachev did not attempt to block the military intervention. Such a development would have seemed unthinkable during the Cold War.

While Gorbachev's foreign policy was being hailed abroad, problems within the Soviet Union continued unabated. Old-line communists considered Gorbachev's policies as heresy, while economic dislocations multiplied. In 1990 several Soviet-controlled republics, including that of Russia, declared their independence. Gorbachev tried to stem this tide but was unsuccessful. Talks between Soviet authorities and the breakaway republics resulted in the creation of a new Russian federation (or confederation), slated to become law in August 1991.

Many of Gorbachev's reforms were tainted by an attempted coup of reactionary opponents to perestroika in August 1991. Led by high-ranking officials, among them the chief of the KGB, the defense minister, the prime minister, and the vice president, Gorbachev was placed under house arrest in his home in Foros after rejecting any negotiations with the putsch leaders. With the courageous intervention of Russian Republic leader Boris Yeltsin, the coup collapsed after two days. Gorbachev returned to Moscow but was now dependent on Yeltsin, who banned the CPSU from the Russian Republic. On August 24, 1991, Gorbachev resigned as CPSU general secretary. On December 7, 1991, the presidents of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus created a loose confederation called the Community of Independent States (CIS). Soon thereafter, eight other republics joined, and the CIS treaty was concluded on December 21. Gorbachev resigned as Soviet president on December 25, and the Soviet Union became extinct on December 31, 1991.

Since leaving office, Gorbachev has tried to stay active in Russian politics, but his efforts have produced only very modest results. He lost a bid for the presidency in 1996. He is a much sought-after speaker in the West and remains engaged in numerous endeavors related to foreign policy and international security. He formed the Gorbachev Center, a think tank for studies in socioeconomic issues, in San Francisco, California, in 1992. The next year he founded Green Cross International, an environmental organization that played a key role in drafting the Earth Charter.

MAGARDITSCH HATSCHIKJAN

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; DESERT STORM, Operation; Reagan, Ronald Wilson; Soviet-Afghanistan War; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; Yeltsin, Boris Nikolayevich

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Gordon, Gary
Birth Date: August 30, 1960
Death Date: October 3, 1993

U.S. Army master sergeant posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor; as a member of the 1st Special Forces Operational Detachment–Delta (Delta Force), he fought and died in the Battle of Mogadishu on October 3–4, 1993. Gary Gordon was born in Lincoln, Maine, on August 30, 1960. Known as "Bugsy" to his friends while growing up, he demonstrated an early interest in the military. After graduating from high school in February 1978, Gordon enlisted in the U.S. Army. After completing basic training, he was assigned to the combat engineers and selected for U.S. Army Special Forces two years later. He was eventually assigned to the 2nd Battalion, 10th Special Forces Group, garrisoned at Fort Carson, Colorado. Master Sergeant Gordon's military career reached its zenith with his selection to Delta Force.

In December 1992 U.S. forces deployed to Somalia to aid United Nation (UN) forces in Operation RESTORE HOPE, a mission to restore order in Somalia and feed victims of a multiyear famine. The operation took a more violent turn on June 5, 1993, when rebel forces loyal to Mohammed Farrah Aidid (Aideed) killed 24 Pakistani troops in an ambush in Mogadishu. The next day the UN Security Council issued Resolution 837, calling for the arrest of Aidid and anyone else responsible for the ambush. Toward that end, the United States deployed Task Force Ranger, commanded by Major General William F. Garrison in Operation GOTHIC SERPENT. Task Force Ranger included Delta Force as well as other army, navy, and air force elements. The task force conducted several successful nighttime raids. The next raid, however, occurred during daylight hours, and with disastrous results.

On October 3, 1993, Task Force Ranger received intelligence that several members of Aidid's clan were meeting at a location in Mogadishu. The task force immediately launched a daylight raid, against established practices. The initial capture was successful; however, during the extraction that followed, two Lockheed UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters were shot down. Army Rangers secured the first crash site, but the second crash site was farther away, and no combat and rescue units were available to secure it. In an MH-6 Little Bird helicopter orbiting the area, Delta operators Sergeant First Class Randy Shugart and Master Sergeant Gordon asked twice for permission to land and secure the crash site. The pair finally received permission after a third request. Shugart and Gordon removed the crew, including Chief Warrant Officer Mike Durant, to relative safety. The pair then set up a perimeter and engaged Somali clansmen. The firefight lasted until the Delta men ran out of ammunition and were killed. Their bodies and those of the dead Blackhawk crew were later desecrated and dragged through the streets of Mogadishu. Durant was taken captive and later released.

For heroic action in the defense of a fellow serviceman, Gordon and Shugart were both awarded the Medal of Honor. President Bill Clinton presented the posthumous award to Gordon's family on May 23, 1994. Two further honors were bestowed upon Gordon: the naming of U.S. Navy transport USNS *Gordon* (T-AKR 296) and the naming of the Shugart Gordon Military Operations Urbanized Terrain Complex (MOUT) training center at Fort Polk, Louisiana.

SHAWN LIVINGSTON

See also

Aidid, Mohammed Farrah; Somalia, International Intervention in

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Gore, Albert Arnold, Jr.
Birth Date: March 31, 1948

U.S. representative, senator, vice president (1993–2001), unsuccessful presidential candidate (2000), and noted environmentalist. Albert (Al) Arnold Gore Jr. was born on March 31, 1948, in Washington, D.C. His father, Albert Gore Sr., had a long and distinguished career as both a U.S. representative and senator from his native Tennessee. Gore spent much of his youth in Washington, D.C., but often returned to his family's extensive farm near Carthage, Tennessee, where he worked during the summer. In 1969 he received an undergraduate degree from Harvard University.

Although he did not support the Vietnam War, Gore nevertheless enlisted with the U.S. Army in August 1969; he chose not to use his significant family connections to avoid military service. Gore was soon made a reporter for *The Army Flier* at Fort Rucker (Alabama). In January 1971, with just seven months left in his enlistment period, he shipped off to Vietnam, where he served in the 20th Engineer Brigade headquartered at Bien Hoa.

When his enlistment was up, Gore returned to the United States, began study at Vanderbilt University's divinity school, and worked the night shift as a reporter/writer for the *Tennessean,* one of Nashville's main newspapers. He distinguished himself as a young journalist, and in 1972 he left the divinity school, after holding a Rockefeller Foundation Scholarship for a year, to devote his full energies to newspaper reporting. For two years, from 1974 to 1976, he attended Vanderbilt Law School but did not complete his studies. Instead, he decided to run for the U.S. House of Representatives. Gore won the 1976 election and served in the House until 1985. Considered a southern centrist, Gore's tenure in the House was competent but not spectacular. He was on record as being opposed to the Ronald Reagan administration's support of Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), citing Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's quest to secure weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), his sponsorship of terrorism, and the use of poison gas during the conflict.

Former vice president Al Gore during a speech on November 9, 2003, in Washington, D.C. Gore charged that the George W. Bush administration had failed to make the country safer after the September 11 World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks and was using the antiterrorism fight as a pretext to consolidate political power. (AP/Wide World Photos)

In 1984 Gore ran successfully for the U.S. Senate, taking office in January 1985. He quickly learned the ins and outs of the Senate and became a highly effective legislator. In 1988 he cosponsored the Prevention of Genocide Act, which would have effectively cut off all U.S. aid to the Hussein regime. The bill was largely a reaction to Hussein's genocidal al-Anfal Campaign, which employed chemical weapons against Iraqi Kurds. The legislation was vigorously resisted by the Reagan White House, which launched a successful campaign to defeat the bill. In 1988 Gore, just 40 years old, ran for the Democratic presidential nomination, winning early primaries in several southern and western states before dropping out to allow the presumptive nominee, Governor Michael Dukakis, to square off against Vice President George H. W. Bush in the November elections.

Gore continued in the Senate, and in 1992 he became the Democratic nominee for vice president, alongside Arkansas governor Bill Clinton, who was the presidential nominee. The Democratic ticket, aided by third party candidate Ross Perot, went on to win the November 1992 elections with a plurality but not a majority of the popular vote, and Gore took office as vice president in January 1993.

Gore had unparalleled access to the Oval Office and was an actively engaged vice president, probably the most engaged in American history. Only Vice President Dick Cheney, who took office in 2001, was more central to administration policies than Gore. Gore worked hard to reduce and then eliminate the federal budget deficit, and he was a key player in the passage of the North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in the autumn of 1993. Despite allegations that he had engaged in questionable money-raising endeavors, for which he was never indicted, Gore maintained a rather unblemished public image, especially when compared to Clinton. During the late 1990s, Clinton embroiled himself in a tawdry sex scandal involving White House intern Monica Lewinsky, for which he was impeached but acquitted on February 12, 1999.

Gore was the presumptive Democratic presidential nominee in 2000, and indeed he received his party's nomination in July. Choosing Connecticut senator Joseph Lieberman as his running

mate, Gore ran on his eight years' experience as vice president, but at the same time he tried to distance himself from Clinton, whom he believed to be a political liability because of the Lewinsky affair. This tactic may have been a mistake, however, as Gore struggled to gain the upper hand against Texas governor George W. Bush, the Republican nominee. To many voters, Gore appeared wooden and ill at ease, despite his considerable experience. In the end, the 2000 election became one of the most bitter and disputed in U.S. history, and after more than a month of ballot recounts and court decisions, the U.S. Supreme Court suspended the recounts, essentially giving the election to Bush. Gore's supporters were outraged, citing the fact that their candidate had won some 500,000 votes more than Bush. Nevertheless, Gore, who voiced his dismay with the court's decision, accepted Bush's electoral college victory, to the disgruntlement of many in his own party, for what he thought to be the good of the country.

Gore was very active in his postgovernment years, becoming a crusader for environmental issues, especially global warming. He was also sharply critical of the Bush administration, criticizing both its justification of the war against Iraq and its flawed execution of it, and supporting allegations that increased security measures taken in the wake of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks threatened individual constitutional liberties.

In 2006 Gore released his documentary film about global warming, *An Inconvenient Truth,* which won the praise of environmentalists and movie critics. In 2007 Gore won an Academy Award for the film. An even greater honor came in the form of the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize for his environmental activism.

Gore continued to pursue his environmental causes and to excoriate the Bush administration for its policies in Iraq, as well as its authorization of wiretaps without the requisite court orders. Several Democratic groups tried to draft Gore into running for the White House in 2008, but he demurred. He did not, however, close the door to future political endeavors.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Clinton, William Jefferson; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Kurds; Kurds, Massacres of

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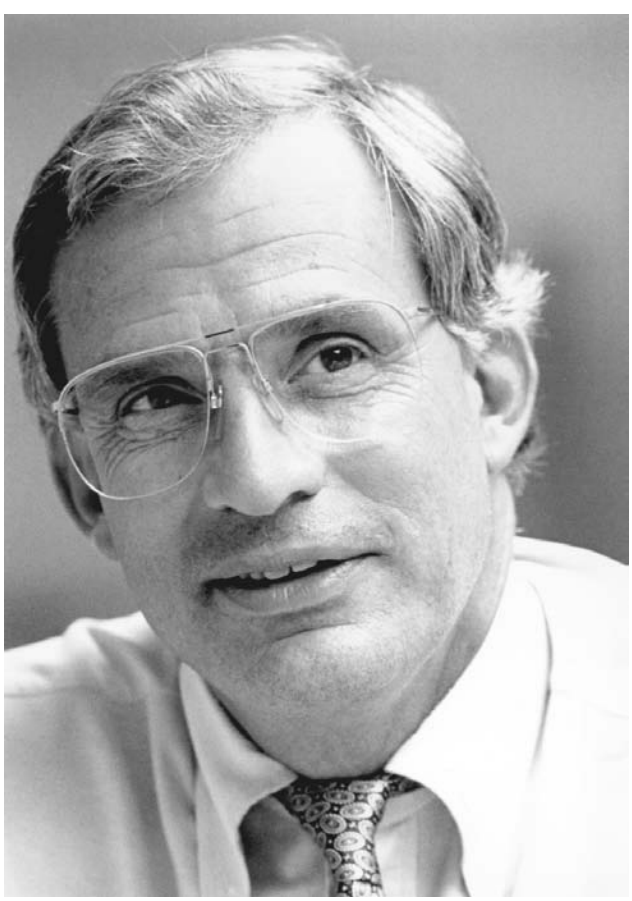
Goss, Porter Johnston

Birth Date: November 26, 1938

Politician, intelligence operative, Republican congressman (1989–2004), and director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) from 2004 to 2006. Porter Johnston Goss was born on November 26, 1938, in Waterbury, Connecticut, to a well-to-do family. His early education was at the exclusive Fessenden School in West Newton, Massachusetts, and the equally elite Hotchkiss High School in Lakeville, Connecticut. He attended Yale University, graduating in 1960.

Most of Goss's early career was with the CIA, specifically with the Directorate of Operations (DO), which carries out the clandestine operations of the agency. Goss worked as a CIA agent in the DO from 1960 to 1971. Most of his activities in the CIA are still classified, but it is known that his area of operations included Latin America, the Caribbean, and Europe. In 1970, while he was stationed in London, health problems led him to resign his post.

Goss began his political career in 1975, serving as mayor of Sanibel City, Florida, from 1975 to 1977 and again during 1981–1982. In 1988 he ran for the U.S. House seat in Florida's 13th congressional district and retained it until 1993. In 1993 he became the congressional representative from Florida's 14th congressional district, and he held this seat until September 23, 2004, when he resigned it to head the CIA. During his 16 years in Congress, Goss served on specialized committees that had oversight on intelligence. Although Goss had always been supportive of the CIA, he



Porter Goss is the director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). He was a CIA operative for most of the 1960s and served as a member of the House of Representatives from 1989 to 2004. (U.S. House of Representatives)

endorsed legislation in 1995 that would have cut intelligence personnel by 20 percent over a five-year period as a budget-cutting measure. Goss served as chair of the House Permanent Committee on Intelligence from 1997 to 2005, and he helped to establish and then served on the Homeland Security Committee. Throughout his political career, Goss defended the CIA and generally supported budget increases for it. He also was a strong supporter of CIA director George Tenet.

The September 11, 2001, attacks brought Goss to the political forefront. He, along with his colleague and friend U.S. Senator Bob Graham (D-Fla.), began to call for a bipartisan investigation into the events surrounding September 11. Both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives there was reluctance to proceed, however. Opposition was even stronger in the George W. Bush administration against such an investigation. Most feared that an investigation would invite finger pointing and be tainted by politics. This fear on both the Republican and the Democratic sides slowed down the creation of a Senate-House Joint Inquiry on Intelligence, and the length of time provided to produce a report was unrealistically short. Despite the short time span—and reluctance or refusal to cooperate on the parts of the CIA, the FBI, and the White House—a valuable report was finally issued, with sections of it censored.

Goss ultimately opposed the creation of the September 11 Commission and many of its recommendations. Like many of his fellow Republicans, he was fearful that the commission would become a witch hunt against the Bush administration. Even after it was apparent that the commission was bipartisan, Goss opposed its recommendations on intelligence matters. His biggest concern was the report's recommendation to create the position of national intelligence director, whose job would be to oversee all intelligence agencies. As a conservative Republican, Goss defended the Bush administration in its War on Terror and was a severe critic of what he called the failures of the Bill Clinton administration.

The Bush administration noted Goss's loyalty. When George Tenet resigned as director of the CIA on June 3, 2004, Goss was nominated to become director of the CIA. Despite opposition from some Democratic senators, Goss won confirmation on September 22, 2004. During his confirmation hearings, Goss promised that he would bring change and reform to the CIA.

Goss's tenure as head of the CIA provided a mixed record. He began on September 24, 2004, with a mandate for change, but the top leadership of the CIA showed reluctance to accept him. These leaders were already distressed by how the CIA had been made a scapegoat for past mistakes by both the Clinton and Bush administrations. Several of Goss's top subordinates, particularly his chief adviser Patrick Murray, clashed with senior CIA management, leading three of the CIA's top officials to resign. An attempt by Goss to make the CIA more loyal to the Bush administration also brought criticism. His memo to CIA staff that it was their job "to support the administration and its policies" became a cause of resentment. Finally, Goss's promotion of his friend Kyle Dustin "Dusty" Foggo from the ranks to a high CIA position and his links to former congressman Randy "Duke" Cunningham, who was convicted of accepting bribes, lowered morale in the CIA.

Eventually, Goss lost out in a power struggle with his nominal boss, John Negroponte. One of the reforms called for in the final report of the September 11 Commission was coordination of intelligence efforts. This recommendation led to the creation of the position of director of national intelligence (DNI) and the appointment of Negroponte, a career diplomat, to that post. Goss and Negroponte had disagreements about how to reform intelligence gathering. Goss was reluctant to transfer personnel and resources from the CIA to the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) and the National Counter Proliferation Center (NCPC). These disagreements led to Goss's surprising resignation on May 5, 2006, after only a 19-month tenure. His replacement was Negroponte's principal deputy director for national intelligence, Air Force general Michael Hayden.

STEPHEN A. ATKINS

See also

Bush, George Walker; Central Intelligence Agency; Clinton, William Jefferson; Counterterrorism Center; Negroponte, John Dimitri; September 11 Commission and Report; Tenet, George John

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GRANBY, Operation
Event Date: 1991

Name given by the British to their military operations during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Operation GRANBY covers both the British deployments to defend Saudi Arabia and the subsequent liberation of Kuwait, known to Americans as the separate Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM.

The British contribution to Operation DESERT STORM, codenamed Operation GRANBY, involved the British Army, Royal Navy, Royal Marines, and Royal Air Force (RAF), which deployed some 43,000 troops in total to the war zone. Operation GRANBY took its name from John Manners, Marques of Granby, a British commander in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). The overall commander of British forces in the Middle East, based in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, was initially Air Vice-Marshal Andrew Wilson. Wilson was replaced by army Lieutenant-General Sir Peter de la Billiére. British air forces were initially under the command of Air Vice-Marshal R. A. F. Wilson, then under Air Vice-Marshal William Wratten. British naval forces in the theater were under the command of Captain Anthony McEwen, then Commodore Paul Haddocks, and finally Commodore Christopher Craig.

The Royal Navy contingent initially included the destroyers *York, Battleaxe,* and *Jupiter;* three mine countermeasures ships; and the tanker *Orangeleaf.* As the deployment grew, three more mine countermeasure ships were added. The frigates *London* and *Brazen* were added as well as the training ship *Argus,* which was converted to a hospital ship. Two submarines, the *Opossum* and *Otus,* were also deployed to provide assistance for special operations troops. Also, the Royal Navy had various helicopters with support and attack capabilities. A total of 12,500 Royal Navy personnel served during Operation GRANBY, including a contingent of Royal Marines. In the course of the conflict, the Royal Navy suffered no losses in ships or submarines.

The Royal Air Force deployed six squadrons of aircraft to the Persian Gulf. The squadrons were based all around the Kuwaiti theater of operations in Saudi Arabia. Ground attack variants of the Panavia Tornado (GR.1), as well as the air defense variant (F.3) and Jaguar ground attack aircraft, were all deployed. After the initial air campaign, which began on January 16, 1991, the RAF also deployed 12 *Buccaneer* attack aircraft to assist the GR.1 Tornados in locating and striking ground targets with laser designators. Overall, the RAF deployed 158 aircraft and helicopters and 5,500 personnel to the Gulf. Six RAF aircraft were lost in combat, and 1 was lost in a noncombat accident.

The British Army initially deployed the 7th Armoured Brigade, the successor to the famous Desert Rats of the North African campaign during World War II, to the Persian Gulf. The 7th was initially attached to the U.S. 1st Marine Division and was eventually attached to the British 1st Armoured Division. The British Army's contribution to the ground component included 25,000 troops. The 1st Armoured division was charged with protecting the flank of the U.S. VII Corps that moved into Iraq through the breach in the Iraqi lines made by the U.S. 1st Infantry Division. With more than 43,000 men under arms deployed to the Gulf during Operation GRANBY, 25 British military personnel were killed in action, and an additional 45 were wounded in action.

STEVEN F. MARIN

See also

Billiére, Sir Peter Edgar de la; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Nations' Contributions to; United Kingdom, Air Force, Persian Gulf War; United Kingdom, Army, Persian Gulf War; United Kingdom, Marines, Persian Gulf War; United Kingdom, Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Grand Council, Afghanistan

See Loya Jirga, Afghanistan

Gray, Alfred M., Jr.

Birth Date: June 22, 1928

U.S. Marine Corps officer and the 29th commandant of the corps (1987–1991). Gray is credited with changing the culture and attitudes of the Marine Corps during his tenure from one that emphasized careerism and bureaucracy to one that tried to instill the warrior spirit. Alfred M. Gray Jr. was born on June 22, 1928, at Rahway, New Jersey. He was raised in Point Pleasant Beach, New Jersey, and attended Lafayette College. Gray dropped out of college and enlisted in the Marine Corps in 1950. He saw action in the Korean War and soon attained the rank of sergeant. His superiors recognized his intelligence and leadership qualities, along with his aggressive combat skills, and he was commissioned a second lieutenant in April 1952. After completing officer training at Quantico, Virginia, Gray was sent to the Army Field Artillery School. He returned to Korea as an artillery officer with the 1st Marine Division before the 1953 armistice was signed.

During the 1950s Gray was trained as a communications officer and rotated through a number of postings. With the commitment of marine units to the defense of the Republic of Vietnam (RVN, South Vietnam), beginning in October 1965, Major Gray saw service with the 3rd Marine Division. He served in a number of different communications, artillery, and infantry posts before returning to Quantico to help develop advanced sensor technology for the battlefield. Gray returned to Vietnam in June 1969 and was assigned to reconnaissance duties. Staff and field commands followed. In April 1975 Gray commanded the 33rd Amphibious Brigade and Regimental Landing Team 4. His unit assisted in the final evacuation of U.S. personnel from Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City).

Gray was promoted to brigadier general in March 1976 and to major general in February 1980, when he took command of the 2nd Marine Division at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. Following promotion to lieutenant general in August 1984, Gray commanded the Fleet Marine Force, Atlantic, and the II Marine Expeditionary Force. He was promoted to full (four-star) general and became commandant of the Marine Corps on July 1, 1987.

Gray's experience in rising through the ranks from noncommissioned officer to commandant of the Marine Corps was unusual, but it gave him a background that was unique. Although he had earned a bachelor of science degree from the State University of New York, Gray did not have the reputation of being an intellectual. Nonetheless, he proved to be one of the most thoughtful commandants in Marine Corps history. His appointment was enthusiastically sponsored by James Webb, secretary of the navy under President Ronald Reagan.

After the Vietnam War, the Marine Corps suffered from declining morale and a loss of vision concerning what its mission should be. The process had already begun of clearing the deadwood and improving personnel in the corps. Although many improvements

had been made, the corps had been badly shaken by the terrorist bombing of the marine barracks at Beirut, Lebanon, on October 23, 1983, which killed 241 marines and other Americans.

Gray believed that officers who had spent most of their careers in staff positions were too influential, and he immediately took a number of steps to reintroduce the "warrior spirit" into the corps. He ordered that boot camp for all marines include combat training. Previously, only those troops who were assigned to the infantry received combat training, and that was after boot camp. Gray believed that every marine, whatever his or her duty, should be a rifleman first. Aggressiveness and hard training were actively encouraged.

Gray worked to improve the quality and attitudes of the officers as well, and a number of generals were encouraged to retire. He introduced formal reading lists for all officers, to encourage them to think outside their usual patterns.

Noncommissioned officers received special attention from Gray. As a former sergeant, he recognized them as the heart of the corps. Gray spent much of his time traveling and meeting with enlisted men and listening to their suggestions and comments. He possessed a good memory for faces and names, and used it to cultivate a devoted following.

Finally, Gray emphasized that the marines should fight smart and use maneuver and mobility tactics to defeat their opponents whenever possible. He favored the fielding of light armored vehicles because of their utility in the limited conflicts traditionally fought by marines. Gray also supported enhanced amphibious capabilities.

During the Persian Gulf War, Gray as a service chief had no direct role in the planning and conduct of the war. He did, however, campaign for a greater role for the marines. Gray hoped to see an amphibious landing that would outflank the Iraqi defenses in southern Kuwait. When that option was rejected, he continued to push for a series of raids from the sea by marine units to tie down Iraqi troops. In the end, the amphibious operation was largely limited to a deception, although the 1st and 2nd Marine Divisions distinguished themselves in the land campaign.

The success of marine units in the war was seen by many as vindication of Gray's efforts to reorganize and reinvigorate the Marine Corps, and his successors have continued many of his reforms. Gray retired in 1991 and has since served on a number of corporate boards.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; United States Marine Corps, Persian Gulf War

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Greece, Role in Persian Gulf and Afghanistan Wars

Southeast European nation encompassing 50,942 square miles. Greece had a 2008 population of 10.723 million people. The country lies between the Ionian Sea and the Aegean Sea and is bordered by Albania, Macedonia, and Bulgaria to the north and Turkey to the east. Greece is a parliamentary democracy with a pro-Western orientation. The prime minister is the head of government, while the president, elected by parliament, is the head of state. The presidency in modern times has been largely ceremonial, however. Greece has multiple political parties. The largest and most influential ones include the New Democracy Party, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, the Communist Party, the Coalition of the Radical Left, and the Popular Orthodox Rally.

Greece supported the U.S.-led coalitions during the 1991 Persian Gulf War and Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (2001–); however, it strongly opposed the 2003 Iraq War. Following the August 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Greece deployed naval vessels as part of the multilateral squadron that enforced the United Nations (UN) economic sanctions against the regime of Saddam Hussein. Greece provided further support to the U.S. coalition by allowing the multilateral forces to use its air and naval facilities at Souda Bay in Crete. Greece also allowed a large number of its merchant ships to be chartered for use by the allied forces and sent approximately 200 troops to Saudi Arabia. Within the country, the government's cooperation with the United States met protests and civil disobedience. The domestic terrorist group November 17 carried out a series of bombings and other attacks against government facilities and Western targets. Greece deployed military forces to bolster its domestic police units and provide increased security against terrorism.

As with other West European states, Greece condemned the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the United States. In the aftermath of the attacks, Greece increased intelligence cooperation with the United States and initiated reforms to the nation's intelligence agencies to better address the threat of Islamic terrorism. Greece also agreed to contribute troops to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. In January 2003 Greece deployed 124 troops, engineers, and security forces, along with 63 vehicles, as part of the ISAF. As of the end of 2009, there were 175 Greek troops in Afghanistan. The Greek force was stationed in Kabul along with a small staff contingent that operated as part of the ISAF headquarters. Greece also dispatched two Lockheed C-130 Hercules aircraft to Karachi, Pakistan, to provide logistical support to the coalition and stationed two frigates and a minesweeper in the Mediterranean.

Greece opposed military intervention in Iraq without UN authorization. There were also large public demonstrations against the war and two general strikes. In January 2003 Greece took over the rotating presidency of the European Union (EU) and endeavored unsuccessfully to develop a joint approach among the member states of the EU. Once the conflict in Iraq began in March 2003, domestic opposition to the conflict constrained the ability of the

government to provide any support to the U.S.-led coalition. Greece declined to deploy troops as part of the invasion or subsequent occupation. However, Greece did not oppose the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) mission to train Iraqi security forces.

Meanwhile, Athens had been selected as the host of the 2004 Summer Olympic Games, and the government launched new security measures to protect the events from terrorist attacks. In March 2004 the Greek government formally requested security assistance from NATO to help safeguard the Olympics. NATO agreed to help monitor the no-fly zone that was established over Olympic events, provide intelligence cooperation, and assist with both maritime and ground security. NATO naval units involved in supporting Operation ENDURING FREEDOM were redeployed to patrol the Greek coast. The alliance further pledged support in the event of a catastrophic nuclear, biological, or chemical attack. The United States provided approximately $25 million in support for security for the Olympic Games, including training and enhanced intelligence cooperation.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; International Security Assistance Force; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Green Zone in Iraq

Highly fortified walled-off section of central Baghdad (Iraq), also know as the International Zone, that is the location of many of Iraq's government buildings. The Green Zone was established soon after the March 2003 invasion of Iraq by U.S. and coalition forces and became the area in which most U.S. and coalition occupation authorities worked and lived. The Green Zone is approximately four square miles in land area.

The Green Zone is entirely surrounded by reinforced concrete walls capable of absorbing explosions from car and truck bombs, improvised explosive devices (IEDs), and suicide bombers. The walls are topped by barbed and concertina wire to foil anyone attempting to scale them. In areas where the likelihood of insurgent infiltration is high, the blast walls are supplemented by thick earthen berms. There are fewer than a half dozen entry and exit points into and out of the zone, all of which are manned around the clock by well-trained and well-armed civilian guards and military police.

Since 2006, Iraqi forces have begun to bear the largest burden of protecting the Green Zone. They are aided in their mission by M1-Abrams tanks, Humvees, and armored personnel carriers equipped with .50-caliber machine guns.

The Green Zone is home to many of Iraq's most important government buildings and ministries, including the Military Industry Ministry. The Green Zone encompasses several presidential palaces and villas used by former president Saddam Hussein, his sons Uday and Qusay, and other Baath Party loyalists. The Republican Palace, the largest of Hussein's residences, is located there. Considered Hussein's principal base of power, it was akin to the White House for the U.S. president. For that reason, it was a key target for coalition forces as they moved into Iraq in 2003.

The zone includes several large markets, stores, shops, restaurants, and large hotels and a convention center. Also found in the Green Zone are the former Baath Party headquarters, a military museum, and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. There is also an elaborate underground bunker constructed to shield key government officials during time of war.

Since the coalition invasion, the Green Zone has housed all the occupation officials' offices and residences. It is also currently home to the Iraqi government. The vast majority of civilian contractors and independent security firm personnel are also located there. The American, British, Australian, and other international embassies and legations as well as most media reporters are located within the Green Zone.

Despite the elaborate security measures within the Green Zone, the area has been targeted on numerous occasions for attacks by truck bombs, suicide bombers with explosives-laden backpacks, and rockets and mortars. After measures were taken to further limit egress into the Green Zone such incidents declined, although they were not entirely eliminated. Nevertheless, rebels and insurgents continue to attack the Green Zone, employing rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs), IEDs, and even Katuysha rockets.

Some Iraqis and those in the international community have criticized the existence of the Green Zone because it entirely isolates occupation officials and Iraqi government officials from the grim and perilous realities of life in Iraq. Outside the Green Zone lies what has come to be called the Red Zone, an area into which occupation authorities rarely venture and lawlessness and chaos abound. Although occupation forces have been criticized for having established an artificial oasis in a worn-torn nation, the Green Zone will likely remain for some time, walled off from the remainder of Iraq unless or until violence perpetrated by insurgents and terrorists comes to an end.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Baghdad; Improvised Explosive Devices; Iraqi Insurgency; Rocket-Propelled Grenade

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Griffith, Ronald Houston
Birth Date: March 16, 1936

U.S. Army general and commander of the 1st Armored Division during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. Ronald Houston Griffith was born in Lafayette, Georgia, on March 16, 1936. While studying at the University of Georgia, he joined the U.S. Army's Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC). Graduating with a BS degree in 1960, he was commissioned a second lieutenant.

Griffith's introduction to combat began early in his military career. From 1964 to 1965, as a first lieutenant, he served as an infantry unit adviser with the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN, South Vietnamese Army). Later he spent a second tour in Vietnam (1969–1970) as executive officer of the 2nd Battalion, 8th Infantry Regiment, 4th Infantry Division.

Griffith rose steadily through the ranks while serving in both command and staff positions. Known for his administrative and strong leadership skills, he led platoons at Fort Hood, Texas, and in South Korea; was a company commander in the 2nd Armored Division at Fort Hood; and commanded the 1st Battalion, 32nd Armored Regiment in West Germany and the 1st Brigade, 2nd Infantry Division, in South Korea. He also received an MA degree in public administration from Shippensburg University in Pennsylvania and attended both the Command and General Staff College and the Army War College.

In the mid-1980s Griffith served in the Pentagon in the Operations Division of the Department of the Army. On December 1, 1987, he was promoted to brigadier general and was subsequently appointed assistant division commander of the 1st Armored Division in West Germany. The following year he became its commander. Griffith received his second star on October 1, 1990, just prior to the Persian Gulf War.

During Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, Griffith's division played a prominent role in land operations. In 1990–1991 the United States had deployed to the Persian Gulf a total of 527,000 personnel and 2,000 tanks, many of them the M-1A1 Abrams tanks. After a withering aerial assault against Iraqi government buildings and fixed military entrenchments, U.S. Central Command commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf ordered the land offensive to begin driving Iraqi troops from Kuwait.

The action commenced on February 24, 1991. Griffith's 1st Armored Division was directly involved in the massive highly mobile left-hook maneuver around and through Iraqi positions to the west of Kuwait in an effort to envelop and destroy the elite Republic Guard forces of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. The maneuver was carried out by combined U.S., British, and French armored and airborne forces. VII Corps deployed four armored divisions including Griffith's, which occupied the northernmost position. Quickly and decisively, U.S. armored and mechanized units and attack helicopters advanced practically unscathed toward the city of Basra on the leading edge of the left hook. Griffith was known for his aggressiveness in combat, and his 1st Armored Division soon defeated the Medina Armored Division and the Iraqi 26th Infantry Division.

On February 23 three of Griffith's maneuver brigades destroyed 300 Iraqi armored vehicles and only lost one soldier. The 2nd Brigade alone destroyed 60 Iraqi T-72s and dozens of personnel carriers. Although some Republican Guard units fought well, they were no match for the lethal U.S. tanks and mechanized vehicles. Kuwait City was liberated, and U.S. forces had advanced into Iraq.

On August 1, 1991, Griffith was promoted to lieutenant general and reassigned to the Pentagon. In 1995 while serving as the inspector general of the U.S. Army, he became the first person in that position to be promoted to four-star rank (June 6, 1995). From 1995 to 1997 Griffith served as vice chief of staff of the U.S. Army.

Griffith retired from the U.S. Army on November 1, 1997. He has since served as executive vice president of Military Professional Resources, Inc. (MPRI). He also serves on the board of directors of the Allied Defense Group, and in 2008 he was reelected to the Board of Visitors of the Virginia Military Institute. Griffith and his wife reside in Alexandria, Virginia.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also

Armored Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Basra; Busayyah, Battle of; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks; T-72 Main Battle Tank

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Guantánamo Bay Detainment Camp

Detainment camp operated by the U.S. government to hold enemy combatants taken prisoner during the Global War on Terror, which began in late 2001 after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks against the United States. The Guantánamo Bay Detainment Camp is situated on the Guantánamo Bay Naval Base, operated by the United States in southeastern Cuba. The base is an area of 45 square miles that has been formally occupied by the United States since 1903, a result of the 1898 Spanish-American War. The original intent of the base was to serve as a coaling station for the

U.S. military police escort a detainee to his cell at the naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, on January 11, 2002. (U.S. Department of Defense)

U.S. Navy. A subsequent lease was signed on July 2, 1906, on the same terms. A new lease was negotiated between the Cuban and U.S. governments in 1934.

Shortly after the 1959 Cuban Revolution, the Castro government demanded that the Guantánamo Bay area be returned to Cuban sovereignty, but the U.S. government refused, citing that the lease required the agreement of both parties to the modification or abrogation of the agreement. Since then, the United States has continued to send a check to the Cuban government for the lease amount every year, but the Cuban government has steadfastly refused to cash them.

During its invasion of Afghanistan that began in October 2001, the U.S. military captured a large number of Al Qaeda fighters and other insurgents. The George W. Bush administration determined that those captured were enemy combatants, not prisoners of war.

This decision came after lawyers from the White House, the Pentagon, and the Justice Department issued a series of secret memorandums that maintained that the prisoners had no rights under federal law or the Geneva Conventions. In this ruling, enemy combatants could be held indefinitely without charges. A number of conservative lawyers in the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel (OLC) provided the legal opinions for this decision. The Bush administration issued this decision on January 22, 2002.

Finally, after considering several sites to hold these prisoners, the U.S. military decided to build a prison at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, the Guantánamo Bay Detention Camp. Camp X-Ray was the first facility, and the first 110 prisoners arrived there on January 11, 2002. They were held in wire cages. Later Camp Delta was constructed, but neither camp was up to standards for prison inmates in the United States. At their peak, the camps held 680 prisoners.

The Bush administration selected Guantánamo Bay for a specific reason. If the prisoners were held on U.S. soil, then the prisoners might claim access to legal representation and American courts. Guantánamo Bay fell under a unique legal situation because the land is leased from Cuba and thus is not technically American soil. Furthermore, because the United States has no diplomatic relationship with Cuba, the prisoners had no access to the Cuban legal system. There the prisoners reside in legal limbo with few if any legal rights.

The detainment camp is run by the U.S. military. At the beginning, command responsibility for the base was divided between Major General Michael Dunlavey, an army reservist, and Brigadier General Rick Baccus, of the Rhode Island National Guard. Dunlavey maintained a hard-line attitude toward the detainees, but Baccus was more concerned about their possible mistreatment. They often quarreled over interrogation techniques and other issues. This situation changed when U.S. Army major general

Geoffrey Miller replaced them and established a unitary command at Guantánamo in November 2003.

Miller had no experience running a prison camp, and he was soon criticized for allowing harsh interrogation techniques including the controversial waterboarding technique, which the Bush administration insisted was not torture. Later Miller was transferred to Iraq, where he took over responsibility for military prisons there.

After Camp Delta was built, the detainees lived in better but still restrictive conditions. At Camp X-Ray, the original camp, the detainees lived behind razor wire in cells open to the elements and with buckets in place of toilets. At Camp Delta the detainees were held in trailerlike structures made from old shipping containers that had been cut in half lengthwise, with the two pieces stuck together end to end. Cells were small, six feet eight inches by eight feet, with metal beds fixed to the steel mesh walls. Toilets were squatting-style flush on the floor, and sinks were low to the ground so that detainees could wash their feet before Muslim prayer. There was no air conditioning for the detainees, only a ventilation system that was supposed to be turned on at 85 degrees but rarely was. Later a medium-security facility opened up, and it gave much greater freedom and better living conditions to the detainees.

The Bush administration gave the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) responsibility for interrogations. Because these enemy combatants had no legal standing in American courts, they were treated as merely sources of intelligence. President Bush had determined this stance after deciding that Al Qaeda was a national security issue, not a law enforcement issue. Consequently, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was completely left out of the loop. But this did not mean that the FBI gave up on questioning prisoners. For various reasons, FBI personnel did interrogate the detainees on occasion.

To encourage cooperation, levels of treatment for detainees are determined by the degree of a detainee's cooperation. Level one was for cooperating prisoners, and they received special privileges. Level two included more moderately cooperative detainees, and they received a few privileges, such as a drinking cup and access to the library. Level three was for the detainees who absolutely refused to cooperate. They were given only the basics: a blanket, a prayer mat and cap, a Qur'an, and a toothbrush.

The CIA ultimately determined that the most important Al Qaeda prisoners should not be held at the Guantánamo Bay Detention Camp. There were simply too many American officials from too many agencies trying to interrogate the prisoners. Moreover, it was too public. CIA leaders wanted a secret location where there would be no interference in the interrogations. Several secret interrogation sites were then set up in friendly countries where the CIA could do what they wanted without interference.

Soon after the prisoners had been transferred to the Guantánamo Bay Detention Camp, reports began to surface about mistreatment of the detainees, which caused considerable consternation abroad. In the late spring of 2002, a CIA analyst visited the camp and was aghast at the treatment of the prisoners. Because he spoke Arabic, he was able to talk to the detainees. In his report the analyst claimed that half of the detainees did not belong there. This report traveled throughout the Bush administration, but no action was taken regarding it. The American public was still upset over the September 11 attacks, and public reports about mistreatment of those held at Guantánamo Bay garnered little sympathy.

The Bush administration decided in the summer of 2006 to transfer the top captured Al Qaeda leaders to the Guantánamo Bay Detention Camp. In September 2006 the transfer of these 14 detainees was complete. Then, beginning in March 2007, court proceedings were begun to determine their status. In the most important case, that of Khalid Sheikh Muhammed, the accused made a total confession of all his activities both in and outside Al Qaeda. However, his confessions were elicited through torture and physical abuse. Among these were the planning for the September 11 attacks and the execution of U.S. journalist Daniel Pearl. Muhammed's justification was that he was at war against the United States. Proceedings against the other detainees continued in the spring of 2007.

Meanwhile, growing public criticism in the United States and elsewhere about the status of the detainees led to a series of court cases in the United States in 2007 and 2008 that tried to establish a legal basis for them. Finally, in June 2008 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Guantánamo detainees were indeed subject to protection under the U.S. Constitution. By that time the situation in Cuba had become a public relations fiasco for the Bush administration. In October 2008 a federal court judge ordered the release of five Algerians being held at Guantánamo because the government had shown insufficient evidence for their continued incarceration. More detainees were likely to be reevaluated, which would result in their potential release or a trial. Experts have recommended exactly such a process, which they termed R2T2: (1) review, (2) release or transfer, and (3) try. In January 2009 President Barack Obama firmly declared that his administration would close the prison at Guantánamo but conceded that doing so presented unique challenges and would take some time. Since 2008, discussions have taken place with other countries that have agreed to take prisoners. Some have already been released to other countries, where they are incarcerated.

Stephen A. Atkins

See also

Bush, George Walker; Coercive Interrogation; Global War on Terror; Mohammed, Khalid Sheikh; Torture of Prisoners

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Gulf Act

See Persian Gulf Conflict Supplemental Authorization and Personnel Benefits Act of 1991

Gulf Cooperation Council

Middle Eastern mutual security and economic cooperation organization. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) was formed by Arab states on May 25, 1981, mainly as a counter to the threat posed from the Islamic Republic of Iran. At the time, Iran was in the early stages of its fundamentalist Islamic revolution and was involved in fighting Iraq in the Iran-Iraq War of 1980–1988. In general, the region's Arab nations eyed Iran with great suspicion and hoped to contain Islamic fundamentalism to that state.

The GCC is made up of six member states: Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Among these countries, the political systems, socioeconomic forces, and overall culture are quite similar, making cooperation among them relatively easy to achieve. Led by Saudi Arabia, together these states possess roughly half of the world's known oil reserves.

The GCC's power is therefore principally economic, and its main goal is to boost the economic might of its members. On the military side, the GCC established a collective defense force in 1984 (effective since 1986), sometimes called the Peninsula Shield, based in Saudi Arabia near King Khalid Military City at Hafar al-Batin and commanded by a Saudi military officer. Even before the mutual security pact was established, joint military maneuvers had been carried out since 1983.

The Peninsula Shield comprises one infantry brigade and is currently maintained at an estimated 7,000 troops. Oman's proposal to extend the force to 100,000 troops in 1991 was turned down. The force did not participate in the 1991 Persian Gulf War as a distinct unit. Through the GCC, military assistance has been extended to Bahrain and to Oman, funded mostly by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Plans to integrate naval and ground radar systems and to create a combined air control and warning system based on Saudi Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft have been repeatedly delayed until just recently.

While all GCC members agree in their desire to become more independent from U.S. security arrangements, they have yet to find consensus as to how this could best be achieved. This became a contentious issue during the conflict with Iraq in 1991, with some states, foremost Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, forming parts of the international coalition against Iraq, while others remained opposed to the action. Notably, in March 1991 just weeks after the Persian Gulf War ended, the GCC agreed—together with Egypt and Syria—to form a security alliance to protect Kuwait against renewed aggression.

Deep divisions also exist as to whether or how Iran, Iraq, and Yemen could be brought into the GCC. The same is true on the issue of political reforms. Militant Islam is seen as a significant threat by Saudi Arabia, while some other members would like to speed up liberalization of the political process, including the admittance of Islamic parties. Since 2004 the GCC countries also share intelligence in the fight against terror but to a limited extent. In November 2006 Saudi Arabia proposed expanding the GCC's military force to 22,000 troops, so far to no effect.

The GCC's structure includes the Supreme Council, the highest decision-making body, composed of the heads of the six member states. Meetings are held annually; the presidency of the council rotates in alphabetical order. Decisions by the Supreme Council on substantive issues require unanimous approval. The council also appoints a secretary-general for a three-year term, renewable once. The secretary-general supervises the day-to-day affairs of the GCC. Currently, Abd-al-Rahman al-Attiya from Qatar is the secretary-general. The Ministerial Council convenes every three months, proposes policies, and manages the implementation of GCC decisions. The Ministerial Council is usually made up of the member states' foreign ministers. Should problems among member states arise, the Commission for the Settlement of Disputes meets on an ad hoc basis to seek a peaceful solution to disagreements. The Defense Planning Council also advises the GCC on military matters relating to its joint armed forces.

THOMAS J. WEILER

See also

Bahrain; DESERT STORM, Operation; Iran-Iraq War; Iranian Revolution; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Kuwait; Middle East, History of, 1945–Present; Middle East Regional Defense Organizations; Oman, Role in Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Qatar; Saudi Arabia; Saudi Arabia, Armed Forces; United Arab Emirates

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Gulf War Syndrome

Name given to a host of physical symptoms and maladies among U.S. and British veterans who fought in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. The exact origins of these is unknown. Gulf War Syndrome (GWS) is a progressive neuron-degenerative and immunological multi-symptom condition that apparently is not explainable by post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) or other variables. GWS may afflict as many as tens of thousands of people, and some estimates

run as high as 150,000. The cause of GWS is unclear; indeed, its very existence is still questioned in some governmental and scientific circles. As the research and the debate continue, the continuing decline of those who suffer from GWS could push the total number of American fatalities from the Persian Gulf War past the total number of those lost in the Vietnam War.

Operation DESERT STORM was seen as a dazzling tactical success for U.S.-led coalition forces. The Iraqis were routed in four days of ground combat, and Kuwait was liberated at the cost of just a few coalition causalities. The troops returned home, at least to the United States, to waves of hyperpatriotism. However, within months some veterans began reporting unusual physical symptoms. Those few became, over time, thousands and then tens of thousands. Persian Gulf War veterans reported symptoms such as chronic fatigue, loss of muscle control, persistent headaches, sleep disorders, memory loss, chronic pain, and other chronic and disabling conditions.

Later, medical research began to show that Persian Gulf War veterans were developing amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS, or Lou Gehrig's disease) at two times the rate of soldiers who had not deployed to the Gulf. Studies have also shown greater than normal risks for multiple sclerosis, fibromyalgia, brain cancer, and, perhaps most frightening, birth defects in children born to parents who were Persian Gulf War vets.

Despite years of official denial of the existence of GWS by the U.S. Department of Defense and the British Ministry of Defense, the two organizations have now funded an enormous number of medical, military, and scientific investigations into the causes of GWS. In a comprehensive 452-page report of November 2008, the Research Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans' Illnesses, conducted by the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, declared the syndrome real. Causative agents included exposure to the drug pyridostigmine bromide, meant to protect against nerve gas and pesticides. In addition, exposure to nerve agents, smoke, and other agents may have contributed to the victims' conditions.

Some other theories have blamed vaccines. Before heading off to service in the Gulf, troops received multiple vaccinations to provide protection against a number of communicable diseases. The vaccines that may have been most problematic were those for anthrax. Concerns have been voiced about the combination and number of vaccines as well as the chemical used in the immunizations. After the war, troops who had never been to the Gulf but had been given the anthrax vaccine began to develop GWS-like symptoms. In 2004 a federal judge ruled that the Pentagon must stop administering the anthrax vaccine because there was good reason to believe that it was harmful. It should be noted that French troops, who were not vaccinated, have not reported GWS. However, the November 2008 report issued by the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs holds that there is little reason to believe that the anthrax vaccine, or depleted uranium, played a role in the syndrome.

Some troops in the field may have been exposed to repeated low-level doses of chemical weaponry such as sarin or other nerve agents or mustard gases. Low-level exposures were common, and Iraqi troops did, ineffectively, attempt to use chemical weapons on coalition troops. But the exposure may also have been the result of coalition bombing of Iraqi chemical weapon depots, which would have resulted in a wide dispersal of a thin cloud of dust and a low dose of sarin, soman, or one of the mustard gasses. One report claims that the British NIAD (Nerve-Agent Immobilised Enzyme Alarm and Detector) chemical and biological weapons detection systems went off 18,000 times during the war. Such repeated low-dose exposures could be a causative factor, yet it seems unlikely that such widespread exposures would have been overlooked by the military.

An ammunition specialist examines a 105-mm armor-piercing sabot round to be used in an M-1 Abrams main battle tank during Operation DESERT STORM. Many antitank projectiles contain depleted uranium, but the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs holds that there is little reason to believe that depleted uranium played a role in causing Gulf War Syndrome. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Pesticides, both government issued and locally purchased, were used widely by American and British troops. They sprayed them on their bodies, tents, and buildings and on prisoners of war. As a result, Persian Gulf War vets received varying degrees of long-term exposure to organophosphate and carbamate pesticides. Studies reviewed by the RAND Corporation for the Research

Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans' Illnesses suggest that the pesticides could be a potentially contributing factor in GWS.

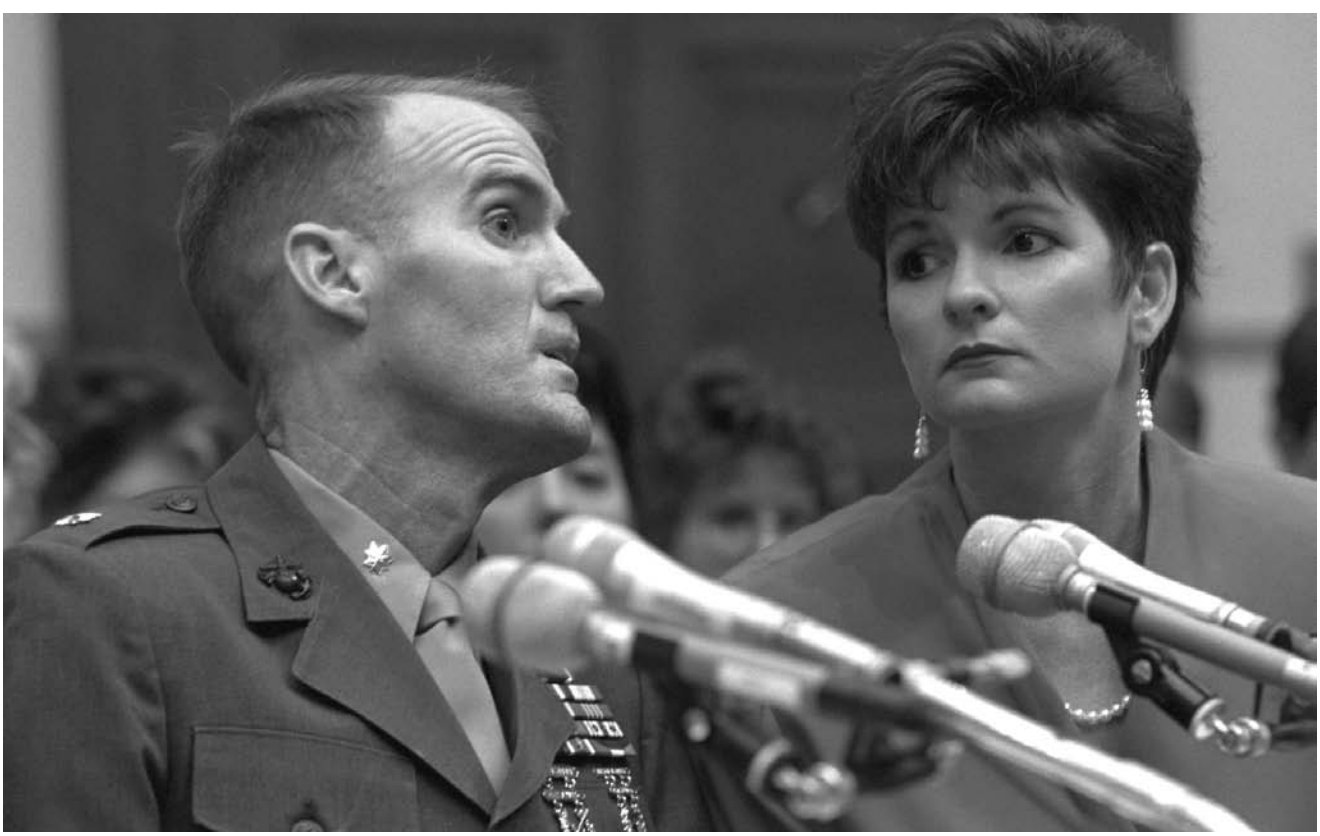
A few studies have suggested parasites such as leishmaniasis as a possible culprit in GWS. Many researchers are now pursuing the difficult-to-detect mycoplasma bacteria, while others theorized that GWS may be the result of some as yet unknown virus or bacterial agent. This theory has been given some support by gastrointestinal diseases caused during the war. Many reports of troops drinking from local water supplies or eating local vegetables that were watered or cleaned with contaminated local water have surfaced. Because this theory deals with intangibles, it is difficult to rule in or out.

Battlefield stress and PTSD have certainly always been a part of warfare. The stress that a soldier faces in battle most certainly has a negative effect on his or her health. To assert that GWS was the modern equivalent of shell-shock or battle fatigue, however, would simply be wrong, and research indicates that stress alone does not cause GWS. Be that as it may, stress may play a role in intensifying the symptoms of GWS.

Pyridostigmine bromide (PB) was administered to coalition troops as a pretreatment against exposure to the nerve agent soman. PB was only the first part of the treatment; if a soldier was exposed to militarily effective doses of soman, then a second treatment would be administered that was designed to combine with the PB already in the body. Because of the lack of knowledge of pyridostigmine bromide's short- or long-term effects on the nervous system, it cannot be ruled out as a possible factor.

Depleted uranium (DU) is a by-product of the enrichment of natural uranium to produce reactor fuel and weapons-grade isotopes. It is used as a projectile because it can tear through nearly any armor thanks to its density and self-sharpening nature. It also is a perfect metal to enhance one's one armor. DU shells were routinely employed in the Persian Gulf War, and many vehicles also used it to augment their armor. Some researchers claim that between its natural low-level radioactivity and the dust and uranyl oxide gas it creates on impact, DU is a health hazard and could be a cause of GWS. However, medical and scientific research seems to show that DU is safe and causes no negative long-term health effects. All the while, other studies claim that DU is a neurotoxin.

As Iraqi forces retreated from Kuwait, they set the oil fields, containing hundreds of wells, ablaze. The fires burned for nine months. Many theorists point to those sky-darkening infernos as a possible cause for GWS. While many short-term respiratory problems were reported at the time, studies since have shown that even though there was a great deal of airborne particulate matter,



U.S. Marine Corps major Randy Hebert testifies on Capitol Hill on December 10, 1996, before a subcommittee hearing on Persian Gulf veterans' illnesses. Hebert, who was diagnosed with Lou Gehrig's disease, believes his exposure to low levels of a chemical weapons agent in February 1991 caused his medical problems. Gulf War Syndrome is a term used to describe a number of different and mysterious ailments suffered by veterans of that conflict. (AP/Wide World Photos)

the amount of pollutants in the air, according to RAND, was lower than U.S. recommended occupational standards.

There exist dozens of other theories concerning the cause of GWS ranging from the plausible (inhibited red fuming nitric acid from Iraqi Scud missiles) to the hardly plausible (illicit experimentation by the U.S. military). The interesting fact to note about GWS is that it has been clustered among American and British troops. Why is that so? Some researchers point to the simple facts that American and British troops used more pesticides, were involved in more combat, used the anthrax vaccine, and reported by far the most chemical attack warnings. They were also arrayed on the battlefield in such a way that the prevailing winds pushed the airborne clouds of dust and debris from allied bombings, much of which was dispersed as high as the upper atmosphere, right overtop of them. From there it fell like a slow dusty rain from the front lines all the way to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

Both the U.S. and British governments met the initial GWS claims from ill veterans with skepticism. Both governments initially also refused to pay veterans' disability claims for GWS. Veterans knew that they were facing a battle against time, because seven years after a U.S. soldier leaves the service he or she can no longer report combat-related illnesses and get government assistance.

American veterans, however, finally met with modest success in their battle to be heard. In 1998 Congress established the Research Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans' Illnesses. In 2002 the Department of Defense ad'mitted that Persian Gulf War vets were showing signs of neural damage. By 2004 the U.S. government, through the Research Advisory Committee on Gulf War Veterans' Illnesses, seemed to make the recognition of GWS official policy. The committee's 2004 report admitted that between 26 and 32 percent of all Persian Gulf War veterans do manifest a multisymptom progressive neurodegenerative condition that is neither psychiatric nor stress related. The report also supports the idea that soldiers' exposure to chemical agents and pesticides seem to be the most plausible causative factors.

The report seemed to create a new openness between government and veterans. In 2005 the Department of Defense sent letters to 100,000 veterans informing them that they had been exposed to low levels of a chemical agent when a munitions dump at Khamisiyah, Iraq, was destroyed. By 2006 the U.S. federal budget included $15 million per year over a five-year period dedicated to research into Persian Gulf War illnesses. Legislation is even being considered that would eliminate the seven-year cutoff rule for U.S. Persian Gulf War vets.

British GWS veterans, on the other hand, have received little sympathy from their government. Soon after the war, the official line was that GWS was a PTSD. Then, after seeing military specialists, soldiers were told that their problems had nothing to do with the war. In 2003 the Media Research Council concluded that GWS was no single syndrome but rather merely each ill veteran's individual perception of his or her own health. As of 2004, the British Ministry of Defense still insisted that there was no link between GWS and service in the Gulf. Nevertheless, in 2005 the British Pension Appeals Tribunal ordered the Ministry of Defense to acknowledge the existence of GWS as a disability and to pay the veterans afflicted with GWS their appropriate pension. As of 2006 the Ministry of Defense had simply ignored the decision. This means that the government will save millions of pounds now and, if it survives legal challenges, could push retired servicemen past the length of time they are allowed to claim compensation for service-induced disability.

B. Keith Murphy

See also

Biological Weapons and Warfare; Chemical Weapons and Warfare; Desert Storm, Operation; Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder; Scud Missiles, U.S. Search for during the Persian Gulf War

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H

Haass, Richard Nathan
Birth Date: July 28, 1951

Foreign policy expert, prolific author, and national security/foreign policy official in the George H. W. Bush and George W. Bush administrations. Richard Nathan Haass was born in Brooklyn, New York, on July 28, 1951. He received his BA degree from Oberlin College (Ohio) in 1973. Selected as a Rhodes Scholar, he continued his education at Oxford University, from which he ultimately earned both a master's and a doctoral degree. Haass subsequently held a series of academic posts at Hamilton College and the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He also served as vice president and director of foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institute and held posts with the prestigious Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the International Institute for Strategic Studies. Although Haass's interests and research are wide reaching, most of it deals with foreign policy and national security issues. By the end of the 1980s, he had become especially interested in the Middle East.

Haass began his government service in 1979 as an analyst for the Department of Defense, a post he held until 1980. Concomitantly, he was a legislative aide for the U.S. Senate. In 1981 he began serving in the U.S. State Department, where he remained until 1985. By 1989 Haass had earned a reputation as a thoughtful yet cautious foreign policy adviser. That year he began serving as a special assistant to President George H. W. Bush as senior director for Near East and East Asian Affairs on the National Security Council (NSC). As such, Haass was deeply involved in the policy decisions surrounding Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. Indeed, he helped facilitate the Bush administration's success in cobbling together an impressive international coalition that ultimately defeated Iraq in 1991 and reversed that nation's occupation of Kuwait. In 1991 Haass was given the Presidential Citizens Medal for his work before and during the Persian Gulf War. Haass resigned his post in 1993 at the end of Bush's term in office.

When President George W. Bush took office in January 2001, Haass was appointed the State Department's director of policy planning, arguably the most influential foreign policy post next to that of secretary of state. Haass's main role during this time was to act as Secretary of State Colin L. Powell's chief adviser. Remaining in this post until June 2003, Haass had a significant role in the U.S. reaction to the September 11 terror attacks, the subsequent war in Afghanistan (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM), and the lead-up to war with Iraq in March 2003. Perhaps reflecting Powell's caution and skepticism toward the implementation of a second war with Iraq, Haass was not seen as a war hawk, at least not in the same league as neoconservatives such as Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, or Vice President Richard (Dick) Cheney. While Powell's more cautious stance was cast aside in the months leading up to the war, Haass nevertheless remained publicly loyal to Bush's foreign policy.

For a brief time Haass served as policy coordinator for U.S. policy in Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban regime there. He also served as special U.S. envoy to the Northern Ireland peace process, succeeding Senator George Mitchell. In late 2003 Haass chose to step down from government service and was awarded the Distinguished Honor Award from the U.S. Department of State. In July 2003 he accepted the post of president of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), and upon his departure from government he dedicated all of his efforts to the CFR. The CFR is a nonpartisan independent think tank and publisher dedicated to studying and articulating the foreign policies of the United States and other

nations of the world. The author of 12 books by 2008, Haass lives in New York City.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Neoconservatism; Powell, Colin Luther; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Wolfowitz, Paul Dundes

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Habib, Philip

Birth Date: February 25, 1920
Death Date: May 25, 1992

Noted U.S. diplomat, perhaps best known for his work in brokering a tenuous—and short-lived—peace in Lebanon in the early 1980s. Born in Brooklyn, New York, on February 25, 1920, to a Lebanese Maronite Christian family, Philip Habib grew up in a Jewish neighborhood. In his formative years he straddled cultural barriers. For a short while he worked as a shipping clerk in New York before enrolling in a forestry program at the University of Idaho. He earned his degree in 1942 and immediately joined the U.S. Army, where he served until his discharge as a captain in 1946.

Upon his return to civilian life Habib enrolled at the University of California at Berkeley, where he studied agricultural economics. He earned his PhD there in 1952. In the meantime, in 1949 he joined the U.S. Foreign Service. He began a long and highly distinguished career with the U.S. State Department that included service in Canada, New Zealand, South Korea, Saigon, South Vietnam, and various other State Department posts. In 1968 he began serving on the U.S. delegation to the Vietnam Peace Talks.

Habib became the U.S. ambassador to South Korea in 1971, a post he held until 1974. During 1974–1976 he was assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs, and during 1976–1978 he served as undersecretary of state for political affairs. Following a heart attack, he retired from public service in 1978.

Just a year later, in 1979, Habib came out of retirement to serve as a special adviser to President Jimmy Carter on Middle East affairs. In the spring of 1981 newly elected president Ronald Reagan tapped Habib to serve as U.S. special envoy to the Middle East. Widely known for his tough but scrupulously fair negotiating prowess, Habib received the assignment of brokering a peace arrangement in the ongoing civil war in Lebanon.

During a series of tortuous negotiations and endless bouts of shuttle diplomacy, Habib managed to broker a cease-fire in Lebanon and resolved the mounting crisis over control of West Beirut. His efforts not only brought some semblance of order to Lebanon, albeit temporarily, but also served as a building block for the ongoing Arab-Israeli peace process. In September 1982 the Reagan administration awarded Habib with the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his diplomatic service. In 1986 Habib once again became a special envoy, this time to Central America. His task was to resolve the continuing conflict in Nicaragua. Realizing perhaps that U.S. policies in the region were a significant impediment to lasting peace there, he resigned his post after just five months on the job. Habib died suddenly on May 25, 1992, while on vacation in Puligny-Montrachet, France.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Lebanon; Lebanon, U.S. Intervention in (1982–1984); Reagan, Ronald Wilson; Reagan Administration, Middle East Policy

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Haditha, Battle of

Start Date: August 1, 2005
End Date: August 4, 2005

Military engagement during August 1–4, 2005, between U.S. marines and Iraqi insurgents belonging to Ansar al-Sunnah, a militant Salafi group operating in and around Haditha, Iraq. Haditha is a city of some 100,000 people located in Anbar Province in western Iraq about 150 miles to the northwest of Baghdad. The city's population is mainly Sunni Muslim.

The battle was precipitated when a large force of insurgents ambushed a six-man marine sniper unit on August 1; all six marines died in the ensuing fight. The rebels videotaped part of the attack, which included footage allegedly showing one badly injured marine being killed. On August 3 the marines, along with a small contingent of Iraqi security forces, decided to launch a retaliatory strike against Ansar al-Sunnah, dubbed Operation QUICK STRIKE. Those involved included about 1,000 personnel from Regimental Combat Team 2.

The operation commenced with a ground assault against insurgent positions southwest of Haditha; this was augmented by four Bell AH-1 Super Cobra attack helicopters. U.S. officials reported at least 40 insurgents killed during this engagement. The next day, August 4, insurgents destroyed a marine amphibious vehicle using a large roadside bomb; 15 of the 16 marines inside it were killed, along with a civilian interpreter. Meanwhile, the marines had conducted a raid on a house suspected of harboring insurgents outside Haditha. In so doing, they discovered a large weapons cache

containing small arms and improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and detained seven insurgents for questioning. Later, six of the men admitted to having ambushed and killed the six marines on August 1.

After the roadside bombing, coalition forces decided to regroup for a more concerted attack on Haditha itself, which would come in early September. In total, the marines suffered 21 killed; insurgent losses were estimated at 400.

On September 5, 2005, the 3rd Battalion, 1st Marines, launched a full-scale assault against Haditha, expecting heavy resistance. The resistance did not materialize, however, and the marines took the entire city in four days with very minimal insurgent activity. The operation uncovered more than 1,000 weapons caches and resulted in the detention of an additional 400 militants. Four marines were casualties. In early 2006 eight Iraqis suspected of involvement in the initial attack on the marine snipers were tried by an Iraqi court, found guilty, and executed.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Iraqi Insurgency; United States Marine Corps, Iraq War

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Haditha Incident

Event Date: November 19, 2005

The alleged murder of 24 Iraqi civilians in Haditha, in Anbar Province, on November 19, 2005, by U.S. marines of the 1st Squad, 3rd Platoon, K Company, 3rd Battalion, 1st Marine Regiment, 1st Marine Division. The incident gained international notoriety when it eventually became public knowledge, fueling critics' attacks on the conduct of the U.S.-led coalition's counterinsurgency operations in Iraq and raising charges that the U.S. Marine Corps had initially attempted to cover up the killings before reporters broke the story. Domestic and international pressure to investigate the incident fully and to prosecute those involved gained increasing momentum, as public knowledge of the Haditha Incident in early 2006 coincided with other allegations of unnecessary violence against Iraqi civilians by U.S. military personnel during military operations elsewhere in the country. Strong criticism of the incident and the U.S. Marine Corps' handling of its aftermath by congressional opponents of the George W. Bush administration was led by U.S. congressman John Murtha (D-Pa.). Murtha's status as a former marine combat veteran of the Vietnam War has frequently made him the Democrats' point man in attacks on the Bush administration's handling of the Global War on Terror. Murtha was subsequently sued by one of the alleged marine participants in the Haditha Incident. Although several marine participants were eventually brought up on criminal charges for their roles in the incident, as of 2009 only one of them still faced prosecution and court-martial for the killings.

In November 2005 Anbar Province was one of the most dangerous places in Iraq, the heart of the Iraqi insurgency. The murders are alleged to have been in retaliation for the death of U.S. Marine Corps lance corporal Miguel Terrazas and the wounding of two other marines on November 19 after a four-vehicle U.S. convoy triggered the detonation of an improvised explosive device (IED) and came under attack by small-arms fire.

The U.S. Marine Corps initially reported that 15 civilians had been killed by the bomb's blast and that 8 or 9 insurgents had also been killed in the ensuing firefight. However, reports by Iraqi eyewitnesses to the incident, statements by local Iraqi officials, and video shots of the dead civilians in the city morgue and at the houses where the killings occurred contradicted the initial U.S. military version of events. Some of the Iraqi eyewitness reports were particularly compelling, such as testimony by a young girl who said she saw marines shoot her father while he was praying. The vividness and detail of Iraqi eyewitness reports gave substantial credibility to their claims, making it virtually impossible for U.S. military authorities to ignore them. The Iraqi claims contradicting the official military report prompted *Time* magazine to publish a story alleging that the marines deliberately killed 24 Iraqi civilians, including women and 6 children.

Although *Newsmax* questioned *Time*'s sources for the story, claiming that the dead were known insurgent propagandists and insurgent-friendly Haditha residents, based on the *Time* report and the international outcry it generated, on February 24, 2006, the U.S. military initiated an investigation. Led by U.S. Army major general Eldon Bargewell, the investigation was charged with determining how the incident was reported through the chain of command. On March 9 a criminal investigation was also launched, led by the Naval Criminal Investigative Services (NCIS) to determine if the marines deliberately targeted and killed Iraqi civilians. As *Newsweek* stated in a report on the Haditha Incident dated October 9, 2007, "the sinister reality of insurgents' hiding among civilians in Iraq has complicated the case" and was one of the main obstacles military investigators have faced in trying to determine if any Iraqi civilians were deliberately killed.

Marines on patrol in Haditha initially reported that 1 marine and 15 Iraqi civilians had been killed from an IED, whereupon insurgents opened fire on the marines, who proceeded to kill the 8 or 9 alleged insurgents. The U.S. Marine Corps then subsequently reported that the 15 Iraqi civilians had instead been accidentally killed as marines cleared four nearby houses in front of the road where the IED had exploded and in which they believed the insurgents were firing from and/or hiding in. According to Iraqi accounts, however, after the IED explosion, the incensed marines went on a rampage, set up a roadblock, and first killed 4 Iraqi students and a taxi driver who were all unarmed and surrendering to

Two Iraqis examine the charred side of a home a day or two after the Haditha Incident of November 19, 2005. (AP/Wide World Photos)

the marines at the time. The marines then stormed the four nearby houses and killed numerous people (accounts vary as to the exact number), including perhaps as many as 5 women and 6 children. Details beyond that remain sketchy and changeable.

On April 9, 2007, one marine, Sergeant Sanick De La Cruz, was granted immunity from prosecution for unpremeditated murder in exchange for his testimony. He testified on May 9, 2007, that he and others, including his squad leader, Staff Sergeant Frank Wuterich, killed the four Iraqi students and the driver of a white taxi who were attempting to surrender. De La Cruz further testified that Wuterich then told the men under his command, including De La Cruz, to lie about the killings. According to De La Cruz, the five Iraqis, including the driver, had been ordered out of a taxi by Wuterich and himself after the marines had put up a roadblock following the ambush of the convoy.

Other marines, however, reported that shortly after the explosion of the IED they noticed a white unmarked car full of "military-aged men" arrive and then stop near the bombing site. Suspecting the men of being insurgents or having remotely detonated the IED, Wutterich and De La Cruz ordered the five men to stop and surrender, but instead they ran; they were all shot and killed. As reinforcements arrived, the marines began taking small-arms fire from several locations on either side of their convoy, and while taking cover they identified at least one shooter in the vicinity of a nearby house. Lieutenant William Kallop ordered Wuterich and an ad hoc team to treat the buildings as hostile and to "clear" them. They forced entry and shot a man on a flight of stairs and then shot another when he made a movement toward a closet. The marines say that they heard the sound of an AK-47 bolt slamming, so they threw grenades into a nearby room and fired; they killed five occupants, with two others wounded by grenade fragments and bullets. Wuterich and his men pursued what they suspected were insurgents running into an adjacent house. They led the assault with grenades and gunfire, in the process killing another man. Unknown to the marines, two women and six children were in a back room. Seven were killed. It was a chaotic and fast-moving action conducted in the dark in close-range quarters, causing accounts to diverge on the precise chronology and exact sequence of events.

After the firefight ended around 9:30 p.m., the marines noted men suspected of scouting for another attack peering behind the wall of a third house. A marine team, including Wuterich and Lance Corporal Justin Sharratt, stormed the house to find women

and children inside (who were not harmed). They moved to a fourth house off a courtyard and killed two men inside wielding AK-47s, along with two others.

Thirty minutes after the house clearing, an intelligence unit arrived to question the marines involved in the operation. Shortly after the IED explosion, an unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) flew over the blast area and for the rest of the day transmitted views of the scene to the company command headquarters and also the to battalion, regimental, and divisional headquarters. *Newsmax* reported that the UAV recorded marines sweeping the four houses for suspected insurgents and also showed four insurgents fleeing the neighborhood in a car and joining up with other insurgents. Based on Staff Sergeant Wuterich's account that in the first house he cleared he observed a back door ajar and believed that the insurgents had fled to another nearby house, it is possible that the four fleeing insurgents seen by the UAV were probably the same ones who left through the back door of the first house that Wuterich and other marines were clearing. The UAV followed both groups of insurgents as they returned to their safe house, which was bombed around 6:00 p.m. and then stormed by a squad from K Company.

On December 21, 2006, in accordance with U.S. Marine Corps legal procedures, criminal charges were brought against eight marines for war crimes in the Haditha killings. Four enlisted marines (including Wuterich) were accused of 13 counts of unpremeditated murder, and four officers were charged with covering up their subordinates' alleged misdeeds by failing to report and investigate properly the deaths of the Iraqis. In 2007 the charges against three of the four enlisted marines were dismissed, and by the summer of 2008 the charges against three of the officers were dismissed; the other was found not guilty by court-martial. Kallop was never charged with a crime.

On June 17, 2008, military judge Colonel Steve Folsom dismissed all charges against Lieutenant Colonel Jeffrey R. Chessani, the most senior officer to face charges, because the officer overseeing the Haditha investigation, Lieutenant General James Mattis, had been improperly influenced by legal investigator Colonel John Ewers, who was a witness to the case and later became a legal adviser to Mattis. The judge ruled that Ewers should not have been allowed to attend meetings and discussions with Mattis because Ewers's participation prejudiced and tainted the decision to charge and prosecute Chessani, who was accused of failing to report the incident and investigate the alleged killing of civilians by marines under his command. The U.S. Marine Corps has appealed the ruling to the Navy and Marine Court of Criminal Appeals, postponing indefinitely Chessani's case.

Of the eight marines originally charged on December 21, 2006, Staff Sergeant Frank D. Wuterich, the platoon sergeant implicated in the Haditha killings, remains the lone defendant facing prosecution and court-martial; he was initially charged with multiple counts of murder, but after a hearing the charges were reduced to nine counts of voluntary manslaughter. His court-martial, however, has been indefinitely postponed to allow prosecutors time to appeal a judge's decision to throw out a subpoena for unaired footage from a CBS *60 Minutes* program interview with Wuterich. Military prosecutors argued that the additional footage shows that Wuterich may have admitted to his role in the killings. In addition, the dismissal of all charges against Chessani has implications for Wuterich's case because Colonel Ewers also investigated Wuterich's case before becoming a legal adviser to Mattis, who recommended prosecuting Wuterich.

Wuterich insists his unit followed the rules of engagement and did not purposefully attack civilians and that his squad entered the houses to suppress insurgent fire and pursue gunmen who had opened fire on them. He further asserts that the civilian deaths occurred during the sweep of nearby homes in which fragmentation grenades and clearing fire were used before entering the houses. Wuterich also said that his unit never attempted to cover up the incident and immediately reported that civilians had been killed in Haditha.

The Department of Defense has said that the rules of engagement in effect at Haditha prohibited unprovoked attacks on civilians, but this of course assumes that the marines knew that the homes were populated by civilians. In addition, marines are trained as a matter of combat survival to suppress enemy fire with overwhelming force, including the tossing of grenades into a room before entering. The lead investigator of the Haditha incident has confirmed that some training the marines received conflicted with their rules of engagement and led them to believe that if fired upon from a house, they could clear it with grenades and gunfire without determining whether civilians were inside.

The Haditha Incident stands as a classic example of the profound difficulties and the immense potential for human tragedy encountered by conventional military forces engaged in combating an insurgency in which the insurgents' very survival depends upon blending in with—and often becoming indistinguishable from—the local civilian population. Indeed, even when conventional forces win a tactical battle against insurgents, they risk incurring a more important strategic loss when they kill civilians (intentionally or accidentally) in the process. Inevitably, conventional forces conducting counterinsurgency operations are confronted by an unavoidable double standard: while being held strictly accountable to observing all of the internationally accepted laws of war, they must fight an enemy whose tactics principally rely on terror and indiscriminate killing of civilians and combatants alike. The very thought that Al Qaeda or other terrorist group leadership would conduct war crimes investigations for atrocities committed by its members as the U.S. Marine Corps has done in the wake of the Haditha Incident seems absurd; atrocities are the insurgents' main tactic, not aberrations occurring during the heat of battle. The Haditha Incident also emphasizes that a conventional counterinsurgency force's major actions and policies must be in place in order to prevent or at least limit civilian deaths: effective training, strict discipline and individual accountability, rigidly enforced rules of engagement, and competent leaders at

every level of command who remain totally involved in the conduct of all combat operations. Not even one of these critical elements can be lacking or ignored, as that raises the risk of a repeat of such incidents as that which occurred at Haditha. When an atrocity occurs or is even suspected to have taken place, it must be rigorously investigated and, whenever warranted, vigorously prosecuted. A cover-up (or even the appearance of one) not only denies justice to the victims but, in a practical military sense, is also ultimately counterproductive.

Stefan M. Brooks

See also

Improvised Explosive Devices; Iraqi Insurgency; United States Marine Corps, Iraq War

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Hadley, Stephen John

Birth Date: February 13, 1947

Attorney, national security and defense expert, and national security adviser to President George W. Bush (2005–2009). Stephen John Hadley was born in Toledo, Ohio, on February 13, 1947. He earned a BA degree from Cornell University in 1969 and a law degree from Yale University in 1972. From 1972 to 1975 he served in the U.S. Navy. Hadley ultimately became a senior partner in the law firm of Shea & Gardner in Washington, D.C., but also became involved in defense and national security work for Republican administrations, including those of Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan, and George H. W. Bush. Between 1995 and 2001 Hadley was also a principal in the Scowcroft Group, an international advisory company specializing in international business development and consultation. Brent Scowcroft, founder of the concern, had been national security adviser to presidents Ford and George H. W. Bush and was a mentor to Hadley.

From 1989 to 1993 Hadley worked under Paul Wolfowitz as assistant secretary of defense for international security policy. In this post Hadley was involved with numerous arms-control agreements, including START I and START II, and he worked closely with Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney and Secretary of State James Baker. From 1986 to 1987 Hadley served as counsel to the Special Review Board created by President Reagan to investigate the Iran-Contra Affair (popularly known as the Tower Commission).

In 2000 Hadley served as a foreign policy and national security adviser to George W. Bush's presidential campaign. When Bush won, Hadley also served on the president-elect's transition team. In 2001 Bush named Hadley deputy national security adviser, meaning that he reported to National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice. Just prior to his taking office, Hadley had served on a prominent conservative think tank panel that had urged the United States to make small tactical nuclear weapons a centerpiece of its nuclear arsenal. The group advocated the use of such weapons against nations that harbored illicit weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). Having worked for Cheney, Wolfowitz, and other neoconservatives, Hadley generally shared their get-tough approach to U.S. defense and national security policy, although he tended to be somewhat less rigid and dogmatic than they, probably the result of his relationship with Scowcroft, who believed in a more measured approach to defense policy.

Hadley reportedly was a member of the White House Iraq Group in 2002; the group's primary aim was to shape public opinion for a possible war with Iraq. In July 2003, some four months after the invasion of Iraq, Hadley offered his resignation to President Bush, claiming that he had allowed Bush to use in his January 2003 State of the Union address the now-discounted document showing that Iraq had tried to buy yellow-cake uranium from Niger. The document had been used as proof of Iraq's alleged nuclear weapons program. The president refused to accept the resignation. Later on Hadley was mentioned as the possible source of the leak that precipitated the Valerie Plame Wilson controversy, but he was cleared of any wrongdoing in that scandal. Nevertheless, Hadley has been blamed for a number of botched intelligence reports that were used to justify the Iraq War.

In 2005 Hadley became national security adviser when Rice was tapped to become secretary of state. Hadley kept a relatively low profile during Bush's second term, especially given the departure of two hard-core neoconservatives: Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz. Hadley is believed to have supported a change in strategy in the Iraq War that resulted in the 2007 troop surge, and he worked quietly behind the scenes to mend political fences with some of the disgruntled U.S. allies.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Iran-Contra Affair; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Neoconservatism; Niger, Role in Origins of the Iraq War; Reagan, Ronald Wilson; Rice, Condoleezza; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Surge, U.S. Troop Deployment, Iraq War; Wilson, Valerie Plame

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Hagenbeck, Franklin L.
Birth Date: November 25, 1949

U.S. Army general and commander of coalition Joint Task Force Mountain during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan. Born in Morocco on November 25, 1949, the son of a U.S. Navy officer, Franklin L. Hagenbeck attended high school in Jacksonville, Florida, and went on to graduate from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1971, when he was commissioned a second lieutenant. His subsequent military education included courses at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College and the Army War College. Hagenbeck also earned a master's degree in exercise physiology from Florida State University and a master's degree in business administration from Long Island University.

Among Hagenbeck's earlier staff assignments were tours as director of the Officer Personnel Management Directorate and assistant division commander of the 101st Airborne Division. He also served abroad as an instructor in tactics at the Royal Australian Infantry Center. Having previously commanded at company, battalion, and brigade levels, Hagenbeck assumed command as a major general of the 10th Mountain Division at Fort Drum in New York in the autumn of 2001. He entered the public spotlight in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States. With the commencement of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan in October 2001, the 10th Mountain Division received a warning that it would provide the first conventional forces to support ongoing special operations against the Taliban regime. After initially sending a small security element, the 10th Mountain contributed a portion of the 1,200 infantrymen who took part in Operation ANACONDA in March 2002 under Hagenbeck's immediate command.

Although a tactical success, ANACONDA was not without its problems in intelligence and fire-support coordination. Thus, a debate over the operation and the responsibility for its shortcomings occurred in which Hagenbeck would play a prominent role. In particular, in an interview published in *Field Artillery* magazine in 2002 he called into question the effectiveness of fire support provided solely by the U.S. Air Force, the problem being that the 10th Mountain Division was not allowed to deploy to Afghanistan with its organic artillery, and thus tactical air support was the division's sole source of fire support. His analysis drew a sharp rejoinder from U.S. Air Force spokespersons. Whatever the problems, they almost certainly stemmed in part from a hasty planning process as well a long-standing history of imperfect interservice coordination.

Hagenbeck next assumed the post of U.S. Army deputy chief of staff, personnel (G-1). In this position he testified several times before Congress on the challenges facing the army in recruitment and retention resulting from waging concurrent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. In 2006 Lieutenant General Hagenbeck became the superintendent of the United States Military Academy, West Point.

ROBERT F. BAUMANN

See also

ANACONDA, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation

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Haifa Street, Battle of
Start Date: January 6, 2007
End Date: January 9, 2007

A two-staged combined-arms action by American and Iraqi troops against Sunni insurgents in central Baghdad during January 6–9, 2007. In the Battle of Haifa Street, U.S. Army infantry and cavalry units fought alongside Iraqi soldiers to successfully dislodge enemy insurgents from key urban areas. The engagement pitted about 1,000 U.S. and Iraqi troops against an undetermined number of insurgent fighters.

Haifa Street, a broad boulevard located in central Baghdad, runs northwest from the Green Zone, the home of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), for two miles along the west bank of the Tigris River. Many of the buildings along the street, including the former residences of wealthy Sunni government officials, are 20-story high-rise apartments. Amid increasing sectarian violence in 2006, Sunni and Al Qaeda in Iraq insurgents had taken control of the street and its surrounding neighborhood. They also made use of the high-rise apartment buildings from which they were able to fire down into the streets, posing a serious hazard to civilians and coalition troops. Throughout 2006 insurgents sporadically engaged American and Iraqi forces by sniper fire and grenades lobbed from the residential and office buildings.

The catalyst for the Battle of Haifa Street occurred on January 6, 2007, when Iraqi troops killed 30 Sunni insurgents after discovering a fake checkpoint manned by insurgents. In retaliation, the insurgents executed 27 Shia and distributed leaflets threatening to kill anyone who entered the area. Following an unsuccessful attempt by Iraqi soldiers to clear the neighborhood on January 8, American troops prepared a full-scale offensive to assist the Iraqis.

The first stage of the battle involved approximately 1,000 American and Iraqi troops. On January 9 a reinforced U.S. Army battalion from the 2nd Infantry Division joined the Iraqi 6th Infantry Division to engage in pitched street-by-street combat to clear buildings from north to south along Haifa Street. During the intense one-day operation, the Americans employed snipers and

Stryker combat vehicles to methodically clear insurgent strongholds. Ground troops were supported by Boeing/McDonnell Douglas AH-64 Apache attack helicopters and precision-guided munitions. The U.S. and Iraqi forces mounted a successful retaliation effort against the strong insurgent resistance that included machine-gun fire, rocket-propelled grenades, and coordinated mortar fire. In the course of the battle approximately 70 insurgents were killed or captured, including several foreign fighters. Some 25 others were captured.

U.S. troops subsequently withdrew, leaving Iraqi forces to patrol the area. However, insurgents reinfiltrated the area over the next two weeks. Before dawn on January 24, 2007, Iraqi troops joined a larger American force comprised of two reinforced battalions from the 2nd Infantry and 1st Cavalry divisions to clear the street again. This second stage of the battle, named Operation TOMAHAWK STRIKE 11, lasted less than one day. U.S. army units used both Bradley and Stryker combat vehicles to control the street, supported by Iraqi and American troops who cleared apartments while taking sniper and mortar fire. By evening the street and surrounding buildings had been cleared, and a large weapons cache had been seized. Approximately 65 insurgents, including numerous foreign fighters, were killed or captured on January 24. Iraqi forces suffered 20 killed during both engagements. Although a substantial American presence remained for several days following the second battle, control and responsibility for the sector had been relinquished to the Iraqi Army by February 1, 2007.

WILLIAM E. FORK

See also

Al Qaeda in Iraq; Baghdad; Green Zone in Iraq; Iraqi Insurgency

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Hakim, Abd al-Aziz al-
Birth Date: 1950

Mid-level Iraqi Arab Shia cleric, leader of the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council, and sayyid (descendant of the Prophet Muhammad). Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim was born sometime in 1950 in the southern Iraqi city of Najaf, a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad and the fourth caliph, Ali ibn Abi Talib. Hakim is a hujjat al-Islam (literally "proof of Islam") and the lower-level ranking of cleric, not a *mujtahid.* More importantly, he is the current leader of the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council (SIIC), one of the two largest Iraqi Shia political parties, a position he inherited upon the assassination of his brother, Ayatollah Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim, who was killed by a massive car bomb in Najaf in August 2003.

Abd al-Aziz's father was Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Muhsin al-Hakim (1889–1970), the preeminent Shia religious scholar and authority in Iraq from 1955 until his death in 1970. The family has deep roots in Iraq as one of the premier Arab Shia scholarly families based in Najaf, where Imam Ali's shrine is located, although the family originally came from the Jabal Amil in southern Lebanon. Abd al-Aziz's brother, Sayyid Muhammad Mahdi (1940?–1988), another activist, was also assassinated in Khartoum, Sudan, most likely on the orders of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. All three of the Hakim brothers studied religious subjects under both their father and then Ayatollah Sayyid Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr (1935–1980), one of their father's leading students and an activist scholar who was one of the intellectual founders of the Islamic Dawa Party (Hizb al-Da'wah al-Islamiyya), Iraq's other large Shia political party.

Abd al-Aziz's earliest social and political activism occurred in tandem with his father and older brothers, all of whom were actively opposed to the growing influence of the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP) among segments of Shia youth during the 1950s and 1960s. Grand Ayatollah Hakim was an outspoken critic of communism, and he passed a juridical opinion (fatwa) against membership in the ICP in February 1960. He was also instrumental in the formation and support of the Jamaat al-Ulama (Society of Religious Scholars), a coalition of religious scholars (*ulama*) opposed to the growing influence of the ICP and other Iraqi secular political parties. Due to his age, Abd al-Aziz was not actively involved in the Jamaat al-Ulama and the earlier stages of the Islamic Dawa Party, although his brothers were.

Following the Iraqi invasion of Iran in September 1980 and the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), when Hussein issued orders calling for the execution of members of the Dawa Party, Abd al-Aziz and his brother Muhammad Baqir left Iraq for Iran along with thousands of other Iraqi Shias, many of them political activists. The Iraqi government claimed that it might face traitorous actions by Iraq's long-disenfranchised Shia Arab majority. Ayatollah Baqir al-Sadr had been executed along with his sister, Amina bint Haydar al-Sadr (also known as Bint al-Huda), in April 1980.

In November 1982 Baqir al-Hakim announced the formation of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), which initially was an umbrella organization that brought together officials from the various Iraqi exiled opposition movements, although it eventually became its own political party as other groups broke away over policy and ideological disputes. SCIRI's leadership were based in Tehran, and it was more heavily influenced by Iranian individuals and political competition than the Dawa Party. In 1982–1983 SCIRI's paramilitary wing, the Badr Organization, was founded under Abd al-Aziz's leadership. Badr was made up of recruits from among the Iraqi exile community living in Iran as well as Iraqi Shia prisoners of war, who received training and equipment from the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps on the instructions of Grand Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini,

Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim, leader of the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council, casts his vote in Baghdad on January 30, 2005. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Iran's revolutionary leader. On the eve of the U.S.- and British-led invasion of Iraq of March 2003, Badr reportedly fielded 10,000–15,000 fighters, with a core elite group of several thousand fighters.

Abd al-Aziz and Muhammad Baqir returned to Iraq on May 12, 2003, making their way to the southern Iraqi port city of Basra, where the ayatollah gave a rousing speech in front of an estimated 100,000 Iraqi supporters in the main soccer stadium, rejecting U.S. postwar domination of the country. The Hakims were soon joined by thousands of SCIRI members and Badr fighters who flooded into southern Iraq. Following his brother's assassination on August 29, 2003, Abd al-Aziz assumed control of the SCIRI, which several years later was renamed the Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council (SIIC). He has maintained a close relationship with the U.S. government. In fact, he was the favorite of various American figures to succeed Ibrahim al-Jafari, perhaps due to his English skills and demeanor, but was not as popular with Iraqis, as was demonstrated at the polls. During Abd al-Aziz's tenure as party chief, then-SCIRI achieved a key electoral victory in December 2005 as part of the United Iraqi Alliance, a loose coalition of primarily Shia political parties that, together with the Kurdish political list, dominates Iraqi politics today. In the past, he has supported attempts to create a decentralized federal system. He has vocally supported the creation of an autonomous Shia region in southern and central Iraq, a move that has been repeatedly opposed by other Shiite parties such as Fadhila and by Sunni Arab politicians and Tayyar al-Sadr (Sadr Movement), the sociopolitical faction led by Muqtada al-Sadr.

Badr officials and fighters are heavily represented in the Iraqi state security forces and important ministries, including the Ministry of the Interior. They were blamed for summarily arresting, kidnapping, torturing, and murdering Sunni Arabs, often political rivals and random civilians off of the streets particularly in mixed Sunni-Shia neighborhoods, which they sought to cleanse of Sunni Arabs. The SIIC leadership denies involvement in such attacks despite strong evidence to the contrary.

Beginning in 2004 and reaching its apogee in the spring of 2008, Badr fighters, many of them while in their capacity as Iraqi state security, engaged in running street battles with the Sadrists over political power, reportedly seeking to weaken them before the 2009 municipal elections. Heavy fighting under the direction of the official Iraqi state, backed by Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki and the U.S. military, took place between SIIC-dominated Iraqi security forces and Sadrist fighters in Baghdad in 2007 and in Basra during the spring and early summer of 2008.

Abd al-Aziz is aided by his two sons, Muhsin (1974–) and Ammar (1972–), who both head various offices and departments within the SIIC. Ammar is the secretary-general of the al-Mihrab

Martyr Foundation, an SIIC affiliate organization that has built mosques, Islamic centers, and schools throughout southern Iraq and Shia areas of Baghdad, the Iraqi capital; he is also the second-in-command of the SIIC.

The SIIC publicly recognizes Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Ali al-Sistani, Iraq's senior resident Shia religious authority, as its official religious guide and scholar, although the degree to which it actually follows his religious edicts is unclear because SIIC and Sistani have their own networks of mosques, which reinstituted Friday sermons after the fall of Hussein. SIIC and Badr fighters have notably ignored Sistani's calls for intercommunal harmony and a cessation of sectarian/intercommunal killings by both Sunnis and Shias. Hakim and other SIIC leaders have also publicly denied that they seek to establish a religious state in Iraq, as this was the original goal of the SIIC. The party has insisted on a prominent role for Islamic morals, Sharia, and institutions, particularly Shia ones, in the present and future Iraqi state.

Christopher Anzalone

See also

Baath Party; Badr Organization; Hakim, Muhammad Baqir al-; Hussein, Saddam; Islamic Dawa Party; Maliki, Nuri Muhammed Kamil Hasan al-; Shia Islam; Sistani, Sayyid Ali Husayn al-; Sunni Islam; Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council; United Iraqi Alliance

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Hakim, Muhammad Baqir al-

Birth Date: ca. 1939
Death Date: August 29, 2003

Iraqi ayatollah and founding leader of the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), since renamed the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council (SIIC), one of the two largest Iraqi Shia political parties. Muhammad al-Hakim Baqir was born in Najaf, Iraq, either in 1939 or 1944. His father was Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Muhsin al-Hakim (1889–1970), the preeminent Shia religious scholar and authority in Iraq from 1955 until his death in 1970. The Hakim family is one of Iraq's preeminent Shia scholarly families, with deep roots in the southern Iraqi shrine city of Najaf, where the first Shia imam and fourth Muslim caliph, Ali ibn Abi Talib, is buried. The family originally came from the Jabal Amil region of historical Syria in present-day southern Lebanon.

Muhammad Baqir was one of three sons, the others being his younger brother Abd al-Aziz (1950–), the current SIIC leader, and Muhammad Mahdi (1940?–1988), commonly known simply as "Mahdi," who was assassinated in Khartoum, Sudan, probably at the behest of the ruling Iraqi Baath Party under President Saddam Hussein. All three of the Hakim brothers were born in Najaf and studied under both their father and Ayatollah Sayyid Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr (1935–1980), one of their father's premier students and an activist scholar who was one of the intellectual founders of the Islamic Dawa Party (Hizb al-Da'wah al-Islamiyyah), Iraq's other large Shia political party. Both Muhammad Baqir and his brother Mahdi were involved in the formation of the Dawa Party, and the latter was also active in the Jamaat al-Ulama, a clerical association formed in Najaf during the 1950s to combat the rising popularity of communism among Iraqi Shiite youth.

Muhammad Baqir was a well-known Shiite activist throughout the 1960s and 1970s. He was arrested, tortured, and imprisoned in 1972 and again from February 1977 to July 1979. He left Iraq for Iran with his brother Abd al-Aziz and thousands of other Iraqi Shia, mainly political activists, in the autumn of 1980 following the execution of Ayatollah Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr and his sister, Amina bint Haydar al-Sadr (also known as Bint al-Huda), in April and the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War that September. In November 1982 Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim announced the formation of the SCIRI, which initially was envisioned as an umbrella organization that would bring together the various exiled Iraqi opposition movements, topple Hussein, and bring about an Islamic state.

The SCIRI eventually was transformed into its own political party as other parties broke away over policy and ideological disputes. Grand Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Iran's revolutionary leader, was actively supportive of the new group, seeing it as a tool to harass the Saddam Hussein regime. In 1982–1983 the Badr Organization was founded under the leadership of Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim, forming the paramilitary wing of the SIIC. Officers from the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps provided military training and equipment for the several thousand Iraqi Arab exiles and prisoners of war who filled Badr's ranks.

During his 23 years in exile, Muhammad Baqir built up the SCIRI networks among the tens of thousands of Iraqi exiles living in Iran. On the eve of the U.S.- and British-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003, SCIRI officials claimed to have 10,000 armed fighters in the Badr Corps. The organization's networks inside Iraq were not as developed as SCIRI propaganda claimed, however, because Baath Party security forces had been largely successful in limiting their growth inside the country. Prior to 2003, Badr agents carried out attacks on Iraqi government targets both inside and outside of Iraq, and Badr fighters were active participants in northern Iraq (Iraqi Kurdistan) during the Iran-Iraq War. Muhammad Baqir and the SCIRI were criticized by segments of the Iraqi Shia community for siding with Iran against Iraq during the war; unlike Dawa Party members, some in SCIRI fought Iraq, and many Iraqi Sunnis have therefore alleged that the organization is controlled by the Iranians.

Muhammad Baqir and Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim, together with other SCIRI leaders and members, returned to southern Iraq on May 12, 2003. Muhammad Baqir delivered a rousing speech in front of an estimated 100,000 Iraqis in the main soccer stadium in the southern Iraqi port city of Basra, publicly thanking Iran for its longtime support in resisting Saddam Hussein and rejecting U.S. postwar domination of the country. The Hakims were soon joined by thousands of SCIRI members and Badr fighters who flooded into southern and central Iraq's cities, towns, and villages.

In his public pronouncements and interviews, Muhammad Baqir was supportive of the role of the *marjaiyya,* the informal council of Iraq's five senior grand ayatollahs based in Najaf. He also did not call for his followers to fight the U.S. and British forces in the country, although he remained opposed to their long-term presence in the country. He called for the establishment of an Islamic state in Iraq but did not call for any immediate implementation of such a state. He acknowledged that the *marjaiyya* (whose religious leadership is senior to any other in Iraq) should occupy a major advisory role for the government.

On August 29, 2003, Muhammad Baqir was assassinated by a massive car comb following Friday prayers, before which he delivered the requisite sermon, at the Imam Ali Shrine in Najaf. Between 84 and 125 other people were also killed, and scores more were wounded in the bombing. This attack is believed to have been carried out by the Tawhid wa al-Jihad organization, later renamed Al Qaeda in the Land of the Two Rivers (al-Qa'ida fi Bilad al-Rafhidayn), led by the Jordanian Abu Musab al-Zarqawi (1966–2006). Muhammad Baqir's brother Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim then took up the leadership of the SCIRI.

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See also

Baath Party; Hakim, Abd al-Aziz al-; Islamic Dawa Party; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council

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Halliburton

A multinational corporation based in Houston, Texas, that provides specialty products and services to the oil and gas industries and also constructs oil fields, refineries, pipelines, and chemical plants through its main subsidiary KBR (Kellogg, Brown, and Root). Although Halliburton conducts operations in more than 120 countries, controversy regarding Halliburton Energy Services has focused on U.S. government contracts awarded to the company following the 2003 Iraq War and allegations of conflict of interest involving Vice President Richard (Dick) Cheney, who was a former Halliburton chief executive officer (CEO).

In 1919 during the midst of the oil boom in Texas and Oklahoma, Mr. and Mrs. Erle P. Halliburton began cementing oil wells in Burkburnett, Texas. That same year the Halliburtons established their business in Dallas, Texas. They then moved the business to Ardmore, Oklahoma. In 1924 the Halliburton Oil Well Cementing Company was incorporated. A significant expansion of the company occurred in 1962 with the acquisition of Brown & Root, a construction and engineering firm that became a wholly owned subsidiary of Halliburton. Brown & Root had been established in 1919 by brothers George and Herman Brown along with their brother-in-law Dan Root. Employing political patronage with influential figures such as Lyndon B. Johnson, Brown & Root grew from fulfilling small road-paving projects to garnering military contracts constructing military bases and naval warships. Brown & Root was part of a consortium responsible for providing approximately 85 percent of the infrastructure required by the U.S. military during the Vietnam War.

Halliburton headquarters, Houston, Texas. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Price of a Share of Halliburton Stock, 2000–2010

Date	*Price of a Share of Stock*
March 1, 2000	$20.47
September 1, 2000	$26.81
March 1, 2001	$20.11
August 31, 2001	$13.93
March 1, 2002	$8.45
August 30, 2002	$7.60
February 28, 2003	$10.13
August 29, 2003	$12.09
March 1, 2004	$16.26
September 1, 2004	$14.94
March 1, 2005	$21.43
September 1, 2005	$31.58
March 1, 2006	$34.69
September 1, 2006	$32.93
March 1, 2007	$31.34
August 31, 2007	$34.59
February 29, 2008	$38.30
August 29, 2008	$43.94
February 27, 2009	$16.31
August 31, 2009	$23.71
February 28, 2010	$30.15

The relationship between Halliburton and the U.S. military establishment was enhanced in 1992 when the Pentagon, under the direction of Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, offered the company a contract for the bulk of support services for U.S. military operations abroad. Three years later Cheney was elected chairman and CEO of Halliburton. One of his first initiatives at Halliburton was the acquisition of rival Dresser Industries for $7.7 billion. Halliburton, however, also inherited the legal liabilities of Dresser for asbestos poisoning claims. The asbestos settlement caused Halliburton's stock price to plummet 80 percent in 1999. Nevertheless, during Cheney's five-year tenure at Halliburton (1995–2000), government contracts awarded to the company rose to $1.5 billion. This contrasts with just $100 million in government contracts from 1990 to 1995.

Upon assuming the vice presidency in the George W. Bush administration in 2001, Cheney declared that he would be severing all ties with the company. He continued, however, to earn deferred compensation worth approximately $150,000 annually along with stock options worth more than $18 million. Cheney assured critics that he would donate proceeds from the stock options to charity.

Even if Cheney did not personally profit, Halliburton secured several lucrative government contracts to rebuild Iraq and support the U.S. military presence in that nation following the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003. It is estimated that Halliburton's Iraq contracts are worth as much as $18 billion. The company had also received contracts worth several hundred million dollars for support work in Afghanistan after the beginning of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in late 2001. Although the company enjoys relatively low profit margins from its military contracts, Halliburton stock hit a record high in January 2006.

These profits have been subject to charges of corruption. For example, in 2003 a division of Halliburton overcharged the government by some $61 million for buying and transporting fuel from Kuwait into Iraq. Halliburton insisted that the high costs were the fault of a Kuwaiti subcontractor. Halliburton also received criticism for a $7 billion no-bid contract to rebuild Iraqi oil fields. This endeavor was largely a failure, as Iraq's oil production grew only slowly, and international access to Iraqi oil supplies has been limited. An effort to construct a pipeline under the Tigris River at Fatah was a dismal failure and was undertaken against the advice of experts who cautioned that the area was geologically unstable and could not support such a project. Halliburton spent $75.7 million dollars on the failed project, including approximately $100,000 per day as its crews were idle because of broken drill bits and other damaged equipment. Nevertheless, the U.S. government issued Halliburton another contract, for $66 million, to complete the pipeline. Once completed, the project will have cost 110 percent more than the original estimate.

Defenders of Halliburton insist that few companies have the resources and capital necessary to carry out the large-scale assignments given to Halliburton. Company executives also point out that if Halliburton were not providing support operations, far more troops would be needed in Iraq. The controversies surrounding Halliburton's role in the Iraq War continue to raise questions as to the rationale for the initial March 2003 invasion of Iraq, the mismanagement of the postwar stability and reconstruction efforts there, and the company's close relationship to the George W. Bush administration, whose wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have allowed the company to garner handsome profits.

RON BRILEY

See also

Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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Hamas

Islamist Palestinian organization formally founded in 1987. The stated basis for Hamas (Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya, or Movement of Islamic Resistance) is currently to end the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories and to institute a more truly Islamic way of life. Essentially, Hamas combines moderate Islamism based with Palestinian nationalism. Hamas secured an estimated 30–40 percent support in the Palestinian population within five years because of its mobilization successes and the general popular desperation experienced by the Palestinian

population during the First Intifada. Hamas rejected the Oslo Accords because it did not believe that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) should serve as the sole representative of the Palestinian people or that the PLO had the right to conclude peace without popular input. While Hamas refrained from participation in the first set of Palestinian elections, its leaders realized that this decision marginalized the group.

Hamas became increasingly popular among students and professionals, in part because of its opposition to the corrupt practices of many within Fatah but also because of its concern for the welfare of poor Palestinians and its demonstrated more efficient behavior toward constituents. In January 2006 Hamas won a majority in the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) general legislative elections, which brought condemnation from Israel and a protracted power struggle with PNA president Mahmoud Abbas and his Fatah Party.

The name "Hamas" is an acronym for Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyya, and the ordinary Arabic word *hamas* means "zeal." Hamas grew directly out of the Muslim Brotherhood, an Islamist organization that for historical and doctrinal reasons had given up militant resistance against the state (Egypt or Israel) after its suppression under Gamal Abdel Nasser. The growth of Islamist movements was delayed among Palestinians because of their status as a people without a state and the tight security controls imposed by Israel, which had strengthened the more secular nationalist expression of the PLO.

The Muslim Brotherhood, established in Egypt in 1928, had set up branches in Syria, Sudan, Libya, the Gulf states, Amman in Jordan (which influenced the West Bank), and Gaza. However, for two decades the Muslim Brotherhood focused on its religious, educational, and social missions and was quiescent politically. The Muslim Brotherhood advocated *dawa,* what may be called a re-Islamization of society and thought; *adala* (social justice); and an emphasis on *hakmiyya* (the sovereignty of God, as opposed to temporal rule). With Muslim Brotherhood supporters who became part of Hamas, this *dawa*-first agenda shifted to activism against Israel after Islamic Jihad had accelerated its operations during 1986 and 1987. Eventually Islamic Jihad split into three rival organizations. The new movement of Hamas, which emerged from the Jordanian and Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood groups, was able to draw strength from the social work of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, a physically disabled cleric who had established the Mujamma al-Islami, a multifunctional organization that provided social, educational, and medical services. The Hamas founders were also active in establishing the al-Azhar University in Gaza.

Hamas supporters in the West Bank city of Ramallah celebrate the group's victory in Palestinian legislative elections on January 25, 2006. Hamas triggered a political earthquake with its sweeping election victory over the ruling Fatah party. (Pedro Ugarte/AFP/Getty Images)

In December 1987 Abd al-Aziz Rantisi, who was a physician and an educator at the Islamic University, and former student leaders Salah Shihada and Yahya al-Sinuwwar, who had been in charge of security for the Muslim Brotherhood, formed the first unit of Hamas. While Yassin gave his approval, as a cleric he was not directly connected to the new organization. In February 1988 as a result of a key meeting in Amman involving Sheikh Abd al-Rahman al-Khalifa (the spiritual guide of the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood), Ibrahiam Ghawsha (the Hamas spokesperson and Jordanian representative), Mahmud Zahar (a surgeon), Rantisi (acting as a West Bank representative), Jordanian parliament members, and the hospital director, the Muslim Brotherhood granted formal recognition to Hamas.

In 1988 a Gazan member of Hamas wrote its charter. The charter condemns world Zionism and the efforts to isolate Palestine, defines the mission of the organization, and locates that mission within Palestinian, Arab, and Islamic elements. It does not condemn the West or non-Muslims but does condemn aggression against the Palestinian people, arguing for a defensive jihad. The charter also calls for fraternal relations with the other Palestinian nationalist groups. The Hamas leadership rarely refers to the charter, and many members no longer consider it valid because it has been replaced by key position papers.

Hamas is headed by the Political Bureau with representatives for military affairs, foreign affairs, finance, propaganda, and internal security. The Advisory Council, or Majlis al-Shura, is linked to the Political Bureau, which is also connected with all Palestinian communities; Hamas's social and charitable groups, elected members, and district committees; and the leadership in Israeli prisons.

Major attacks against Israel were carried out by the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades of Hamas. Militants from Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and other smaller groups also employed Qassam rockets against Israeli civilian settlements in the Negev desert. However, much of Hamas's activity during the First Intifada consisted of participating within more broadly based popular demonstrations and locally coordinated efforts at resistance, countering Israeli raids, enforcing opening of businesses, and the like.

Hamas decried the autonomy agreement between the Israelis and the PLO in Jericho and the Gaza Strip as too limited a gain. By the time of the first elections for the PNA's Council in 1996, Hamas was caught in a dilemma. It had gained popularity as a resistance organization, but Oslo 1 and Oslo 2 (the Taba Accord of September 28, 1995) were meant to end the intifada. The elections would further strengthen the PLO, but if Hamas boycotted the elections and most people voted, then it would be even more isolated. Finally, Hamas's leadership rejected participation but without ruling it out in the future, and this gave the organization the ability to continue protesting Oslo. When suicide attacks were launched to protest Israeli violence against Palestinians, Hamas was blamed for inspiring or organizing the suicide bombers whether or not its operatives or those of the more radical Islamic Jihad were involved.

Hamas funded an extensive array of social services aimed at ameliorating the plight of the Palestinians. It provides funding for hospitals, schools, mosques, orphanages, food distribution, and aid to the families of Palestinian political prisoners who, numbering more than 10,000 people, constituted an important political force. When women of prisoner families who came to pick up their stipends were harassed by the authorities, Hamas took over these payments. Charitable and educational services constituted about 90 percent of the Hamas budget. Israel and Fatah deliberately targeted these services, closing, destroying, or taking them over beginning in 2007–2008 in order to destroy Hamas's popularity. The tactic largely failed, as the Fatah-based PNA in the West Bank did not properly staff the services or ran them in a partisan fashion.

Until its electoral triumph in January 2006, Hamas received funding from a number of sources. Palestinians living abroad provided money, as did a number of private donors in the Arab world and beyond. The U.S. government claims that Iran has been a significant donor to Hamas, but others assert that the relationship has been largely limited to political support. Much aid was directed to renovation of the Palestinian territories and was badly needed, and a great deal of that rebuilding was destroyed in the Israeli campaign in the West Bank in 2002, which in turn was intended to combat the suicide bombings.

Over the years, the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) has carried out targeted eliminations of a number of Hamas leaders. These include Shihada (July 23, 2002), Dr. Ibrahim Al-Makadma (August 3, 2003), Ismail Abu Shanab (August 21, 2003), Yassin (March 22, 2004), and Rantisi (April 17, 2004).

Hamas has had two sets of leaders, those inside the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and those outside. The West Bank leadership is divided along the general structure into political, charitable, student, and military activities. The political leadership is usually targeted for arrests because its members can be located, unlike the secret military units. That leadership has organized very effectively before and since PLO leader Yasser Arafat's 2004 death and has become more popular than the PLO in the West Bank, an unexpected development. A current Hamas leader, Khalid Mishal, is in Syria. Other senior Hamas leaders are there as well, and there is also some Hamas activity in refugee camps in Lebanon. Although Arafat was quickly succeeded by Abbas as the PLO leader, a sizable number of Palestinians had already begun to identify with Hamas, mainly because it was able to accomplish what the PNA could not, namely to provide for the everyday needs of the people.

Hamas won the legislative elections in January 2006. Locals had expected a victory in Gaza but not in the West Bank. Nonetheless, both Israel and the United States (which had supported the holding of an election) steadfastly refused to recognize the Palestinian government under the control of Hamas. The United States cut off $420 million and the European Union (EU) cut off $600 million in aid to the PNA's Hamas-led government, which created difficulties for ordinary Palestinians. The loss of this aid halted the delivery of supplies to hospitals and ended other services in addition

to stopping the payment of salaries. To prevent total collapse, the United States and the EU promised relief funds, but these were not allowed to go through the PNA. The cutoff in funds was designed to discourage Palestinian support for Hamas.

On March 17, 2007, Abbas agreed to a Palestinian unity government that included members of both Hamas and Fatah in which Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh became prime minister. Yet in May armed clashes between Hamas and Fatah escalated, as the United States supported an intended Fatah takeover of Gaza. To preempt that, on June 14 Hamas seized control of Gaza. Although lacking the authority under the PNA's constitution, Abbas dissolved the Hamas-led unity government. On June 18, having been assured of U.S. and EU support, Abbas also dissolved the National Security Council and swore in an emergency Palestinian government. That same day the United States ended its 15-month embargo on the PNA and resumed aid solely to Abbas in an effort to strengthen the Fatah wing of the PNA. Other governments followed suit. On June 19, 2007, Abbas cut off all ties and dialogue with Hamas, pending the return of Gaza.

Throughout 2007 Israeli and Western media reported that Hamas had imposed a more religiously conservative regime on Gaza, although these reports were without substance. Gaza, however, was now largely cut off economically from its donors and more than ever was an economic basket case. In the meantime, Israel had imposed a blockade against Hamas.

In June 2008 Hamas concluded a *tahdiya* (truce) with Israel that was supposed to end the boycott. It did not last. Hamas and other militant groups not party to the truce launched rockets into Israeli territory, while the IDF assassinated a number of Hamas leaders in November 2008. The Israelis retaliated against the growing number of rockets into its southern territory with a devastating series of air strikes late in the month that continued for several weeks. On January 3, 2009, Israel sent troops into Gaza.

The resulting two-week-long incursion, known as the Gaza War, killed an estimated 1,300 Palestinians (more than one-third of them children) and wounded another 5,400. Reportedly, 22,000 buildings were destroyed or damaged, including the American school, the Islamic University, and the United Nations (UN) school where Gazans had taken temporary shelter. The physical damage was estimated at more than $2 billion. On January 17, 2009, a shaky cease-fire again took hold, only to be broken by some rockets and additional Israeli air strikes concentrated on the tunnels that connect Gaza with Egypt.

Israel came under intense criticism from some quarters because of the high civilian casualties during its incursion, while in contrast only 3 Israeli civilians and 10 Israeli military had been killed. Rather than weakening Hamas as the Israeli government claimed, the scale of the human cost and physical damage in Gaza seemed, if anything, to have strengthened the prestige of Hamas among West Bank Palestinians at the expense of the more moderate Fatah.

Harry Raymond Hueston II, Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr., and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Abbas, Mahmoud; Arafat, Yasser; Intifada, First; Intifada, Second; Islamic Jihad, Palestinian; Israel; Israel, Armed Forces; Jihad; Muslim Brotherhood; Palestine Liberation Organization; Terrorism

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Hamburg Cell

A terrorist cell formed by a group of radical Islamists affiliated with Al Qaeda in Hamburg, Germany. The Hamburg Cell, which played an important role in the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States, began when Mohamed Atta, Ramzi bin al-Shibh, and Marwan al-Shehhi took up lodgings together on November 1, 1998, in an apartment on 54 Marienstrasse in Hamburg. They were members of a study group at the al-Quds Mosque run by Mohammad Belfas, a middle-aged postal employee in Hamburg who was originally from Indonesia. Both in the study group and at the apartment, the men began talking about ways to advance the Islamist cause. Soon the original three attracted others of a like mind. The nine members of this group were Mohamed Atta, Said Bahaji, Mohammad Belfas, Ramzi bin al-Shibh, Zakariya Essabor, Marwan al-Shehhi, Ziad Jarrah, Mounir al-Motassadez, and Abd al-Ghani Mzoudi.

At first Belfas was the leader of the group, but he was soon replaced by Atta and left the cell. Although Atta became the formal leader, Shibh was its most influential member because he was more popular within the Muslim community than Atta.

Initially the members of the Hamburg group wanted to join the Chechen rebels in Chechnya in their fight against the Russians. Before this move could take place, the leaders of the cell met with Mohamedou Ould Slahi, an Al Qaeda operative in Duisburg, Germany, who advised that they first undertake military and terrorist training in Afghanistan. Atta, Shibh, Jarrah, and Shehhi traveled to Kandahar, Afghanistan, where they underwent extensive training in terrorist techniques. They also met with Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, at which time Atta, Jarrah, and Shehhi were recruited for a special martyrdom mission in the United States. Shibh was to have been a part of this mission, but he was never able to obtain a visa to travel to the United States. Instead, Shibh stayed in Hamburg, serving as the contact person between the Hamburg Cell and Al Qaeda. He also served as the banker for the hijackers in the September 11 plot.

What made those in the Hamburg Cell so important was that the individuals in it were fluent in English, well educated, and apparently accustomed to a Western lifestyle, so they were more likely to be able to live in a Western country without raising any suspicions. They also had the capability to learn with some training how to pilot a large aircraft.

Shibh ended communication with the Hamburg Cell as soon as he learned the date of the attacks. He made certain that all those connected with it were forewarned so that they could protect themselves. Shibh destroyed as much material as possible before leaving for Pakistan. Only later did German and American authorities learn of the full extent of the operations of the Hamburg Cell.

German authorities had been aware of the existence of the Hamburg Cell, but German law prevented action against its members unless a German law was violated. This restriction did not prevent Thomas Volz, a veteran U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officer attached to the American consulate in Hamburg, from attempting to persuade German authorities to take action against the Islamist extremists who were allegedly part of the cell and known to be at the Hamburg mosque. Volz had become suspicious of several members of the group and their connections with other Muslim terrorists. He hounded the German authorities to do something until his actions alienated them to the point that they almost had him deported from Germany.

After the September 11 attacks German authorities began a serious investigation of the Hamburg Cell and its surviving members. By that time there was little to examine or do except to arrest whoever had been affiliated with it. German authorities finally learned the extent to which Al Qaeda had been able to establish contacts in Germany and elsewhere in Europe.

Stephen A. Atkins

See also

Al Qaeda; Atta, Muhammad; Bin Laden, Osama; September 11 Attacks; Shibh, Ramzi Muhammad Abdallah ibn al-

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Hanjour, Hani

Birth Date: August 30, 1972
Death Date: September 11, 2001

The leader and probable pilot of the terrorist group that seized American Airlines Flight 77 and crashed it into the Pentagon on September 11, 2001; he was a last-minute recruit because the September 11 conspirators needed one additional pilot. Hani Saleh Husan Hanjour was born on August 30, 1972, in Taif, Saudi Arabia. His father was a successful food-supply businessman. Hanjour was a devout Muslim, and this colored virtually all of his conduct.

Because he was an indifferent student, Hanjour was only persuaded to stay in school by his older brother. This older brother, who was living in Tucson, Arizona, encouraged him to go to the United States. Hanjour arrived in the United States on October 3, 1991, and stayed in Tucson, where he studied English at the University of Arizona.

After completing the English program in three months, Hanjour returned to Taif. He spent the next five years working at his family's food-supply business. In 1996 he briefly visited Afghanistan. Following this visit, he decided to move back to the United States. He stayed for a time with an Arab American family in Hollywood, Florida. Then, in April 1996, Hanjour moved in with a family in Oakland, California. This time he attended Holy Names College and took an intensive course in English. He then decided to become a pilot and fly for Saudi Airlines. Hanjour also enrolled in a class at Sierra Academy of Aeronautics, but he withdrew because of the cost.

Leaving Oakland in April 1996, Hanjour moved to Phoenix, Arizona. This time he paid for flight lessons at CRM Flight Cockpit Resource Management in Scottsdale, Arizona, but his academic performance there was disappointing. His instructors found him to be a terrible pilot, and it took him a long time to master the essentials of flying.

While in Phoenix, Hanjour roomed with Bandar al-Hazmi. In January 1998 Hanjour took flying lessons at Arizona Aviation, and after a three-year struggle he finally earned his commercial pilot rating in April 1999 but was unable to find a job as a pilot. His Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) license expired in 1999 when he failed to take a mandatory medical test.

Frustrated in his job hunting, Hanjour traveled to Afghanistan. He arrived there just as Khalid Sheikh Mohammed's men were looking for another pilot for the September 11, 2001, terror plot. Hanjour seemed made to order. After his recruitment by Al Qaeda, he returned to the United States. In September 2000 when he moved to San Diego, California, Hanjour met up with Nawaf al-Hazmi. Hanjour returned to Phoenix to continue his pilot training at the Jet Tech Flight School. He was so inept as a flyer and his English was so poor that the instructors contacted the FAA to check on whether his commercial license was valid. The FAA confirmed this. Hanjour spent most of his time at Jet Tech on the Boeing 737 simulator. In the early spring of 2001 Hanjour moved to Paterson, New Jersey. There he met several times with other members of the September 11 conspiracy.

On September 11, 2001, Hanjour is believed to have served as the hijackers' pilot of American Airlines Flight 77. Despite his lack of flying ability, after the crew had been subdued he managed to fly

that aircraft into the Pentagon. Hanjour put the Boeing 757 into a steep nose dive and slammed the jet into the building at 9:37 a.m. All 58 passengers aboard the plane perished, as did Hanjour and 4 other hijackers. An additional 125 people died on the ground upon and after impact.

STEPHEN A. ATKINS

See also
Mohammed, Khalid Sheikh; September 11 Attacks

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HARD SURFACE, Operation
Start Date: June 12, 1963
End Date: January 1964

U.S. military support to Saudi Arabia and the only John F. Kennedy administration projection of military power in the region. On June 12, 1963, President John F. Kennedy authorized Operation HARD SURFACE as part of his effort to deter Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser from expanding his nation's military participation in the North Yemen Civil War (1962–1970) to Saudi Arabia. Kennedy sought to protect long-standing U.S. strategic interests in the oil-rich kingdom, although the United States had formally recognized the newly declared Yemen Arab Republic on December 19, 1962.

The North Yemen Civil War broke out after republican Yemeni forces overthrew the newly crowned Mutawakkilite king of Yemen, Sayf al-Islam Mohammed al-Badr, actually the heir of the Zaydi imam. They then established the Yemen Arab Republic under Abdullah al-Sallal. The Mutawakkilite regime in northern Yemen had been created after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I. Egypt provided troops and substantial military support to the Yemen Arab Republic, while Saudi Arabia financed the imam's royalist side with guerrilla forces trained by the British.

President Kennedy sought to press Crown Prince Faisal of Saudi Arabia, King Hussein of Jordan, President Sallal, and Nasser to bring about the removal of Egyptian troops through a pledge from Saudi Arabia and Jordan to halt their aid to Imam al-Badr. Nasser, however, responded that he would remove his forces only after Jordan and Saudi Arabia halted all military operations, while Faisal and Hussein rejected the U.S. president's plan outright because they claimed that it would mean U.S. recognition of the rebels who had ousted the imam and established the Yemen Arab Republic. Faisal also claimed that Nasser wanted to secure Saudi Arabia's oil and to use Yemen as a staging area for revolt in the rest of the Arabian Peninsula. The situation was even more complicated, as Great Britain, a staunch ally of the Saudis, had its own designs in southern Saudi Arabia, which conflicted with various nationalist groups there. At the same time, United Nations (UN) diplomat Ralph Bunche was actively seeking to bring an end to the civil war.

Faisal was determined to secure U.S. military support, and Kennedy responded by assuring him in writing on October 25, 1962, of "full U.S. support for the maintenance of Saudi Arabian integrity." Twice U.S. aircraft staged brief shows of force over Saudi Arabia. In the first instance in November, six North American F-100 Super Sabre interceptors flew over the cities of Riyadh and Jeddah. On the second occasion two bombers and a transport flew over Riyadh on a return flight to Paris from Karachi.

Following an Egyptian Air Force strike against the Saudi city of Najran close to the Yemeni border in early January 1963 where Yemeni royalist base camps were located, Faisal again expressed his concerns to Washington, whereupon the United States again sent aircraft over Jeddah in a show of force on January 15. Washington also discussed the possibility of sending antiaircraft batteries to Najran.

Robert Komer, a senior staffer on the National Security Council (NSC), informed Kennedy that Faisal very much wanted the dispatch of U.S. aircraft to the desert kingdom. Officials at the Pentagon were unconvinced and noted that while the U.S. squadron might deter any Egyptian attack, it clearly lacked the military capability to defend Saudi Arabia. U.S. Air Force chief of staff General Curtis LeMay is said to have been especially opposed, claiming that the fighters would be sitting ducks and that in any case they were needed elsewhere.

Regardless, Komer and Secretary of State Dean Rusk urged that the squadron be sent, and on June 12 Kennedy signed off on Operation HARD SURFACE. Although it involved only a single squadron of eight North American F-100 Super Sabres, it also included 560 support personnel and 861.3 tons of equipment.

The Pentagon claimed that Kennedy's only military commitment to the Middle East was simply a token force. The rules of engagement called for the fighters to intercept any Egyptian aircraft violating Saudi airspace and try to escort them out of Saudi airspace or to a convenient runway. If the intruding aircraft were to bomb Saudi targets or attempt to engage the American aircraft, then the F-100 pilots were to shoot them down. The Pentagon insisted that the F-100s be fully prepared for combat and armed with Sidewinder missiles.

Plans hit a snag with the Saudi insistence that the U.S. personnel have passports and visas. This ran afoul of the long-running Saudi ban on Jews entering the Saudis' kingdom. Word of this soon got out and caused a minor flap in Congress and in the press. The Egyptian press picked it up, noting that the willingness of the Saudis to let Jews into Islam's holiest places was a sure sign of the weakness of the desert kingdom and its reliance on foreign support. On June 27 this impasse was broken by the adoption of

a "don't ask, don't tell" policy. The Saudis would not ask if the American airmen were Jews; the Americans would not tell.

On July 2 the NSC asked for permission to send the F-100s to Saudi Arabia, and Kennedy approved. The eight F-100s did not entirely halt Egyptian attacks, leaving LeMay to grouse about the ineffectiveness of the operation, but Kennedy and the State Department downplayed these raids and styled the operation an effective deterrent at slight cost.

The U.S. aircraft never did engage Egyptian forces, and President Lyndon B. Johnson allowed the operation to end in January 1964. Nasser indeed increased Egyptian troop strength in Yemen, and the civil war there continued until 1970.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Kennedy, John Fitzgerald; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Yemen, Civil War in

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Harrell, Gary L.

Birth Date: ca. 1951

U.S. Army general who served for three decades in various special operations forces, including as Delta Force commander during operations in Somalia. Gary L. Harrell is a Tennessee native who enrolled in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) at East Tennessee State University as a means to pay for college. He did not plan on a military career but found the duty enjoyable and challenging. Commissioned after graduation with a BS degree in December 1973, Harrell was assigned to the 82nd Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. He participated in the U.S. invasion of Grenada in 1983 as a member of the 82nd Airborne Division. He later completed Ranger training and became a member of Delta Force. In 1989 he was a part of a team that rescued American Kurt Muse from a Panamanian prison during the U.S. invasion of Panama. Harrell also helped capture Pablo Escobar, an infamous drug lord in Colombia.

During Operation DESERT STORM in 1991, Harrell served with the Joint Special Operations Command and participated in the effort by special operations forces in western Iraq to locate and destroy Scud missiles used to attack Israel and Saudi Arabia. The effort was largely unsuccessful. Two years later Harrell was special assistant to the commander of the 1st Special Forces Operational Detachment–Delta (Airborne) in Somalia. During an attempt to capture warlords who were opposed to U.S. interests, two helicopters carrying U.S. Army Rangers were shot down. While a rapid reaction force battled toward one crash site, the other crash site was threatened by Somali militiamen. A Delta Force team providing oversight to the second downed helicopter requested permission to land and protect the survivors. Harrell twice refused permission but reluctantly gave in on the third request. The two Delta Force members, knowing their possible fate, were eventually killed by the Somalis, but they saved the pilot of the downed helicopter. The incident and Harrell's participation in it are portrayed in the book and movie *Black Hawk Down.*

During the 2001 invasion of Afghanistan to overthrow the Taliban, Harrell—promoted to brigadier general on November 1, 2001—commanded the U.S. Army Special Forces. In June 2002 he became the commander of Special Operations Command Central, a position with responsibility for the Middle East and Iraq. As war with Iraq approached, Harrell was charged with planning and overseeing special operations forces in Iraq.

Unlike the 1991 Persian Gulf War, special operations forces were expected to play a major role. Harrell devised the plans that employed more than 20,000 special operations troops. General Tommy Franks, in charge of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, was open to Harrell's proposals, as was Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.

Harrell's plan built on his experiences in the Persian Gulf War. The 5th Special Forces Group was charged with securing the largely uninhabited western desert of Iraq and protecting the left flank of the main invasion force as it approached Baghdad. Most Scuds had been launched from this area in 1991, and Harrell hoped that more troops on the ground might control the area. The Special Forces employed specially modified vehicles that allowed them to move rapidly across the desert. The operation was a success, and no missiles were launched during the war.

The second part of Harrell's plan included using the 10th Special Forces Group to work with Kurdish forces to provide a credible threat in northern Iraq. Turkey's refusal to allow American forces passage into Iraq forced U.S. planners to rely on Special Forces teams working with the Kurds to tie down Iraqi forces and capture Mosul and the vital oil fields. Special Forces commanded by Colonel Charles Cleveland were completely successful in this. Using advanced weapons such as the Javelin fire-and-forget antiarmor missile, small teams were able to defeat much larger Iraqi regular forces.

Harrell was promoted to major general on November 1, 2004, and served as commander of the U.S. Army Special Operations Command at Fort Bragg. From April 2005 to March 2008 he was deputy chief of staff operations, Joint Force Command Headquarters, the Netherlands. He retired from the army on March 6, 2008. Harrell then took a position as vice president of business development for Pacer Health Corporation, a Miami-based owner-operator of acute-care hospitals.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Cleveland, Charles T.; Delta Force; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Scud Missiles, U.S. Search for during the Persian Gulf War; Somalia, International Intervention in; United States Special Operations Command

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Hazmi, Nawaf al-

Birth Date: August 9, 1976
Death Date: September 11, 2001

One of the hijackers of American Airlines Flight 77, which crashed into the Pentagon on September 11, 2001. Nawaf bin Muhammad Salim al-Hazmi was born on August 9, 1976, in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. His father was a grocer, and his older brother was a police chief in Jizan. Hazmi became an Islamist militant at an early age, and as a teenager he traveled to Afghanistan. There he met Khalid al-Mihdhar. They subsequently joined Muslims in Bosnia fighting against the Serbs there in 1995. Then, with his brother Salem al-Hazmi, Hazmi and Mihdhar returned to Afghanistan to fight with the Taliban against the Afghan Northern Alliance. In 1998 Hazmi traveled to Chechnya, where he took part in fighting with the Chechen rebels against the Russian Army. Returning to Saudi Arabia in early 1999, Hazmi decided to go to the United States with Mihdhar and his brother Salem al-Hazmi, where they easily obtained visas.

By 1999 Hazmi had been recruited by the Al Qaeda terrorist organization for a special mission. Original plans had called for him to become a pilot, but he lacked the necessary competency in English and the ability to pass pilot's training. He thus teamed with Mihdhar to provide logistical support for the September 11 plot. On September 11, 2001, Hazmi was one of five hijackers on board American Airlines Flight 77. He helped subdue the crew and provided security while the airliner was crashed into the Pentagon. All 5 hijackers, in addition to 64 passengers and crew, died that day when the aircraft crashed into the Pentagon; another 125 people died on the ground.

STEPHEN A. ATKINS

See also

Al Qaeda; Mihdhar, Khalid al-

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Heavy Expanded Mobility Tactical Truck

Large heavy-duty, all-terrain, single-unit vehicle employed by the U.S. armed forces, first put into service in 1982. The Oshkosh Truck Corporation manufactures the Heavy Expanded Mobility Tactical Trucks (HEMTTs). These 10-ton trucks are produced in a half dozen different models: a general-purpose cargo truck, some of which feature a small crane mounted in the rear; a tanker, used to refuel tactical fighting vehicles and helicopters; a tractor tow, which pulls the M1M-104 Patriot missile battery; a generator truck capable of producing 30 kilowatts of power with a crane capable of towing the MGM-31 Pershing missile erector launcher; and a heavy-duty recovery vehicle with a built-in lift-and-tow system, a winch, and a small crane. All HEMTTs are 8×8 vehicles, meaning that power is distributed to all eight wheels, giving them the ability to operate in extremely rugged terrain as well as in deep mud, sand, and snow. Their huge wheels carry low-pressure puncture-resistant tires. HEMTTs have a crew of two men. Currently there are some 13,000 HEMTTs in use, and they have become the tactical workhorses of the U.S. Army.

Depending on their model and design, HEMTTs are anywhere from 29.25 feet long to 33.4 feet long. All are 96 inches wide and have a 2-foot ground clearance; maximum fording depth is 4 feet. Vehicle curb weights (without cargo) range from 32,200 pounds to 50,900 pounds. The trucks are powered by a V-8 diesel engine manufactured by Detroit Diesel Alison. The HEMTT produces 450 horsepower at 2,100 revolutions per minute. Top speed is 57 miles per hour, predetermined by a governor; range on one tank of fuel is approximately 300 miles. The transmission is an Alison-made 4-speed automatic with a single reverse gear. Brakes are air-activated internal expansion at all eight wheels. Mounted winches are capable of pulling 20,000–60,000 pounds. The most heavy-duty mounted crane is capable of lifting 14,620 pounds. Several models also include a self-recovery winch.

Affectionately known as the "Dragon Wagon," the HEMTT has repeatedly proven its mettle under combat situations, including those in Operation DESERT STORM and Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. The HEMTT frequently accompanies fast-moving units, typically led by the M1 Abrams tank, and also fulfills countless roles in logistical support, refueling, and cargo hauling. Several key weapons systems, including the Patriot missile, are often towed by HEMTTs. The M978 model serves as a highly mobile 2,500-gallon fuel tanker. A low-end general-purpose HEMTT (M977 or M985) costs approximately $140,000.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks; Patriot Missile System; Vehicles, Unarmored

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Hekmetyar, Gulbuddin al-Hurra
Birth Date: 1948

Former leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (Hezb-e-Islami Afghanistan), prime minister of Afghanistan (1993–1994 and 1996–1997), and key figure in the Afghan jihad against the Soviet occupation (1979–1989). Born sometime in 1948 to a Kharuti Pashtun family in the Imam Saheb district of Kunduz Province in northern Afghanistan, Gulbuddin al-Hurra Hekmetyar attended the Mahtab Military School in Kabul. Fluent in Dari (Farsi), Urdu, Arabic, English, and Pashto, he was expelled within two years because of his political activities.

From 1970 to 1972 Hekmetyar attended the engineering school at Kabul University, although he was once more prevented from completing his studies because of his involvement in illicit political activity. Implicated in the murder of Saydal Sukhandan, a member of the pro-China Shola-e-Jawedan Movement, Hekmetyar was sentenced to two years in jail by the government of King Zahir Shah. Hekmetyar was freed from prison following a 1974 coup executed by the king's cousin, Mohammad Daud Khan.

Hekmetyar's interest in religious-political ideologies emerged early. As a high school student he had been a member of the communist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), and later, as a student at Kabul University, his communist ideology was influenced by an extremist version of Islam nurtured through his membership in the Muslim Youths Movement (Nahzat-e-Jawanane Musalman). Although initially a leftist, Hekmetyar later became a disciple of the Egyptian author, socialist, and intellectual Sayyid Qutb and the Muslim Brotherhood movement.

Following his release from jail in 1974, Hekmetyar sought refuge in the Pakistan border city of Peshawar, accompanied by Burhanuddin Rabbani, Qazi Muhammad Amin Waqad, and a number of other jihadi leaders. Although members of the Muslim Youths Movement, the radical leaders nevertheless broke into competing factions and parties, and with the support of the Pakistani prime minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Hekmetyar established Hezb-e-Islami Afghanistan in 1976.

Also known as Hezb-e-Islami Gulbuddin (HIG), the movement was led by Hekmetyar and fellow jihadi leader Mawlawi M. Younus Khalis until 1979, when the two leaders parted ways and the new Hezb-e-Islami Khalis faction constituted a counter group to HIG. A significant ideological dichotomy inherent in the split resided in Khalis's conservative and traditional clerical approach, in contrast to Hekmetyar's more youthful and ideological activist stance. While Khalis walked away with the preponderance of the movement's most skilled commanders, HIG continued to dominate the Afghan resistance against the Soviets, with support from Pakistan. Drawing the majority of its membership from ethnic Pashtuns, the movement's ideology was influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood and the Sunni Pakistani theologian and political philosopher Abul Ala Mawdudi.

Advocating the notion that sustainable development and stability in Afghanistan could be achieved only through Sharia (Islamic law), throughout the 1980s and early 1990s the movement garnered substantial financial and arms support from Arab and Western countries, including Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and the United States. Most notably, Hekmetyar received antiaircraft Stinger missiles from the U.S. government through Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), with which he facilitated the Afghan jihad against Soviet forces. Currently, the nonviolent faction of the Hezb-e-Islami is a registered political party in Afghanistan, led by Abd al-Hadi Arghandiwal, and is thought to be in decline.

During the Soviet occupation, Hekmetyar ascended to new heights of power. This posed a substantial threat to Dr. Mohammad Najibullah, the former chief of the Afghan government's security service, Khedamat-e Etelea'at-e Dawlati (KHAD), and the last president of the communist Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (1987–1992). Despite Najibullah's attempt to neutralize the threat posed by Hekmetyar by offering him 95 percent control of the regime, Hekmetyar refused, and in 1992 Najibullah's government was overturned by the leader of the Afghan National Liberation Front, Sebghantullah Mujadeddi, who then transferred power within two months to the leader of Jameat-e-Islami.

While Hekmetyar anticipated an easy transition to power, the Jabalurseraj Agreement, signed on May 25, 1992, enabled the strategic garrisons in Kabul to be seized by Tajik leader Ahmad Shah Masoud, Abdul Ali Mazari of the Hazaras, and Uzbek leader Abul Rashid Dostum. Left out of the city, Hekmetyar's forces shelled Kabul mercilessly in February 1993 before Hekmetyar joined a coordination council (Shora-e-Hamahangi) with Dostum and Mazari against President Burhaniddin Rabbani. Hekmetyar served as prime minister during 1993–1994 and 1996–1997. With the Hezb-e-Islami group weakened, Hekmetyar nevertheless kept up his rabid anti-American rhetoric while capitalizing on the weaknesses of his enemies, most notably through the exhortation of militants in Pakistan to attack American interests there rather than fighting across the border.

Hekmetyar was not always anti-American. During the 1980s the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had provided him and his allies with hundreds of millions of dollars in weapons and ammunition to help them battle the Soviet Army during its occupation of Afghanistan. In 1985 the CIA even flew Hekmetyar to the United States, and the agency considered him to be a reliable anti-Soviet rebel. Contrastingly, at the time of this writing, Hekmetyar has coordinated numerous attacks against United States and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) troops in Afghanistan while calling on Pakistani militants to attack U.S. targets from across the border. More recently, Hamid Karzai's government has extended a peaceful—if not controversially tentative—hand toward Hekmatyar in hopes of coaxing him to join its side. However, assertions by the former governor of Nooristan province, Tamim Nooristani, that Hekmetyar recently took part in a series

of deadly attacks against U.S. soldiers, alongside Pakistani and Afghan Taliban fighters, may prove Hekmetyar's undoing.

K. Luisa Gandolfo

See also

Afghanistan; Dostum, Abd al-Rashid; Kakar, Mullah; Muslim Brotherhood; Soviet-Afghanistan War; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan; Warlords, Afghanistan

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Helicopters

See Aircraft, Helicopters; Aircraft, Helicopters, Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm; Aircraft, Helicopters, Soviet-Afghanistan War

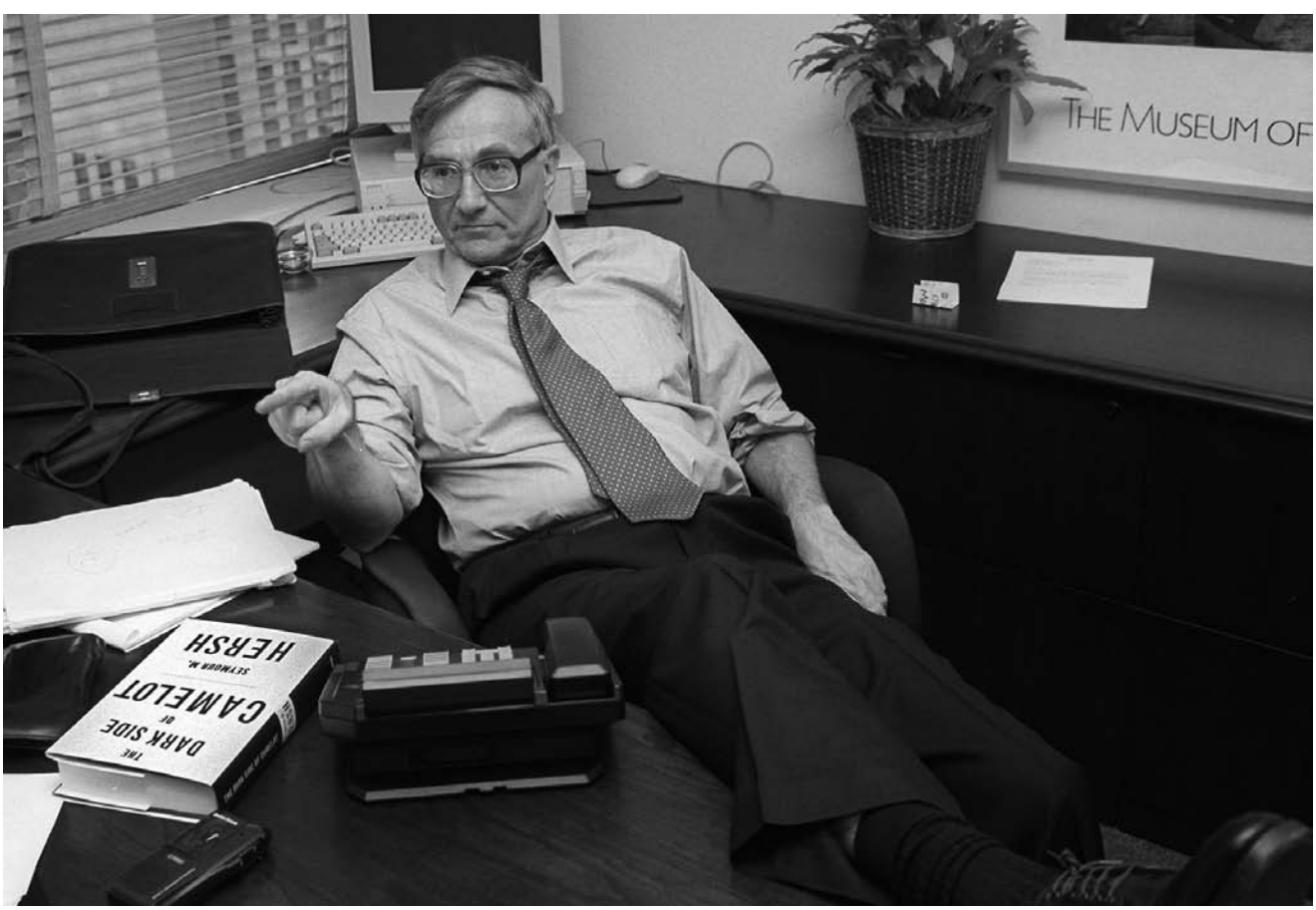
Hersh, Seymour Myron

Birth Date: April 8, 1937

Controversial, Pulitzer Prize–winning journalist and author who in 2004 was among the various sources who publicized the mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners at Abu Ghraib and who has been a vocal critic of the Iraq War. Seymour Myron Hersh was born in Chicago on April 8, 1937. His parents were Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, and he grew up in a working-class, inner-city neighborhood.

Hersh graduated from the University of Chicago in 1959 and began his long journalism career as a police reporter in Chicago, working for the City News Bureau. Not long after, he joined United Press International (UPI) and by 1963 had become a UPI correspondent covering both Washington, D.C., and Chicago. Hersh soon earned the reputation as a hard-driving investigative reporter. In 1968, he served as Senator Eugene McCarthy's press secretary during his unsuccessful bid for the 1968 Democratic presidential nomination. After that, he became a reporter based in Washington, D.C., for the *New York Times.* It was here that he became internationally renowned for his investigative reporting.

In November 1969, it was Hersh who first revealed the story of the March 1968 My Lai Massacre in Vietnam, perpetrated by



Pulitzer Prize–winning journalist Seymour Hersh. (AP/Wide World Photos)

U.S. soldiers against South Vietnamese civilians. His scoop also included the bombshell that the Pentagon had engaged in a purposeful campaign to cover up evidence of the massacre to ensure that it did not become public knowledge. For his reporting of the incident and its aftermath, Hersh received the Pulitzer Prize in International Reporting for 1970. That same year, he published a well-read book on the subject, the first of many books he would author.

Hersh made it his business to seek out stories that he knew would be hard to break and that would generate a maximum amount of attention. In 1986, three years after a Korean Air Lines Boeing 747 jetliner was blasted out of the sky by Soviet jet fighters, Hersh published a book in which he alleged that the incident—coming as it did at the height of the renewed Cold War—was caused by Soviet stupidity and provocative U.S. intelligence operations that had been sanctioned by the Reagan administration. Later, Hersh's conclusions were somewhat vindicated by the subsequent release of classified government documents. Hersh's critics on the right, however, were outraged by his allegation that the tragedy had been brought about by U.S. policy.

Hersh continued his investigative reporting, often working independently of any publication or news agency so that he could be free to pursue those stories that most interested him. He did, however, develop a long-standing relationship with the *New Yorker* magazine, for which he has frequently provided articles and opinion pieces. In August 1998, Hersh once more drew the ire of the political establishment by blasting the Clinton administration for authorizing bombing a suspected chemical-weapons factory in Sudan, which Hersh concluded was in fact an important pharmaceutical-manufacturing facility. The bombing was in retaliation for the bombings of U.S. embassies by Al Qaeda terrorists, who were believed to be operating in Sudan.

The Iraq War, which began in March 2003, drew Hersh's attention and scrutiny. Since that time, he has launched numerous in-depth investigations into various events and developments in Iraq and into the Bush administration's interest in pursuing regime change against Syria and Iran. In the spring of 2004, Hersh published a series of articles illuminating the extent of the prisoner-abuse scandal in Iraq's Abu Ghraib prison. This unleashed a torrent of media attention, the release of photos showing prisoner abuse, and a major congressional investigation. Hersh also alleged that prisoners had been tortured in other holding facilities, including those in Afghanistan and at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. That same year he also wrote that the invasion of Iraq in 2003 had been based on faulty intelligence about Iraq and that Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld had purposely misused prewar intelligence to manufacture a justification of war. Hersh was intensely disliked by the George W. Bush administration, and some military analysts were not permitted to cite him. Richard Perle, a leading neoconservative and frequent adviser to the Bush White House, termed Hersh a journalistic "terrorist." In March 2007, Hersh excoriated the Bush administration's surge strategy, alleging that it would only embolden Sunni extremists in Iraq.

Beginning in January 2005, Hersh began publishing a series of articles in which he alleged that the U.S. government was clandestinely preparing to launch preemptive air strikes against suspected nuclear weapons facilities in Iran. The Bush administration denied that such operations were being contemplated but did not deny that contingency plans existed. In 2006, Hersh wrote that the United States was preparing to use a nuclear bunker–busting bomb against Iranian nuclear facilities. This provoked a vehement denial from the White House and Pentagon. President Bush termed Hersh's allegations "wild speculation." In late 2007, Hersh drew the ire of many Democrats when he asserted that Senator Hillary Clinton's hawkish views on Iran were related to the large number of donations her presidential campaign had received from American Jews.

Hersh has sharply criticized both Democratic and Republican administrations. In 1997, Hersh was criticized in some circles for a book he published on President John F. Kennedy, both for its evidentiary value and its dubious allegations that Kennedy had been married before he wed Jacqueline Bouvier and that the president had had a long-standing relationship with Chicago mob boss Sam Giancana.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Abu Ghraib; Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Clinton, William Jefferson; Perle, Richard; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Torture of Prisoners

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Hester, Leigh Ann

Birth Date: 1982

Army National Guardsman and the first woman to earn the Silver Star for valor in combat in 60 years, since World War II. Born in Bowling Green, Kentucky, in 1982, Leigh Ann Hester later moved to Nashville. A varsity basketball and softball player in high school, she joined the Kentucky National Guard in April 2001 and was assigned to the 617th Military Police Company in Richmond, Kentucky, which was later deployed to Iraq.

Midday on March 20, 2005, Hester was patrolling with her unit in Humvees, providing security for a supply convoy of about 30 trucks near the town of Salman Pak south of Baghdad, when the convoy came under attack by about 50 insurgents. The insurgents attacked the convoy with assault-rifle and machine-gun fire and rocket-propelled grenades. In the ensuing 90-minute firefight, Hester participated in a dismounted flanking counterattack

against the insurgents, helping with hand grenades and rifle grenade rounds to clear two trenches with insurgents. Hester personally shot and killed three insurgents with her M-4 carbine.

At the same time that Hester was awarded the Silver Star, her squad leader, Staff Sergeant Timothy F. Nein, was also awarded the Silver Star for his role in the same engagement. Another woman, Specialist Ashley J. Pullen, a driver, received the Bronze Star Medal. The battle reportedly resulted in the deaths of 27 insurgents and the capture of 7 others.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Vehicles, Unarmored; Women, Role of in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

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Hezbollah

Lebanese Shia Islamist organization. Founded in Lebanon in 1985, Hezbollah is a major political force in that country and, along with the Amal movement, a principal political movement representing the Shia community in Lebanon. There have been other smaller parties by the name of Hezbollah (Hizbullah) in eastern Saudi Arabia and Iraq, and their activities have been mistakenly or deliberately associated with the Lebanese party. Hezbollah in Lebanon also operates a number of social service programs, schools, hospitals, clinics, and housing assistance programs to Lebanese Shia. (Christians also have attended Hezbollah's schools and have run on their electoral lists.)

Some of those destined to be leaders and members of Hezbollah, meaning the "Party of God," were students of Islamic scholarship who fled from Iraq between 1979 and 1980 when Saddam Hussein cracked down on the Shia Islamist movements in the shrine cities. Lebanese as well as Iranians and Iraqis studied in Najaf and Karbala, and some 100 of these students returned to Beirut and became disciples of Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, a Lebanese cleric who also was educated in Najaf.

Meanwhile, in the midst of the ongoing civil war in Lebanon, a Shiite resistance movement developed in response to Israel's invasion in 1982. Israel's first invasion of southern Lebanon had occurred in 1978, but the invasion of 1982 was more devastating to the region, with huge numbers of casualties and prisoners taken and peasants displaced.

The earliest political movement of Lebanese Shia, known as the Movement of the Dispossessed, was established under the cleric Musa al-Sadr. The Shia were the largest but poorest sect in Lebanon and suffered from discrimination, underrepresentation, and a dearth of government programs or services that, despite some efforts by the Lebanese government, persist to this day. After Sadr's disappearance on a trip to Libya, his nonmilitaristic movement was subsumed by the Amal Party, which had a military wing and fought in the civil war. However, a wing of Amal, Islamic Amal led by Husayn al-Musawi, split off after it accused Amal of not resisting the Israeli invasion.

On the grounds of resistance to Israel (and its Lebanese proxies), Islamic Amal made contact with Iran's ambassador to Damascus, Akbar Muhtashimi, who had once found refuge as an Iranian dissident in the Palestinian camps in Lebanon. A militant group began to organize in the Bekáa Valley. Somewhat later, Iran sent between 1,000 and 1,200 Revolutionary Guards to the Bekáa Valley to aid an Islamic resistance to Israel. At a Lebanese Army barracks near Baalbek, the Revolutionary Guards began training Shia fighters identifying with the resistance, or Islamic Amal.

Fadlallah's followers in Beirut now included displaced Beiruti Shia and displaced southerners, and some coordination between his group and the others in the South and in the Bekáa began to emerge in 1984. The Islamic Resistance in south Lebanon was led by Sheikh Raghib Harb, imam of the village of Jibshit who was killed by the Israelis in 1984. In February 1985, Harb's supporters met and announced the formation of Hezbollah, led by Sheikh Subhi Tufayli.

Prior to Hezbollah's emergence, a militant Shia group known as the Organization of the Islamic Jihad was led by Imad Mughniya. It was responsible for the 1983 bombings of the U.S. and French peacekeeping forces' barracks and the U.S. embassy and its annex in Beirut. This group received some support from the elements in Baalbek. Hezbollah, however, is to this day accused of bombings committed by Mughniya's group. Although Hezbollah had not yet officially formed, the degree of coordination or sympathy between the various militant groups in 1982 can be ascertained only on the level of individuals. Hezbollah stated officially that it did not commit the bombing of U.S. and French forces, but it also did not condemn those who did. Regardless, Hezbollah's continuing resistance in the south earned it great popularity with the Lebanese, whose army had split and had failed to defend the country against the Israelis.

With the Taif Accords, the Lebanese Civil War should have ended, but in 1990 fighting broke out, and the next year Syria mounted a major campaign in Lebanon. The Taif Accords did not end sectarianism or completely solve the problem of Muslim underrepresentation in government, but it represented regional and Lebanese efforts to negotiate an end to the war. Militias other than Hezbollah disbanded, but because the Lebanese government did not assent to the Israeli occupation of and use of proxy forces in southern Lebanon, Hezbollah's militia remained active.

The leadership of Hezbollah changed over time and adapted to Lebanon's realities. The multiplicity of sects in Lebanon meant that an Islamic republic there was impractical, and as a result elements in Hezbollah ceased public discussion of this goal. Also, the group stopped trying to impose the strictest Islamic rules and focused more on gaining the trust of the Lebanese community. The

Shiite Muslim members of Hezbollah beat their chests during a procession organized by the movement in the southern Lebanese town of Nabatiyeh on May 7, 1998. (AP/Wide World Photos)

party's Shura (Consultative) Council was made up of seven clerics until 1989; from 1989 to 1991 it included three laypersons and four clerics; and since 2001 it has been composed entirely of clerics. An advisory politburo has from 11 to 14 members. Secretary-General Abbas Musawi took over from Tufayli in 1991. Soon after the Israelis assassinated Musawi, Hassan Nasrallah, who had studied in Najaf and briefly in Qum, took over as secretary-general.

In 1985, as a consequence of armed resistance in southern Lebanon, Israel withdrew into the security zone. Just as resistance from Hezbollah provided Israel with the ready excuse to attack Lebanon, Israel's continued presence in the south built Lebanese resentment of Israel and support for Hezbollah's armed actions. In 1996 the Israelis mounted Operation GRAPES OF WRATH against Hezbollah in south Lebanon, pounding the entire region from the air for a two-week period.

Subhi Tufayli, the former Hezbollah secretary-general, opposed the movement's decision to participate in the elections of 1992 and 1996. He felt that transformation into a political party would compromise the movement's core principles, and in 1997 he launched the Revolt of the Hungry, demanding food and jobs for the impoverished people of the upper Bekáa, and was expelled from Hezbollah. He and his fighters then began armed resistance, and the Lebanese Army was called in to defeat his faction.

In May 2000 after suffering repeated attacks and numerous casualties, Israel withdrew its forces from southern Lebanon, a move that was widely interpreted as a victory for Hezbollah and boosted its popularity hugely in Lebanon and throughout the Arab world. Hezbollah disarmed in some areas of the country but refused to do so in the border area because it contests Israel's control over villages in the Shaba Farms region.

Sheikh Fadlallah survived an assassination attempt in 1985 allegedly arranged by the United States. He illustrates the Lebanonization of the Shia Islamist movement. He had moved away from Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's doctrine of government by cleric (*wilaya al-faqih*), believing that it is not suitable in the Lebanese context, and called for dialogue with Christians. Fadlallah's stance is similar to that of Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Husayn al-Sistani in Iraq. He, like some of the Iraqi clerics, called for the restoration of Friday communal prayer for the Shia. He has also issued numerous reform measures, such as issuing a fatwa against the

abuse of women by men. Fadlallah is not, however, closely associated with Hezbollah's day-to-day policies.

Some Israeli and American sources charge that Iran directly conducts the affairs of Hezbollah and provides it with essential funding. While at one time Iranian support was crucial to Hezbollah, the Revolutionary Guards were subsequently withdrawn from Lebanon. The party's social and charitable services claimed independence in the late 1990s. They are supported by a volunteer service, provided by medical personnel and other professionals, and by local and external donations. Iran has, however, certainly provided weapons to Hezbollah. Some, apparently through the Iran-Contra deal, found their way to Lebanon, while Syria has also provided freedom of movement across its common border with Lebanon as well as supply routes for weapons.

Since 2000 Hezbollah has disputed Israeli control over the Shaba Farms area, which Israel claims belongs to Syria but Syria says belongs to Lebanon. Meanwhile, pressure began to build against Syrian influence in Lebanon with the constitutional amendment to allow Emile Lahoud (a Christian and pro-Syrian) an additional term. Assassinations of anti-Syrian, mainly Christian, figures had also periodically occurred. The turning point was the assassination of Prime Minister Rafic al-Hariri in February 2005. This led to significant international pressure on Syria to withdraw from Lebanon, although pro-Syrian elements remained throughout the country. Syria was allegedly linked to the murder.

Hezbollah became part of a coalition with Christian supporters of General Michel Aoun, an anti-Syrian Lebanese leader. But the party faced a new coalition of different Christians who were allied with Hariri along with Sunnis who sought to deny Hezbollah's aim of greater power for the opposition (in this case, Shia and Aounists) in the Lebanese government. The two sides in this struggle were known as the March 14th Alliance, for the date of a large anti-Syrian rally, and the March 8th Alliance, for a prior and even larger rally consisting of Hezbollah and Aoun supporters. These factions sparred since 2005, but the March 8th faction soon mounted street protests. Most were nonviolent, but one of these involved an attack on the media outlet of the Future Party.

Demanding a response to the Israeli campaign against Gaza in the early summer of 2006, Hezbollah forces killed three Israeli soldiers and kidnapped two others in a disputed border village, apparently planning to hold them for a prisoner exchange as had occurred in the past. The Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) responded with a massive campaign of air strikes throughout Lebanon, not just on Hezbollah positions. Hezbollah retaliated by launching rockets into Israel, forcing much of that country's northern population into shelters. In this open warfare, the United States backed Israel. At the conflict's end, Sheikh Nasrallah's popularity surged in Lebanon and in the Arab world. Even members of the March 14th Alliance were furious over the destruction of the fragile peace in post–civil war Lebanon and the terrible damage to infrastructure all over the country. Hezbollah offered cash assistance to those whose homes were destroyed, including Lebanese displaced from the south, and those in the districts of Beirut who were not eligible for reconstruction aid from the Lebanese government (which steered aid away from the Shia community). Hezbollah also disbursed this aid immediately. The government also extended assistance to other Lebanese, but it was delayed.

In September 2006, Hezbollah and its ally Aoun began calling for a new national unity government. The existing government, dominated by the March 14th Alliance forces, refused to budge, however. Five Shia members and one Christian member of the Lebanese cabinet also resigned in response to disagreements over the proposed tribunal to investigate Syrian culpability in the Hariri assassination. At the same time, Hezbollah and Aoun argued for the ability of a sizable opposition group in the cabinet to veto government decisions. Hezbollah and Aoun called for public protests, which began as gigantic sit-ins and demonstrations in the downtown district of Beirut in December 2006. There was one violent clash in December and another in January 2007 between the supporters of the two March alliances. In May 2008, the Lebanese political crisis finally ended, with Hezbollah gaining political capital. A new unity government was inaugurated in July 2008 in which Hezbollah controlled 1 ministry and 11 of 30 cabinet positions. Meanwhile, the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) took up position in southern Lebanon. Its mission, however, is not to disarm Hezbollah but only to prevent armed clashes between it and Israel.

In August 2008, the new Lebanese government, led by Prime Minister Fouad Siniora, approved a draft policy statement that would guarantee Hezbollah's existence as an organization and ensure its right to "liberate or recover" occupied lands. This was a clear reference to Lebanese territory occupied by Israel. Meanwhile, U.S. officials continued to insist that Hezbollah has provided weapons to the Iraqi resistance fighting coalition forces in Iraq. In the summer of 2008, Iran denied that it had anything to do with operations in Iraq. When Lahoud's presidential term ended in November 2008, another political crisis began. The March 14th coalition wanted to elect one of their own. The strongest candidate for president was probably Michel Aoun, but that was unacceptable to the March 14th coalition and the United States. The compromise candidate, army chief of staff Michel Suleiman, eventually became president as part of a power-sharing deal between the two factions. The United States was extremely concerned that the March 8th coalition might win a majority in the 2009 Lebanese elections. This did not occur, but the March 8th coalition, made up of Hezbollah and the Aounists, did win 57 seats. This ensures its position as an important voice within the governmental opposition. In December 2009 a resolution toward a national unity government was taken, which implies that Hezbollah will continue on as an armed entity.

Harry Raymond Hueston II and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Iran; Jihad; Lebanon; Lebanon, Armed Forces; Lebanon, Civil War in; Lebanon, Israeli Invasion of; Shia Islam; Suicide Bombings; Terrorism

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High Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicle

Multipurpose wheeled vehicle used by the U.S. armed forces. The High Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicle (HMMWV, popularly called the Humvee) has been in service since 1983. A commercial, civilian version was successfully marketed as the Hummer. The Humvee first saw service in Operation JUST CAUSE in Panama in December 1989. It has seen extensive service in Iraq and Afghanistan since the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

Since the invention of the internal combustion engine, the world's militaries have developed and used a wide variety of wheeled and tracked vehicles to transport personnel and cargo and to serve as platforms for weapons and other uses. During World War II the most common wheeled utility vehicle was the Jeep. Developed for the U.S. Army, the Jeep had various official designations and was a small, one-quarter-ton truck with four-wheel drive for off-road capability. It served through the 1970s with many changes over time. The Jeep's limited capacity and high center of gravity, which resulted in numerous rollovers, led the Army to develop other wheeled vehicles, such as the 6-wheel drive one-and-a-half-ton M-561 Gamma Goat and the M-715, a one-and-one-quarter-ton truck. The Army also procured commercial trucks like the three-quarter-ton Dodge, designated the M-880. In 1975 and 1976 the Army tested the commercial CJ-5 Jeep, the Dodge Ram Charger, Chevrolet Blazer, and Ford Bronco. Funding cuts in the post–Vietnam War era and the need for a platform for the TOW (tube-launched, optically tracked, wire-guided) missile led the Army to consider other options, such as the Cadillac Gage Scout, various dune buggies, and the Combat Support Vehicle (CSV) dedicated to the TOW mission. The plan was to produce 3,800 CSVs, but Congress scrapped that program in 1977, deeming that vehicle too limited.

Members of the U.S. Air Force 170th Security Police Squadron patrol an air base flight line in an M998 High Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicle (Humvee) mounting an M-60 machine gun during Operation DESERT STORM. (U.S. Department of Defense)

In 1980, Congress approved the development of the Humvee with the objective of producing 50,000 one-and-one-quarter-ton four-wheel drive vehicles to replace the multiplicity of vehicles, many worn out by years of use, in the Army inventory. This was a breakthrough, as up to this time the Army had opted for vehicles of varying sizes and carrying capacities. In 1981, three contractors were asked to bid on the Humvee: Chrysler Defense, Teledyne Continental, and AM General, whose parent company, American Motors, had purchased Kaiser-Jeep in 1969. All three produced prototypes for testing, which was done at Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland, and Yuma, Arizona, in 1982. The AM General model, nicknamed the "Hummer" as a play on the military designation and thought to be catchier than "Humvee," won.

The first production contract in 1983 was for 55,000 vehicles to be produced over 5 years, a number later raised to 70,000 vehicles. The Army received 39,000, the Marines 11,000, while the remainder went to the Air Force and Navy. By 1995 over 100,000 Humvees had been produced. Production would double by 2005 for both U.S. and foreign sales. American Motors began marketing the Hummer commercially in 1983, and the brand is still marketed by General Motors.

Designated the M-998, the Humvee four-wheel-drive vehicle weighs 5,200 pounds; measures 15 feet long, 7.08 feet wide, and 6 feet high (reducible to under 5 feet); and is powered by a 150-horsepower, 378-cubic-inch, V-8 diesel engine. Its ground clearance of more than 16 inches and four-wheel drive make the Humvee an effective off-road carrier. Its 25-gallon fuel tank allows for a range of 350 miles at speeds up to 65 miles per hour. It can ford water up to 2.5 feet deep and double that with a deep-water-fording kit. It can climb a 60 percent incline and traverse a 40 percent incline fully loaded. Its very wide stance and low center of gravity make it difficult to turn over.

The Humvee replaced several military vehicles and became a platform for many tasks. In addition to the Humvee's basic configuration as a truck with more than a ton of carrying capacity, there are variants, which function as an ambulance, a TOW-missile platform, a machine-gun or grenade-launcher platform, a prime mover for towing a 105-millimeter howitzer, and a shelter carrier. Some variants are equipped with a winch on the front, which provides additional capabilities, especially self-recovery. The Humvee can be delivered to the battlefield by helicopter. The weight of the vehicle can be reduced by using versions without roofs or with canvas roofs and sides. As the Humvee has matured over time, it has been reconfigured and manufactured in what the military calls M-A1 and M-A2 versions.

Not designed to be an armored combat vehicle, the Humvee in its original configuration posed serious problems in the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. The military had already been exploring how to armor Humvees in light of experience in the peace-keeping mission in the Balkans in the 1990s. The canvas roofs and sides of some models offered no protection from small-arms fire, and the metal versions were little help against roadside mines. The solutions were not simple, but there have been several programs to alleviate this serious hazard in the M-1114 and M-1151 up-armored variants.

The up-armored vehicle is now in service in combat areas, and armor kits were made available for installation in the theater of operations. The basic upgrade in armament is a 2,000-pound kit that added steel plating and ballistic-resistant windows. The steel plating under the vehicle was designed to absorb an 8-pound explosive. The kit for in-theater installation weighs about 750 pounds. As the Humvee mission expanded, changes have been made in engine power, transmission, suspension, and engine cooling. Some changes can be made in theater, but many have to be done at depot level in the United States, as Humvees are modified for deployment or repaired after combat damage. The operational tempo in combat also produces vehicle wear seven times that in peacetime. This fact, the loss of 250 Humvees in combat, and the aging of the inventory stresses the ability of the military to maintain readiness and prepare for future challenges. The cost of updating the inventory as it rotates through the depot system is $52,000 per vehicle.

Daniel E. Spector

See also
Vehicles, Unarmored

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Holbrooke, Richard Charles Albert
Birth Date: April 24, 1941

U.S. diplomat, assistant secretary of state (1977–1981 and 1994–1996), ambassador to the United Nations (UN) (1999–2001), and diplomatic trouble shooter. Richard Charles Albert Holbrooke was born in New York City on April 24, 1941, and graduated from Brown University in 1962. Inspired by President John F. Kennedy's call for public service, Holbrooke entered the U.S. Foreign Service. Holbrooke served in the Republic of Vietnam, first in the Agency for International Development there and then as a staff assistant to U.S. ambassadors Maxwell Taylor and Henry Cabot Lodge. He returned to Washington in 1965 to be a member of a Vietnam study group in the National Security Council.

Holbrooke was next a special assistant to under secretaries of state Nicholas Katzenbach and Elliot Richardson before joining

the U.S. delegation to the Paris Peace Talks in 1968. Holbrooke also drafted a volume of what became known as the Pentagon Papers, which traced the escalating U.S. involvement in Vietnam. During 1969–1970 he was a visiting fellow at the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University.

At his own request, in 1970 Holbrooke became the director of the Peace Corps in Morocco. He left government service two years later to become the managing editor of *Foreign Policy* magazine. Holbrooke was also a contributing editor to *Newsweek* magazine.

In 1976, Holbrooke left his publishing positions to become a foreign policy adviser to Democratic Party presidential candidate Jimmy Carter. Following Carter's victory, Holbrooke became assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, a post that he held from 1977 to 1981. During his tenure, in 1978 the United States established full diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. Holbrooke was also very much involved in the resettlement of hundreds of thousands of Southeast Asian refugees in the United States.

In 1981 Holbrooke became vice president of Public Strategies, a consulting firm in Washington, D.C. He also became a consultant to the investment firm Lehman Brothers, which led to him becoming managing director at Lehman Brothers. At the same time, he was a principal author of the bipartisan Commission on Government and Renewal, sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation.

In 1992, under the presidency of Bill Clinton, Holbrooke was a candidate to be ambassador to Japan. When that post went to former vice president Walter Mondale, Holbrooke was a surprise pick to be ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany. He held that post until 1994, when he returned to the United States to become assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian Affairs. He held that position until 1996, the first individual in U.S. history to be an assistant secretary of state for two different areas of the world. While assistant secretary, Holbrooke led the effort to enlarge the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

In 1995 Holbrooke was the principal figure in putting together the Dayton Peace Accords that ended the wars in Bosnia and Croatia. Upon leaving the State Department in 1996, Holbrooke joined Credit Suisse First Boston, becoming its vice chairman. President Clinton asked him to be a special envoy to the Balkans as a private citizen, and Holbrooke worked on a pro bono basis to try to resolve crises over Cyprus and Kosovo.

During 1999–2001 Holbrooke served as U.S. ambassador to the UN. During his tenure he brokered a deal with that body whereby the United States agreed to pay back dues in return for a reduction in future annual dues. He also secured a UN resolution that recognized HIV/AIDS as a threat to global security, the first time that body had so designated a public health issue. Upon leaving the UN, Holbrooke became the key figure in what is now the Global Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, which seeks to mobilize the world business community to deal with pressing health issues. At the same time he continued his involvement with a wide variety of organizations and found time to speak on foreign affairs issues. Holbrooke is also the author of numerous articles and several books, including the acclaimed *To End a War* (1998), which details the efforts to end the fighting in Bosnia. He has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize on seven occasions.

During the 2004 presidential campaign, Holbrooke served as a foreign policy adviser to Democratic Party candidate John Kerry. He filled the same position for Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton when she ran for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2008. When she lost the nomination, he served in the same position for Barack Obama. In an article in the September–October 2008 issue of *Foreign Affairs,* Holbrooke said that the new U.S. government would need to reestablish the reputation of the United States in the world and he called U.S. policy in Afghanistan a failure. He listed four main problem areas: the tribal areas of northwestern Pakistan; the drug lords who dominate Afghanistan; the national police; and an incompetent and corrupt Afghan government. Shortly after becoming president, on January 22, 2009, Obama appointed Holbrooke to be Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Afghanistan; Obama, Barack Hussein, II; Pakistan

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Holland, Charles R.

Birth Date: 1946

U.S. Air Force officer. Charles R. Holland was born in 1946 and graduated from the U.S. Air Force Academy in 1968. He went on to earn an MS degree in business management from Troy State University in 1976 and an MS degree in astronautical engineering from the Air Force Institute of Technology at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio, in 1978. He also attended the Industrial College of the Armed Forces in 1986.

Holland held a series of flight-oriented positions and also increasingly responsible command posts. As a command pilot, he accumulated more than 5,000 flying hours in more than 100 combat missions, 79 of which were in Lockheed AC-130 Specter gunships during the Vietnam War. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Holland commanded the 1550th Combat Crew Training Wing, headquartered at Kirtland Air Force Base, New Mexico. On May 20, 1993, he was promoted to brigadier general and became deputy commanding general of the Joint Special Operations Command (Fort Bragg, North Carolina). In June 1995, Holland began serving as commander, Special Operations Command–Pacific, a post he held until 1997. Promoted to major general in 1997,

he headed the Air Force Special Operation Command (Hurlburt Field, Florida) until August 1999. Until October 2000, Holland was vice commander, U.S. Air Forces in Europe; he was promoted to lieutenant general in November 1999.

In October 2000 Holland assumed the post of commander, headquarters, U.S. Special Operations Command (USSOCOM, MacDill Air Force Base, Florida), a position he held until his retirement in October 2003. Holland was promoted to four-star rank in December 2000. As commander of USSOCOM, Holland was a forceful spokesperson for the need to augment and improve U.S. special operations forces in order to allow the United States to be able to respond quickly to any military contingency. His advocacy proved prescient after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the United States, and his efforts to bolster USSOCOM aided rapid victories in Afghanistan in 2001 and the overthrow of the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq in 2003.

Holland was an especially ardent proponent of the Bell/Boeing CV-22 Osprey, the controversial tilt-rotor, multimission, vertical take-off and landing aircraft. Since May 2004, Holland has been on the board of directors of a number of corporate and nonprofit organizations.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

United States Air Force, Afghanistan War; United States Air Force, Iraq War

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Honduras

A Spanish-speaking country located in Central America, bounded by the Caribbean Sea to the north, Guatemala to the north and west, El Salvador to the west, the Pacific Ocean via the Gulf of Fonseca to the west, and Nicaragua to the west, south, and east. Honduran territory encompasses 43,227 square miles and can be roughly divided into five separate regions. The 2008 population of Honduras was estimated to be 7.639 million people.

Honduras is a democratic republic with a president, a unicameral legislative branch, and an independent judiciary. Although multiple political parties exist, the two most powerful and successful are the Partido Nacional de Honduras (PNH) and Partido Liberal de Honduras (PLH). Since 1982, the Honduran president has been a member of either the PNH or the PLH. Honduran military components include the army, navy, and air force. Historically, the military has been extremely active in national politics, actually seizing power and running the country over a number of years. The U.S. government has often worked closely with Honduras's military forces, and both nations have held a number of joint exercises since the 1960s. Honduras has also been willing to allow itself to be used as a staging point for military actions against other Central American countries. Not only has the United States trained foreign military personnel in Honduran territory but also Honduras has also allowed these forces the use of its bases to attack both Guatemala and Nicaragua.

Honduras's participation during the 1991 Persian Gulf War was limited to the deployment of 150 troops, which did not participate in combat operations. Although Honduras did not participate in the 2003 invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), it did agree to send military forces, known as the Fuerza de Tarea Xatruch, to assist in peacekeeping and reconstruction missions in Iraq beginning in mid-2003. The 373 Honduran military personnel in Iraq became part of the Multinational Brigade Plus Ultra, which also included troops from El Salvador, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and Spain. Specific duties for the Honduran contingent focused on peacekeeping, providing medical care, and minesweeping.

On April 20, 2004, Honduran President Ricardo Maduro announced the return of his country's forces, noting that all Honduran troops would return home prior to July 1, 2004. Honduras has played no direct role in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan. Although Honduras continues to enjoy good relations with the United States, Honduran officials have become increasingly concerned over the lack of U.S. interest in providing nonmilitary foreign aid to their country.

Wyndham Whynot

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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Hormuz, Strait of

Narrow body of water that connects the Persian Gulf to the Gulf of Oman and the Indian Ocean. The Strait of Hormuz is bounded in the north by Iran and on its south by the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and the Sultanate of Oman. The waters of the Strait of Hormuz are predominately within the claimed territorial waters of these three nations because the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) defines territorial waters as 12 nautical miles from shore. At its narrowest point, the strait is 21 nautical miles wide, but there are islands throughout its length, most of which belong to Iran. The strait is designated as an international shipping lane. As such, ships are allowed to transit it under the rules of "innocent" or "transit" passage, which permit maritime traffic in key straits that separate international bodies of water.

Because of its location, the Strait of Hormuz is considered a strategic choke point. About 20 percent of world oil shipments

transit the strait on any given day aboard commercial tankers. The key nation in this regard is Iran, whose largest port and naval base, Bandar Abbas, is located at the northernmost tip of the strait.

Iran has fortified several islands—the Tunb Islands and Abu Musa—that dominate the strait. Abu Musa, in particular, has long been a source of conflict between Iran and the UAE, especially since Iran's occupation of it in the early 1970s.

The Strait of Hormuz has always been a significant factor in modern wars. During World War II, it was the key conduit for American Lend-Lease aid through Iraq and Iran to the Soviet Union. Since then, the strait has been the chief avenue for U.S. seaborne trade into the Gulf region and oil out of it. The strait became even more an issue after the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran, which deposed pro-U.S. Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. After that, the United States began to station a number of warships in the Persian Gulf to protect U.S. interests in the region.

Near the end of the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), Iran attempted to close the strait by mining it to deprive Iraq and other Gulf states of their oil revenues. The United States responded by reflagging oil tankers and forcibly reopening the strait in Operation ERNEST WILL. Not long after, the United States used the strait as the main conduit for sea-supplied military matériel in support of Operations DESERT SHIELD (1990) and DESERT STORM (the Persian Gulf War, 1991). Thereafter, the United States maintained a strong naval presence in the region, to include at least one, and often several, aircraft carrier battle groups.

Most recently, the strait was critical to the maritime power projection of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, the 2003 Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq. Without access to the Strait of Hormuz, the United States and other Western powers would be severely limited in influencing events in the Middle East. U.S. policymakers in particular continue to keep a wary eye on the Strait of Hormuz, especially given Iran's nuclear ambitions and the often harsh rhetoric coming from its rightist leaders.

JOHN T. KUEHN

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Iran-Iraq War; Iranian Revolution; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Oil; Oman, Role in Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; United Arab Emirates

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Horner, Charles

Birth Date: October 19, 1936

U.S. Air Force officer responsible for U.S. and coalition air operations in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Charles Horner was born in Davenport, Iowa, on October 19, 1936, and earned a BA from the University of Iowa on an ROTC scholarship in 1958. In November 1959 he completed pilot training and was awarded his wings. His subsequent education included the College of William and Mary, where he earned an MBA (1972), and the Armed Forces Staff College (1972), the Industrial College of the Armed Forces (1974), and the National War College (1976).

Horner's primary distinction came as a tactical command pilot. He logged thousands of hours in a variety of fighter aircraft. He served two combat tours in Vietnam and participated in the bombing campaign against North Vietnam, Operation ROLLING THUNDER. During his second tour (May–September 1967) he flew the particularly dangerous "Wild Weasel" missions aimed at identifying and destroying North Vietnamese air defenses. Like many Vietnam veterans, Horner was embittered by the many restrictions placed on the air campaign by civilian officials. His Vietnam experience made him an outspoken critic of "absentee management" and a staunch advocate of the quick, overwhelming application of air power.

Following the Vietnam War, Horner served in various command and staff functions, where he gained attention as a leader

Lieutenant General Charles A. Horner, commander of U.S. Central Command Air Forces during Operation DESERT STORM. (U.S. Department of Defense)

of the movement to reform the Air Force's combat doctrine and overhaul civil-military relations. Horner was promoted to brigadier general on August 1, 1982, and to major general on July 1, 1985. He established professional and personal relationships with officers in other branches of the armed forces, including Army general H. Norman Schwarzkopf, who was to become his superior as commander of United States Central Command (CENTCOM) with responsibility for operations in the Middle East. On May 1, 1987, Horner was promoted to lieutenant general and given command of the Ninth Air Force and simultaneously appointed commander, Central Command Air Forces.

In the late 1980s, CENTCOM's mission underwent numerous changes. With the winding down of the Cold War and the end of the Iran-Iraq War in 1988, senior officers in CENTCOM began examining potential threats within the Middle East region, particularly Iraq, with its large and experienced army and President Saddam Hussein's ambition to dominate the Persian Gulf. At Schwarzkopf's urging, Horner developed plans for war with Iraq before Hussein's forces invaded Kuwait on August 1, 1990. Consequently, when that crisis broke, rudimentary plans for an American response were already in place.

Within a week of the Iraqi invasion, Horner and his planners had outlined a concept for an intensive air campaign code-named INSTANT THUNDER, a concept Schwarzkopf endorsed. It fell to Horner to oversee the translation of this concept into reality, including target selection, size of forces, types of ordnance to be used, and the integration of these packages into the complete air offensive. Horner selected Brigadier General Buster C. Glosson to direct the planning.

Many observers have pointed to the effectiveness of the air campaign as the most decisive factor in the quick victory by the United States and its allies in the Persian Gulf War and as a model for future conventional wars. After Schwarzkopf, Horner was perhaps the most important military leader on the coalition side in the war. Throughout both Operation DESERT SHIELD and Operation DESERT STORM, Horner had the complete support of Schwarzkopf, who gave him a virtual free hand in the direction of the air war. Horner later observed that the close working relationships he enjoyed with Schwarzkopf and other military branch commanders were the key to victory in the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

Horner has been increasingly critical of American military policy and diplomacy in the Middle East. He gained considerable attention when, on relinquishing his command in 1992 at the rank of general, he declared that war is folly. Following his retirement in 1994, Horner criticized American intelligence gathering in the Middle East, particularly as it related to weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). Even before the United States invaded Iraq in March 2003, Horner took issue with the George W. Bush and Bill Clinton administrations for maintaining a military presence in the Gulf after the 1991 war. He argued that by villainizing Saddam Hussein, American policymakers were, in fact, playing into his hands. Horner also criticized the focus on WMDs in Iraq, arguing that the United States should be more concerned about nuclear proliferation in the former Soviet Union, Libya, Israel, and Iran. Horner remains active in retirement, writing and speaking extensively.

WALTER F. BELL

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; DESERT STORM, Operation, Planning for; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; United States Central Command; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Hospital Ships

Unarmed and clearly marked ships with comprehensive medical facilities that operate near combat zones and have the capacity to take aboard and treat large numbers of casualties brought in by medical evacuation (MEDEVAC) helicopters. The only dedicated hospital ships currently in operation with the U.S. Navy are the two large vessels of the Mercy class. USNS *Mercy* (T-AH-19) entered naval service in 1986; its sister ship, the *Comfort* (T-AH-20), was commissioned the next year. Dimensions are length, 894 feet; beam, 105.75 feet; and draft, 33 feet. Speed is 17.5 knots with a range of 13,400 nautical miles at 17.5 knots. Crew complement (Reduced Operating Status in home port) is 16 civilian and 58 U.S. Navy support/communications (6 officers and 52 enlisted); active, deployed: 61 civilian, 58 Navy, and 1,100 medical/dental personnel.

Originally built at San Diego as the civilian tankers SS *Worth* and SS *Rose City,* these two ships were converted during 1984–1986 and 1985–1987, respectively. They entered service with the Military Sealift Command (MSC) as the largest hospital ships in the world, *Mercy* and *Comfort,* and the first dedicated hospital ships in U.S. service since USS *Sanctuary* (AH-17) was decommissioned in 1975. *Mercy* is based on the U.S. west coast at San Diego, and *Comfort* at the east coast port of Baltimore, placing their potential for combat or humanitarian medical support within range of critical need areas, whether nearby or overseas. Both ships are maintained in a state of readiness known as reduced operating status (ROS) within the MSC by caretaker crews when not deployed but can be fully staffed, outfitted, and supplied within five days when called on to proceed to a battle zone or the site of a disaster.

Each ship has 1,000 hospital beds, 80 of which are designated for intensive care, and the level of on-board care matches or outdoes that of a respectable land-based hospital with an extensive surgical center, albeit one with an exceedingly large trauma component. There are 12 operating theaters, a 50-bed triage area, 4 radiological units and a CT installation, a burn unit, a full medical laboratory, a blood bank, a pharmacy, as well as the on-board

U.S. Coast Guard boats pass in front of the hospital ship USNS *Mercy* during Operation DESERT SHIELD. (U.S. Department of Defense)

capacity to generate oxygen and distill 75,000 gallons of fresh water each day. When the ships are activated, medical personnel aboard *Mercy* generally are drawn from the naval medical center at Oakland, California, while Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland furnishes medical crews to *Comfort* in nearby Baltimore as predeployment work-up progresses. The majority of patients and casualties are typically airlifted by helicopter to each ship's large helipad, but there is also a limited ability to accept casualties from boats alongside when weather and sea-state allow. Maximum ingest is staked at 300 patients per day if half or more of that number require surgery, and the turnaround rate averages five days aboard the facility prior to discharge and return to action or MEDEVAC to the United States for further treatment.

Despite their great size, both *Mercy* and *Comfort* experience some limitations stemming from their original design as tankers, most notably in the internal transfer of patients. The impenetrable transverse bulkheads that once kept the oil cargo's wave action deep in the ship to a minimum now require the use of an awkward up-and-over technique when patients on lower-level wards need to be shifted forward or aft.

After Iraq's August 2, 1990, invasion of Kuwait, the *Mercy* and *Comfort* were activated. They arrived in the Persian Gulf by mid-September, remaining on station during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM and returning to the United States in late March 1991. In June and July 1994, the *Comfort* was called to Jamaica and Guantánamo Bay to support and treat Haitian and Cuban refugees. The *Comfort* also joined the July 1998 NATO Partnership for Peace exercise Baltic Challenge 1998 and arrived in New York within six days of the terrorist attacks in New York on September 11, 2001, to augment regional hospitals' trauma capacities. From January to June 2003, the *Comfort* deployed in support of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, during which the medical staff treated a great number of Iraqi civilians and prisoners of war as well as troops from the U.S. and coalition forces. In response to the destruction and health crisis resulting from the south Asian earthquake and tsunami on December 26, 2004, the *Mercy* was supplied and staffed for a humanitarian relief mission and departed San Diego on January 5, 2005, eventually assisting and treating over 200,000 victims. In 2006 the *Mercy* undertook a five-month humanitarian deployment to the Philippines and the South Pacific, while the *Comfort* spent four months of 2007 in the Caribbean and Latin America, treating nearly 100,000 patients in need of basic vaccinations, eye care, and dental work.

Hospital ships' medical capabilities have been regularly augmented by the facilities aboard U.S. amphibious assault ships of the *Tarawa* (LHA-1) class, which include medical facilities and a 300-bed capacity, and the newer Wasp (LHD-1) class, each with

600 beds. During Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, the Royal Navy's Royal Fleet Auxiliary (RFA) *Argus* (A-132), nominally an aircraft-training and -support vessel but reconfigured as a Primary Casualty Reception Ship with 100 hospital beds, served as part of the medical support network afloat.

As the *Mercy* and *Comfort* maintain their ROS readiness aspect and edge closer to retirement, the thought of building or converting similar replacement vessels has in recent year been overtaken by the U.S. Navy's preference for streamlining its auxiliary and support forces. The Maritime Prepositioning Force (MPF) has moved from concept to partial reality, including MSC cargo vessels that are kept in forward deployment and stocked with equipment, provisions, fuels, and matériel with which to supply all U.S. armed forces moving into an area. A current plan calls for the construction of MPF ships that would incorporate features of flagships, landing ships, supply ships, and fully equipped hospital ships, thus obviating the need for the *Mercy* or *Comfort* in the near future.

GORDON E. HOGG

See also

Amphibious Assault Ships; Amphibious Command Ships; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; Military Sealift Command; Support and Supply Ships, Strategic; United Kingdom, Navy, Persian Gulf War; United States Navy, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Houthi, Hussein Badr al-Din al-

Birth Date: Unknown
Death Date: September 10, 2004

Yemeni political and religious leader. Shaykh Hussein Badr al-Din al-Houthi was the charismatic leader of a Yemeni political movement that has opposed the national government. The members of Houthi's movement are drawn from the Zaydi Shia sect, which constitutes some 45–50 percent of Yemen's population. Followers of the Houthi movement, as it came to be called, are estimated at 30 percent of the population.

Between 1993 and 1999, Houthi was a member of parliament representing the Al-Haqq Party. In 1992, a movement known as the Shabab Mu'minin (Believing Youth) developed, apparently to counter growing salafist influence and to assert a new Zaydi identity. Houthi led this movement until 1997, when it split.

Following the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, some members of the Zaydi community protested strongly against the U.S. occupation of Iraq and the Yemeni government's close ties with the United States. Houthi was identified as a leader of these protests. Since the attack on the U.S. Navy destroyer *Cole* in Aden in October 2000, the United States had become concerned about the growth of Al Qaeda in Yemen, and the Yemeni government took great strides to combat the Houthi movement, characterizing it as a deviant and terrorist group like Al Qaeda and claiming that it had links to Iran and Libya, which were never firmly established.

Houthi portrayed his movement as primarily one that sought social justice and basic human, political, and religious rights. His movement did not call for an end to the Saleh government, but it did oppose the Saleh government's alliances with the United States and the manipulation of salafi or Wahhabist elements in Yemen by that government. Houthi held that the government encouraged those groups but oppressed the Zaydis. Houthi's movement represented a challenge from within the Shia elite, for Houthi was a *sayyid,* a descendent of the Prophet Muhammad with roots in the Zaydi imamate that had dominated northern Yemen until the establishment of a Yemeni republic in 1962.

The Houthi rebellion was also known as the al-Sadah conflict. It took place in northern Yemen about 150 miles from Sanaa. In 2004, armed fighting among Houthi's followers broke out against the Yemeni government there. The Yemeni government employed force to crush the movement, which continued after Houthi's death in September 2004. After Houthi died, the movement came under the leadership of Abd al-Malik al-Houthi, his brother; Yusuf Madani, his son-in-law; and Abdullah Ayedh al-Razami; and it came under the spiritual leadership of Badr al-Din al-Houthi, his father.

Following 82 days of fighting in 2004, and after some 1,500 troops and civilians were killed and thousands had fled their villages, Yemeni government forces killed Houthi in Jarf Salman, a village in the Marraan mountains in Sadah on September 10, 2004. Fighting broke out again in March 2005. Some 400 persons were killed within two weeks, hundreds of locals were detained, hundreds of religious schools and religious summer camps were closed, and the government ordered that 1,400 charities be closed. Intermittent fighting has continued thereafter.

SHERIFA ZUHUR

See also

Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula; *Cole,* USS, Attack on; Global War on Terror; Salafism; Yemen

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Howe, Jonathan Trumble
Birth Date: August 24, 1935

U.S. Navy officer who served as the special representative for Somalia for United Nations (UN) general secretary Boutros Boutros-Ghali during 1993–1994. Jonathan Trumble Howe was born on August 24, 1935, in San Diego, California, the son of a rear admiral. Howe graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1957. His early years in the Navy were spent in submarines. Howe earned an MS from Tufts University (1967) and both an MA (law and diplomacy) and a PhD from Tufts.

Howe commanded the guided missile destroyer *Berkeley* during 1974–1975, Destroyer Squadron 31 during 1977–1978, and Cruiser-Destroyer Group 3 Battle Group Foxtrot during 1984–1986. Howe also served as chief of staff, 7th Fleet, from 1978 to 1980. He was promoted to rear admiral on March 1, 1981, and served as director of the navy's Politico-Military and Planning Division from 1982 to 1984. Howe was promoted to vice admiral on June 18, 1986. He then served as deputy chairman of the Military Committee of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and later as assistant to the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. On June 1, 1989, he was promoted to admiral (four-star) and went on to serve as commander in chief, Allied Forces Southern Europe, and commander, U.S. Naval Forces Europe from 1989 to 1991. Howe retired from active service in 1992. From 1991 to 1993, Howe was the deputy assistant for National Security Affairs for President George H. W. Bush.

Howe took his foreign policy experience to the international arena when he became the special representative for Somalia for the UN secretary general on March 9, 1993, replacing Ismat Kittani from Iraq. Somalia was a failed state, wracked by famine and civil war. In an effort to stabilize the country, the UN undertook a humanitarian mission there to feed the populace and mediate peace between its warring factions. With the situation increasingly dire, in 1993 the UN took more direct action. The Security Council passed Resolution 814, calling for the extension of humanitarian aid by "all necessary means."

Howe's assignment was to oversee the transition from a United Task Force to a full, UN-sanctioned operation. This meant that Howe took over command of a multinational force mission for which there had been little preparation. The organization was called United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNSOM II).

Howe's first task was to oversee an increase in the number of troops and support staff to carry out the expanded mission. Eventually, 68 nations agreed to participate. Howe then addressed enforcement of the 1993 Addis Ababa Accords. These had been signed by all 15 factions of the Somali clans operating in and about Mogadishu. For the first few weeks, humanitarian aid was delivered and Somalia moved toward a semblance of normalcy.

A few months into President Bill Clinton's administration, the mission of the UN forces shifted. In June 1993, Howe authorized the inspection of a radio station under the control of warlord Mohammed Farrah Aidid (Aideed), initiated to locate hidden weapons. Informed of the operation in advance, Aidid's followers ambushed and killed several Pakistani inspectors. Howe was now forced to go back to the UN Security Council on June 17, 1993, seeking an expansion of the UN mission to include bringing Aidid to justice. The mission expansion was granted and included a $25,000 reward for the capture of Aidid, issued by Howe. This action turned out to be the most controversial of Howe's Somali tenure, and he received criticism for this move because it compromised his impartiality.

UNOSOM II also received aid from U.S. armed forces to further the pacification mission. These forces performed their mission admirably and without major incident until October 3, 1993. On that day, U.S. forces pursued several Aidid aides. The raid turned out badly when American helicopters were shot down, resulting in several deaths and the capture of a U.S. pilot. Following this failure, the UN mission was reexamined and all UN troops were withdrawn from Somalia during the following year. Howe resigned his UN post in February 1994 and moved to Jacksonville, Florida, where he became the executive director of the Arthur Vining Davis Foundation; he still serves in this position.

Shawn Livingston

See also

Aidid, Mohammed Farrah; Boutros-Ghali, Boutros; Somalia, International Intervention in

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Howell, Wilson Nathaniel
Birth Date: September 14, 1939

Career U.S. diplomat and Foreign Service officer who was serving as ambassador to Kuwait when Iraqi forces invaded the small nation on August 2, 1990. Wilson Nathaniel Howell was born in Portsmouth, Virginia, on September 14, 1939. He earned an undergraduate degree from the University of Virginia in 1961 and a doctorate in government and foreign affairs from the same school in 1965. He then entered the U.S. Foreign Service, where he became an expert in Middle Eastern affairs and learned Arabic in Beirut, Lebanon, during 1970–1972.

Howell served in a variety of diplomatic posts and nations, including Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, Algiers, and Lebanon.

He also held high-ranking positions with the U.S. State Department in Washington, D.C., and served as political adviser to the commander in chief of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) in 1986–1987. He also attended the National War College in Washington, D.C. Howell was well known for his extensive knowledge of the Middle East and his ability to link national security and regional security issues with broader foreign policy goals.

In May 1987, President Ronald Reagan named Howell U.S. ambassador to Kuwait, a position he assumed just a few weeks later. Kuwait was considered a highly desirable diplomatic posting at the time, as the United States enjoyed cordial relations with the Kuwaiti government. By 1990, Howell was painfully aware of the deteriorating relations between Iraq and Kuwait. Iraqi president Saddam Hussein had accused the Kuwaitis of "slant-drilling" into Iraqi oil fields and of manipulating the price of oil by overproducing and thereby worsening Iraq's tenuous financial situation. Be that as it may, the United States—and Howell—were surprised by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990.

Over the next several weeks, numerous Americans and foreign nationals sought refuge at the U.S. embassy in Kuwait City. Howell was able to accommodate them all but was concerned about their safety. He had good reason to be concerned. In late August, Saddam Hussein declared all foreign embassies in Kuwait closed and announced that foreign diplomats were free to leave the country. However, he refused to allow nondiplomats to leave, hoping to use these people as hostages to forestall air strikes by the United States or its allies. With the Bush administration's assent, Howell decided to keep the American embassy open and refused to leave the country. Howell's stand was nothing short of heroic given the fact that Iraqi troops were engaged in an orgy of rape and pillage in Kuwait.

In December 1990, Hussein reversed his earlier decision and stated that he would permit all of the people in the U.S. embassy to leave—both diplomatic personnel and civilians. Howell emptied the embassy and embarked for Baghdad by car, where he and the others who had been holed up in the embassy would leave for the United States. Howell retired from the foreign service in 1992. For his extraordinary service in Kuwait, that nation's government awarded him the Kuwait Decoration with Sash of the First Class. After leaving government service, Howell joined the faculty of the University of Virginia.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Human Shields; Kuwait; Kuwait, Iraqi Invasion of; Kuwait, Occupation of by Iraq

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Human Shields

The term "human shield" can refer to civilians who are forced by military or paramilitary forces to precede them in an attack. More recently, the media and others began using the term to refer to a person or group of people who are voluntarily or involuntary positioned at or near a potential military target as a means to deter enemy fire or attack. States and military establishments have often claimed that their opponents have employed civilians as human shields in order to explain civilian casualties resulting from military action.

A potential enemy may choose not to use force against the employers of the shield for fear of harming the person or persons who form the shield. A potential attacker's inhibition regarding the use of force depends on various considerations, such as fear for his or her own security, societal norms, the inclination to abide by international law forbidding attacks on civilians during an armed conflict, fear of negative international or national public opinion, or a close affiliation with the person or group of people forming the shield.

Human shields are similar to hostages, but there are important differences. In contrast to hostages, who are invariably taken involuntarily, human shields might be civilian volunteers utilized by a government at a particular site to deter an enemy from attacking it. The term also refers, however, to the involuntary use of civilians to shield combatants during attacks. In such incidents, the civilians are forced to move in front of the soldiers in the hope that the enemy force will be reluctant to attack, or if it does so and the civilians are killed, this might have propaganda value.

When there is a case of deliberate seizure of civilians to act as human shields, in most cases once the threat is over the seized are released. Usually, no ransom is involved. Historical records indicate that human shields have been used by state authorities, nongovernmental organizations, and terrorists alike.

The use of human shields is expressly prohibited by the Geneva Convention of 1949 and the Additional Protocols of 1977. Article 28 of the Fourth Geneva Convention states that: "The presence of a protected person may not be used to render certain points or areas immune from military operations." Article 3 of the Geneva Convention also forbids the taking of hostages. Furthermore, the Additional Protocols expanded the prohibitions. Protocol II, Part IV, Article 13 states: "The civilian population and individual civilians shall enjoy general protection against the dangers arising from military operations. . . . [They] shall not be the object of attack . . . unless and for such times as they take a direct part in hostilities."

Despite attempts to prevent the use of human shields through the development of international law during the second half of the 20th century, the use of human shields was recorded and discussed in the context of several conflicts, mainly in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the Bosnian conflict of 1992–1995, the Kosovo War (1999), the Iraq War of 2003, as well as the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Both in Bosnia in 1995 and in Kosovo in 1999, human shields were used extensively by the Serbs. In the war in Bosnia, Bosnian-Serb armed units chained captured United Nations (UN) soldiers to potential North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) air-strike targets. This strategy was effective in paralyzing the UN military forces' operations in Bosnia in May 1995. The nations participating in the UN operation refused to support the use of force against Serbian military targets, as their soldiers' lives were in jeopardy. In 1999, Serbian forces compelled civilian Kosovars to remain near Serb military bases to deter NATO from bombing the bases.

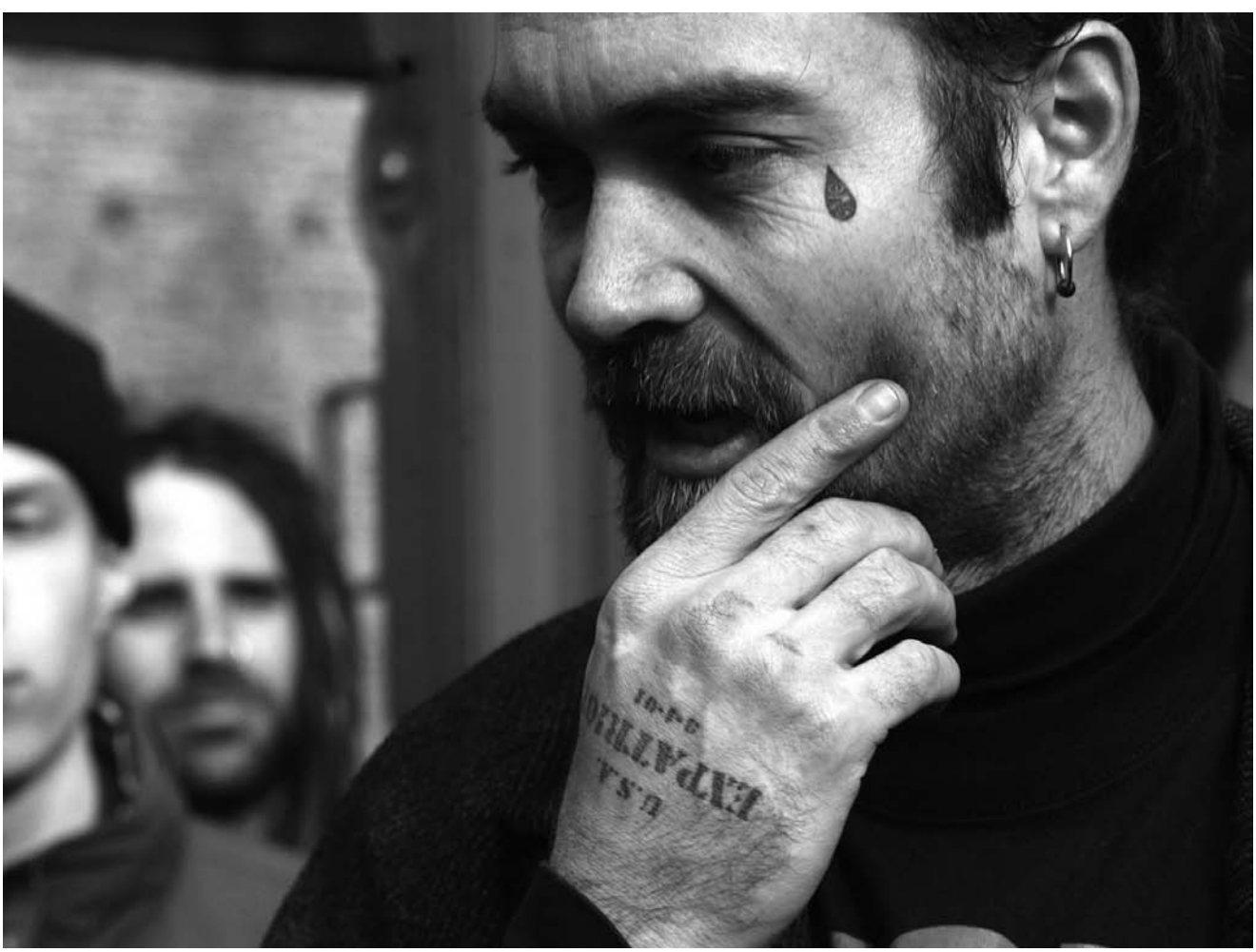
Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's regime used human shields of both Westerners and Iraqi civilians on several occasions during the 1990s and right up to the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq in March 2003 to safeguard potential military targets. After Iraq's armed forces occupied Kuwait on August 2, 1990, the Iraqi government held dozens of foreign nationals as human shields in strategic locations. To emphasize that human shields were in place, the Hussein regime released videos showing the human shields, some of them interacting with Hussein himself. Only after coming under intense international pressure did the Iraqi government allow these individuals to leave the country. The last human shields left Iraq by December 1991, several weeks before the beginning of Operation DESERT STORM.

In November 1997, a crisis developed between Iraq and the UN concerning weapons inspection in the country. There have been charges that the Iraqi government then encouraged hundreds of civilians to move into palaces and other strategic locations in order to deter attacks there.

Human shields were used again in Iraq in early 2003, but this time by antiwar protesters. The human shield operation was termed the Human Shield Action to Iraq, and it deployed several hundred Western volunteers to potential civilian strategic targets like water and power plants and a communications center.

When Operation IRAQI FREEDOM began on March 20, 2003, many of the volunteers left the country, but approximately 100 remained. The Human Shield Action to Iraq claimed that none of the strategic facilities to which it deployed volunteers were bombed while human shields were present.

In contrast to the examples given above, which emphasize the use of human shields by only one side in a conflict, during



Ken O'Keefe, an ex-U.S. marine who fought in the Persian Gulf War, speaks to the media in downtown Milan, Italy, on January 31, 2003, before preparing to travel to Iraq, where he and members of his group were determined to act as human shields. (AP/Wide World Photos)

the Israeli-Palestinian conflict both sides have employed human shields. There are records of Palestinians wanted by the Israeli government using civilians as a shield to prevent the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) from firing at them. This tactic was repeated when leaders of Hamas—an Islamic Palestinian political faction that has controlled the Gaza Strip since June 2007—encouraged the Palestinian civilian population to gather near potential Israeli Air Force targets. Hamas also launched rockets on Israeli towns from civilian centers in Gaza. This practice was also reportedly employed by Hezbollah fighters during their war with Israel in July and August 2006, when they fired Katyusha rockets at Israel from civilian centers and fortified their positions inside villages.

Beginning in 2002, records kept by the Israeli human rights group B'Tselem indicate that some IDF units used Palestinian civilians as human shields during their operations in order to prevent Palestinian terrorists from firing at them. In these instances, the IDF forced persons held as hostages to precede them into buildings and certain areas. This practice was outlawed by the Israeli Supreme Court in October 2005. Nevertheless, since then, and on several occasions, human rights groups have recorded the use of Palestinian civilians as human shields by IDF units. In some cases, the IDF took disciplinary measures against its officers who employed this practice.

Chen Kertcher

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Global War on Terror; Hamas; Hezbollah; Hussein, Saddam; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Israel

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Hungary, Role in Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Wars

Central European state with a 2008 population of approximately 9.9 million people. A democratic, parliamentary republic, Hungary covers 35,919 square miles and is bordered by Slovakia to the north, Croatia and Serbia to the south, Austria to the west, and Romania and Ukraine to the east. The prime minister is elected by a multiparty unicameral legislature. Currently, the two most powerful parties are the Hungarian Socialist Party and the Hungarian Civil Union (FIDESZ), a conservative Christian Democratic organization.

A former Soviet satellite state, Hungary emerged from the Cold War in 1989 as a staunch ally of the United States that supported U.S.-led efforts during the 1991 Persian Gulf War and the invasions of Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003). During the Cold War, Hungary had little direct involvement in the conflicts of the Middle East, although it did produce weapons for export. In 1988, at the height of its output, the country's defense industry produced $370 million in arms and weapons. The majority of this production was sold or transferred to the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact nations; however, the country did sell small arms and light weapons to countries such as Egypt and Iraq. With the end of the Cold War, Hungary adopted a series of strict control mechanisms to prevent its stocks of Soviet-era weapons from being sold to regions in conflict. In 1988, Hungarian troops joined other United Nations (UN) peacekeepers as part of a force that monitored the cease-fire between Iran and Iraq, and a Hungarian officer commanded one of the three headquarters for the mission.

In 1989, Hungary transitioned from a pro-Soviet, communist regime to a pro-Western democracy. The government and military worked hard to develop closer ties to the West, in particular the United States, and to demonstrate its diplomatic autonomy. As part of this effort, Hungary supported the U.S.-led military coalition during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. It deployed a small force of 50 soldiers, who were part of a hospital unit. This was the first significant exposure of Hungarian personnel to Western medical technology and techniques. In addition, the superiority of U.S. military communications and weaponry reaffirmed the deficiencies in Warsaw Pact weapons and tactics and the necessity of closer cooperation with the West.

After the war, security ties between Hungary and the United States expanded significantly. During the Balkan conflicts of the 1990s, the United States used the former Soviet air base at Taszar, Hungary, to conduct NATO operations, and the facility would later be utilized for missions in Iraq and Afghanistan. At the peak of the Balkan operations, there were approximately 7,000 U.S. personnel stationed at the facility. Meanwhile, the United States supported Hungary's bid for membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Hungary, along with the Czech Republic and Poland (the so-called first tier of former Soviet satellites to be deemed eligible for NATO membership), joined the transatlantic alliance in 1999. The United States and other NATO partners supported efforts by successive Hungarian governments to modernize their military forces and ensure interoperability with NATO forces.

The Hungarian government strongly condemned the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, and it supported NATO's invocation of its collective defense clause, Article V, of the 1949 Washington Treaty. Although no Hungarian troops were involved in the initial invasion of Afghanistan during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, Budapest granted the United States overflight rights for aerial missions and provided intelligence and logistical support. Beginning in 2003, Hungary maintained a small contingent (200–300 troops) in Afghanistan as part of the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF). Hungary also deployed a small police force to assist in the

recruitment and training of Afghanistan's national police under the auspices of the European Union. In 2006, Hungary hosted an international conference of 35 nations in an effort to increase the global community's reconstruction aid and assistance to Afghanistan. Hungary then took command of the Provincial Reconstruction Team in Baghlan, in northern Afghanistan. The operation marked the first time in contemporary history that Hungarian forces operated outside of their home country in command of a major multilateral mission.

Budapest has allocated about $80 million per year for reconstruction and humanitarian missions in Baghlan Province since 2006. The majority of the population in the province is ethnic Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Hazaras. These groups were opposed to the Taliban and have been generally supportive of the Afghan national government. Consequently, Hungarian forces have not faced the same level of Taliban attacks as other NATO forces in the east and south of the country.

As part of the ISAF mission, Hungary assumed responsibility for security for Kabul airport in 2008 for a six-month period. It deployed an additional 60 troops for the mission. In 2008, Hungary suffered its first military fatality as part of ISAF, when a soldier was killed by a roadside bomb. Throughout Operation ENDURING FREEDOM and ISAF, Hungary has been a staunch proponent of increasing NATO's troop strength in Afghanistan. However, the government opposed U.S. plans for coalition forces to undertake a more active counternarcotics role in Afghanistan. In addition, in 2004, Hungary ended conscription as part of a broader military downsizing. One result was that the number of forces available for deployment in multilateral missions was reduced to about 2,000 total troops.

Hungary also supported the diplomatic efforts of the George W. Bush administration to organize a coalition to overthrow Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein. In January 2003, Hungary joined with the Czech Republic in addition to five members of the European Union in a letter that accused Hussein's government of harboring weapons of mass destruction. The open document also pledged support for the U.S. policy of regime change in Iraq. Hungarian officials likened the removal of Hussein to the overthrow of the communists in the late 1980s. In addition, Budapest's support for the Bush administration was widely seen as a gesture of appreciation for the role the United States played during the end of the Cold War and the efforts by successive U.S. presidents to foster

The six-man advance team of some 300 Hungarians who joined international coalition forces in Iraq. The men are at Szolnok Air Base, east of Budapest, preparing to board a Soviet-built An-26 for Iraq on July 10, 2003. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Hungary's reintegration into Western Europe, including membership in NATO and the EU.

Hungary's stance put it at odds with EU partners such as France and Germany, however, and the government's position was not widely endorsed among the populace. Polls taken prior to the start of the war in March 2003 revealed that a consistent majority of about 70 percent opposed military action against Iraq without the explicit authorization of the UN. Nonetheless, the government undertook a number of concrete steps to affirm its support. In January 2003, some 3,000 Iraqi exiles underwent training at Taszar air force base prior to the invasion of Iraq. The majority of those trained were interpreters and noncombat personnel. U.S. forces were also authorized to use bases and facilities in Hungary from which to conduct the invasion.

Hungary did not contribute troops to the initial invasion of Iraq, but it deployed a battalion of 300 soldiers in August 2003. There were initial plans to dispatch a larger force, but Hungary was in the midst of a military reorganization program that resulted in constraints on the nation's deployable forces. The unit sent to Iraq was a logistics and transport battalion that specialized in humanitarian operations and had considerable experience in the peacekeeping missions in the Balkans. It served as part of the Multi-National Force in southern Iraq, under the command of Poland. Hungarian forces conducted general security and interdiction missions. In 2004, Hungary's center-right coalition government was replaced with one dominated by the left-of-center Social Democrats, but the new government continued to support the U.S.-led occupation of Iraq. But Hungary's military mission remained unpopular among the public and the government withdrew the troops at the end of December 2004 after it failed to gain the necessary two-thirds majority vote needed to extend the deployment. In addition, U.S. and NATO forces withdrew from Taszar air force base at the end of 2004.

In 2005, Hungary worked with its allies to gain approval for a NATO mission to train security forces in Iraq. The government then agreed to participate in NATO's security training mission in Iraq and deployed 150 military and police trainers, and a Hungarian general commanded NATO's training mission. The government also donated a significant amount of Soviet-era military equipment to Iraq's new security forces, including 77 T-72 main battle tanks and 36 BMPs (*boyevaya mashina pekhoty,* or infantry combat vehicles), as well as more than 1 million rounds of ammunition for the weapons systems. The donations were part of a NATO program to provide military equipment to the Iraqi government. Iraq paid Hungarian firms to refurbish and upgrade the equipment. In November 2008, Hungary announced that it would withdraw the remainder of its personnel from Iraq by the end of the year.

Tom Lansford

See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; International Security Assistance Force; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan; Provincial Reconstruction Teams, Afghanistan

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Husaybah, Battle of
Event Date: April 17, 2004

Battle near the Iraqi town of Husaybah, close to the Syrian border, on April 17, 2004, which involved U.S. Marines from the I Marine Expeditionary Force. The 14-hour battle occurred concurrently with the First Battle of Fallujah (April 4–May 1, 2004), an operation by the United States to capture the city of Fallujah, also known as Operation VIGILANT RESOLVE. From Husaybah, the insurgents had been attempting to launch an offensive against U.S. forces to divert resources from the attack against Fallujah. The insurgent force numbered about 300 and was operating from positions in the vicinity of the former Baath Party headquarters in Husaybah. U.S. forces numbered 150.

On April 17, the insurgents drew the Americans from their base on the outskirts of Husaybah with a roadside bombing and then with a mortar assault. When the marines retaliated, they encountered an ambush during which they were hit with small-arms and machine-gun fire. The marines then called in reinforcements. The resulting street fighting lasted the entire day and late into the night, with the marines having to advance block by block to clear buildings of insurgents. During the night, Bell AH-1 Cobra helicopter gunships also attacked insurgent positions in the city. The American forces defeated the insurgents after fierce fighting. Five marines were killed and nine wounded in the fight. The insurgents suffered an estimated 150 killed in action, an unknown number of wounded, and 20 captured. The insurgent losses represented more than 50 percent of their original strength.

Richard B. Verrone

See also

Fallujah, First Battle of; Iraqi Insurgency

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Husayn, Zayn al-Abidin Mohamed

See Zubaydah, Abu

Hussein, Qusay

Birth Date: May 17, 1966
Death Date: July 22, 2003

Iraqi government and military official and son of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein. At the time of the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003, Qusay Hussein was considered the second most powerful man in Iraq and the likely successor to his father. Qusay Hussein was born in Tikrit, Iraq, on May 17, 1966, the second son of Saddam Hussein and Sajida Talfah. As Arab custom dictates, Saddam Hussein's elder son, Uday, was the most prominent and was raised as his father's successor. Although out of the limelight, Qusay Hussein remained loyal to his father to the point of even imitating his dress and trademark mustache.

While Uday Hussein proved to be mentally unstable and a flamboyant sexual sadist whose antics embarrassed the ruling family, Qusay was much more reserved. Complying with his father's wishes, in 1987 he married the daughter of Mahir Abd al-Rashid, an influential military commander. The marriage produced four children. Although possessing numerous mistresses, Qusay Hussein portrayed himself as a devoted family man.

Qusay's loyalty and patience eventually bore dividends. When Uday's behavior became more erratic in the late 1980s, Saddam Hussein began to turn more to his second son. For example, Qusay was granted broad authority in crushing the Shiite Muslim and Marsh Arabs' uprisings following Iraq's defeat in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. He responded ruthlessly, using torture and executing entire families believed to be disloyal to the regime.

As Uday's position declined, Qusay began to emerge as the likely successor to Saddam Hussein. For his role in crushing the 1991 rebellions, Saddam entrusted Qusay with command of the Special Security Organization (SSO), including Internal Security and the Presidential Guard. In his role as security head, Qusay Hussein oversaw Iraqi's chemical, biological, and nuclear programs. He was also responsible for the repression of opponents of his father's regime. It is believed that Qusay, with his father's approval, had a hand in the attempted assassination of Uday on December 12, 1996.

Clearly Saddam Hussein's favorite, Qusay was named "caretaker" in the event of Saddam's illness or death and given command of the elite Republican Guard. Possessing no formal military training, Qusay Hussein refused to accept advice from more experienced commanders. None dared to question his orders for fear of the consequences, however. The dismal performance of the Republican Guard in failing to slow the American-led invasion in 1991 is often blamed on the lack of military experience of Qusay and his advisers.

Following the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, foreign pressure on Iraq began to increase, and the United States began preparing for a second invasion of Iraq, this time to topple the Hussein regime. Saddam Hussein and his sons temporarily rallied in the face of the overwhelming military force gathering to confront them. On March 18, 2003, U.S. president George W. Bush called on Saddam Hussein and his sons to leave the country, a demand that was rebuffed.

Following the invasion on March 20, 2003, Qusay Hussein went into hiding. On July 22, 2003, Qusay; his 14-year-old son, Mustapha; Uday; and their bodyguard were cornered in Mosul. During the course of a four-hour firefight, all were killed. Following identification, the bodies were buried in Awja.

ROBERT W. MALICK

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Hussein, Uday; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Marsh Arabs; Republican Guard; Shia Islam

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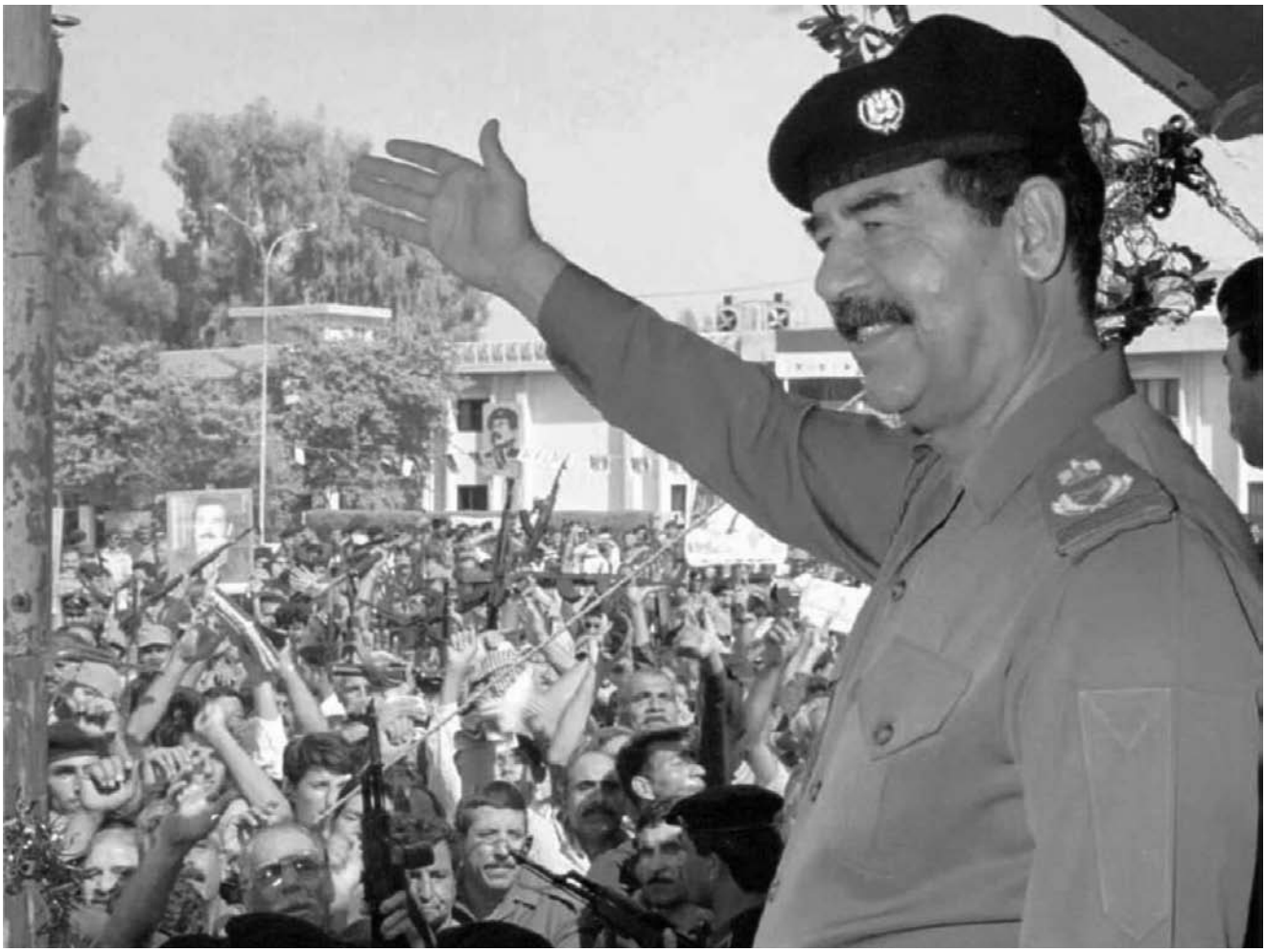
Hussein, Saddam

Birth Date: April 28, 1937
Death Date: December 30, 2006

Iraqi politician, leading figure in the Baath Party, and president of Iraq (1979–2003). Born on April 28, 1937, in the village of Awja, near Tikrit, to a family of sheep herders, Saddam Hussein attended a secular school in Baghdad and in 1957 joined the Baath Party, a socialist and Arab nationalist party. Iraqi Baathists supported General Abd al-Karim Qasim's ouster of the Iraqi monarchy in 1958 but were not favored by President Qasim.

Wounded in an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Qasim in 1959, Hussein subsequently fled the country but returned after the 1963 Baathist coup and began his rise in the party, although he was again imprisoned in 1964. Escaping in 1966, Hussein continued to ascend through the party's ranks, becoming second in authority when the party took full and uncontested control of Iraq in 1968 under the leadership of General Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr, a relative of Hussein's. The elderly Bakr gradually relinquished power to him so that Hussein eventually controlled most of the government.



Saddam Hussein, who ruled Iraq as national president and Revolutionary Command Council chairperson from July 1979 until he was driven from power by a U.S.-led coalition during the Iraq War, shown here in April 2003. (Reuters/Ina/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Hussein became president when Bakr resigned, allegedly because of illness, in July 1979. A week after taking power, Saddam led a meeting of Baath leaders during which the names of his potential challengers were read aloud. They were then escorted from the room and shot. Because Iraq was rent by ethnic and religious divisions, Hussein ruled through a tight web of relatives and associates from Tikrit, backed by the Sunni Muslim minority. He promoted economic development through Iraqi oil production, which accounted for 10 percent of known world reserves. Hussein's modernization was along Western lines, with expanded roles for women and a secular legal system based in part on Sharia and Ottoman law. He also promoted the idea of Iraqi nationalism and emphasized Iraq's ancient past, glorifying such figures as kings Hammurabi and Nebuchadnezzar.

Before assuming the presidency, Hussein had courted both the West and the Soviet Union, resulting in arms deals with the Soviets and close relations with the Soviet Union and France. He was also instrumental in convincing the Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran to curb his support of Iraqi Kurds. Hussein's efforts to take advantage of the superpowers' Cold War rivalry, including rapprochement with Iran, fell apart with the overthrow of the shah in the 1979 Iranian Revolution. The shah's successor, Ayatollah Khomeini, a radical, fundamentalist Muslim, bitterly opposed Hussein because of his Sunni background and secularism.

After a period of repeated border skirmishes, Iraq declared war on Iran in September 1980. Hussein's ostensible dispute concerned a contested border, but he also feared Iran's fundamentalism and its support for the Iraqi Shia Muslim majority. Initial success gave way to Iraqi defeats in the face of human-wave attacks and, ultimately, a stalemate. By 1982 Hussein was ready to end the war, but Iranian leaders desired that the fighting continue. In 1988 the United Nations (UN) finally brokered a cease-fire, but not before the war had devastated both nations. The war left Iraq heavily in debt, and Hussein requested relief from his major creditors, including the United States, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. He also sought to maintain high oil prices. His efforts were in vain; creditors refused to write off their debts, and Kuwait maintained a high oil output, forcing other oil-producing nations to follow suit.

Hussein responded by declaring Kuwait a "rogue province" of Iraq. He was also enraged by Kuwaiti slant drilling into Iraqi oil fields. Hussein's demands became more strident, and after securing what he believed to be U.S. acquiescence, he ordered Iraqi forces to attack and occupy Kuwait on August 2, 1990. Hussein miscalculated the U.S. reaction. President George H. W. Bush assembled an international military coalition, built up forces in Saudi Arabia (Operation DESERT SHIELD), and then commenced a relentless bombing campaign against Iraq in January 1991. The ground war of February 24–28, 1991, resulted in a crushing defeat of Iraqi forces. Although Hussein withdrew from Kuwait, coalition forces did not seek his overthrow and he remained in power, ruling a nation devastated by two recent wars.

Hussein retained control of Iraq for another decade, during which he brutally suppressed Kurdish and Shia revolts, relinquished limited autonomy to the Kurds, acquiesced to the destruction of stockpiles of chemical weapons, and pursued a dilatory response to UN efforts to monitor his weapons programs. Convinced—wrongly as it turned out—that Hussein had been building and stockpiling weapons of mass destruction, President George W. Bush asked for and received authorization from Congress to wage war against Iraq. U.S. and coalition forces invaded Iraq in March 2003. Coalition forces took Baghdad on April 10, 2003, and captured Hussein on December 14, 2003, to be brought to trial on charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

On November 5, 2006, the Iraqi Special Tribunal found Hussein guilty in the deaths of 148 Shiite Muslims in 1982, whose murders he had ordered. That same day, he was sentenced to hang. Earlier, on August 21, 2006, a second trial had begun on charges that Hussein had committed genocide and other atrocities by ordering the systematic extermination of northern Iraqi Kurds during 1987–1988, resulting in as many as 180,000 deaths. Before the second trial moved into high gear, however, Hussein filed an appeal, which was rejected by the Iraqi Court on December 26, 2006. Four days later, on December 30, 2006, the Muslim holiday of 'Id al-Adha, Hussein was executed by hanging in Baghdad. Before his death, Hussein told U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation interrogators that he had misled the world to give the impression that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction in order to make Iraq appear stronger in the face of its enemy Iran.

DANIEL E. SPECTOR

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Iran-Iraq War; Iranian Revolution; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Kurds; Kuwait; Reza Pahlavi, Mohammad

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Hussein, Uday

Birth Date: June 18, 1964
Death Date: July 22, 2003

Iraqi government official, commander of the Fedayeen Saddam, and eldest son of Iraqi president and dictator Saddam Hussein. Uday Hussein was born in Baghdad on June 18, 1964, and was initially groomed to succeed his father as dictator of Iraq. Uday's mental instability, cruelty, and alcoholism, however, resulted in his being passed over for his younger brother, Qusay Hussein. Uday's fall from favor began in 1988. During a dinner party that year, he murdered his father's favorite bodyguard and food taster, Kamil Hanna Jajjo. Jajjo had supposedly introduced Saddam to his most recent mistress, which Uday viewed as insulting to his own mother. Originally sentenced to death, Uday was instead imprisoned and tortured. Upon his release, he was exiled to Switzerland as an assistant to the Iraqi ambassador. After six months, however, Swiss authorities quietly expelled Hussein after he threatened to kill a Swiss citizen in a restaurant.

Upon his return to Iraq, Uday attempted to rebuild his power base but was unable to control his sadistic and volatile nature. As head of the Iraqi Olympic Committee, he ordered the torture of athletes whom he believed were not performing to the best of their ability. In one instance, a missed soccer goal resulted in the offending athlete being dragged though gravel and then submerged in raw sewage. Uday also began to dominate the state-owned media, controlling state radio and the youth magazine *Babel.* As minister of youth affairs, Uday headed the paramilitary organization Fedayeen Saddam.

In 1994, Saddam granted Uday control of Iraq's oil-smuggling operations, which were in violation of sanctions by the United Nations (UN) that had been imposed following the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Supervising up to 150,000 barrels of smuggled oil a day provided a vast income. With this revenue, Uday lived a life of ostentatious luxury. He purchased hundreds of foreign sports cars, storing them in underground garages throughout Baghdad. At his numerous palaces, staffs were maintained around the clock, including a personal shopper and two trainers for his pet lions. At the palaces, Uday set up torture chambers, and he reportedly ordered the kidnapping, rape, and torture of scores of Iraqi women, including married women, even brides. Brides were sometimes taken from their wedding celebrations if Uday favored them sexually.

On December 12, 1996, a botched assassination attempt riddled Uday's sports car and two escort vehicles with bullets as they sped through the upper-class Baghdad neighborhood of Mansur.

Although hit eight times in the arm, leg, and stomach, Uday survived the attack. Official blame for the attack centered on Iran, although some sources claim Saddam or his other son, Qusay, were involved.

Following the terror attacks on the United States of September 11, 2001, foreign pressure on Iraq began to mount. President Hussein and his sons rallied in the face of the overwhelming military force gathering to confront them, however. On March 18, 2003, on the eve of the Iraq War, U.S. president George W. Bush demanded that Saddam Hussein and his sons leave the country immediately or face an invasion. After they refused this ultimatum, coalition forces invaded Iraq on March 20. Uday went into hiding following the invasion, but on July 22, 2003, he and his brother, Qusay, were cornered by Special Operations Task Force 20 and elements of the U.S. Army's 101st Airborne Division in Mosul, Iraq. After a four-hour firefight, Uday, Qusay, Qusay's 14-year-old son, and a bodyguard were shot dead. Saddam Hussein, meanwhile, was apprehended by American forces on December 13, 2003, and was executed for war crimes on December 30, 2006.

Robert W. Malick

See also

Hussein, Qusay; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present

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Hussein ibn Talal, King of Jordan

Birth Date: November 14, 1935
Death Date: February 7, 1999

King of Jordan (1953–1999). Born in Amman on November 14, 1935, into the Hashimite family who had governed the holy cities in the Hijaz prior to the Saudi invasion, Hussein was the son of Prince Talal ibn Abdullah. Hussein ibn Talal was educated in Jordan and then at Victoria College in Alexandria, Egypt, before transferring to the prestigious Harrow School in Britain. He was with his grandfather King Abdullah when the king was assassinated in 1951.

Hussein's father was crowned king but was forced to abdicate the throne on August 11, 1952, because of mental illness. Hussein was proclaimed king as Hussein I and returned from Britain to take up his the throne at age 17. He formally ascended the throne on May 2, 1953.

Hussein's policies tended to be realistic and pragmatic. The nation's stability was threatened by the need to integrate the Palestinians who resettled in the East Bank and by the militancy of Palestinian refugees on the West Bank, which had been annexed by Jordan in a move that was not popular with the Israelis, the Palestinians, or other Arab states. In addition, Jordan still enjoyed considerable financial and military support from Britain, which also displeased Arab leaders who had fought British control over their countries and economies. Hussein continued the close ties with Britain until 1956. At that time, because of widespread resentment against the British over the Suez intervention in 1956, he was pressured to dismiss General John Bagot Glubb, the British head of the Arab Legion that had been formed in 1939 to fight in World War II.

The dismissal of Glubb was popular with Jordanians, but Hussein delayed another year before terminating the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty and signing the Arab Solidarity Agreement that pledged Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia to provide Jordan with an annual subsidy of $36 million. When Hussein accepted U.S. aid in 1958, however, Egyptian and Syrian leaders began to campaign against him.

By the mid-1960s, Hussein was making attempts to alleviate the increasing isolation that separated Jordan from neighboring Arab states. After some hesitation, he linked his country with Egypt in war against Israel, permitting Jordanian long-range artillery fire against Jewish areas of Jerusalem and the suburbs of Tel Aviv in the 1967 Six-Day War. The Israelis had hoped that Jordan would remain neutral, but Hussein's steps brought retaliatory Israeli air strikes. Hussein later said that he made the decision because he feared that Israel was about to invade. The war was a disaster for Jordan, which lost the entire West Bank and its air force and suffered some 15,000 casualties. After the war, Hussein helped draft United Nations (UN) Resolution 242, which urged Israel to give up its occupied territories in exchange for peace.

In the early 1970s, Hussein was forced to challenge the presence of Palestinian commandoes in Jordan, because their raids into Israel were inciting retaliatory Israeli attacks on Jordan and because they challenged Hussein's authority over his own territory. After an assassination attempt on Hussein and the hijacking of four British airliners by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the destruction of these aircraft in Jordan, the king decided that Palestinian militants were threatening the very survival of Jordan and that he must take action. In 1970, in what became known as Black September, Hussein began a controversial military campaign against the Palestinian militants, forcing them from Jordanian territory. Although he achieved his goal and the Palestinian resistance moved its headquarters to Lebanon, the unrest lasted until July 1971, and his action undermined his position as the principal spokesperson for the Palestinian people.

Hussein regained favor in the Arab world when he rejected the 1979 Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty. He received considerable international criticism for his neutrality regarding Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait and for not joining the coalition against Iraq in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Jordan had to remain faithful to its own policy toward Iraq, which had resulted from their initial emergence as Hashimite kingdoms and was reflected

in their close economic ties. King Hussein nonetheless continued to play a significant role in the ongoing Middle East peace talks. In July 1994 he signed a peace agreement with Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin.

On the domestic front, Hussein was a popular but autocratic leader who guided his nation to relative prosperity. He saw to it that more Jordanians had access to running water, proper sanitation, and electricity. He also actively promoted education and dramatically increased the literacy rate. In the late 1960s he oversaw construction of a modern highway system in the kingdom.

In 1992 Hussein began to take some steps toward the liberalization of the political system and the development of a multiparty system. That same year he was diagnosed with pancreatic cancer. He underwent treatment several times in the United States, each time designating his brother Hasan as regent during his absence. Less than two weeks before his death in 1999, Hussein surprised the world by naming his eldest son, Abdullah, as crown prince and designated heir, publicly denouncing Hasan's performance as regent and ensuring his own immediate family's control of the throne. Abdullah became King Abdullah II upon Hussein's death in Amman on February 7, 1999. Beloved by Jordanians for his attention to their welfare, Hussein had strengthened Jordan's position in the Arab world and contributed to the foundations of peace in the region.

Jessica Britt

See also

Camp David Accords; Jordan; Palestine Liberation Organization; Rabin, Yitzhak

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IMMINENT THUNDER, Operation
Start Date: November 15, 1990
End Date: November 21, 1990

Joint exercise conducted during November 15–21, 1990, by U.S. amphibious units and the Saudi military on the eve of the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Operation IMMINENT THUNDER was undertaken as part of a broader deception campaign against the Iraqi military.

On August 2, 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait. Iraqi forces quickly overran that small country. In response to concerns that Iraq would also invade oil-rich Saudi Arabia, President George H. W. Bush ordered U.S. military forces to the region to protect the county's key Persian Gulf ally in what became known as Operation DESERT SHIELD. Two naval battle groups and elements of two marine amphibious units were among the forces sent to Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, the Bush administration began to develop a diplomatic and military coalition to dislodge Iraqi forces. By October 1990, coalition military planners were convinced that Iraq would not invade Saudi Arabia. Consequently, U.S. and allied military leaders began to prepare for an offensive operation to drive the Iraqis from Kuwait.

The emerging plans for the liberation of Kuwait were centered on a massive air campaign to destroy Iraq's air defenses and weaken its ground defenses. The aerial campaign would be followed by a ground invasion. U.S. general H. Norman Schwarzkopf, overall coalition commander, was concerned about the number of casualties his forces might suffer at the hands of the Iraqis, who were in strong defensive lines along the Kuwaiti-Iraq border. Consequently, he ordered the several deceptive measures to mislead and divert Iraqi forces. For instance, the coalition created a mock base with elaborate decoys for the U.S. VII Corps, whose 1,200 tanks and armored personnel carriers were 200 miles away. In addition, in an effort to disperse Iraqi units in Kuwait, coalition military planners endeavored to deceive the Iraqis into believing that part of their plans called for a large amphibious assault. Central to this effort was Operation IMMINENT THUNDER.

If successful, the coalition's leaders hoped the deception would cause the Iraqis to maintain their coastal defense troops and also deploy additional forces to the coastal areas of Kuwait to defend against the assault, thereby weakening their lines along the Saudi border. In order to make the diversion convincing, U.S. Marines and naval units carried out a series of exercises, ostensibly in preparation for an assault on Kuwait.

Prior to IMMINENT THUNDER, coalition forces conducted two small amphibious training missions on the Omani Coast, in addition to carrying out shipboard training and other exercises. Intelligence reports affirmed that the Iraqi high command was paying close attention to the exercises and enhancing their coastal defenses. The culmination of the amphibious deception plan was to be Operation IMMINENT THUNDER, which would be the largest landing exercises conducted during the Persian Gulf crisis. A U.S. naval amphibious task force of 20 ships assembled in the Gulf of Oman under the command of U.S. Rear Admiral Daniel P. March, who was also the operational commander for coalition naval forces. At the core of the naval force was the aircraft carrier *Midway*. The task force included 10,000 sailors as well as some 8,000 marines from the 4th Marine Expeditionary Brigade and the 13th Marine Expeditionary Unit. The marines were supported by air units, including helicopter strike groups. The force was ordered to conduct a week-long series of practice landings and other maneuvers. The coalition publicly announced that the exercise was to be the final preparation before it launched the operation to liberate Kuwait.

IMMINENT THUNDER began on November 15, 1990, and continued through November 21. The operation was divided into five components. The first tested the ability of coalition air forces to operate in a coordinated manner to support the landings. The second involved a series of exercises to check the task force's logistics and support capabilities and to ensure service interoperability. The third component included practice landings, as well as training missions, to simulate the link-up with main ground forces. There were also casualty evacuation simulations and rescue exercises. The fourth part was centered on training to facilitate familiarity between the U.S. and Arab forces and to make sure that non-U.S. personnel were trained on U.S. weapons and communications systems. Finally, the fifth component was an extensive after-action effort to highlight those areas that needed further training or additional exercises.

IMMINENT THUNDER involved 16 ships, 1,100 aircraft and approximately 1,000 marines. A small number of Saudi and other Arab air and ground forces also participated. U.S. Navy, Marine, and Air Force personnel and assets were all part of the operation. The task force conducted landings and other exercises along the northeast coast of Saudi Arabia, along an area about 80 miles south of Kuwait. The exercise had originally been planned for Ras Al Mishab, only 20 miles from the Kuwaiti border and within Iraqi missile range, which prompted the transfer of IMMINENT THUNDER further south. Air units from the United States and Saudi Arabia conducted practice missions, while Saudi and other Arab amphibious forces participated in landings with the U.S. Marines. On the first day, coalition aircraft flew 115 sorties under the direction of air controllers on the battleship *Missouri,* who simulated coordination of air and naval strikes on land targets.

While the maneuvers were mainly to deceive the Iraqis, coalition planners did gain valuable information and experience from IMMINENT THUNDER. The exercise allowed the planners to test systems that had been developed to coordinate air, land, and sea elements. Especially important to U.S. planners was the opportunity to practice an operation that would allow amphibious forces to link with conventional ground forces. The inclusion of Saudi forces permitted the coalition to test its joint warfare capabilities and its interoperability in communications, logistics, and transport. Also, the operation provided a means for U.S. personnel to become acclimated to the region and to examine equipment for potential performance problems in the desert environment. The U.S. Navy was able to test successfully its Aegis Combat System, which allowed air controllers to coordinate multiple aircraft during the practice landings and reinforced the utility of the system for amphibious assaults. In addition, tests of communications equipment and procedures were successful, as were helicopter refueling exercises.

IMMINENT THUNDER also included tests of remote-controlled surveillance aircraft. Meanwhile, problems were discovered in the coalition's weather satellite and forecasting systems. Steps were taken to refine the weather system prior to the invasion. The navy had planned to use hovercraft during the exercises to highlight U.S. technological advantages; however, high seas and rough weather forced the abandonment of the effort after two attempts. This failure forced the navy to reconsider the conditions under which the vehicles could be utilized.

To maximize the deception, U.S. military planners launched a broad media campaign to highlight the exercises. Reporters and journalists from around the world were invited to observe the maneuvers, and the U.S. military provided transport for television crews to fly to the region and broadcast images of the practice landings. At the conclusion of IMMINENT THUNDER, President Bush traveled to Saudi Arabia and had a Thanksgiving service with the marines on November 23. Meanwhile, the stories and images were dutifully noted by Iraqi intelligence. The coalition's deception worked extraordinarily well. The Iraqi military positioned six divisions, some 80,000 troops, along the Kuwaiti coast prior to the invasion.

After IMMINENT THUNDER was concluded, coalition military planners finalized both their defensive plans—in the unlikely event that Iraq launched a preemptive strike against Saudi Arabia—and the plans for the liberation of Kuwait. While the initial planning had been for the task force to serve in a diversionary capacity, plans were developed for an amphibious assault near Ash Shuaybah in Kuwait, depending on the rate of the ground advance. If coalition forces met heavy resistance, the landings would serve as a second front. Meanwhile, and concurrent with Operation IMMINENT THUNDER, the U.S. naval amphibious task force participated in the continuing economic and weapons blockade against Iraq in the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf. After IMMINENT THUNDER, the task force conducted a smaller training mission, Operation SEA SOLDIER III, in Oman to further refine combined and joint communications and coordination capabilities. The follow-on exercise was also designed to continue the deception that the coalition still planned an amphibious assault and to provide coalition forces the opportunity to correct problems that emerged during IMMINENT THUNDER. It included more than 3,500 marines and 1,000 vehicles.

The international coalition commenced air strikes on January 17, 1991. The ground invasion followed on February 24. The speed of the coalition's advance eliminated the need for an amphibious second front, and the war was over by February 28.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Amphibious Assault Ships; Amphibious Command Ships; Logistics, Persian Gulf War; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Planning for; Fast Combat Support Ships; Support and Supply Ships, Strategic; Tank Landing Ships, U.S.; United States Marine Corps, Persian Gulf War

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Improvised Explosive Devices

Improvised explosive devices (IEDs) have been employed in warfare almost since the introduction of gunpowder. They remain the weapon of choice for insurgent and resistance groups that lack the numerical strength and firepower to conduct conventional operations against an opponent. IEDs are the contemporary form of booby traps employed in World War II and the Vietnam War. Traditionally they are used primarily against enemy armor and thin-skinned vehicles.

A water cart filled with explosives was employed in a futile effort to assassinate Napoleon Bonaparte in Paris as he traveled to the opera on Christmas Eve 1800. The emperor escaped injury, but the blast killed the little girl the conspirators paid to hold the horse's bridle and killed or maimed a dozen other people. In more recent times, IEDs have been employed against civilian targets by Basque separatists and the Irish Republican Army. Molotov cocktails, or gasoline bombs, are one form of IED. The largest, most deadly IEDs in history were the U.S. jetliners hijacked by members of the terrorist organization Al Qaeda on September 11, 2001, and used to attack the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C.

IEDs became one of the chief weapons employed by insurgents during the Iraq War (2003) and its aftermath to attack U.S. forces and Iraqi police to carry out sectarian violence. The simplest type of IED was a hand grenade, rigged artillery shell, or bomb triggered by a trip-wire or simple movement. It might be as simple as a grenade with its pin pulled and handle held down by the weight of a corpse; once the corpse is raised, the grenade explodes. Bombs and artillery shells are also used as IEDs. Such weapons may be exploded remotely by wireless detonators in the form of garage door openers and two-way radios or infrared motion sensors. More powerful explosives and even shaped charges can be used to attack armored vehicles. Casualty totals are one way to judge the effectiveness of a military operation, and growing casualties from IEDs in the 1980s and 1990s induced the Israeli Army to withdraw from southern Lebanon.

Spencer C. Tucker

Iraqi civilians and police officers examine the destruction wrought by a car bomb detonated in Baghdad on April 14, 2005. The attack was aimed at the Iraqi police force, but only 2 of 18 casualties were police officers. (U.S. Department of Defense)

See also
Antitank Weapons; Iraqi Insurgency

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Infantry Fighting Vehicles, Iraqi

Iraq utilized mainly Soviet- and Warsaw Pact–manufactured infantry fighting vehicles from the 1980s through the early 2000s. Infantry fighting vehicles (IFVs) are used chiefly to transport soldiers, but IFVs differ from armored personnel carriers (APCs) because they have heavy armaments ranging from cannon to mortars to missiles. IFVs are usually assigned to armored or mechanized divisions.

In the Iraqi Army under the regime of Saddam Hussein, each armored division typically had one mechanized brigade that included IFVs and APCs. In addition, each mechanized division had one to two mechanized brigades. In 1980, at the beginning of the Iran-Iraq War, Iraq had six armored divisions and two mechanized divisions, as well as a number of independent armored and mechanized brigades. By the time of the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Iraq had more than 2,000 IFVs in addition to some 2,000 armored scout and reconnaissance vehicles in six armored and three mechanized regular divisions and three armored and six mechanized Republican Guard divisions. During the 2003 Iraq War, the country had approximately 1,000 IFVs, divided among six armored and four mechanized divisions, with a number of mechanized brigades assigned to Republican Guard divisions.

The main IFVs used by the Iraqi Army in its succession of conflicts were the BMP (*boyevaya mashina pekhoty,* Russian for "fighting vehicle for infantry") series BMP-1 and BMP-2, produced by the Soviet Union. The BMP-1 was in many ways the first true IFV, and it quickly gained in popularity after it was introduced in the 1960s. While many variations were produced, the basic BMP-1 had a crew of three and could carry eight soldiers. It was armed with a 73-millimeter (mm) recoilless cannon, an antitank guided missile system, and a 7.62-mm machine gun. The vehicle's armor was designed to withstand the heavy .50-caliber machine guns of the United States, as well as 20-mm cannon. It had an operational range of 300–375 miles and a top speed of 40 miles per hour (mph). It was also amphibious, with a speed through water of 4.3 to 5 miles per hour. During the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War between Israel and an alliance of Arab states backing Egypt and Syria, the BMP-1 proved tough and reliable, and it was able to traverse areas where APCs and other armored vehicles became bogged down.

The rear of the BMP-1 was more vulnerable than the front because the armor was lighter there. The IFV was also prone to heavy damage from land mines on its left side, a flaw that was discovered during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan (1979–1988), as well as the Iran-Iraq War. The BMP-1 was also difficult to operate in hot desert climates because it did not have an air conditioning system. This compelled crew members to leave the IFV's hatches open, increasing its vulnerability to small-arms fire.

To address these problems and update the design of the vehicle, the Soviets introduced the BMP-2. Production began in 1980. The new version of the popular IFV had a smaller main weapon, a 30-mm automatic cannon, but it also had its predecessor's antitank missile and machine gun. The new weaponry provided the IFV with an effective defense against helicopters. The BMP-2's speed and range were very similar to the older model's, but it had an improved engine and better armor. The BMP-2 also had a crew of three, but only carried seven troops because of a reconfiguration of the crew seating (the result of an effort to make the crew less vulnerable to injury from land mines).

Iraq began purchasing the BMPs in the early 1980s and had approximately 1,800 by the time of the Persian Gulf War. Iraq designed two upgrades for its BMPs. The first, dubbed the Saddam I, added additional armor. Before it entered production, the Saddam II was introduced. It had additional armor and was used mainly by Republican Guard units. Iraq also modified several dozen BMP-1s to serve as battlefield ambulances.

Iraq also acquired a large number of Soviet- and Warsaw Pact–produced BRDMs (*boyevaya razvedyvatelnaya dozornaya mashina,* Russian for "combat patrol and reconnaissance vehicle"). The amphibious BRDMs were primarily reconnaissance vehicles but were capable of carrying up to four passengers. There were several models, but most were armed with a heavy 14.5-mm machine gun and a lighter 7.62-mm machine gun. Some models had antitank missiles or surface-to-air missile systems. Iraq used a model that had a 23-mm cannon. Most of the vehicles had a crew of four, but Iraq purchased a Czech variation of the BRDM, known as the OT-65, that had a smaller crew of either two or three, depending on the model, and could carry a four-man deployable reconnaissance team. The vehicles had a range of 470 miles and a top speed of 55 mph (road); water range was 75 miles at a top speed of 5.5 mph. At the start of the Persian Gulf War, Iraq had approximately 1,200–1,300 BRDMs.

Iraq's IFVs performed well against its adversaries during the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War. However, in Iraq's two conflicts against U.S.-led coalitions, the Western IFVs proved vastly superior. U.S. forces used the M-2 and M-3 Bradley fighting vehicles, while the British used the Warrior IFV, and the French used the AMX-10. These IFVs generally had better communications capabilities, speed, and armaments. Iraqi IFV antitank guided missiles proved largely ineffective against coalition armor because of a combination of poor tactics and inferior weaponry. The average date at which coalition armored units, including both tanks and IFVs, were introduced was 1974, while among the Iraqi systems, the

Kuwaiti soldiers sit beside an Iraqi BMP-2 infantry fighting vehicle captured during Operation DESERT STORM in 1991. (U.S. Department of Defense)

average introduction date was 1964, giving the coalition forces a clear technological edge.

Among U.S. mechanized forces, the Bradleys actually destroyed more enemy armor, IFVs, and APCs than did the main battle tanks of the United States. Iraqi tactics also put their IFVs at considerable risk. Iraqi IFVs and other armored units lacked the autonomy of command and freedom of action that were common among their coalition opponents. This constrained offensive action. In addition, when coalition forces placed tanks or IFVs in defensive positions, they dug pits and placed the bodies of vehicles below the surface, creating a very low silhouette. In contrast, Iraqi practice was simply to place sand or earth around the armored units without affecting their silhouette. Iraqi minefields and antitank obstacles were also poorly deployed and did little to deter offensive action by coalition armor.

The coalition IFVs also had better air support, and significant numbers of Iraqi IFVs were destroyed in air strikes. For instance, on March 2, 1991, U.S. attack helicopters were able to destroy 49 IFVs in strikes on a Republican Guard division (the attacks also destroyed 32 main battle tanks). Large numbers of Iraqi IFVs were also destroyed in engagements with coalition main battle tanks, supported by IFVs. For example, on February 26, 1991, 9 M-1 tanks and 11 Bradleys destroyed 37 Iraqi tanks and 32 IFVs and APCs in one engagement. By the next day, the U.S. VII Corps had destroyed 1,350 Iraqi tanks and more than 1,200 IFVs and APCs, with the loss of only 36 of its armored vehicles. Approximately half of Iraq's IFVs were destroyed in the Persian Gulf War, by either combat or self-destruction by retreating Iraqi forces.

In the immediate aftermath of the 1991 conflict, Iraqi armor and IFV units played important roles in suppressing the Shiite uprising in the southern areas of the country. They were also used effectively against Kurdish forces in the north. However, United Nations (UN) sanctions precluded the purchase of new IFVs as well as spare parts or upgrades for the existing fleets of vehicles. Consequently, Iraq's IFV capabilities were seriously degraded, as were its other military resources.

During the 2003 Iraq War, Iraqi IFVs were not used extensively in offensive action. Instead, the vehicles were mainly utilized in static defensive positions and to move troops to new positions. Meanwhile, coalition IFVs were frequently used to make raids into urban areas and to secure positions. During the campaign, coalition armored units made some of the quickest advances in modern warfare, while Iraqi armor continued to be used in a defensive fashion. As was the case in the Persian Gulf War, Iraqi IFVs were highly vulnerable to coalition airpower and proved inferior against coalition armored units. By the time U.S. forces reached Baghdad in April 2003, Iraqi resistance had begun to transition to guerrilla-style insurgency tactics.

While the majority of Iraqi IFVs were destroyed during the 2003 invasion, the new Iraqi government has begun to acquire an updated version of the BMP-1 as its main IFV. Iraqi security forces have about 450 of the BMPs (including about 300 older models). Iraq has also acquired new versions of the BRDM-2. The new BRDMs, produced by Bulgaria, have twin 14.5-mm machine guns and updated armor protection. The IFVs and armored scout vehicles have enhanced the operational capabilities of the Iraqi Army, but remain vulnerable to roadside bombs and mines.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Armored Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; BMP-1 Series Infantry Fighting Vehicles; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces

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INFINITE REACH, Operation
Event Date: August 20, 1998

Retaliatory U.S. bombing raid on targets in Afghanistan and Sudan on August 20, 1998. The raids, which took place virtually simultaneously, were carried out by sea-based Tomahawk cruise missiles launched from 10 American warships and 5 submarines operating in the Red and Arabian seas. President Bill Clinton ordered the missile attacks (code-named Operation INFINITE REACH) in retaliation for the nearly simultaneous car bombings of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, on August 7, 1998. The two blasts all but destroyed both embassy compounds and killed a total of 257 people, including 12 Americans. An additional 5,000 were wounded.

Within just a few days of the embassy bombings, the Clinton administration concluded, with the help of foreign intelligence sources, that the terrorist attacks had been perpetrated by Al Qaeda, then headquartered in Afghanistan near the Pakistani border. National security officials also believed that Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden was the likely mastermind of the deadly explosions. To send a strong and unambiguous statement that the United States would not shrink in the wake of terrorism, Clinton ordered attacks against targets in Afghanistan—likely to be housing Al Qaeda terrorists and bin Laden himself—and against a suspected chemical weapons factory in Sudan that allegedly had links to bin Laden's network.

U.S. naval assets fired 70–75 Tomahawk cruise missiles into six terrorist training facilities located in and around Jalalabad and Khost, Afghanistan. The attacks were designed to coincide with a meeting that bin Laden had allegedly convened for August 20. Bin Laden, who was presumed to have been in one of the facilities, escaped unharmed.

Estimates of the number of deaths in the Afghanistan attacks vary widely. While the U.S. government claimed that 20 people died, Pakistani and Afghan journalists asserted at least 34 were killed in the raid. After the attack, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) learned that bin Laden had left the area only a few hours before the missiles fell. Afghanistan's Taliban government, which had given refuge to bin Laden and his followers, bitterly denounced the attacks, which also caused an anti-American stir in other Muslim nations.

Far more controversial was the cruise missile attack against the suspected chemical weapons plant in Khartoum, Sudan. The plant (known as El Shifa Pharmaceutical Industries), which the Sudanese government insisted was a pharmaceutical manufacturing center, was suspected of having links to Al Qaeda and the National Islamic Front, which was then operational in Sudan. U.S. intelligence sources alleged that the pharmaceutical factory was a cover for far more sinister purposes, namely the production of a potent nerve gas that could be easily weaponized or employed in terror attacks against civilians.

Approximately 13 Tomahawk cruise missiles hit the El Shifa factory, causing heavy damage. The Sudanese government reported one person dead and seven people injured in the attack, which it roundly condemned. The Sudanese insisted that the bombed plant had no chemicals capable of being used as weapons. Further, it claimed that the El Shifa facility was the nation's principal drug-manufacturing factory, and that its loss would cause a serious crisis in Sudan's health care system. Since the attack, many sources have suggested that the United States erred in linking the plant to chemical weapons and utilized weak intelligence. There was no clear link between bin Laden and anyone associated with El Shifa.

Sudan demanded an immediate apology from Washington, which was not forthcoming. The United States claimed that it did not know that the bombed plant was manufacturing drugs, a claim that was later called into question. Several days after the attack, thousands of Sudanese gathered in Khartoum to protest the U.S. bombing; Sudan's president, Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir, personally led the anti-American demonstration. Since then, some in the United States continued to insist that the El Shifa plant was being used for nefarious purposes, despite evidence that the plant may not have been involved in the making of chemical weapons and was not linked to Al Qaeda or other terrorist groups.

For detractors of the United States—and of President Bill Clinton—the timing of the cruise missile attacks was more than

curious, coming just three days after Clinton had been forced to admit that he had indeed had a sexual relationship with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky. The Lewinsky affair had endured since January 1998 and, until August, Clinton had maintained his innocence. He was later impeached but acquitted. Some argue that Clinton used the high-profile cruise missile attacks to deflect attention away from the scandal. The allegations that the administration tried to distract the public were also fueled by a 1997 movie titled *Wag the Dog,* in which an American president embroiled in a sex scandal employs a Hollywood producer to fabricate a war with Albania to take attention off his own personal problems.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Chemical Weapons and Warfare; Clinton, William Jefferson; Dar es Salaam, Bombing of U.S. Embassy; Missiles, Cruise; Nairobi, Kenya, Bombing of U.S. Embassy; Sudan; Terrorism

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INSTANT THUNDER, Plan
Event Date: 1990

Initial air campaign plan developed in response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, providing an initial offensive option for the theater commander, General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, if Iraqi forces continued on into Saudi Arabia. INSTANT THUNDER served as the conceptual foundation for the air offensive during Operation DESERT STORM. The plan was developed by United States Air Force (USAF) staff planners in Washington, D.C., in an organization generally referred to as CHECKMATE.

Formal planning began on August 8, 1990, and evolved over the course of the month. This was a controversial move as many in the U.S. military were determined to avoid a situation similar to the Vietnam War in which, they perceived, too many planning and operational decisions were made in Washington rather that by the theater commander and his staff.

However, in this case, theater commander General Schwarzkopf specifically requested this support. He believed that his component air staff under Lieutenant General Charles A. Horner would initially be swamped with the details of rapidly deploying and preparing the large Central Command Air Force (CENTAF) for combat operations. This situation was compounded by the fact that Schwarzkopf had designated Horner as the commander of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) forward element, meaning that Horner would be the senior American in the theater and would be responsible for the disposition and logistical support for all of the U.S. forces arriving in the region. Schwarzkopf and the national leadership desired a strategic air campaign plan that could be implemented rapidly if needed, and that could become the core of a full CENTCOM campaign plan when time and circumstances allowed.

The USAF leadership assigned the task of developing the campaign plan to Air Force colonel Mike Warden, deputy director for war-fighting concepts on the Air Staff. Warden had actually directed his staff to begin a study of the Iraqi situation before being given the assignment, and he based the planning effort on a strategic concept for the use of air power that he had been developing. Warden's concept viewed a potential enemy as a system of centers of gravity that he described as a series of concentric rings, with the most important centers of gravity in the innermost ring. In this analytical construct, the inner ring of a country was its leadership, which could be directly attacked or specifically influenced by the targets that were attacked. Warden identified the second ring as essential industries, the third as transportation or infrastructure systems, the fourth as the population center and food sources, and the fifth, outermost ring as the fielded military forces.

Warden argued that traditional military plans and operations focused on the enemy military system, but the real key to victory was the mind of the enemy commander. Although the ring model was not formally used to explain the plan, Warden's planners used it to develop lists of target sets that were based on the concept, and the plan was presented to the national leadership and to Schwarzkopf as an offensively oriented approach to defeating the Iraqi state and forcing a withdrawal from Kuwait. The name INSTANT THUNDER was selected to differentiate the approach from the gradual escalatory effort of the Vietnam War, called Operation ROLLING THUNDER. The plan was accepted as an initial approach, although it was criticized for not including enough attacks on Iraqi ground forces in Kuwait.

INSTANT THUNDER was passed on to CENTAF planners, and it ultimately became the core of the air component within the DESERT STORM campaign plan. Changes and additions to the plan included the substantial expansion of missions against Iraqi ground forces and support for coalition forces during the ground offensive, which began in February 1991.

JEROME V. MARTIN

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; Horner, Charles; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; United States Air Force, Persian Gulf War; United States Central Command

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Interceptor Body Armor

A form of body armor employed by U.S. military forces, first introduced in 1998. It has been used extensively in Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM. Manufactured by Point Blank Body Armor, Inc., Interceptor body armor replaced the Personnel Armor System for Ground Troops (PASGT) and is considerably more effective in protecting troops than traditional bulletproof outerwear. Interceptor body armor is considered a personnel protection "system," the individual parts of which work together to provide superior protection from bullets, shrapnel, and other projectiles.

The system is comprised of an outer tactical vest (OTV) and two small-arms protective inserts (SAPI). The outer vest and the inserts are made of finely woven Kevlar KM2 fibers, which are both heat and bullet resistant. The armor was tested to be able to withstand and stop a 9-millimeter (mm) 124-grain full metal jacket bullet (FMJ) traveling at a velocity of 1,400 feet per second. The system will stop a variety of slower-moving bullets and shrapnel fragments, and it features removable inserts for shoulder, neck, throat, and groin protection. The two SAPIs that may be added to the front or back of the outer vest significantly increase the system's protective capacity. Made of boron carbide ceramic, the inserts can stop 7.62-mm NATO rifle round with a muzzle velocity of 2,750 feet per second.

Interceptor body armor also features numerous configurations that mimic existing backpacks and carrying systems, so soldiers can tailor their body armor for specific tasks or missions. The body armor system is available in several exterior patterns, including coyote brown, traditional woodland camouflage, three-color desert camouflage, and the newer universal camouflage pattern. When worn with the two inserts, the total weight of the armor system is 16.4 pounds (the outer vest weighs 8.4 pounds, while the two inserts weigh 4 pounds each). This is markedly less than the Interceptor's predecessor, the PSAGT, which weighed in at a hefty 25.1 pounds. Nearly 10 pounds lighter, Interceptor body armor also allows soldiers considerably more freedom to maneuver. More recently, SAPIs designed for side protection have also been introduced. Heavier than the standard inserts, they weigh in at 7.1 pounds each. A complete armor system costs $1,585.

During the Iraq War, many infantry soldiers complained that Interceptor body armor was too cumbersome and too stout for the generally lightly-armed Iraqi insurgents they were battling. Some argued that they were unable to pursue the enemy with the full armor system and the many supplies and arms they had to carry. On the other hand, U.S. troops who principally rode in vehicles praised the system for its ability to protect against improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and ambushes.

Interceptor body armor has not been without its problems and detractors, however. In May 2005, the U.S. Marine Corps ordered the recall of more than 5,000 OTVs because they allegedly were unable to stop a 9-mm bullet, which was the requirement upon manufacture. The problems soon received press attention, and in November 2005 the Marines recalled an additional 10,342 OTVs because ballistics tests had proven their inadequacy against 9-mm bullets. The problems with the armor system led a sizable number of American troops to purchase their own civilian body armor, a development that deeply troubled the Pentagon. Furthermore, many soldiers and Marines refused to wear the additional side inserts because of their added weight, making them more vulnerable to injury or death. One Marine Corps study has suggested that 43 percent of those marines killed by torso wounds may have been saved had Interceptor body armor been more effective.

The problems with Interceptor armor received high-profile media coverage, and the U.S. Congress launched several investigations into its manufacturing and deployment. In May 2006, the U.S. Army announced that it would be sponsoring a competition for a new body-armor system that would replace the Interceptor body armor. In the meantime, numerous improvements and additions have been made to the existing body armor, including the use of an entirely new and improved outer tactical vest. In September 2006, the Marine Corps announced that its personnel would begin receiving modular tactical vests in lieu of the Interceptor OTV, made by Protective Products International. The controversies surrounding Interceptor body armor proved to be a public-relations fiasco for the Pentagon, raising claims that the Department of Defense was not adequately protecting U.S. soldiers.

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See also
Improvised Explosive Devices

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International Atomic Energy Agency

International organization first established in 1957 under the aegis of the United Nations (UN) and charged with harnessing and

controlling the use of atomic energy and technology throughout the world. The mission of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) includes the control of nuclear proliferation. The IAEA is headquartered in Vienna, Austria, although it maintains laboratories and research centers in Monaco, Italy, and Seibersdorf, Austria. With a total budget of more than 285 million euros ($443 million), the IAEA's secretariat is composed of more than 2,200 professionals, in many different fields, representing some 90 nations.

Closely affiliated with the UN, the agency is an independent, stand-alone organization, although it does provide the UN with annual reports on its activities and consults with the organization on an ad hoc basis as need arises. After the 1986 disaster at the Soviet-built Chernobyl nuclear reactor, the IAEA broadened its programs to include more safety measures aimed at civilian-oriented nuclear facilities.

The IAEA played a significant role in weapons inspections in Iraq, particularly after the 1991 Persian Gulf War and prior to the March 2003 operation, IRAQI FREEDOM. After Swedish diplomat Hans Blix became head of the IAEA in 1981, he led several inspections of Iraq's nuclear facility at Osiraq, which was destroyed in an Israeli bombing raid later that year. Blix had contended that the reactor was being developed for peaceful purposes. After that time, the agency made numerous trips into Iraq to search for illegal nuclear weapons programs. Blix complimented the Iraqis on their cooperation, but also condemned them when they refused to allow access to sites and records. Blix left the IAEA in 1997 but came out of retirement in 2000 to lead the ill-fated United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC), which was charged with determining the extent of Iraq's development of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), including nuclear weapons, prior to the March 2003 Iraq War.

In 1997, Egyptian diplomat Mohamed ElBaradei became director-general of the IAEA. ElBaradei's tenure has not been without controversy, especially in the lead up to the invasion of Iraq in March 2003, which was ostensibly launched to rid Iraq of WMDs. In 2002, ElBaradei, working in tandem with Blix's commission, visited Iraq with weapons inspectors to hunt for signs of an Iraqi nuclear weapons program. The results of the inspections were inconclusive and did not unearth any hard evidence of an Iraqi nuclear program. ElBaradei strongly opposed an invasion of Iraq based on the presumed presence of WMDs. Just prior to the coalition invasion, ElBaredei informed the UN Security Council that Anglo-American claims that Iraq had tried to purchase enriched uranium from Niger were not credible; indeed, many experts believed that a forged document was involved. The story had been used by both President George W. Bush and Secretary of State Colin L. Powell as a justification for the Iraq War.

In 2005, when ElBaradei's second term was set to expire, he received sufficient support among IAEA members nations to begin a third term, which the United States vigorously protested. Washington argued that it had always favored a two-term limit for heads of any international agency or organization. Many have posited, however, that the American resistance to a third ElBaradei term stemmed from his unwillingness to support the American line against Iraq and, later, Iran. Despite the American opposition, ElBaradei began a third term in December 2005.

Since then, ElBaradei and the IAEA have been criticized for their handling of Iran's emerging nuclear program. Tehran insists that its program is aimed only at the development of nuclear energy. Numerous Western nations, including the United States, however, believe that Tehran intends to produce nuclear weapons, and Washington has repeatedly charged ElBaradei with being far too lenient toward the Iranians. In his defense, ElBaradei has stated that the IAEA is closely monitoring the situation in Iran and will step up its efforts to ascertain the true nature and extent of the Iranian nuclear program. In October 2007, the IAEA and ElBaradei were named corecipients of the Nobel Peace Prize for their work.

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See also

Blix, Hans; ElBaradei, Muhammad Mustafa; Nuclear Weapons, Iraq's Potential for Building; United Nations Special Commission; United Nations Weapons Inspectors; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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International Emergency Economic Powers Act

Federal law that grants presidents the power to identify and respond to any unusual or extraordinary threat originating outside the United States by confiscating property and prohibiting fiscal transactions under Title 50, Chapter 35, Sections 1701–1707, United States. These confiscations and controls can be applied to individuals, groups, organizations, and foreign nations.

Congress passed the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA) on October 28, 1977. As Public Law 95-223, 91 Stat. 1626, this act falls under the provisions of the National Emergencies Act (NEA), passed in 1976, which means that an emergency declared under the act is subject to annual renewal and may be repealed at any time by a joint congressional resolution. The act is a further clarification of the Trading with the Enemy Act, which had provided a source of both presidential emergency authority and wartime authority.

There are two specific provisions contained in Section 1701 of the IEEPA. First, it authorizes the president to address "any unusual and extraordinary threat, either in whole or substantial part outside the nation, to the national security, foreign policy, or economy of the United States, if the President declares a national emergency with respect to such threat." This means that a

president can block financial transactions and freeze assets to deal with the threat. If the country is attacked, the president can also confiscate property connected with a country, group, or person that has been accused of aiding in the attack. Second, presidential authority "to which a national emergency has been declared may not be exercised for any other purpose" and "any exercise of such authorities to deal with any new threat shall be based on a new declaration of national emergency which must be with respect to such threat."

The origins and evolution of IEEPA date back to the Great Depression. In 1933, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt assumed office, his New Deal legislation implied that the president had the power to declare emergencies without limiting their scope and length of time. The Roosevelt administration claimed that there was no need to cite pertinent statutes and that it did not have to report to Congress. Subsequent presidents followed this line of thinking, including President Harry S. Truman in his response to the nationwide steel strike during the Korean War, until the U.S. Supreme Court in *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer* (1952) limited what a president could do in such an emergency. The court did not, however, limit the power of emergency declaration itself. Shortly after the Vietnam War, a 1973 Senate investigation revealed that four declared emergencies were still in existence: the 1933 gold issue; the 1950 Korean War emergency; the 1970 postal workers strike; and the 1971 response to rampant inflation. The NEA officially terminated these emergencies in 1976, and the IEEPA was passed the next year to restore executive emergency powers, albeit in a limited fashion and with oversight by Congress.

The first time the IEEPA was used was during the Jimmy Carter administration in reaction to the Iranian hostage crisis of 1979–1981. Since then, the IEEPA has been invoked by presidents against Iraq (1990–2004), for its invasion of Kuwait; Libya (1986–2004), for sponsoring terrorism; Liberia (2001–2004), for human rights violations; Panama (1988–1990), for the military coup by Manuel Noriega; South Africa (1985–1991), for its apartheid policy; Zimbabwe (since 2003), for undermining democratic institutions; North Korea (since 2008), for the risk of the proliferation of weapon-usable fission material, and other countries for supporting terrorism, including the former Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

Some of the terror organizations and terrorists targeted by the IEEPA are the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Al Qaeda, the Abu Sayyaf group, the Taliban, Ayman al-Zawahiri, Abu Abdullah, and Osama bin Laden. One of the more notable cases involving an American was in 1983, when financier Marc Rich was accused and convicted of violating the act by trading in Iranian oil during the Iranian hostage crisis. Rich was later pardoned by President Bill Clinton.

Over the years, new restrictions on certain powers have amended the IEEPA. Presidents no longer have the authority to regulate or prohibit personal communications that do not involve the transfer of items of value. Presidents cannot regulate or prohibit the transfer of articles for humanitarian aid unless it is deemed such transfers would interfere with the ability to deal with the emergency or endanger U.S. military forces. Nor can a president regulate or prohibit the importation from any country or exportation to any country informational materials such as records, photographs, compact discs, CD-ROMs, artworks, and publications.

When the act was first passed, presidents used it to order sanctions directed at specific nations. Since then, presidents have used the IEEPA to shut down terrorist organizations and to cut off aid and support to individuals. One recent case occurred in 2006, when Javed Iqbal was arrested and charged with conspiracy for violating the act by airing material produced by Al-Manar Television in New York City during the Israel-Lebanon conflict that summer. The IEEPA has taken on greater importance as well as more scrutiny in light of the Global War on Terror.

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See also

Al-Manar Television; Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Global War on Terror; Iraq, Sanctions on; Taliban

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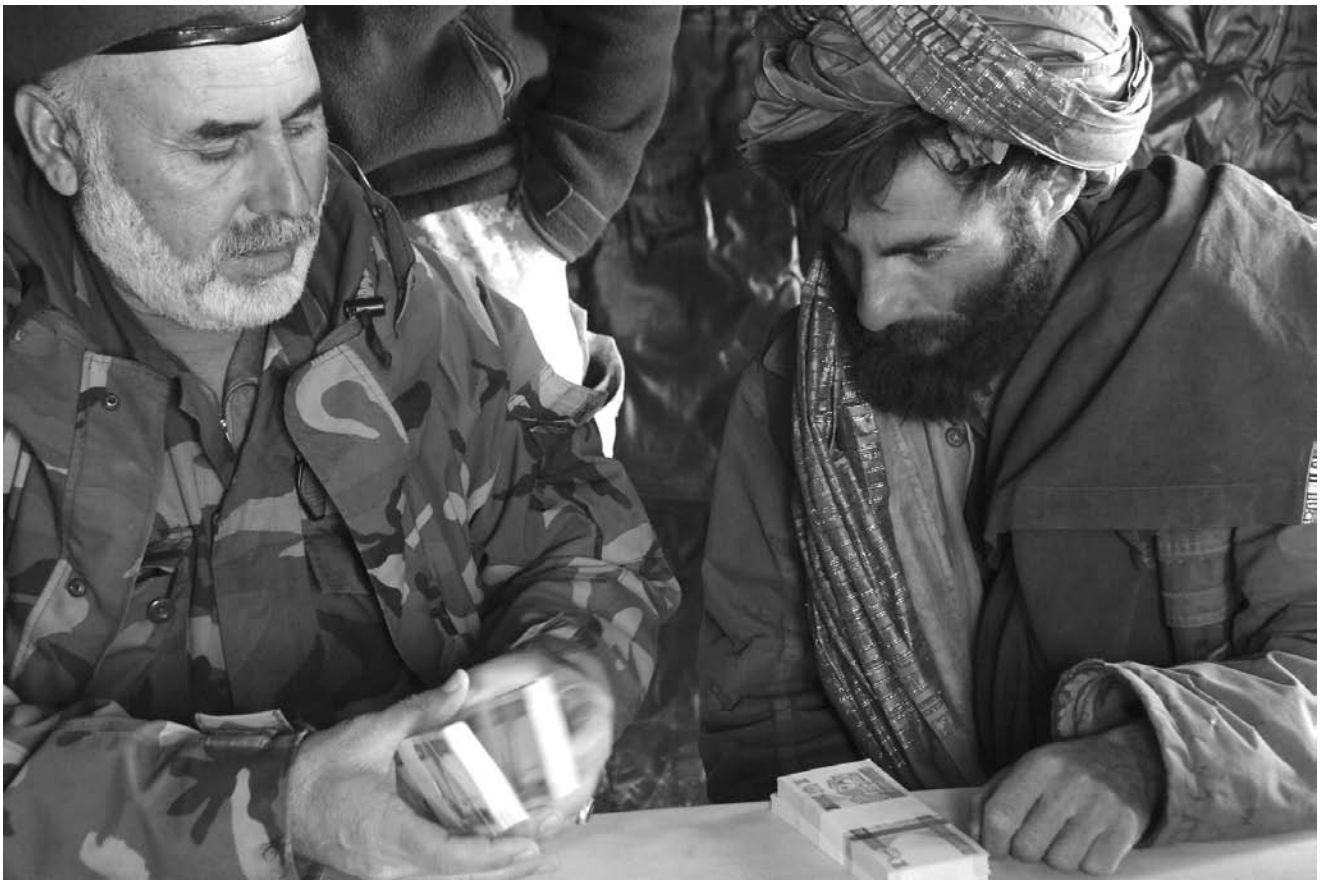
International Security Assistance Force

Multinational military security and assistance mission to Afghanistan, currently led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and formed by the United Nations (UN) Security Council on December 20, 2001. The International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) is composed of a military headquarters, an air task force, regional commands, forward support bases, and Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs). Its mission is to help the Afghan central government extend its authority throughout the provinces, mentor and train the Afghan National Army and Afghan National Police, conduct military operations in coordination with Afghan security forces to stabilize and secure the country, assist the Afghan government in disarming illegal militias, support Afghan counternarcotics programs, and provide humanitarian assistance when needed.

In December 2001, two months after the United States and coalition forces began Operation enduring freedom to destroy Al Qaeda and topple the Taliban government in Afghanistan, the international community held a conference in Bonn, Germany, to assist Afghanistan in creating a stable government and reconstructing the country. This international effort, known as the Bonn Agreement, included a military component. On December 20, 2001, the United Nations Security Council authorized the deployment of an International Security Assistance Force to operate in the Afghan capital at Kabul. Its mission was to assist with



Afghan National Army major Gul Akbar gives a cash payment to an Afghan farmer on November 17, 2009, at Forward Operating Base Wolverine in Zabul, Afghanistan. The International Security Assistance Force was compensating farmers for using their land in support of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. (U.S. Department of Defense)

stabilizing the country and to create conditions for the establishment of peace. The ISAF was not a United Nations force but rather an organization created by volunteer countries acting under the authority of the United Nations Security Council.

The United Kingdom headed the first ISAF rotation, from December 2001 to July 2002. Eighteen additional countries contributed troops, equipment, and other assets, bringing the initial number of troops to 5,000. According to the United Nations Security Council mandate, this force could only operate in Kabul. Turkey commanded ISAF II from July 2002 to January 2003. Germany, Canada, France, Turkey, and Italy each led a subsequent ISAF rotation, with each rotation lasting six months. In addition, the United Kingdom led a 10-month rotation from May 2006 to February 2007. U.S. lieutenant general Dan K. McNeill served as ISAF commander from February 2007 to May 2008, followed by General David D. McKiernan, another American, who took over as ISAF commander in June 2008. ISAF commanders coordinate their activities with the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan and other top coalition leaders.

One problem of the ISAF command arrangement was that each rotation lasted only six months, which required a constant search for another coalition partner to volunteer to lead the organization. Even with briefings and coordinated handovers from one command to the next, the new, incoming staff usually lacked sufficient knowledge or understanding of conditions in Afghanistan. This inexperience led to uneven transitions in programs and operations.

NATO finally provided the solution to the rotating ISAF headquarters problem. In April 2003, the North Atlantic Council authorized a peacekeeping force in Afghanistan, which would be responsible for the command, coordination, planning, and headquarters for ISAF. A permanent NATO command also allowed smaller coalition nations to participate more fully in what would become a multinational headquarters, since it was too difficult for them to lead a 1,700-strong ISAF staff on their own. NATO formally assumed command of the ISAF on August 11, 2003. Its primary mission was to focus on stabilization, reconstruction, and maintaining security in relatively quiet areas of Afghanistan, while U.S. forces concentrated on combat operations against insurgent forces as well as training the Afghan National Army.

In 2003, ISAF headquarters and coalition troops consisted of 5,882 personnel from 32 nations and still operated exclusively in Kabul. In October 2003, however, the UN Security Council approved the expansion of ISAF into other areas of Afghanistan.

Estimated International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) Troop Strength (as of April 2009)

Country	*Organization Affiliation*	*Troop Strength*
Albania	NATO	140
Australia	None	1,090
Austria	EAPC	2
Azerbaijan	EAPC	90
Belgium	NATO	450
Bosnia and Herzegovina	None	2
Bulgaria	NATO	820
Canada	NATO	2,830
Croatia	NATO	280
Czech Republic	NATO	580
Denmark	NATO	700
Estonia	NATO	140
Finland	EAPC	110
France	NATO	2,780
Georgia	EAPC	1
Germany	NATO	3,465
Greece	NATO	140
Hungary	NATO	370
Iceland	NATO	8
Ireland	EAPC	7
Italy	NATO	2,350
Jordan	None	7
Latvia	NATO	160
Lithuania	NATO	200
Luxembourg	NATO	9
Macedonia	EAPC	170
Netherlands	NATO	1,770
New Zealand	None	150
Norway	NATO	490
Poland	NATO	1,590
Portugal	NATO	30
Romania	NATO	860
Singapore	None	20
Slovakia	NATO	230
Slovenia	NATO	70
Spain	NATO	780
Sweden	EAPC	290
Turkey	NATO	660
Ukraine	EAPC	10
United Arab Emirates	None	25
United Kingdom	NATO	8,300
United States	NATO	26,215
Total		58,391

The first extension was into the northern provinces. The joint civil-military Provincial Reconstruction Teams, which conducted reconstruction efforts and supported the expansion of the central Afghan government's authority into the provinces, provided the means to begin the expansion. The ISAF took control of the Kondoz PRT from Germany in December 2003. Soon after, the ISAF assumed control of four additional PRTs—in Mazar-e Sharif, Meymaneh, Fayzabad, and Baghlan. By October 2004, the ISAF became responsible for operations in the nine northern provinces.

Stage two of the expansion occurred in the western provinces in May 2006. The ISAF took control of the Herat and Farah PRTs as well as a forward support base in Herat. The ISAF opened new PRTs in Chaghcharan and Qala-i Now in September 2006. The northern and western provinces constituted about half of Afghanistan's territory, and were the most stable and secure areas. The expansion of the ISAF into the violent southern and eastern provinces proved more difficult. Beginning in July 2006, the ISAF took responsibility for the volatile southern provinces, including the heart of the Taliban-led insurgency in the Helmand, Kandahar, and Uruzgan provinces. At this time, the number of ISAF forces increased from 10,000 to 20,000 troops. The ISAF completed the final phase of the expansion in October 2006. As of August 2008, the ISAF commands 52,700 troops in Afghanistan, including troops from the United States; operates 26 PRTs; and represents the contributions of 40 nations. An additional 19,000 U.S. troops operate independently from the ISAF along the Afghan-Pakistan border.

While the ISAF commander is headquartered in Kabul, his chain of command extends back through multiple headquarters in Europe. The ISAF commander reports to the Allied Joint Force Command Headquarters Brunssum (JFC HQ Brunssum) in the Netherlands and the joint force commander, currently in Germany. The joint force commander reports to the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE), located in Mons, Belgium. The distance of the chain of command and the differing rules governing how each of the various nations can engage in combat has often limited the effectiveness of ISAF operations. Some nations limit the kinds of engagements their troops may engage in, and some do not allow their troops to engage in combat operations at all. These national caveats hamper the effective use of coalition troops and shift the burden of heavy fighting to those nations with more freedom to conduct military operations, such as Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States, among others. The constraints have been a constant source of tension between the NATO-led ISAF and the United States.

In addition to supplying headquarters personnel and combat forces for operations in Afghanistan, ISAF member nations contribute funding and equipment for the Afghan security forces. Slovenia, Hungary, and Latvia have provided small arms, mortars, and ammunition, while others, including Poland, Germany, and Romania, have donated uniforms and spare parts for weapons systems. Other nations have donated such military equipment as howitzers, tanks, aircraft, and helicopters. The ISAF currently participates in Task Force Phoenix, the military organization whose mission is to train the Afghan National Army and Afghan National Police by providing personnel for the headquarters and for the embedded mentoring and training teams that deploy with Afghan army units.

Since the ISAF has taken control of most military operations in Afghanistan, the level of violence has risen considerably in the southern and eastern provinces, while areas in the north and west remain stable. The Taliban and other enemy forces have adopted such guerrilla and terrorist tactics as ambushes, roadside bombs, and suicide bombs in the south and east. For example, roadside bombs increased from 60 detonations in 2003 to 1,256 in 2007. Since 2006, the worst fighting has taken place in the southern province of Helmand, where British and Canadian troops serve.

In December 2007, the Afghan National Army, supported by ISAF troops, engaged in several days of hard fighting to liberate Musa Qala from Taliban control.

In more stable areas, ISAF has contributed to reconstruction efforts, building infrastructure such as roads and bridges as well as supporting provincial and local governments. As of April 2008, over 5,600 civil-military reconstruction projects have been completed. While the economy is improving in Afghanistan, the population's reliance on growing poppy for the illegal narcotic drug trade in opium and for heroin production continues to be one of the more difficult problems to solve. There is ample evidence that illegal drug money is helping to fund the Taliban insurgency, but other evidence shows deep involvement in the drug trade by associates and relatives of the current Afghan government. The initial American strategy in Afghanistan of the Barack Obama administration was to target individuals higher up in the drug trade as well as to destroy crops.

While some Afghans do support the Taliban, a December 2007 poll suggested that the population supports international involvement in Afghanistan, including the presence of international military forces and the reconstruction efforts of the coalition.

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See also

Afghan National Army; Afghanistan; Bonn Agreement; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Provincial Reconstruction Teams, Afghanistan; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan; Task Force Phoenix

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Interrogation, Coercive

See Coercive Interrogation

Intifada, First

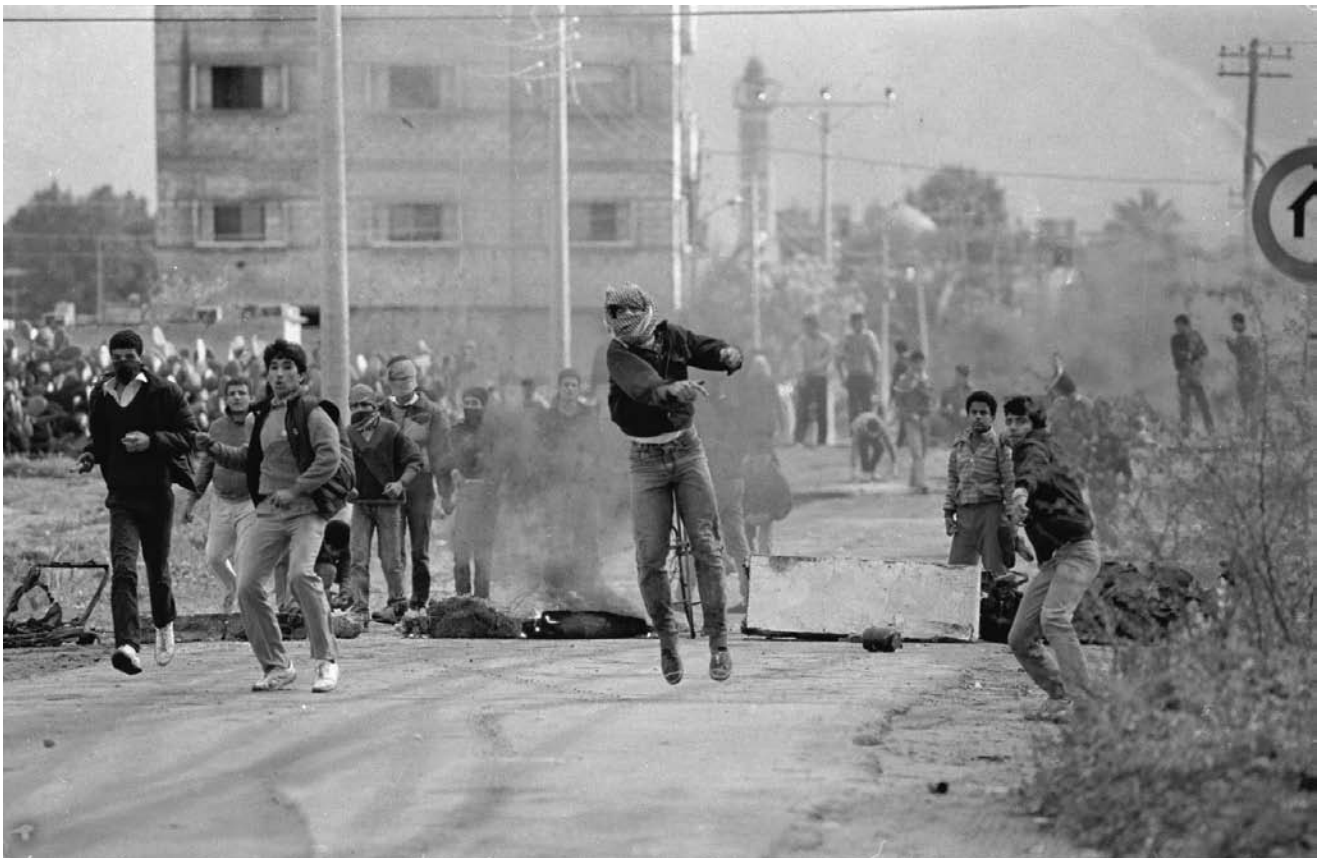
Start Date: December 1987
End Date: September 1993

A spontaneous protest movement by Palestinians against Israeli rule and an effort to establish a Palestinian state through a series of demonstrations, improvised attacks, and riots. The First Intifada (literally meaning "shaking off") began in December 1987 and ended in September 1993 with the signing of the Oslo Accords and the creation of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA).

The founding of Israel in 1948 created a situation in which Palestinians and citizens of the new Israeli state were attacked and evicted from their homes, and able to resettle only where the Israeli military permitted. Others were forced to become refugees. This basic reality would remain the most contentious issue in the region for decades to come. Palestinians hoped for a return to their land and property, but their rights were not recognized by Israel. Those active politically at first thought they could bring about the *awda,* or the return to their land, through armed struggle. They realized, however, that they could never defeat Israel by themselves and needed other Arab states to assist them. Pro-Palestinian sentiment was generally shared by other Arab nations and by the Arab world at large, and material and military support often followed. Palestinians had resisted the repressive measures of the 1950s and 1960s, but they were unable to change their circumstances. Israel's treatment of them became even worse later, especially with the ascendance of the Likud Party in Israel. Some Palestinians joined what was called the Movement of the Camps in the refugee areas in 1969 when, after the great Arab failure in the 1967 Six-Day War, it was believed that Palestinians must defend themselves through any means necessary. In the early 1970s and 1980s, as Palestinians experienced even poorer treatment, more property encroachment, and more difficulties, their leadership moved toward negotiation as a strategy. By the time of the intifada, most Palestinians had experienced or knew those who had experienced Israel's de jure or de facto draconian civil and criminal enforcement practices, including torture, summary executions, mass detentions, and the destruction of property and homes.

In 1987, strained relations between Palestinians and Israelis were pushed to the limit when, on October 1, Israeli soldiers ambushed and killed seven Palestinian men from Gaza alleged to have been members of the Palestinian terrorist organization Islamic Jihad. A few days later, an Israeli settler shot a Palestinian schoolgirl in the back. With violence against Israelis by Palestinians also on the increase elsewhere, a wider conflict may have been inevitable.

The tension only mounted as the year drew to a close. On December 4, an Israeli salesman was found murdered in Gaza. On December 6, a truck driven by the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) struck a van, killing its four Palestinian occupants. That same day, sustained and heavy violence involving several hundred Palestinians took place in the Jabalya refugee camp, where the four Palestinians who died in the traffic accident had lived. The unrest spread quickly and eventually involved other refugee camps. By the end of December, the violence had made its way to Jerusalem. The Israelis reacted with a heavy hand, firing at unarmed protesters, which only fanned the fires of Palestinian outrage. On December 22, 1987, the United Nations (UN) Security Council officially denounced the Israeli reaction to the unrest, which had taken the lives of scores of Palestinians.



Ignoring a pouring rain, Palestinian protesters, some with their faces covered in the traditional keffiyeh headdress, hurl rocks at Israel Defense Forces soldiers, not seen in this photograph. The confrontation took place in Nablus in the occupied West Bank on January 12, 1988. (AP/Wide World Photos)

The result of the escalating spiral of violence was the intifada, a series of Palestinian protests, demonstrations, and ad hoc attacks whose manifestations ranged from youths throwing rocks at Israeli troops to demonstrations by women's organizations. While the movement was quite spontaneous at first, a shadowy organization, the Unified Leadership of the Intifada, emerged, issuing directives via numbered statements. Along with a series of general strikes and boycotts, the demonstrations caused such disruption to the Israeli state that the government responded with military force. Heated tensions proved a hotbed for further violence, which led to increasingly violent reprisals on both sides. Some Palestinian boys and young men advanced from throwing rocks to throwing Molotov cocktails. Others simply burned tires and used spray paint to write graffiti of the intifada; merchants closed their stores, and Palestinians boycotted some Israeli goods and tried to produce their own. Israeli rules were such that the Palestinian flag and its colors were banned, so these were displayed by the demonstrators. In the meantime, Israeli defense minister Yitzhak Rabin exhorted the IDF to "break the bones" of demonstrators. Rabin's tactics resulted in more international condemnation and a worsening relationship with Washington, which had already been on the skids. Moshe Arens, who succeeded Rabin in the Ministry of Defense in 1990, seemed better able to understand both the root of the uprising and the best ways of subduing it. Indeed, the number of Palestinians and Israelis killed declined during the period from 1990 to 1993. However, the intifada itself seemed to be running out of steam after 1990, perhaps because so many Palestinian men were in prison by then.

Despite continued violence on the part of Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement), on September 13, 1993, Rabin, now prime minister, and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) chairman Yasser Arafat signed the historic Oslo Accords on the White House lawn. The accords, which brought both Rabin and Arafat the Nobel Peace Prize, called for a five-year transition period during which the Gaza Strip and the West Bank would be jointly controlled by Israel and the PNA, after which power would be turned over to the Palestinian people.

The First Intifada caused both civil destruction and humanitarian suffering, but it also produced gains for the Palestinian people before it was brought to an end. First, it solidified and brought into focus a clear national consciousness for the Palestinian people and made statehood a clear national objective. Second, it cast Israeli policies toward the Palestinian people, especially the killing of Palestinian children, in a very negative light on the world stage. Third, it was seen by some Israelis to clearly indicate that their primary struggle was with Palestinians and not all Arabs. Thus, it

rekindled public and political dialogue on the Arab-Israeli conflict across Europe, in the United States, in other Middle Eastern states, and in efforts to conclude additional separate peace agreements, as it would with Jordan. Fourth, the First Intifada threatened the leadership role of the PLO in Tunis, illustrating the self-mobilization of the population in the territories and leading eventually to friction between the old guard in Tunis and younger leadership in the occupied territories. Finally, it cost Israel hundreds of millions of dollars in lost imports and tourism.

At the time the Oslo Accords were signed in September 1993, the six-year-long intifada had resulted in well over 1,000 deaths, most of them Palestinian. It is believed that approximately 1,160 Palestinians died in the uprising, of which 241 were children. On the Israeli side, 160 died, 5 of whom were children. Clearly, the IDF's inexperience in widespread riot control had contributed to the high death toll, for in the first 13 months of the intifada alone, more than 330 Palestinians were killed. Indeed, the policies and performance of the IDF split Israeli public opinion on the handling of the intifada and also invited international scrutiny.

In more recent years, continued terrorist attacks by pro-Palestinian interests, Israeli control of the Palestinian territories long beyond the time line set by the Oslo Accords, and the failure of the accords to proceed have caused unrest both in the international community and in Palestinian-Israeli relations. In 2000, a new wave of violent Palestinian protest broke out and would eventually become known as the Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Arafat, Yasser; Hamas; Intifada, Second; Islamic Jihad, Palestinian; Palestine Liberation Organization; Rabin, Yitzhak

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Intifada, Second

Start Date: September 28, 2000
End Date: 2004

A popular Palestinian uprising and period of enhanced Israeli-Palestinian hostilities that broke out on September 28, 2000, following the collapse of the Camp David peace talks that summer, and came to an unofficial end in 2004 (later, according to some). The Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada is so-named because it began at the al-Aqsa Mosque in the Old City of Jerusalem. On September 28, 2000, Israel's Likud Party leader Ariel Sharon, accompanied by a Likud Party delegation and 1,500 police and security forces, entered and moved through the Haram al-Sharif complex, where Muslim holy sites are located in Jerusalem's Old City. The area is termed the Temple Mount by Israelis and is the location of the al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. The enclave is one of Islam's three most holy sites and is sacred to Jews as well. The area had been closed to non-Muslims during prayer times and controlled by the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). Many observant Jews will not walk on the Temple Mount for fear of desecrating the remnants of the temple underneath it. Some Jewish and Christian organizations have called for the destruction of the Dome of the Rock or its relocation to an Arab country so that Jews can reclaim the site.

Sharon said that he was investigating Israeli complaints that Muslims were damaging archaeological remains below the surface of the Temple Mount. He declared Israeli control over the area, despite the understanding that even Israeli tour guides would hand over their charges to their Arab counterparts because the area was under the supervision of the PNA.

Palestinians believed that Sharon's actions and statements in the show of Israeli control over the Haram al-Sharif demonstrated Israeli contempt for limited Palestinian sovereignty and for Muslims in general. Anger built as a result, and demonstrations and riots soon erupted. Israeli troops launched attacks in Gaza, and on September 30, 2000, television footage showed the shooting of an unarmed 12-year-old boy, Muhammad Durrah, hiding behind his father as Israeli forces attacked. Protests grew more violent, involving Israeli Arabs as well as Palestinians. For the first time, stores and banks were burned in Arab Israeli communities. Thousands of Israelis also attacked Arabs and destroyed Arab property in Tel Aviv and Nazareth during the Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur. On October 12, two Israeli reservists were lynched by a mob at the Ramallah police station, further inflaming Israeli public opinion. In retaliation, Israel launched a series of air strikes against Palestinians.

On October 17, Israeli and Palestinian officials signed the Sharm al-Sheikh agreement to end the violence, but it continued nevertheless. Sharon's election as prime minister in February 2001 heightened Israel's hard-line tactics toward the Palestinians, which included the use of F-16 aircraft for the first time. Both Palestinians and Israelis admitted that the Oslo period had failed. Some Palestinians characterized their response as the warranted resistance of an embittered population that had received no positive assurances of sovereignty from years of negotiations. Others began or encouraged suicide attacks, as in the June 1, 2001, attack on Israelis waiting to enter a Tel Aviv discotheque and another attack on a Jerusalem restaurant on August 9, 2001. While some attacks were claimed by various Palestinian organizations, the degree of organizational control over the bombers and issues such as payments made to the so-called martyrs' families remain disputed.

Israeli paramedics evacuate the body of one of the victims of a suicide bombing on March 27, 2002, in the Israeli resort of Netanya, where guests had gathered for a Passover Seder, the ritual meal ushering in the Jewish holiday. At least 16 people were killed and more than 100 wounded in the attack. (AP/Wide World Photos)

These attacks in public places terrified Israelis. Those in modest economic circumstances had to use public transportation, but most malls, movie theaters, stores, and day care centers hired security guards. Israeli authorities soon began a heightened campaign of targeted killings, or assassinations, of Palestinian leaders. Some political figures began to call for complete segregation of Arabs and Israelis, even within the Green Line (the 1967 border). This would be enforced by a security wall and even population transfers, which would involve evicting Arab villagers and urban residents from Israel in some areas and forcing them to move to the West Bank.

A virulent campaign against Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) chairman and Palestinian National Authority (PNA) president Yasser Arafat's leadership began in Israel with American assent, complicating any negotiations between the two sides. Arafat was charged with corruption and with supporting the intifada. Israelis argued that he had actually planned it, a less than credible idea to most professional observers. However, the anti-Arafat campaign increased after the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) captured the ship *Santorini* filled with weapons purchased by Ahmad Jibril, head of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) General Command (a PLO faction that did not accept the Oslo Accords) in May of 2001, and captured the *Karine-A,* a vessel carrying weapons allegedly from Iran, in January 2002.

The regional response to the Second Intifada consisted of cautious condemnation by Egypt and Jordan, which had concluded peace agreements with Israel and calls of outrage from other more hard-line states, including Syria. In February 2002, Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia called for Arabs to fully normalize relations with Israel in return for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. This plan was formally endorsed at an Arab League Summit in Beirut in March, although Israeli authorities prohibited Arafat from attending the summit. The proposal was never acknowledged by Israel.

Instead, in response to a suicide bomber's attack on the Netanya Hotel on March 28, 2002, in which 30 Israeli civilians died, the Israeli military began a major military assault on the West Bank. The PNA headquarters was besieged and international negotiations became necessary when militants took refuge in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. A major attack took place at the large refugee camp at Jenin. Charges of a massacre in the IDF's onslaught there were investigated, revealing a death count of 55, smaller than had been claimed. However, the campaign ruined much of the building and the restoration that had taken place since Oslo.

The Israeli military response to the intifada did not successfully convince Palestinians to relinquish their aims of sovereignty and seemed to spark more suicide attacks rather than discourage

them. In contrast, political measures and diplomacy produced some short interruptions in the violence, which gradually lengthened on the part of some Palestinian organizations and actors. In March 2003, Mahmoud Abbas, under pressure from Israel and the United States, became the first Palestinian prime minister of the PNA because the United States and Israel refused to recognize or deal with Arafat. On April 30, 2003, the European Union (EU), the United States, Russia, and the United Nations (UN) announced the so-called Road Map to Peace that was to culminate in an independent Palestinian state.

The plan did not unfold as designed, however, and in response to an Israeli air strike intended to kill Abd al-Aziz Rantisi, the leader of Hamas, militants launched a bus bombing in Jerusalem. At the end of June 2003, Palestinian militants agreed to a *hudna* (truce), which lasted for seven weeks and longer on the part of certain groups. There was no formal declaration that the intifada had ceased, and additional Israeli assassinations of Palestinian leaders as well as suicide attacks continued. Nevertheless, Hamas respected a cease-fire from 2004 for a lengthy period. Following the Second Intifada, several other issues temporarily took center stage: Arafat's November 2004 death, the Israeli unilateral withdrawal from Gaza (without negotiations or agreement with the Palestinians), and the Palestinian elections in 2006, resulting in the negative Israeli response to Hamas's electoral victory.

Casualty numbers for the Second Intifada are disputed. By September 2004, approximately 1,000 Israelis had died, and 6,700 more had been wounded. By 2003 the Israelis reported that 2,124 Palestinians had been killed, but a U.S. source reported 4,099 Palestinians killed and 30,527 wounded by 2005. Israel's tourism sector suffered a considerable decline at a time in which inflation and unemployment were already problematic.

An outcome of the Second Intifada in the global context of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States was that Israeli officials began branding all Palestinian resistance—indeed all activity on behalf of Palestinians—as terrorism. This discourse and the heightened violence have lent credence to those who call for separation rather than integration of Israelis with Arabs, such as the anti-Arab politician Avigdor Lieberman. Therefore, the building of the security barrier known as the Israeli Security Fence, which effectively cuts thousands of Palestinians off from their daily routes to work or school, was widely supported by Israelis. Similarly, Sharon's idea of unilateral withdrawal from Gaza was essentially funded by this idea, but his government had to confront those who were unwilling to relinquish settlements in that area.

The intifada resulted in crisis and despair among some Israeli peace activists and discouraged many independent efforts by Israelis and Palestinians to engage and meet with the other side. A 2004 survey showed that the numbers of Israelis in general who believed that the 1993 Oslo Peace Accords would lead to settlements declined during the intifada, and greater numbers believed that Israel should impose a military solution on the Palestinians. Such opinions may well have shifted, however, since Israeli attacks on Lebanon in the summer of 2006.

The intifada also had deleterious effects on Palestinians who had hoped for the blossoming of normalcy in the West Bank, particularly as 85 percent of those in Gaza and 58 percent in the West Bank live in poverty. Since the outbreak of the intifada, the IDF demolished 628 housing units in which 3,983 people had lived. Less than 10 percent of these individuals were implicated in any violence or illegal activity.

Another outcome of the intifada was its highlighting of intra-Palestinian conflict. This includes that between the Tunis PLO elements of the PNA and the younger leaders who emerged within the occupied territories, between Fatah and Hamas, and between Fatah and the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades. Also evident were the difficulties of responding to Israeli demands for security when security for Palestinian citizens was not in force. Some Palestinian Israeli citizens have asserted their Palestinian identity for the very first time as a result of the intifada. The conflict most certainly caused discord in the Arab world as well.

Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Arafat, Yasser; Fatah; Hamas; Intifada, First; Palestine Liberation Organization; September 11 Attacks; September 11 Attacks, International Reactions to; Sharon, Ariel; Terrorism; United States Coordinating and Monitoring Mission

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Iran

Iran is a Middle Eastern nation of 636,293 square miles, slightly larger than the U.S. state of Alaska, with a population in 2007 of 70.473 million. Iran is bordered by the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman to the south; Turkey, Azerbaijan, the Caspian Sea, and Armenia to the north; Afghanistan and Pakistan to the east; and Iraq to the west. Iran has long been important because of its strategic location at the geographic nexus of the Middle East, Europe, and Southwest Asia. Its location captured the attention of both Britain and Russia in the 19th century, with each nation seeking to control the area. Rivalry over Iran continued in the early years of the Cold War as both the United States and the Soviet Union sought to control its oil resources.

A view of Tehran, Iran's capital and its largest city. (iStockphoto)

Iran is predominantly a Shia Islam nation. However, Shiism did not become identified with the state until the Safavid Empire formed. The Shia were found in a variety of locations in the Middle East and Southern Asia, having originated in the Arabian Peninsula before the sect actually coalesced as such. Sunni Muslims comprise the great majority of Muslims in the Middle East and around the world, and Shia Iranians have periodically viewed the actions of Sunni-dominated governments as a direct threat to their economic, political, religious, and social well-being and independence. Iran has a Sunni minority, and had a sizable Bahai and Jewish population, although members of the latter two groups have been persecuted and forced out.

In 1921, the Pahlavi dynasty was established in Iran by Shah Reza Pahlavi I, a military officer known first as Reza Khan, who led a coup against the last Qajar shah. A reformer and modernizer, Reza Pahlavi instituted agricultural, economic, and educational reforms and began the modernization of the country's transportation system. In the end, these and other reforms threatened the status of the Shia clerics in Iran, who began to oppose the shah and his reforms that tightened control over their areas of authority. Desiring to stress the country's lengthy and imperial pre-Islamic tradition and so as to include Iranians who were not from Fars (the central province), Reza Pahlavi changed the country's name from Persia to Iran in 1935.

Reza Pahlavi's lack of cooperation with the Allies during World War II led to his forced abdication in 1941 in favor of his son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. During the war, Iran was occupied by Soviet and British forces in the north and south of the country, respectively, and was a key conduit for Lend-Lease supplies. The shah's strong ties to the West over the next four decades often meant economic difficulty for Iran. For example, during World War II the British-controlled Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) artificially deflated the price of oil to reduce the cost of the war to the British economy. Certainly, the shah's popularity declined because of his ties to the West.

Mohammad Mosaddeq, a member of the National Front Party (NFP), became prime minister in 1951 and soon became the shah's most prominent critic. Mosaddeq's persistent criticism of the regime's weak position vis-à-vis Britain led him to nationalize the British-owned AIOC in 1951, which Washington chose to see as a clear example of his communist tendencies. Britain responded by imposing an embargo on Iranian oil and blocking the export of products from the formerly British properties. Because Britain was Iran's primary oil consumer, this had a considerable impact on Iran. Mosaddeq then asked the shah to grant him emergency powers that included direct control of the military. The shah refused, precipitating a domestic political crisis.

Mosaddeq understood the power of his popularity. He promptly resigned, causing widespread protests and demands

that he be returned to power. Unnerved, in 1952 the shah reappointed Mosaddeq, who then took steps to consolidate his power. This included the implementation of land reforms and other measures, which to the West seemed socialist. Although Mosaddeq had not had any direct contact with the Soviets, the events in Iran were nevertheless of great concern to the United States, which feared a Soviet takeover (based on Soviet efforts to annex northern Iran at the end of World War II).

The United States refused Mosaddeq's repeated requests for financial aid because he refused to reverse the nationalization of the AIOC. By the summer of 1953, Mosaddeq's intransigence and his legalization of the leftist Tudeh Party led the United States to join Britain and the temporarily exiled shah in a covert August 1953 plot to overthrow Mosaddeq. Known as Operation AJAX the coup against Mosaddeq was successful, and the shah was back in power by the end of August 1953. While the British were correct in viewing Mosaddeq as a threat to their position in Iran, the United States was incorrect in presuming that he was a communist. Rather, he was an Iranian nationalist who saw the income of Iranian farmers drop to $110 a year and witnessed many Iranians fall into abject poverty. He sought to ameliorate these conditions and establish a more independent foreign policy.

The decade that followed was marked by the creation in 1957 of the Sazeman-e Ettelaat va Amniyat-e Keshvar (SAVAK, National Information and Security Organization), the shah's dreaded secret police, and a number of failed or overly ambitious economic reforms. Iranian economic policy was similar to that of many other developing nations in its preference to large state projects over a true free-market economy. Predictably, the largely state-run economy failed to perform as promised. This and pressure by the United States finally led the shah to propose the White Revolution, which called for land reform, privatization of government-owned firms, electoral reform, women's suffrage, the nationalization of forests, rural literacy programs, and profit sharing for industrial workers. The shah hoped that such ambitious measures would spark economic growth and mitigate growing criticism of his regime. The White Revolution proved far less than revolutionary. That same year also witnessed a brutal crackdown on Iranian dissidents and fundamentalist clerics, which did nothing to endear the shah to his own people.

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, a conservative Muslim cleric, became the shah's most prominent opponent in the early 1960s, berating the regime for its secular focus and the shah for his elaborate and regal Western lifestyle. Khomeini was critical of Iran's close relationships with the United States and Israel. From Khomeini's perspective, the Americans provided arms, training, and technical assistance to their key anticommunist ally in the Middle East. And Israel provided training to SAVAK, which included intelligence-gathering, interrogation, and counterterrorism techniques. Thus, when SAVAK arrested, tortured, and killed antiregime activists, the United States and Israel were blamed along with the shah.

Khomeini's popularity prevented the shah from eliminating him but not from exiling him. Forced to leave Iran in 1964, Khomeini set himself apart from other quietist Iranian clerics, who sought to separate politics from religion, by refusing to compromise with the shah. While in exile Khomeini continued to denounce the shah, Zionism, and the United States in his many sermons.

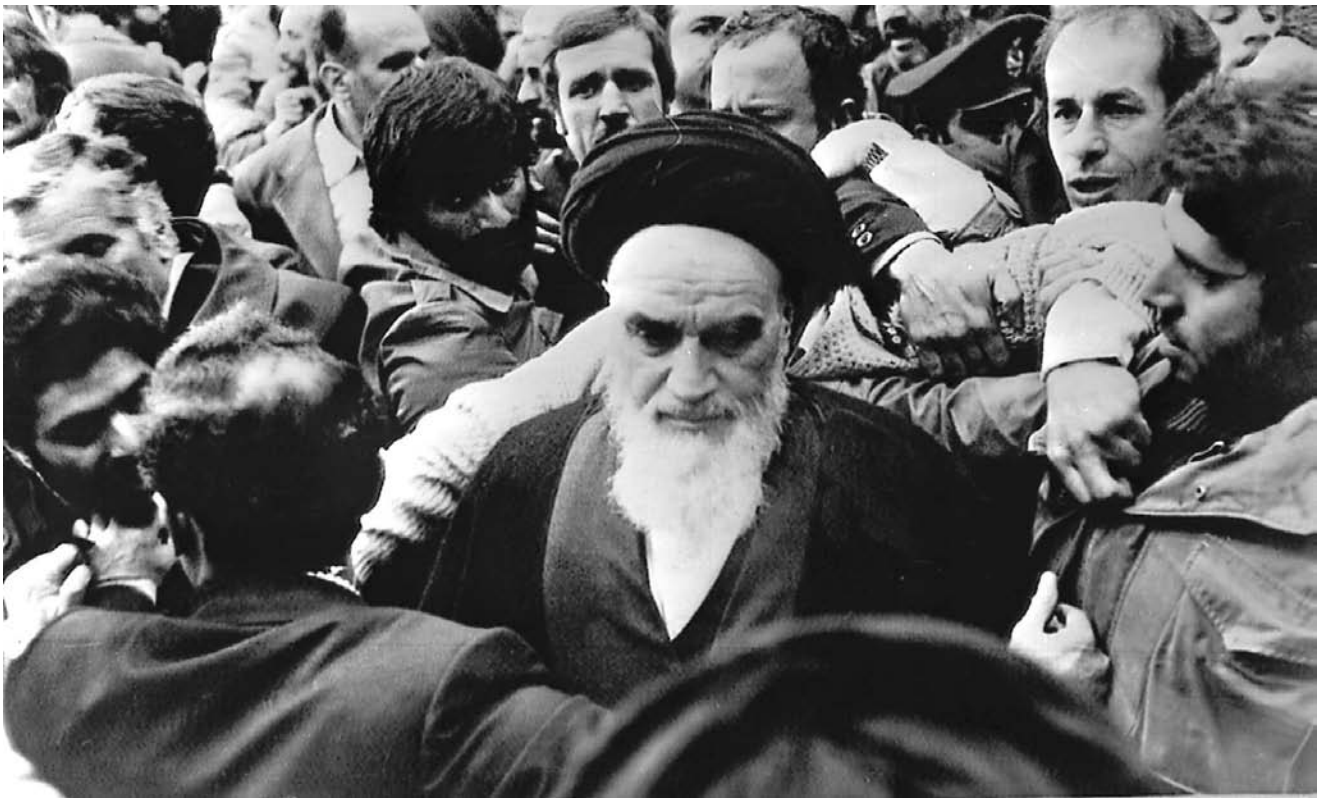
As the shah's reforms failed to bring about the desired effects, leftist groups such as the Mujahideen-e Khalq and Fidiyann-e Islami Khalq joined the National Front Party and religious conservatives in unified opposition. The increase in oil revenue after the 1973–1974 oil crisis was insufficient to compensate for an Iranian economy teetering on insolvency and lacking clear private property rights.

During the 1970s, opposition to the regime often took the form of overt acts of defiance, such as the wearing of the *hijab* by Iranian women, the attendance of mosques whose imams openly criticized the shah, performance of religious plays during holidays, and demonstrations convened on the memorial days of slain protesters. When an article critical of Khomeini ran in a Tehran newspaper in January 1978, the city's streets filled with Khomeini supporters and regime opponents. The shah's failure to quell the riots that followed only emboldened his opponents, and each demonstration led to another riot and a new set of martyrs.

U.S. president Jimmy Carter's administration was repeatedly given false information by SAVAK, which misrepresented the level of civil unrest in Iran. In the end, after massive general strikes in the autumn of 1978, the shah lost control of the country in January 1979 and fled. This was followed by the triumphal return of Khomeini from exile on February 1, 1979, and the establishment of a transitional government composed of the various opposition groups.

Such relative moderates as Mehdi Bazargan and Abolhasan Bani-Sadr, the first prime minister and president, respectively, after the Pahlavi collapse, were soon forced out of power by Khomeini's supporters, who firmly held the reins of power by 1980. Iran was transformed into an Islamic government, with Khomeini as supreme *faqih* (expert in Islamic law), the de facto national leader. Angered by the U.S. government's decision to admit the Shah of Iran, who was ill with cancer but reportedly had left Iran with his immense fortune, Iranian students attacked the United States and its representatives. It was with the support of the Revolutionary Guards—and the tacit support of Khomeini himself—that Iranian students were able to seize the U.S. embassy in Tehran on November 4, 1979, and take the Americans there hostage. The crisis endured for 444 days, paralyzing the Carter administration.

The incoming Ronald Reagan administration (1981–1989) viewed the new Iranian regime as a threat to American interests in the Middle East and to its closest ally, Israel. This led the United States to support Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's September 22, 1980, invasion of Iran. Initially, the Iraqi Army had great success against the poorly led, disorganized, and surprised



Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini is thronged by supporters after delivering a speech at the Tehran airport, February 1, 1979, the day of his return from 14 years in exile. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Iranians. However, Iranian zeal led to counteroffensives in 1982 that pushed the Iraqis back. The war then settled into a bloody stalemate during which the Iraqis for the most part fought from prepared defensive positions in the fashion of World War I and the Iranians endured huge casualties while staging unsophisticated human wave attacks against prepared Iraqi positions. Khomeini viewed the war as a jihad (holy war) and rejected any end to the fighting before the destruction of Hussein's secular government. After almost a decade of war and more than a million casualties, the Iran-Iraq War ended in 1988 with no clear victor.

Khomeini died in 1989, but a movement promoting reform did not begin until the late 1990s. Following Khomeini's death, his Islamic Religious Party continued to dominate the government bureaucracy and the policy-making apparatus. It also eliminated many political or religious rivals.

According to the United States government, Iran was the single most important state sponsor of terrorism in the 1980s, although Middle Eastern states do not necessarily agree with Washington's definition or list of "terrorist" groups. Actually, Iran's regional influence dates back only to a few years of active efforts to "internationalize" Iran's Islamic revolution. After the Iran-Iraq War sapped Iranian resources, funding actions throughout the region became less important than focusing on Iran's domestic issues.

In these years, Iranian leaders who had been sheltered by the Left, Palestinians, and Lebanese wanted to help the Lebanese defend themselves against Israel control over South Lebanon. Hezbollah, actually founded by Shia clerics trained in Iraq, benefited from Iranian support in the form of funds and military training. Iran also supported Hezbollah's efforts to modernize and mobilize the Shia community of Lebanon because of their backwardness and lack of representation. Israel possesses nuclear weapons and has long regarded Iran as a threat. Israel's superior military and nuclear capacity would make a direct Iranian strike against the Jewish state suicidal, and such an attack would kill Palestinians. Israeli leaders have, however, argued that Israel might need to mount a preemptive strike against Iran's nuclear facilities. It has also accused Iran of supporting Hamas and Hezbollah. When Israel finally withdrew from southern Lebanon in May 2000, Iran continued, in its statements and media, to support Hezbollah's struggle against Israeli encroachment of Lebanon, and against Saudi- and U.S.-backed elements within Lebanon.

The Islamic Republic of Iran has also strongly supported the Palestinian struggle against Israel and criticized the United States for its blind support of Israel. One reason for that stance is to differentiate itself from the former shah, who was an ally of Israel and an even stronger ally of the United States.

During the 1990s, U.S. president Bill Clinton attempted to pursue détente with Iran and sought to restore economic relations with that country. More recently, however, the United States has accused Iran of being a key supporter of the insurgency in Iraq following the Anglo-American invasion of that nation in 2003.

In 2007, the United States grudgingly agreed to talks with Iranian officials, the first of their kind since the 1979 Iranian Revolution, in an attempt to discuss key issues between neighbors, including Iranian pilgrim traffic into Iraq and the alleged Iranian aid to anti-American elements in that country.

In recent years, the U.S. government has demonsrated great concern that Iran has been seeking to develop nuclear weapons and acquire the long-range missile technology needed to deliver nuclear warheads to Israel and Europe. The United States government has also accused Iran, along with Syria, of linkages with the resistance in Iraq, and in supporting groups that continue to promote political resistance against Israel. However, the Iranians point to the Israeli-Palestinian issue as a Muslim concern and one of social justice. Iranian reformers have also stressed the need to deal with pressing economic issues at home, where increased oil revenues have expanded the funds available to the clerics and the government. Electoral support for the hard-liners has stayed relatively firm. A student-led reform movement called Doh-e Khordad, which seemed to argue for a more moderate approach in the early 2000s, is no longer attracting a broad range of support. Nevertheless, during the George W. Bush administration, U.S. secretary of state Condoleezza Rice announced that the government would try to spur regime change through "soft approaches" and dedicated $74 million to that project. This, together with threats against Iran over its nuclear development program, has tended to galvanize Iranian sentiment against external interference.

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See also

Hamas; Hezbollah; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iranian Revolution; Jihad; Katyusha Rocket; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Reza Pahlavi, Mohammad; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam; Terrorism; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Iran, Armed Forces

Iran's armed forces, which during much of the Cold War were heavily equipped with U.S. weaponry and hardware, served as a symbol of modernism until the 1979 Iranian Revolution, which overthrew Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. After that, Iranian armed forces tended to reflect the new Islamic regime's inability—and even unwillingness—to maintain and upgrade technical capabilities as well as the state's emphasis on the personal zeal of military personnel rather than their training and leadership abilities.

From the earliest days of the shah's reign, indeed as early as 1941, Iran's armed forces were vitally important to his rule. Iran's strategic geographical position and the shah's constitutional authority that gave him direct control over the armed forces (but not over other matters of state) made military expansion and modernization his single most important program. After the 1953 coup led by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) that solidified his position, the shah increasingly turned to the United States for matériel and technical support.

Although the shah was a much-welcomed customer, U.S. officials up until 1969 expressed concerns that he should channel more efforts toward internal reforms, including land and economic restructuring. Washington often did not have complete confidence in the shah's ability to retain control over his nation, and his placing of military objectives above other national interests did not ease this apprehension.

There were caps on both the quantity and types of weapons systems available to Iran, but that changed during Richard Nixon's presidency, which began in January 1969. By 1972, the shah could order virtually any type of military technology in whatever quantities he wished. This set a significant new precedent, as both the U.S. Defense and State departments had previously sought to limit Iranian weapons purchases. The Nixon administration, in an attempt to pull back from worldwide military and defense commitments, hoped to use the shah as a bulwark against communist and Pan-Arab advances in the Middle East.

The results were immediate and dramatic. Iranian military purchases from the United States skyrocketed from $500 million per year in 1972 to $2.5 billion in 1973. By 1976, Iran had purchased $11 billion in new weaponry from American suppliers. Weapons acquisitions included helicopters, jet fighters, antiaircraft missiles, submarines, and destroyers. These acquisitions continued until 1977, when President Jimmy Carter reimposed limits on such sales.

The 1970s also brought significant importations of Western technical assistance. Large numbers of military advisers, technicians, and logistics and maintenance personnel arrived in Iran, primarily from the United States. As long as military matériel and spare parts arrived from the West, to be used by native and nonnative technicians, the military functioned smoothly. If that flow of goods and expertise were to be halted, as it was after 1979, the Iranian military's ability to function would be seriously compromised.

In early 1979, the shah was forced to abdicate and depart the country, and the monarchy was taken over by the conservative Islamic Republic. Less than two years later, in September 1980, Iraq attacked Iran, sparking the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988). The

A ballistic missile on display in front of a picture of revolutionary founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini at his mausoleum during a military parade ceremony marking the 29th anniversary of the start of the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War, September 22, 2009. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Iraqis faced a diminished Iranian military, augmented by and sometimes competing with nonprofessional Revolutionary Guard units that met the first assaults and performed poorly.

When the Islamic Republic of Iran was created, the officer corps of all three Iranian armed services had been purged, followed by a rash of desertions. According to one estimate, 60 percent of the army deserted in 1979 alone. The numbers of qualified pilots and technicians in the air force plummeted, as did the number of naval personnel. One significant exception was an increase in the number of marines, at least up until the mid-1980s.

In August 1980 just prior to the Iraqi attack, the Iranian Air Force operated 447 first-line combat aircraft, including 66 U.S.-built Grumman F-14 Tomcats. The Iranian Navy had 7 guided-missile destroyers and frigates and 7 guided-missile corvettes. The Iranian Army stood at 150,000 troops equipped with 1,700 tanks and 1,000 artillery pieces, many of them self-propelled. The country also reportedly had more than 100,000 Revolutionary Guards, or Pasadran. Armed primarily with light infantry weapons, they were a highly motivated but very poorly trained combat force.

The departure from Iran of foreign advisers and technicians who had serviced aircraft, radar, missile, and ground systems had a dramatic effect on the Iranian armed forces. One example of the dangers of relying on technology created and supported by outsiders was the air force's computer-based logistics system. Without the proper technical support, the system was unusable. Procuring spare parts, which grew increasingly scarce, was a slow and laborious process. As the war progressed, the multinational boycott on Iranian oil, which depleted government funds, forced the Iranians to continually cannibalize their own equipment. This took a heavy toll on effectiveness and readiness.

The Iraqi invasion caught the Iranian military divided and decimated. Iraqi aircraft roamed over the battlefield almost unchallenged, as the Iranian air defense system was overwhelmed and lay in disarray. Iraqi armored units were able to engage and defeat individual Iranian armored and mechanized infantry units. However, at the tactical level, Iranian units enjoyed superior combat cohesion and tactical direction. Moreover, the Revolutionary Guard units proved fanatical in their defense of cities and fixed positions, and the Iraqi offensive bogged down within two weeks. Iranian Air Force units struck back at targets in Iraq and along the battlefield, and individual Iranian pilots proved superior to their Iraqi counterparts, but shortages of spare parts suppressed aircraft readiness rates, which declined rapidly over time.

The war entered a period of stalemate after October 1980 as the Iraqis shifted to the defensive. Heavy losses in seizing Khorramshahr forced the Iraqis to reconsider assaulting the oil center of

Abadan, and they settled on a siege instead. The Iranians used the period of relative calm to reorganize and restructure their forces. Armored and artillery units were concentrated, and the infantry reorganized into combat brigades. A working relationship was established with the Revolutionary Guards. Combined arms tactics with specialized units (engineers, armor, and artillery) were practiced with the units designated to conduct an attack. Revolutionary Guards were to provide the initial shock and exploitation force in any offensive.

These new tactics were first employed in a series of small-scale offensives near Susangerd and then Abadan. By the autumn of 1981 the tactics began to prove effective, slowly driving back the Iraqi forces. By early 1982 the Iraqis had been driven completely from Iran. The tactics were then expanded to follow a repetitive pattern. Short, sharp artillery barrages were directed at Iraqi trenches, which were then subjected to massive human wave attacks by Revolutionary Guard units. Iranian Army mechanized units followed.

This was a costly approach to ground operations. The Iraqis, lacking the combat cohesion of their Iranian counterparts, resorted to using chemical weapons and massive artillery barrages to destroy Iranian forces' concentrations. Over time, the losses began to take a horrific toll, although this was partially the result of employing untrained civilians who volunteered or were forced to volunteer, including young boys. Some analysts claim that Iran lost more than 1 million people killed in the eight-year war. Certainly, the Iranians suffered at the very least several hundred thousand wounded, killed, and missing. By 1988, even Revolutionary Guard units began to suffer morale breakdowns. Ultimately, that is what drove Iran to reach a peace agreement with the Iraqis.

During the 1980–1988 war with Iraq, Iran was forced to seek weapons from sources other than the United States and Western Europe. Thus, Iran received war matériel from the People's Republic of China (PRC), Brazil, North Korea, and Israel. It also secured some Soviet equipment, usually purchased through third parties. Reflecting the reliance on Chinese weapons, the Iranian armed forces possessed Silkworm antiship cruise missiles and Chinese-built armored personnel carriers. Most bizarre was the supply of some American equipment, especially air-to-surface and antitank missiles. These weapons systems were furnished by the United States in return for cash used to finance U.S. government actions against the Sandinistas in Nicaragua in what came to be known as the Iran-Contra Affair.

Following the Iran-Iraq War, the Iranians moved to improve their military, which meant procuring matériel from abroad. By 2000, increased oil revenues and Russian frustration with U.S. policies in the Middle East had enabled Iran to purchase limited numbers of weapons and equipment from Russia. Iran has long had a missile program in development as well as other weapons programs. In addition, it has a nuclear development program that dates back to the 1970s. Iranian efforts at enriching uranium, which reportedly began in 2006, have brought much international concern over Iranian intentions and a widespread belief that they intend to produce nuclear weapons.

Only the future will tell for certain the direction of the Iranian military establishment, but the efficiency and effectiveness of the armed forces is probably inhibited by the political aspect of the leadership-selection process, and limited access to high-tech weapons systems and training opportunities. While the effectiveness of the Iranian armed forces remains in question, Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs remain one the thorniest security issues in the Middle East. Also, given the weakness and instability of the Iraqi regime, some have exploited fears of the Iranian military overrunning at least part of Iraq in the future, although it is clear from Iranian statements that the government has reassured Iraq that it is not seeking a war with that country.

Robert N. Stacy and Carl Otis Schuster

See also

Arms Sales, International; Iran; Iran-Iraq War; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Reza Pahlavi, Mohammad; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Iran Air Flight 655

Event Date: July 3, 1988

Iran Air Flight 655 (IR655) was an Iranian passenger jetliner mistakenly shot down by a U.S. naval warship in the Persian Gulf on July 3, 1988. The event occurred during the highly destructive Iran-Iraq War of 1980–1988 and came on the heels of incidents in 1987 and 1988 that had seen engagements of both Iranian and Iraqi forces with U.S. warships operating in the Persian Gulf. They had occurred after the Ronald Reagan administration had vowed to keep vital shipping lanes open by providing U.S. Navy warship escorts for neutral ships through the perilous waters of the Persian Gulf in Operation earnest will (1987–1988). At the time, both Iranian and Iraqi forces were targeting civilian cargo and tanker ships in the region in an effort to deprive the other of commerce and supplies.

At the time of the tragedy of Flight 655, tensions were running very high in the Persian Gulf. On March 17, 1987, an Iraqi Mirage F-1 jet fighter mistakenly fired two air-to-surface missiles at the U.S. Navy Perry-class guided-missile frigate *Stark,* which was on routine duty in the Persian Gulf. The attack resulted in the deaths

of 37 crewmen and heavy damage to the ship. Little more than a year later, in April 1988, another U.S. guided-missile frigate, the Oliver Hazard Perry–class *Samuel P. Roberts,* hit an Iranian-laid mine in the Persian Gulf, which almost sank the ship. No lives were lost, but the ship underwent almost $90 million in repairs. This incident prompted American retaliation against Iranian assets via Operation PRAYING MANTIS on April 18, 1988. With tensions running dangerously high in the Persian Gulf by the summer of 1988, other violent incidents were almost inevitable.

At 10:17 a.m. local time on July 3, 1988, Iran Air Flight 655 (IR655) took off from Bandar Abbas, Iran bound for Dubai, United Arab Emirates. There were 290 people, including the crew, on board the Airbus A300, a medium-range, wide-body passenger jetliner. It began to fly over the Strait of Hormuz shortly after takeoff during the short 30-minute flight. At the same time, the U.S. Navy Aegis-class guided missile cruiser *Vincennes* was steaming through the strait returning from escort duty in the Persian Gulf. Earlier that morning, a helicopter from the *Vincennes* had received warning fire from several Iranian patrol boats. The *Vincennes* subsequently exchanged fire with the Iranian vessels, which then promptly withdrew.

Only minutes later, radar on board the *Vincennes* picked up IR655, and radar operators mistook it for an American-made Grumman F-14 Tomcat fighter. The Airbus's radar profile closely resembled that of the F-14. Also, the *Vincennes* crew members knew that the plane had taken off from Bandar Abbas, from which Iran operated not only commercial aircraft but also F-14 fighters and other military aircraft. Crew members also believed that the plane was descending as it was approaching the ship, which was later discounted as inaccurate. In fact, the aircraft was turning away from the ship as it was fired upon.

The *Vincennes* attempted seven times (three times on the civilian military frequency and four times on the military emergency frequency) to contact the crew of IR655, which did not respond. However, the U.S. warship failed to use air traffic control frequencies, so it is likely that the Airbus's crew members did not receive the radio messages or did not know that the messages were directed at them.

Believing that the ship was under attack, when the airplane was about 11 nautical miles from the *Vincennes,* the ship's crew fired two SM-2MR medium-range surface-to-air missiles at 10:24 a.m. Both missiles hit their target, sending the airliner plunging into the Strait of Hormuz. There were no survivors.

The downing of the aircraft caused international consternation and greatly embarrassed the Ronald Reagan administration. The events surrounding the tragedy were immediately contested by the Iranian government, which claimed that Flight 655 was doing nothing wrong or illegal. It also voiced great skepticism that experienced radar operators could mistake a passenger jetliner for an F-14 fighter. Furthermore, Tehran asserted that even if the aircraft had been a military fighter, the *Vincennes* had no reason to shoot it down because it was still technically in Iranian airspace, had not followed an attack pattern, and indeed had not taken any hostile actions at all. Iran concluded that the *Vincennes* crew had acted impetuously and improperly and was quick to point out that when Iraq attacked the *Stark* the year before, Washington concluded that the Iraqi pilot realized—or should have realized—that his target was an American warship. The very same thing, Tehran argued, could be said of the *Vincennes* crew.

U.S. Navy officials found no wrongdoing on the part of the *Vincennes* crew, who were in fact awarded Combat Action Ribbons. Although the U.S. government issued a "note of regret" about the loss of innocent lives, it neither admitted responsibility nor apologized for the incident. The affair plunged Iranian-American relations further into the deep freeze, although some assert that it may have convinced Iran's leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, to finally end the Iran-Iraq War, realizing that it could not prevail so long as the United States was working against him. Indeed, the war ended little more than a month later. In 1989, Iran took its case to the International Court of Justice, but not until 1996 did the U.S. government agree on a payment settlement, which was $131.8 million. About half that amount went to the families of those killed in the crash; the remainder went to the Iranian government in reimbursement for the lost jetliner.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Iran; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; PRAYING MANTIS, Operation; *Stark* Incident

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Iran-Contra Affair

Start Date: August 1985
End Date: March 1987

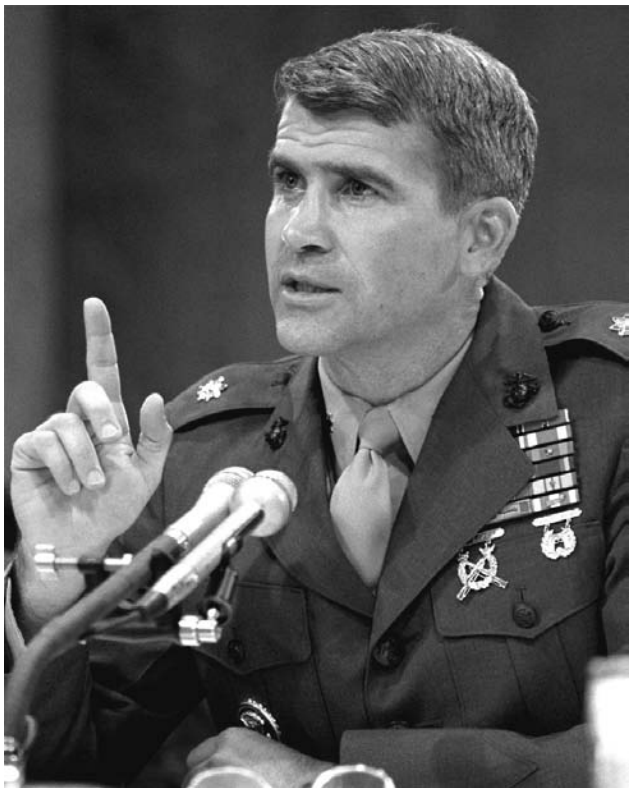
Political scandal of President Ronald Reagan's administration involving the illegal sale of weapons to Iran, the proceeds of which were used to illegally fund Nicaraguan Contra rebels. As its name implies, Iran-Contra was the linkage of two otherwise vastly different foreign policy problems that bedeviled the Reagan administration at the beginning of its second term in 1985: how to secure the release of American hostages held by Iranian-backed kidnappers in Lebanon and how to support the Contra rebels fighting against Nicaragua's Cuban-style Sandinista government. In both cases Reagan's public options were limited, for he had explicitly ruled out the possibility of negotiating directly with hostage takers, and Congress had refused to allow military aid to be sent to the Contras.

In August 1985 Reagan approved a plan by Robert McFarlane, national security adviser (NSA) to the president, to sell more than 500 TOW antitank missiles to Iran, via the Israelis, in exchange for the release of Americans held by terrorists in Lebanon (Reagan later denied that he was aware of an explicit link between the sale and the hostage crisis). The deal went through, and as a follow-up, in November 1985, there was a proposal to sell HAWK antiaircraft missiles to Iran. Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, a decorated marine attached to the National Security Council's staff, was put in charge of these and subsequent negotiations. A number of Reagan's senior cabinet members, including Secretary of State George Shultz, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, and White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan, began to express reservations about this trade with Iran, for it was not only diametrically opposed to the administration's stated policy, but was also illegal under U.S. and international law.

Nevertheless, Reagan continued to endorse arms shipments throughout 1986, and in all more than 100 tons of missiles and spare parts were exported to Iran by the end of the year. Meanwhile, North had begun secretly funneling the funds from the missile sales to Swiss bank accounts owned by the Nicaraguan Contra rebels, who used the money in part to set up guerrilla training camps run by agents of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). All this was in direct violation of the Second Boland Amendment, a congressional law passed in October 1984 that specifically forbade the U.S. government from supporting any paramilitary group in Nicaragua. To what extent North's superiors knew of the Contra connection at this stage remains unclear, as is the final amount of money supplied to the Nicaraguans, although it is thought to have been on the order of tens of millions of dollars. Later investigations suggested numerous accounting irregularities by North, but these were never proven.

On November 3, 1986, the affair became public when a Lebanese magazine, *Al-Shira'a,* revealed that the Americans had been selling missiles to the Iranians. Reagan responded with a televised statement in which he denied any arms-for-hostages deal, and U.S. attorney general Edwin Meese was ordered to conduct an internal inquiry. North and his secretary, Fawn Hall, immediately began shredding incriminating documents, but on November 22, Meese's staff discovered material in North's office that linked the Iranian shipments directly to the Contras. Meese informed Reagan, and on November 25 the U.S. Justice Department announced its preliminary findings to the press. North was fired, and national security adviser Vice Admiral John Poindexter, who had replaced McFarlane, promptly resigned.

The following month, Reagan appointed an independent commission to investigate the affair, chaired by former Texas senator John Tower. The commission's March 1987 report severely criticized the White House for failing to control its NSA subordinates, which led to the resignation of Regan. An apparently contrite President Reagan admitted to having misled the public in his earlier statements, although he pled sins of ignorance rather than design.



Marine lieutenant colonel Oliver North testifies before the joint House-Senate panels investigating the Iran-Contra affair on Capitol Hill on July 7, 1987. North served as an aide to the National Security Council (NSC) during the Reagan administration and was a key figure in the Iran-Contra scandal that erupted in 1986. (AP/Wide World Photos)

A subsequent congressional inquiry lambasted the president for failings of leadership but decided that he had not known about the transfers of money to the Contras.

In 1988 independent prosecutor Lawrence Walsh indicted North, Poindexter, and 12 other persons on a variety of felony counts. Eleven were convicted, but North and Poindexter were later acquitted on Fifth Amendment technicalities. At the end of his term in office in December 1992, President George H. W. Bush, who had claimed ignorance of the Iran-Contra connection and avoided close scrutiny in the affair, pardoned six other persons implicated in the Iran-Contra scandal, including Weinberger and McFarlane.

Alan Allport

See also

Arms Sales, International; Bush, George Herbert Walker; Iran; Reagan, Ronald Wilson; Shultz, George Pratt; Weinberger, Caspar Willard

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Iran Hostage Rescue Mission

See EAGLE CLAW, Operation

Iranian Revolution

Event Date: 1979

The 1979 Iranian Revolution precipitated the overthrow of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, a staunch U.S. ally whose government had ruled the country since 1941. Replacing the shah's dictatorship was the Islamic Republic of Iran, a conservative Shiite Islamic regime led by the religious cleric Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who ruled the country until his death in 1989. The Islamic Republic of Iran remained at great odds with much of the West, especially the United States, and the two nations have not enjoyed diplomatic relations since 1979. Today, power in Iran remains in the hands of clerics who favored Khomeini's party and have supported an Islamic government for nearly three decades.

Many factors contributed to the demise of the shah's repressive regime. His government's suppression of dissent through his secret police, the SAVAK (short for Sazeman-e Ettelaat va Amniyat-e Keshvar, or National Information and Security Organization) alienated large segments of Iran's population, particularly Iran's powerful Shiite religious community, university students, and many intellectuals. Furthermore, the shah's close ties to the United States, which included huge military equipment sales and the importation of American products and culture, alienated and offended many conservative and traditional Iranians who regarded these developments as having corrupted Iran and its Islamic culture and traditions.

Iran's burgeoning population also produced strains on the Iranian economy and aggravated class and social conflicts, particularly between the impoverished countryside and the cities. The shah sought to develop and modernize both the economy and society, believing that this would secure his rule. In part, his economic plans were too ambitious. At the same time, modernization and rural-urban emigration failed to improve living conditions for ordinary Iranians. Simultaneously, the shah attacked the traditional merchant sectors, accusing them of corruption. Therefore, many of the shah's reforms only aggravated existing national problems and worsened tensions within the population, thus increasing resentment and opposition to his rule. This in turn led to increasing repression by the SAVAK against dissidents and opponents of the shah. By the early 1960s, Islamic clerics had begun preaching against the shah's government because of his changes in education, law, and land tenure. Demonstrations and protests commenced, many of which were put down by brute force.

In addition, because many of the expensive modernization projects had little overall effect on the economy and standard of living, they only highlighted the corruption and incompetence of the shah's regime. Over time, land reform measures intended to increase land ownership among Iran's poor peasants actually worsened their situation by giving them too little land to earn an effective living, thereby increasing rural poverty and unemployment. At the same time, the failed program attracted opposition from the country's Islamic community, which regarded the reform initiative as an attempt by the shah to divest the clerics of their control over income through the system of religious endowments (*vaqf*). Changes in land tenure, which included experiments in agricultural collectives, excluded many agricultural laborers and sharecroppers, who now found themselves unemployed.

At the same time, the shah's investment in heavy industry and the mechanization of agriculture served only to increase rural unemployment, forcing many workers to migrate from the villages to the cities, especially Tehran, in search of jobs, creating massive shanty towns and breeding grounds for urban unrest. Finally, such beneficial reforms as heavy investment in literacy and education, health care, and female suffrage (despite rigged elections) proved unable to counteract and overcome the negative effects of the shah's ineffective and failed reforms. In sum, the rural areas and urban slums continued to lag behind the prosperous areas where expatriates lived in Tehran. The rise of an urban middle class with decidedly Western values dramatized the one-sided nature of the shah's reforms, which widened the social, economic, and political gulfs in Iran.

In 1963, from his home in Qom, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, a respected and erudite cleric, began to preach against the shah's rule, attacking its corruption, neglect of the rural poor, sale of oil to Israel, and failure to defend the country's sovereignty and independence against what he saw as American domination. Khomeini regarded the shah as a puppet of the West and believed that the United States was imposing anti-Islamic policies on Iran, such that Khomeini and his growing group of followers came to regard anything Western and American as corrupt, immoral, and evil. The persecution of Khomeini by the shah only served to legitimize him in the eyes of many Shia Muslims. Despite the fact that Khomeini was briefly arrested several times (which invariably led to deaths when the SAVAK raided his madrasah, or religious school, and mosque) his continued attacks on the shah endeared him to the Shiite community.

In 1964 the shah deported and exiled Khomeini from Iran. Khomeini eventually settled in the Shia town of Najaf in southern Iraq until pressure from the shah convinced the Iraqi government to deport him in 1978. Khomeini then took up residence in Paris, where he remained until returning to Iran on February 1, 1979, at which time he presided over the Iranian Revolution, already in progress. While in exile, Khomeini continued his attacks on the shah, and his sermons were frequently smuggled into Iran on audiotapes.

By the late 1970s, the flood of wealth into Iran from rising oil prices had led to high inflation, which affected the entire country, including, for the first time, the urban middle class. Attempts by the shah to reduce unemployment through reductions in government spending only led to a rise in unemployment, and all the while the number of rural poor migrating into Iran's cities, particularly Tehran, increased dramatically.

An effigy of the deposed shah of Iran is burned during a demonstration outside the U.S. Embassy in Tehran in late 1979. Iran's Islamic revolution of that year began as an uprising against Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, whose autocratic rule and ties to the West were extremely unpopular in his country. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Pressure by newly elected American president Jimmy Carter (1977–1981) and awareness of the new president's commitment to human rights compelled the shah to relax his repression by releasing some political prisoners. He also promised to improve prison conditions, meet with representatives of Amnesty International, and promote such legal reforms as the right of the accused to an attorney and to be tried in a civilian rather than a military court, but none of this silenced resistance to his regime. A state visit to Washington, D.C., in late 1977, which featured the shah toasting champagne with President Carter, angered many Iranians, and the shah's embattled regime became symbolized by images of him near the White House wiping his eyes in reaction to tear gas from a nearby demonstration against his visit.

On January 7, 1978, an ill-advised article accusing Khomeini of being a homosexual and a British agent sparked massive protests by religious students and worshipers in Qom, Iran, and clashes with the police led to a number of casualties. From Paris, Khomeini praised the protests and urged them to continue. By then, the demonstrations and protests had exploded, growing to include urban merchants and factory workers protesting economic conditions. Facing a decline in their living standards, the urban, educated middle class no longer tolerated the shah's regime and joined the chorus of protests against him. In early September 1978 the shah imposed martial law, but the protests and violent confrontations with the police and SAVAK increased throughout the fall. As desertions increased among the military, the shah left the country on January 16, 1979, ostensibly for a vacation but in reality for exile, never to return to Iran. He died from cancer on July 27, 1980, in Cairo, Egypt, where he was granted asylum and is buried.

Khomeini made a triumphant return to Iran on February 1, 1979. He immediately set about restoring the country's Islamic heritage. Within two weeks of Khomeini's return, the military announced its intention to remain neutral and thus avoided being persecuted by local Islamic Revolutionary Committees, or Komitehs, composed of armed, militant Shia organized around local mosques who acted as vigilantes, enforcing Islamic values and laws. Senior officials of the shah's regime were arrested by Komitehs, tried by a revolutionary court, and executed, including the former head of the SAVAK. In March 1979, a referendum ratified Khomeini's decision to establish an Islamic republic by a 97 percent majority. Khomeini went on to create a separate paramilitary force, the Revolutionary Guard Corps, which served as secret police.

Over the summer, loyalists to Khomeini crafted a new constitution and a nominally democratic government with an elected parliament, elected municipal councils, and an elected president, but they also established a Council of Guardians composed of twelve

clerics and jurists who approved candidates seeking elected office and also approved of or vetoed legislation passed by the parliament. This council, in which the real power of the government was vested, was tasked with assuring that legislation and politics remained strictly Islamic. The constitution also confirmed Khomeini and his successors as the supreme leaders of the government, with the right to appoint the heads of the armed forces, the head of the Revolutionary Guard Corps, and half of the members of the Council of Guardians. The Tudeh Party, liberal groups, and even moderate Islamist groups that had supported the revolution and Khomeini now found themselves marginalized and excluded from the new government, and some members were even executed for allegedly being anti-Islamic.

In November 1979, after President Carter reluctantly allowed the shah to enter the United States for cancer treatments, enraged Iranian students stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran, seizing diplomatic personnel as hostages and thereby creating an international crisis that lasted for over a year. The American hostages were released only after the inauguration of President Ronald Reagan on January 20, 1981. Khomeini had supported the students and their demands that the United States turn over the shah for trial in exchange for releasing the hostages.

In September 1980, Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, in an attempt to take advantage of the still chaotic situation in Iran, launched an invasion of the country that precipitated a bloody and destructive eight-year war. Iraq's invasion turned Khomeini's regime toward fighting Iran's archenemy, and for the next eight years the conflict preoccupied the regime's attention and absorbed much of its resources. In the meantime, Khomeini and the Islamic clerics consolidated their power and imposed a regime in Iran that was every bit as repressive as that of the Shah. Following Khomeini's death in 1989, the government elevated another senior Shiite cleric, Sayyid Ali Khamenei, to the post of the supreme guide of Iran and the rank of ayatollah. He remains in that position today.

Stefan M. Brooks

See also

Iran; Iran, Armed Forces; Iran-Iraq War; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Reza Pahlavi, Mohammad

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Iran-Iraq War

Start Date: September 22, 1980
End Date: August 20, 1988

Protracted and costly Middle Eastern military conflict that began on September 22, 1980, with a surprise Iraqi invasion of western Iran along their common border. The war was in many ways a continuation of the ancient Persian-Arab rivalry fueled by 20th-century border disputes and competition for hegemony in the Persian Gulf and Middle East regions. In the late 1970s, the long-standing rivalry between these two nations was abetted by a collision between the Pan-Islamism and revolutionary Shia Islamism of Iran and the Pan-Arab nationalism of Iraq.

The border between the two states had been contested for some time, and in 1969 Iran had abrogated its treaty with Iraq on the navigation of the Shatt al-Arab waterway, Iraq's only outlet to the Persian Gulf. In 1971 Iran had seized islands in the Persian Gulf, and there had been border clashes between the two states in mid-decade. The rivalry between the two states was also complicated by minorities issues. Both states, especially Iraq, have large Kurdish populations in their northern regions, while an Arab minority inhabits the oil-rich Iranian province of Khuzestan.

Given their long-standing rivalry and ambitions, it was natural that the leaders of both states would seek to exploit any perceived weakness in the other. Thus, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein sought to take advantage of the upheaval following the fall of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi and the establishment of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's Islamic Republic after the Iranian or Islamic Revolution of 1978–1979. This event had been precipitated by the disbandment of the shah's military establishment and an end to U.S. military assistance to Iran, which meant a shortage of spare parts. Hussein saw in this situation an opportunity to punish Iran for its support of Kurdish and Shia opposition to Sunni Muslim domination in Iraq. More important, it was a chance for Iraq to reclaim both banks of the Shatt al-Arab as well as Khuzestan, to acquire the islands of Abu Musa, Greater Tunb, and Lesser Tunb on behalf of the United Arab Emirates, and to overthrow the militant Islamic regime in Iran.

On the eve of the war, Iraq enjoyed an advantage in ground forces, while Iran had the edge in the air. Iraq had a regular army of some 300,000 men, 1,000 artillery pieces, 2,700 tanks, 332 fighter aircraft, and 40 helicopters. Iran had a regular army of 200,000 men, somewhat more than 1,000 artillery pieces, 1,740 tanks, 445 fighter aircraft, and 500 helicopters.

The Iraqi attack of September 22, 1988, came as a complete surprise to Iran. Hussein justified it as a response to an alleged assassination attempt sponsored by Iran on Iraqi foreign minister Tariq Aziz. Striking on a 300-mile front, Iraqi troops were initially successful against the disorganized Iranian defenders. The Iraqis drove into southwestern Iran, securing the far side of the Shatt al-Arab. In November they captured Khorramshahr in Khuzestan Province. In places, the Iraqis penetrated as much as 30 miles into Iran, but Iran is a large country, and the Iraqi forces moved too cautiously, throwing away the opportunity for a quick and decisive victory. Another factor in their stalled offensive was certainly the rapid Iranian mobilization of resources, especially the largely untrained but fanatical Pasdaran (Revolutionary Guard Corps) militia.

A Soviet-built tank of Iraq's army prepares to cross the Karoun River in October 1980 as Iraqi troops celebrate a success in their war against Iran. The smoke in the background is from an Iranian oil pipeline. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Recovering from the initial shock of the Iraqi invasion, the Iranians soon established strong defensive positions. Their navy also carried out an effective blockade of Iraq. On the first day of the war, Iraqi air strikes destroyed much of the Iranian Air Force infrastructure, but most of the Iranian aircraft survived, and Iraq lacked the long-range bomber aircraft to be truly effective strategically against a country as large as Iran. Indeed, Iranian pilots flying U.S.-manufactured aircraft soon secured air superiority over the Iraqi Air Force's Soviet-built airplanes. The Iranians were then able to carry out ground-support missions utilizing both airplanes and helicopters that played an important role in checking the Iraqi advance.

Far from breaking Iranian morale as Hussein has hoped, the Iraqi attack served to rally public opinion around the Islamic regime. Ideologically committed Iranians flocked to join the Pasdaran and the army. By March 1981, the war had settled into a protracted stalemate. With both sides having constructed extensive defensive positions, much of the combat came to resemble the trench warfare of World War I.

In January 1982, Jordanian volunteers began arriving to assist the Iraqis, but this addition had little impact on the fighting. Then on March 22, the Iranians launched a major counteroffensive. Their forces included large numbers of ill-trained but fanatical Pasdaran fighters. Lasting until March 30, the offensive enjoyed considerable success, driving the Iraqis back up to 24 miles in places.

During April 30–May 20, the Iranians renewed their attacks, again pushing the Iraqis back. Then on the night of May 22–23, the Iranians encircled the city of Khorramshahr, which the Iraqis had captured at the beginning of the war, forcing its surrender on May 24. There the Iranians captured large quantities of Soviet-manufactured weapons. Flush with victory, the Iranians now proclaimed as their war aim the overthrow of Saddam Hussein.

With the war now going badly for his country, Hussein proposed a truce and the withdrawal of all Iraqi troops from Iranian soil within two weeks of a truce agreement. Iraq also declared a unilateral cease-fire. Sensing victory, Iran rejected the proposal and reiterated its demand for the ouster of Hussein.

Given the Iranian rebuff and realizing that he had no legitimate hope of retaining his forces in Iran, Hussein now withdrew them back into well-prepared static defenses in Iraq, reasoning that Iraqis would rally to his regime in a fight to defend their homeland. For political reasons, Hussein announced that the purpose of the withdrawal was to allow Iraqi forces to assist Lebanon, which had been invaded by Israeli forces on June 6, 1982.

Meanwhile, Iranian leaders rejected a Saudi Arabian–brokered deal that would have witnessed the payment of $70 billion in war reparations by the Arab states to Iran and complete Iraqi withdrawal from Iranian territory, in return for a peace agreement. Iranian leaders, however, insisted that Hussein be removed from power, that some 100,000 Shiites expelled from Iraq before the war be permitted to return home, and that the reparations figure be set at $150 billion. There is some suggestion that Iran did not expect these terms to be accepted and hoped to use this as justification to continue the war with an invasion of Iraq. Indeed, Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeini announced, "The only condition is that the regime in Baghdad must fall and must be replaced by an Islamic Republic," a scenario that was extremely unlikely.

The Iranians now sought to utilize their numerical advantage in a new offensive, which was launched on July 20, 1982. They directed it against Shiite-dominated southern Iraq, with the objective being the capture of Iraq's second-largest city of Basra. Iranian human-wave assaults, occasioned by a shortage of ammunition, encountered well-prepared Iraqi static defenses, supported by artillery. Hussein had also managed to increase substantially the number of Iraqis under arms.

Although the Iranians did manage to register some modest gains, these came at heavy human cost. In the five human-wave assaults of their Basra offensive (Operation RAMADAN), the Iranians sustained tens of thousands of casualties. Particularly hard-hit were the untrained and poorly armed units of boy-soldiers who volunteered to march into Iraqi minefields to clear them with their bodies for the trained Iranian soldiers who would follow them. The Iraqis also employed poison gas against the Iranians, inflicting many casualties. On July 21, Iranian aircraft struck Baghdad.

A young Iranian soldier shouts "Allahu Akhbar" (God is Great), the battle cry from the trenches during the Iran-Iraq War. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Iraq retaliated in August with attacks on the vital Iranian oil shipping facilities at Khargh Island, which also sank several ships.

During September–November, the Iranians launched new offensives in the northern part of the front, securing some territory near the border town of Samar, which Iraq had taken at the beginning of the war. The Iranians also struck west of Dezful and, in early November, drove several miles into Iraq near Mandali. Iraqi counterattacks forced the Iranians back into their own territory. In the southern part of the front, on November 17, the Iranians advanced to within artillery range of the vital Baghdad-Basra Highway.

Iran was now receiving supplies from such nations as the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), and Albania. Iraq was securing supplies from the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact states, France, Great Britain, Spain, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the United States. Iraq's chief financial backers were Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates.

In the course of 1983, Iran launched five major offensives against Iraq. Before the first of these, however, during February 2–March 9, the Iraqi Air Force carried out large-scale air attacks against Iranian coastal oil-production facilities, producing the largest oil spill in the history of the Persian Gulf region. Again seeking to utilize their advantage in troop strength, during February 7–16 Iranian leaders launched the first of their ground offensives. The Iranians hoped to isolate Basra by cutting the Baghdad-Basra Highway at Kut. They drove to within 30 miles of their objective but were then halted and thrown back. In the fighting, the Iraqis claimed to have destroyed upward of 1,000 Iranian tanks.

During April 11–14, the Iranians attacked west of Dezful but failed to make meaningful gains. On July 20, Iraqi aircraft again struck Iranian oil production facilities. Three days later, the Iranians attacked in northern Iraq but again registered few gains. The Iranians mounted a major offensive west of Dezful on July 30 but failed to break through. In the second week in August, however, the Iranians blunted an Iraqi counterattack. In this fighting, both sides suffered heavy casualties.

In late October the Iranians launched yet another attack in the north to close a salient there opened by Iranian Kurdish rebels. Iraqi leader Hussein was disappointed in his hope that the failed Iranian ground offensives and ensuing heavy casualties would make that regime more amenable to peace talks. Indeed, Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeini restated his determination to overthrow the Baath regime in Iraq.

Determined to prevent the spread of militant Islamism in the Middle East, the Ronald Reagan administration in the United States made a firm commitment to support Iraq. Washington supplied Baghdad with intelligence information in the form of satellite photography, as well as furnishing economic aid and weapons. In a National Security Decision Directive of June 1982, Reagan determined that the United States must do whatever necessary to prevent Iraq from losing the war.

Believing that more aggressive tactics were necessary to induce Iran to talk peace, Hussein announced that unless Iran agreed to halt offensive action against Iraq by February 7, 1984, he would order major attacks against 11 Iranian cities. In answer, Iran mounted a ground attack in the northern part of the front, and Hussein then ordered the air and missile attacks against the cities to proceed. These lasted until February 22. Iran retaliated, in what became known as the "War of the Cities." There were five such air campaigns in the course of the war.

On February 15, 1984, the Iranians launched the first in a series of ground offensives. It fell in the central part of the front and pitted 250,000 Iranian troops against an equal number of Iraqi defenders. During February 15–22 in Operation DAWN 5, and during February 22–24 in Operation DAWN 6, the Iranians attempted to take the city of Kut to cut the vital Baghdad-Basra Highway there. The Iranians came within 15 miles of the city but were then halted.

The Iranians enjoyed more success in Operation KHANIBAR, during February 24–March 19. This renewed drive against the southern city of Basra came close to breaking through the stretched Iraqi defenders. The Iranians did capture part of the Majnoon Islands, with their undeveloped oil fields, then held them against an Iraqi counterattack supported by poison gas. The Iranians occupied these islands until near the end of the war.

With his forces having benefited from substantial arms purchases financed by the oil-rich Persian Gulf states, on January 18, 1985, Hussein launched the first Iraqi ground offensive since late 1980. It failed to register significant gains, and the Iranians responded with an offensive of their own, Operation BADR, beginning on March 11. Having become better trained, the Iranians eschewed the costly human-wave tactics of the past, and their more effective tactics brought the capture of a portion of the Baghdad-Basra Highway. Hussein responded to this considerable strategic emergency with desperate chemical weapons attacks and renewed air and missile strikes against 20 Iranian cities, including Tehran.

On February 17, 1986, in a surprise offensive employing commandoes, Iranian forces captured the strategically important Iraqi port of Faw, southeast of Basra at the southeast end of the Faw peninsula on the Shatt al-Arab waterway. In January 1987, Iran launched Operation KARBALA-5, a renewed effort to capture the city of Basra in southern Iraq. When the operation ground to a halt in mid-February, the Iranians launched NASR-4 in northern Iraq, which threatened the Iraqi city of Kirkuk during May–June.

On March 7, 1987, the United States initiated Operation EARNEST WILL to protect oil tankers and shipping lanes in the Persian Gulf. The so-called Tanker War had begun in March 1984 with the Iraqi air attack on strategic Kharg Island and nearby oil installations. Iran had then retaliated with attacks, including the use of mines, against tankers carrying Iraqi oil from Kuwait and on any tankers of the Persian Gulf states supporting Iraq. On November 1, 1986, the Kuwaiti government petitioned the international community to protect its tankers. The Soviet Union agreed to charter tankers, and on March 7, 1987, the United States announced that it would provide protection for any U.S.-flagged tankers. This would protect neutral tankers proceeding to or from Iraqi ports, ensuring that Iraq would have the economic means to continue the war.

On the night of May 17, 1987, an Iraqi French-manufactured Mirage F-1 fighter aircraft on antiship patrol fired two AM-39 Exocet antiship cruise missiles at a radar contact, apparently not knowing that it was the U.S. Navy frigate *Stark* (FFG-31). Although only one of the missiles detonated, both struck home and crippled the frigate, killing 37 crewmen and injuring another 50. The crew managed to save their ship, which then made port under its own power.

On July 20, 1987, the United Nations (UN) Security Council passed unanimously U.S.-sponsored Resolution 598. It deplored attacks on neutral shipping and called for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of armed forces to internationally recognized boundaries.

Acting in retaliation for Iranian ground offensives, during February 1988, the Iraqis launched a renewed wave of attacks against Iranian population centers, and the Iranians reciprocated. These attacks included not only aircraft but also surface-to-surface missiles, principally the Soviet-built Scud type. Iraq fired many more missiles than did Iran (reportedly some 520 as opposed to 177). Also during February and extending into September, the Iraqi Army carried out a massacre of Kurds in northern Iraq, known as the al-Anfal ("Spoils of War") Campaign, claiming as many as 300,000 civilian lives and the destroying some 4,000 villages.

On April 14, 1988, meanwhile, the U.S. Navy frigate *Samuel B. Roberts,* involved in Operation EARNEST WILL, was badly damaged when it struck an Iranian mine in the Persian Gulf. No one was killed, but the ship nearly sank. Four days later, the navy responded with Operation PRAYING MANTIS, the U.S. Navy's largest battle involving surface warships since World War II. This one-sided battle also saw the first surface-to-surface missile engagement in the navy's history. U.S. forces damaged two Iranian offshore oil platforms, sank one of the Iranian frigates and a gunboat, damaged another frigate, and sank three Iranian speedboats. The United States lost one helicopter.

By the spring of 1988, Iraqi forces had been sufficiently regrouped to enable them to launch major operations. By contrast, Iran was now desperately short of spare parts, especially for its largely U.S.-built aircraft. The Iranians had also lost a large number of airplanes in combat. As a result, by late 1987 Iran was less able to mount an effective defense against the resupplied Iraqi Air Force, let alone carry out aerial counterattacks against a ground attack.

The Iraqis mounted four separate offensives. In the process they were able to recapture the strategically important Faw peninsula, which had been lost in 1986, drive the Iranians away from Basra, and make progress in the northern part of the front. The Iraqi victories came at little cost to themselves, while the Iranians suffered heavy personnel and equipment losses. These setbacks were the chief factor behind Khomeini's decision to agree to a cease-fire as called for in United Nations Security Council Resolution 598.

On July 3, 1988, the crew of the U.S. Navy cruiser *Vincennes,* patrolling in the Persian Gulf and believing that they were under attack by an Iranian jet fighter, shot down Iran Air Flight 655, a civilian airliner carrying 290 passengers and crew. There were no survivors. The United States government subsequently agreed to pay $131.8 million in compensation for the incident. It expressed regret only for the loss of innocent life and did not apologize to the Iranian government. The incident may have served to convince Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeini of the dangers of the United States actively entering the conflict against Iran and thus made him more amenable to ending the war.

War weariness and pressure from other governments induced both sides to accept a cease-fire agreement on August 20, 1988, bringing the eight-year war to a close. Total Iraqi casualties, including 60,000 men taken prisoner by Iran, numbered about 375,000 people (perhaps 200,000 of these killed). This figure does not include those killed in the Iraqi government campaign against its Kurdish population. Iran announced a death toll of nearly 300,000 people, but some estimates place this figure as high as 1 million or more. The war ended with a status quo antebellum, with none of the outstanding issues resolved. The UN-arranged cease-fire merely ended the fighting, leaving these two isolated states to pursue an arms race with each other and with the other states in the region.

Negotiations between Iraq and Iran remained deadlocked for two years after the cease-fire. In 1990, concerned with securing its forcible annexation of Kuwait, Iraq reestablished diplomatic relations with Iran and agreed to the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from occupied Iranian territory, the division of sovereignty over the Shatt al-Arab, and a prisoner-of-war exchange.

Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein, despite having led his nation into a disastrous war, emerged from it with the strongest military in the Middle East, second only to Israel. His power unchallenged in Iraq, he trumpeted a great national victory. The war, however, put Iraq deeply in debt to its Persian Gulf Arab neighbors, and this played a strong role in the coming of the Persian Gulf War (the $14 billion debt owed to Kuwait was a key factor in Iraq's decision to invade that nation in 1990). In Iran, the war helped consolidate popular support behind the Islamic Revolution.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Aziz, Tariq; EARNEST WILL, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iran; Iran Air Flight 655; Iranian Revolution; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Khomeini, Ruhollah; PRAYING MANTIS, Operation; *Stark* Incident

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Iraq, Air Force

The Iraqi Air Force, initially created under the direction and guidance of the British Mandate government in 1931, grew steadily through six decades by importing technology and hardware from multiple sources, most notably Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. Its expansion was largely driven by the aftermath of unsuccessful attacks on Israel, which often led to the destruction of significant numbers of Iraqi warplanes. In 1991, it was virtually destroyed by the combined air forces of the international coalition formed to evict Iraqi occupation units from Kuwait (Operation DESERT STORM). Just prior to the 1991 Persian Gulf War, much of the pre-1991 Iraqi air fleet was flown to Iran, in the hope of preserving the airplanes for future use. The government of Iran seized control of the warplanes, however, further degrading Iraq's aerial defense capability. In the years after the Persian Gulf War, Iraq's remaining warplanes slowly degenerated due to poor maintenance, a lack of trained aircraft technicians, and a shortage of vital repair parts. During the 2003 Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), coalition forces reported virtually no aerial activity by the Iraqi military.

In 1931, the air arm of the Iraqi Army was created, primarily using obsolete British equipment. Throughout the next four decades, the growing Iraqi Air Force continued to use equipment considered obsolete by Western standards, but of sufficient quality to become one of the most powerful Arab air forces in the Middle East. Regionally, only the Israeli and Egyptian air forces were of superior size and quality. When Iraq became an independent nation in 1947, it continued to pursue surplus equipment from Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. By using cast-off warplanes, the fledgling Iraqi government kept the purchase and maintenance costs of its air force manageable.

In 1948, the Iraqi Air Force saw its first significant action outside of the national borders. When the state of Israel proclaimed its independence on May 14, 1948, it was immediately invaded by the armies of Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and Transjordan. Because Israel had no warplanes at the start of the Israeli-Arab War of 1948–1949, Iraqi attack aircraft held complete air superiority and could attack Israeli ground forces with impunity. They proved largely ineffective, however, and over the course of the war the nascent Israeli Air Force proved equal to the task of driving back the Iraqi warplanes. In June 1967, Israel launched preemptive strikes against Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, fearing an attack from the Arab nations was imminent. This prompted the Six-Day War. After the initial assaults, the Israeli Air Force turned its attention to Iraq, launching massive raids against Iraqi airfields and destroying much of the Iraqi Air Force on the ground. The few warplanes that survived the attacks remained grounded at airfields in eastern Iraq, presumably outside the range of Israeli raids. In the October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, elements of the Iraqi Air Force joined the conflict in support of the Syrian Army, and performed well enough against the Israeli Air Force that Iraq exited the war with its aerial fleet largely intact.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Iraq used France and the Soviet Union as its primary warplane suppliers. Over 100 French Mirage F1 jets replaced the obsolete fleet of British Hawker Hunters. These were supplemented by approximately 100 French-built Gazelle, Super-Frelon, and Alouette helicopters. The most advanced Soviet fighter in the Iraqi arsenal was the MiG-29 Fulcrum; 24 joined a fleet of more than 200 MiG-21 Fishbed aircraft in 1987. Air transport capacity was primarily supplied by the Il-76 Candid transport and aerial tanker. During the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), the Iraqi Air Force served primarily in support of Iraqi ground forces. Iraq was able to maintain local air superiority over the primary battle zone of the war, but could not withstand the numerically superior Iranian Army. Soon the Iraqi Air Force began to deploy chemical weapons in a desperate attempt to hold off massive Iranian offensives.

After only two years of peace, the Iraqi Air Force was again committed to combat. On August 2, 1990, Iraqi president Saddam

Hussein ordered an invasion of Kuwait in the form of an overwhelming combined-arms assault on the small Persian Gulf nation. The world reaction was outrage, as American and Saudi Arabian military units scrambled into position to prevent further aggression. The United Nations (UN) imposed economic sanctions and threatened the use of force to drive Iraq from Kuwait. When Hussein refused to withdraw his troops, a U.S.-led multinational invasion of Kuwait and Iraq ensued (Operation DESERT STORM). The invasion began on January 17, 1991, and lasted several weeks, involving massive air strikes against Iraqi command and control centers, airfields, and antiair defenses.

Despite the fact that Iraq owned the sixth-largest air fleet in the world, including as many as 750 warplanes in 1990–1991, the Iraqi Air Force offered minimal resistance to the coalition's establishment of complete air superiority. During the entire aerial campaign, Iraqi fighters did not shoot down a single coalition aircraft, and rarely attempted to intercept coalition warplanes. Coalition forces downed 42 Iraqi aircraft, including 9 Mirage F1s and 5 MiG-29s, and reported that Iraqi pilots were poorly trained and ineffective in aerial combat. Rather than face annihilation, approximately 130 Iraqi combat pilots flew to Iran, where they were interned by the Iranian government for the duration of the war. When the conflict ended, the pilots were released, but the aircraft were integrated into the Iranian military. According to American estimates, more than 200 Iraqi aircraft were destroyed on the ground during DESERT STORM. By the end of the war, the air force contained only 50 Mirage F1s, 15 MiG-29s, and less than 100 older aircraft models.

In the period after the Persian Gulf War, coalition forces established a pair of "no-fly" zones over Iraq, prohibiting Iraqi warplanes from overflying all but the central third of the nation. Coalition aircraft frequently bombed targets in Iraq to enforce compliance with the terms of the 1991 cease-fire. From 1991 until 2003, the Iraqi Air Force rapidly deteriorated due to massive shortages of spare aircraft parts and trained mechanics. As of 2002, Iraq owned only 5 serviceable MiG-29 fighters and less than 40 serviceable Mirage F1s, supplemented by less than 100 older warplanes. By the beginning of the Anglo-American–led coalition invasion of

U.S. forces pull an Iraqi Air Force MiG-25R Foxbat-B from beneath the sands of Iraq on July 6, 2003. While U.S. and coalition forces discovered a great deal of secreted military equipment, no weapons of mass destruction, a pretext for going to war with Iraq, have ever been found. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Iraq in March 2003 (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), the Iraqi Air Force had virtually ceased to exist. Coalition forces routinely found derelict aircraft as they captured Iraqi airfields. Some advanced Iraqi warplanes were found literally buried in the desert in an attempt to preserve them from enemy air strikes. After Iraqi president Saddam Hussein was deposed in April 2003, coalition forces began to slowly rebuild the Iraqi military as a key component of the establishment of a democratic Iraqi government. The resurgent air force now serves primarily in a transport capacity, and it has been outfitted with American-built C-130 Hercules transport planes and UH-1 helicopters. Iraq has not been able to import new aircraft since the 1991 Persian Gulf War, and thus its few remaining aircraft have become increasingly obsolete.

In August 2009 the Iraqi Defense Ministry revealed that Iraq owns 19 MiG-21 and MiG-23 fighter jets in storage in Serbia. Saddam Hussein had sent the aircraft to Serbia for repairs in the late 1980s during the Iran-Iraq War. The aircraft could not be returned to Iraq because of the subsequent international sanctions. Upon learning of the existence of the aircraft in 2009, the Iraqi government arranged with the Serbs to refurnish and return the aircraft on a priority basis.

The United States has agreed to provide Iraq with propeller-driven Hawker Beechcraft T-6A aircraft that would be used to train Iraqi jet pilots to fly the Lockheed Martin F-16 Fighting Falcon. Discussions over Iraqi purchases of the F-16 from the United States are still ongoing, however.

PAUL J. SPRINGER

See also

Aircraft, Attack; Aircraft, Fighters; Air Defenses in Iraq, Iraq War; Air Defenses in Iraq, Persian Gulf War; Chemical Weapons and Warfare; DESERT STORM, Operation; Iraq, Army; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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Iraq, Army

The Iraqi Army has historically been one of the most technologically advanced and aggressive military forces in the modern Middle East. Since the end of World War II, Iraq has joined three wars against Israel, launched invasions of Iran and Kuwait, and been attacked by two multinational forces under American leadership. The Iraqi Army has also frequently engaged in internal strife, fighting to put down repeated Kurdish and Shiite revolts against the government. In addition, the Iraqi Army has played a fundamental role in the Iraqi government, having participated in a series of coups d'état against the existing government beginning in the late 1950s. After the most recent invasion and occupation of Iraq, which began in 2003 with Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, the Iraqi Army was declared dissolved by the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), the interim occupation government. The CPA then began to rebuild the Iraqi military from the ground up, including its complete retraining.

The military history of Iraq stretches back several thousand years. The region of Mesopotamia, situated astride the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, is often considered the "cradle of civilization." The ancient Sumerian, Akkadian, and Babylonian empires each dominated the region. By the ninth century AD, Baghdad was an economic and cultural center for the entire the Muslim world. In 1638, the region was assimilated into the Ottoman Empire through military conquest. Iraq remained a part of Ottoman Turkey until World War I, when it was invaded and occupied by a British expeditionary force that landed at Basra and gradually moved northward. The British troops were assisted by Iraqi Arabs, emboldened by promises of independence at the end of the war. When World War I ended, the Ottoman Empire was dissolved, but the modern state of Iraq was largely controlled by the British and remained a British Mandate until 1947.

In the interwar period, a series of rebellions against British rule erupted in Iraq. The first began in May 1920, when Iraqi nationalists, angered at the creation of the British Mandate, led a general Arab insurrection against the newly constituted government. In addition to feeling frustrated by their failure to obtain independence, the rebels also resented the actual composition of the mandate government. It consisted almost entirely of foreign bureaucrats, particularly British colonial officials transplanted from India. By February 1921, British military forces had successfully quelled the rebellion, only to see a Kurdish revolt begin the following year. The Kurdish attempt to form an independent Kurdish state was primarily stymied through the use of airpower, against which the Kurds had no defense. Iraqi Army units under British control assisted in the suppression of the Kurdish revolt. In the 1930s, two more major uprisings occurred. In August 1933, Assyrian Christians rebelled against the government, provoking a harsh retaliation by the Iraqi Army that left 600 dead. A religious-based revolt occurred again in 1935, when Shiite Muslims attempted to overthrow the reigning government and were brutally suppressed by British and Iraqi troops.

In 1941, with World War II raging in Europe, Iraqi politician Rashid Ali al-Gaylani and his military colleagues known as the Golden Square perceived an opportunity to overthrow British control. After they seized power, Ali proclaimed an independent Iraq. The Allied powers feared that he would align his government with the Axis nations of Germany and Italy because Germany had been directing propaganda efforts in neighboring Syria and Iraq. British residents and officials took refuge in the British legation, and to rescue them, the British sent in forces that quickly defeated

the Iraqi Army and reestablished the mandate government. Three separate Kurdish revolts broke out in the 1940s, each led by Mullah Mustafa Barzani. All were quickly suppressed by the Iraqi Army, bolstered by British air power.

On May 14, 1948, Jews in Palestine led by David Ben-Gurion proclaimed the State of Israel. The announcement provoked an immediate invasion by Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and Transjordan; thus began the Israeli-Arab War of 1948–1949. Iraqi forces operated in conjunction with Syrian and Transjordanian troops and were occasionally aided by members of the Palestinian Arab Liberation Army. The Arab forces did not have a technological advantage as had been claimed, and the Arab coalition was incapable of overrunning the new nation. The Iraqi expeditionary force made small initial gains but could not withstand the eventual Israeli counterattack. The Iraqi Army in 1948 included more than 20,000 troops, of which 5,000 were initially committed to the war effort. The Iraqi troops were supported by an armored battalion and 100 warplanes. After initial rapid advances on the central front, Iraqi general Nur ad-Din Mahmud ceded the operational initiative and shifted to a defensive stance. The Iraqi troop contingent grew to over 20,000 men during the war, including thousands of poorly trained recruits who volunteered for service in Palestine. Despite maintaining numerical superiority for the entire war, Iraqi troops made no progress in Israel after June 1948. By mid-1949, Iraqi troops had withdrawn from Israel, although the formal state of war remained through 2006.

In 1956, the Suez Crisis threatened to expand into a larger regional conflict. While Egyptian and Israeli units sparred for control of the Sinai peninsula, Iraqi Army troops crossed into Jordan to prevent an Israeli attack there. Shortly after Iraqi troops returned home, Brigadier General Abd al-Karim al-Qasim led the Iraqi military in a coup against King Faisal II's government. Faisal had been installed as monarch in 1947, with British support. During the seizure of power, the king and Prime Minister Nuri al-Said were both killed. Qasim then consolidated his power and put down repeated counterrevolutions, including an attempted coup by Sunni officers of the army and another Kurdish revolt. In 1961, Britain relinquished control of Kuwait, which was immediately claimed by the Iraqi government. In response, Britain deployed troops to Kuwait to defend it from a potential Iraqi invasion.

The longest and most successful Kurdish revolt against Iraqi rule commenced in 1961. Mustafa Barzani led yet another uprising

Heavily armed soldiers in the streets of Baghdad, Iraq, on July 14, 1958, a few hours after the military seized control, overthrowing the monarchy and declaring a republic. (AP/Wide World Photos)

in the hope of gaining autonomy for the Kurdish people. The Iraqi Army proved incapable of quelling the rebellion, however, even when assisted by the Iraqi Air Force. By 1963, Syrian military forces moved into Iraq to assist in ending the rebellion, hoping to prevent an expansion of the uprising. With the exception of a one-year cease-fire that ended in April 1965, the conflict continued until 1970, when the Iraqi government finally admitted defeat and granted Kurdish autonomy without full independence.

In 1967, the June Six-Day War erupted between Israel and an Arab coalition. Israeli intelligence, detecting a massive Arab military buildup on its borders, compelled Israel to launch a series of preemptive strikes to prevent or delay the invasion. The majority of the Egyptian Air Force was destroyed in the first raids, and a similar raid against Iraqi airfields achieved modest success, destroying some aircraft and driving the rest to airfields in eastern Iraq, beyond the reach of Israeli attack aircraft. Although Iraq did not formally participate in the 1967 war, Iraqi troops again moved into defensive positions in Jordan, helping to deter a major Israeli advance across the Jordan River.

On October 6, 1973, Arab armies surprised Israel with a massive invasion on three fronts, sparking the Kom Kippur or Ramadan War. Although the Iraqi Army did not participate in the first days of the conflict, within a week Iraqi armor units were fighting the Israelis on the Golan Heights. Over 60,000 Iraqi troops were deployed in the war, supplemented by 700 tanks. The decision to attack Israel proved to be a debacle for the Iraqi Army, however. On October 13, an Israeli ambush destroyed 80 Iraqi tanks in a single day without the loss of any Israeli tanks. Iraqi military performance improved little throughout the war. The Iraqi military coordinated poorly with its Arab allies and was repeatedly mauled by the aggressive tactics of Israeli commanders. Although Iraq itself was never threatened with invasion, the Iraqi Army at the conclusion of the war showed the effects of devastating battlefield losses. During the spring of 1974, Barzani led another Kurdish revolt, this time supported by Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran. This rebellion was brutally put down by the Iraqi Army, forcing Pahlavi to withdraw his support. For the remainder of the decade, Iraq attempted to rebuild its army, relying primarily upon the Soviet Union for the supply of heavy weapons.

After five years of border disputes with Iran, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein ordered an invasion of Iran, beginning on September 22, 1980. At the time of the invasion, the Iraqi Army had grown to almost 200,000 troops, supplemented by 4,500 tanks, mostly of Soviet design. By gradually increasing tank imports while maintaining older designs in service, the Iraqi armored divisions fielded a very mixed force of vehicles, ranging from the T-55, designed in 1947, to the T-80 model of 1976. Initially, the army managed to advance into Iranian territory. However, the advance was soon halted by stronger-than-expected Iranian resistance. Eight years of bloody stalemate ensued, costing almost 1 million total casualties. In an effort to end the stalemate, Hussein ordered the use of chemical weapons on Iranian troops and the Iranian civilian population. The use of chemical weapons alarmed the entire region, particularly because the Iraqi government had a well-established nuclear weapons program in place and was actively seeking atomic weapons. On June 7, 1981, Israel launched an air raid to destroy Iraq's Osiraq nuclear reactor, destroying the bulk of the nuclear program in a single strike.

After eight years of combat, Iran and Iraq agreed to an armistice returning to the status quo antebellum. In 1988, Iraq possessed the largest army in the Middle East, capable of fielding 1 million troops from a population of only 17 million. In addition, imports of Soviet hardware made the Iraqi Army the most advanced in the region. Iraqi armored divisions relied on the Soviet T-80 main battle tank. The army contained 70 divisions of veteran troops, with a large number of artillery pieces. The Soviet Union also provided Iraq with tactical and strategic missiles capable of delivering biological and chemical weapons to Israel.

The Iraqi military did not remain idle for long after the Iran-Iraq War. Following two years of rebuilding, Iraq again looked to expand its territory along the Persian Gulf coast. After renewing claims that Kuwait was a renegade province of Iraq, the Iraqi government accused Kuwait of stealing oil reserves through illegal slant-drilling techniques and manipulating the price of oil. When Kuwait refused a series of Iraqi demands, Hussein ordered the invasion of Kuwait, beginning on August 2, 1990. The invasion quickly overwhelmed the small Kuwaiti military. The United States immediately deployed forces to Saudi Arabia to prevent further Iraqi aggression, and within four months, 500,000 American troops defended Saudi Arabia, bolstered by detachments from dozens of nations (Operation DESERT SHIELD). Included in the defensive forces were units from many of Iraq's Arabic neighbors. When Hussein ignored United Nations (UN) resolutions demanding the evacuation of Kuwait, the coalition forces launched a series of air strikes against targets in Iraq and Kuwait beginning in January 2001. Eventually, during Operation DESERT STORM, a massive ground assault forced Iraqi units to retreat from Kuwait.

Although Hussein threatened that coalition forces would face "the mother of all battles" if they dared to invade Iraq, the coalition ground attack quickly overwhelmed Iraqi units entrenched in prepared positions. The Iraqi military had no defense against coalition air supremacy, and thousands of destroyed Iraqi tanks and armored vehicles littered the retreat route. The vaunted Republican Guard divisions, elite units of the Iraqi Army, were eviscerated by coalition aircraft and tanks. Although the exact number of Iraqi soldiers killed remains unknown, estimates put the number at between 15,000 and 100,000, with a further 300,000 wounded in the fighting.

Even after Iraqi forces were driven from Kuwaiti soil, Iraq remained under tight economic sanctions in the decade after the Persian Gulf War. Because Hussein refused to account for the entire Iraqi biological and chemical weapons arsenal, UN weapons inspectors roamed the nation. Restrictions on imports into Iraq prevented Hussein from rebuilding the devastated Iraqi Army, and even vehicles that survived the coalition onslaught could not be maintained for want of spare parts.

On March 20, 2003, the United States led a thin coalition in a new invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). Ostensibly, the invasion was triggered by Iraqi refusals to comply with UN weapons inspections. However, the new coalition did not include any of Iraq's Middle Eastern neighbors. Regardless of the much smaller size of the invading forces, the 2003 invasion conquered Iraq in only three weeks, deposing Hussein in April. Weapons inspectors did not find the expected stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons, although some small caches of illegal weapons were discovered in the aftermath of the fighting. At the time of the invasion, the Iraqi Army was a mere shadow of its 1990 size, with less than 400,000 poorly trained troops using obsolete equipment. Estimates for total Iraqi casualties in the 2003 war vary greatly, but U.S. general Tommy Franks reported in April 2003 that approximately 30,000 Iraqi soldiers died during the invasion.

After conquering Iraq, the Anglo-American–led forces established a provisional government. One its earliest directives, proposed by Paul Bremer, head of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), and announced on May 23, 2003, dissolved the Iraqi military, a move that in retrospect proved to be a disaster because occupying and pacifying the nation without the army proved impossible, especially considering that American forces in theater were only a fraction of what would have been needed. Rather, the provisional government planned to completely rebuild and retrain the Iraqi Army. This decision created a massive power vacuum in Iraqi society, and contributed to the high unemployment, lawlessness, and insurgency that have characterized occupied Iraq. The Iraqi Army continues to operate Soviet-built tanks, but the vast majority of Iraq's top-quality armored vehicles were destroyed in 1991 and 2003, ensuring that most remaining Iraqi tanks are of long-obsolete designs, such as the T-62 and T-55. From the 70 divisions of 1988, the Iraqi Army was down to only 10 divisions by 2006. One division is currently mechanized; the remainder is composed of motorized infantry units. Many analysts fear that the Iraqi Army would be incapable of defending the nation from a determined assault from one of its stronger neighbors. As of this writing, coalition forces remain in occupation of Iraq, attempting to rebuild the Iraqi Army into an effective force capable of

Iraqi and American soldiers exit a U.S. Marine Corps helicopter during partnered air assault training at Camp Ramadi, Iraq, November 15, 2009. (U.S. Department of Defense)

maintaining internal and external security. These efforts have been hindered by a continuing insurrection bolstered by foreign fighters attempting to defeat the occupation and destroy the newly formed Iraqi Army. The army has proven unwilling or unable to halt the insurrection and protect the civilian population, and the Iraqi government has likewise been unable to effectively mobilize its military and security forces to stanch the insurgency.

PAUL J. SPRINGER

See also

Biological Weapons and Warfare; Chemical Weapons and Warfare; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Faisal II, King of Iraq; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, Air Force; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Iraq, Sanctions on; Iraqi Forces, Postwar U.S. Training of; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; Kurds; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam

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Iraq, History of, Pre-1990

Iraq is a Middle Eastern nation covering 168,753 square miles, slightly smaller than the U.S. state of California. It borders Saudi Arabia to the west and south, Kuwait and the Persian Gulf to the south, Iran to the east, and Syria and Turkey to the north. Most important to a modern understanding of Iraq is the Arab conquest of the region (633–644 CE), which was responsible for making Iraq the culturally, ethnically, linguistically, and religiously diverse country it is today. As the capital of the Muslim Abbasid Empire shifted from Damascus to Baghdad, Iraq rose to renewed prominence with a new culture and religion. The synthesis of this empire and subsequent Muslim states with the influence of Iraq's numerous tribes remains a powerful historical aspect of life in Iraq.

The Ottoman defeat in World War I left Great Britain the new master of the former Ottoman provinces of Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra, which now form the modern state of Iraq. Independence in 1932, however, was far less than the salvation many Iraqis assumed it would be. Iraq was split between Sunni and Shia; among Arab, Kurd, and Turcoman; and between urban and rural, and deep cleavages tore at the fabric of Iraqi society.

While it lasted, the Hashimite monarchy (1921–1958) attempted to build a unified sense of identity in Iraq. Following the 1958 coup that toppled the monarchy and brought General Abd al-Karim Qasim to power, Iraqi governments fell in rapid succession.

In 1940, Prime Minister Rashid Ali al-Gaylani offered to support Britain in World War II if Palestine were to be established as a state. Winston Churchill's refusal caused a split between the nationalists, who thought that Axis support would help them, and such moderates as former prime minister Nuri al-Said. The crisis led to a British and Transjordan Arab Legion occupation of Baghdad and the flight of Gaylani and his allies from Iraq, and it lent support to the later Baathist anti-imperialist stance.

When Israel declared its independence on May 14, 1948, a new dimension was added to an already unstable regional situation. In the Israeli-Arab War of 1948–1949, Iraq provided 3,000 troops in May 1948, adding 15,000 troops during the months that followed. Iraqi forces successfully held the Jenin-Nablus-Tulkaram triangle but singularly failed to launch an attack on Jewish forces. The failure of the allied Arab forces to succeed on the battlefield left Arab leaders with little choice but to negotiate the 1948 cease-fire.

Arab failure, as in the past, led to the persecution of Iraqi Jews, whose loyalty was suspect. The focus on internal deficiencies of the regime was replaced by charges that the small number of Iraqi Jews had spied for Israel and were responsible for Iraq's military failure. This pattern of behavior repeated itself during the 1967 Six-Day War and the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War. Later, Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein would perfect this ploy and use it on a number of occasions against other enemies to deflect attention away from his own economic, military, and political failures.

In 1955 Iraq joined the pro-Western Baghdad Pact, allying itself with Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan in a mutual defense agreement sponsored by the United States. The pact was a direct affront to the long-simmering nationalist sentiments within the Iraqi Army officer corps. Indeed, the pact became the catalyst that ignited the 1958 revolution, the first in a string of coups and countercoups that would plague Iraq until the Baathists finally consolidated power in 1968. The 1958 coup was led by a secret nationalist organization known as the Free Officers Movement. On July 14, 1958, its members seized control of Baghdad and executed King Faisal II and Prime Minister Said. The revolutionaries then abolished the monarchy, proclaimed Iraq a republic, and sought closer ties to the Soviet Union. Colonel Qasim had led the coup, but his policies ultimately created a great many internal and external enemies.

The republican period of Iraqi history (1958–1968) was marked by internal conflict in which the antimonarchist factions fought among themselves. Qasim's rule of Iraq was short-lived, and he was overthrown in 1963 by a coalition of anticommunist military officers and secular Arab nationalists and Baathists who installed Colonel Abd al-Salam Arif as president and Hasan al-Bakr as prime minister. Allies in the National Council of the Revolutionary Command, which took the reins of government in February 1963, soon turned against one another, as it became clear that the military and the Baath Party fundamentally disagreed on the path that Iraq should pursue. President Arif's tenure in office ended abruptly when he was killed in a helicopter crash in

1966. His more pliable brother, Abdal-Rahman Arif, took over and served as president until 1968.

Iraq's failure to support fellow Arab states in the Six-Day War led to massive riots in Baghdad, which the regime was ineffective in suppressing. On July 17, 1968, the Baathists seized radio stations, the Ministry of Defense, and the headquarters of the Republican Guard. The Baath Party thus came to power with Hasan al-Bakr taking the posts of president, prime minister, and secretary general of the party. His cousin, Saddam Hussein, worked in the background to eliminate adversaries of the new regime.

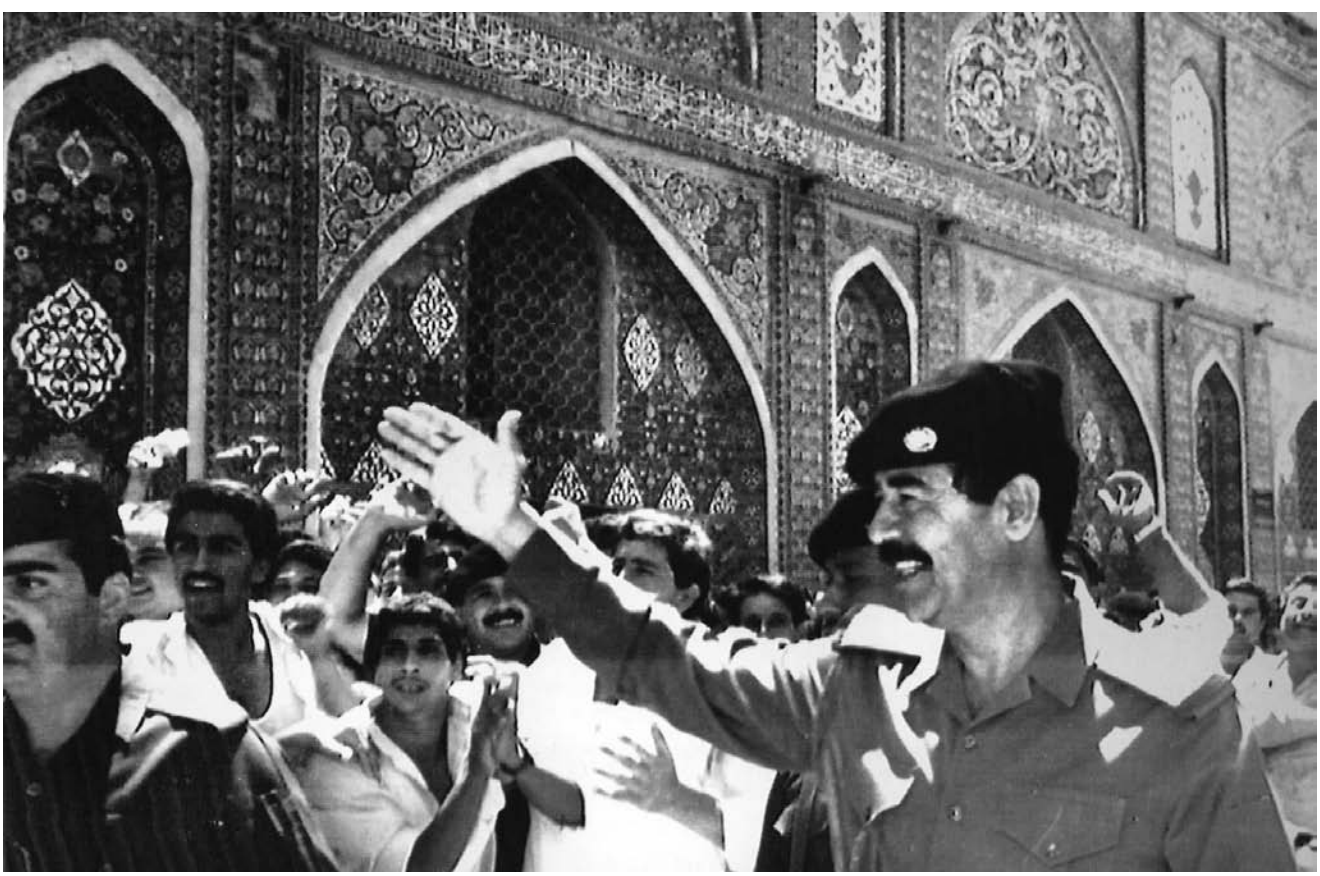
Over time, Hussein proved to be a ruthless operator whose patronage system broke down the historic bonds in Iraqi society. His network of security organizations so thoroughly penetrated government, the military, and society that he was able to remove Bakr from power without a challenge. Security operatives also settled old scores with the communists and Free Officers on Hussein's behalf.

The Baath regime did, however, pursue numerous needed reforms. These included land reform, agricultural investment, the renegotiation of oil contracts, hospital and school construction, and a number of other reforms in a continuing effort to bring the society into the regime's broader network of patronage. This task was also accomplished through the activities of the large Baath Party itself. Iraqi society was dependent on a patronage network in which association with party, military, or government officials was necessary and in which bribes were used. For this and other reasons, such as rural-urban migration, economic reforms did not succeed, and from 1973 onward Iraq was largely dependent on oil revenues.

When the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War began in October 1973, a recently attempted coup by the brutal head of state security services, Nadhim Kzar, was still at the forefront of government efforts to purge the Baath Party. This led to Iraq playing only a minor role in the war in the form of an armored division sent to Syria. The Iraqis fought alongside the Syrians as they sought to retake the Golan Heights. The effort failed.

Defeat in the war was the third consecutive defeat for the Arabs at the hands of Israel, and it led the Iraqi regime to turn inward. This meant that the Kurds, Shiites, and communists suffered the brunt of the regime's onslaught throughout the 1970s. Survival became the focus of existence for these three groups. With the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979, the Iraqi regime saw a looming threat from Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's Shiite-fundamentalist regime.

After Hussein assumed the presidency in 1979, his consolidation of power was complete. He launched an offensive against the southern Iranian city of Khorramshahr on September 17, 1980, sparking the Iran-Iraq War, which would drag on until 1988 and would witness more than 1 million combined casualties. Neither



Saddam Hussein waves to cheering crowds during a visit to the holy Muslim shrines in Samara on August 9, 1988. The Iraqi president visited the site for prayers and to give thanks following an agreement on a cease-fire in the eight-year long Iran-Iraq War. (AP/Wide World Photos)

side achieved a clear victory, and both countries saw their economies dramatically decline during the war. For Israel, however, the Iran-Iraq War was a respite that reduced foreign threats.

Exhausted, Iran and Iraq reached a cease-fire agreement in July 1988. In the aftermath of the war, Hussein turned to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait for financial assistance but was rebuffed. Under Ottoman rule, Kuwait had been part of Basra Province and only became an independent emirate during the British Mandate. This historical quirk provided Hussein with an excuse to invade Kuwait.

But Hussein had other reasons to attack Kuwait. He accused the Kuwaitis of manipulating the price of oil to the detriment of Iraq and asserted that Kuwait was illegally tapping Iraqi oil reserves by slant-drilling into Iraqi oil fields. Hussein also fumed that the Kuwaitis would not accede to debt reduction to help a struggling Iraqi economy. To Hussein's way of thinking, if the Kuwaiti emir would not provide financial relief to Iraq, then the Iraqi Army would simply conquer Kuwait.

In the days leading up to the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the United States failed to clearly communicate its disapproval of an Iraqi invasion, and instead led the Iraqis to believe that they were free to invade Kuwait. After the invasion began on August 2, 1990, the United Nations (UN) quickly condemned Iraq, and U.S. president George H. W. Bush began deploying American troops to Saudi Arabia. Although the Iraqi regime was convinced that the United States would not attack, the Iraqi high command began planning for such a contingency. Part of the plan called for a massive air strike that would see Israel's major cities hit by devastating chemical weapons attacks designed to bring Israel into the war and cause other Arab nations to terminate their support of the U.S.-led coalition. The attack never materialized, but Iraq did manage to strike Israel with approximately two dozen Scud missiles in January 1991. The United States responded by deploying two Patriot missile batteries to Israel.

In the wake of a resounding coalition victory in February 1991, Iraq was reduced economically and politically by the sanctions placed on Hussein's regime and the presence of UN weapons inspectors who scoured the country for weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). Average Iraqis suffered intensely under the sanctions. The UN's Oil-for-Food Programme was designed to bring needed medicine and food to Iraq while preventing the regime from rebuilding its WMD capabilities. Instead, Hussein built lavish palaces and exported the medical supplies and food intended for Iraqis to foreign countries. He also ruthlessly suppressed uprisings by both the Kurds and Shiites.

Iraq's link to international terrorism had begun as early as the 1980s. It was in fact the Iraqi regime that provided Abu Abbas, mastermind of the *Achille Lauro* ocean liner hijacking, safe haven in 1985. In the years that followed the Persian Gulf War, Hussein dramatically stepped up his support for terrorist organizations.

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See also

Abbas, Abu; *Achille Lauro* Hijacking; Arif, Abd al-Salam; Baath Party; Baghdad Pact; Bakr, Ahmad Hassan al-; Bush, George Herbert Walker; DESERT STORM, Operation; Faisal II, King of Iraq; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iranian Revolution; Iraq, Air Force; Iraq, Army; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Iraq, Navy; Iraqi Claims on Kuwait; Kurds; Kurds, Massacres of; Nuri al-Said; Qasim, Abd al-Karim; Terrorism; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy

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Iraq, History of, 1990–Present

From 1990 until the U.S.-led coalition invasion of Iraq on March 20, 2003, which overthrew the government of President Saddam Hussein, Iraq was in perpetual crisis, and many of its citizens suffered from severe economic and military hardships. To make matters worse, Iraqi government policies during that period only exacerbated the chaos that defined the nation between 1990 and 2003. After Hussein was overthrown, Iraq was convulsed by violence due to sectarian strife and a potent Iraqi insurgency, and occupation forces have had mixed success in dealing with the unrest. Reconstruction has proceeded slowly, and, with no long-standing tradition of a freely elected democratic government, the new Iraqi government has proven to be not very adept at managing the nation's affairs.

During much of the time period, Iraq was ruled by Saddam Hussein, who was president of Iraq from July 16, 1979, until April 9, 2003. On April 9, 2003, coalition forces captured Baghdad and established the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) to govern Iraq, which was later formed into the Iraqi Interim Government. The permanent government was elected in 2005. Large numbers of coalition forces—most of them American—remained in the country as part of an effort to quell the violence and help the government gain control of the country.

Demolished vehicles and equipment on Al Mutla Pass, north of Kuwait City. They were destroyed by U.S. Air Force and Army Tiger Brigade forces engaging Iraqi troops fleeing Kuwait City during Operation DESERT STORM in 1991. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Following the conclusion of the eight-year Iran-Iraq War in 1988, Iraq faced economic disaster. The nation's foreign debt was estimated to be between $100 billion and $120 billion, with recovery costs estimated at more than $450 billion. Iraq's estimated 100-billion-barrel oil reserve, however, continued to be a viable asset. Nevertheless, Iraq's economy was incapable of absorbing most of the nearly 500,000 soldiers who were still in active service in the Iraqi military. Hussein had hoped that neighboring Saudi Arabia or Kuwait would write off Iraq's war debts or even offer funds for reconstruction. When this did not occur, he became angry and accused Kuwait of deliberately keeping oil prices low by overproducing in an effort to further injure the Iraqi economy. He also accused the Kuwaitis of illegally slant-drilling oil from the Rumaila Oil Field, located in southeastern Iraq.

On August 2, 1990, Iraqi troops invaded Kuwait and quickly occupied it. Immediately following the invasion, Kuwaiti officials and much of the international community condemned the action and demanded the withdrawal of Iraqi troops. The United Nations (UN) also denounced the act and immediately passed UN Resolution 661, which imposed wide-ranging sanctions on Iraq. These sanctions provided for a trade embargo that excluded only medical supplies, food, and other essential items. The embargo further depressed the Iraq economy. The UN also authorized a naval blockade of Iraq. The United States, meanwhile, was deeply concerned about the occupation of Kuwait, a potential Iraqi incursion into Saudi Arabia, and a potential disruption to world oil supplies; what is more, it worried over Iraqi programs that had called for the production of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). U.S. officials feared that these developments would upset the balance of power in the region and might imperil Israel.

The United States and Great Britain soon spearheaded a military coalition of 34 countries, including many Arab nations, to face down the Iraqi aggression. When diplomatic negotiations yielded no progress, coalition forces began a massive aerial campaign against Iraq on January 17, 1991. Nearly a month of aerial attacks against Iraq destroyed much of the entire infrastructure of Iraq and killed an estimated 12,000 to 15,000 Iraqi soldiers and civilians. The aerial bombardment was followed by a quick ground assault in February 1991 in which coalition forces advanced into Kuwait and southern Iraq. Kuwait was liberated and Iraq resoundingly defeated in just 100 hours of ground combat. Some 60,000 Iraqi troops surrendered without a fight. On February 27, 1991, U.S. president George H. W. Bush ordered coalition forces to stand down. Estimates of Iraqi deaths during Operation DESERT STORM, including civilian casualties, range anywhere from 20,000 to 281,000 people. Meanwhile, Iraq's military had been badly mauled, the economy was in tatters, and the nation's infrastructure was badly damaged.

Despite the destruction caused by the Persian Gulf War, Hussein's government survived. Bush called for the Iraqi people to force Hussein to step aside, and uprisings occurred among various groups, including Iraqi Army troops returning from their defeat. These began in March 1991 and soon engulfed much of the country. Shiite Muslims in southern Iraq and Kurds in northern Iraq, two religious sects that had been violently persecuted throughout Hussein's presidency, also rebelled against the Iraqi government. The refusal of the coalition governments to support the insurgents, however, allowed the government to suppress the rebellions with brutal force. Unfortunately for the opponents of Hussein, the Iraqi government was allowed under the terms of the agreements ending the war to employ helicopters, which it used with devastating effectiveness against the insurgents. Many Kurds fled north to Turkey to avoid the violent suppression that followed, and Shiite Muslims and Kurds continued to face persecution throughout the rest of Hussein's presidency.

The brutal campaigns against the Shiites and Kurds—especially those against the Kurds in the north—received wide-ranging media coverage and garnered much sympathy for the Kurdish population. Partly because of such coverage, a "no-fly zone," an area over which the Iraqi Air Force had to relinquish its control, was established in northern Iraq, followed by a similar zone in southern Iraq.

Following the successful suppression of the uprisings, the Iraqi government set out to strengthen its hold on power. Hussein favored his most loyal supporters, Arab Sunnis from the area of his hometown of Tikrit. With the economy in shambles, many Iraqi people had begun seeking old institutions, such as Arab tribes, for support. At the same time, Hussein shrewdly sought backing from tribal leaders within Iraq. The government thus established an Assembly of Tribes, and Hussein made a public apology for past land reforms that had hurt tribal leaders. Tribalism and favoritism soon led to violence and ruthless competition among the various groups, however. In 1994, in order to quell such unrest, the government responded by implementing harsh new laws designed to limit the power of tribal groups. However, because of selective enforcement of such laws, there was little reduction in violence.

At the same time, UN sanctions devastated the Iraqi economy. Also, government policies supported large military and internal security forces at the expense of other sectors. The sanctions had declared that 30 percent of Iraqi oil exports had to be set aside for war reparations, but the Iraqi economy had grown to depend on its oil exports at the expense of other industries, especially agriculture. Thus, when money from the oil trade was diminished, many Iraqis suffered from malnourishment and grinding poverty. The effects of the sanctions, combined with the large debts incurred during the war with Iran, brought on hyperinflation, which nearly wiped out the Iraqi middle class. The value of the Iraqi currency, the dinar, plummeted, and food prices rose rapidly after the war. Cancer rates also increased, reportedly a result of the 300 to 800 tons of depleted uranium used in Iraq during the war.

Medical supplies were scarce in Iraq as a result of the sanctions, and the government hoarded them. Mortality rates in children under the age of five increased steeply. The Iraqi government implemented food rationing, but that did little to improve the situation. Illiteracy rates in Iraq also rose because many roads and schools had been damaged or destroyed. To add to the problem, the government withdrew much of its support for teachers and other salaried professionals. Power shortages caused widespread problems in homes and industries throughout Iraq, and many modern manufacturing facilities were forced to shut down.

In 1991, the Iraqi government had rejected UN proposals to trade its oil for food and other humanitarian supplies. On May 20, 1996, however, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the United Nations and the Iraqi government. The memorandum stated that the Iraqi government could sell oil to purchase food and other humanitarian supplies. The first shipments of food arrived in Iraq in March 1997. Unfortunately, the program suffered from rampant corruption, and did little to improve the lot of average Iraqis, who continued to suffer from extreme poverty. By the late 1990s, the People's Republic of China and Russia were calling for a significant easing of UN sanctions. Such calls went unheeded, however, as the United States and other Western powers refused to grant any leniency to the Iraqi regime. By 2000, as many as 16 million Iraqis depended on some form of government assistance for survival.

Following the Persian Gulf War, the United States and its allies continued to limit Hussein's power through numerous punitive military operations. These operations, mostly air and missile strikes, damaged infrastructure and put even more of a strain on the Iraqi economy. On October 8, 1994, Operation VIGILANT WARRIOR began as a response to the deployment of Iraqi troops toward the Kuwaiti border. After some 170 aircraft and 6,500 military personnel were deployed to southern Iraq, Hussein recalled his troops and the crisis passed. On September 3, 1996, Operation DESERT STRIKE was launched in response to the movement of 40,000 Iraqi troops into northern Iraq, which threatened the Kurdish population. More than two years later, on December 16, 1998, the United States and Great Britain began Operation DESERT FOX, a four-day bombing campaign against select Iraqi targets. It was in response to the Iraqi government's refusal to comply with UN Security Council (UNSC) resolutions that called for the dismantling of certain weapons and the government's interference with UN weapons inspectors, whose goal was to ensure that the Iraqi government was complying with UN resolutions. The stated goal of DESERT FOX was to destroy any hidden weapons of mass destruction and the Iraqi government's ability to produce and deploy them. The bombing targeted research and development installations.

On February 16, 2001, the United States and Great Britain launched a bombing campaign to damage Iraq's air defense network. Throughout the interwar period, bombing efforts meant to force Iraq's compliance with UN mandates caused much destruction while doing little to weaken Hussein's hold on power.

Governorates of Iraq

Iraqis at work near a giant mural depicting Iraqi president Saddam Hussein on horseback fighting a mythical creature whose three heads are representations of U.S. president George W. Bush, center, Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon, bottom, and British prime minister Tony Blair, bottom. Baghdad, Iraq, September 18, 2002. (AP/Wide World Photos)

In response to such attacks, the Iraqi government, which had essentially been controlled by the decidedly secular Baath Party, began using Islam as way to rally its citizens. The struggle against the United States was depicted as a jihad, or holy war, against the Western world. In 1994, the government encouraged the building of mosques as part of a new "faith campaign." Large murals portraying Hussein in prayer were exhibited, and government money was set aside to construct the largest mosque in the world. Hussein and his government also encouraged loyalty to the regime, and Hussein was depicted as a hero in his conflict against the United States.

In northern Iraq, the Kurds were now separated from the rest of the country, and self-rule was largely implemented. Kurdish political parties allowed cable television from outside Iraq to be broadcast into their region. The UN and international aid groups with access to the north were able to distribute aid to the region. On the eve of the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, the Kurdish economy was performing much better than the rest of the country. Many Kurdish villages had been resettled, medical facilities were restored, and the infant mortality rate had improved dramatically.

Following the terror attacks on the United States of September 11, 2001, the George W. Bush administration took a more assertive stance with Iraq. Bush and his closest advisers believed that Iraq posed a threat to the United States and its allies, including Israel. Many of Bush's advisers mistakenly believed that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction and suggested an attack against Iraq, which would at once remove Hussein from power, secure the alleged WMDs, and serve as a warning to other rogue states. Beyond that, they hoped that a democratic Iraq might be a force for change in the entire region.

Bush hoped to secure approval from the UN before proceeding with an attack. On September 12, 2002, Bush addressed the UN Security Council and attempted to make his case for an invasion of Iraq. Much of the international community was critical of such a move, however. Other world leaders did not believe that Iraq posed a threat or had links to such terrorist organizations as Al Qaeda, which the Bush administration alleged. On November 8, 2002, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1441, which offered Iraq a final chance to comply with its disarmament agreements. The resolution required that the Iraqi government destroy all chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons as well as the means to deliver them, and to provide complete documentation of such.

On February 5, 2003, U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell addressed the UN General Assembly and presented evidence, some

of which was later proven to be false, that Iraqi officials were impeding the work of the weapons inspectors, continuing to develop weapons of mass destruction, and directly supporting Al Qaeda, which had carried out the 9/11 attacks. Following the presentation, the United States and Great Britain, among others, proposed a UN resolution calling for the use of force against Iraq. Other countries, such as Canada, France, Germany, and Russia, urged continued diplomacy. Although the American effort failed, the United States decided to pursue an invasion without UN authorization.

On March 20, 2003, a U.S.-led coalition invaded Iraq with the objectives of disarming Iraq, ending Hussein's reign as president, and freeing the Iraqi people. Coalition forces were able to advance quickly through Iraq. On April 9, they captured Baghdad and officially toppled the Iraqi government, forcing Hussein to go into hiding.

On May 1, 2003, Bush declared that major combat operations in Iraq were over and that the postinvasion reconstruction phase had begun. However, the postinvasion period would prove very difficult for coalition forces. With the absence of government authority and social order, the country soon experienced widespread civil disorder, with many people looting palaces, museums, and even armories that the Iraqi government had once controlled. To complicate things, the coalition did not have enough troops on the ground to prevent such disorder and keep an insurgency at bay.

In an attempt to bring order in Iraq, the United States established the Coalition Provisional Authority to govern Iraq, and put it in place on April 20, 2003. While many of Hussein's palaces were looted, their physical structures remained intact. It was from these palaces that the CPA governed Iraq. On May 11, 2003, President Bush selected diplomat Lewis Paul Bremer III to head the CPA. On June 3, 2003, as part of the first act of the CPA, Bremer ordered the de-Baathification of Iraq. Senior officials within the Baath Party were removed from their positions and banned from future employment in the public sector. In all, about 30,000 party members became instantly unemployed. The next day, Bremer dissolved Iraq's 500,000-member army. This order left Iraq without a military or police force to stop the widespread looting. It also ensured a huge number of disgruntled, unemployed dissidents who viewed the CPA with great enmity. Violence against the occupation armies steadily increased. Notwithstanding the apparent early successes of the coalition forces, individuals opposed to the coalition presence in Iraq engaged in acts of violence, such as the use of ambush tactics, improvised explosive devices, and suicide bombings against coalition forces. Despite a quick military victory, coalition forces faced a long battle with Iraqi insurgents in their attempt to bring peace to Iraq.

Sectarian strife was also increasing, and by mid-2004, some analysts claimed that Iraq was perched on the edge of a full-blown civil war. The Arab Sunni leadership capitalized on Sunni fear of Shiite dominance of a new government. Sunnis extremists routinely employed bombing and suicide-bombing attacks against Shiite civilians. Also, Shiite members of the new Iraqi Army used extralegal means to execute Sunni civilians. Shiites organized death squads, which killed many Iraqi civilians.

In the face of such violence, on June 28, 2004, governing authority was transferred to the Iraqi Interim Government, which was led by Prime Minister Iyad Allawi. The generally pro-Western Allawi launched a campaign to weaken the rebel forces of Muqtada al-Sadr, who had spoken out against the CPA. On September 1, 2004, Allawi pulled out of peace negotiations with Sadr. Eventually, however, Sadr agreed to a cease-fire and took part in the legislative elections, which were held on January 30, 2005.

As part of the January 2005 elections, the Iraqi people chose representatives for the 275-member Iraqi National Assembly. With 58.4 percent voter turnout, a total of 8.4 million people cast their ballots. At least every third candidate on the candidate lists was female. There were nine separate attacks in Iraq on election day that killed 44 people, although these numbers were less than most experts had expected.

Two parties supported largely by Shiite Muslims won a majority of the seats, and 85 of the 275 members were women. Many Sunni Arabs, who had largely supported Hussein and held power in the previous government, boycotted the elections, leading some observers to challenge the legitimacy of the elections. The assembly was immediately charged with writing a constitution for Iraq and approved an Iraqi Transitional Government on April 28, 2005. The transitional government gained authority on May 3, 2005. The Iraqi Constitution was approved on October 15, 2005, and described Iraq as a democratic, federal, representative republic.

On December 15, 2005, a second general election was held to elect a permanent Iraqi Council of Representatives. Following approval from the members of the National Assembly, a permanent government of Iraq was formed on May 16, 2006. Turnout for this election was high, at 79.4 percent, and the level of violence was lower than during the previous election. The United Iraqi Alliance, a coalition of Arab Shiite parties, won the most votes with 41.2 percent. Ibrahim al-Jafari was nominated for the post of prime minister, but he was passed over after growing criticism by Nuri al-Maliki, a member of the Islamic Dawa Party, a conservative Shiite group. As prime minister, Maliki successfully negotiated a peace treaty with Sadr's rebel forces in August 2007.

Meanwhile, on December 13, 2003, U.S. forces captured Saddam Hussein in Dawr, a small town north of Baghdad and near Tikrit, his birthplace. An Iraqi Special Tribunal charged Hussein with crimes committed against the inhabitants of the town of Dujail in 1982. Dujail had been the site of an unsuccessful assassination attempt against Hussein. The former Iraqi president was charged with the murder of 148 people, with having ordered the torture of women and children, and with illegally arresting 399 others. On November 5, 2006, he was found guilty and sentenced to death by hanging. On December 30, Hussein was executed by Iraqi authorities.

In January 2007, President Bush presented his plan for "A New Way Forward" in Iraq. This was a new U.S. military strategy whose stated goal was to reduce the sectarian violence in Iraq and

An Iraqi woman voting in Baghdad in the elections for a permanent national parliamentary government, December 15, 2005. (U.S. Department of Defense)

help the Iraqi people provide security and stability for themselves. Five additional U.S. Army brigades were deployed to Iraq between January and May 2007, totaling about 40,000 troops. Operations to secure Baghdad began immediately. The U.S. troop surge, as many commentators called the plan, continued into 2009.

The interpretations of the results of the surge were mixed. Many U.S. media outlets, including CNN, reported that violence had dropped anywhere from 40 to 80 percent in Iraq following the surge. ABC ran many reports on its nightly news show that highlighted the progress in Iraq. *New York Times* writer David Brooks argued that even President Bush's harshest critics would have to concede that he finally got one right. Barack Obama, who was elected president of the United States in November 2008 and was once a harsh critic of the surge, later asserted that the new military strategy had led to an improved security situation in Iraq, although he was quick to point out that the war should not have been launched in the first place.

Critics have argued that while violence may have fallen in Iraq following the surge, such evidence did not indicate that the surge was truly successful. A 2008 study of satellite imagery suggested that Shiite ethnic cleansing of Sunni neighborhoods had been largely responsible for the decrease in violence in Sunni areas. Some independent journalists argued that violence was down because the Shiites had won the battles of Baghdad in 2006–2007 and had controlled nearly three-fourths of the capital city. Others praised Maliki's government, not the U.S. government, for its efforts to stop the violence. Still others attributed it to deals struck by the occupying troops with the Sunnis to turn against Al Qaeda and other extremists.

Public opinion in Iraq seemed to suggest that Iraqis did not believe that the surge had led to any reduction in violence. A multi–news agency poll conducted in March 2008 showed that only 4 percent of Iraqis gave the U.S. surge any credit for any reduction in violence following the surge. Instead, many Iraqi people gave Iraqi institutions credit for the lowering of violence. Despite the reduction in violence, 50 percent of Iraqis still view security as the nation's main concern. In 2007 the Iraqi population was 29.267 million.

On December 4, 2008, the U.S. and Iraqi governments concluded the Status of Forces Agreement, which stipulated that U.S. troops would depart from all Iraqi cities by June 30, 2009, and would leave Iraq entirely by December 31, 2011. U.S. forces were no longer allowed to hold Iraqi citizens without charges for more than 24 hours. Also, immunity from prosecution in Iraqi courts was taken away from U.S. contractors. Maliki, however, was faced by detractors who called for the immediate removal of foreign troops from Iraq. They believed the agreement only prolonged an illegal occupation. Iraq's grand ayatollah, Sayyid Ali Husayn al-Sistani, led many of these protests and contended that Maliki was ceding too much control to the Americans. Such dissent forced the government to promise to hold a referendum on the agreement no later than June 20, 2009. If Iraqi citizens vote down the agreement, the Iraqi government would inform the U.S. that its troops would have to leave by June 2010, and the U.S. would be forced to accept the referendum. The referendum was not held by the June 2009 deadline and was put off until sometime in 2010.

Despite the effect of two wars and a continued insurgency against coalition forces in the country, the Iraqi economy has improved largely due to an influx of money pouring in from abroad. Wages rose over 100 percent between 2003 and 2008, and taxes were cut by 15–45 percent, allowing many Iraqi citizens to increase their spending power. However, despite such successes, Iraq faced many economic problems as well. Unemployment remained high; the Iraq government estimated that unemployment was between 60 and 70 percent in 2008. At the same time, the Iraqi foreign debt rose as high as $125 billion. Internal fragmentation and acts of sectarian violence continued to pose a large problem in Iraq, and U.S. and Iraqi forces have been unable to completely stop the violence.

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See also

Allawi, Iyad; Bremer, Jerry; DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Maliki, Nuri Muhammed Kamil Hasan al-; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq,

History of, Pre-1990; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; Sadr, Muqtada al-; Sistani, Sayyid Ali Husayn al-; Surge, U.S. Troop Deployment, Iraq War

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Iraq, Navy

Prior to the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the Iraqi Navy was primarily a coastal defense force that could not operate far beyond its territorial waters. The United States Central Command (CENTCOM) estimated that the Iraqi Navy had poor overall operational capabilities. The force's readiness and training levels were low, and its ships were aging and in disrepair after the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War; it also suffered from poor maintenance programs. The main Iraqi naval base was in Basra, but access to the Persian Gulf was essentially blocked by remnants from the war with Iran. Other naval facilities were located in Az-Zubayr and Umm Qasr.

At the beginning of Operation DESERT STORM, the Iraqi Navy comprised 13 missile boats, 9 mine warfare ships, 6 amphibious warfare ships, 4 Exocet-armed helicopters, and several patrol boats and auxiliary vessels. The missile boats included one FPB-57 missile boat armed with Exocet missiles, 5 TNC-45 missile boats with Exocet missiles, 5 Osa IIs with Styx missiles, and 2 Osa Is with Styx missiles. Of mine warfare ships, the Iraqis had 2 Soviet T-43 fleet minesweepers, 3 Yevgenya-class inshore minesweepers, and 4 Nestin-class river minesweepers. Of amphibious warfare ships, it had 3 Polnocny-class tank landing ships and 3 Zahraa-class ships. The Iraqi Navy also operated a training frigate and had 4 operational (and 3 nonoperational) French-made Aérospatiale Super Frelon naval helicopters armed with Exocet antisurface missiles (AM-39). These helicopters posed a threat to shipping in the Persian Gulf as well as to allied warships.

The most serious threat posed by the Iraqi Navy came from its missile boats armed with Styx and Exocet missiles; these were the primary concern for coalition forces. In addition, mines laid by the mine warfare ships posed a threat to coalition ships in the Persian Gulf, while the smaller patrol boats had the ability to harass coalition warships. The Iraqi Navy's cache of various types of mines, and its ability to deploy them covertly was thought to be a serious threat to allied naval forces and shipping within the Gulf.

Because of these perceived military threats, U.S. Navy ships in the Persian Gulf area had orders to sink every Iraqi ship in sight. On the first night of the war, January 17, coalition air forces launched a strike on Umm Qasr Naval Base. Three days later, coalition forces again struck Umm Qasr. Coalition naval forces devastated the Iraqi Navy; the few ships that survived did so by fleeing to Iran. On January 29, 1991, U.S. Navy pilots sank an FBP-57 and two TNC-45s that were headed toward Iranian waters. The next day, under orders from Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein, more Iraqi vessels tried to escape to Iran. Coalition forces attacked the fleeing vessels and shattered the Iraqi Navy. Coalition forces destroyed or damaged seven missile boats, three amphibious warfare ships, one minesweeper, and nine other Iraqi vessels in the same area. Only one missile boat and one amphibious ship managed to escape to Iranian waters, where they were seized by the Iranians.

By February 2, 1991, any threat posed by the Iraqi Navy had been removed. The Iraqi Navy lost 19 ships sunk and 6 others damaged. In all more than 100 Iraqi vessels of all types were destroyed in the war. The few Iraqi ships that survived the war were in poor condition and were thereafter rarely operated.

By 1993, the Iraqi Navy had only 1 operational Osa II missile patrol boat, 1 torpedo boat, a few small boats, and a few Silkworm missiles. In 1995, the navy comprised 2,000 personnel, 1 former Yugoslav frigate, 2 Assad-class corvettes, 1 Osa I missile fast patrol boat, and 11 patrol boats (3 Thornycroft types, 2 Bogomol-class, 1 Poluchat I–class, 2 Zhuk-class, and 3 PB-90–class). After 1991, the subsequent United Nations (UN)-imposed arms, trade, and economic sanctions crippled the Iraqis' ability to repair their fleet and rebuild their naval force.

In 2002, Iraqi general Ali Hassan al-Majid al Tikriti (also known as "Chemical Ali") commanded military forces in the southern region of Iraq (one of four military commands), including the Iraqi Navy. The navy operated from bases at Basra, Umm Qasr, and Az-Zubayr. Personnel still numbered about 2,000 men.

Just prior to the start of the 2003 Iraq War, the Iraqi Navy consisted of seven patrol and coastal combat vessels, as well as other auxiliary ships and small boats. It included one Bogomol-class large patrol craft (PCF); one Osa I–class fast-attack missile craft (PTFG) equipped with Styx missiles; two 90-class inshore coastal patrol craft (PC); and three mine warfare craft (one Soviet Yevgenya-class and two Nestin-class minesweepers). The navy also operated a yacht with a helicopter deck for President Saddam Hussein.

There were many nonoperational craft in the Iraqi Navy, including an Osa I–class fast-attack missile boat and 3 mine warfare craft reportedly nonoperational since 1991. The presidential yacht was also nonoperational. There were many small patrol boats that were not heavily armed but could be used for mining or raiding missions. By some estimates, Iraq had more than 150 of these vessels.

The Iraqi Navy played little role in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. On March 20, 2003, the first day of the war, coalition forces conducted an air and amphibious assault on the Faw peninsula to secure oil wells located nearby. The Iraqi Navy had sent forces to guard the oil terminals, but coalition forces quickly took control of them. British forces took Umm Qasr and moved to Basra within the first

two weeks of the war. The Iraqi Navy was decimated by coalition air strikes during the first days of the invasion. The Iraqi Navy is now in the process of being reconstituted.

ALISON LAWLOR

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Faw Peninsula; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Majid al Tikriti, Ali Hassan al-; Umm Qasr; Umm Qasr, Battle of

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Iraq, Sanctions on

The international community imposed sanctions on Iraq beginning on August 6, 1990, four days after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Various sanctions remained in place until May 22, 2003, at which time the Saddam Hussein government had been overthrown by the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq in March 2003. This was one of the longest and hardest sanction regimes ever imposed by the international community and the United Nations (UN) on one of its member states.

An Iraqi woman and her son carry their monthly food ration, distributed by the government under the Oil-For-Food Programme, Baghdad, August 12, 2002. (AP/Wide World Photos)

On August 2, 1990, Iraq's armed forces occupied Kuwait. Four days later UN Security Council Resolution 661 imposed comprehensive trade sanctions on Iraq. The sanctions prohibited the importation of any Iraqi commodities or products into all UN member states as well as the sale or supply of any products to Iraq. The resolution excluded the sale of medical supplies to Iraq as well as foodstuffs for humanitarian purposes.

Although the Persian Gulf War officially ended on February 28, 1991, the Security Council continued to employ sanctions against Iraq. Security Council Resolution 687 of April 3, 1991, instructed the government of Iraq to destroy, remove, and render harmless all its weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and medium-range missiles. The UN also decided to send to Iraq a team of international inspectors to supervise the implementation of the resolution. Continuing economic sanctions were supposed to maintain international pressure on Iraq to cooperate with the inspectors.

Because the 1991 war caused major damage to Iraq's infrastructure, including power plants, oil refineries, pumping stations, and water treatment facilities, the sanctions crippled Iraqi efforts to revive the economy and created a humanitarian crisis. In response to the plight of Iraqi civilians, UN secretary-general Javier Pérez de Cuéllar submitted a report to the Security Council on March 20, 1991, describing in detail the humanitarian crisis existing in Iraq after the war. In its conclusions, the report recommended that the international community work rapidly to reconstruct Iraq to improve the humanitarian situation there.

As a means of improving the humanitarian situation in Iraq, the Security Council passed Resolutions 706 and 712 in August and September of 1991, respectively. These resolutions allowed for the limited sale of Iraqi crude oil for the strict purpose of purchasing basic humanitarian goods for the Iraqi population. The government of Iraq rejected the offer, however, and demanded that all sanctions be immediately abolished.

The sanctions inflicted much more damage on Iraqi society during the 1990s. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) surveys revealed that in the southern and central regions of Iraq, home to approximately 85 percent of the country's population, the mortality rate of children under the age of five had nearly tripled, from 56 deaths per 1,000 live births during 1984–1989 to 131 deaths per 1,000 live births during 1994–1999. Infant mortality (defined as children in their first year) increased from 47 per 1,000 live births to 108 per 1,000 live births within the same time frame.

The harsh conditions in Iraq soon caused a rift among the Security Council's permanent members. The United States and the United Kingdom advocated continuing the sanctions until the Iraqi government fulfilled all its obligations in compliance with Security Council Resolution 687. Their stance, however, was challenged by China, France, and Russia, which claimed that the sanctions only enhanced the suffering of the Iraqi people without influencing the Iraqi government to comply with Resolution 687.

On April 14, 1995, the UN Security Council suggested in Resolution 986 that the Iraqi government accept international

supervision of the sale of Iraq's crude oil in return for humanitarian aid and basic needs such as food, medicine, and other essential civilian supplies. This diplomatic initiative finally bore fruit in May 1996 when the UN and Iraq signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). Iraq began exporting crude oil under UN supervision in December 1996.

The MOU began the Oil-for-Food Programme, which operated until the invasion of Iraq by American- and British-led forces on March 20, 2003. The program was officially terminated on November 21, 2003, when authority was handed to the Coalition Provisional Authority, the entity that assumed the governance of Iraq headed by an American. On May 22, 2003, the Security Council abolished all sanctions against Iraq.

When the Oil-for-Food Programme began, Iraq was permitted to sell $2 billion of oil every six months. Two-thirds of the profits were channeled to humanitarian needs. In 1999 the Security Council decided to abolish the ceiling.

Under the program, the government of Iraq sold oil worth $64.2 billion. Of that amount, $38.7 billion was spent on humanitarian aid. Another $18 billion was given as compensation for lawsuits stemming from the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq. Finally, $1.2 billion was used to fund the program itself.

A total of $31 billion in humanitarian aid and equipment was transferred to Iraq under the program. Additional supplies and equipment totaling $8.2 billion were planned to be delivered to Iraq when the war broke out in March 2003. The program also helped to minimize the damage wrought by severe droughts in Iraq during 1999–2001.

During its seven years of operation, the program had a positive impact on civilian nutrition and health. It raised the average daily caloric intake for every Iraqi from 1,200 calories to 2,200 calories per day. The spread of contagious diseases such as cholera was also contained. The sewage system improved slowly during the 1990s, as did the delivery of medicine, particularly after the Oil-for-Food Programme was launched.

While the Oil-for-Food Programme succeeded in improving humanitarian conditions in Iraq, the diet quality was still poor. This caused malnutrition because of deficiencies in vitamins and minerals, which led to the spread of anemia, diarrhea, and respiratory infections, especially among young children. Furthermore, the program was criticized for restricting aid to food rather than also allowing the repair of infrastructure and the generation of employment. Because the aid was distributed through the government of Iraq, it actually helped the government maintain its hold over the people.

The full deficiencies of the aid plan became known after the occupation of Iraq began in 2003. In 2004 following complaints from U.S. senators and congressional representatives regarding irregularities in the UN-managed Oil-for-Food Programme, the UN created an independent inquiry committee (IIC) led by American banker Paul A. Volcker. The IIC completed its work at the end of 2005. The committee report pointed to mismanagement by the UN, corruption and bribery by top UN officials, and manipulation of the aid scheme by the government of Iraq, which received $1.8 billion in illegal aid. Also, IIC experts estimated that the government of Iraq was able to illicitly smuggle approximately $11 billion of oil outside Iraq, thereby circumventing the Oil-for-Food Programme.

Chen Kertcher

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Economic Effects of the Persian Gulf War on Iraq; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; United Nations Security Council Resolution 661; United Nations Security Council Resolution 687; United Nations Weapons Inspectors

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Iraqi Claims on Kuwait

Iraq made numerous claims to Kuwait before its invasion of August 2, 1990. Since the seventeenth century, the Ottoman Empire had ruled present-day Kuwait, which was then part of the Basra Province. Following World War I, much of Basra Province became part of the British-administered League of Nations mandate of Iraq.

In 1756 the al-Sabah family established an autonomous sheikhdom in Kuwait, and thereafter the Ottoman Empire exercised only nominal rule. In order to prevent the possibility of the Ottomans increasing both their control and taxation, Kuwaiti sheik Mubarak al-Sabah sought British protection. The British were concerned about the area, as Kuwait had been mentioned as the possible terminus of the German-backed Berlin to Baghdad railroad project. The Ottoman government did make an effort to exert more control over Kuwait in 1898, which the British then protested. On January 23, 1899, Kuwait and Great Britain signed an agreement in which Britain assumed control over Kuwait's foreign affairs and defense and agreed not to conclude alliances with other powers and make any concessions—economic or military—to any other nation. Kuwait thus became a British protectorate.

In 1904 Kuwaiti territory was formally drawn as a 40-mile radius around its center at Kuwait City. The Anglo-Ottoman Convention of 1913 defined Kuwait as an "autonomous caza" of the Ottoman Empire. The sheikhs of Kuwait were regarded as provincial sub-governors of the Ottoman Empire. The convention thus provided British recognition of Ottoman interests in Kuwait in return for the promise of Ottoman non-interference in Kuwaiti internal affairs. The later claims by Iraq that this constituted British recognition of Iraqi jurisdiction in Kuwait is a weak one.

During World War I the British kept some troops in Kuwait, its importance dramatically increasing with oil production.

Following the war the British had to deal with Wahhabi attacks into Kuwait, which were repulsed by the British in 1919 and 1927–1928. The boundaries of Kuwait and the Nejd were fixed in a treaty in 1921. Later a small neutral zone was established. In any case, in the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923, Turkey renounced all claims to its former possessions in the Arabian Peninsula. In 1934 Kuwait granted an oil concession to a company half owned by the American Gulf Oil Company and half owned by the British Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Soon Kuwait was a major oil supplier.

Following the Allied victory in World War I, Britain secured a League of Nations mandate over Iraq, with King Faisal I, of the Hashemite dynasty, as its ruler. Faisal and his son, Ghazi, eventually criticized British occupation of Arab lands, including Kuwait. After Iraq secured its independence from Britain in 1932, Ghazi demanded the incorporation of the whole of Kuwait into Iraq, asserting that Kuwait was an artificial—and therefore illegitimate—political entity and in fact part of Iraq. Ghazi became king in 1933, but he died in 1939, failing to achieve his goal of annexing Kuwait. The British occupied Iraq from 1941 to 1947, and the issue of Iraqi sovereignty over Kuwait was not seriously raised again until 1961.

In July 1958 Abd al-Karim Qasim overthrew the Hashemite monarchy that had ruled Iraq since 1921. King Faisal II, who had ruled from 1939 to 1958, was pro-British and had not pushed Iraqi claims to Kuwait. On June 25, 1961, six days after Kuwait gained its independence from Britain, however, Qasim claimed that Kuwait had always been a part of Basra and therefore belonged to Iraq. Qasim deployed troops across the border in an attempt to take back Kuwait. On July 1, at the Kuwaitis' urging and to protect its oil interests, Britain sent troops to protect Kuwait from an Iraqi invasion.

In February 1963 the Iraqi Baath Party overthrew Qasim. Later that year, seeing that attacks against Kuwait had brought Iraq only isolation in the Arab world, Iraq changed policy and recognized Kuwait's independence in October 1963. However, following more political turmoil and the Baath Party's return to power in 1968 under the leadership of Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr and his deputy, Saddam Hussein, Iraq now insisted on deploying troops along Kuwaiti territory to protect itself from Iranian attack. Although Kuwait did not agree with the deployment, Iraqi troops nevertheless remained in Kuwaiti territory for nearly a decade.

Following the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), Iraq was deeply in debt, and Hussein, who had become president of Iraq in July 1979, was angered by the lack of Kuwaiti financial support. Among other assertions, Iraq claimed that Kuwait should have written off the war loans, amounting to some $13 billion, arguing that it had helped protect Kuwait from an Iranian invasion at the cost of many thousands of Iraqi lives. Iraq also accused Kuwait of manipulating the price of oil by purposefully overproducing the commodity. This, Hussein charged, was preventing Iraq from using its own oil revenues to pay back its debts and jump-start its economy. Finally, the Iraqis accused Kuwait of slant drilling into its oil fields near and along the border. Hussein, like many Iraqi leaders before him, also claimed that Kuwait was a part of Iraq and was separated from Iraq only because of earlier British influence. Indeed, the Iraqi regime on the eve of the invasion of Kuwait referred to it as its "19th province."

Hussein, in his attempt to eliminate this "trace of Western colonialism," invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990, sparking the Persian Gulf War. While there was certainly historical precedent to back up Hussein's assertions of Kuwaiti sovereignty, his other charges against the Kuwaitis were either inaccurate or without basis in fact.

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See also

Baath Party; Bakr, Ahmad Hassan al-; Faisal II, King of Iraq; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Kuwait; Kuwait, Iraqi Invasion of; Kuwait-Iraq Diplomacy; Qasim, Abd al-Karim; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy

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Iraqi Forces, Postwar U.S. Training of

Since the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq and the overthrow of President Saddam Hussein's government in April 2003, the United States and coalition forces have sought to rebuild, equip, and train the Iraqi Security Forces (ISF)—both the military and police—to assume responsibility for providing security and defending the country. The ISF was ultimately to assume these responsibilities from the U.S. troops and multinational coalition forces stationed in Iraq. The effectiveness of the training efforts and the ability of the ISF to fight insurgents and terrorists have been the subject of much dispute and controversy. During 2006 there violence rose sharply throughout Iraq, including an increase in the number of U.S. troops killed, which in turn produced growing opposition to the war among the American public. This led to increased political pressure on President George W. Bush's administration to turn over combat and security responsibilities to the ISF and to begin withdrawing U.S. troops from Iraq.

According to the White House's National Strategy for Victory in Iraq, the ultimate goal of training the ISF is for it to be able to take the lead in defeating insurgents and terrorists. In a speech given on June 28, 2005, President Bush explained, "The U.S. military is helping to train Iraqi security forces so that they can defend their people and fight the enemy on their own. Our strategy can be summed up this way: As the Iraqis stand up, we will stand down."

According to the U.S. State Department, as of October 25, 2006, the United States had appropriated $5 billion for security and law enforcement efforts in Iraq. However, the precise number of combat-effective ISF personnel has long been subject to much

debate. According to the same report, there were 312,400 trained and equipped ISF members, including 129,700 army troops and 128,000 policemen. Many of these troops were judged not capable of conducting combat operations independent of U.S. troops, however, and even those units that were capable remained dependent on U.S. forces for intelligence and logistics as well as artillery and air support.

According to an October 2006 statement by General George Casey, commander of U.S. forces in Iraq, it would be another 12 to 18 months before the ISF was completely capable of taking over responsibility for Iraqi security. Yet even then, he acknowledged that some unspecified level of U.S. support would be required. He estimated that the current progress of U.S. efforts to train and equip the ISF was about 75 percent complete. Critics, however, noted that Casey had made such predictions before. In July 2005 he had predicted major U.S. troop withdrawals by summer 2006, but because of the inability of the ISF to cope with the rise of sectarian violence in Iraq that year, no U.S. troops had yet been withdrawn.

According to a U.S. State Department report dated October 4, 2006, 88 battalions, 27 brigades, and 6 divisions of the ISF were in "the lead" in counterinsurgency operations, and ISF troops controlled more than 60 percent of Iraq. Yet in that same month, 16 of 18 Iraqi provinces remained under U.S. military control. With respect to the mounting sectarian violence plaguing Iraq, Casey stated that 90 percent of sectarian attacks between Sunni and Shiites occurred in or near Baghdad and that a like percentage of all violence in Iraq was limited to 5 of the country's 18 provinces.

On May 23, 2003, one month after the fall of Saddam Hussein's government, then-U.S. Administrator of Iraq L. Paul Bremer dissolved all of Iraq's armed forces, except for the Iraqi police, in order to build a new military that would exclude members of Saddam's Baath Party. Critics charged that this was a major mistake, as it forced the United States to create a new military from scratch, thereby delaying not only the process of recruiting, training, and equipping but also the deployment of this new force for combat.

The heavy casualties suffered by the ISF—double those of U.S. and coalition forces—have adversely impacted recruiting for the ISF. From the overthrow of Hussein until October 2006, nearly 6,000 ISF had been killed and another 40,000 wounded. In October 2006 alone, 300 Iraqi army soldiers were killed. The police suffered the greatest toll. According to the Iraqi Ministry of the Interior, there were 6,000 deaths in a three-year span, partly because the police force was more poorly equipped than the army and partly because the force was infiltrated by sectarian militias.

Corruption in arms procurement was also cited as another problem frustrating the training and equipping of the ISF. Iraq has been identified as one of the most corrupt nations on earth, and the Iraqi government has investigated more than 1,000 cases of corruption involving billions of dollars.

Much of what remained of Iraq's military equipment after the end of the Persian Gulf War in 1991 was destroyed in the 2003 invasion of Iraq. Consequently, the ISF was badly equipped, particularly with regard to vehicles, artillery, armor, communication equipment, heavy weapons, air transport, and aircraft support. U.S. commanders have been reluctant to give the inexperienced ISF sophisticated equipment that could end up in the hands of insurgents or terrorists.

The ethnic composition of the ISF is yet another problem, with comparatively fewer Sunnis enlisting in the ISF than Shiites and Kurds. There have been reports of Iraqi units refusing to deploy to provinces outside their ethnic home or region. Neighboring Iran and Syria have also worked to undermine U.S. efforts to stabilize Iraq. The two states have supplied arms, equipment, and training to insurgents. Iran has been especially active in arming Shiite militias.

With the beginning of the U.S. troop surge in early 2007, and as security improved and violence declined dramatically, the training of ISF personnel has accelerated and greatly improved, so much so that the ISF assumed responsibility for providing security during the January 31, 2009, provincial elections held nationwide. Coupled with an improving economy, national political reconciliation, and an increasingly stable government, the prospects for the ISF to assume responsibility for defending the country and enforcing law and order have improved, but challenges remain.

According to a December 2008 U.S. Department of Defense report titled "Measuring Security and Stability in Iraq," the ISF currently numbers 600,000 in the ministries of Interior, Defense, and National Counter-Terrorism Force. Although recruitment goals are currently on track, difficulties do remain, which, if unresolved, could undermine short-term gains and the long-term effectiveness of the ISF. Because of the limited number of training facilities, the Ministry of the Interior faces training difficulties and delays, while the Ministry of Defense faces a hiring freeze due to budget constraints. Budget allocation is also an issue; money appropriated for the ISF is slowly distributed, delaying training as well as weapons and equipment procurement. Despite improvements, budget coordination and cooperation among Iraq's various governmental ministries remains a problem, but military and security coordination is improving.

Recent and ongoing operations against militants and insurgents have demonstrated not only a willingness by the ISF to confront enemies of the regime but also an improvement in the skill and ability of the ISF in planning missions and deploying and commanding units. As revealed during operations in the southern city of Basra, the ISF, however, remain dependent on U.S. forces for logistics, close air support, fire support, communications, explosive ordnance, and intelligence and surveillance. The December 2008 Defense Department report notes that U.S. "mentorship and partnership [with the ISF] will be necessary for several [more] years to overcome." The Iraqi Interior ministry is developing a national supply and distribution network to overcome logistics dependence on U.S. forces. The same U.S. report noted that insufficient capacity to train civilian managers and staff, inadequate training personnel, deteriorating and insufficient facilities (poor housing and living conditions), and an inability to fill positions

with trained personnel are challenges that also hinder the Iraqi governmental ministries.

For these reasons, many civilians working for the Interior and Defense ministries are not only unqualified but, owing to cumbersome management and decision-making procedures, 40 percent of civilian positions in the Defense ministry remain unstaffed. In sum, the Iraqi Ministry of Defense is not able to effectively support the ISF. Also hampering the effectiveness of the ISF, particularly the military, is the Iraqi government's poorly defined national security strategy, which inhibits planning, decision-making, and the execution of coordinated operations among different military units.

By early 2009 the Iraqi Army numbered 13 infantry divisions and 1 mechanized division. The Iraqi military remains an infantry army with little armor and artillery, however. Current combat strength is 165 of 208 planned battalions, but as of October 31, 2008, only 110 (or 67 percent) of the battalions were able to plan and execute operations with minimal or limited U.S. military support. The Iraqi Army suffers from insufficient numbers of officers (currently at 70 percent of strength) and noncommissioned officers (68 percent of strength), and the 80 percent graduation rate from basic combat training in 2008 was insufficient to meet the Iraqi government's desired army strength. The reasons for shortages stem from budget constraints and from the Iraqi government's mandated Transition and Reintegration Program (TNR), which reintegrates certain military and security members of Hussein's government as well as insurgents and militants into the new Iraqi government of Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki. Those subject to the TNR, however, are not allowed to share the same training base with other recruits. Currently, 8 of 11 planned army divisional training centers are complete, with 3 more nearing completion and 1 unfunded. Lack of electricity is a problem, because few military bases are connected to the national power grid or a functional centralized power plant.

As of October 2008, 165 Iraqi Army battalions were conducting operations, including 9 newly formed battalions. Another 9 Iraqi Army battalions are expected to be deployed by the end of 2009. Five Iraqi Special Forces Operationsbattalions are conducting operations, but all 5 remain dependent on U.S. support

Although there are 1,300 local police stations throughout Iraq, professionalization of the police force remains incomplete, particularly among officers. A police officer training program is near completion, with the first pilot class scheduled to begin in late 2008 and a full program beginning in 2009, but the Ministry of the Interior still faces police recruitment, training, and equipment problems.

The National Police, tasked with supporting the local police and providing a national-level rapid-response police capability to counter large-scale civil disobedience activities, is beginning to deploy outside of Baghdad. As with the local police, the National Police lacks officers (its current officer strength is at 48 percent) but continues to achieve an ethnic-sectarian balance reflective of Iraqi society. Additionally, the National Police suffers from infrastructure problems, including a lack of housing, unit headquarters, motor pools, warehouse storage, and maintenance facilities.

Grounded from 1991 to 2005, the Iraqi Air Force faces many challenges. The air force aims to reach 7,000 personnel by 2010 and currently has 35 officers and enlisted personnel. Unlike army soldiers, it takes much longer to train pilots, and among the few pilots who have flying experience, more than half will reach retirement age by 2020; there is also a shortage of senior officers. The Iraqi Air Force added 25 aircraft in the first nine months of 2008 for a total of 77 aircraft, with delivery of an additional 42 aircraft in 2009, but procurement problems remain, thereby delaying delivery of new aircraft and equipment. In August 2009 the Iraq Defense Ministry revealed that it had discovered 19 Soviet MiG-21 and MiG-23 aircraft stored in Serbia. These aircraft had been sent to the former Yugoslavia for repairs in the 1980s, but Iraq was not able to bring them back because of international sanctions. Although the number of sorties flown has increased and flight-training programs have accelerated, the absence of aircrews capable of servicing the aircraft and the lack of English-language proficiency among pilots and ground crew remain distinct challenges.

Because Iraq has very little coastline, developing the Iraqi Navy has been a less urgent priority and poses fewer problems. Comprising 2,000 personnel and operating from a single base at Umm Qasr, the navy consists of five 24-meter fast assault boats and two marine battalions. In 2009 the first of four 54-meter patrol ships were delivered, increasing the range and strength of the navy. The long-term effectiveness of the navy, however, will require additional housing, a command headquarters, warehouses, and improved training facilities.

With respect to arms sales, the average time to process such orders by the Iraqi government has improved, and as of November 2008 $4.5 billion worth of arms, equipment, and services has been paid for by the Iraqi government. Owing to management procedures in the Ministry of Defense, procurement procedures remain cumbersome within that ministry, thereby delaying arms and equipment for the Iraqi military.

The postwar training of Iraqi Security Forces (ISF) by the United States has continued throughout 2009 and into 2010, with continued progress being made such that on June 30, 2009, per the Status of Forces Agreement, U.S. forces formally handed over the responsibility for security to Iraqi forces and withdrew from Iraqi cities and towns. According to the Status of Forces Agreement signed between former president George W. Bush and Iraqi prime minister Nuri al-Maliki, all U.S. forces are to leave Iraq by December 31, 2011. This deadline, however, is dependent on the security situation in Iraq, and a December 2009 report by the U.S. Defense Department titled "Measuring Security and Stability in Iraq" notes that "the pace of the drawdown of U.S. forces in Iraq will be commensurate with Iraq's improving security while providing U.S. commanders sufficient flexibility to assist the Iraqis with emerging challenges." The same report states that "by August 31, 2010, U.S. forces will have transitioned from a combat and

A member of the Iraqi Security Force, armed with a rocket-propelled grenade (RPG) launcher, on patrol at Camp Cooley, Iraq, April 28, 2005. (U.S. Department of Defense)

counterinsurgency (COIN) mission to a focus on training, advising, and assisting Iraqi Security Forces, protecting U.S. military and civilian personnel and facilities, assisting and conducting targeted counter-terrorism operations, and supporting civilian agencies and international organizations."

With the end of sectarian violence between Shiite and Sunni Muslims and Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) and its affiliates (such as the Islamic State of Iraq) no longer controlling areas of Iraq, U.S. casualties in Iraq have continued to decline over the last two years. In 2008, 314 U.S. soldiers were killed in Iraq compared to 149 in 2009, and as of March, 31, 2010, 16 soldiers have been killed.

With its ability to inflict casualties on U.S. and Iraqi forces significantly weakened, violence in Iraq has declined over the last two years. From September to November 2009, the average number of monthly incidents of violence throughout Iraq dropped by 50 percent compared to the same period in 2008—a decline of an average of 10 Iraqi civilians being killed each day to 5 killed each day—but Al Qaeda and its affiliates have increasingly resorted to high-profile attacks, particularly through the use of car bombings and assassinations. For example, on the day that U.S. forces formally handed over security duties to Iraqi forces, a car bomb killed 27 people in the northern city of Kirkuk; four days later a car bomb exploded in Baghdad, killing 69 people; and on August 19 a series of car bombs throughout Baghdad killed more than 100 people and injured more than 200. Historically car bombings have been the hallmark of Al Qaeda and its affiliates, and although Al Qaeda's power and popular support have eroded, the organization continues to be the most active and violent group in Iraq and responsible for the most high-profile attacks. On October 25, 2009, Al Qaeda once again demonstrated its ability to inflict mass casualties when it exploded two car bombs near several Iraqi government buildings, killing 151 people and injuring hundreds. Due to the troop surge strategy implemented by President Bush in 2006–2008, Al Qaeda and its affiliates have lost most of their sanctuaries and popular support, given that they have increasingly relied on car bombings to inflict mass casualties. Despite the recurrence of car bombings and assassinations, the Iraqi parliamentary election was held on March 7, 2010, but more than 200 people were killed in the four weeks leading up to the election.

Since June 30, 2009, Iraqi Security Forces are no longer supporting American forces in military operations but instead are conducting their own operations. According to a December 2009 U.S. Department of Defense report, as of November 30, 2009, there were approximately 664,000 personnel in the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of the Interior, and the Iraqi National Counter-Terrorism Force. The Iraqi Army currently consists of 14 divisions (189

battalions and 6 Special Forces battalions), and the Iraqi government has shifted its emphasis from manpower and recruitment of the army to the development of logistics and combat support units that provide engineering, bomb disposal, medical evacuation, signal, and intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities. Delays in equipping and deploying forces along with budget and procurement problems continue to plague the Ministry of the Interior, which includes the Iraqi police. Although the Interior Ministry has improved training capability, it still suffers from poor facilities and budget shortfalls. The Interior Ministry is tasked with the primary responsibility for maintaining security at the local level, but security in Iraq will not improve until problems with the Interior Ministry and the Iraqi police are corrected. As of November 2009, the Iraqi government has spent $5.2 billion in purchasing weapons, with another $4.3 billion spent on sales and development. Corruption remains a significant problem in the Iraqi government, particularly in the Ministry of the Interior. The inspector general of the Interior Ministry has identified more than $80 million in fiscal improprieties, and 223 cases of financial misconduct have been referred to the Iraqi Central Criminal Court for prosecution.

STEFAN M. BROOKS

See also

Bremer, Jerry; Bush, George Walker; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; Kurds; Maliki, Nuri Muhammed Kamil Hasan al-; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam; Surge, U.S. Troop Deployment, Iraq War

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IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

Start Date: March 20, 2003
End Date: May 1, 2003

Those who take the long view of history may be inclined to blame British prime minister David Lloyd George as much as U.S. president George W. Bush for the current situation in Iraq. British and French actions after World War I to fill the Middle Eastern void left by the collapse of the Ottoman Empire created modern Iraq and other Arab nations without regard for traditional ethnic and religious boundaries. Conditions in the European-created, artificial country of Iraq (especially the long-held animosity between the country's three major ethnic and religious populations of Kurds, Sunni, and Shia) made it a perfect breeding ground for such strong-arm dictators as Saddam Hussein to seize and hold power over a divided population, while incubating simmering ethnic and religious rivalries.

Iraq, compared with Afghanistan, the other major theater of combat operations for President Bush's Global War on Terror, played out with mixed success in two very different campaigns: a stunning conventional assault that rapidly destroyed the Iraqi army, captured Baghdad, ousted Saddam Hussein, and paved the way for a U.S.-led occupation of the country, and a smoldering insurgency conducted by Al Qaeda fighters and both Sunni and Shia faction Iraqi militia groups that began shortly after Hussein's defeat.

Although the two Iraq campaigns bear a superficial similarity to what transpired in Afghanistan (large-scale conventional combat operations to defeat the enemy's main forces followed by an insurgency), the Iraq War and occupation have shown striking differences in scope, intensity, and even in the justification U.S. leaders gave for invading the country. While Operation ENDURING FREEDOM was launched to strike directly at those presumed responsible for masterminding the September 11, 2001, terror attacks and the Afghan Taliban regime that harbored them, no such justification can be claimed for the Bush administration's decision to launch the March 2003 invasion of Iraq. Despite Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's track record of general support for terrorist organizations hostile to the United States and the West, no direct link to Al Qaeda has ever been proven. And while U.S. strategy regarding Afghanistan might be classified as *reactive,* the decision of America's leaders to invade Iraq can only be termed *proactive,* a surprising and controversial preemptive action.

In the wake of the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf War, Hussein used chemical weapons on Iraq's Kurdish minority. Subsequently, Hussein was often vilified for using chemical weapons on "his own people," but he did not consider the Kurds to be "his people"; his loyalty lay only with his Baathist Party cronies and his own tribe. What is perhaps surprising about his use of chemical weapons is that he did not use them more extensively. Iraqi officials were recalcitrant to inspections by the United Nations (UN) and failed, by late 2002, to produce an adequate accounting of the disposition of the weapons of mass destruction the country was known to possess (and use) in 1991. Further, the Iraqis failed to provide a full and open disclosure of the status of its suspected nuclear weapons program. If Iraq had added nuclear weapons to its 1991 chemical arsenal, as was charged by Iraqi émigrés (such as Khidhir Hamza, self-proclaimed "Saddam's Bombmaker," who toured U.S. college campuses in the autumn of 2002 trumpeting his "insider" knowledge of Iraq's alleged nuclear program), it would be foolish to ignore the threat such weapons posed. By failing to cooperate promptly, fully, and openly with UN weapons inspectors, Hussein had almost literally signed his own death warrant.

Opting for a preemptive strategy instead of risking a potential repeat of the September 11 terror attacks—with the added specter of chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons—Bush and his advisers (principally Vice President Dick Cheney and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, described as "a major architect of Bush's Iraq policy . . . and its most passionate and compelling advocate") decided to act, unilaterally if necessary. Armed chiefly

with what would later be exposed as an egregiously inaccurate Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) report about Iraq's possession of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, Bush obtained a legal justification for invading Iraq when the Senate approved the Joint Resolution "Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002" in October 2002. In February 2003 Secretary of State Colin Powell addressed the UN Security Council with information based largely on the same flawed CIA report, but action was blocked by France, Germany, and Russia. Although the three powers bolstered their opposition with claims that military action against Iraq would threaten "international security," their true motives were suspect to some who supported military action (France and Germany, for example, already had made billions of dollars by illegally circumventing the UN Oil-for-Food Programme with Iraq). Regardless of their motives, all three countries had a vested interest in maintaining the status quo in Iraq and little motivation to participate in an American-led preemptive strike. Although Britain joined Bush's "coalition of the willing" (from 2003, 75 countries contributed troops, matériel, or services to the U.S.-led effort), the absence of France and Germany left his administration open to strong criticism for stubbornly proceeding without broad-based European support.

Bush's proactive rather than reactive strategy was heavily criticized by administration opponents as a sea-change departure from that of past U.S. presidents and slammed for its unilateralism. Yet, as historian John Lewis Gaddis points out in *Surprise, Security and the American Experience,* it was not without historical precedent. He cites the preemptive, unilateral actions of presidents John Adams, James K. Polk, William McKinley, Woodrow Wilson, and even Franklin D. Roosevelt. Yet, with U.S. ground forces already stretched thin by Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, mounting a major, preemptive invasion of Iraq was considered by many—particularly U.S. military leaders—as risky. Military drawdowns during Clinton's presidency, for example, had reduced U.S. Army active duty strength from 780,000 to about 480,000.

Even in the years before the 2003 Iraq invasion, Army Chief of Staff general Eric Shinseki had clashed with Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld over Department of Defense proposals to reduce army end strength even further. Rumsfeld had taken office in 2001, firmly convinced that technology could replace large numbers of ground combat forces, and he doggedly clung to that conviction. Moreover, Rumsfeld, who had previously served as president Gerald Ford's secretary of defense in 1975–1977, often acted as if he were unaware of how profoundly the 1986 Goldwater-Nichols Act had affected U.S. military culture by eliminating much of the petty, interservice bickering that he had earlier witnessed. Shinseki further provoked Rumsfeld's ire when he told the Senate Armed Services Committee on the eve of the Iraq invasion that an occupation of that country would require "several hundred thousand" troops, an estimate that, in hindsight, seemed prescient indeed, but which was sharply criticized in 2003 by Rumsfeld and Paul Wolfowitz as "wildly off the mark."

On March 20, 2003, U.S. and British forces (plus smaller contingents from Australia and Poland) invaded Iraq in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. The 297,000-strong force faced an Iraqi army numbering approximately 375,000, plus an unknown number of poorly trained citizens' militias. U.S. combat strength was about half of that deployed during the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf War. With U.S. Central Command general Tommy Franks in overall command, the U.S. ground forces prosecuting the invasion were led by U.S. V Corps commander Lieutenant General William Scott Wallace.

Preceded by a shock-and-awe air campaign reminiscent of the one that blasted Hussein's forces and Iraqi infrastructure in the Persian Gulf War, ground forces (including U.S. Marines and British combat units) executed another "desert blitzkrieg" that quickly smashed the Iraqi army. Despite the failure of the Turkish government at the last minute to allow the United States to mount a major invasion of northern Iraq from its soil, two ground prongs struck north from Kuwait, while Special Forces and airborne forces worked with the Kurds in the north in a limited second front. The ground advance north was rapid. Baghdad fell on April 10, and Hussein went into hiding. (He was captured in December 2003, brought to trial, found guilty, and executed on December 30, 2006.)

President Bush declared the "mission accomplished" and the end of major combat operations while aboard the U.S. aircraft carrier *Abraham Lincoln* on May 1, 2003. Subsequent events during the postinvasion occupation of Iraq would prove Bush's dramatic statement to be wildly premature: although only 139 U.S. personnel and 33 British soldiers died during the invasion, more than 4,000 Americans were to die thereafter in the insurgency that accompanied the occupation. Bush administration decisions to include the dismissal of Baathist Party officials (essentially, Iraq's only trained administrators), and the disbanding of the Iraqi Army (that, at one stroke, dumped nearly 400,000 trained soldiers and potential insurgent recruits into the Iraqi general population) contributed to the insurgency.

JERRY D. MORELOCK

See also

Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Franks, Tommy Ray; Goldwater-Nichols Defense Reorganization Act; Powell, Colin Luther; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Shinseki, Eric Ken; Wallace, William Scott; Wolfowitz, Paul Dundes

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Iraqis walk past U.S. marines who have taken positions on the road east of Nasiriyah leading to the Iraqi capital of Baghdad in an attempt to secure the road for use by military convoys, March 31, 2003. (AFP/Getty Images)

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IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Air Campaign
Start Date: March 20, 2003
End Date: April 7, 2003

The air campaign was an important part of the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM) and contributed enormously to its rapid success. For IRAQI FREEDOM, the U.S.-led coalition assembled a formidable array of air power. The United States contributed 64,246 air personnel, including reserve and National Guard, and 1,663 aircraft. The latter included 293 fighters, 51 bombers, 182 tankers, and 337 aircraft of other types operated by the U.S. Air Force; 232 fighters, 52 tankers, and 124 aircraft of other types operated by the U.S. Navy; 130 fighters, 22 tankers, and 220 aircraft of other types operated by the U.S. Marine Corps; and 20 aircraft operated by the U.S. Army.

Aircraft participating in the operation included almost all models in the U.S. inventory: the North American/Rockwell/Boeing B-1B Lancer, Northrop Grumman B-2 Spirit, and Boeing B-52H Stratofortress bombers; Fairchild Republic A-10A Thunderbolt II and Lockheed AC-130 Spectre combat support aircraft; Boeing F-15 Eagle, Lockheed Martin F-16 Fighting Falcon, McDonnell Douglas (now Boeing) F/A-18 Hornet, and Lockheed F-117 Nighthawk fighters; Lockheed KC-130 Hercules transports; and McDonnell Douglas KC-10 Extender and Boeing KC-135 Stratotanker tankers.

The Royal Air Force contributed some 8,000 personnel and 113 aircraft, including 66 fighters, 12 tankers, and 35 aircraft of other types. The Royal Australian Air Force contributed 22 aircraft, including 14 fighters, and 250 airmen. Canada contributed 3 transport aircraft.

The Iraqi side at the beginning of the hostilities had 20,000 air force personnel, 325 combat aircraft, and 210 surface-to-air missiles.

The air campaign was designed as an integral part of a joint military operation, serving as a force multiplier to supplement the

A U.S. Navy F-14B Tomcat landing on the flight deck of the aircraft carrier *Harry S. Truman* in the Persian Gulf on March 17, 2005. (U.S. Department of Defense)

firepower of a relatively light land component. The allied air campaign was able to take advantage of operations NORTHERN WATCH and SOUTHERN WATCH, which the U.S. Air Force and Royal Air Force had been conducting since 1991, effectively transforming the United Nations–sanctioned policing of "no-fly zones" over northern and southern Iraq into a de facto sustained air campaign to conduct reconnaissance and suppress Iraqi air defenses. Thus, the coalition was able to prepare for battle well before the start of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

The air campaign of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM began early in the morning of March 20, 2003, with an unsuccessful air strike near Baghdad, involving two F-117A stealth fighter-bombers, aimed at killing top Iraqi leaders, including President Saddam Hussein. The strike was followed by massive cruise-missile attacks on key Iraqi command and control centers in and around Baghdad. By March 23–25, the air assault developed into the strategic phase of a so-called shock-and-awe campaign aimed to prevent the use of weapons of mass destruction by the Iraqis and to disorganize the enemy, forcing its rapid defeat.

Afterward, the coalition air campaign changed its focus to aiding ground forces moving into Iraq from Kuwait; at this point, more than half of the new targets were not preplanned targets of opportunity. The Iraqis returned fire with sporadic and highly ineffective antiaircraft fire and random launches of surface-to-air missiles. They also managed to launch seven Ababil-100 tactical ballistic missiles, five of which were destroyed by U.S. Patriot batteries; two others missed their targets.

The growing flexibility of allied targeting reflected the proliferation of precision-guided munitions (PGM, smart bombs) in the coalition air force, which allowed more options in strike capabilities, redirecting of aircraft, performing close air support, and striking targets of opportunity. The air campaign also demonstrated the impressive global-reach capabilities of allied air power. Indeed, bombers were flying in from bases as far away as Missouri, Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, and Great Britain. Others were operating from aircraft carriers in the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean, and from bases across the Middle East. The allies enjoyed uncontested air supremacy, as the remnants of the Iraqi air defense system were unable to operate effectively, and the enemy was unable to master a single sortie during the war. The coalition also benefited from the use of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) as sensors and decoys to confuse the Iraqis.

The arrival of a major sandstorm on March 25–26 canceled about 65 percent of all sorties. Nevertheless, the coalition was able to adjust its reconnaissance and surveillance missions to harsh weather using the Joint Surveillance and Target Reader System (JSTARS) aircraft and long-range UAVs, which provided high-flying bombers with necessary information and data.

With the resumption of the ground march toward Baghdad, the allied air campaign shifted its focus to providing ground support, particularly targeting Iraqi Republican Guard units and militia formations, which were defending road approaches to the Iraqi capital. Finally, the air and ground assault on Baghdad merged into one coordinated effort.

Coalition air power was able to destroy or significantly degrade the Republican Guard formations and to open a new dimension in the urban warfare, providing constant surveillance, reconnaissance, intelligence, and fire support to allied ground forces. Coalition air power was also instrumental in the opening of the second front in northern Iraq. Major air operations in Iraq effectively ended with one final unsuccessful attempt on April 7 to eliminate Hussein when a B-1 bomber attacked a palace in Baghdad where the dictator was allegedly staying.

The aerial campaign during the Iraq War again demonstrated that there is no substitute for air dominance in modern warfare, a lesson that was gleaned from the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf War. Additionally, the technological superiority and application of air power in joint warfare operation allowed the coalition to enjoy unprecedented efficiency in reconnaissance, surveillance, and flexible, real-time targeting, while combining centralized control with decentralized execution of air operations. This also provided the coalition air force with almost instant capability to evaluate its performance as ground forces rapidly advanced into Iraq.

At the same time, however, the operation also witnessed an insufficiency in allied intelligence, particularly in regard to "decapitation" air strikes. Some observers have noted that the planners of the operation displayed overconfidence that a massive initial air assault on limited command and control targets would lead to the quick collapse of the regime. The campaign also revealed a shortage of aerial tankers, as the prosecution of combat missions deep inside Iraq put serious pressure on the allied tanker fleet.

Overall, coalition air forces conducted 41,404 sorties in the skies over Iraq. The U.S. Air Force contributed 24,196 sorties of those sorties; the U.S. Navy conducted 8,945 sorties; the U.S. Marine Corps contributed 4,948 sorties; the U.S. Army contributed 269 sorties; the Royal Air Force conducted 2,481 sorties; and the Royal Australian Air Force flew 565 sorties. Of 29,199 munitions used, 68 percent were precision-guided. The coalition lost just seven aircraft to enemy fire (six helicopters and one combat/support aircraft A-10A, and two pilots). One Royal Air Force fighter was lost due to friendly fire.

PETER J. RAINOW

See also

Aircraft, Helicopters; Bombs, Precision-Guided; Cruise Missiles, Employment of, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; NORTHERN WATCH, Operation; SOUTHERN WATCH, Operation; United Kingdom, Air Force, Iraq War; United States Air Force, Iraq War; United States Air Force Air Combat Command

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IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces

During Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, the 2003 invasion of Iraq, U.S. forces led a small coalition of allied states to overthrow the regime of Saddam Hussein. The coalition was officially designated as Combined and Joint Task Force 7 (CJTF-7), with "combined" meaning more than one nation and "joint" meaning more than one military service.

In an effort to avoid past problems in coalition warfare including political interference and a lack of unity in the chain of command and in light of limited potential contributions to the invading force, the United States developed an invasion plan that emphasized U.S. forces and those of the nation's close ally, the United Kingdom. When the government of Turkey refused to grant the United States permission to launch a second front from its territory, the invasion plan was revised to call for the major ground assault to occur from Kuwait, supported by airborne assaults and action by special operations forces in the north.

The coalition consisted of 248,000 U.S. personnel along with 45,000 British, 2,000 Australian, 1,300 Spanish, and 200 Polish troops. The majority of the Australian and Polish troops were special operations forces. The main British ground unit was the 1st Armoured Division. Prior to the invasion, the U.S. Army provided command and control gear to some of the British units to facilitate interoperability (the U.S. Army had to provide similar equipment to U.S. Marine Corps units). The equipment allowed the allied forces to communicate and exchange information through satellite systems and to employ tactical Internet capabilities. Nonetheless, national liaison officers had to be stationed among the units to coordinate air support and ground fire.

Coalition units were under the overall operational command of U.S. Army lieutenant general David McKiernan, who was appointed as the head of Coalition Forces Land Component Command. McKiernan was second-in-command to the overall operation commander, U.S. general Tommy Franks. The senior British military officer was Air Chief Marshal Brian Burridge.

Prior to the onset of hostilities, coalition special operations forces crossed into Iraqi territory to gather intelligence and identify targets. On March 20 the invasion began. The majority of non-U.S. coalition forces were placed under the operational umbrella

of the U.S. I Marine Expeditionary Force (I MEF). The southern area of Iraq was the main target of the British-led forces, which included most of the Australian and Polish troops. British and Polish commandos and U.S. marines attacked and captured the port city of Umm Qasr, including the majority of the area's oil wells, and gradually took control of the Faw peninsula. The British then secured Basra and worked to open the port to coalition shipping and humanitarian supplies. The British then moved northward and linked with U.S. forces at Amarah. The Spanish troops did not take part in offensive combat operations and instead provided engineering and support for the coalition from Kuwait. In the north, Polish and U.S. special operations units, along with the U.S. 173rd Airborne Brigade, collaborated with anti-Hussein Kurdish militias to create a second front in Operation NORTHERN DELAY. The coalition forces were able to capture the strategic city of Kirkuk in April 2003.

The coalition's main offensive was a two-pronged advance on Baghdad conducted mainly by U.S. forces. The western advance was led by the U.S. V Corps, in turn led by the 3rd Infantry Division, while the eastern attack was undertaken by the I MEF as the British forces continued operations in the south. The 3rd Infantry Division reached the Iraqi capital on April 4 and had control by April 10. On May 2, U.S. president George W. Bush announced an end to major combat operations. However, an insurgency arose with former Hussein loyalists and foreign fighters fighting against coalition forces.

Additional countries meanwhile contributed troops to the coalition war effort. In September 2003 Iraq was divided into zones of occupation. The British took charge of the multinational forces in the four southern provinces, designated the South Zone. Coalition forces in the South Central Zone, consisting of four provinces and parts of two others, came under Polish command. Poland maintained elements of either an armored or mechanized division as its core contribution, rotating units such as the 12th Mechanized Division or the 11th Lubusz Armored Cavalry Division through multiple tours in Iraq beginning in May 2003. Poland's peak contribution to the coalition was 2,500 troops, but the country withdrew its forces in October 2008.

A number of other countries also had significant deployments of more than 1,000 troops. In 2004 South Korea dispatched 3,600 troops, mainly medical, construction, and engineering units, but all forces were withdrawn in December 2008. The South Korean units were formed into the Zaytun Division (*zaytun* is Arabic for "olive"). Italy deployed 3,200 soldiers in 2003; however, these troops were withdrawn in November 2006. Georgia contributed 2,000 troops but withdrew the bulk of its forces during the brief Soviet-Georgian War of August 2008. Ukraine deployed the 5th, 6th, and 7th Mechanized brigades in succession, beginning in 2003, with a top commitment of about 1,800 troops. Ukraine withdrew its troops in December 2005. Australia deployed about 1,400 ground troops, including units from the Royal Australian Regiment, the 2nd Cavalry Regiment, and the Light Horse Regiment (Queensland Mounted Infantry). The Netherlands provided approximately 1,350 troops in July 2003 and withdrew its forces two years later. Spain contributed 1,300 troops in 2003 but withdrew the forces in 2004.

By 2008, 40 countries had deployed forces at some point to support CJTF-7, which was renamed the Multi-National Force–Iraq (MNF-Iraq) on May 15, 2004. However, the cost in both economic terms and loss of life led to growing antiwar sentiment in coalition states, leading many to draw down or completely withdraw their forces. As of the end of 2008, there were approximately 6,100 non-U.S. coalition troops in Iraq, the bulk of which (4,100) were British. By then, 314 non-U.S. coalition soldiers had been killed in Iraq. As of August 2009, all non-U.S. coalition forces had withdrawn from Iraq.

In addition to the larger contingents, the following countries contributed at least 100 soldiers (mostly support, medical, or engineering units): Albania, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Honduras, Hungary, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Mongolia, Norway, Nicaragua, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, and Thailand.

The following countries contributed fewer than 100 troops: Armenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Estonia, Iceland, Kazakhstan, Macedonia, Moldova, New Zealand, the Philippines, Singapore, and Tonga. Several of these deployments were symbolic; for instance, Iceland deployed only 2 soldiers. In addition, Fiji deployed 150 troops in support of the United Nations (UN) mission in Iraq.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; Hungary, Role in Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Wars; Multi-National Force–Iraq; New Zealand, Role in Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Wars; Norway, Role in Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Wars; Poland, Forces in Iraq; Special Air Service, United Kingdom; Special Boat Service, United Kingdom; United Kingdom, Army, Iraq War; United Kingdom, Marines, Iraq War

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IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces

Naval forces from the United States and other nations played an important role in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. Military operations opened on March 20, 2003, with the firing of 40 Tomahawk cruise missiles by British and American warships and air strikes by both U.S. Air Force and U.S. Navy fixed-wing aircraft; meanwhile, U.S. Navy Grumman EA-6 Prowlers jammed Iraqi radar systems. This was followed by the seizure of two offshore gas and oil platforms by Navy SEALs.

When coalition ground forces invaded Iraq, carrier aircraft provided close air support and struck targets in support of the bombing campaigns. The five U.S. Navy carrier battle groups

operating in the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, and the eastern Mediterranean Sea flew more than 7,000 sorties during the first three weeks of operations. Marines landed from two amphibious ready groups and joined army troops in the invasion of Iraq. The campaign was swift, and only a week after the Iraqi capital at Baghdad fell on April 10, 2003, Vice Admiral Timothy Keating, commander of the 140 U.S. warships in the region, suggested the return home or redeployment elsewhere of naval units. By the end of operations on April 30, 35 coalition ships had fired 1,900 Tomahawks, one-third of them from submarines.

There were no significant naval surface engagements because Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein did not possess naval forces capable of posing a credible threat to coalition naval operations. After British and American marines captured the Iraqi port of Umm Qasr 30 miles south of Basra on March 30, four U.S. and six British minesweepers (operating with the mother ship RFA *Sir Belvedere*) began clearing the narrow Khor Abd Allah waterway that linked the port to the Persian Gulf. Working with unmanned underwater vehicles (UUVs) and with more than 20 trained dolphins of the navy's Marine Mammals System (MMS), a Navy Very Shallow Water (VSW) detachment consisting of Navy SEALs, Marine Force Reconnaissance divers, and Explosive Ordnance Disposal divers opened the waterway so that supplies could be funneled through the city to troops advancing inland.

President George W. Bush consistently referred to the Iraq War as "the central front in the War on Terror," contributing to the difficulty in distinguishing between naval forces involved in operations in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (OIF), Operation ENDURING FREEDOM–Afghanistan (OEF-A), and Operation ENDURING FREEDOM–Horn of Africa (OEF-HOA). Warships of Great Britain's Royal Navy joined U.S. Navy forces in OIF, and the two navies often shifted forces between bilateral operations in the Persian Gulf and multinational operations farther afield. The invasion phase of the war was declared over on April 30, 2003, after which time the line between operations was further blurred with the establishment of Combined Task Force 150 (CTF-150) to support OIF, OEF-A, and OEF-HOA by monitoring shipping and countering piracy in the northern Persian Gulf.

Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States assigned warships to CTF-150 at varying times. CTF-150 usually contains about 15 ships, the command of which rotates among the participating navies in four- to six-month intervals. Commanders have included Spanish rear admiral Juan Moreno, British commodore Tony Rix, French vice admiral Jacques Mazars, Dutch commodore Hank Ort, Pakistani rear admiral Shahid Iqbal, German rear admiral Heinrich Lange, and British commodore Bruce Williams.

In 2003, Combined Task Force 158 (CTF-158) was formed by U.S., British, Australian, and Iraqi naval forces to operate jointly with units of the Iraqi armed forces to train Iraqi naval personnel, protect Iraqi assets such as the Khawr al Amayah and Al Basrah oil terminals (KAAOT and ABOT, respectively) located on platforms off the coast of the Faw (Fao) peninsula in southern Iraq, operate jointly with Kuwaiti naval patrol boats, and patrol international waters in a cone-shaped area extending into the Persian Gulf beyond the territorial waters of Iraq. Its commanders have included British commodore Duncan Potts and U.S. rear admiral Kendall Card.

JAMES C. BRADFORD

See also

Iraq, Navy; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Mines, Sea, and Naval Mine Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; SEAL Teams, U.S. Navy; United States Navy, Iraq War

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IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Ground Campaign

Start Date: March 20, 2003
End Date: May 1, 2003

For some time the United States and its coalition partners had been building up their forces in Kuwait. More than 300,000 personnel were deployed in the theater under U.S. Army Central Command (CENTCOM) commander General Tommy Franks. Actual coalition combat strength on the ground to implement COBRA II, the ground invasion of Iraq, numbered some 125,000 U.S. troops; 45,000 British troops; 2,000 Australian troops; and 200 Polish troops. Other nations supplied support or occupation troops. Unlike the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf War, there was no broad-based coalition helping to bear the cost of the war. Although Kuwait and Qatar supported the United States, Saudi Arabia refused the use of its bases for air strikes against Iraq. The United States also experienced a major setback when the Turkish Parliament, despite pledges of up to $30 billion in financial assistance, refused to allow the United States to use its territory to open up a northern front, a key component of the U.S. military plan. Three dozen ships laden with equipment for the 30,000-man U.S. 4th Infantry Division lay off Turkish ports. Only after the war began were they redirected through the Suez Canal and around the Arabian Peninsula to Kuwait. The Turkish government's decision meant that the 4th Infantry Division would have to be part of the follow-on force and that Iraq could concentrate its military efforts to the south.

Although some air strikes were launched on the night of March 19 (one—the Dora Farms Strike—was an unsuccessful effort to kill Saddam Hussein and his sons, but most strikes were directed

A British royal marine fires a Milan wire-guided missile at an Iraqi position on the Faw Peninsula of southern Iraq on March 21, 2003. (AP/Wide World Photos)

against Iraqi air defense and missile systems threatening coalition forces in Kuwait as well as leaflet drops with capitulation instructions), the Iraq War began at 5:34 a.m. Baghdad time on March 20, 2003 (9:34 p.m., March 19 EST). Initially known as Operation IRAQI LIBERATION, it was later renamed Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (the British code name was Operation TELIC, while the Australian forces knew it as Operation FALCONER). The war commenced just hours after the expiration of U.S. president George W. Bush's 48-hour ultimatum to Saddam Hussein to step aside.

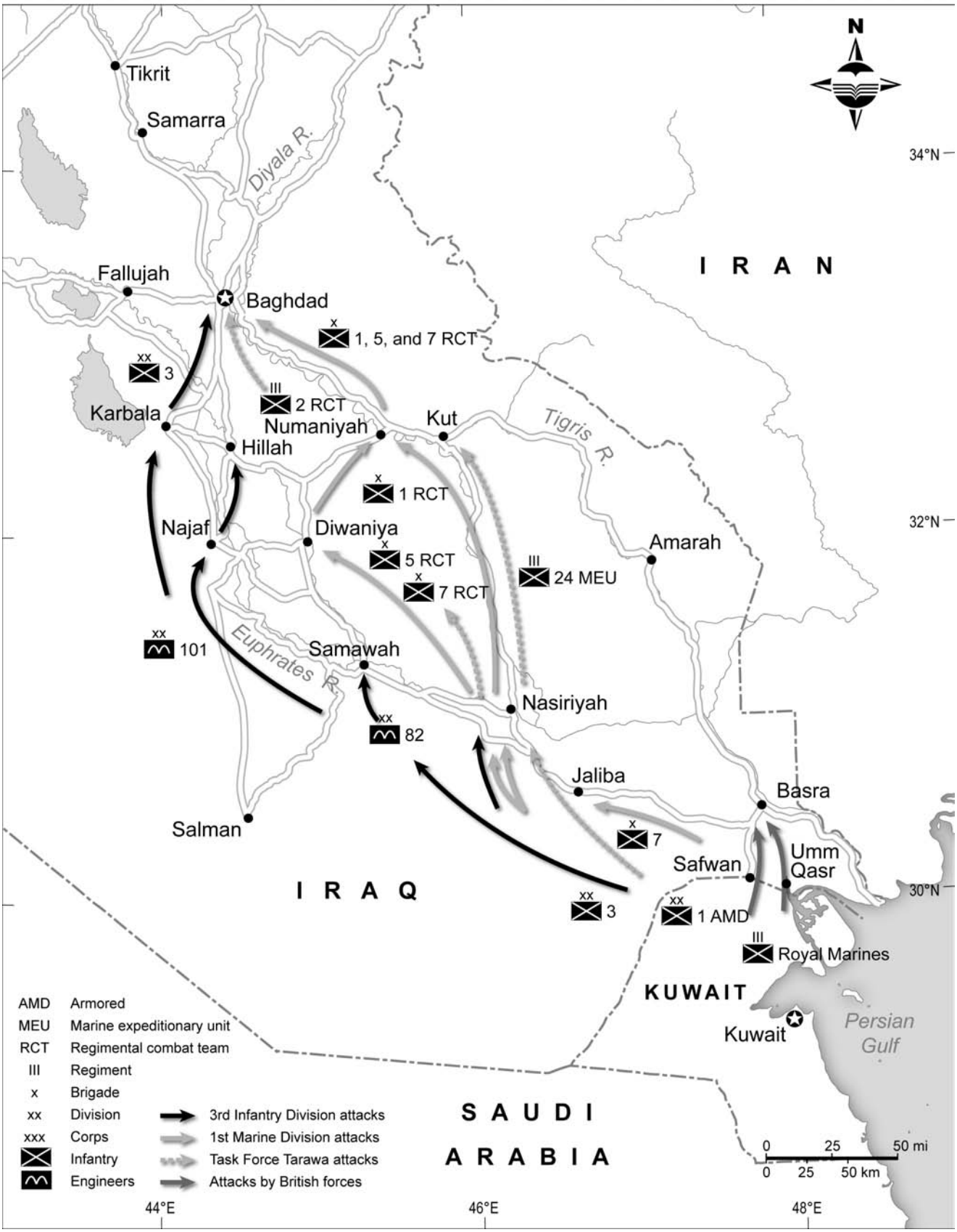
Baghdad was repeatedly hit with cruise missile attacks and air strikes by B-1, B-2, and B-52 bombers against key headquarters and command and control targets. This shock-and-awe campaign did not appear to be on the massive scale that CENTCOM had suggested. Part of this was the use of 70 percent smart bombs (guided) and 30 percent dumb aerial munitions (unguided), as opposed to only 10 percent smart weapons during the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf War. Also, a good many of the air strikes occurred away from the capital.

As the air attacks unfolded, the ground war also began. The coalition advance from Kuwait was along two main axes northwest toward Baghdad by U.S. Army and marine units, and one supporting thrust due north toward Basra. British forces on the far right under 1st Armoured Divison commander Major General Robin Brims were assigned the task of securing the Shatt al-Arab waterway and important Shiite city of Basra, Iraq's second largest. At the same time, Lieutenant General James Conway's I Marine Expeditionary Force in the center and Lieutenant General William Scott Wallace's U.S. Army's V Corps to the west would drive on the Iraqi capital of Baghdad, 300 miles to the north. Major General Buford Blount's 3rd ID, with the 7th Armored Cavalry Regiment leading, made the most rapid progress, largely because it moved through more sparsely populated areas.

In the center part of the front, the I Marine Expeditionary Force, carrying out the longest march in its storied history, skirted to the west of the Euphrates River, through the cities of Nasiriyah and on to Najaf and Karbala. Key factors in the allied success were coalition air power (Iraqi aircraft and helicopters never got off the ground), including Apache helicopter gunships and the highly resilient tank-busting A-10 Thunderbolt, the rapidity of the advance, and the ability of coalition troops to fight at night.

The marines were successful in seizing by coup de main the oil fields north of Basra, some 60 percent of the nation's total, including key refineries. Having secured the Shatt al-Arab, and wishing to spare civilians, the British were hopeful of an internal uprising and did not move into Basra itself. They were not actually encamped in the city until the night of April 2. In the meantime they imposed a loose blockade and carried out a series of raids into Basra to destroy symbols of the regime in an effort to demoralize

DRIVE ON BAGHDAD, MARCH 20–APRIL 12, 2003



the defenders and to convince them that coalition forces could move at will. At the same time, British forces distributed food and water to convince the inhabitants that they came as liberators rather than conquerors.

U.S. Special Forces secured airfields in western Iraq, and on the night of March 26, 1,000 members of the 173rd Airborne Brigade dropped into Kurdish-held territory in northern Iraq. Working in conjunction with lightly armed Kurdish forces, the brigade opened a northern front and secured the key oil production center of Mosul. U.S. Special Forces also directed air strikes against the Islamic Ansar al-Islam camp in far northeastern Iraq, on the Iranian border.

A number of Iraqi divisions moved into position to block the coalition drive north. These troops largely evaporated, however, with many of their personnel simply deserting. Meanwhile, so-called Saddam Fedayeen, or "technicals"—irregulars often wearing civilian clothes—carried out attacks using civilian vehicles with mounted machine guns and rocket-propelled grenades on supply convoys along the lines of communication from Kuwait north, which came to be dubbed "Ambush Alley." Indeed, on March 23, the 507th Maintenance Company, part of a convoy moving north near the Euphrates, took a wrong turn, was ambushed, and in an ensuing firefight lost nine killed, five wounded, and six captured.

On March 26 U.S. 7th Cavalry regiment and 3rd Infantry Division elements defeated an Iraqi force near Najaf in the largest battle of the war thus far, killing some 450 Iraqis. On March 28, with U.S. forces some 100 miles south of Baghdad, there was an operational pause because of a fierce sandstorm extending over March 25–26 and the need for some army units to resupply.

The Iraqi leadership, meanwhile, repositioned its six Republican Guard divisions around Baghdad for a defense of the capital. As some of these divisions moved to take up new positions south of the city, they came under heavy air attack and lost much of their equipment. The coalition advance quickened again during April 1–2, following the serious degrading of the Baghdad and Medina divisions.

On April 3 U.S. forces reached the outskirts of Baghdad and over the next two days secured Saddam International Airport, some 12 miles from the city center. The speed of their advance allowed U.S. forces to take the airport with minimal damage to its facilities, and it soon became a staging area. By that date, too, the Iraqi people sensed the shift of momentum and an imminent coalition victory. Advancing U.S. troops reported friendly receptions from civilians and increasing surrenders of Iraqi troops, including a reported 2,500 Republican Guards north of Kut on April 4.

By April 5 the 3rd Infantry Division was closing on Baghdad from the southwest, the marines from the southeast, and the 101st Airborne Division was preparing to move in from the north. Baghdad was in effect under a loose blockade, with civilians allowed to depart. On that day also, the 3rd Infantry Division's 2nd Brigade, commanded by Colonel David Perkins, pushed through downtown Baghdad in a three-hour-long operation, called a "Thunder Run," inflicting an estimated 1,000 Iraqi casualties. This proved a powerful psychological blow to the Iraqi regime, which had claimed U.S. forces were nowhere near the city and that it still controlled the international airport. It also led to an exodus of many Baath Party officials and Iraqi military personnel.

This process was repeated on April 6 and 7. In a fierce firefight on April 6, U.S. forces killed an estimated 2,000 to 3,000 Iraqi soldiers for 1 killed of their own. On April 7, 3 battalions of the 3rd Infantry Division remained in the city. The next day marine elements moved into southeastern Baghdad. With the 101st Airborne closing on the city from the northwest and the 3rd Infantry Division from the southeast, the ring around the capital was closed. On April 9 resistance collapsed in Baghdad as Iraqi civilians assisted by U.S. Marines toppled a large statue of Saddam Hussein. There was still fighting in parts of the city as diehard Baath loyalists sniped at U.S. troops, but Iraqi government central command and control had collapsed by April 10.

Elsewhere on April 10, following the collapse of resistance in Baghdad, a small number of Kurdish fighters, U.S. Special Forces, and the 173rd Airborne Brigade liberated Kirkuk. The next day, Mosul, Iraq's third largest city, fell when the Iraqi V Corps commander surrendered some 30,000 men. Apart from some sporadic shooting in Baghdad and massive looting there and in other cities, the one remaining center of resistance was Hussein's ancestral home of Tikrit.

On April 12 the 101st Airborne relieved the marines and 3rd Infantry Division in Baghdad, allowing them to deploy northwest to Tikrit. Meanwhile, the 173rd Airborne Brigade took control of the northern oil fields from the Kurds in order to prevent any possibility of Turkish intervention. The battle for Tikrit failed to materialize. Hussein's stronghold collapsed, and on April 14 allied forces entered the city. That same day the Pentagon announced that major military operations in Iraq were at an end; all that remained was mopping up. Through the end of April, the coalition suffered 139 U.S. and 31 British dead. The coalition reported that 9,200 Iraqi military personnel had also been slain, along with 7,299 civilians, the latter figure believed by many critics of the war to be far too low.

On May 1, 2003, President Bush visited the U.S. aircraft carrier *Abraham Lincoln* off San Diego, the carrier having just returned from a deployment to the Persian Gulf. There the president delivered his "Mission Accomplished" speech, broadcast live to the American public. Bush's characterization that the war was won proved premature. The administration had given insufficient thought to the postwar occupation of Iraq, and long-simmering tensions between Sunni, Shiite, and Kurds erupted into sectarian violence. A series of ill-considered policy decisions, including disbanding the Iraqi Army, abetted the poor security situation, as angry Sunnis, supported by volunteers from other Arab states, took up arms and launched suicide attacks against Iraqi civilians and the U.S. occupiers. Unguarded ammunition dumps provided plentiful supplies for the improvised explosive devices (IEDs) that claimed growing numbers of allied troops.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also
Ansar al-Islam; Baghdad, Battle for; Basra, Battle for; Blount, Buford, III; Brims, Robin; Bush, George Walker; Conway, James Terry; Franks, Tommy Ray; Hussein, Saddam; Improvised Explosive Devices; Najaf, First Battle of; Nasiriyah, Battle of; Wallace, William Scott

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IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Planning for

On September 15, 2001, U.S. president George W. Bush and his national security team met to discuss how to respond to the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and his aides offered three targets for retaliation: Al Qaeda, Afghanistan's Taliban regime, and Iraq. In November Pentagon planners began to ponder formally how to attack Iraq. From the outset Rumsfeld and his circle of civilian planners argued with senior military officers over whether to attack Iraq and how many ground troops to employ. As pressure built for a U.S. invasion, based on the premise that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction (WMD), the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), commanded by General Tommy Franks, assumed responsibility for planning and executing the invasion of Iraq. For a variety of reasons, particularly civilian pressure from Rumsfeld and his aides, a perceived urgency that imposed undue haste, an overburdened staff that also had to address Afghanistan, and Franks's command style that squashed dissent, war planners focused on the relatively easy task of defeating the Iraqi military. They gave little thought to what would come afterward.

During the years following the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf War, military planners had prepared a plan for a second war against Iraq. Dubbed Operation DESERT CROSSING, it envisioned a large invasion force of about 350,000 men, with some variants involving a force of upwards of 500,000 men. The Rumsfeld circle argued that this was far too many ground forces. They pointed to the tremendous improvement in the U.S. military's ability to deliver precision-guided weapons as well as technical advances in reconnaissance systems and command and control networks and asserted that the military was now more mobile and more lethal than during the Persian Gulf War. Proponents of a smaller invasion force argued that these changes, coupled with the deterioration of the Iraqi military that had begun during the Persian Gulf War, implied that a second war against Iraq would not be a difficult undertaking. The Rumsfeld circle also wanted the flexibility to launch the ground invasion without a long, prewar buildup of forces.

The demand for a lean force that could attack without a long logistical buildup constrained military planners. CENTCOM created a list of things that it wanted to be able to affect or influence, including the Iraqi leadership, internal security, its WMD, and the Republican Guard. They then matched this list against such U.S. military capabilities as Special Operations Forces, air power, and conventional ground forces.

Meanwhile, a group of military planners, notably Secretary of State (and retired four-star general) Colin Powell, warned the Bush administration that the Iraqi Army was the glue holding Iraq together. If the United States dissolved that bond by destroying the army, it would inherit the responsibility for occupying and governing Iraq for a very long time. However, this minority viewpoint had little influence on the development of war plans.

During his 2002 State of the Union address President Bush identified Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as hostile nations, part of an "axis of evil." He asserted that the United States would not stand idle while these nations threatened American interests with WMD. In June 2002 Bush spoke at the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, and formally announced the adoption of a strategy of preemption, known as the Bush Doctrine. These two speeches provided the intellectual rationale for the March 2003 invasion of Iraq.

In August 2002 the Bush administration drafted a secret document titled "Iraq: Goals, Objectives and Strategy." It was an ambitious statement that sought to eliminate the Iraqi WMD threat once and for all, end the Iraqi threat to its neighbors, liberate the Iraqi people from Saddam Hussein's tyranny, and end Iraqi support for international terrorism. The intention was that a stable democracy would be planted in Iraq that would grow and spread throughout the Middle East. In addition, the stupendous show of U.S. force would overawe potential future adversaries.

In its final form, the war plan called for army Special Operations helicopters and air force aircraft to begin operations on the evening of March 19 against Iraqi observation posts along the Saudi and Jordanian borders. Then, coalition special operations units would infiltrate western Iraq to eliminate missile sites that threatened Israel. Two days later, at 9:00 p.m. on March 21, Tomahawk cruise missiles, Lockheed F-117 Nighthawk stealth fighters, and Northrop Grumman B-2 Spirit stealth bombers would strike targets in and around Baghdad. The next morning, COBRA II, the ground invasion, would begin. The army's V Corps, built around the tank-heavy 3rd Infantry Division, along with the 101st Airborne Division, would conduct the main thrust toward Baghdad. Simultaneously, the 1st Marine Division would seize the Rumaila oil fields, drive north across the Euphrates River, and protect the V Corps' flank. The converging army and marine units would then form a cordon around Baghdad to prevent senior Iraqi leaders or WMD from escaping. British forces would seize the largely Shiite city of Basra in southeastern Iraq.

Plans had also called for an attack south from Turkey, mounted by the 4th Infantry Division. Last-minute Turkish obstinacy, despite financial incentives offered by the United States, blocked this part of the plan, forcing the 4th Infantry Division to become a follow-on force and allowing the Iraqis to concentrate their forces to the south. The northern front consisted of the 173rd Airborne Brigade working with lightly armed Kurdish forces to secure the key oil production center of Mosul. In total, the invading ground force was to number about 145,000 men, which was enough to provide a breakthrough force but insufficient to pacify conquered territory.

Planners thought that the ground invasion coming so soon after the air strike would surprise Iraqi military leaders. Air attacks began ahead of schedule, however, when intelligence reports indicated a meeting of Hussein and his senior leaders. The intelligence proved wrong.

COBRA II began on March 21 (local time), 2003. Conventional operations proceeded relatively smoothly, reaching an apparent high-water mark on April 9, when a live television broadcast showed U.S. troops helping a jubilant Iraqi crowd topple a giant statue of Saddam Hussein in downtown Baghdad. Thereafter, the failure to plan adequately for the subsequent occupation led to an insurgency that has persisted for years.

James Arnold

See also

IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Air Campaign; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Ground Campaign

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Iraqi Front for National Dialogue

A Sunni-led Iraqi political list that was formed to contest the December 2005 elections, the Iraqi Front for National Dialogue (al-Jabha al-Iraqiyya li al-Hiwar al-Watani, IFND) describes itself as a nonsectarian political coalition that seeks to end the presence of foreign troops in Iraq and to rebuild government institutions. Saleh al-Mutlaq, former Iraqi minister of state, is a key figure in the IFND. He campaigned against the constitution during the October 2005 referendum and refused to join the other main Sunni Arab–led list, the Iraqi Accord Front, because that group's largest component, the Iraqi Islamic Party, had backed the new constitution. The IFND coalition also includes Kurds, Arabs, Assyrians, and Shabaks.

The IFND's main components include the Iraqi National Front, led by Mutlaq; the National Front for a Free and United Iraq, led by Hassan Zaydan; the Iraqi Christian Democratic Party, led by Minas al-Yusufi; the Democratic Arab Front, led by Farhan al-Sudayd; and the Sons of Iraq Movement, led by Ali al-Suhayri. The IFND is distinct from the Iraqi National Dialogue Council, headed by Khalaf al-Ulayyan, which is a component of the Iraqi Accord Front.

Although it won 11 seats in the December 2005 election, the IFND complained of widespread election fraud.

The IFND's platform has emphasized ending the foreign occupation; reconciliation among Iraq's political, religious, and ethnic groups; rebuilding government institutions; and improving the economic and security situation within Iraq. According to an October 2008 poll, however, only 3.6 percent of the public supports the INDF. Mutlaq has disagreed with Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki's management of the Iraqi government and has stated publicly that he believes that Maliki is not serious about national reconciliation and coalition building. Mutlaq also decried a law passed by the Iraqi parliament in early 2008 that upheld the earlier decision to ban Baathism in any form in Iraq. He termed the legislation unrealistic and difficult to enforce.

Richard M. Edwards and Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Maliki, Nuri Muhammed Kamil Hasan al-

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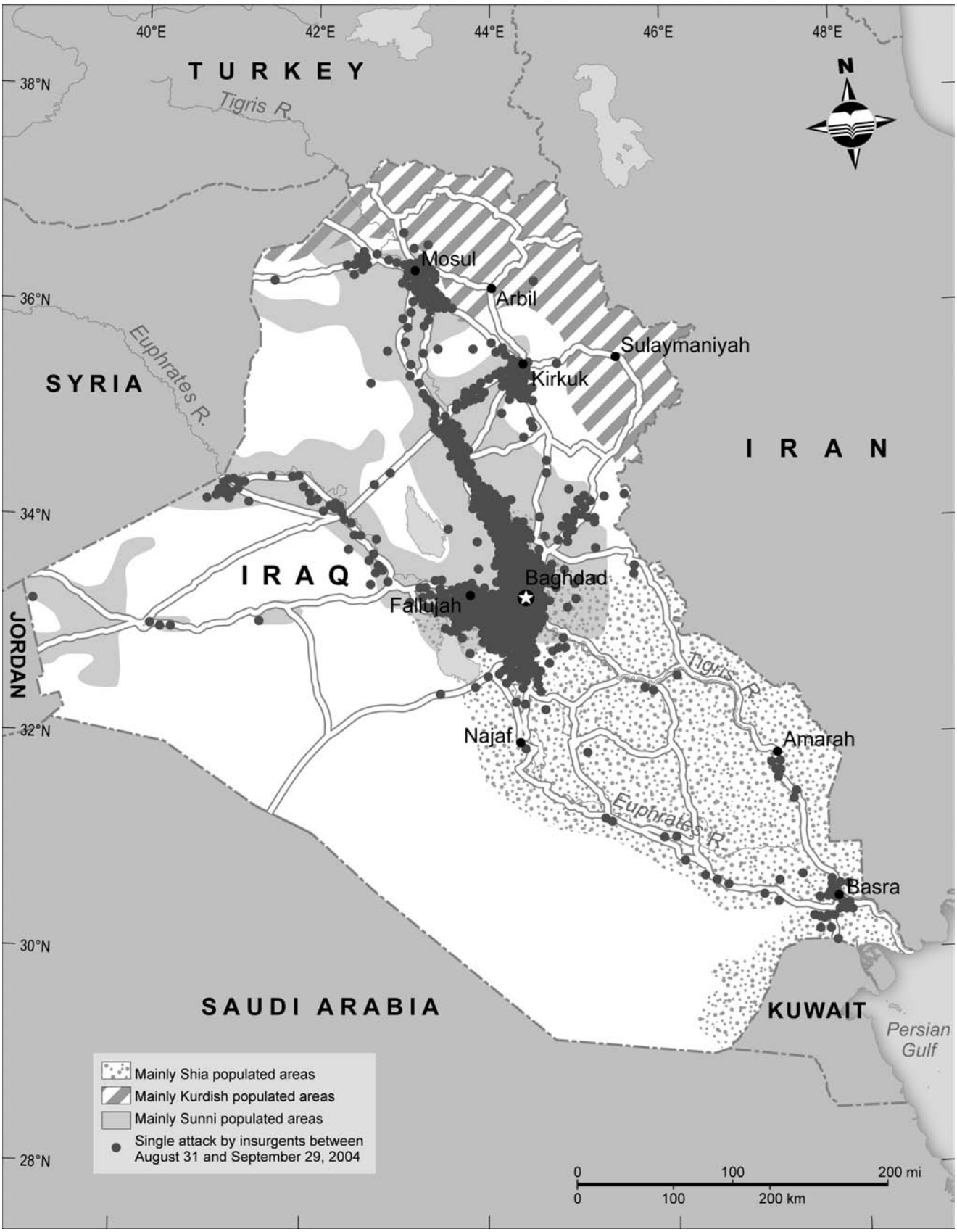
Iraqi Insurgency

Event Date: 2003–Present

A violent resistance by segments of the Iraqi population against the foreign occupation powers deployed in Iraq and the new Iraqi government set up after the fall of the Baathist state. The term "insurgency" is employed in U.S. governmental circles and by coalition forces but is not used in the Arab media, except in discussions with U.S. spokespersons. The term was not initially employed by the U.S. government, but its appearance in 2004 onward led to a major emphasis on insurgency theory and new approaches to counterinsurgency.

The Iraqi insurgency commenced soon after the official end of hostilities that followed the overthrow of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein in the spring of 2003. Until the U.S. military gained control of Iraq and President George W. Bush declared "mission accomplished" on May 1, 2003, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM was essentially a war between the Iraqi government and military and the coalition powers that overthrew it. Since then, IRAQI FREEDOM has morphed into a battle between coalition and allied Iraqi forces and

Struggle against the Insurgency, August 31–September 29, 2004



Iraqi firefighters extinguish flames resulting from a car bomb explosion in southern Baghdad, April 14, 2005. (U.S. Department of Defense)

a wide array of insurgent groups, now characterized as an insurgency war.

A number of factors led to the insurgency, but the chief cause was the power vacuum created by the sudden collapse of the highly centralized Iraqi government and by the failure of the U.S. armed forces to properly fill that void in a timely manner with a power structure acceptable to those governed. Many Iraqis did not welcome a change in government, or feared the opposition elements who assumed power. Coalition forces have sometimes argued that the lack of electricity, fuel, potable water, and basic social services created daily personal grievances among many Iraqis, but far more resentment was engendered by attacks, arrests, and detentions, and later, by Iraqi-on-Iraqi campaigns that led those who could afford or were able to flee Iraq to do so. The Iraqi people expected the occupying American forces to provide for their security, but the latter either had insufficient numbers to do so effectively or were not assigned to protect Iraqis, their property, or their state institutions.

The U.S.-led invasion of Iraq and subsequent fall of the country's dictator, Saddam Hussein, made conditions ripe for power struggles to emerge among various sectarian and political groups. Even though Iraqis had a history of intermarriage and mixed communities, many had been suppressed and mistreated by Hussein's government and had scores to settle.

The U.S. government hoped that the period immediately following the overthrow of Hussein would see the installation of a broadly based Iraqi government led by those who had opposed Saddam. However, the Iraqi people viewed many of the new leaders as pursuing their own narrow interests or those of their parties.

Also, the initial U.S. governmental appointees in the Interim Authority were intent on wiping out all vestiges of the previous government and institutions through de-Baathification. This led many Sunni Iraqis to conclude that they had absolutely nothing to gain and could possibly force the occupying troops to leave Iraq if they took up arms and established control in those areas of the country where they were a majority. Initially, the coalition refused to accept both the severity of this fighting and its toll on Iraqis, but a virtual civil war began to engulf Iraq in 2006.

A telling feature of the Iraqi insurgency has been its decentralized nature. It is conducted by a large number of disparate groups, many of which are ideologically different, although temporary alliances are not uncommon. For example, there were at least 40 different Sunni Muslim insurgent factions, although the coalition primarily focused on the threat presented by Al Qaeda in Iraq. Others were local nationalists, made up of former Iraqi security service members and soldiers of the old Iraqi armed forces, some of whom aligned with new Islamist groups. Their goal, broadly speaking, was to drive the United States and its allies from Iraq

and regain the power that they once had enjoyed, or at least, sufficient power to force the central Shia-dominated Iraqi government to grant them autonomy in certain areas. This segment of the resistance was motivated by a mixture of nationalism, opposition to occupation, loss of status and income, fear of future discrimination, and the lure of financial incentives provided by various groups. These predominantly Sunni groups had valid reasons to fear that the new security services dominated by Shia and Kurds would oppress them. Some of these insurgents were believed to be trained and equipped soldiers with previous combat experience and knowledge of the local terrain.

A second element within the Sunni Iraqi community consisted of jihadist salafiyya (or salafis) whose ultimate goal was the establishment of an Islamic state in Iraq while excluding the Shia and/or non-Islamists from power altogether. The U.S. government identified this group as consisting primarily of foreign volunteer fighters, who indeed traveled to Iraq from Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria, Egypt, and Libya. Actually, there were far fewer of these foreign volunteers than was claimed, and a far larger number of salafist or jihadi salafists were Iraqis who adopted this role in desperation, or who had become salafist in the Saddam Hussein era. These groups targeted coalition forces as well as Iraqi military, police, government, and civilians in suicide attacks. Among these groups was Al Qaeda in Iraq, which was originally the Tawhid wal-Jihad group headed by now-deceased Abu Musab al-Zarqawi.

Although Al Qaeda leaders in Afghanistan warned the Iraqi group, which had sworn allegiance to them, that attacking Iraqi Shia was a dubious policy, they went on doing so. The leaders of Al Qaeda in Iraq considered the Shia to be renegades (and apostates) and held them accountable for collaborating with the occupying forces.

In 2008 the coalition began to claim that many insurgents were not ideologically committed (perhaps because efforts to convince Iraqis that they were un-Islamic were failing). They asserted that many fighters were motivated by the need for a source of income because of the economic collapse of Iraq and the general state of lawlessness. This claim appears to have been true in some limited areas where kidnapping rings operated just after the initial defeat of Hussein's government. It is the type of claim that can be made in civil wars generally, but is demonstrably untrue, for most of the insurgent statements claim religious convictions.

The insurgents have employed a wide array of tactics against their targets. Some rely on sabotage of electric stations, oil pipelines and facilities, and coalition reconstruction projects. Others use small-arms gunfire against coalition forces and attempt assassinations of public officials and private citizens. Firing rockets and mortar shells at fixed coalition positions has also been an insurgent tactic. The use of improvised roadside bombs and improvised explosive devices (IEDs) has proven especially lethal to coalition troops. Suicide bombers, car bombs, and truck bombs have also been used to great effect by the insurgents.

Insurgents have deployed ambushes that involve the simultaneous use of mines, grenades, and rocket-propelled grenades. Insurgents also engage in the kidnapping of local citizens and foreigners to exchange them for ransom, or simply to execute them. Initially, insurgent violence was primarily directed at coalition forces. As the occupation has persisted, however, attacks by various insurgency groups have begun shifting toward the Iraqi police and security forces as well as opposing militias representing the various warring sects. Attacks on Iraqi civilians, especially those associated with the government or seeking employment with the police force, also escalated after 2004.

The United States accused Syria and Iran of aiding various insurgency groups in the funding and planning of their activities. There was evidence that some former Baathists, including the acknowledged leader of the resistance, Ibrahim al-Duri, were in Syria. Both Syria and Iran oppose the establishment of a pro-American democracy in Iraq, and fear that their influence in the region would be jeopardized by the long-term stationing of U.S. troops in Iraq.

The United States has employed several strategies to squelch the insurgency in Iraq. The initial phase of counterinsurgency efforts in late 2003 and early 2004 consisted mainly of occupation forces engaging in indiscriminate and sometimes culturally insensitive tactics that alienated many Iraqis, such as mass arrests, night searches, heavy-handed interrogations, and blanket incarcerations. Such actions enraged and embittered formerly friendly or neutral Iraqis. The United States then responded to insurgents by engaging in a variety of counterinsurgency measures, including Operation DESERT THRUST, Operation PHANTOM FURY in Fallujah, Operation TOGETHER FORWARD, and Operation PHANTOM THRUST, just to name a few. These full-scale assaults on insurgency bases have had only a temporary and limited effect, however.

The most notable counterinsurgency effort was mounted during 2007. The so-called troop surge accounted for an increase in U.S. troop size by about 30,000 additional soldiers. The move has been hailed a success by U.S. officials for bringing down the levels of violence in Iraq. Critics, however, contend that the levels of violence have gone down only in some areas of the country, and only through methods that have cordoned off and imposed barriers around neighborhoods that have been cleansed on a sectarian basis. In spring 2009 there was, for example, an upsurge of bombings targeting both Shia and Sunni areas in Baghdad. While most insurgent activity involved only Sunnis, other groups have also been involved. Thus, there was also armed resistance by members of Muqtada al-Sadr's Mahdi Army when Iraqi government forces engaged them. They had not been a part of the insurgency but rather sought to enhance their power within the body politic.

Another reason for a drop in the violence was the fact that the U.S. military struck a bargain with various Sunni groups, some of them jihadist salafists. This permitted coalition forces to concentrate on fighting Al Qaeda in Iraq in these areas. However, these so-called Awakening Councils were subject to numerous attacks and have been clashing with the government. Since their support

rested on financial incentives, their continued compliance is unclear. It remains uncertain if the reduction in the Iraq insurgency will survive the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq.

KRISTIAN P. ALEXANDER AND SHERIFA ZUHUR

See also

Al Qaeda in Iraq; Baath Party; Fedayeen; Iran; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Jihad; Mahdi Army; Salafism; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam; Surge, U.S. Troop Deployment, Iraq War; Syria

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Iraqi Occupation of Kuwait, Atrocities

Start Date: 1990
End Date: 1991

On August 2, 1990, some 100,000 Iraqi soldiers crossed the Iraq-Kuwait border, and within five hours the Iraqi military had successfully occupied the entire country of Kuwait. On August 28, 1990, Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein announced the annexation of Kuwait as the 19th governorate of Iraq. Beginning with the initial invasion and continuing throughout the occupation period, which lasted until February 1991, the Iraqis pursued a brutal policy of torture, plunder, and destruction against the nation and peoples of Kuwait.

Initial Kuwaiti protests over the occupation were met with brutal reprisal. Iraqi soldiers fired indiscriminately into unarmed crowds of Kuwaiti civilians demonstrating against the occupation of their country. Houses from which snipers fired on Iraqis were promptly demolished, along with surrounding properties. Thousands of injured Kuwaitis were denied medical services and left to die.

Arbitrary and mass arrests became commonplace. Under the Iraqi secret police, the Mukhabarat, led by Ali Hassan al-Majid Tikriti, 22 torture centers were established throughout Kuwait City. Key Kuwaiti opponents to the occupation were arrested and summarily executed, an estimated 1,000 people in the first week alone. Simply denying the legitimacy of the occupation, flying the Kuwaiti flag, or voicing support for the exiled government became justification for arrest and torture. Entire families were arrested together and forced to witness the interrogation and torture of individual members. Torture methods ranged from simple beatings to electroshocks, dismemberment, and the use of hot irons.

Kuwaiti women were routinely raped by Iraqi occupiers; young girls and women were especially targeted by Iraqi soldiers. Also, an estimated 20,000 Kuwaitis were transported to Iraq to be used as slave labor. An additional 3,000 to 5,000 Kuwaitis were taken as hostages and used as human shields.

During the occupation, Iraq systematically plundered Kuwait's resources and infrastructure. The Kuwaiti Central Bank, for example, was robbed of some $2 billion. Electronic, communications, and industrial equipment was dismantled and shipped to Iraq, while equipment and spare parts were looted from Kuwaiti oil fields. Iraqi soldiers plundered museums, homes, stores, and markets as well.

A November 1992 U.S. Pentagon report titled "Report on Iraqi War Crimes: Desert Shield/Desert Storm" charged Hussein and his army with 16 violations of the law of war as enumerated by The Hague and Geneva conventions. The 199th Judge Advocate General International Law Detachment, tasked with investigating Iraqi war crimes, confirmed the many atrocities committed against Kuwaitis citizens and residents. The report details documents collected by the 199th that showed that the Iraqi leadership had intended to use chemical weapons against Kuwaiti citizens. The evidence in the report included accounts of rape and torture, photographs of murdered Kuwaitis, and videotapes of mass burial sites and torture implements. It also detailed shocking violations of human rights that included amputations, dismemberments, forced self-cannibalism, the use of electric drills, acid baths, repeated rapes, and many other horrific acts. The Pentagon's report concluded that 1,082 Kuwaiti deaths were "directly attributed to Iraqi criminal conduct." The Pentagon report also stated that the violations were so widespread that they could not have happened "without the explicit knowledge or authorization of Saddam [Hussein]."

According to the same report, Iraq also sabotaged Kuwait's ability to manufacture oil, the backbone of the Kuwaiti economy. Documents show quite clearly Iraq's premeditated plans for the destruction of the Kuwaiti oil fields. The International Affairs Division of the War Crimes Documentation Center revealed that, following coalition military action against Iraq, Iraqi forces released Kuwaiti oil into the Persian Gulf from ships and from the Mina al-Ahmadi facility in Kuwait. In the desert, 590 oil wellheads were damaged or destroyed and another 82 were sufficiently damaged, with millions of barrels of oil freely flowing into the desert.

In the period before the war, there were accusations that the United States had embellished the Iraqi atrocities in order to secure Middle Eastern oil. Critics charged President George H. W. Bush with exaggerating the atrocities in order to help sell the American people on the value of invading Kuwait. Even those who originally supported the war effort developed a skepticism regarding the atrocities. Jimmy Hayes, a Louisiana congressman who initially defended Bush's decision to go to war, asserted that the Kuwaiti government had paid many public relations firms to support their cause in an effort to rally American opinion against Hussein and his forces.

The world's largest public relations firm at the time, Hill & Knowlton, was active in influencing American public opinion. Hill

& Knowlton ran a $10 million public relations campaign to build support in the United States. In October 1990, a young woman identified as "Nayirah" appeared in front of Congress and described the Iraqis taking newborn babies out of their incubators. Hill & Knowlton was accused of having orchestrated Nayirah's testimony. "Citizens for a Free Kuwait," a front organization for Kuwait's ruling royal family, was believed to have paid Nayirah for her testimony. Despite the accusations of exaggeration and fabrication, American officials maintained that the atrocities taking place in Kuwait warranted an invasion force to oust Hussein's forces from Kuwait. In the end, the specificity and sheer number of documented Iraqi atrocities in Kuwait make it all but certain that Hussein had conducted nefarious deeds throughout the occupation period.

Robert W. Malick and Gregory W. Morgan

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; desert shield, Operation; desert storm, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Kuwait; Kuwait, Iraqi Invasion of; Kuwait, Occupation of by Iraq; Oil Well Fires, Persian Gulf War

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Iraqi-Russian Relations, 1992–Present

The Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq and overthrow of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein in 2003 deprived Russia of a key source of influence in the Middle East. Indeed, close Russian (and Soviet) ties to Iraq go back at least to the 1960s. The Soviet Union had been a major supplier of weapons to Saddam Hussein's regime and had enjoyed friendly relations with that government. The Soviets had been eager to foster friendly relations with Iraq to counter U.S. influence in the Persian Gulf region and especially to offset the close U.S. relationships with Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran and the Saudi Arabian monarchy. Hussein proved receptive to Soviet overtures and increased offers of military aid, but was nevertheless careful to maintain his country's independence and not become a puppet or satellite of the Soviets.

In the final years of the Soviet Union, its imploding economy turned that once militarily powerful country into a mere spectator of world affairs. The Soviet Union supported American and world condemnation of Iraq's August 2, 1990, invasion of Kuwait, but it lacked the influence to forestall Operation desert storm and thus save Hussein from ensuing military defeat in February 1991. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev neither sought to block the international military coalition that invaded Iraq nor sent troops to the fight, a scenario that would have been unthinkable at the height of the Cold War. In December 1991 the Soviet Union ceased to exist, and Gorbachev was no longer in power, their places taken by the Russian Federation and President Boris Yeltsin.

Throughout much of the 1990s, Russia was preoccupied with domestic affairs, especially a flagging economy. Under the leadership of the largely pro-American Yeltsin, Russia played only a negligible role in the long confrontation between Iraq and the United States and United Nations (UN) weapons inspectors who were charged with dismantling Hussein's stocks of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). By the late 1990s, however, Yeltsin's health had deteriorated and decision-making increasingly fell into the hands of other officials. At the same time, much of world opinion was tiring of the international sanctions imposed on Iraq. Although it was Hussein's own policies that were making life miserable for the Iraqi population, he succeeded in convincing outsiders that their suffering was a direct result of the sanctions, which continued to receive the strong support of both the United States and Great Britain.

At the same time that Yeltsin's influence was fading, that of nationalist Vladimir Putin, who would become prime minister in 1999 and president in 2000, was sharply increasing. Russia's economy was also improving rapidly, thanks in larger part to exports of oil and natural gas. Russia began the new century in a quest to assert a more independent foreign policy, and in the final year of the U.S. president Bill Clinton's administration proved less compliant to U.S. wishes. By 2001 Russia, along with France, began to question the utility of continuing sanctions against Iraq.

After the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, the administration of President George W. Bush sought to invade Iraq not only to deny Hussein the opportunity to rebuild his stockpiles of WMD and form alliances with Islamic terrorist groups but also to create a democratic regime that senior administration officials hoped would reshape the entire Middle East. Russian president Putin strenuously objected to the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq without authorization by the UN. Putin undoubtedly regarded Bush's invasion of Iraq as nothing more than an excuse to extend U.S. influence in the Middle East. With U.S. troops occupying Iraq beginning in March 2003, Russia sought closer ties with Iran, and it has been providing weapons to that nation as well as assisting in developing Iran's nuclear program, ostensibly for energy uses only.

Despite the dominating influence of the United States in Iraq, Russia has sought to gain influence there and will continue to do so, particularly in the years to come, when U.S. military presence in the country is expected to decline. Although the Iraqi government of Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki is understandably wary of Russia, owing to the Soviet ties with Saddam Hussein, Russia's opposition to the 2003 Iraq War, and Russia's closer ties with its

Soviet defense minister General Andrei Grechko, left, confers with Iraqi minister of the interior Saddam Hussein, right, in Baghdad, December 15, 1971. (AP/Wide World Photos)

arch-rival, Iran, Russia has redoubled its efforts to benefit from Iraq's newly increasing prosperity by becoming involved in reconstructing and upgrading the country's decaying infrastructure.

Russia has written off most of Iraq's $12.9 billion debt (much of it dating back to Soviet-era supplies of military equipment), and on February 11, 2008, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) reported that Russia had signed a deal with Iraqi foreign minister Hoshiyar Zebari in Moscow that would grant Russia permission to invest $4 billion from Russian companies, including oil producer Lukoil, to upgrade Iraq's oil infrastructure and to tap Iraq's vast oil deposits.

Russia clearly seeks to benefit from Iraq's vast wealth in oil and hopes to regain its 1997 Hussein-era West Qurna oil field deal, worth $3.7 billion, to tap one of Iraq's biggest oil deposits. Absolving Iraq of the entirety of its Soviet-era debt had been delayed because Russia sought preferential access to Iraqi oil, revival of the 1997 West Qurna oil deal, and access to the Rumaila field. Iraq refused to accede to these requests. Iraqi officials held that the Russian Lukoil oil company would have to renegotiate the West Qurna deal. On February 11, 2008, however, Russian finance minister Alexei Kudrin announced that Russia had agreed to write off $11.1 billion of Iraqi debt immediately, another $900 million in the next few years, and restructure another $900 million for 17 years.

On March 28, 2008, Fox News reported that in a message to Prime Minister Maliki, Putin lobbied on behalf of Russian companies seeking to be awarded contracts for rebuilding Iraq's infrastructure, particularly in the oil and gas sector. Putin once again raised Russia's interest in the huge West Qurna oil field and announced that Russia had expanded its diplomatic presence in the city of Erbil, in northern Iraq, and was also expected to restore a consular mission in the south in the city of Basra. However, Russia has yet to establish an embassy in Baghdad, which no doubt reveals Moscow's ongoing concern for security in the capital. Putin's efforts came two days after Iraq's Oil Ministry had invited local and international oil companies to bid for contracts providing technical support for the development of two major oil fields in the country. Putin stated that he hoped that this Russian overture would receive a positive Iraqi response. Iraqi leaders, however, apparently remain wary of Russia.

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See also

Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Maliki, Nuri Muhammed Kamil Hasan al-; Putin, Vladimir Vladimirovich; Russia, Middle East Policy, 1991–Present; Yeltsin, Boris Nikolayevich

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Iraqi-Soviet Relations

During the Cold War, leaders of the Soviet Union viewed Iraq as a nation vital to their strategic and security interests. Iraqi-Soviet ties were long-standing yet at times difficult. Diplomatic relations between the two states were first established during World War II, on September 9, 1944, but they were severed in 1955 when Iraq joined the U.S.-sponsored Baghdad Pact, a military alliance designed to contain Soviet expansionism in the Middle East.

The coup d'état of July 14, 1958, led by Iraqi general colonel Abd al-Karim Qasim, brought an end to the monarchy and established a republic. It also brought close ties between the new Iraqi government and the Soviet Union. Qasim quickly restored diplomatic relations with Moscow and arranged for the purchase of Soviet arms. During the next several years, the Soviet Union extended significant economic and military aid to Qasim's government.

By late 1959, however, relations became strained with the persecution of members of the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP). While Soviet propaganda outlets denounced the execution of Iraqi Communist Party members, Moscow was careful not to attack Qasim openly for fear of alienating his anti-Western government. No doubt, Moscow welcomed Qasim's assassination on February 8, 1963, with cautious optimism.

The Baath Party coup against Qasim did not, however, lead to an improvement in Iraqi-Soviet relations, which rather only worsened under the leadership of Iraq's new ruler, President Abd al-Salam Arif. To Moscow's dismay, the Arif government continued, if not increased, a policy of persecuting the ICP and even murdered the head of the party, Hussein al-Radi. Moscow publicly condemned what it called the "bloody terror" against communists in Iraq, including Radi's murder, and even labeled the Baath regime "fascist." Moscow also publicly denounced a military campaign against Iraqi Kurds as "genocide," issued a formal complaint to Iraq's ambassador in Moscow, and protested Iraq's actions to its neighbors, including Iran, Turkey, and Syria. In response to Iraqi actions against both the ICP and its Kurdish community, the Soviet Union reduced economic and military assistance to Baghdad. In retaliation, Iraqi prime minister Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr attacked what he characterized as a "foreign propaganda campaign" and, while indicating a desire to maintain friendly relations with the Soviet Union, denounced what he regarded as attempts by Moscow to interfere in Iraq's domestic affairs.

This war of words between the Soviet Union and Iraq was indicative of the nature of their relationship. While Iraq welcomed Soviet economic and military support and assistance, it was determined to maintain complete independence from Moscow. Indeed, it never sought to become a close ally, or client, of the Soviet Union. As such, Iraq consistently refused to establish binding ties with the Soviet Union, such as the establishment of Soviet bases in the country or signing a mutual defense treaty. The Soviet Union, for its part, likely never had any illusions regarding its ability to influence, much less control, Iraq, and despite providing significant economic and military aid, it never regarded Iraq as a stable ally or in the same vein as it did Syria or Egypt.

As the military campaign against the Kurds stalled and the persecution of the ICP subsided, relations between the Soviet Union and Iraq improved, as evinced by the first visit to Moscow by Iraqi government officials in 1966 and the warm Soviet response to Iraq's recognition of Kurdish national and linguistic rights. But Arif died in a helicopter crash in 1966, and his brother Abd al-Rahman Arif's ascension to power was short-lived. He was overthrown by the Baath Party on July 17, 1968, which had earlier split with Arif's regime when Arif ended his support and alliance with the Baath Party and by 1963 had removed all Baath officials from the government.

It was not until the Socialist Baath Party seized power in 1968 that Soviet-Iraq relations became closer. Indeed, the period 1968–1975 can be regarded as the high point of Iraqi-Soviet relations. In 1972 the two powers signed a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation but, reflective of Iraq's desire to retain its independence, the treaty did not include any military obligations, nor was it a military alliance. In any case, seeking to modernize and also increase its military power, Iraq received considerable quantities of weapons from the Soviet Union. By the late 1970s, however, relations cooled again as Iraq's economic wealth increased, owing to the sharp rise in oil prices. That in turn allowed Iraq to be less dependent on the Soviet Union and brought closer relations with the West, particularly France. Iraq's ties to France soon eclipsed those with Moscow, and Iraq began placing substantial arms orders with the French.

Relations between Moscow and Baghdad became increasingly strained because of renewed suppression of the ICP, Iraqi denunciation of the Soviet Union's recognition of Israel, and disputes over the larger Arab-Israeli conflict. The 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was another cause of friction between the two governments.

Iraqi-Soviet ties did not markedly improve after Vice President Saddam Hussein assumed the presidency of Iraq in 1979. When Hussein took Iraq into war with Iran on September 22, 1980, Moscow did not denounce the invasion, but it did suspend military aid until 1982. At that point, with the war turning against Iraq, Baghdad promised to withdraw to its international border, but Moscow continued to call for a peaceful settlement of the conflict and offered to mediate an end to the war. At the same time, presumably disappointed with the poor level of Soviet support in its war with Iran, Iraq sought closer ties with the United States and even resumed diplomatic relations with Washington, D.C., in 1984, which had been suspended by Iraq as a consequence of the 1967 Six-Day War. For its part, alarmed at the possibility of an Iranian victory, the United States had begun providing covert military and intelligence support to Iraq as early as 1982.

After the end of the Iran-Iraq War in 1988, Iraqi-Soviet ties continued to deteriorate as the Soviet Union, preoccupied with its myriad economic and political problems, largely ignored Iraq and concentrated instead on domestic political and economic reforms. The Soviet Union condemned Iraq's August 2, 1990, invasion of Kuwait, and Moscow voted for United Nations (UN) Resolution 678, which authorized the employment of "all necessary means" to end the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. To appease Communist hard-liners, embattled Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev tried to negotiate a last-minute settlement to save Iraq from being invaded by a U.S.-led international military force, but the United States rejected the Soviet proposal. Moscow then watched as the U.S.-led international coalition routed Iraq's army in early 1991. On December 25, 1991, the Soviet Union dissolved.

STEFAN M. BROOKS

See also

Arif, Abd al-Salam; Baath Party; Baghdad Pact; Bakr, Ahmad Hassan al-; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Qasim, Abd al-Karim; Soviet-Afghanistan War; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy

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Iraq-Kuwait Diplomacy

See Kuwait-Iraq Diplomacy

Iraq Liberation Act

Legislation passed by the United States Congress to establish a program to support a transition to democracy in Iraq. The act was sponsored by Representative Benjamin A. Gilman (R-N.Y.) and passed by Congress on October 7, 1998. President William Jefferson Clinton signed the act into law on October 31, 1998.

The Iraq Liberation Act of 1998 (ILA) encapsulated sentiment on the part of Congress that the United States should support efforts to remove Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein from power and replace his regime with a democratic government. Enactment of the ILA coincided with growing tensions and frustrations within the international community during 1997–1998 over Iraq's continued failure to comply with United Nations (UN) resolutions mandating United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) inspections of suspected Iraqi nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons sites. Residual concerns and mistrust stemming from the 1991 Persian Gulf War and the Iraqi suppression of Kurdish and Shiite opposition factions within the country also contributed to the rising tensions.

The ILA evolved from two prior pieces of legislation, the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Fiscal Year 1998, and the Omnibus Consolidated and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Fiscal Year 1999. Both acts provided monetary assistance to identified democratic opposition groups in Iraq. Pursuant to the Fiscal Year 1998 act, the U.S. Department of State also submitted a report to Congress detailing plans to establish a program of assistance for Iraqi democratic opposition groups. In spite of doubts over democratic opposition capabilities, the ILA provided additional assistance and, more importantly, encapsulated Congress's wishes for Iraq's future.

The ILA first delineated the historical chronology of Iraqi actions from its invasion of Iran on September 22, 1980, to Iraqi obstruction of UNSCOM inspection efforts in 1998 and the U.S. response of financial assistance to democratic opposition groups. The descriptive chronology provided a supportive framework for the third section, and core, of the ILA: the articulation of Congress's sentiment that U.S. policy toward Iraq should entail the removal of President Saddam Hussein's regime and support of democratic tendencies within the country. To that end, the ILA authorized the president to grant broadcasting, military, and humanitarian assistance to certain Iraqi democratic opposition groups. Seed money in the amount of $2 million for Fiscal Year 1999 was provided for television and radio broadcasting. Military assistance included up to $97 million in defense material and services from the Department of Defense, as well as military education and training for these groups. However, a separate but significant section made it clear that beyond providing materials, services, and training, the ILA should not be considered as authorizing direct U.S. military force to effectuate regime change in Iraq. Finally, the ILA authorized humanitarian assistance for individuals living in areas of Iraq controlled by democratic opposition groups. A particular emphasis was placed on providing humanitarian assistance to refugees fleeing from areas controlled by the Hussein regime.

A restrictive clause in the ILA prohibited the provision of such assistance to any group actively cooperating with Hussein's regime at the time when such assistance was to be provided, but Congress proceeded further in a separate section to clearly set out criteria to determine which opposition groups were eligible to receive assistance under the ILA. A number of religious and secular opposition groups had emerged in Iraq, and Congress wished to ensure assistance was provided to appropriate groups in accordance with congressional intent. Thus, Congress restricted presidential authorization of assistance to only those organizations composed of a diverse array of Iraqi individuals or groups opposed to Hussein's regime, with a corresponding commitment to democratic values, human rights, peace within the region, Iraq's territorial integrity, and the cultivation of cooperation among all democratic opposition groups. The ILA further urged the president to make an appeal to the United Nations to establish a war crimes tribunal for Iraq. Finally, the ILA contemplated additional U.S. support and assistance for democratic Iraqi parties when Hussein lost power in Iraq.

President Clinton signed the ILA into law the same day Iraq ceased all cooperation with UNSCOM. Six weeks later, beginning on December 16, 1998, the United States and Great Britain responded by launching Operation DESERT FOX, an air-strike campaign to degrade Iraqi command centers, airfields, and missile installations. The ILA and DESERT FOX served as further steps in the evolving U.S. policy toward Iraq. It took only a short step from there to reach a revised policy of active and direct regime change in Iraq after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

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See also

Clinton, William Jefferson; DESERT FOX, Operation; United Nations Special Commission; United Nations Weapons Inspectors

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Iraq National Museum

The Iraq National Museum is the nation's premier museum of archaeological holdings and perhaps one of the largest collections of antiquities in the Middle East. It is located in Baghdad. The Iraq National Museum's most notable and valuable holdings involve collections from the Mesopotamian period (ca. 5000 BCE to 600 BCE). The museum, first known as the Baghdad Archaeological Museum, originated about 1926, when noted British author and archaeologist Gertrude Bell began assembling artifacts in Baghdad at the royal palace. The actual museum was not opened to the public until 1932.

Over the years, the British and Iraqis continued to add to the museum's collections. By the 1980s, it boasted the largest collection of Mesopotamian artifacts in the world, spread out among 28 vaults and galleries. Just prior to the Persian Gulf War, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein ordered the museum closed in order to protect it from the pending invasion. In reality, however, Hussein for years had restricted museum visitations to his personal friends and others who had been vetted by his security apparatus. The facility was finally "reopened" in April 2000 in celebration of Hussein's birthday, but access continued to be severely restricted. Many Iraqis cynically referred to the museum as "Saddam's personal treasure chest."

During both Operation DESERT STORM (1991) and Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (2003), allied war planes assiduously avoided bombing too close to the Iraq National Museum. However, in the immediate aftermath of the March 2003 invasion, the museum fell victim to looters, who carted off thousands of priceless relics and artifacts. The trouble began in early April, when Iraqi troops engaged allied forces from within the museum compound. Reluctant to go after the Iraqis for fear of damaging or destroying the museum, U.S. and coalition forces essentially left the museum in the hands of the Iraqis.

The looting and burglaries took place sometime between April 8 and April 12, 2003, during which time there were no museum staff members on hand. The looters took priceless objects and manuscripts from common areas, galleries, storage areas, and vaults. The looting was likely perpetrated by, or at least took advantage of, individuals with some in-depth knowledge of the collections and their worth, but more than 3,100 archaeological site pieces (vessels, jars, pottery remnants, etc.) went missing. Because of the artifacts' uniqueness, any looters who attempted to sell them would have quickly been identified as thieves. In total, an astounding 17,000 items had been taken in just four days. Some were large items, such as friezes, busts, and statues, but most were much smaller, although no less noteworthy or valuable. Thousands of manuscripts were also stolen.

Many other Iraqi institutions were looted as well, including the National Archives (Dar al-Kutub); the Ministry of Awqaf (religious endowments), the collections of which had been packed up for safety but were promptly looted upon their return; and the Iraqi Academy of Sciences.

The reaction to the museum looting was one of lament and outrage. The United States was heavily criticized around the world for failing to prevent the looting by simply providing protection. Museum curators and archaeologists from virtually every corner of the globe argued that the thefts represented a great and incalculable loss of the world's historical heritage and hastened to try to reconstruct lists of the museum's holdings. The museum looting was one of the earliest adverse effects of the decision by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, which ran contrary to every time-tested rule of sound military planning, to restrict U.S. troop levels to the minimum levels possible and to ignore completely post-conflict tasks and requirements. The Pentagon dismissed such criticism, arguing that such events are often uncontrollable in a wartime situation. Rumsfeld shrugged off the Baghdad looting as "untidiness." When pressed, he claimed that the museum looting did not indicate any "deficit" in the U.S. plan to overthrow Hussein and occupy Iraq. Subsequent events have proved otherwise.

In the immediate aftermath of the museum looting, the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) sent agents to Iraq to try to track down the stolen objects. In Paris on April 17, 2003, archaeological and museum experts from around the world met in an emergency meeting convened by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to assess the damage and devise ways to track down the missing treasures.

The director of the Iraqi National Museum rummages through papers with the hope of recovering museum documents following the 2003 looting of the museum by Iraqis in the wake of the overthrow of Saddam Hussein by U.S.-led forces. (U.S. Department of Defense)

The following day, the Baghdad Museum Project was established in the United States. Still in operation today, the organization is dedicated to locating and retrieving the looted museum pieces.

By mid-May 2003, American officials announced that some 700 objects and 40,000 manuscript pages had been recovered. Some looters returned the objects themselves, encouraged by monetary rewards and promises that they would not be prosecuted. While a fair portion of the thousands of items looted from the Iraqi museum has now been recovered, a great many are still unaccounted for. The Iraqi Academy of Sciences lost about 80 percent of its holdings, while libraries and universities all over the country have been destroyed or divested of their holdings, laboratories, and other equipment. The international condemnation of this destruction remains a powerful symbol of the inadequacy of American war planning during the Iraq War.

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See also

Baghdad; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Mesopotamia; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

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Iraq Sanctions Act of 1990

On November 5, 1990, the United States enacted the Iraq Sanctions Act of 1990 (Public Law 101-513; H.R. 5114) in response to the invasion and occupation of Kuwait by Iraq that began on August 2, 1990. Among other things, the act imposed on the government of Iraq sweeping economic sanctions and a trade embargo on most imports and exports.

In the Iraq Sanctions Act, the U.S. Congress supported the actions taken by the president in response to the invasion of Kuwait, called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from that country, supported the efforts of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to end the violation of international law and threat to peace, supported the imposition and enforcement of multinational sanctions against Iraq, called upon allies and other countries to support the UNSC resolutions to help bring about the end of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, and condemned the Iraqi violations of Kuwaiti human rights associated with the occupation, including mass arrests, torture, summary executions, rapes, pillaging, and mass extrajudicial killings.

The Iraq Sanctions Act also continued the trade embargo and economic sanctions that were imposed upon Iraq and Kuwait following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990 (as they were enumerated in Executive Orders 12722 and 12723 [August 2, 1990] and 12724 and 12725 [August 9, 1990]). Consistent with UNSC Resolution 666, foodstuffs or payment for foodstuffs for humanitarian assistance were exempt from the embargo.

The sanctions applied to Iraq included the following goods and services: foreign military sales; commercial arms sales; exports of certain goods and technology; nuclear equipment, materials, and technology; assistance from international financial institutions; assistance through the Import-Export Bank; assistance through the commodity credit corporation; and all forms of foreign assistance other than emergency humanitarian assistance.

Two members of a boarding team from the U.S. Navy guided-missile destroyer *Goldsborough* disembark from the Iraqi merchant vessel *Zanoobia* after a preliminary inspection of the ship's cargo, December 1991. The *Goldsborough* was part of the Maritime Interdiction Force (MIF), a multinational force organized at the start of Operation DESERT SHIELD in 1990 to enforce U.S. trade sanctions against Iraq. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Under the Iraq Sanctions Act, the United States denied funds from the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and Arms Export Control Act to any country that did not comply with UNSC sanctions against Iraq, unless those funds promoted the interest of the United States, assisted needy people in Iraq, or helped foreign nationals who were fleeing Iraq and Kuwait. In addition, the Iraq Sanctions Act authorized penalties of $25,000 to $1,000,000 on individuals or corporations who deliberately evaded Executive Orders 12722, 12723, 12724, and 12725.

The Iraq Sanctions Act stated that Iraq violated the charter of the United Nations and other international treaties. It described Iraq's abysmal human rights record and referenced Iraq's history of summary executions, mass political killings, disappearances, widespread use of torture, arbitrary arrests, prolonged detention, deportation, and denial of nearly all civil and human rights. In addition, it highlighted Iraq's repression of the Kurdish people, cited its use of chemical weapons, and named it a state sponsor of terrorism. Congress sought multilateral cooperation to deny potentially dangerous technology transfers to Iraq and to encourage the country to improve its human rights record.

Under the act, the president retained the right to waive the sanctions if there were fundamental changes to Iraqi policies and actions, or if there were fundamental changes in Iraqi leadership and policies. The president was also required to consult fully with, and report periodically to, Congress, to transmit new regulations before they went into effect, and to advise Congress of his intentions at least 15 days before terminating the embargo.

The sanctions were originally viewed as a nonviolent, diplomatic mechanism to apply pressure to the regime in Iraq. The sanctions achieved some, but not all, of the intended policy goals, but they also negatively affected the civilian population of Iraq. Over the next decade, members of the international community questioned the legitimacy and purpose of the sanctions, given the widespread human suffering in Iraq. According to some, the sanctions were the most damaging part of the Persian Gulf War.

As part of the Iraq Sanctions Act, the United States also supported the UN sanctions on Iraq. Indeed, the U.S. and UN sanctions resulted in a near-total embargo on Iraq, but they did not succeed in creating fundamental change in Iraq's policies, removing Saddam Hussein from power, or ending Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (WMD) programs.

The main criticism of the sanctions is that they had little impact on regime behavior, yet the civilian population suffered immensely. Under the sanctions, Iraq could not export oil (its

primary source of wealth), and its imports were dramatically reduced. Food and medicine were permissible imports, but fertilizer, pesticide, livestock, seeds, dual-use chemicals (including many medicines and vaccines), agricultural machinery, books, journals, and parts for electrical and water purification systems were banned. As a result, there was widespread malnutrition and disease in Iraq. Infant mortality rates increased dramatically to the highest levels in over 40 years. Estimated numbers of deaths related to the sanctions are disputed, but the UN estimates that over 1 million Iraqis died because of the sanctions. Children were disproportionately affected.

The devastating humanitarian suffering led the United Nations to create the Oil-for-Food Programme (UNSC Resolution 986), which allowed Iraq to sell limited quantities of oil in order to meet the population's humanitarian needs. The program was established in April 1995, but oil was not exported until December 1996, and the first shipment of food did not arrive in Iraq until March 1997. The Oil-for-Food Programme eased, but did not eliminate, the human suffering in Iraq, a good bit of which, however, was the direct result of President Saddam Hussein's policies.

The U.S.-imposed sanctions continued until the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. On May 7, 2003, after the Hussein regime had been toppled, President George W. Bush suspended the Iraq Sanctions Act of 1990. On May 22, 2003, the United Nations passed UNSC Resolution 1483, which lifted its sanctions on Iraq.

Alison Lawlor

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Iraq, Sanctions on; Oil; United Nations

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Iraq Study Group

A bipartisan commission empowered by the United States Congress on March 15, 2006, to examine and analyze the situation in Iraq following the March 2003 invasion of that country and to recommend courses of action to curb the insurgency and end sectarian strife there. The Iraq Study Group was chaired by former secretary of state James Baker III and former U.S. representative Lee Hamilton. Also known as the Baker-Hamilton Commission, the group consisted of five Democrats and five Republicans and was aided in its work by the United States Institute of Peace. In addition to Baker, the other Republicans on the commission included Edwin Meese III (former U.S. attorney general); Lawrence Eagleburger (former secretary of state); Sandra Day O'Connor (former U.S. Supreme Court justice); and Alan K. Simpson (former U.S. senator from Wyoming). The Democrats, in addition to Hamilton, included Leon Panetta (former chief of staff to President Bill Clinton); Charles Robb (former U.S. senator from Virginia); Vernon Jordan (informal adviser to Bill Clinton); and William J. Perry (former secretary of defense). The group's final report was issued on December 6, 2006. During its deliberations, however, it maintained contact with the George W. Bush administration, and in particular with National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley.

Creation of the Baker-Hamilton Commission was prompted by the steadily increasing violence in Iraq, which had continued to result in casualties and deaths to U.S. soldiers and Iraqi military personnel as well as civilians. By early 2006, the situation on the ground was growing ever more dire, and it was clear that U.S. public support for the war was eroding at an alarming rate. Although much congressional disapproval toward the war came from the Democratic ranks, an increasing number of Republicans were also questioning the conflict and the Bush administration's handling of it. With critical midterm congressional elections in the offing, many in Congress believed the time had come to reassess the situation in Iraq and assert congressional authority over the conduct of the war there. In public, the Bush White House voiced its approval of the commission, welcoming its bipartisanship, and appeared reassured that the group was being cochaired by James Baker. At the same time, the White House stated that it would not be beholden to the commission's recommendations if these were deemed antithetical to American interests. Privately, however, there was considerably more consternation about the Iraq Study Group, and on several occasions White House officials allegedly clashed with commission members over their recommendations. In mid-November, about three weeks before the commission's report was released, President Bush and key members of his national security team met with the group so that it could question them about specific details and give them a preview of the report to come. Just prior to that, the commission had also met with British prime minister Tony Blair, the Bush administration's primary ally in the war in Iraq.

Several U.S. news magazines and other media outlets reported that there was considerable contention among the members of the Baker-Hamilton Commission. Some of these conflicts centered on different philosophies toward national security policy and the implementation of Middle East policy, while others involved the Bush administration's opposition to key recommendations. Among the recommendations was the group's position that the United States should engage in discussions with Iran and Syria to stem the external influences on the Iraqi insurgency. The White

House was adamantly opposed to this idea, and squabbling among the commission's members on this point nearly led to a deadlocked conclusion. Nevertheless, consensus was reached, and the commission's report was issued on December 6, 2006. It offered 79 specific recommendations. The timing was crucial, as the Republicans had just lost control of Congress in the November elections, and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, a chief architect of the Iraq War, had been recently forced to resign. The White House stated, for the first time, that new approaches to the war were needed, but it also let it be known that it would not implement all of the commission's recommendations.

The report stated clearly that the situation in Iraq was grave and deteriorating rapidly. It also criticized the Pentagon for having underreported the sectarian violence in Iraq and underreporting the number of Iraqi casualties. It went on to suggest that the Iraqi government must quickly ramp up the number of Iraqi soldiers and accelerate their training. During this time, the United States should increase significantly its troop presence in Iraq to enable the Iraqis to take over their own affairs. Once that was accomplished, U.S. troops should be withdrawn rapidly from the country. The report was careful not to suggest a timetable for these developments, however, which the Bush administration had been on record as strongly opposing. The report also called for the United States to engage in a dialogue with the Syrians, Iranians, and other regional groups that might lead to their assistance in curbing the Iraqi insurgency. The commission hoped to see gradual, phased U.S. troop withdrawals beginning in 2007 and a complete withdrawal by the end of 2008. Overall, the commission's report was well received, both in the United States and abroad.

In the end, the Bush administration did not follow many of the report's prescriptions. In early 2007, the White House announced its surge strategy, which saw the insertion of as many as 30,000 additional U.S. troops in Iraq.

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See also

Baker, James Addison, III; Bush, George Walker; Iraqi Insurgency; United States Congress and the Iraq War

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Irhabi 007

Birth Date: 1984

Al Qaeda Internet propagandist and terrorist Yunis Tsouli was born in 1984 in Morocco, the son of a low-level diplomat; little is known about the circumstances of his birth or early years. About 2003 he was a student in London, studying information technology. Irhabi (meaning "terrorist" in Arabic) 007 was one of Tsouli's numerous aliases, and one that he often favored while conducting Internet transactions. It is believed that the "007" is a reference to the code name of Ian Fleming's fictitious British spy James Bond.

In 2003 Tsouli began posting graphic images on the Internet designed to glorify terrorist extremists and denigrate Westerners. He also published an online "how-to" book on computer hacking and began to plan cyber attacks on high-profile Web sites in Great Britain. Gradually, he became well known among international terrorist organizations, including Al Qaeda, and began posting film clips of assassinations and murders recorded by various groups involved in the Iraqi insurgency. His Internet work, funded in part by Al Qaeda, was seen increasingly as a powerful propaganda tool for terrorist groups.

By 2005 Tsouli's Internet handiwork included the posting of how-to guides for assembling suicide bombs and other explosive devices. By the summer of 2005, Tsouli was openly taunting the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Britain's M16, and other law enforcement and intelligence services, positing that they would "never" be able to apprehend him.

Following the July 2005 London terrorist bombings, Tsouli reveled in the mayhem they caused, writing on his Web site "I am very happy." By the end of that summer, Tsouli was essentially running Muntada al-Ansar al-Islami, a computer Web forum used by more than 4,000 Islamic extremists around the world to communicate with one another and share information. Through the forum he also disseminated Al Qaeda propaganda and recruited suicide bombers. By the autumn of 2005, the CIA and M16 were well familiar with Tsouli's work but as yet were unable to track him down or learn his true identity.

Meanwhile, Tsouli had also begun stealing identities and credit card numbers online by hacking Web sites and using the stolen card numbers to purchase Web-hosting services. It is estimated that he used at least 72 stolen credit card numbers to buy such products. The CIA and M16 expended hundreds of hours tracking Tsouli and his jihadist accomplices online.

In mid-October 2005 a known terrorist with ties to Tsouli was arrested in Sarajevo. When authorities searched the man's computer, they found links to Tsouli, which for the first time provided a firm identity for him. Further analysis showed that the arrested terrorist had called Tsouli numerous times on his cell phone, which helped M16 locate Tsouli. British officials finally arrested him in his home in Shepherds Bush, in London, on October 21, 2005.

Following several weeks' worth of investigation and analysis of Tsouli's computers, they discovered the full extent of his involvement in cyberspace terrorism. He was soon charged under the Terrorism Act of 2000 for conspiracy to murder by explosion, conspiracy to receive money by deception, and fund-raising for known terrorist organizations.

Tsouli's high-profile trial began in May 2007. Prosecutors emphasized Tsouli's great ability to use and manipulate computer technology, his "flair for marketing," and his skill in posting images and information on the Internet that were at once easily accessed but difficult to get rid of. Tried with two co-conspirators, Tsouli was found guilty in July 2007. He received 10 years' imprisonment for his crimes, but upon an appellate review, a British court increased his sentence in December 2007 to 16 years in prison. Tsouli's actions showcased the ability of terrorist organizations to use the Internet to further their own causes with relative impunity, and with minimal expense. They also proved that the Global War on Terror would have to take into account virtual, as well as actual, terrorism.

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See also

Al Qaeda; Global War on Terror; Iraqi Insurgency; Terrorism

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Islamic Dawa Party

Iraqi Shia political party founded in 1958 by junior Islamic clerics (*ulama*), merchants, and religious intellectuals in the Shiite holy city of Najaf. The party sought to achieve a staged implementation of an Islamic governing system based on Islamic law. The party's name in Arabic, Hizb al-Da'wah al-Islamiyyah, translates roughly as the "Islamic Call Party." The Arabic word *dawa* in this context refers to "call" or "invitation" in the religious missionary sense. The party's founding council included several Shiite clerics who would rise to prominence in later decades, including Muhammad Mahdi al-Hakim and Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim, sons of Grand Ayatollah Muhsin al-Hakim, the preeminent Shiite religious scholar in Iraq from 1955 until his death in 1970.

Baqir al-Hakim founded the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (recently renamed the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council) in 1982 while in exile in Tehran, Iran, with the support of Grand Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and the Iranian revolutionary government. The Dawa Party's unofficial religious guide was Ayatollah Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr (1935–1980), an activist Iraqi cleric, a noted Islamic thinker and author, and a student of Muhsin al-Hakim. Subsequently, many Dawa Party members were arrested, imprisoned, and killed by Iraqi Baathists, and hundreds of others went into self-imposed exile in Iran, the Persian Gulf states, and Europe. Some returned to Iraq in 2003 following the overthrow of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein and his Baath Party in the spring of 2003.

Baqir al-Sadr was a prolific writer who penned numerous books on subjects ranging from Islamic economics and philosophy to the establishment of an Islamic state and is probably best known for an early two-volume work on Islamic economics. His ideas influenced the formation of the Islamic state in Iran, and he was known as the "Khomeini of Iraq." He also wrote several textbooks on Islamic jurisprudence and Qur'anic hermeneutics, which remain classics in modern Shiite thought and are still used in Shiite and even Sunni seminaries today. His theory of *wilayat al-ummah* (governance or authority of the people) and proposals for a four-stage implementation of an Islamic system of governance were the basis of the Dawa Party's founding political platform.

In the first stage of this process, Islamic principles and ideas would be spread by Dawa members to build party membership and create a viable political constituency. In the second stage, once it had laid this groundwork, the party would enter the political realm and seek to build up its power and influence. The third stage would witness the party removing the ruling secular elite from power. In the final stage, triumphant Dawa members would establish an Islamic system of government in which clerics would play a substantial role but would not govern day-to-day affairs.

Baqir al-Sadr broke formal ties with the party in 1961 at the insistence of his teacher, Grand Ayatollah Hakim, because affiliation with the party would have compromised Sadr's scholarly status; clerics were to remain at least somewhat separate from political parties. However, he reportedly maintained ties to the party and continued to serve as a *marja,* or spiritual leader, to Dawa members. Sadr was executed because of his political activism in April 1980, along with his sister Amina bint Haydar al-Sadr (also known as Bint al-Huda), on the direct orders of Saddam Hussein.

The Dawa Party expanded its membership between 1958 and 1963, taking advantage of a series of military coups beginning with the overthrow of the Hashemite monarchy in 1958 by Abd al-Karim Qasim. During his tenure of office, the Dawa Party competed with secular Iraqi political parties, such as the Iraqi Communist Party, that were gaining ground among Iraqi youths, including many Shia. The growing number of Iraqi Shiite activists came under increasing pressure during the 1960s, and the detachment of the senior Shiite *ulama* from politics convinced these activists that an alternative to the religious elite was needed to achieve their political goals. The party recruited in Najaf, at Baghdad University, and in the Thawra slum of Baghdad, later known as Saddam City (and now Sadr City).

The Baath Party's seizure of power in July 1968 marked a new chapter in the relationship between the Dawa Party and the central Iraqi government. In April 1969 Grand Ayatollah Hakim refused to issue a fatwa (juridical opinion) in support of Iraqi president and Baath Party chief Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr in his dispute with Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran over control of the Shatt al-Arab waterway. Angered, Bakr cracked down on Shiite political,

social, and religious institutions. In response, Hakim issued a fatwa prohibiting Muslims from joining the Baath Party. Hakim's death in 1970 led to a split within the Iraqi Shia, with political activists looking to Baqir al-Sadr and political quietists following Ayatollah Abu al-Qasim al-Khoi, another student of Hakim's.

Baath suppression of the Dawa Party continued in the 1970s. Hundreds of party members were arrested, imprisoned, tortured, and even executed. Despite increasing government pressure, Baqir al-Sadr continued to call for activism against the ruling Baath regime. In 1977 the government banned religious processions commemorating Ashura, a 10-day period of mourning that commemorates the martyrdom of the third Shiite imam, Hussein bin Ali, and his companions at Karbala in October 680 during the Islamic month of Muharram. Hundreds of Shia were arrested for ignoring the ban. Shortly before the arrest of Baqir al-Sadr and his sister Amina, a decree was issued by new Iraqi president Saddam Hussein that sentenced all members of the Dawa Party to death for treason. Following Baqir al-Sadr's execution, hundreds of Dawa members fled abroad to escape Baathist suppression. During their two decades in exile, party members participated in the Committee for Collection Action and the Iraqi National Congress, two major Iraqi exile political coalitions.

The exiled Dawa Party leadership and many members returned to Iraq following the U.S.- and British-led invasion during the spring of 2003. Along with the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council, the Dawa Party was a key ally of the American, British, and coalition forces and it held seats on the Iraqi Governing Council, an advisory body set up following the collapse of the Baath Party government. Dawa Party secretary-general Ibrahim al-Jafari served as the interim prime minister from April 2005 to May 2006.

After losing the political backing of the U.S. government and, more importantly, key Iraqi Shia leaders including Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, Jafari was replaced as prime minister and Dawa secretary-general by Nuri (Jawad) al-Maliki, also a Dawa adherent, in May 2006.

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See also

Baath Party; Hakim, Muhammad Baqir al-; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Jafari, Ibrahim al-; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Qasim, Abd al-Karim; Shia Islam; Sistani, Sayyid Ali Husayn al-; Sunni Islam; Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council

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Islamic Jihad, Palestinian

A militant nationalist Palestinian group, Harakat al-Jihad al-Islami fi Filastin, known as the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), was established by Fathi Shiqaqi, Sheikh Abd al-Aziz al-Awda, and others in the Gaza Strip during the 1970s. Several different factions identified with the name Islamic Jihad, including the Usrat al-Jihad (founded in 1948); the Detachment of Islamic Jihad, associated with the Abu Jihad contingent of Fatah; the Islamic Jihad Organization al-Aqsa Battalions, founded by Sheikh Asad Bayyud al-Tamimi in Jordan in 1982; Tanzim al-Jihad al-Islami, led by Ahmad Muhanna; and several non-Palestinian groups. This has caused much confusion over the years. Also, the PIJ movement portrayed itself as being a part of a jihadi continuum rather than a distinct entity.

While in Egypt in the 1970s, Shiqaqi, al-Awda, and the current director-general of the PIJ, Ramadan Abdullah Shallah, embraced an Islamist vision similar to the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. But they rejected the moderation forced on that organization by the Egyptian government's aim of political participation in tandem with *dawa* (proselytizing and education). The Palestinian group distinguished itself from secular nationalists and antinationalist Islamists in calling for grassroots organization and armed struggle to liberate Palestine as part of the Islamic solution.

Shiqaqi returned to Palestinian territory, and the PIJ began to express its intent to wage jihad (holy war) against Israel. Israeli sources claim that the PIJ developed the military apparatus known as the Jerusalem Brigades (Saraya al-Quds) by 1985, and this organization carried out attacks against the Israeli military, including an attack known as Operation Gate of Moors at an induction ceremony in 1986. The PIJ also claimed responsibility for the suicide bombing in Beit Led, near Netanya, Israel, on January 22, 1994. In the attack, 19 Israelis were killed and another 60 injured.

Shiqaqi spent a year in jail in the early 1980s and then in 1986 was jailed for two more years. He was deported to Lebanon along with al-Awda in April 1988. The PIJ established an office in Damascus, Syria, and began support and services in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon.

Shallah had meanwhile completed a doctorate at the University of Durham, served as the editor of a journal of the World and Islam Studies Enterprise, and taught briefly at the University of South Florida. When Shiqaqi was assassinated by unidentified agents (allegedly from Mossad, Israel's intelligence agency) in Malta in 1995, Shallah returned to lead the PIJ. His Florida associations led to the trials of Sami Al-Arian, Imam Fawaz Damra, and others who allegedly supported the PIJ in the United States.

The PIJ emerged prior to Hamas. The organizations were rivals, despite the commonality of their nationalist perspectives, but Hamas gained a much larger popular following than the PIJ, whose estimated support is only 4–5 percent of the Palestinian population in the territories. The PIJ has a following among university students at the Islamic University in Gaza and other colleges and became very active in the Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada, or Second Intifada, which began in September 2000.

In Lebanon, the organization competes with Fatah, the primary and largest political faction in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Like Hamas and secular nationalist groups known as the Palestinian National Alliance, the PIJ rejected the 1993 Oslo Accords and demanded a full Israeli withdrawal from Palestinian lands. The group has a following among Palestinian refugees and at Ain Hilweh, a Palestinian camp in Lebanon, but also suffers from the political fragmentation of Palestinian and Islamist organizations there.

The Palestinian National Authority (PNA) closed down a publication sympathetic to the PIJ but eventually allowed it to reopen. In June 2003, under significant international pressure, Syria closed PIJ and Hamas offices in Damascus, and Shallah left for Lebanon. He later returned to Syria.

In the Palestinian territories, the PIJ continues to differ with Hamas. Hamas ceased attacks against Israel beginning in 2004 and successfully captured a majority in the Palestinian elections of January 2006. Hamas moderates are also considering the recognition of Israel and a two-state solution. The PIJ, in contrast, called for Palestinians to boycott the 2006 elections and refused any accommodation with Israel. It continued to sponsor suicide attacks after 2004 in retaliation for Israel's military offensives and targeted killings of PIJ leaders, including Louay Saadi in October 2005. The PIJ claimed responsibility for two suicide attacks in that year.

Israeli authorities continue to highlight Iranian-PIJ links. They cite Shiqaqi's early publication of a pamphlet that praised Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini for the 1979 Islamic revolution based on Sharia (Islamic law) and for recognizing the Palestinian cause. And an intercepted PNA security briefing has led the Israelis to assert that the PIJ continues to rely on Syrian support and Iranian funding.

Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Fatah; Hamas; Intifada, Second; Jihad; Muslim Brotherhood; Palestine Liberation Organization

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Islamic Radicalism

This term is used to describe radical movements, organizations, and parties that, regardless of doctrinal and political differences, promote and legitimize their political objectives by invoking Islam. A radical is an individual who espouses extreme views and seeks major, if not revolutionary, change in government and society and often favors illegal means, including violence, to promote such change.

Islamic radicals, also known as Islamic fundamentalists, espouse a literal interpretation of Islam and Sharia (Islamic law) and favor the establishment of an Islamic state based on that law. They share these goals with Islamists, who are sometimes incorrectly deemed radicals, since not all support revolutionary means for Islamization. Some claim that Islamic radicals eschew Western ideas and values, including secularism, democracy, and religious tolerance and pluralism. However, this is untrue of many who value Western ideas but not existing morals in Western society. To certain extreme Islamic radicals, governments and laws that are based on anything but their interpretation of Islam are considered heretical. These radicals feel bound to impose their values on others, and even, if possible, to overthrow heretical governments.

Al Qaeda, the Taliban, the Armed Islamic Group of Algeria, the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat of Algeria, Laskar Jihad, and Egyptian Islamic Jihad are some of the better-known radical Islamic groups. Others, such as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt have forsworn violence and imposing change on others, and are thus less radical. Hezbollah and Hamas have employed violence against Israelis.

Some Islamic radical groups are Shia, and some are Sunni movements. Iran, one of the few countries with a majority Shia population, is an example of a radical Islamic state, but radical Shia movements also exist in Iraq, Yemen, and the Gulf States.

The origins of Islamic radicalism are threefold. First, although the Islamic world was once a great and powerful civilization, beginning in the eleventh century with the Crusades, followed by Ottoman rule and then European colonial rule after World War I, it has been in decline, eclipsed, and in its own view, dominated and exploited by the West. This view is also shared by Bernard Lewis and other such Western thinkers as Samuel Huntington, but many Muslims argue that the reason for the domination and

exploitation is their own fault—that Muslims abandoned jihad in its fighting form and must now return to it. Second, other movements, like nationalism and socialism, failed to bring about a better political solution, and Muslims sought out Islamist or radical Islamic groups as an alternative. Third, many Muslims have come to regard the West, and particularly the United States, with contempt for its alleged social, moral, and economic decadence. They also see that while preaching democracy, the Western powers have supported the very authoritarian governments that oppress them.

To Islamic radicals, the Islamic world has lost its way because it has forsaken Islamic values, amalgamated Western and Islamic law, and transposed foreign cultures onto its own peoples. Accordingly, the solution for the revival of Islamic civilization is a return to an allegedly authentic or purified Islamic way of life. Islamic radicalism is thus, in many ways, an explicit rejection of the current ills of Muslim society. Certain, but not all, Islamic radicals thus seek to overthrow the regimes and rulers they regard as un-Islamic, and some of these are supported by the West and the United States, such as those in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, and Kuwait. Islamic radicals were responsible for the overthrow in 1979 of the pro-American Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi Iran and the assassination two years later of President Anwar Sadat of Egypt. They have also been responsible for myriad terror attacks against Western interests, including the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States that killed some 3,000 people.

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See also

Al Qaeda; Global War on Terror; Hamas; Hezbollah; Iran; Jihad; Muslim Brotherhood; Reza Pahlavi, Mohammad; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam; Taliban; Terrorism

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Islamic Virtue Party of Iraq

See Fadhila Party

Israel

Israel, the world's only Jewish nation, has an area of some 8,019 square miles and a 2008 population of about 7.1 million people. It is bordered by the Mediterranean Sea to the west, Lebanon to the north, Jordan and Syria to the east, and Egypt to the southwest. Its government is a parliamentary-style democracy, and the country boasts an advanced Western-style economy.

During World War I, in order to secure Jewish support for the war, the British government in 1917 issued the Balfour Declaration. Named for Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour, it announced British support for the "establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." At the same time, however, in order to secure Arab support against the Turks, the British government promised support for establishment of an Arab state.

In 1920 Britain and France divided up the Middle Eastern possessions of the Ottoman Empire as League of Nations mandates. Great Britain secured Palestine and Iraq. In 1922 Britain split Palestine into two; the area east of the Jordan River became Trans-Jordan, and the land west of the river retained the name Palestine.

A number of Jews had already arrived in Palestine and settled there, purchasing Arab lands. Following World War I, the number of Jews grew substantially, and the Arabs saw themselves becoming a marginalized minority in their own land. In response to continuing Jewish immigration, sporadic Arab attacks against Jews as well as British officials in Palestine occurred, escalating into the so-called Arab Revolt of 1936–1939.

At the same time, militant Jewish groups began to agitate against what they saw as restrictive British immigration policies for Jews in Palestine. Armed Zionist groups carried out actions against the British administration in Palestine, and a three-way struggle emerged that pitted the British against both militant Arabs and Jews. Amid sharply increased violence, the British government attempted a delicate balancing act, made more difficult by the need to secure Arab (and Jewish) support against Germany and Italy in World War II.

The Holocaust, the Nazi scheme to exterminate the Jews during World War II, resulted in the deaths of some 6 million Jews in Europe. During the war and immediately afterward, many of the survivors sought to immigrate to Israel. The Holocaust also created in the West a sense of moral obligation for the creation of a Jewish state, and it brought pressure on the British government to relax the prewar restrictive policies it had instituted regarding Jewish immigration into Palestine. At the same time, however, the Arabs of Palestine were adamantly opposed to an increase in the number of Jews in Palestine, or the creation there of a Jewish state.

Following World War II, as Jewish refugees sought to gain access to Palestine, many were forcibly turned away by the British. At the same time, the British government wrestled with partitioning Palestine into Arab and Jewish states. Unable to resolve these differences, in February 1947 Britain announced that it would turn the problem over to the United Nations (UN).

The UN developed a plan for partitioning Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish states. The city of Jerusalem was to be internationalized under the UN. Although at the time the Arab population in Palestine was 1.2 million people and the Jews numbered just 600,000, the UN plan approved by the General Assembly on November 29, 1947, granted the proposed Jewish state some 55 percent of the land and the Arab state only 45 percent. The Arab states rejected the partition plan, while the Jewish Agency in Palestine accepted it.

Immediately following the UN vote, militant Palestinian Arabs and foreign Arab fighters began attacks against Jewish communities in Palestine, beginning the Arab-Jewish Communal War (November 30, 1947–May 14, 1948). The United States, with the world's largest Jewish population, became the chief champion and most reliable ally of a Jewish state, a position that cost it dearly in its relations with the Arab world and greatly impacted subsequent geopolitics in the Middle East.

The British completed their pullout on May 14, 1948. That same day David Ben-Gurion, executive chairman and defense minister of the Jewish Agency, declared independence for the State of Israel. Ben-Gurion became the new state's first prime minister, a post he held during 1948–1953 and 1955–1963.

At first, the interests of the United States and those of the Soviet Union regarding the Jewish state converged. U.S. recognition of Israel came only shortly before that of the Soviet Union. Moscow found common ground with the Jews in their suffering at the hands of the Nazis in World War II and identified with the socialism espoused by the early Jewish settlers in Palestine, as well as their anti-British stance. The Cold War, the reemergence of official anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, and Moscow's desire to court the Arab states by supporting Arab nationalism against the West soon changed all that.

Immediately following the Israeli declaration of independence, the Arab armies of Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, and Iraq invaded, sparking the Israeli-Arab War (1948–1949), also known as the Israeli War of Independence. Jewish forces defeated the Arab armies, and a series of armistices in 1949 ended the war with Israel left in control of an additional 26 percent of the land of Mandate Palestine west of the Jordan River. Jordan, however, controlled large portions of Judea and Samaria, later known as the

Aftermath of the explosion of two trucks on Ben Yehuda Street, in the heart of the Jewish business district of Jerusalem, on February 2, 1948. The blasts killed 27 people and injured more than 100. (AP/Wide World Photos)

West Bank. The establishment of Israel and subsequent war also produced 600,000–700,000 Palestinian Arab refugees. Meanwhile, the Israelis set up the machinery of state. Israel's early years were dominated by the challenge of absorbing and integrating into society hundreds of thousands of Jewish immigrants from different parts of the world.

The 1949 cease-fires that ended the 1948–1949 war were not followed by peace agreements. The Arab states refused not only to recognize the existence of Israel but also to concede defeat in the war. Throughout most of the 1950s Israel suffered from repeated attacks and raids from neighboring Arab states as well as Palestinian Arab paramilitary and terrorist groups. Aggressive Israeli retaliation failed to stop them. Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser further increased tension between Israel and Egypt. Nasser built up the Egyptian military, supported cross-border raids into Israeli territory by so-called fedayeen (guerrilla fighters) from the Gaza Strip, and formed alliances with other Arab states.

In 1956 Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal. Israel joined France and Britain to develop a secret plan to topple Nasser and secure control of the canal. On October 29, 1956, Israeli forces invaded the Sinai peninsula and headed for the Suez Canal, providing the excuse for the British and the French to intervene. The U.S. government applied considerable pressure, and all three states agreed to withdraw. Israel was the clear winner. It secured the right to free navigation through the Suez Canal and on the waterways through the Straits of Tiran and Gulf of Aqaba. The UN also deployed a peacekeeping force along the border between Egypt and Israel.

Throughout the spring of 1967, Israel faced increasing attacks along its borders from Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), a quasi-terrorist organization created in 1964 to represent the Palestinian Arabs and coordinate efforts with Arab states to liberate Palestine. The PLO mounted cross-border attacks from Jordan. By May, war seemed imminent. With the Arab states mobilizing, on May 23 Egypt closed the Straits of Tiran and blockaded the Gulf of Aqaba, thereby cutting off the Israeli port of Eilat.

Fearing an imminent coordinated Arab attack, Israel launched a preemptive strike on June 5, 1967, which crippled the air forces of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Iraq. Having achieved air supremacy, Israel then easily defeated the armies of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria as well as Iraqi units. Five days later Israel occupied the Sinai and Gaza Strip from Egypt, the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria, doubling the size of the Jewish state and providing buffer zones in the new territories. In the wake of its military victory, Israel announced it would not withdraw from these captured territories until negotiations with the Arab states took place, leading to recognition of Israel's right to exist. Israel's military victory did not bring peace with its Arab neighbors, however. Humiliated by their defeat, the Arab states refused to negotiate with, recognize, or make peace with Israel.

In 1969 the War of Attrition began with Egypt shelling Israeli targets in the Sinai along the Suez Canal and Israel responding by launching retaliatory raids and air strikes. Nasser sought Soviet military aid and support, including surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). Israel's euphoria from its decisive 1967 victory had turned into disillusionment over rising Israeli casualties.

Following Nasser's death in September 1970, Anwar Sadat, Nasser's successor, became frustrated by the lack of progress in peace talks and initiated a new war. On October 6, 1973, during Yom Kippur, Egypt and Syria launched a surprise attack on Israel. Although both attacking powers enjoyed initial success and inflicted heavy casualties on Israeli forces, after regrouping and being resupplied by the United States, the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) turned back the Egyptians and Syrians and secured control of the Sinai and Golan Heights. Israel thus won the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War but only after heavy losses. Nevertheless, although Israel remained the dominant military power in the Middle East, the notion of Israeli invincibility had ended. The Yom Kippur War shook Israel's confidence and morale and proved costly in terms of lives. It also made Israel more economically dependent on the United States. Meanwhile, increasing acts of terrorism by the PLO focused world attention on the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian cause.

In May 1977 Israel's Likud Party ended the 29-year political reign of the Labor Party, and Menachem Begin became prime minister. Egyptian president Sadat shocked the world by announcing on November 9, 1977, his willingness to go to Jerusalem and meet with the Israelis face-to-face to negotiate peace. Accepting an invitation by Begin to visit, Sadat arrived in Israel on November 19, the first Arab head of state to do so, effectively recognizing Israel's right to exist. Although every other Arab state refused to negotiate with Israel, after two years of negotiations mediated by U.S. president Jimmy Carter, Egypt and Israel made peace on March 26, 1979. Per the Camp David Accords, Israel withdrew from the Sinai in exchange for Egypt's recognition of Israel. Discussions about the status of the Palestinians took place, but the parties never achieved any common ground.

On July 7 1981, the Israeli Air Force bombed the Iraqi nuclear reactor at Osiraq, thwarting Iraqi efforts to acquire nuclear weapons. The next year Israel reinvaded Lebanon, which had been experiencing a civil war since 1975, ostensibly to defend its northern border from terrorist attacks but also to expel the PLO from Lebanon, which it did by capturing the capital of Beirut and forcing the PLO to relocate to Tunisia. This had come at terrible human cost to Lebanese civilians, as well as great material destruction, and Israel failed to achieve its broad policy objectives of creating a stable, pro-Israeli government in Lebanon. In 1983 Begin resigned and was replaced by fellow Likud member Yitzhak Shamir. Israel withdrew from most of Lebanon in 1986 but maintained a buffer zone there until May 2000, when it surrendered that territory as well.

A major Palestinian uprising—the First Intifada—erupted in 1987 in the Israeli-occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and consumed much of Israel's military resources. In

Debris in the city of Tel Aviv following an Iraqi Scud missile attack. Eight Scuds were fired into Israel on January 18, 1991, injuring at least 10 people. In firing the Scuds at Israel, the Iraqis hoped to bring the Jewish state into the war, alienating the Arab coalition members. (AP/Wide World Photos)

1991, during the Persian Gulf War, Iraq targeted Israel with Scud intermediary-range missiles in an attempt to provoke an Israeli counterattack of Iraq and cause the Arab states to withdraw from the multinational U.S.-led coalition force. However, heavy U.S. pressure and the dispatch of U.S. Patriot anti-missile batteries to Israeli kept the Jewish state from retaliating.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991 and end of the Cold War resulted in an influx into Israel of more than 1 million Jews from the Soviet Union and its former satellites over the next 13 to 14 years. It also left many Arab states, previously allied with Moscow, isolated and gave the United States much more influence and leverage in the region. Accordingly, peace talks were held in 1991 and 1992 among Israel and Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and the Palestinians. Those talks paved the way for the 1993 Oslo Accords between Israel and the PLO, stipulating the beginning of Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and peace between Israel and Jordan in 1994.

Initial Israeli support for the Oslo Accords waned following a series of terrorist attacks by Hamas—a Palestinian terrorist group founded in 1987 at the beginning of the First Intifada—and other groups that opposed peace with Israel. On November 4, 1995, a right-wing Jewish nationalist assassinated Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin for his peace efforts with the Palestinians and willingness to cede occupied territory in the West Bank to the Palestinians. Continued Hamas terrorism led to the election as prime minister of hard-liner Benjamin Netanyahu of Likud. Netanyahu refused to pursue the "land for peace" dialogue with the Palestinians, and thus the peace process stalled. In 1999 Labor's Ehud Barak defeated Netanyahu, and in 2000 talks between Barak and Yasser Arafat, mediated by U.S. president Bill Clinton, failed to produce agreement on a Palestinian state. The collapse of these talks and the visit of Likud's Ariel Sharon to the contested religious site known to Jews as the Temple Mount and to Muslims as the Haram al-Sharif, where the al-Aqsa Mosque is located, sparked the Second Intifada. Relations between the Israelis and Palestinians tumbled downward.

Sharon was elected prime minister in March 2001 and reelected in 2003. In the face of stalled peace talks with the Palestinians, by September 2005 Israel had withdrawn from the Gaza Strip, although it controlled its borders, coast, and airspace. Under Sharon, the Israeli government also began building a system of barriers to separate Israel from most of the West Bank. This so-called security fence barrier is designed to defend Israel from repeated Palestinian terrorist attacks, but its construction has been criticized as a violation of international law and as an impediment to the establishment of any viable, independent Palestinian state. Sharon suffered a massive stroke on January 4, 2006, and Ehud Olmert became prime minister.

In June 2006, after a Hamas raid killed two Israeli soldiers and led to the capture of another, Israel launched a series of attacks on Hamas targets and infrastructure in the Gaza Strip. The next month the Olmert government became involved in a conflict in Lebanon following an attack on Israel by Hezbollah—an Iranian and Syrian-backed terrorist and political group—that killed three Israeli soldiers and captured two others. This month-long conflict, which devastated much of southern Lebanon, seemed to many observers a repeat of 1982, with Israel having failed to achieve its broad policy objectives and leaving Hezbollah stronger than ever.

Meanwhile, Israeli voters remained keenly interested in such issues as the role of the Orthodox minority, the rights of Israeli Arabs, the fate of Israeli settlements in the West Bank, and the ups and downs of the economy. Currently, the two nearest and direct threats to Israel remain Hamas and Hezbollah, although Israel regards Iran's desire to acquire nuclear weapons—a charge denied by Iran—as a palpable threat. With respect to peace with the Palestinians, the presence of several hundred thousand Israeli settlers in the West Bank, the ongoing terrorism campaign by Hamas and Hezbollah, and disputes over the precise borders of any future Palestinian state remain the principal outstanding issues of contention. In addition, the surprising victory of Hamas in the January 2006 legislative elections for the Palestinian government was regarded as a major setback for the cause of peace.

In September 2007 the Israeli Air Force launched a surprise raid on a suspected nuclear facility in Syria, drawing a sharp rebuke from Damascus. Yet, in early 2008, Syrian president Bashar al-Asad revealed that Israel and Syria had been engaged in secret peace discussions, with Turkey as mediator. Israel confirmed his revelation. In December 2008 the shaky Hamas-Israeli cease-fire ended when Hamas fighters began launching rocket attacks on Israel from the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip. Israel responded with heavy air strikes, and on January 3, 2009, sent troops into Gaza. The resulting conflict wrought much damage and killed many Palestinian civilians living in Gaza. Israel declared a cease-fire on January 17 and began a troop pullback. Hamas followed suit with its own cease-fire, but tensions remained very high. In February 2009, after Olmert declared his intention to resign the premiership, parliamentary elections were held, but they resulted in an unclear mandate. With Israeli political sentiment having shifted to the right, President Shimon Peres called on Likud Party leader Benjamin Netanyahu to form a coalition government. When the moderate Kadima Party rejected his overtures, Netanyahu formed a coalition with the right-wing Yisrael Beiteinu Party; its leader, Avigdor Lieberman, became foreign minister. The new government took office on April 1.

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See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Begin, Menachem; Hamas; Hezbollah; Intifada, First; Intifada, Second; Israel, Armed Forces; Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty; Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty; Lebanon; Lebanon, Israeli Invasion of; Netanyahu, Benjamin; Palestine Liberation Organization; Rabin, Yitzhak; Sharon, Ariel; Suez Crisis

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Israel, Armed Forces

Tzava Haganah l-Yisra'il is the official name of the State of Israel's military establishment known as the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). In the relatively short period of its existence, the IDF has become one of the most battle-tested, effective, and simultaneously respected and reviled military forces in the world. Israel claims to have no territorial ambitions. Its strategy is defensive, supported by offensive tactics. The IDF consists of a regular tactical air force, a regular coastal navy, and a small standing army with a large and well-trained reserve, an early warning capability, and efficient mobilization and transportation systems.

The IDF's approach to fighting wars is based on the premise that Israel cannot afford to lose a single war. Given the State of Israel's experience and the long-stated intentions of some of its more hostile neighbors, there can be little doubt of the validity of that assumption. Israel tries to avoid war through a combination of political means and the maintenance of a very credible military deterrent.

Once fighting starts, Israel's lack of territorial depth makes it imperative that the IDF take the war to the enemy's territory and determine the outcome as quickly and decisively as possible. In seven major wars, beginning with the Israeli War of Independence (1948–1949) and continuing through the seemingly never-ending occupation duty and counterterrorism actions into 2006, more than 22,000 Israeli military personnel have been killed in the line of duty. During that same time period, the IDF, usually fighting outnumbered, has inflicted many times more that number of casualties on its enemies. The IDF strives to maintain a broad, qualitative advantage in advanced weapons systems, many of which are now developed and manufactured in Israel. The IDF's major strategic advantage, however, has always been the high quality, motivation, and discipline of its soldiers.

The IDF is the backbone of Israel. With the exception of most Muslim Israelis, all Israeli citizens are required to serve in the armed forces for some length of time, and that experience forms the most fundamental common denominator of Israeli society. For most new immigrants to Israel the IDF is the primary social integrator, providing educational opportunities and Hebrew-language training that might not have been available to immigrants in their countries of origin.

Part of the Israel Defense Forces honor guard welcomes U.S. secretary of defense Robert M. Gates during his visit to Tel Aviv on April 18, 2007. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Most Israelis are inducted into the IDF at age 18. Unmarried women serve for two years, and men serve for three years. Following initial service, the men remain in the reserves until age 51 and single women until age 24. Reservists with direct combat experience may qualify for discharge at age 45. Most reservists serve for 39 days a year, although that period can be extended during emergencies. Because older reservists in particular may have considerable mismatch between their military ranks and their positions in the civilian world, the IDF pays a reservist on active duty what he was making in his civilian position. The IDF is one of the very few militaries in the world with such an expensive policy. Indeed, more than 9 percent of Israel's gross domestic product (GDP) goes to military expenditures.

There are some exceptions to IDF service. Older immigrants may serve shorter periods or be deferred completely. Most religiously Orthodox women receive deferments, as do ultraorthodox men who pursue Torah studies or are enrolled in other religious studies programs. Although Bedouin Arabs, Christian Arabs, Druze, Circassians, and some other Arab Israelis are permitted to serve in the IDF, most Arab Israelis are not. Because military service qualifies Israelis for particular benefits, this constitutes one of the principal fault lines of Israeli society.

Conscripts who have performed their initial IDF service successfully may apply to become career officers or noncommissioned officers (NCOs). The recruitment process is highly selective, and the training is rigorous. There is no Israeli military academy or reserve officers' training corps (ROTC). Once an officer completes initial training, the IDF provides him or her with multiple opportunities to pursue advanced civilian education at IDF expense. IDF officers who retire or otherwise leave active duty retain reserve commissions and are subject to recall in time of war. The most famous example is Ariel Sharon, who commanded a division in

the 1967 Six-Day War, retired as a major general in 1973, and was recalled only a few months later and placed in command of a division in the Yom Kippur War.

IDF general officers are a major force in Israeli society. Many go into politics when they leave active duty. In fact, many Israeli prime ministers have been IDF generals, as have most Israeli defense ministers. Lieutenant general (*rav aluf*) is the highest rank in the Israeli military, held only by the IDF chief of staff. Until recently, all IDF chiefs of staff had come from the army. In 2005 Lieutenant General Dan Halutz became the first air officer to head the IDF. He resigned in January 2007 after coming under widespread criticism for his handling of the 2006 war in Lebanon.

Although Israel has never formally admitted to having nuclear weapons, Mordecai Vanunu revealed the program to the world, becoming an enemy of the state as a result. The Jewish experience in the Holocaust is often cited as the justification for Israel to take any measures necessary, including nuclear weapons, to ensure its survival. With French support, Israel constructed its first nuclear reactor at Dimona in 1960. The IDF most probably acquired a nuclear weapons capability in the late 1960s. Most estimates today place Israel's nuclear stockpile at between 100 and 200 weapons, including warheads for the Jericho-1 and Jericho-2 mobile missiles and bombs for longer-range delivery by Israeli aircraft.

The IDF is the direct successor of the Haganah, the secret Jewish self-defense organization whose roots go back to the 1907 formation of the Bar Giora organization, established to protect Jewish towns and settlements in Palestine. During World War I many Jews acquired military training and experience in the British Army, which formed the Zion Mule Corps in 1915 and the all-Jewish 38th, 39th, and 40th King's Fusiliers near the end of the war.

With Palestine becoming a British mandate after World War I, Haganah was formed in 1920 as a local self-defense force, although the British considered it an illegal militia. In 1931 a group of Haganah members broke away to form the far more aggressive Irgun Tsvai Leumi (National Military Organization). During the Arab Revolt of 1936–1939, the British cooperated unofficially with Haganah, and Captain Orde C. Wingate formed and trained the Special Night Squads, one of Israel's first special operating forces.

In 1941 Haganah formed the Palmach as its strike force. The same year, an even more radical group broke away from Irgun to form the Lohamei Herut Israel (Lehi), also called the Stern Gang. During the course of World War II more than 30,000 Palestinian Jews served in the British Army. The Jewish Brigade served with distinction against the Germans in northern Italy during the final stages of the World War II.

Following World War II Haganah defied British rule in Palestine by smuggling in Holocaust survivors and other Jewish refugees, all the while conducting clandestine military training and defending Jewish settlements. Irgun and Lehi, which many considered little more than terrorist organizations, launched an all-out armed rebellion against the British. Under the orders of future prime minister Menachem Begin, Irgun bombed the King David Hotel, Britain's military headquarters in Jerusalem, on July 22, 1946.

Immediately following the establishment of the State of Israel, the provisional government on May 28, 1948, issued Defense Army of Israel Ordinance No. 4 establishing the IDF and merging all Jewish fighting organizations under it. Immediately thereafter David Marcus, a U.S. Army Reserve colonel and World War II veteran, received a commission as Israel's first general (*aluf*), making him the first Jewish soldier to hold that rank since Judas Maccabeus 2,100 years earlier. Marcus was killed near Jerusalem less than two weeks later.

Although the IDF essentially absorbed the general staff and combat units of Haganah, the integration of the other units was difficult and protracted. Lehi dissolved itself, and its members joined the IDF individually. Some battalions of Irgun joined the IDF, while others fought on independently. The turning point came when Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion ordered the IDF to sink Irgun's arms ship *Altalena* as it approached Tel Aviv in June 1948. It was a defining moment for the new State of Israel and established the authority of the central government. The remaining Irgun battalions finally disbanded on September 20, 1948.

The IDF is organized administratively into traditional branches of service, with the army, navy, and air force all having their own career tracks and distinctive uniforms. Operationally, the IDF is organized into four joint regional commands. The Northern Command is responsible for the occupation of the Golan Heights and the security of Israel's northern border with Lebanon and Syria. The Southern Command is responsible for the occupation of Gaza and for securing the porous southern border through the trackless Negev desert. The Central Command is responsible for the occupation of the West Bank and the security of the Israeli settlements there. The Home Front Command's main role is to provide security to civilians during wars and mass disasters.

The Israeli standing ground force consists of four infantry brigades (Givati, Nahal, Golani, and Paratroopers) plus several mixed-unit battalions and several special forces and counterterrorism units, including Sayeret. The armor force has three brigades: the Barak Armored Brigade (the 188th Brigade), the Ga'ash Brigade (the 7th Brigade), and the Ikvot Habarzel Brigade (the 401st Brigade). The artillery also has three brigades, the engineers have one brigade, and each infantry brigade has an engineer company.

The Israeli Air Force (IAF) is one of the strongest in the Middle East, and with much justification its pilots are considered the best in the world. Since the IAF began in 1948, its pilots have shot down 687 enemy aircraft in air-to-air combat. Only 23 Israeli aircraft have been shot down in air-to-air combat, giving the IAF an incredible 30-to-1 victory ratio. Thirty-nine IAF pilots have achieved ace status by shooting down 5 or more enemy aircraft. The leading Israeli ace is Major General Giora Epstein with 17 kills, all against jet aircraft, making him the world's record holder for number of jets shot down.

Two Israeli Air Force F-16 Fighting Falcons from Ramon Air Base, Israel, head to the Nevada Test and Training Range on July 17, 2009, during Training Exercise Red Flag 09-4. (U.S. Department of Defense)

The Israeli Navy was also formed in 1948. Its predecessor was Haganah's Palyam (Sea Company). The Palyam's primary mission had been smuggling Jewish refugees from Europe to Palestine. Today the navy operates in two unconnected bodies of water. Its main base on the Mediterranean Sea is at Haifa, and its main base on the Red Sea is at Eilat. The three principal operating units of the Israeli Navy are the Missile Boats Flotilla, the Submarine Flotilla, and Shayetet 13, a naval special operations force similar to the U.S. Navy SEALs.

The IDF's Directorate of Main Intelligence (Aman) is a separate branch of service on the same level as the army, navy, and air force. The head of Aman is also a coequal to the heads of Shin Bet (internal security and counterintelligence) and Mossad (foreign intelligence), and together they direct all Israeli intelligence operations. The army itself has an Intelligence Corps (Ha-Aman) that is responsible for tactical-level intelligence but also comes under the overall jurisdiction of Aman.

The IDF recognizes seven major wars for which it awards campaign ribbons: the 1948 Israeli War of Independence, the 1956 Sinai Campaign, the 1967 Six-Day War, the 1967–1970 War of Attrition, the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, the 1982 Lebanon War, and the 2006 Second Lebanon War. The 1948–1949 Israeli War of Independence began immediately after the declaration of statehood, as Egypt attacked from the south, Syria and Lebanon attacked from the north, and Jordan backed by Iraqi and Saudi troops attacked from the east. Outnumbered almost 60 to 1 in population, the new Jewish state's prospects for survival looked bleak. By the time of the cease-fire on July 20, 1949, however, the IDF had managed to secure all of its major objectives, with the exceptions of East Jerusalem and the Arab Legion fortress at Latrun.

Immediately following the war, the sectors of Palestine not under Israeli control were occupied by the other Arab states, with Jordan occupying the West Bank and Egypt occupying Gaza. Plagued throughout the early 1950s by continual Palestinian infiltration and terror raids, the IDF in 1953 formed Unit 101. Under the command of Sharon, the special operations unit carried out retaliatory strikes into Jordanian territory. Criticized for its ruthless tactics, Unit 101 was disbanded in late 1955.

The 1956 Sinai Campaign, the second of Israel's major wars, commenced after Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal. Simultaneously, the IDF launched a full-scale attack into the Sinai peninsula to eliminate Egyptian and Palestinian irregular forces known as the fedayeen that had been conducting terror attacks against Israeli civilians in the south. The IDF captured Gaza and the entire Sinai peninsula as well as the canal but later withdrew under international pressure.

In 1967 Egypt massed 100,000 troops in the Sinai and closed the Straits of Tiran to Israeli ships. In response, the IDF launched

a massive preemptive strike on the morning of June 5, virtually destroying the Egyptian Air Force on the ground. By noon that day the IAF had also annihilated the Syrian and Jordanian air forces. During the Six-Day War the IDF again captured the Sinai and Gaza and came within striking distance of Alexandria. The Egyptians lost some 15,000 soldiers killed, while only 338 Israelis died. The IDF also captured the strategic Golan Heights from Syria, and East Jerusalem and the rest of the West Bank from Jordan. Following the Six-Day War, the War of Attrition ground on with the Egyptians along the Suez Canal and with the Syrians along the northern borders, ending in 1970.

The Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War began on October 6, 1973, when Egypt and Syria launched a surprise attack on the holiest Jewish holiday of the year. Initially the IDF took heavy losses, but after U.S. airlifted weapons and supplies began to arrive on October 14, the tide turned, and the IDF pushed the Egyptians and Syrians back to their original lines. On the Golan Heights some 177 Israeli tanks stopped more than 1,500 Syrian tanks. In the critical Valley of Tears Pass, 8 tanks from the 77th Tank Battalion launched a counterattack against hundreds of Syrian tanks and armored personnel carriers and won. In the Sinai an Israeli armored division started to cross the Suez Canal on October 15 and was only some 65 miles away from Cairo by October 24. By the time the war ended under international pressure, the IDF had suffered 2,700 dead while inflicting more than 15,000 deaths on its enemies.

The IDF's most famous special operation came during July 3–4, 1976, when the elite Sayeret Matkal (also known as General Staff Reconnaissance Unit 269) rescued Israeli passengers held hostage at the Entebbe airport in Uganda after their plane was hijacked by Palestinian terrorists. The complex operation managed to save 80 of the 83 passengers. The only IDF casualty was the operational commander, Colonel Jonathan Netanyahu, brother of future prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

On June 7, 1981, IAF F-15s and F-16s destroyed Iraq's Osiraq nuclear reactor. Although almost universally condemned in international circles at the time, the preemptive strike almost certainly neutralized Saddam Hussein's nuclear weapons program.

During Operation PEACE FOR GALILEE, the IDF invaded southern Lebanon on June 6, 1982, in retaliation for Palestinian terrorist and rocket attacks launched from Lebanon's territory against Israeli civilian targets in the north. Although the IDF neutralized the Palestinian threat, it became bogged down in a long and grinding occupation of southern Lebanon that ended only in September 2000. The reputation of the IDF also suffered severely from the September 16, 1982, massacre at the Sabra and Shatilia refugee camps, with many international figures branding then-defense minister Sharon as a war criminal.

The IDF performed stability operations during the First Intifada in the Palestinian territories, which lasted from 1987 to 1993. The Second Intifada, which began in September 2000, was far more violent than the first, and the resulting security demands have placed a heavy and seemingly endless burden on the IDF, with most reservists having to perform far more than the standard annual duty. The constant strain of occupation duty in the territories has resulted in morale and discipline problems.

Following Israel's withdrawal from its settlements in Gaza in the summer of 2005, Palestinian militant groups continued to conduct cross-border raids and even increased the rate of Qassam rocket attacks. On June 28, 2006, the IDF mounted a major incursion into Gaza under the justification of rescuing a recently captured Israeli soldier. Hezbollah protested the campaign in Gaza, as did many Arab states. On July 12 Hezbollah crossed the border and killed 3 IDF soldiers and captured 2. In response, Israel launched a series of massive air attacks against not only Hezbollah installations but also Lebanese infrastructure nodes in Beirut and elsewhere in the country. Hezbollah responded with Katyusha rocket attacks and even longer-range missile attacks. Wary of getting drawn into another quagmire on the ground in Lebanon, the Israeli strategy was apparently to drive a wedge between Hezbollah and the rest of the Lebanese population. The air campaign did not work, however, and IDF ground forces started crossing the border on July 23. By the time a UN-brokered cease-fire went into effect on August 14, 2006, the IDF had lost 119 killed and more than 400 wounded. Israel finally lifted its blockade of Lebanon on September 8.

The 2006 Lebanon conflict was different in many ways from any of Israel's previous wars. For the first time, Israel suffered a large number of civilian casualties on its own soil as Hezbollah rockets hit locations in Haifa, Tiberias, Nazareth, and other major cities in the north. Forty-four Israeli civilians were killed, and more than 1,350 were injured. The IDF also inflicted many more civilian than military casualties on its enemy. Only 250–600 Hezbollah fighters were killed, while 1,187 Lebanese civilians died, some 3,600 were injured, and more than 250,000 were internally displaced. The IDF reported 119 Israeli soldiers killed, 400–450 wounded, and 2 taken prisoner. IDF chief of staff Halutz came under severe criticism for the failure of the initial air campaign as well as for the halting and poorly organized ground campaign that followed. Rather than undermining its popular support among the Lebanese people, Hezbollah appeared to increase its support. Many observers proclaimed that by merely surviving the Israeli pounding, Hezbollah emerged the victor of the conflict. The myth of the IDF's invincibility had been shattered once and for all. That claim, however, has been made before, especially following the Yom Kippur War.

DAVID T. ZABECKI

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Begin, Menachem; Intifada, First; Intifada, Second; Hezbollah; Israel; Lebanon; Netanyahu, Benjamin; Sharon, Ariel; Suez Crisis

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Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty

A landmark peace accord signed between Egypt and the State of Israel on March 26, 1979, in Washington, D.C. The Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty was the culmination of an ongoing peace process between the Israelis and Egyptians that dated to November 1977. It was also the result of the Camp David Accords, signed by Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin on September 17, 1978.

The peace treaty stipulated that the two nations would officially recognize the sovereignty of the other and end the state of war that had existed between them since 1948. It also stipulated that Israel would withdraw from the Sinai peninsula. Finally, it guaranteed Israel the right of passage through the Suez Canal and recognized that both the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba were international waterways subject to international law and maritime guidelines. The Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty was the first such treaty between an Arab state and Israel.

The Camp David Accords of 1978 had emerged from 13 days of intensive negotiations at the U.S. presidential retreat at Camp David. President Jimmy Carter had mediated the talks between Sadat and Begin. But it was President Sadat's unprecedented move in November 1977 that had made the historic Israeli-Egyptian peace process possible. On November 19, 1977, Sadat became the first Arab leader in history to visit Israel in an official capacity. He went at the invitation of Prime Minister Begin and addressed the Knesset (Israeli parliament). Sadat's speech offered conciliatory words and a genuine desire to end the conflict between Israel and Egypt, and laid out specific steps that might be taken to broker an enduring peace. Specifically, he called for the implementation of United Nations (UN) Resolutions 242 and 338, which among other things called for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from land captured in the 1967 Six-Day War. Sadat's visit stunned many Israelis as well as much of the world.

Most Arab nations, however, were outraged that Sadat would choose to negotiate with the Israelis. Not only did this go against the prevailing Arab philosophy that viewed Israel as a threat and a tool of Western hegemony, but it also meant that Sadat was

President Jimmy Carter shakes hands with Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin at the signing of the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty on the grounds of the White House on March 26, 1979. (Library of Congress)

essentially recognizing the legitimacy of the State of Israel, something that no Arab state had been willing to do. A separate peace treaty also negated any prospect of a comprehensive peace solution favored by some. Equally troubling to Arab states was that this peace overture was coming from Egypt, at the time the most powerful Arab military force in the region and the birthplace of modern Arab nationalism under Gamal Abdel Nasser.

When the Camp David Accords were signed, there was no clear consensus or binding agreement that a formal, comprehensive peace treaty would be signed. Indeed, between September 1978 and March 1979, both parties to the accords had considerable hesitations about signing a formal treaty. Sadat had come under intense pressure from other Arab leaders not to sign a peace agreement. He also encountered resistance within his own country. For his part, Begin was under enormous pressure not to allow the issue of Palestinian independence to enter into any formal discussions or accords with the Egyptians. Indeed, Begin's refusal to do so nearly torpedoed the peace settlement.

Although Sadat lost the support of most Arab leaders (and Egypt was expelled from the Arab League after the treaty was signed), his government did gain the support of the United States, both diplomatically and economically. In fact, the United States gave Egypt and Israel subsidies worth billion of dollars as a result of the rapprochement. These subsidies continue to the present day. From the Israeli perspective, the peace treaty was a coup, because Egypt had now been separated from its Arab neighbors. Yet from a geopolitical perspective, the Israeli-Egyptian peace process led to the breakdown of the united Arab front against Israel, creating a power vacuum of sorts once Egypt fell out of that orbit. This allowed such nations as Iran and Iraq to fill in the gap, with disastrous consequences. Only months after the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty was signed the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988) broke out, which demonstrated Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's ambitions to become the undisputed Arab leader of the Middle East.

The peace treaty has not brought the expected economic cooperation, travel, and exchange of views between Egyptians and Israelis, because it has been informally boycotted since about 1982, leading to the term "cold peace." While there has been an exchange of diplomats and meetings between representatives of both Egypt and Israel, few Egyptians will travel to Israel; if they do so, they are ousted by professional associations.

On the other hand, the Camp David process and the resultant peace treaty demonstrated that fruitful negotiations between Arabs and Israelis are indeed possible. Furthermore, it showed that progress toward peace can come only with meaningful dialogue, mutual cooperation, and strong leadership. Nevertheless, it would take another 15 years for a second Arab-Israeli peace treaty to come about, this time between the Jordanians and Israelis. Currently, only Egypt and Jordan have concluded such agreements.

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See also

Arab League; Arab Nationalism; Begin, Menachem; Camp David Accords; Egypt; Israel; Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Sadat, Muhammad Anwar; Suez Crisis

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Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty

A comprehensive peace accord between Israel and Jordan signed on October 26, 1994, at the border settlement of Wadi Arabah. Officially titled the "Treaty of Peace between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan," the agreement settled long-standing territorial conflicts and fully normalized diplomatic and economic relations between the two states. It was intended as part of the larger Arab-Israeli peace process that had begun in 1991 at the Madrid Conference and had continued in the Oslo Accords, agreed to and signed by the Israelis and Palestinians the previous summer. The treaty was only the second one of its kind signed between the Israelis and an Arab nation, the first one having been negotiated with Egypt in 1979.

Over the years relations between Jordan and Israel had been complex and sometimes hostile. Be that as it may, Israel's relations with Jordan were generally not as difficult as those with the other Arab states. Jordan's King Hussein, while cleaving to anti-Israeli stances alongside his Arab neighbors because a large proportion of Jordan's population was Palestinian, was also a pragmatist. Thus, his actions did not always match his anti-Zionist rhetoric. He was also reliably pro-Western in orientation, which surely tempered his anti-Israeli policies. Also, his relatively modest territorial demands and Jordan's proximity to Israel worked as a moderating force in the Israeli-Jordanian relationship.

This does not mean, however, that Jordanian-Israeli relations were not without serious tensions. Indeed, in the run-up to the 1967 Six-Day War, Israeli leaders implored King Hussein not to join the Egyptian-led coalition arrayed against Israel. King Hussein ignored the forewarning, and Jordan suffered the consequences. By war's end the Israelis had seized control of East Jerusalem and the strategically and economically crucial West Bank, which had been an economic lifeline to the Kingdom of Jordan. The Israeli occupation of the West Bank would also significantly complicate future peace negotiations with the Palestinians, who believe that the West Bank must be at the heart of any future Palestinian state. Indeed, the Jordanians conferred their

claim to the West Bank to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1988.

In 1970, as the Jordanians prepared to expel the PLO from their country in what came to be called Black September, Israel tacitly aided them in the struggle by dispatching fighter jets to menace Syrian forces that had begun to intervene in Jordan on the side of the PLO.

In 1973, although King Hussein was caught off guard by the Egyptian and Syrian attack on Israel in the Yom Kippur War, he was soon under pressure from these two Arab states to join the conflict. He tried to avoid involvement but was nevertheless drawn in, ironically to stave off a crushing Syrian defeat. He did not commit his air force, realizing that this would bring a crushing Israeli retaliation, as in 1967, but on October 13 he sent the crack 40th Armored Brigade, equipped with British-made Centurion tanks, into Syria, to save that nation from the threat posed by the Israeli invasion to Damascus and the survival of the Syrian Army. The 40th Brigade came into battle with the Israelis on October 16 and fought bravely, holding until the Syrians were told by their Soviet advisers to withdraw.

In 1987 Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres undertook a tentative attempt to arrive at a Jordanian-Israeli peace settlement. In secret deliberations he and King Hussein agreed that the West Bank would be ceded back to Jordan in exchange for mutual peace and security guarantees. The deal was never consummated because internal Israeli politics prevented such a sweeping move. The peace attempt did strengthen relations between the two nations, however, and a year later Jordan abandoned its claim to the West Bank and agreed to help settle the Palestinian-Israeli impasse without violence.

It was really the 1993 Oslo Accords that set the stage for the Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty. In light of what appeared at the time to be a historic period in Arab-Israeli peacemaking, King Hussein was more receptive to a peace deal with Israel. U.S. president Bill Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher had also begun to nudge King Hussein toward a peace agreement, even promising to reduce or eliminate Jordan's foreign aid debts to the United States. Perhaps what clinched the deal for the king was Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak's support of an Israeli-Jordanian peace accord, although Syrian president Hafiz al-Asad opposed the agreement. The diplomacy worked, and King Hussein, ever the pragmatist, agreed to a nonbelligerency treaty with the Israelis. The Washington Declaration, signed in Washington, D.C., on July 25, 1994, ultimately led to the signing of the formal peace treaty on October 24, 1994.

The provisions of the treaty included the establishment of the Jordan River as the boundary between the two nations, the full normalization of diplomatic and economic relations, cooperation in antiterrorism, respect for each other's territory, a more equitable distribution of Jordan River water and other joint water supplies, and a joint effort at alleviating the Palestinian refugee problem. Soon thereafter, the Israeli-Jordanian border became an open one, and Israelis and Jordanians embarked on tourist and business excursions in each other's countries. These have been interrupted by Israel's campaigns against Palestinians and, as in Egypt, boycotted by many Jordanian groups. Jordanian Islamists strongly opposed the peace treaty, and they continue to block widened cooperation between the two countries. Unfortunately, the Israeli-Jordanian peace settlement has not led to a wider peace in the region.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Asad, Hafiz al-; Clinton, William Jefferson; Hussein ibn Talal, King of Jordan; Israel; Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty; Jordan; Mubarak, Hosni; Oslo Accords; Palestine Liberation Organization

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Italy

A southern European nation located on the Italian Peninsula, Italy is officially known as the Italian Republic. Italy is bordered by Slovenia to the northeast, Austria and Switzerland to the north, and France to the northwest. Its remaining boundaries consist of the Adriatic Sea along its eastern coast, the Ionian Sea along the southeastern coast, the Mediterranean Sea along the southern coast, the Tyrrhenian Sea along the western coast, and the Ligurian Sea along its northwest coast. Additionally, Italy's borders completely surround two autonomous enclaves: the Holy See (Vatican City) and the Republic of San Marino. Switzerland completely surrounds the Italian exclave of Campione d'Italia. Italy also has numerous small islands along its coastline as well as two major islands, Sicily, located just to the south of the peninsula, and Sardinia, located off the west coast. Italy comprises 116,346 square miles, and its population in 2008 was 58 million.

Italy's armed forces include an army, navy, and air force, as well as the Carabinieri, a separate branch of the armed forces that functions as both a military and civilian police force. In addition to its participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Italian government has also agreed, if needed, to provide military support staff or forces to the Eurocorps. U.S. military forces are located at various installations in Italy. Major U.S. bases are located in Vicenza, Livorno, Aviano, Sigonella, and Naples.

Italian forces have jointly participated in various NATO and other bilateral operations since the 1990s. During the Persian Gulf

War of 1990–1991, Italy deployed eight Panavia Tornado Interdictor Strike (IDS) bombers to Saudi Arabia. Italian troops went into the Kurdish region in northern Iraq after the war. Between December 9, 1992, and May 4, 1994, Italian forces, including men from the Folgore Parachute Brigade participated in humanitarian efforts sanctioned by the United Nations (UN).

Al Qaeda's attack against the United States on September 11, 2001, resulted in NATO invoking Article 5 of its charter (the mutual defense clause), and provided justification for Italian troops to be used against Al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. Italian troops are currently part of the International Security Assistance Force, tasked with control over NATO's Regional Command–West in Herat, Afghanistan. Italy's refusal to participate militarily in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM did not apply to peacekeeping operations after major combat operations ended. Italian prime minister Silvio Berlusconi allowed his country's military forces to take part in the UN-sanctioned Multi-National Force–Iraq. Italy initially deployed 3,200 military personnel to Iraq, including forces from the Folgore Parachute Brigade and the Carbinieri. Italian forces' operational areas were located in southern Iraq. In addition to peacekeeping operations, Italian forces also participated in training elements of the new Iraqi Army and the Iraqi police. In July 2005 Italy began reducing troop levels in Iraq; the last of its forces were withdrawn in September 2006. The Iraq War proved quite unpopular among Italians.

WYNDHAM WHYNOT

See also

International Security Assistance Force; Italy, Armed Forces in Iraq and Afghanistan; North Atlantic Treaty Organization

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Italy, Armed Forces in Iraq and Afghanistan

Italian ground forces did not participate in Operation DESERT STORM in Iraq, however, the Italian Air Force deployed eight Panavia Tornado Interdictor Strike (IDS) bomber jets to Saudi Arabia, and Italian pilots flew combat missions during that short war. One Italian pilot was shot down in January 1991 and was taken prisoner by the Iraqis. Later in 1991, after the war, Italian Army troops deployed to northern Iraq to assist Kurdish refugees who were under attack by Iraqi forces loyal to President Saddam Hussein, in Operation PROVIDE COMFORT.

In Afghanistan, Italian military forces were early participants in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, the allied effort to oust the Taliban from power and rid the country of Al Qaeda, which began in October 2001. A navy battle group, including the aircraft carrier *Giuseppe Garibaldi,* patrolled the Indian Ocean, and Italian McDonnell Douglas Harrier AV-8B aircraft provided close air support for ground operations. From March to September 2003 the Italian Army Task Force Nibbio, whose primary element was the elite mountain warfare 2nd Alpini Regiment, provided base security at the Salerno Forward Operating Base at Khost in southeastern Afghanistan.

During this time, Italian forces conducted the first air assault in the history of the Italian Army. They also participated in Operations HAVEN DENIAL and WARRIOR SWEEP with the U.S. 82nd Airborne, the Afghan National Army (ANA), and Special Forces units. The Italian Army also made more than 2,000 conventional patrols that led to the capture and disposal of many weapons caches.

Consistent with the policy of rotating commanding officers every six months, Italian lieutenant general Mauro Del Vecchio commanded the International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF) from August 2005 through January 2006. During their tenure in the country, Italian army forces included an infantry unit; special forces, an engineer company and command of a multinational engineer task force, a chemical-biological-radiation platoon, military police, and logistic, liaison, and staff elements.

Italy also supplied three Italian-built CH-47 Chinook helicopters. The CH-47s and their army aviation crews, known as Task Force Eracle, arrived in August 2005. Originally stationed at Herat, which was also the site of Italy's Provisional Reconstruction Team (PRT), Eracle's first operation was to fly protection missions during the Afghan parliamentary elections on September 18, 2005. Shortly after their arrival, the CH-47s took part in a high-altitude rescue operation of a Dutch Chinook that was disabled from a hard landing high in the mountains.

Beginning in November 2005, the CH-47 and other smaller Italian helicopters, including the Bell AB 212 Twin Huey and Bell AB 412 Twin Huey aircraft, were dispatched at various times and were part of the ISAF Quick Reaction Force (QRF) stationed at Kabul International Airport.

With periodic small increases in troops and equipment, Italian forces numbered 2,350 men by the end of 2008, and Italy headed the Regional Command West. In the original deployment of its forces, the Italian parliament had forbidden the assignment of Italian ground forces to direct, sustained front-line combat. Controversy over Italian participation in Afghanistan continued throughout the military's tenure in the country. Parliament constantly debated the recall of all forces, and Italian political leaders were extremely sensitive to any casualties. Not until July 2008 did the Italian government relax the restriction against direct combat, but the Italian defense minister explained that Italian forces had engaged in limited combat operations, as noted above, as early as 2003 and more recently in 2007 in the Fara area.

With the loosening of restrictions, some Italian army units moved south to participate in direct combat against the Taliban. In late September 2008 Italy sent four Panavia Tornado jet aircraft to be used in surveillance missions. Two Alenia C-27J Spartan

tactical transport aircraft also supported military operations in the country.

By October 2008 Italy had suffered 13 deaths, 2 by hostile fire, 4 by roadside bombs, 1 kidnapped soldier slain during a rescue operation (undetermined whether killed by the kidnappers or the rescuers), and the others by non-hostile fire accidents. In 2007 2 other kidnapped Italian soldiers were successfully rescued by British and Italian forces; in 2006 the Italian government paid a $2 million ransom for a kidnapped Italian photographer; and in 2007 Italy arranged the release of 5 Taliban captives to retrieve a kidnapped Italian journalist. Italy remains a cautious, risk-averse ally in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM.

Italy did not participate in the initial period of combat operations during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, which began in March 2003. The Italian government was opposed to preemptive war in Iraq without an explicit authorization by the United Nations (UN) Security Council. However, in May 2003, after what turned out to be a premature declaration of victory, the Italians did commit forces for peacekeeping and reconstruction purposes. The deployment, codenamed Operation ANTICA BABILONIA, consisting of land forces and a joint air task force of two helicopter squadrons, dispatched to Iraq in July 2003. The army worked in the vicinity of Nasiriyah and ultimately assumed responsibility for the entire Thi Qar Province. At its height, Italy maintained 3,200 forces in Iraq, the fourth-largest contingent in southern Iraq. The Italian army engaged in elimination of ordnance operations, various small combat operations, support of coalition allies, and security and humanitarian activities. The largest number of Italian forces, however, was composed of the Carabinieri, the famous Italian military police, which is a separate branch of the Italian armed forces. One of Italy's special responsibilities involved protection of Iraq's archaeological treasures. As a nation with countless historical treasures and with much experience in dealing with thieves looking for invaluable archaeological artifacts, Italy brought particular expertise to southern Iraq. The Italian army captured archaeological looters, recovered ancient artifacts, and trained Iraqis to fulfill these duties in the future.

The two major combat operations in which the Italian army participated were the 2004 battles around Nasiriyah. The first engagement unfolded on April 5, 2004, when Mahdi Army forces loyal to Muqtada al-Sadr seized three undefended bridges. The Italian government authorized Italian forces to retake the bridges. A force of 600 Italian soldiers and 68 mechanized and motorized vehicles carried out the operation. By the end of the day, Italian soldiers had expended 30,000 rounds of ammunition and had been resupplied five times. The Mahdi forces withdrew into the civilian population of Nasiriyah and asked for a truce to conduct

Italian Army personnel on convoy duty depart Tallil Air Base, Iraq, in a light truck armed with a Browning M2 .50-caliber heavy machine gun, 2005. (U.S. Department of Defense)

negotiations. In the negotiations, it was agreed that Italian forces would patrol the south side of the city's bridges and Iraqi policemen would patrol the north side. Official casualties stood at 15 Italian and 14 Sadrists killed in action, but the Iraqi death toll might have been as high as 150 to 200. In mid-May 2004, more heavily armed Mahdi forces attacked the bridges again, as well as a Coalition Provisional Authority building and military base. The assault was beaten back at the cost of 1 Italian death and 15 wounded. Again, a cease-fire was negotiated, but it was continually broken as tensions remained high in and around Nasiriyah.

In June 2005 the Italian air force deployed four RQ-1 Predator unmanned aerial vehicles to Iraq. The Italians had recently acquired the weapons system, and they had not yet fully defined the rationale for its use. For the most part the Predators were successful, but command and control problems and other operation issues surfaced, leading Italian commanders to call for a better plan for the deployment and usage of the unmanned vehicles.

Extremely sensitive to casualties, Italian politicians, especially those on the Left, have threatened to remove forces from Iraq since 2005. Indeed, 1,000 forces were withdrawn in June and July 2006, and on September 21, 2006, Italy declared that its mission was completed as it handed over Thi Qar Province to the Iraqis. The remaining Italian forces departed in November 2006. The Italian withdrawal occurred during some of the worst insurgency-related violence in Iraq and before the U.S.-announced troop surge in January 2007. In total, from 2003 to 2006, Italian forces suffered 34 deaths in Iraq. Several hundred others were wounded. The largest loss of life came on November 12, 2004, when a suicide car bombing at the Carabinieri Corps headquarters killed 12 Carabinieri, 4 army officers, 2 Italian civilians, and 10 Iraqis. Another 80 people were wounded. In December 2008 an Italian military court convicted General Bruno Stano, commanding officer of Italian forces in Iraq, of failing to provide proper security at the base.

On March 5, 2005, Italian intelligence officer Nicola Calipari was mistakenly shot and killed as his car approached an American checkpoint at high speed. He had just secured the release of captured Italian journalist Giuliana Screna.

In November 2007 the Iraqi government contracted with Italy for the construction of four modified Diciotti-class 400-ton Saettia MK4 missile patrol boats. The first was delivered in June 2009, with the remainder to be delivered in 2010. The Iraqi crews are being trained in Italy.

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See also

Afghan National Army; Al Qaeda; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; International Security Assistance Force; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; Mahdi Army; PROVIDE COMFORT, Operation; Provincial Reconstruction Teams, Afghanistan; Sadr, Muqtada al-; Taliban

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IVORY JUSTICE, Operation

Start Date: July 24, 1990
End Date: August 1990

U.S. military operation launched on July 24, 1990, to demonstrate to Iraq the U.S. ability to protect the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and other American allies in the Persian Gulf. The operation failed to dissuade Iraqi president Saddam Hussein from invading Kuwait on August 2, 1990, possibly because the scale of the military forces involved in the operation was too small. The unwillingness of Kuwait or the UAE to fully support the U.S. demonstration was also problematic.

With the recent fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the diminution of Soviet military and political power, many Middle Eastern rulers were concerned that their positions might be in peril. The loss of the Soviet-U.S. balance of power in the region caused them to fear possible U.S. and Israeli domination, radical elements in their own countries that might attempt to overthrow them, or exertion of control by a regional power like Iran or Iraq. Hussein in particular had reason to be concerned, for Iraq had purchased most of its weaponry from the Soviet bloc. During the 1980s some of Hussein's Soviet ties had been offset by aid from Western nations, especially France and the United States, which favored an Iraqi victory in the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988).

During the first half of 1990, however, the West's relationship with Hussein soured. Hussein began to agitate for war against Israel, and even more ominously, he revived old Iraqi claims on Kuwait and its oil resources. Hussein was incensed with Kuwait and the UAE for their part in driving down the price of oil since the late 1980s, as most of Iraq's income came from the export of oil. Both Kuwait and the UAE continued to prosper when oil prices went down, because they controlled oil distribution points and refining. Iraq, in contrast, depended almost solely on the sale of crude oil, and with low oil prices, it was unable to service the huge debt from the Iran-Iraq War.

On July 16, 1990, Iraqi foreign minister Tariq Aziz delivered a memorandum to the secretary-general of the Arab League laying out Iraq's charges against Kuwait and the UAE. Among other things, he accused them of a scheme to drive down the price of oil,

depriving Iraq of $89 billion of potential income. He also accused Kuwait of slant drilling into Iraq's Rumaila oil field. Further, Kuwait had moved some of its military posts and other installations into disputed territory claimed by Iraq. The sum total of the charges, according to the document, amounted to military aggression against Iraq by the two nations.

The Kuwaiti government believed the memorandum was basically a bluff by Hussein to obtain money or loan cancellations. Although Kuwait put its armed forces on alert, it also offered to negotiate a settlement. At the same time, however, U.S. analysts reported that Iraqi Republican Guard divisions were advancing toward the border with Kuwait, and by July 19, 35,000 men in three Republican Guard divisions were within 30 miles of the Kuwaiti border.

Although the Kuwaiti government was not overly concerned about invasion, the UAE believed it had reason to fear military attack. During the Iran-Iraq War, Hussein had charged that the UAE was not supporting Iraq enough, and in 1986 he ordered aircraft to fly more than 600 miles down the Persian Gulf to bomb two oil rigs belonging to the UAE. Although the Iraqi Foreign Ministry later claimed it was a mistake, most observers believed that the attack had been intended to intimidate the UAE. To protect its oil rigs and other facilities, the UAE decided to mount a standing patrol of Dassault Mirage 2000 fighters. On July 22 the UAE requested assistance from the United States.

The U.S. government immediately approved the request and launched Operation IVORY JUSTICE on July 24. Two Boeing KC-135 Stratotankers, along with a Lockheed C-141 Starlifter and support equipment and personnel, arrived in the Persian Gulf that same day. The plan was for the tankers to refuel UAE fighters in flight, allowing them to loiter above UAE airspace and intercept any incoming Iraqi aircraft. The emirates also requested a ground link to the U.S. Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) and Northrop Grumman E-2C Hawkeye radar aircraft that flew above the Persian Gulf. Such a link would allow the emirates to monitor reports of air traffic over the Gulf, and the UAE would therefore be able to receive information about possible Iraqi attackers long before they arrived. The U.S. Navy's Central Command was also involved in the operation. Rear Admiral William Fogarty ordered two frigates into the northern half of the Persian Gulf. Their radar would search for incoming Iraqi bombers, providing more warning to UAE fighters.

Operation IVORY JUSTICE did not go smoothly. The Mirage 2000's refueling probes were found to be incompatible with the KC-135's drogues, rendering aerial refueling impossible. The UAE's fighter pilots had not been trained in aerial refueling in any case, and would not likely have been able to carry out midair refueling. The operation could have been more impressive if additional forces had been committed. The *Independence* carrier battle group was nearby and could have been ordered to the Strait of Hormuz for a greater show of force, if required. The U.S. Navy, however, was convinced that the shallow waters and restricted area in the Persian Gulf were not suitable to carrier operations and was reluctant to commit them to the region.

Even though the U.S. force in Operation IVORY JUSTICE was small, it did raise concerns in Baghdad. When word of an increased U.S. presence in the area became known, some Arab countries protested. Even the UAE presented it as nothing more than routine training. Iraqi ministers complained to U.S. ambassador to Iraq April Glaspie, who reassured the Iraqis that the United States wanted improved relations with their country. During her only meeting with Hussein, Glaspie tried to strike a conciliatory tone with the Iraqi leader, which was in line with official policy. Some critics believe that Glaspie's failure to suggest a U.S. military response to an invasion of Kuwait encouraged Hussein to invade Kuwait. In retrospect, she had no authority to do so, and the very limited show of force of IVORY JUSTICE may have led Hussein to believe that a Kuwaiti invasion would not be challenged.

Iraqi talks with Kuwait subsequently collapsed, and on August 2, 1990, eight Iraqi divisions crossed into Kuwait and swiftly occupied the country. IVORY JUSTICE essentially dissolved with the buildup of coalition forces during Operation DESERT SHIELD.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Arab League; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Glaspie, April; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Kuwait; United Arab Emirates

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JACANA, Operation
Start Date: April 2002
End Date: July 2002

A series of military operations intended to be a "mopping up" exercise by United Kingdom Royal Marine commandos (45th Commando) in the aftermath of Operation ANACONDA against the Taliban in Afghanistan. Operation JACANA took place between April and July 2002. The commandos were specifically requested by the U.S. government because their reputation and training seemed appropriate to conditions in Afghanistan at the time. The commandos were withdrawn after less than four months, amid reports of failure and after drawing criticism from U.S. officials.

After the U.S.-assisted Northern Front forces in Afghanistan overthrew the Taliban and its Al Qaeda terrorist organization allies in late 2001, operations continued in an effort to destroy the remaining Taliban fighters and to capture Al Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden. Although most operations were undertaken by U.S. Special Forces, the United States requested assistance from allies around the world. Some allied units provided manpower for security throughout the country, while Great Britain and others supplied instructors to train Afghan army units. The British-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) units were lightly armed and not expected to become involved in combat operations. For combat, U.S. leaders requested units that were specially trained for the cold and the high altitudes encountered in much of Afghanistan, the areas favored by the Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters.

Along with Norwegian Special Forces and Australian Special Air Service (SAS), U.S. military commanders selected the British 45th Commando of the Royal Marines as being especially suitable for service in Afghanistan. A formal request for assistance was issued in March 2002. The British government had resisted earlier requests for combat troops, but it acceded to this request. The Pentagon announced the deployment on March 18, surprising many members of the British Parliament. Secretary of State for Defence Geoff Hoon emphasized that the commandos were being sent in a combat role and warned the country to expect casualties. It was Britain's largest deployment of a combat force overseas since the end of the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

The 45th Royal Marine Commando was a battalion-sized unit with 690 Royal Marines augmented by a number of specialists attached from the Royal Navy. It was supported by 7th Battery, 29th Artillery Commando, equipped with 105-mm howitzers. The 59th Independent Commando of the Royal Engineers and members of the Royal Logistics Regiment were included for support. Mobility was provided by the 27th Squadron of the Royal Air Force, with Boeing CH-47 Chinook helicopters. The entire unit was flown to Bagram Airfield in Afghanistan for deployment and was in place by the beginning of April 2002.

The deployment of 45th Commando was known as Operation JACANA. The entire operation included four suboperations. The first was Operation PTARMIGAN, which occurred in April. It consisted of sweeps through high mountain valleys in southern Afghanistan to seek out Taliban fighters. No combat occurred.

The second was Operation SNIPE, in early May. With the assistance of Afghan forces, the commandos swept through parts of southeast Afghanistan. They seized a number of weapons and explosives, but no major contact with Taliban or Al Qaeda forces occurred.

The next operation was code-named CONDOR. It began on May 17, following an ambush against an Australian SAS patrol by Taliban fighters. The patrol called in air strikes that killed 10 rebels.

The commandos were then sent in to try to catch the Taliban forces before they could withdraw from the area. In a series of sweeps and gun battles, the commandos killed at least 11 members of the Taliban and captured another 9. They also secured weapons and explosives. Between the end of May and July 2002, the commandos cooperated with Afghan army units to patrol the Khost region of southeast Afghanistan in the fourth suboperation. During that time, they had no contact with rebel forces.

The results of Operation JACANA were somewhat disappointing. Few enemy fighters were killed or captured, and some critics charged that most of the weapons and explosives captured had belonged to friendly warlords. Despite their training, a number of commandos suffered from altitude sickness and had to be evacuated. The tactics the commandos used were criticized as ineffective, and some critics charged that they suffered from low morale. Much of the blame was placed on their commander. On May 20, 2002, the Defence Ministry announced that Brigadier Roger Lane would be relieved when the unit returned to Great Britain in July. Although explained as a normal command change, the announcement during Operation CONDOR was seen by many as significant. In fact, Lane had angered U.S. officials during his time in Afghanistan, and he contradicted Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld by publicly stating that the war in Afghanistan would be over in several weeks. Other critics have contended that the commando effort suffered from a lack of clear objectives.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; International Security Assistance Force; United Kingdom Forces in Afghanistan

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Jafari, Ibrahim al-

Birth Date: March 25, 1947

Iraqi politician and prime minister of Iraq in the transitional government from 2005 to 2006 before being ousted under intense pressure from the U.S. government. Jafari is a former member of the Party of Islamic Call (Hizb al-Da'wa al-Islamiyya) but was reportedly expelled in June 2008 for his vocal public criticisms of his successor and fellow Dawa official, Nuri al-Maliki, and for forming a rival faction within the party. Ibrahim al-Jafari, an Arab Shia, is a *sayyid* (descendant of the Prophet Muhammad) and was born on March 25, 1947, in the southern Iraqi shrine city of Karbala to the prominent al-Ishayker family.

Jafari received his university education in medicine at the University of Mosul and is a medical doctor. He subsequently joined the Dawa Party, an Iraqi Shia political party founded in 1958. Some reports say that he joined in 1966; others claim 1968. The party sought to achieve the staged implementation of an Islamic governing system and received guidance from one of its founding members, Ayatollah Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr, who was tortured and executed by the Iraqi Baath Party in April 1980. Jafari, along with many other Dawa Party members, left Iraq following the execution of Sadr. In 1989 Jafari took up residence in London after living in Iran for a time and became one of the party's chief spokespeople in Great Britain. The party was a key member of the coalition of opposition parties active against the Iraqi government during the 1980s and 1990s.

Jafari and the Dawa Party leadership were publicly opposed to the U.S.- and British-led invasion and subsequent occupation of Iraq in 2003, but they returned en masse to the country shortly after Saddam Hussein's regime collapsed in April of that year. Jafari was one of those selected to serve on the Iraqi Governing Council, an interim governing body formed by the U.S.-dominated Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), that exercised limited political control over Iraq from 2003 until the transfer of power from the CPA to the Iraqi government in June 2004. Following the transfer of power, Jafari served as one of the two vice presidents in the interim government until the January 2005 elections.

The United Iraqi Alliance (UIA), a loose coalition of mainly Shia Arab political parties of which the Dawa Party is a member, dominated the January 2005 elections, and it became clear that a member of one of the UIA's two largest parties, Dawa or the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council (SIIC), would most likely become prime minister. On April 7, 2005, Jafari formally became Iraq's first post-Hussein prime minister after his chief rival for the post, the Iraqi exile Ahmad Chalabi, who had fallen from the good graces of the United States and many of his Iraqi colleagues because of his duplicity and corruption, withdrew his name from consideration. Jafari is a strong supporter of the idea that Islamic law should play a key role in Iraq's legal code but is opposed to the formation of an Iranian-style governmental system in Iraq and does not support the formation of a clerically run Islamic state.

Jafari enjoyed widespread support and popularity initially, with some 2004 polls indicating that his popularity among Iraqis was second only to Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Husayni al-Sistani, Iraq's senior resident Shia religious scholar, and the militant Iraqi Shia nationalist Muqtada al-Sadr. Despite this popularity, Jafari's tenure as Iraq's first postinterim government prime minister (April 7, 2005–May 20, 2006) was marked with a noticeable increase in politically motivated sectarian tensions. The SIIC, unlike the Dawa Party, has a large paramilitary wing (the 10,000-man Badr Organization, also commonly called the Badr Corps). During Jafari's premiership, the SIIC leader, Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim, gained control over several key ministries, including the Ministry of the Interior, which controls the Iraqi police and internal security forces. The ministry, police, and internal security forces, including elite commando units, were staffed with Badr Corps officers and paramilitaries who were more loyal to Hakim than to Iraq as a nation-state.

Hakim used these units against political and communal rivals, both Shia, namely the Sadr Movement led by Muqtada al-Sadr, and Sunni insurgents and civilians.

Jafari's inability or unwillingness, or both, to address such issues lost him the support of U.S. president George W. Bush, who began to pressure Iraq's chief political leaders to choose a replacement. The UIA again dominated the December 2005 parliamentary elections, winning the right to select the next prime minister. Jafari narrowly defeated, by one vote, Adil Abd al-Mahdi, a senior SIIC official. This victory was largely due to the support of members of parliament loyal to Muqtada al-Sadr, who vocally opposed U.S. pressure on the Iraqi parliament and political elite to replace Jafari. President Bush bluntly remarked in early 2006 that his administration, which designed and launched the invasion and occupation of Iraq, "doesn't want, doesn't support, doesn't accept" the continuation of Jafari's premiership. Although Jafari initially refused to bow to U.S. pressure and domestic pressure from Sunni and Kurdish political rivals as well as pressure from Iraqi secular parties, he finally succumbed to pressure from Grand Ayatollah al-Sistani and the *marjaiyya,* the informal council of Iraq's senior resident Shia scholars sitting in the southern shrine city of Najaf, and stepped down. Jafari was replaced as Iraqi prime minister by a fellow Dawa Party official, Nuri al-Maliki, who also took over from Jafari as the party's secretary-general in May 2007.

In late May 2008 Jafari announced the formation of a new political party, the National Reform Party, which led to his public expulsion from the Dawa Party.

Christopher Anzalone

See also

Badr Organization; Chalabi, Ahmed Abd al-Hadi; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Iraqi Insurgency; Islamic Dawa Party; Maliki, Nuri Muhammed Kamil Hasan al-; Sadr, Muqtada al-; Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council; United Iraqi Alliance

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Japan

Both of the wars in Iraq (Operations desert storm and iraqi freedom) have had major repercussions across the globe, and that includes Japan. Prior to the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Japan was fully cognizant of the military limitations imposed by Article 9 of its constitution. Put in place during the U.S. occupation of Japan after World War II, Article 9 prohibits the Japanese from maintaining "land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential." In 1954, under the Self-Defense Forces Law, the Japanese made tentative steps toward creating a military, but it was clearly for defensive purposes only. Divided into the Japanese Ground Self-Defense Force (JGSDF), Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF), and Japanese Air Self-Defense Force (JASDF), the military was committed to limited missions to preserve the home islands. This commitment extended beyond the military, to public policymakers as well. Since 1976 the Japanese government has maintained a military spending limit of 1 percent of Japan's gross national product (GNP). There have been long-standing desires to amend the status of the Japanese military by right-leaning candidates, but the public by and large has been content with the status quo.

Because of these restrictions, the Japanese Self-Defense Force (JSDF) was not permitted to undertake operations in support of Operation desert shield or, initially, desert storm. Although Japan committed $10 billion to the international coalition dedicated to driving Iraqi forces from Kuwait, none of the money could be used to purchase weapons. Japan provided the third-largest monetary contribution to the war, but the Japanese public outcry against "checkbook diplomacy" was strong and pronounced. In response to public criticism, Japan sent three minesweepers but provided them only after combat operations had ceased. Despite these limitations and concerns, the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf War was a watershed event for Japan, as it began a period of serious reconsideration of its military policy.

Increasingly, the 1990s saw a more active role for the Japanese military. In June 1992 the National Diet (parliament) passed the United Nations (UN) Peacekeeping Cooperation Law, which gave the JSDF the ability to participate in overseas peacekeeping operations under limited conditions. For example, in 1993 the JSDF sent 53 members to Mozambique to participate in peacekeeping operations there.

A particular turning point for Japan's military policy was the non–UN-sanctioned deployment of Japanese troops to Iraq in 2004. Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, at the behest of the United States, pushed the Humanitarian Relief and Iraqi Reconstruction Special Measures Law through the Diet on December 9, 2003. This allowed a small deployment of Japanese troops to Iraq beginning in 2004. Called the Japanese Iraq Reconstruction and Support Group, the 600 troops were sent to Samawah to facilitate reconstruction efforts and keep the peace. Because of constitutional restraints, the soldiers of the JSDF were sent unarmed and placed under the protection of Australian forces. The troops were withdrawn in July 2006.

The Japanese Air Force has also been assisting coalition forces in Iraq since 2004 by helping airlift supplies and personnel to and from Kuwait. Although there is continuing debate in Japan concerning the length of the air mission, the operation was renewed until July 31, 2007, and then extended for an additional two years. The Iraqi operations have caused considerable debate in Japan, with many Japanese regarding them as illegal. In April 2008 Japan's Nagoya High Court ruled the Japanese air mission in Iraq as partly unconstitutional, although the Japanese government has stated that it will not be bound by the court's decision.

Robert H. Clemm

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Nations' Contributions to; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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Jarrah, Ziyad al-

Birth Date: May 11, 1975
Death Date: September 11, 2001

Individual alleged to have been one of the 19 terrorists who carried out the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States, although his family, girlfriend, and others contend that he was merely a passenger aboard United Airlines Flight 93, which crashed in southwestern Pennsylvania. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) alleged he was the pilot of the aircraft. It is believed that the hijackers had planned to crash the Boeing 757 into the U.S. Capitol or the White House in Washington, D.C. From a prosperous and influential Lebanese family, Ziyad Samir al-Jarrah was born on May 11, 1975, in Beirut, Lebanon. His father held a high-ranking post in the Lebanese social security system, and his mother taught school.

Jarrah attended Christian schools in Lebanon. After Jarrah completed his schooling, the family sent him to study biochemistry in Greifswald, Germany, in the spring of 1996. There, he met Aysel Sengün, a young Turkish student, and they lived together as a couple from 1999.

Jarrah had little in common with the other hijackers. He never evinced beliefs similar to the others in the group and had no connection with the mosque attended by others in Hamburg, Germany; indeed, he rarely attended the mosque, and friends could not remember seeing him pray. He apparently had no connection with Muhammad Atta, one of the better-known hijackers, but did appear in a photograph at a wedding of someone who Atta knew.

Jarrah decided to study aeronautical engineering at Hamburg University at the Institute of Applied Science, which was located in a different area of the city from the Hamburg cell members' residences or places of study. He had a serious relationship with his girlfriend, and his family assumed they would marry.

According to the official accounts of the hijackers, Jarrah traveled to Las Vegas at the same time as others in the plot and enrolled in flight school, supposedly because his major in aeronautical engineering would last two years. He is also alleged to have traveled to Afghanistan, based on videotape evidence, which some doubters believe was doctored to include images of the hijackers.

Allegedly, Jarrah trained at an Al Qaeda camp beginning in November 1999. He entered the United States on June 27, 2000, and trained at the Florida Flight Training Center in Venice, Florida. His flight instructor considered him an average pilot, and he received a license to fly a single-engine plane after about six months of study; it was issued on July 30, 2001.

In January 2001 Jarrah returned to Germany. In April he was back in the United States, living in Hollywood, Florida, and taking martial arts lessons. Jarrah made a trip to Germany to visit his girlfriend, leaving on July 25 and returning on August 4. While still in Germany, he received word that he had qualified for a commercial license to fly single-engine aircraft. Upon his return to Florida, Jarrah began to study the manuals for flying Boeing 757 and 767 aircraft. Later that month, he moved to an apartment in Lauderdale-by-the-Sea with Ahmed al-Haznawi. Throughout late August and September, Jarrah traveled frequently from south Florida to the Washington, D.C., area. On September 7 he traveled from Fort Lauderdale to Newark, New Jersey, on a Continental Airlines flight with Haznawi. Jarrah reappeared in the Washington, D.C., area, receiving a speeding ticket on Interstate 95 in Maryland. He and two of his fellow conspirators finally checked in at the Newark Airport Marriott soon after midnight on September 11. Before boarding United Airlines Flight 93, Jarrah made a phone call to Sengün in Germany.

The FBI asserts that Jarrah was the pilot of the hijacked United Airlines Flight 93, although his family asserts he was merely a passenger unlucky enough to be aboard. Once in the air, the hijackers seized control of the aircraft; the new pilot headed the plane toward Washington. There were only three hijackers to control the crew and passengers.

Soon passengers learned through cell phone calls that the aircraft was to be used as a flying bomb. They rose up and attempted to regain control of the plane. When it became apparent that they were about to overpower the hijackers, the pilot apparently crashed the aircraft into the ground near Shanksville, Pennsylvania. Jarrah and three other hijackers died in the crash, as did the 40 passengers and crew members.

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See also

Al Qaeda; Atta, Muhammad; Bin Laden, Osama; Hamburg Cell; September 11 Attacks

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Jihad

The term "jihad" (*jehad*) is often translated as "holy war." It means "striving" or "to exert the utmost effort" and refers both to a religious duty to spread and defend Islam by waging war (lesser jihad) and an inward spiritual struggle to attain perfect faith (greater jihad.) The distinction between lesser and greater is not accepted by all Muslims in all circumstances. Many distinguish between jihad as an individual versus a collective duty, as when Muslims face attack or cannot practice their faith (individual duty) or when led by an appropriate Muslim authority (collective duty). In general, mainstream modern Islam emphasizes the greater jihad, the struggle to be a good Muslim, while recognizing the lesser jihad, the struggle through war as a historical necessity.

Within the spectrum of Islamic belief, definitions of jihad have also rested on historical circumstances. Nineteenth-century Indian reformer Sayyid Ahmad Khan argued for a more limited interpretation of jihad whereby believers could perform acts of piety or charity in place of armed struggle and that it was incumbent only if Muslims could not practice their faith. But others held that Khan's ideas were innovative and thus false. The reform movement of Muhammad ibn abd al-Wahhab in 18th-century Arabia, in contrast, reasserted the incumbency of jihad as armed struggle for all believers. As the Qur'an contains verses that promote mercy and urge peacemaking but also verses (referred to as the Sword Verses) that more ardently require jihad of believers, there is a scriptural basis for both sides of this argument.

Interpretations of the Qur'anic statements about the nature of jihad began when the early Muslims at Medina created an Islamic state in 622 CE. but faced the armed warriors of Mecca. The initial mention of jihad in the Qur'an (22:39) deals with defensive warfare only, and the statement "those who stay at home" could be taken as a condemnation of those who abstained from an early key battle of the Muslims against the Meccan forces. Many Muslim scholars believed that the admonition to pursue an aggressive jihad "with their wealth and their persons" (Qur'an 4:95) overrode verses revealed earlier on. Fighting and warfare (*qital*) are, however, differentiated from jihad, which is always accompanied by the phrase "*ala sabil Allah*" ("on the path of God"), similar to the way that just war is differentiated from other forms of conflict in the Christian tradition.

Some scholars differentiate the fulfilling of jihad by the heart, the tongue, or the sword as a means of preserving the Muslim community, but such teachings have by and large been contradicted by the revival of activist jihad, first in response to European 19th-century colonialism and then again in the 20th century.

Mainstream Islam considers foreign military intervention; foreign occupation; economic oppression; non-Islamic cultural realignment; colonialism; and the oppression of a domestic government, either secular or Islamic, of an Islamic people or country to be a sufficient reason, if not a Qur'anic mandate, to participate in a defensive jihad. The more militant and fundamental end of the Islamic spectrum asserts that a social, economic, and military defensive jihad is justifiable and necessary. A widespread discussion of jihad is ongoing in the Muslim world today in response to the rise of militancy, however, and there is a concerted effort to separate the concepts of jihad and martyrdom when they are the rallying call of such irresponsible extremists as Osama bin Laden.

Notable defensive jihads in the more recent history of Islam include the resistance of the Afghan (1979) and Chechnyan (ongoing) mujahideen against their respective Soviet and Russian occupations, and the struggle of Algerians to gain independence from France in the Algerian War (1954–1962). Some Islamic religious scholars, such as Abdullah Yusuf Azzam, a former professor of bin Laden, have argued for jihad against the West. Numerous clerics and scholars have held, along with the views of their communities, that the Palestinian struggle against Israel is a defensive jihad because of the infringements on life and liberty, the use of collective punishment, and the seizure by Israel of *waqf* (endowment) lands.

Essentially, the early Muslim community adopted offensive jihad because no defensive action would have protected them against the allied tribal forces determined to exterminate them. In such a jihad, the Peoples of the Book (*dhimma*), meaning other monotheistic traditions like Judaism and Christianity, must be treated differently than enemies who are unbelievers (*kuffar*). The Peoples of the Book must submit to Islamic rule, however, including the paying of poll and land taxes. Rules of engagement, truces, and treatment of prisoners and non-Muslims were all specified in medieval texts concerned with *siyar,* or Islamic international law.

Classical Islamic law and tradition asserts that a jihad that is a collective duty (simplified in Western texts as an offensive jihad) can be declared only by the caliph, the successor to the prophet Muhammad and the lawful temporal and spiritual authority for the entire Islamic community. On the other hand, no authority other than conscience or the awareness of an oppression targeting Islam or Islamic peoples is necessary to participate in an individually incumbent jihad.

When the Mongols attacked Baghdad in 1258, the caliphate, long since a divided patchwork of sultanates and emirates, ceased to exist. It was the only political structure recognized by the classical interpretation of Islamic doctrine as being capable of leading a (offensive) jihad. That did not prevent the Ottoman sultans from declaring themselves caliphs and calling for jihad, but the Muslim world did not recognize them as such. Other jihads were declared in the early modern period, for instance by the Mahdiyya of the Sudan, the Wahhabi in Arabia, and the Sanusiyya in present-day Libya.

Leaders of such movements, like contemporary jihadists, have sometimes proclaimed jihads by issuing a fatwa, or statement. Although a fatwa is supposed to be a legal response issued by a qualified jurist, self-proclaimed leaders and clerics sometimes say that the traditional *ulema,* or mullahs, crushed by modern state governments, have failed in their duty and therefore claim the right to speak in their stead.

Although many Muslims recognize their respective governments and political leaders as worthy of defining and declaring

Pakistani demonstrator with a placard reading "Jihad is Not Terrorism, Jihad is our Life," October 15, 2001. (Pascal Le Segretain/Corbis Sygma)

defensive jihads, many others perceive their governments as illegitimate Islamic states or their leaders as illegitimate Islamic leaders. Turkey, Egypt, and Pakistan, for example, are quasi-democratic states that grant secular political parties and politicians the same rights as Islamic political parties and politicians. Islamic militant groups in all three countries see these governments and their leaders as heretical and illegitimate under Sharia (Islamic law). In a similar vein, some Muslims, most notably the Takfiri (apostates), declare jihad against Muslim governments perceived as oppressive, anti-Islamic, or corrupt (that is, being "non-Muslim," in their eyes). Additionally, many of the Islamic theocratic monarchies, such as Saudi Arabia, are deemed illegitimate by fundamentalist Muslims. This perception is due in part to the willingness of some of these monarchies and democracies to cooperate and form alliances with non-Islamic nations or with nations that wage economic, cultural, or military war against Islam and Muslims. Some of these monarchies and democracies also limit the power of the clerics within their countries.

Various Islamic movements, most notably Al Qaeda, have stepped into the void created by the disappearance of the caliphate and the resultant fractured Islamic political and religious world. These movements have interpreted Islam as they wish and declared jihad as they desire, although often with the assistance and support of some clerics as well as leaders with a degree of religious knowledge. Because early Muslims killed in jihad were considered martyrs, there is an extensive tradition that exalts martyrdom. The possibility of martyrdom appeals to modern jihadists, particularly younger or more desperate followers. Defensive jihad, inclusive of martyrdom, is deemed appropriate in order to end Israel's occupation of the perceived Islamic territories of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza Strip, if not all of Palestine.

A martyr secures a place in paradise and may intercede for other Muslims. Antiterrorist campaigns in the Muslim world have argued, against the weight of literature and popular belief, that modern jihadists are not martyrs if they set out to martyr themselves, because suicide is forbidden in Islam. Noncombatant Muslims who perish in a jihad are also considered martyrs. Jihadists thus excuse the deaths of innocents caught in their crossfire with targets or authorities. They explain the deaths of non-Muslim civilians as being deserved for their failure to submit to Islam or for their open oppression of Islam or Islamic peoples. In the case of Israeli civilians, the fact that all provide military service to their country means that they are not really considered civilians by the jihadists.

The term "jihad" is incorporated into the organizational names of numerous militant groups, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, the Egyptian and former Iraqi Tawhid wal-Jihad, and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

The struggle in contemporary Islam to redefine jihad and detach its meaning from adventurism, martyrdom, and attacks on Muslim governments as well as Westerners is one of the most significant challenges at this time in history.

Richard Edwards and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Al Qaeda; Fatwa; Hamas; Islamic Jihad, Palestinian; Martyrdom; Qur'an; Sharia; Terrorism; Wahhabism

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John Paul II, Pope

Birth Date: May 18, 1920
Death Date: April 2, 2005

Roman Catholic prelate and pope (1978–2005). Born in Wadowice, Poland, on May 18, 1920, Karol Józef Wojtyła grew up in humble circumstances and knew hardship as a youth. His mother died when he was just nine years old, and three years later his only sibling, a brother, also died. An engaging young man who was an exemplary student, Wojtyła enrolled in the faculty of philosophy at Jagellonian University in Krakow in 1938.

To avoid imprisonment under the German occupation during World War II after September 1939, Wojtyła was forced to work first in a stone quarry and then in a chemical plant. In 1942 he clandestinely entered an underground seminary in Krakow and enrolled in the faculty of theology at Jagellonian University.

Wojtyła transferred to the archbishop of Krakow's residence in August 1944, where he remained until Poland was liberated in 1945. In 1946 Wojtyła completed his fourth year of studies, was ordained a priest, and left for Rome for postgraduate studies. In 1947 he earned his licentiate in theology. The following year he earned a master's degree and doctorate in sacred theology from Jagellonian University.

In the late 1940s and into the mid-1950s Wojtyła served in a variety of pastoral positions in Poland, began to publish, and ultimately held the chair of ethics at Poland's Catholic University in Lublin in 1956. He was named auxiliary bishop in the archbishopric of Krakow in 1958, becoming its archbishop in 1964. All the while he labored under the considerable restrictions of communist-controlled Poland, which was openly hostile toward the Catholic Church. Wojtyła became a cardinal in 1967. During the early to mid-1970s he continued to publish prolifically on a wide range of scholarly and theological topics. He also traveled extensively.

On October 16, 1978, following the sudden death of Pope John Paul I, Wojtyła was elected pope on the eighth balloting, astounding many pundits. In honor of his immediate predecessor, he took the name John Paul II and became the first non-Italian pope in 455 years. At 58 years old, he was also an unusually youthful pontiff who was an avid skier, swimmer, and hiker.

From the very beginning of his pontificate, John Paul II, who spoke eight languages, eschewed many of the trappings of his office. Instead, he became known as a master communicator who relished personal contacts, often wading into huge crowds. Just eight months into his pontificate, he paid an emotional nine-day visit to his native Poland, the first pope to visit the nation. His sojourn caused great consternation among communist officials, who feared that the pope's strong anticommunist sentiments would result in popular unrest. Although this did not immediately happen, communist officials had much to worry about. By the early 1980s John Paul II had tacitly aligned himself with Poland's Solidarity movement, and by the early 1990s he was credited with being a key force behind the events of 1989 that swept away communist rule in Eastern Europe and hastened the end of the Cold War.

The pope's attitude toward the Middle East was in many ways a radical departure from that of his predecessors. He was a tireless proponent of peace in the region, and he championed both Muslim and Jewish causes. Although he decried the violence of radical Palestinians, he was nonetheless supportive of Palestinian statehood. Instead of highlighting the differences between Christianity and Islam, he viewed them as complementary religions, sharing many of the same tenets and historical figures. This was a far different path than those of his predecessors, who saw Islam in an antipathetic light. Indeed, the pope helped narrow the chasm between the Muslim and Christian worlds. At the same time, he was a supporter of Israel and tried to bridge the considerable and centuries-long gap between Jews and the Catholic Church.

Throughout his long papacy, the pope sought to build bridges with both the Jewish and Muslim communities. His explicit admissions of wrongdoing toward both groups by the Catholic Church of the past earned him a good number of supporters in each camp. Clearly, he was unable to heal the rift between Israelis and Palestinians or between Jews and Muslims. What he did do, however, was to identify with the injustices of all.

In 2001 John Paul II became the first pontiff in the 2,000-year history of the Catholic Church to make an official visit to a mosque. The dramatic gesture, which took place in an ancient mosque in Damascus, Syria, was heightened when the pope urged Christians and Muslims to forgive one another and work toward common goals of peace and justice.

In 1979 John Paul II visited the Auschwitz concentration camp, and in 2001 he traveled to Israel and prayed for forgiveness at Yad Vashem, which deeply moved many Jews. In 1986 he became the first pope to officially visit a synagogue, another hugely important

act of symbolism. His approaches to the Jewish and Arab worlds were not without their detractors. Some hard-line Muslims savaged him for his attempts to heal the rift with the Jews. Many Israelis, on the other hand, criticized his failure to support the Iraq War (2003). John Paul II was also critical of the U.S. war in Afghanistan, believing that too many innocent civilians were being killed or wounded, and he signaled only tepid acceptance of the Persian Gulf War of 1991. Indeed, before that conflict he had urged both the Iraqis and the international coalition to exhibit restraint and avoid military confrontation, but to no avail.

Pope John Paul II was the most visible and well-traveled pontiff in history. During his reign he completed 104 foreign pastoral visits. He was also the first pontiff to visit a predominantly Orthodox nation (Romania in 1999). It is hard to overstate the impact that John Paul II had on world politics, as he reached out in an unprecedented way to the world's Jews as well as Muslims and non-Catholic Christians.

In affairs of social justice, faith, and Church governance, John Paul II was at once liberal and conservative. On most social issues he was considered liberal and was a vocal critic of both communism and the excesses of capitalism. He frequently decried the gap between rich and poor nations and was a champion of the world's impoverished and downtrodden. He had little use for political oppression of any stripe and was also an ardent foe of the death penalty and abortion. These stances made him popular with both liberals and conservatives around the world. Yet in terms of Catholic doctrine, the pope was conservative if not orthodox. He steadfastly refused to consider the ordination of women, the abandonment of celibacy for Catholic clergy, or the lifting of the Church's ban on contraception.

John Paul II died in Rome on April 2, 2005, after battling a series of debilitating ailments, some of which were the result of a near-mortal gunshot wound he received at the hands of a Turkish extremist during a May 1981 assassination attempt in St. Peter's Square.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr. and Luc Stenger

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview

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Joint Chiefs of Staff

The principal military advisory group to the president of the United States and the secretary of defense, composed of the chiefs of staff of the U.S. Army and the U.S. Air Force, the chief of U.S. Navy operations, the commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, and the chairman and vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). The National Security Act of 1947 changed the JCS from executive agents dealing with theater and area commanders to planners and advisers.

The JCS originally consisted of only the service chiefs of the U.S. Army, U.S. Navy, and U.S. Air Force and the chairman. The commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps became a member later, and even later the position of vice chairman was established by the Goldwater-Nichols Act. The chairman and vice chairman can be appointed from any of the four services.

Responsibilities as members of the JCS took precedence over duties as the chiefs of military services. The president nominated the chairman for appointment, and the U.S. Senate confirmed him. By statute, the chairman was either a full (four-star) general or a full admiral and served a two-year tour of duty. The president had discretionary power to renominate the chairman for additional two-year terms.

The 1986 Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act identified the chairman of the JCS as the senior-ranking member of the armed forces. As such, the chairman of the JCS serves as the principal military adviser to the president, the secretary of defense, and the National Security Council (NSC). In carrying out his duties, the chairman of the JCS consults with and seeks the advice of the other members of the JCS and the combatant commanders, as he considers appropriate.

All JCS members are by law military advisers, and they can respond to a request or voluntarily submit, through the chairman, advice or opinions to the president, the secretary of defense, or the NSC. The modern JCS has no executive authority to command combatant forces. In fact, the JCS members are bypassed in the chain of command so that responsibilities for conducting military operations flows from the president to the secretary of defense directly to the commanders of the Unified Combatant Commands. However, the JCS members have authority over personnel assignments, equipment, training, operational doctrine, and resource management of their respective services as well as oversight of resources and personnel allocated by their services to the combatant commands.

Collectively, the JCS serves as the second-highest deliberative body for military policy behind the NSC. The chairman of the JCS is also a member of the NSC. As of 2008, there were eight directorates of the JCS: J1 Personnel and Manpower; J2 Intelligence; J3 Operations; J4 Logistics; J5 Strategic Plans and Policy; J6 Command, Control, Communications and Computer Systems; J7 Operational Plans and Joint Force Development; and J8 Force Structure, Resources, and Assessment.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait on August, 2 1990, the members of the JCS were General Colin L. Powell, chairman; Admiral David Jeremiah, vice chairman; General Michael J. Dugan, U.S. Air Force chief of staff; General Carl Vuono, U.S. Army chief of staff; Admiral Frank B. Kelso II, chief of U.S. Navy operations; and General Alfred Gray, U.S. Marine Corps commandant. At a time when

most senior military men were uneasy about the defense of Saudi Arabia and wanted to avoid giving Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein an additional incentive to invade, Dugan promoted the notion that strategic airpower provided a near-term offensive option. His public promotion of this idea included comments about targeting Hussein and his family. Dugan's comments made newspaper headlines and infuriated Powell, who accused Dugan of leaking secret information and misrepresenting the war plans. In September 1990 General Merrill McPeak replaced Dugan.

The JCS participated in all the important decisions regarding Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. Once the ground invasion began in February 1991, the JCS proved particularly wary of what might go wrong and sensitive to avoiding needless American casualties. This attitude frequently put the JCS at odds with White House officials who were eager to teach Hussein a lesson by seriously degrading Iraq's military. Chairman Powell was a particular voice of caution and restraint, and he played a pivotal role in the controversial decision recommending a quick end to the war that did not include the toppling of Hussein's regime.

After the Persian Gulf War ended, U.S. Army general John M. D. Shalikashvili served as chairman of the JCS, replacing Powell in 1993. Shalikashvili stayed on until 1997. During his tenure, the JCS examined the lessons from the Persian Gulf War and focused on the long lead times required to move substantial forces and their logistical backing to the Gulf region. A result of this examination was the prepositioning of equipment and supplies in the Gulf. U.S. Army general Henry H. Shelton was JCS chairman during the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States. He retired on October 1, 2001.

Having served as vice chairman of the JCS from March 2000 to September 2001, U.S. Air Force general Richard B. Myers became the chairman of the JCS on October 1, 2001. He served in that capacity during the earliest planning stages for the Global War on Terror, including Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM. As such, Myers served as the military's public face by conducting high-level media briefings. His air force experience as commander in chief of the U.S. Space Command clearly informed his keen understanding of the role that command, control, communications, and computers played in the battlefield. He also acknowledged the necessity for networked joint interagency computers and the need to link sensor and reconnaissance platforms with shooting platforms. Also, Myers promoted enhanced joint warfighting capabilities.

Upon Meyer's retirement in 2005, U.S. Marine Corps general Peter Pace, who had become vice chairman of the JCS on September 30, 2001, became chairman. Pace was the first marine officer to hold either the vice chairman or the chairman positions. Pace's tenure coincided with a major escalation in the Iraqi insurgency.

Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff Navy admiral Mike Mullen testifies before the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on December 3, 2009, about President Barack Obama's decision to send an additional 30,000 troops to Afghanistan. (U.S. Department of Defense)

However, his comments in 2007 concerning homosexuals (he termed homosexual acts "immoral") and gays in the military caused an uproar that turned many against him. In 2005 Pace also publicly disagreed with Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld concerning torture, and in 2007 Pace contradicted the White House's contention that Iran was supplying arms to Iraqi insurgents. In June 2008 Secretary of Defense Robert Gates recommended that Pace not be renominated for another term, fearing that he would be the object of protracted grilling by a Democratically controlled Congress upset with the progress of the war.

In turn, Admiral Mike Mullen became chairman on October 1, 2007. With considerable reluctance, the JCS endorsed the George W. Bush administration's troop surge strategy in Iraq, which began in the late winter of 2007. Likewise, the JCS acquiesced to President Barrack Obama's intentions to drawn down forces in Iraq and send reinforcements to Afghanistan. On January 27, 2009, JCS chairman Admiral Mullen stated that America's most challenging security threat was centered in Afghanistan and Pakistan, which seemed to confirm the new president's military focus.

James Arnold

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Gates, Robert Michael; Mullen, Michael Glenn; Obama, Barack Hussein, II; Pace, Peter; Powell, Colin Luther; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Shalikashvili, John Malchese David

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Joint Direct Attack Munition and Small Diameter Bomb

Two highly accurate, all-weather, autonomous air-delivered weapons developed by the U.S. Air Force that utilize the precise timing signal of the Navigation Signal Timing and Ranging (NAVSTAR) Global Positioning System (GPS) satellites for all-weather precision attacks of ground targets. The Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM) is a tail kit that attaches to the rear of conventional 500-pound, 1,000-pound, or 2,000-pound gravity bombs. The carrying aircraft can launch the weapon up to 15 miles from the target and program each weapon it carries to strike separate targets. Once released, the bomb's Inertial Navigation System (INS)/GPS guides the bomb to its target regardless of weather conditions. The weapon can impact within 5 yards of the target in the GPS-aided INS mode or within 10 yards in INS-only mode.

The U.S. Air Force began developing the JDAM in the late 1980s but shelved it in 1989. During the Persian Gulf War, however, the air force discovered that clouds and smoke adversely affected the accuracy of its laser-guided bombs. Chief of staff of the air force General Merrill A. McPeak subsequently directed the development of an all-weather, low-cost, and highly accurate air-delivered weapon. In 1995 McDonnell Douglas (now Boeing) began producing the JDAM tail kits at a cost of $18,000 each. Today, every strike aircraft in the U.S. Air Force, the U.S. Navy, and the U.S. Marine Corps and many strike aircraft of U.S. allies can carry the JDAM.

The JDAM, launched from the B-2 Spirit bomber, first saw combat during Operation ALLIED FORCE, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) 1999 bombing campaign against the Federal Republic of Serbia. Flying nonstop from Whiteman Air Force Base, Missouri, the B-2s, equipped with 16 2,000-pound JDAMs, each delivered more than 650 JDAMs with 96 percent reliability and hit 87 percent of their intended targets during the campaign. The bombers could launch the JDAMs individually or in groups, each programmed to hit a separate target.

During Operation ENDURING FREEDOM that began in October 2001, the JDAM quickly became the air-delivered weapon of choice to attack enemy forces in close proximity to friendly forces or civilian centers. Using laser range-finding binoculars and GPS receivers, special operations ground controllers with Northern Alliance forces identified targets and relayed the coordinates to the Air Operations Center in Kuwait or to aircraft over the battlefield.

The venerable Boeing B-52 Stratofortess and the 20-year-old Rockwell International B-1B Lancer, carrying up to 24 2,000-pound JDAMs each, loitered over the battlefield up to eight hours a day with air refueling, waiting for new targeting data, until they expended their ordnance. These strategic bombers had essentially become on-call aerial artillery. Many carrier-based aircraft took off without knowing the location of their targets, receiving this data only as they entered the combat zone.

After the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq in March 2003 and during the continuing combat in Afghanistan and in Iraq, U.S. and coalition aircraft continued to refine procedures to hit targets of opportunity with JDAMs in near real time. As combat operations continued, the war fighters in the Middle East identified the need for two additional capabilities: a JDAM capable of striking moving targets and a precise weapon with a smaller blast and fragmentation pattern than the 500-pound JDAM. By mid-2007 the Air Armament Center, Eglin Air Force Base, Florida, had developed the Laser JDAM with a laser seeker in the nose that tracks and hits a target moving up to 50 miles per hour and awarded the production contract to Boeing.

The U.S. Air Force began development of the Small Diameter Bomb (SDB) in 2003. It is only six feet long and weighs 285 pounds. It comes in two variants, one with GPS/INS guidance only and one with GPS/INS guidance and a laser seeker to hit moving targets. Its special bomb carriage system can carry four SDBs on one weapons station. The weapon can be launched up to 60 miles from the target. Because of its smaller size, strike aircraft can carry more individual weapons, giving the fliers increased kills per mission.

U.S. Air Force F-15E Strike Eagle aircraft from the 335th Fighter Squadron drop Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAMs) on a cave in eastern Afghanistan on November 26, 2009. (U.S. Department of Defense)

It also provides reduced collateral damage in urban areas (such as those in Iraq) in which the military struggles at times to find a weapon with the desired kill effect but without excessive blast or fragmentation effects.

The U.S. Air Force declared the SDB operational in September 2006 with initial integration with the F-15E Strike Eagle with follow-on integration on other air force strike aircraft. Because of its capabilities, the SDB system is an important air-delivered weapon in the ongoing Global War on Terror.

Robert B. Kane

See also

B-52 Stratofortress; Bombs, Gravity; Bombs, Precision-Guided; Enduring Freedom, Operation, U.S. Air Campaign; Iraqi Freedom, Operation, Air Campaign; Navigation Satellite Timing and Ranging Global Positioning System

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Joint Surveillance and Target Radar System Aircraft

A Joint U.S. Air Force–U.S. Army airborne surveillance and target acquisition radar/command and control system built on a Boeing 707-300 airframe. There are currently 17 aircraft outfitted as Joint Surveillance and Target Radar System (JSTARS) aircraft, which are operated by the 116th Air Control Wing based at Robins Air Force Base, Georgia. The 116th is a joint wing staffed by both air force and army National Guard personnel. Each aircraft, when configured for JSTARS, cost approximately $250 million. The developer/builder of the system was Northrop Grumman. After an airframe was completed, it was shipped to Northrop-Grumman's Battle Management Systems Division in Melbourne, Florida, where the specialized electronics were installed and tested.

JSTARS was used in a limited capacity during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, flying 49 sorties, but it was still in its developmental phase. Nevertheless, in some 500 hours of flying, its success rate was held to be 100 percent. It was able to accurately detect Iraq's mobile forces, including tanks and mobile Scud missile launchers. The first fully deployable JSTARS aircraft was delivered in September 1996; since then, the aircraft have been deployed for peacekeeping missions in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Kosovo. JSTARS have also been deployed to Afghanistan since 2001, and

during March–April 2003 (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM) eight JSTARS flew some 50 missions over Iraq.

JSTARS aircraft provide information on ground situations via secure data links connected to mobile army stations, air force command posts, and far-removed command and information-gathering posts so that military analysts can properly interpret data being relayed. JSTARS give a complete picture of ground information, similar in nature to the information about air situations provided by the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS). JSTARS has the ability to determine the direction, number, and speed of all ground vehicles and other patterns of military activity. It can also provide similar information on helicopters. This allows air force and army commanders to make important decisions and to fine-tune attack plans and battle tactics on the fly in real time.

JSTARS aircraft employ four turbojet engines with 18,000 pounds of thrust each. The plane has an air endurance of 11 hours (20 hours with in-flight refueling). The aircraft is 152 feet 11 inches in length and 42 feet 6 inches high. It has a wing span of 145 feet 9 inches. Weight fully fueled is 155,000 pounds; it has a maximum gross weight of 336,000 pounds. Cruising speed is 448–586.8 miles per hour at a maximum ceiling of 42,000 feet. On a standard mission, JSTARS aircraft carry 21 personnel (3 flight crew and 19 systems operators). On longer missions, the crew can number as many as 34 people (6 flight crew and 28 systems operators). Beginning in 2006, Northrop-Grumman began upgrading JSTARS aircraft with more powerful engines and improved electronics. The first of the retrofitted aircraft are to be delivered in late 2010; the upgrades will likely continue into 2013. Perhaps the most recognizable part of the JSTARS is the huge 24-foot-long antenna mounted under the front of the aircraft, which can be swiveled into numerous configurations by operators during flight. By 2007, JSTARS aircraft had accrued 10,000 hours of combat missions, and their performance was hailed by both army and air force commanders.

The JSTARS aircraft features 17 operations consoles and 1 navigation/self-defense console. Each console is assigned to a specific operator with expertise in that specific area of data collection. To enhance its communications capabilities, JSTARS aircraft have 12 encrypted UHF radios, 2 encrypted HF radios, 3 encrypted VHF radios, and multiple intercom networks.

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See also

Airborne Warning and Control System; Scud Missiles, U.S. Search for during the Persian Gulf War; United States Air Force, Afghanistan War; United States Air Force, Iraq War; United States Air Force, Persian Gulf War

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Jordan

Middle Eastern nation covering 35,637 square miles, about the size of the U.S. state of Indiana. Jordan, officially known as the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan, borders Israel and the West Bank to the west, Syria and the Golan Heights to the north, Iraq to the east, and Saudi Arabia to the east and south. Its current population is estimated at 6.05 million people. From 1516 to 1919 Jordan was part of the Ottoman Empire. With the end of World War I and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Transjordan (as it was then known) became part of Britain's League of Nations mandate over Palestine in 1920. In 1921 Abdullah ibn Hussein, a member of the Hashimite dynasty, became the de facto king of Transjordan. Transjordan became a constitutional monarchy under Abdullah I, who was formally placed on the throne by the British in 1928. Nevertheless, Transjordan was still considered part of the British Mandate. That changed in May 1946 when Transjordan secured its independence.

Because Transjordan was a member of the Arab League when the State of Israel was created in May 1948, Abdullah was obliged to fight alongside his Arab neighbors against the Israelis. As with most Arabs, he flatly rejected Zionist ambitions. Jordan gained legal authority over the West Bank in 1949 as a result of the Israeli War of Independence (1948–1949). Abdullah strongly supported Palestinian rights and officially changed his country's name to Jordan to differentiate the new territories west of the Jordan River from the broader Transjordan. Months later he was accused of trying to permanently annex the West Bank, although the charges might have arisen due to his proposal 10 years earlier arguing for the creation of a united Arab kingdom of Transjordan and Palestine. Jordan, unlike other Arab states, allowed Palestinians to take Jordanian citizenship.

A large number of displaced Palestinians, about 70,000 by 1949, fled to Jordan, and 280,000 Palestinians were already residing in or fled to the West Bank. The Palestinian population outnumbered the Jordanian population, and although these people received citizenship, their identity and aspirations were a point of tension within Jordan. In 1951 a Palestinian assassinated Abdullah in Jerusalem, and the following year he was succeeded by his grandson, King Hussein I. Hussein ruled Jordan for the next 47 years.

A series of anti-Western uprisings in Jordan, combined with the 1956 Suez Crisis, compelled Hussein to sever military ties to Britain. The British government had taken part in a covert scheme with the French and Israeli governments to topple Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser and wrest back control of the Suez Canal from the Egyptians.

In February 1958 Hussein formed the Arab Federation with Iraq. The king viewed this as a needed countermeasure to the newly established United Arab Republic (UAR), formed between Egypt and Syria and dominated by Nasser, Egypt's Pan-Arab nationalist president. The Arab Federation fell apart by the autumn of 1958, however, after the Iraqi king was overthrown

in a coup. Later that same year, leaders of the UAR called for the overthrow of governments in Beirut and Amman. Hussein fought back by requesting help from the British, who dispatched troops to Jordan to quell antigovernment protests. The Americans had simultaneously sent troops to Lebanon to bolster its besieged Christian-led government.

Jordan's relations with the UAR remained tense. Indeed, in 1963 when a rival Jordanian government-in-exile was set up in Damascus, Syria, King Hussein declared a state of emergency. The crisis subsided when the United States and Britain publicly endorsed Hussein's rule. For good measure, the United States placed its Sixth Fleet on alert in the Mediterranean.

After the mid-1960s and more than a decade of crises and regional conflicts, Hussein turned his attention to domestic issues. He was devoted to improving the welfare of his people and launched major programs to improve literacy rates (which were very low), increase educational opportunities, bolster public health initiatives, and lower infant mortality rates. In these endeavors he was quite successful. By the late 1980s literacy rates approached 100 percent, and infant deaths were down dramatically. Jordan's economy also began to expand as the nation engaged in more trade with the outside world and as its relations with Egypt improved. Hussein also began to erect a modern and reliable transportation system and moved to modernize the country's infrastructure. Notable in all of this was that he accomplished much without resorting to overly repressive tactics. Indeed, throughout the Cold War most Jordanians enjoyed a level of freedom virtually unrivaled in the Middle East. However, the government undertook sharp responses to antiregime elements and tensions with the Palestinian population.

By the late 1960s another Arab-Israeli conflict was in the making. After Egypt blockaded Israeli shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba in 1967, King Hussein signed a mutual defense pact with Egypt, setting aside his former differences with Nasser's government. Normally a moderating force in volatile Middle East politics, Hussein reluctantly entered the war on the side of Egypt, even as Tel Aviv was imploring him though diplomatic channels not to do so. When the June 1967 Six-Day War ended, Israel took from Jordan the entire West Bank and all of Jerusalem.

As a result of the war, thousands of Palestinians fled to Jordan from the West Bank, now controlled by Israel. Indeed, it is estimated that as many as 300,000 Palestinians poured into Jordan after June 1967, swelling the Palestinian refugee population there to almost 1 million. This massive influx severely taxed Jordanian infrastructure as well as schools, health care, and other services and engendered considerable resentment among some Jordanians. The number of Palestinians in Jordan by 1968 meant that Palestinian groups—especially resistance groups such as the fedayeen—increased their power and clout considerably within Jordan. These groups were well armed (receiving significant assistance from Syria and Egypt) and posed a serious threat to Hussein's rule. By 1970 it appeared as if the Palestinian resistance fighters were in the process of creating a Palestinian state within a state, much as they would do in Lebanon. This situation greatly alarmed King Hussein.

In early 1970 Palestinian guerrilla groups and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) were already skirmishing with Jordanian troops. Open warfare erupted in June. Heretofore the Jordanian Army had been unsuccessful in its attempts to stop Palestinian attacks on Israel from taking place on Jordanian soil. Hussein also opposed the Palestinian aims of creating a Palestinian state in the West Bank, which he hoped to regain in the future.

In September 1970 following 10 days of bloody conflict, thousands of Palestinians, including the leadership of the PLO, fled Jordan for Syria and Lebanon. Hussein and his government were deeply troubled by this conflict, as were many of the Jordanians of Palestinian origin. From the Palestinian perspective, the fighting and forced expulsion in September were seen as a great betrayal. Indeed, the Palestinians referred to the events of September 1970 as Black September.

The early 1970s saw continued unrest. In 1972 King Hussein tried to create a new Arab federation, which would have included the West Bank. Israel as well as most of the Arab states flatly rejected the idea. In December 1972, Hussein was nearly assassinated by a Palestinian.

During the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War Hussein played only a minor role, ordering a limited troop deployment (one brigade) to fight in Syria. In 1974 he finally agreed to recognize the Arab League's position that the PLO was the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

Beginning in the late 1970s Hussein strengthened relations with neighboring Syria, and he vigorously opposed the 1979 Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty. Jordan backed Iraq in the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988). The 1980s was a period of economic chaos for the Jordanian people. Job creation did not keep pace with the expanding population, resulting in high unemployment. Inflation became a problem, foreign investment fell off, and exports declined. In 1989 riots occurred in southern Jordan over the lack of jobs and a government-mandated increase in basic commodities, including electricity and water. These severe economic dislocations led Hussein to seek U.S. financial aid in the late 1980s, and the nation's foreign debt burden grew substantially.

When King Hussein refused to condemn Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, U.S. assistance and much general Western aid was curtailed. Saudi Arabia and later Kuwait also withheld financial support, and Jordan's economy went from bad to worse. When some 700,000 Jordanians returned to Jordan because they were now unwelcome in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, the economic situation became truly dire. Jordan's tourism declined precipitously after 1991, oil came at a very high premium, and exports suffered enormously. By 1995 unemployment stood at 14 percent (as stated by the government), although other measures estimated that it may have been twice that. Not until 2001 did the economy begin to regain its footing. Hussein's decision to back Iraq

put Jordanian-U.S. relations in a holding pattern, and Jordanian relations with other major Western powers were little better.

By 1993–1994, however, Jordanian-U.S. relations were on an upswing. The Jordanians decided to become an active partner in the Arab-Israeli peace process, and King Hussein actively supported United Nations (UN) sanctions on the Iraqi regime. On July 25, 1994, Hussein signed a historic nonbelligerent agreement with the Israelis (the Washington Declaration), which was soon followed up by the October 26, 1994, signing of the Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty.

King Hussein died in February 1999 and was succeeded by his son, King Abdullah II. Following the outbreak of the Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada in 2000, Abdullah has tried to continue Jordan's role as the force of moderation in the Middle East. He has attempted to keep avenues of dialogue open between the Israelis and the Palestinians and continues to counsel both sides that discussions and agreements are far preferable to conflict and war. Nevertheless, in a show of Arab solidarity, Jordan recalled its ambassador from Israel. This lasted until 2005. Although Abdullah publicly criticized the Iraq War that began in March 2003, he quietly provided assistance to the United States and Britain and has partnered with the West in an attempt to bring a semblance of control to war-torn Iraq. Jordan itself has not been immune to terrorism, and in November 2005 a group calling itself Al Qaeda in Iraq, led by a native Jordanian, detonated three bombs in Amman, killing 57 people and wounding at least 100 others.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Al Qaeda in Iraq; Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arab League; DESERT STORM, Operation; Fedayeen; Hussein ibn Talal, King of Jordan; Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty; Jordan, Armed Forces; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Palestine Liberation Organization; Suez Crisis; United Arab Republic

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Jordan, Armed Forces

The Jordanian armed forces, and especially the Jordanian Army, are highly professional organizations with a heritage dating to the formation of the Transjordan (officially changed to Jordan in 1949) Arab Legion, which was initially led by British officers. Organized in 1920, the Arab Legion was at first a small police force led by Captain (later Major General) Frederick Gerard Peake, known to Transjordanians as Peake Pasha. In 1930 Captain (later Lieutenant General) John Bagot Glubb became second-in-command of the Arab Legion and a close personal friend and trusted political adviser of Transjordan's King Abdullah. Glubb Pasha, as the Jordanians called him, organized a Bedouin desert patrol consisting of mobile detachments based at strategic desert forts and equipped with communications facilities. On Peake's retirement in 1939, Glubb took command of the Arab Legion and made it into the best-trained military force in the Arab world. The Arab Legion participated in the Iraqi and Syrian campaigns in 1941.

By Transjordan's independence in 1946, the Arab Legion numbered some 8,000 soldiers in 3 mechanized regiments along with 16 infantry companies and included a civil police force of about 2,000 men. The Jordanian ground force officially changed its name in 1956 from the Arab Legion to the Jordanian Army, but the older name remained in popular usage for some time afterward. General Glubb was dismissed in March 1956, a consequence of King Hussein's desire to show political independence from the United Kingdom and to Arabize the Jordanian officer corps. By 1956 the Jordanian military had grown to around 25,000 troops, with well-trained Arab officers replacing the British. This expansion was nonetheless supported by the continuation of British aid.

Jordan's most significant actual and potential military adversary from 1948 to 1994 was Israel. Jordanian forces fought in the 1948–1949 Israeli War of Independence and were certainly the most effective of the Arab militaries in that war. Jordanian forces (with some Iraqi military help) managed to retain control of the territory subsequently known as the West Bank as well as East Jerusalem and the entire Old City and especially control of the Jerusalem–Tel Aviv Road at Latrun, thus winning the only significant Arab victories of the war.

During the 1948–1949 war the Jordanians had no tanks, although they did possess some light artillery, around 50 armored cars, and mortars to support the infantry. Jordan received its first tanks, which were British manufactured, in 1953. Jordanian forces did not fight in the 1956 Sinai Campaign stemming from the Suez Crisis. Jordanian military forces occasionally became involved in border skirmishing with the Israelis throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and Israeli forces conducted several major reprisal raids into Jordan during this period in response to Palestinian terrorism.

By the early 1960s Jordan was receiving limited military assistance from the United States in addition to support from the United Kingdom. The relationship with the United States expanded dramatically in August 1964 when Washington agreed to supply M-48 Patton tanks and armored personnel carriers. Later, in February 1966, the United States added fighter aircraft in the form of Lockheed F-104 Starfighters, aging systems that were being phased out of the U.S. Air Force inventory. The United States agreed to this expanded military relationship with Jordan out of fear that Amman might seek and receive Soviet aid in the absence of continuing Western supplies of arms. By early 1967 the United States and the United Kingdom had become Jordan's primary arms suppliers.

In the June 1967 Six-Day War with Israel, Jordanian forces suffered a massive defeat along with the militaries of Egypt and Syria. On the eve of the war, Jordan had about 55,000 troops and 350 tanks as well as a fledgling air force. Some thought that because Jordan had been under political attack by the republican and Arab socialist regimes of Egypt and Syria, it might be reluctant to engage Israel. Indeed, the Israelis hoped that Jordan would remain neutral, but the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) also planned for a full-scale Jordanian offensive. King Hussein indeed supported Egypt and Syria and tried to defend Jordan and the West Bank. The Jordanians fought well, but the army's performance suffered as a result of Israeli air supremacy. As a result of the 1967 war, Jordan lost all of the Palestinian territory that it had previously secured in the 1948–1949 war. The Israelis destroyed Jordan's entire small air force of 21 subsonic British-made Hawker Hunters, and Jordan also lost 179 tanks and 700 troops with large numbers wounded, missing, or taken prisoner. The four F-104 Starfighters then in Jordanian possession had not been fully integrated into the air force and were sent to Turkey before the war to escape destruction. By 1968 Jordan's military strength was somewhat restored by the U.S. transfer of 100 M-48 tanks. Then in 1969 and 1970, the Americans released 36 additional F-104 aircraft for transfer to Jordan.

The Jordanian military fought effectively against the Israelis in the March 1968 Battle of Karameh, when a large Israeli force crossed into Jordan to destroy Palestinian guerrilla forces operating from the kingdom. The Jordanians also defeated Palestinian guerrillas in September 1970 and again in July 1971 when these forces attempted to create a state within a state in Jordan. Additionally, Amman sent the Jordanian 40th Armored Brigade as an expeditionary force to aid the Syrians and protect their withdrawal during the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War.

King Hussein chose not to open an additional front with Israel in 1973, mistakenly believing (or at least claiming) that the mere presence of his army on the Jordanian-Israeli border would tie down large numbers of Israeli troops. Jordan also sent a limited number of Special Forces troops to fight in support of royalist forces in Oman in the 1970s. During the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War, Jordan supported the Iraqis and sent a token military force of volunteers to support the war effort against Iran. They apparently did not see combat in that war.

During the 1970s and 1980s Jordan supplemented its military assistance from Western countries with financial support for military modernization from Arab oil-producing states. Such support allowed Jordan to make a number of major purchases, including U.S.-made Northrop F-5 Freedom Fighter aircraft to replace the aging F-104s, U.S.-made M-60 tanks, and a Hawk missile defense system to protect Amman. Nevertheless, in an abrupt turnabout, military procurement was disrupted in the 1990s as a result of difficulties in relations with the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait following King Hussein's decision not to join the U.S.-led coalition in the Persian Gulf War of 1991. These problems severely disrupted the flow of outside aid necessary for the Jordanian military to make key purchases and carry out military modernization.

The Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty of 1994 ended the state of war between Jordan and Israel and brought about a major reorientation of the Jordanian Army to deal with other regional threats. The Jordanian military officially ended conscription in 1994 as a response to the peace treaty, although young men had only been drafted sporadically before then in response to variations in manpower needs and financial resources. Some Western military aid programs were restored by the mid-1990s, and in November 1996 Jordan was designated as a major non–North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ally.

Currently, the Jordanian armed forces comprise about 100,000 active duty personnel and 30,000 reservists. The most important branch of the service is the army. The Jordanian Army is a highly professional force with top-notch officers and noncommissioned officers. Its chief maneuver combat units are two armored divisions, two mechanized divisions, and two separate brigades. Its combat doctrine is almost entirely defensive, as Jordan does not have the resources to conduct large-scale offensive operations. Jordanian forces are organized into four regionally based commands with a strategic reserve and a Special Operations Command. In addition to their self-defense role, Jordanian troops are called upon to secure the Jordanian border with Israel and prevent terrorist infiltration from Jordanian soil.

The Jordanian ground forces are in the process of converting to a lighter force structure that has smaller combat formations and greater mobility. Such a force is expected to have fewer tank battalions and is both cheaper and better equipped to deal with internal security problems than are armor-heavy units. Nevertheless, Jordan retains more than 1,000 tanks in active service, all of which are of U.S. or British manufacture. Since 2004, Jordan has undertaken a major upgrade program for its U.S.-made M-60 tanks. Some of Jordan's British-made Challenger tanks have been subject to either British or domestic Jordanian updating and modification. Some older tanks, including the M-48s and Centurions, are not operational or are in storage. The Jordanian Army has approximately 400 self-propelled artillery pieces (a significant number for a force its size) as well as about 100 older towed artillery pieces. It also has large numbers of modern and effective antitank weapons, such as the U.S.-made Javelin and upgraded Dragon.

Jordan's Special Forces troops are among the best in the region and in recent years have emerged as an especially important component of the Jordanian force structure. The Special Operations Command was formerly led by Abdullah when he served as a brigadier general prior to becoming king in 1999. In the years just prior to the 2003 Iraq War, Jordanian Special Forces troops played a leading role in securing the Iraqi border, where almost nightly clashes took place between Jordanian forces and Iraqi smugglers. In April 2002 Jordan sent a Special Forces training unit to Yemen to assist American forces training the Yemeni military to fight terrorist groups.

Royal Jordanian Air Force F-16 Fighting Falcon aircraft flying over Jordan, 2009. (U.S. Department of Defense)

The Royal Jordanian Air Force is led by King Abdullah's brother, Prince Faisal, and has about 15,000 personnel. It has approximately 100 fixed-wing combat aircraft with 85 fighter aircraft including U.S.-made General Dynamics F-16 Fighting Falcons and French Mirage F-1s. Jordan also retains some of its older F-5 aircraft, which are increasingly obsolete. The air force also has 14 transport aircraft, including 4 American-made C-130 Hercules aircraft. Jordan also has more than 40 attack helicopters that are included within its air force. About 22 of these helicopters are equipped with TOW antiarmor missiles. While the Royal Jordanian Air Force has excellent pilots and good levels of training, its modernization efforts have been significantly restricted by long-term Jordanian resource constraints.

Jordanian air defense forces have likewise suffered from a period of neglect following the 1991 Persian Gulf War as well as other episodes of budgetary shortfalls. Jordanian air defense systems, including its improved Hawk missile batteries, have a number of limitations, although some upgrading has been taking place. The Jordanian military also has three Patriot missile batteries that include a limited antimissile capability.

The Royal Jordanian Coast Guard (sometimes called the Royal Jordanian Navy) is extremely small and operates out of Jordan's only port, at Aqaba. The coast guard has a few small patrol boats in the Dead Sea. There are approximately 500 personnel assigned to the coast guard and fewer than 20 coastal defense craft and patrol vessels. This service is nevertheless scheduled to expand in the future with the planned development of a special organization within the coast guard for counterterrorism and to help support planned upgrades in coastal and port security.

Jordanian military personnel have served during recent years in a range of multinational peace support missions and regional military exercises. Jordanian units have supported peacekeeping operations in the Balkans and Africa through the provision of infantry units, field hospitals, international monitors, and military staff officers in international missions. The peacekeeping missions that were most extensively supported were in Croatia in the 1990s (3,200 Jordanian troops deployed) and in Sierra Leone (where Jordan had a peak of about 1,800 troops in 2000). Jordan has also provided field hospitals to support the reconstruction of postwar Iraq and post-Taliban Afghanistan. The Jordanians also train Arab officers from friendly countries at their own facilities, including the Jordanian National Defense University. In coordination with the United States, Jordan has further supported an extensive effort to train army officers and police forces in postwar Iraq (after 2003).

The Jordanian military retains strong ties to the militaries of the United States and the United Kingdom. Leading male members of the royal family have a tradition of attending the United

Kingdom's Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst. Jordanian officers and noncommissioned officers also participate in a variety of military education and training programs offered by the United States and other Western powers. A joint U.S.-Jordanian military commission has coordinated a number of important military concerns since 1974, and Jordanian cooperation with the West usually includes at least one major U.S.-Jordanian military exercise per year as well as Jordanian participation in multilateral exercises organized by the United States.

W. ANDREW TERRILL

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arms Sales, International; Hussein ibn Talal, King of Jordan; Jordan; Suez Crisis

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JUST CAUSE, Operation

Start Date: December 20, 1989
End Date: January 31, 1990

U.S. military intervention in Panama designed to remove Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega from power and protect U.S. citizens. Operation JUST CAUSE had considerable impact on planning for the Persian Gulf War, which occurred less than a year later. Throughout much of the 1980s U.S.-Panamanian relations steadily deteriorated because of Noriega's involvement with drug trafficking, his repressive political activities, and numerous treaty violations and provocations of U.S. military personnel in Panama. In 1987 one of Noriega's principal lieutenants charged the dictator with drug trafficking, election fraud, and murder. Riots ensued in Panama City, and the situation grew more serious as the country's economy deteriorated. To deflect the attention of the Panamanian public, Noriega increasingly resorted to anti-American rhetoric and directed the Panamanian Defense Force (PDF) to increase the harassment of U.S. military personnel in the country.

The situation continued to worsen. The Ronald Reagan administration responded by sending a company of marines and several military police units to bolster American forces already in Panama. On April 12, 1988, gunfire was exchanged between U.S. marine guards and several armed intruders at a fuel farm near Howard Air Force Base. By the end of 1988 there had been more than 300 incidents of Panamanian forces harassing or intimidating U.S. military personnel and their families.

Tensions continued throughout the following year. There were a number of significant incidents, including the detainment of a U.S. Navy civilian employee, the beating of an off-duty U.S. Navy lieutenant, and the seizure of nine Department of Defense school buses loaded with 100 children. The buses and children were released after three hours, but the incident demonstrated the new level of harassment faced by Americans in Panama.

In early May 1988 Panama held national elections. When Noriega's handpicked candidate lost decisively at the polls, the dictator declared the elections invalid. Two days later the victorious opposition candidates were attacked at a postelection rally, and one of their personal bodyguards was killed. The PDF also abducted, beat, and robbed a U.S. Navy sailor. In response, President George H. W. Bush dispatched 1,900 combat troops and military police to augment American security.

This deployment, which was called Operation NIMROD DANCER, was intended as a show of force to enhance the security of U.S. citizens and property in the Panama Canal Zone. To demonstrate U.S. resolve, these units initiated a number of exercises that were permitted under previous treaty arrangements.

Tensions remained at a high level throughout the summer. In response, hundreds of family members of U.S. servicemen were evacuated from Panama, and tighter restrictions were imposed on access to U.S. military installations. Within days of General Maxwell Thurman assuming command of U.S. Southern Command (SOUTHCOM), one of Noriega's senior commanders attempted a coup against the dictator. The coup failed, however, and its leader was executed.

On December 15, 1988, the pro-Noriega legislative assembly appointed him "Maximum Leader" of the country. In his acceptance speech, Noriega announced that "the Republic of Panama is declared to be in a state of war" with the United States. Late the next day, four off-duty U.S. military officers driving through Panama City were stopped at a PDF roadblock. When the PDF guards demanded that the officers get out of their vehicle, the officers refused and drove off. The guards fired at the car, fatally wounding one of the occupants, a marine lieutenant. A navy lieutenant and his wife who had witnessed the incident were then seized by the PDF and taken to Noriega's headquarters. There the lieutenant was questioned and beaten while his wife was assaulted. The couple was released four hours later.

General Thurman, in northern Virginia, was notified of the incident and immediately returned to Panama after conferring with General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). Shortly thereafter, President Bush authorized contingency plans for a military intervention in Panama "to safeguard the lives of Americans, to defend democracy in Panama, to combat drug trafficking, and to protect the integrity of the Panama Canal Treaty." Later Bush ordered the immediate apprehension and extradition of Noriega.

Planning for a military intervention in Panama had begun in 1987 and sought to rectify some of the military failures revealed in

U.S. marines stand guard with their LAV-25 light armored vehicles outside a destroyed Panamanian Defense Force building on December 20, 1989, the first day of the U.S. invasion of Panama, Operation JUST CAUSE. (U.S. Department of Defense)

the U.S. invasion of Grenada (Operation URGENT FURY) in October 1983. The original plan, code-named BLUE SPOON, had been built on an assumption that a gradual buildup of U.S. military forces in the Panama Canal Zone along with increased economic and diplomatic pressure on the Panamanian government would prevail and that the Panamanian electorate would vote the dictator out of office. By early 1989, however, it had become clear that these assumptions were no longer valid. The contingency plan was thus revised, and the failure of the October coup precipitated additional changes. The new plan, calling for the insertion of combat forces from both the 82nd Airborne and 7th Infantry divisions along with selected special operations forces, was based on swift and decisive action to ensure adequate security for American personnel and the Panama Canal Zone while minimizing Panamanian casualties and avoiding excessive damage to the country's infrastructure.

As the plan was being refined, only a small number of senior commanders and staff officers were aware that an armed intervention in Panama was being planned. However, units at military installations in the United States and Panama were directed to alter their training schedules and tempo of activities to prepare for an unknown contingency operation. In Panama, under provisions of the 1978 Canal Treaty, which authorized U.S. military personnel unrestricted movement within the Panama Canal Zone for training exercises, U.S. military forces were able to practice movement to preselected targets potentially critical to a military operation in the country. These exercises, code-named SAND FLEA, and the arrival and departure of aircraft carrying troops to and from the United States served to desensitize the PDF to the increasingly frequent troop movements and ground maneuvers that were in preparation for the coming operation.

Meanwhile, back in the United States units from the 82nd Airborne Division, 75th Ranger Regiment, and the Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) practiced the kinds of missions called for in the contingency plans for Panama. The XVIII Airborne Corps commander, Lieutenant General Carl Steiner, was designated the operational commander for the planned intervention.

On December 17, 1989, President Bush made the decision to launch the military invasion of Panama. General Steiner selected 1:00 a.m. on Wednesday December 20 for H-Hour. On December 19 the 7th Infantry Division, stationed at Fort Ord, California, boarded aircraft at Travis Air Force Base and flew to Panama. Meanwhile, paratroopers from the 82nd Airborne Division departed Pope Air Force Base in North Carolina.

The initial strike force included about 7,000 troops, including a composite brigade from the 82nd Airborne Division, the 75th Rangers, and the equivalent of five battalions of special operations

forces. The second wave would include about 7,000 additional soldiers from the 7th Infantry Division and the 16th Military Police Brigade. These forces would join about 13,000 troops stationed in Panama, to include the 193rd Infantry Brigade, a battalion from the 7th Infantry Division, a battalion from the 5th Infantry Division, two companies of marines, an assortment of military police, and other army, air force, and navy personnel.

The tactical command headquarters of the XVIII Airborne Corps, operating directly under SOUTHCOM, divided these forces into four conventional ground task forces—Atlantic (centered around the 3rd Brigade, 7th Infantry Division), Pacific (comprised largely of the 1st Brigade, 82nd Airborne Division), Bayonet (under control of the 193rd Infantry Brigade), and Semper Fi (centered around the 6th Marine Expeditionary Brigade)—as well as an aviation task force and five unconventional task forces: Green (Army Delta Force), Black (3rd Battalion, 7th Special Forces), Red (the Rangers), and Blue and White (SEAL units).

The plan for the operation was built around surprise and the use of a nighttime attack. The first objective was to isolate Noriega from his military forces and to neutralize the PDF as a viable threat to the security of the Panama Canal Zone, U.S. citizens, and Panamanian civilians. To accomplish this, U.S. forces would simultaneously strike almost two dozen targets within a 24-hour period of time.

The operation began with an assault of strategic installations including an attack by SEALs on the civilian Punta Paitilla Airport in Panama City; a Ranger parachute assault on the PDF garrison and the airfield at Rio Hato, where Noriega also maintained a residence; the seizure of the Omar Torrijos International Airport by paratroopers from the 82nd Airborne Division; and attacks by other units on other military command centers throughout the country.

The attack on the central headquarters of the PDF, La Comandancia, touched off several fires, one of which destroyed most of the adjoining and heavily populated El Chorrillo neighborhood in downtown Panama City.

Fort Amador, at the Pacific entrance to the Panama Canal, was a major objective because of its relationship to the large oil farms adjacent to the canal and the Bridge of the Americas over the canal. Additionally, there were key command and control elements of the PDF stationed on the installation. Furthermore, Fort Amador also had a large U.S. housing area that needed to be secured to prevent the PDF from taking U.S. citizens hostage. This objective was secured by elements of the 508th Airborne Infantry and 59th Engineer Company (sappers), who conducted a nighttime helicopter-borne air assault that quickly overwhelmed the PDF defenders.

A few hours after the invasion began, Guillermo Endara was sworn in as president of Panama at Rodman Naval Base. It is generally agreed that Endara was the victor in the presidential election, which had been held earlier that year.

In fewer than five days all military objectives were secured and ground combat operations ceased, but the hunt for Noriega continued. However, he remained at large for several days. Realizing that he had few options in the face of a massive manhunt and with a $1 million reward for his capture, Noriega sought refuge in the Vatican diplomatic mission in Panama City. The U.S. military's psychological pressure on him and diplomatic pressure on the Vatican mission, however, were relentless, and Noriega finally surrendered to U.S. military forces on January 3, 1990. He was immediately extradited to the United States to stand trial on drug trafficking charges.

During the operation, U.S. forces sustained 23 killed in action and 322 wounded. The total U.S. casualties included friendly fire incidents and injuries sustained in drop zones. The PDF, numbering more than 15,000 personnel of all ranks and duty assignments, had 314 killed in action, 124 wounded, and more than 5,300 detained by U.S. forces. There has been considerable controversy over the number of Panamanian civilian casualties resulting from the invasion, but the SOUTHCOM estimated the number at 200. The quick and relatively uncomplicated victory for the United States proved a great morale booster for U.S. armed forces, served as proof that combined operations could indeed work seamlessly, and greatly assisted in the planning and execution of Operation DESERT STORM, which unfolded only slightly more than a year later.

JAMES H. WILLBANKS

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Powell, Colin Luther

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Kakar, Mullah

Birth Date: ca. 1966
Death Date: May 13, 2007

A leading figure in the Taliban movement in Afghanistan from 1995 until his death in 2007. Mullah Dadullah (aka Mullah Dadullah Akhund), born probably in 1966, was a member of the Kakar tribe from Uruzgan Province. He fought in the Afghanistan-Soviet War and reportedly lost a leg in that war in the 1980s. Little is known of his activities prior to the late 1990s.

Dadullah emerged as a key figure in Taliban leadership circles beginning in the late 1990s. He was reportedly responsible for the brutal repression of the religious minority Shia population throughout Afghanistan and the ethnic minority Hazara population near Bamyan in 2000. In 2001 he was engaged in fighting against the Northern Alliance in northern Afghanistan. A leading military commander on the northern front, he escaped encirclement in the city of Kunduz, returning to Kandahar on foot and becoming a local hero to Taliban sympathizers in the Pashtun-controlled southern provinces of Afghanistan.

Following the U.S.-assisted ouster of the Taliban government, Dadullah became one of the early leaders of the Taliban insurgency. In 2002–2003 he was engaged in recruiting fresh Pashtun volunteers from madrasahs in Baluchistan and Karachi. In 2004 he traveled to Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas to coordinate activity with Taliban fighters in that region. Mullah Mohammed Omar, the Taliban's leader, selected Dadullah as one of the original 10 members of the 2003 Rahbari Shura (leadership council), and Dadullah was retained as one of the 12 members when the Rahbari Shura expanded in 2004. Dadullah was initially appointed 1 of 3 military leaders of the Taliban southern front in 2003, sharing command with Abd al-Razzaq Akhund and Akhtar Osmani.

Although Dadullah was a powerful and innovative leader, many of his cohorts considered him an extremist. He reportedly had significant disagreements, including a physical confrontation, with fellow Rahbari Shura member Akhtar Osmani, a conflict that ended with Osmani's death in late 2006. Some Taliban sources claim that Osmani's death resulted from a Dadullah tip-off to North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces in Afghanistan.

By 2004 Dadullah had full command of the Taliban southern front, and his influence in the movement expanded as he began innovative new practices. Dadullah initiated the tactic of launching repeated attacks, regardless of casualties, against the same targets in remote districts. This demonstrated Taliban commitment to success whatever the cost and encouraged local officials to either leave their posts or cooperate with local Taliban cadres. In early 2006 Dadullah announced the creation of Taliban political representatives in all districts, facilitating the establishment of a Taliban shadow government throughout southern and southeastern Afghanistan in particular. By the end of that year he was negotiating to win tribal loyalties in the countryside, promising to share power and resources with tribal leaders in return for their support.

These efforts were all aimed at sustaining the Taliban's so-called final offensive in 2006. It began in the first week of February, with attacks in Helmand. By early summer, thousands of Taliban forces were engaged throughout the south and southeast, sometimes operating in battalion-sized units of up to 400 men each. The offensive surprised many analysts but eventually proved too difficult to sustain, and Dadullah called an end to the campaign in November 2006.

Dadullah was a great innovator, at least in the context of the very conservative Taliban movement. He deliberately chose a flamboyant lifestyle, which became a useful propaganda tool. His extended family lived openly just outside Quetta, and in September 2003 he held a spectacular family wedding that was attended by local Pakistani political leaders and military officers. He encouraged the creation and distribution of a series of brutal videos depicting execution of prisoners, and he advocated Taliban atrocities against Westerners and humanitarian aid workers. He was also one of the few leaders willing to be photographed and even agreed to interviews with the Al Jazeera news network.

In 2005 Dadullah announced that he was accepting assistance from Al Qaeda in Iraq, which may account for the increased emphasis on and effectiveness of suicide bombings. This shift reflected not only access to expertise from the international extremist community but also an interest in generating greater publicity for the upcoming final offensive. Suicide bombings increased from just 6 in 2004 to an average of more than 10 per month in 2006 and 2007. These bombings were carried out primarily by foreign volunteers; through 2007 most suicide bombers came from Afghan refugee camps or madrasahs in Pakistan. Dadullah was involved in recruitment efforts in Pakistan, and he took credit for having "hundreds" of suicide bombers ready by mid-2006.

On May 13, 2007, Dadullah was killed in a firefight with NATO and Afghan government forces outside the town of Garmser in Helmand Province. Reportedly, he had traveled there from Quetta and had been tracked by units of the British Special Boat Service, which had spearheaded the effort to track him down.

TIMOTHY D. HOYT

See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda in Iraq; Madrasahs; Omar, Mohammed; Special Boat Service, United Kingdom; Taliban; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

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Kamiya, Jason K.

Birth Date: 1954

U.S. Army general who commanded the joint American force (Combined Joint Task Force 76) in Afghanistan during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM from 2005 to 2006. Jason K. Kamiya was born in 1954 in Honolulu, Hawaii. He graduated from Gonzaga University in Spokane, Washington, in 1976, and as a member of the U.S. Army Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) program he was commissioned a second lieutenant on May 15, 1976. His first assignment was to U.S. forces in the Republic of Korea (ROK, South Korea) as a rifle platoon leader.

Posts of increasing responsibility followed, and Kamiya eventually commanded at the company, battalion, and brigade levels. He earned his paratrooper wings and attended the Naval Postgraduate School, the Armed Forces Staff College, and the U.S. Army War College. He then held a mix of staff and line positions. A Japanese linguist, Kamiya served as aide-de-camp to the commanding general at Camp Zama, Japan, and was also a special assistant to the commander, U.S. Southern Command. Kamiya served in Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM and commanded a battalion in the 101st Airborne Division before becoming chief of staff for that division.

In December 2000 Kamiya was promoted to brigadier general. He assumed command of Fort Polk, Louisiana, a year later and helped prepare troops for peacekeeping service in Bosnia. In September 2002 he began a tour of duty in Afghanistan as U.S. security coordinator and chief of the Office of Military Cooperation. A year later he assumed command of the Southern European Task Force (Airborne), headquartered in Vicenza, Italy. On January 5, 2005, Kamiya was promoted to major general.

In March 2005 Kamiya assumed command of Combined Joint Task Force 76, which included both soldiers and marines and, with about 18,000 troops, was the largest combat command in Afghanistan. Its efforts were centered in southern Afghanistan, where the Taliban insurgency was strongest. Kamiya was also charged with helping to create the Afghan National Army and remove individual warlords who were in competition with the central government supported by the United States. He also oversaw the protection of aid, such as school construction and providing medical care for the Afghan people. Planners in Washington hoped that the humanitarian projects would win support for the new central government.

Kamiya's tour as commander of Combined Joint Task Force 76 included a significant milestone: the first democratic elections for a National Assembly in Afghanistan since before the Soviet invasion in 1979. These elections of September 18, 2005, were seen by international observers as a significant measure of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) success in creating a stable government. The Afghan National Army and the Afghan National Police provided primary responsibility. To help make the task easier for the Afghan security forces, Kamiya ordered a series of operations that summer that reportedly killed between 450 and 500 Taliban fighters.

Kamiya's tour, however, was also marked by friction with the Afghan government. Afghan president Hamid Karzai criticized the use of air strikes in battles with Taliban fighters that killed innocent civilians. American troops also came under criticism for breaking down doors of Afghan houses when searching for Taliban fighters. Kamiya then ordered that Afghan soldiers accompany American patrols and that the former take the responsibility of securing the homeowners' permission to enter in accordance with Muslim culture.

The most serious charge against American troops during Kamiya's tenure involved the cremation of slain Taliban fighters. On October 1, 2005, American soldiers were filmed burning the bodies of fighters killed the day before. Because the Americans planned to stay in the area for several days, they believed that the bodies posed a health risk. Unfortunately, cremation is viewed as desecration by Muslims. Worse, two American soldiers were filmed taunting the Taliban while the bodies were burning. Television clips of the video outraged Muslims around the world. The soldiers involved received administrative disciplinary punishments, but the Afghan government was upset over what it considered to be lenient treatment.

When Kamiya learned of this incident, he ordered all operations in Afghanistan to stand down on October 19 and also ordered the institution of training in Muslim culture for all troops under his command. Wallet-sized laminated cards were issued to soldiers to carry and refer to when dealing with Afghanis. Kamiya pointed out that failure to observe Muslim traditions threatened to erase gains in building a democratic and pro-Western society in Afghanistan.

Kamiya's tour in Afghanistan ended in March 2006. On July 25, 2006, he assumed command of the Joint Warfighting Center in Suffolk, Virginia.

Tim J. Watts

See also

Afghanistan; Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Karzai, Hamid; Taliban; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

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Kandahar, Battle for

Start Date: October 29, 1994
End Date: November 5, 1994

The capture of Kandahar in southern Afghanistan in November 1994 was a pivotal moment in the Taliban's rise to power. Between October 29 and November 5, 1994, Taliban forces engaged in heavy fighting to capture the city. Loosely organized on a regional basis, the Taliban had emerged following the destruction and chaos of the Afghan Civil War (1989–1992). The Taliban ("students," meaning Islamic students) was one of the many mujahideen groups formed during the Afghan-Soviet War (1979–1989). In the aftermath of the withdrawal of Soviet forces, the Soviet-backed government fought a brutal civil war against a coalition of mujahideen groups.

Following the end of the Afghan-Soviet War, Afghanistan descended into civil war as rival mujahideen factions fought for control. In Kandahar, rival militias loyal to Naquib Ullah, Mullah Haji Bashir, Hamid Karzai, and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar fought each other for control. The interfactional fighting descended into chaos as militias killed civilians and plundered indiscriminately. Hostage taking, rape, murder, and lawlessness became commonplace as mujahideen commanders turned on the local population. As the traditionalists and Islamists fought for control, the traditional tribal structure disintegrated, allowing the emergence of a puritanical Islamic movement.

The origins of the Taliban's rise to power are shrouded in mystery. One scenario is that in the spring of 1994 neighbors from Mullah Mohammed Omar's village of Singesar told him that a local mujahideen commander had abducted 2 teenage girls and taken them to a military camp, where there were raped. In response, Omar gathered 30 Talibs (local fighters) and attacked the base, where they freed the girls and hanged the commander from the barrel of an old Soviet tank. In addition, the Taliban fighters captured small quantities of arms and ammunition. A second incident during the summer of 1994 bolstered Taliban credentials. Two mujahideen commanders confronted each other in a Kandahar bazaar. In the ensuing battle, civilians shopping or trading in the bazaar were killed. Again, Omar and the Talibs intervened. Following these two incidents, Omar left for the neighboring Baluchistan Province of Pakistan.

A mitigating factor leading to the Battle for Kandahar was control of the lucrative trade routes to Turkmenistan. Sensing an opportunity in the shifting terrain of Afghan politics, the Pakistani leadership saw domestic political gain in supporting the Taliban, which they commenced immediately.

The fight for Kandahar began on October 12, 1994, when 200 Taliban soldiers and Pakistani militants arrived at the Afghan border town of Spin Baldak controlled by a militia loyal to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. After a short battle, the Taliban dislodged Hekmatyar's forces from this vital border town. As a result of the skirmish at Spin Boldak, 7 of Hekmatyar's men died and several were wounded, while only 1 Taliban member died. The Taliban fighters then captured a large arms depot at Spin Baldak, which included dozens of artillery pieces and tanks.

On October 29, 1994, a Pakistani trade convoy was stopped by Amir Lalai, Mansur Achakzai, and Ustad Halim, three local mujahideen commanders, 12 miles outside of Kandahar at Takht-e-Pul. The warlords demanded money and a share of the goods and also demanded that Pakistan cease support of the Taliban. On November 3, 1994, the Taliban attacked the militia in Takht-e Pul, quickly defeating the local commanders and killing Mansur Achakzai and 10 of his men in the process. That same evening the Taliban moved into Kandahar, where after two days of heavy fighting they defeated the forces of Lalai and Halim. Mullah Naqib, the last remaining prominent mujahideen commander inside Kandahar, negotiated his personal surrender. His forces, which consisted of 20,000 men, were then absorbed into the Taliban ranks. As a result of this victory, the Taliban captured dozens of

tanks, armored cars, and military vehicles along with many individual weapons, six MiG-21 fighters, six transport helicopters, all at a cost of only a dozen men.

KEITH A. LEITICH

See also

Afghanistan; Karzai, Hamid; Madrasahs; Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Omar, Mohammed; Taliban

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Karbala, First Battle of

Start Date: March 31, 2003
End Date: April 6, 2003

Karbala is located in central Iraq some 60 miles southwest of Baghdad and is regarded as one of the holiest cities in Shia Islam. Three notable battles have occurred there: one in October 680 CE among Islamic factions, one during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in 2003, and one between Iraqi factions in 2007. The March 31–April 6, 2003, battle occurred during the Iraq War when U.S. forces attempted to evict Iraqi forces from Karbala. Units involved in the fight included those from the U.S. 3rd Infantry Division, the 1st Armored Division, and the 101st Airborne Division; Iraqi forces consisted of members of the Fedayeen Saddam and Syrian mercenaries.

During the initial phase of the 2003 invasion of Iraq, advance units of the U.S. 3rd Infantry Division, having pushed their way through Republican Guard forces southeast of Karbala, arrived in the area on March 31. While some troops kept a watchful eye on the Iraqis in Karbala, the main body bypassed the city and attacked Baghdad through the Karbala Gap. This meant that U.S. forces would have to clear the Iraqis out of Karbala later.

This task fell principally to the 101st Airborne Division, supported by the 2nd Battalion, 70th Armored Regiment, 1st Armored Division. On April 2, 2003, a U.S. Army Sikorsky UH-60 Black Hawk helicopter was shot down near Karbala, killing seven soldiers and wounding four others. This event appeared to indicate a significant enemy presence in the city.

The 101st Airborne Division decided to insert three battalions via helicopter at three landing zones (LZs) on the outskirts of the city, designated LZ Sparrow, LZ Finch, and LZ Robin. M-1 Abrams tanks and M-2 Bradley fighting vehicles of the 2nd Battalion, 70th Armored Regiment, were to support these forces.

On the morning of April 5, 23 UH-60 Black Hawks escorted 5 CH-47 Boeing Chinook helicopters ferrying three battalions of the 502nd Infantry Regiment to their LZs. The 3rd Battalion landed at LZ Sparrow and met heavy but uncoordinated resistance. The 2nd Battalion landed to the south at LZ Robin and found numerous arms caches hidden in schools as well as a suspected terrorist training camp. As night fell, the battalion had cleared 13 of its 30 assigned sectors.

The 1st Battalion landed at LZ Finch in the southeast, where it captured a large store of weapons. As the infantry moved forward, it was constantly supported by helicopters and artillery. While the soldiers went house to house, armored vehicles from the 2nd Battalion, 70th Armored Regiment, arrived and engaged the enemy.

The following morning, April 6, the Americans continued operations until 5:00 p.m., when all sectors were secured. Symbolic of the victory, members of the 2nd Battalion, 70th Armored Regiment, tore down a large statue of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein in the middle of the city. Reported casualties were as many as 260 for the Iraqis; the Americans suffered 8 killed. One UH-60 helicopter was also lost. One U.S. M1 Abrams tank was disabled but not destroyed.

WILLIAM P. HEAD

See also

IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Karbala, Second Battle of; Karbala Gap

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Karbala, Second Battle of

Start Date: August 27, 2007
End Date: August 29, 2007

Karbala is located in central Iraq some 60 miles southwest of Baghdad and is one of the holiest cities in Shia Islam. There have been three notable battles there: one in October 680 CE among Islamic factions, one during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in 2003, and one between Iraqi factions in 2007. The Second Battle of Karbala (August 27–29, 2007) began as thousands of Shia pilgrims gathered in the city for the annual festival of Nisf Sha'ban (Laylat al-Barat). The fighting occurred between members of the Mahdi Army, charged with providing security for the pilgrims, and Iraqi Security Forces (police), most of whom belonged to the Badr Brigades.

By August 27, 2007, a large security force was present in the city because pilgrims had been killed during previous pilgrimages. Early that evening, small-arms fire broke out between the Mahdi Army and local police. The number of forces on each side has not been determined.

The Mahdi Army is a militia force loyal to Iraqi leader Muqtada al-Sadr. Senior members of Iraq's Interior Ministry soon accused the Mahdi Army of attacking government forces in Karbala who were guarding two shrines under the control of the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council.

Pilgrims in the street as smoke rises in the background following clashes in the Shiite holy city of Karbala, August 27, 2007. (AP/Wide World Photos)

On August 28 the Iraqi government deployed more troops to the city. On August 29 Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki imposed a curfew that directed pilgrims to end their devotions early. Although he claimed that the situation was then under control, sporadic shooting continued. Only after additional Iraqi security forces had arrived and most of the pilgrims had departed did the violence end. Casualties in this factional struggle were estimated at 30–40 killed and more than 100 wounded. It is believed that 10 Iraqi policemen died in the confrontation.

In the aftermath of this fighting, the head of the Mahdi Army in Karbala, Ali Sharia, was arrested and tried for inciting the violence at Karbala. In August 2008 he was convicted and sentenced to death.

William P. Head

See also

Badr Organization; Karbala, First Battle of; Mahdi Army; Maliki, Nuri Muhammed Kamil Hasan al-; Sadr, Muqtada al-; Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council

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Karbala Gap

A sandy 20-mile-wide plain located in central Iraq's Karbala Province, some 55 miles south-southwest of the Iraqi capital of Baghdad. Situated between Lake Buhayrat al-Razzazah to the west and the Euphrates River to the east, the Karbala Gap is an area of marshes and rich farmland; it is also the location of the city of Karbala, with a population of some 500,000 people. Given its location, geographical constraints, and proximity to Baghdad, the Karbala Gap is a major choke point and last natural obstacle for an invading force moving from the south against Baghdad. A major battle had been fought there in 680 CE.

The importance of the Karbala Gap was well known and had been the object of pre-2003 Iraq War U.S. war-gaming exercises. During the Iraq War, both U.S. Army 3rd Infantry Division commander Major General Buford Blount and Iraqi Army corps commander Lieutenant General Raad al-Hamdani, who had charge of the area, recognized that passage by the gap was the only rapid way for mechanized forces to reach Baghdad. The major concerns for Blount were the potential Iraqi use of chemical weapons and the Iraqi destruction of the bridges crossing the Euphrates. Hamdani's major concern was the lack of manpower to block the U.S. drive northward. The Iraqi high command had positioned the Medina and Nebuchadnezzar Republican Guard divisions to block the Karbala Gap, but Hamdani argued for reinforcements. The Iraqi leadership ignored his appeals, however, because it feared going against President Saddam Hussein's orders and having troops cut off from the defense of Baghdad.

On April 1, 2003, following a delay imposed by a massive *shamal* (sandstorm), units of the 3rd Infantry Division attacked through the Karbala Gap. That day the 3rd Brigade, strongly supported by the divisional artillery and helicopters, secured control of the eastern outskirts of Karbala, while its 1st Brigade attacked from the other side. On April 2 U.S. forces moved against the al-Qaid Bridge over the Euphrates River (Objective Peach), east of Karbala and near Hindiyah. The bridge had been marked for demolition, but this had not yet been carried out when, on the afternoon of April 2, three U.S. tanks got across the span. Although Iraqi engineers then detonated some charges, the bridge survived, and the Americans quickly cut other detonation lines and rooted out the Iraqi engineers to prevent further damage. U.S. engineers then used the bridging trains following the 3rd Infantry Division to throw several other spans across the river. Iraqi counterattacks on April 2, including what was for all intents and purposes a suicide attempt to explode charges on the main bridge, were turned back

by American armor and highly effective close air support. Two divisions of the Iraqi Republican Guard were effectively destroyed, and the way to Baghdad was now open.

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See also

Blount, Buford, III; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Karbala, Second Battle of; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam

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Kari Air Defense System

French-built Iraqi integrated air defense system (IADS) intended to defeat air attacks on key targets in Iraq. The system was state of the art when it was designed in the late 1970s and early 1980s, but its weaknesses were exploited by coalition air forces during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. The hierarchical nature of the Kari system made it possible for coalition planners to determine how to remove centralized control from local defenses. After only a few days of air operations, Iraqi air defenses were in ruins, and coalition aircraft were largely free to operate at medium to high altitudes without excessive danger.

Two factors during the 1980s prompted the Iraqi government to purchase and implement an integrated air defense system. The first was the ease with which Iranian aircraft operated over Iraqi territory during the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War. Iranian aircraft were largely able to carry out their missions without fear of interception by Iraqi fighters or missiles. The second event was the Israeli air attack that destroyed the Osiraq nuclear reactor in 1981. This raid was intended to prevent Iraq from developing nuclear weapons. The Iraqis not only lost an important research and possible weapons development site, but the government was greatly embarrassed by the failure of its air defenses to prevent the attack.

To implement a new IADS, the Iraqis turned to two sources. The first was the Soviet Union, which had developed outstanding air defense technology during the Cold War. The Iraqis purchased large numbers of Soviet surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) along with thousands of antiaircraft artillery (AAA) pieces. Soviet experts also advised the Iraqis on how to integrate the equipment into a system of layered defenses. The Soviet system was attractive to President Saddam Hussein because it highly valued centralized control.

The second source to which Hussein turned was France. French companies had been important sources of military equipment for Iraq before and during the war with Iran. The Thomson-CSF company developed an integrated computer system for Iraq that promised to gather information from radars and use it to determine how to intercept incoming air raids most efficiently. The system was completed and largely deployed by 1987. Displaying some humor, the French called it "Kari," which was the French spelling of "Iraq" backwards.

The computer system was the core of Iraq's air defense, and on paper it looked very effective. Kari is a fully integrated command, control, and communications system. Under Kari, a national air defense operations center (ADOC) was established in downtown Baghdad.

Iraq was divided into four sectors. Each sector was controlled by a Sector Operations Center (SOC), which reported information to the ADOC and then received orders from that source. The 1st SOC was also known as the Central Air Defense Sector. The SOC headquarters were at Taji Airfield and covered Baghdad and surrounding areas. The 2nd SOC was also known as the Western Air Defense Sector. It was headquartered at H-3 airfield. The 3rd SOC covered the southern area of Iraq and was headquartered at Talil. The 4th SOC was the Northern Air Defense Sector and covered the oil fields of northern Iraq.

Each SOC controlled a number of interception operation centers (IOC) in its geographical area. The IOCs received information from different radar installations in their areas and passed the information along to the SOCs, which passed it up the line to the ADOC. In theory, Kari allowed central command to receive all information available, evaluate the threat, and decide what course of action should be taken. Missile batteries could be brought to readiness, AAA batteries prepared, or fighters launched. SOCs and IOCs were sited in locations that had good telecommunications.

Both voice and data communications were used to report incoming raids and to pass orders to subordinates. The system utilized both land lines and microwave communications. The French designers had planned that each node could switch from either form of communication without delay or interruption. All SOCs, all IOCs, and the ADOC were placed in hardened shelters, specially buried bunkers.

The Kari IADS controlled large numbers of resources to defend Iraq. Most of its equipment came from the Soviet Union, but sizable portions came from France. Iraqi air defense weapons were a mixture of state-of-the-art and obsolete systems.

First, information was fed to the ADOC from more than 500 different radars from more than 100 different sites around the country. These radars included a range of early warning and surveillance to target acquisition and fire control that were connected to individual batteries and weapons. Kari also controlled approximately 7,000 SAMs. Most were Soviet-produced weapons. For area defense, each SOC controlled one or more brigades of SA-2 and SA-3 missiles to cope with higher-flying aircraft. Low- to medium-level aircraft were countered with batteries of SA-6 missiles from the Soviet Union. Key strategic targets, especially those near Baghdad, were defended by shorter-range missiles, such as the 250 French-made Roland missiles and the Soviet SA-8 SAMs.

Many mobile SAMs, such as the SA-9 and the SA-13, were also deployed but were most often used to protect Republican Guard divisions. They were not usually controlled by the Kari system.

Kari also controlled the AAA batteries. Approximately 10,000 weapons were available. Once again, many were grouped around Baghdad to protect the key industrial, communications, and governmental installations. These batteries received information from the Kari system but were more often expected to fire in barrages, without more specific targeting information. Key weapons included 37-millimeter (mm) and 57-mm guns. Some were on self-propelled mountings, while others were located on top of buildings throughout Baghdad. Light AAA batteries included 14.5-mm and 23-mm weapons that were most effective at low altitudes. Below 10,000 feet, Iraq's AAAs were expected to be lethal, especially in daylight when aircraft could be tracked visually.

Finally, Kari also controlled jet fighters that could be scrambled and vectored to intercept incoming aircraft. Aircraft available included Soviet-made MiG-25s and MiG-29s along with French-made Mirage F-1s. The Iraqis adopted many of the Soviet procedures regarding air interceptions, requiring pilots to closely follow the orders of ground controllers. Because the Iraqi Air Force put a greater emphasis on ground attack, most of the best pilots were in those units. The ones who remained in the air defense squadrons were not as well trained. The Iraqis also planned to keep most fighters in hardened defenses when attacked. After the SAMs and AAAs had weakened enemy attackers, fighters could be scrambled to complete the job. Aggressiveness and initiative were not expected from the pilots.

Although Kari appeared impressive, it suffered from a number of weaknesses. The first was that the system could be overloaded. It was designed to deal with attacks by regional rivals of Iraq, especially Israel and Iran. Raids by those two states were expected to consist of 20 to 40 aircraft at a maximum. Each SOC had a theoretical capacity of tracking up to 120 aircraft at a time, but the reality was somewhat less. The system could be easily overloaded, as it was by coalition air forces in 1991. The use of many decoy targets confused and misled the Iraqi controllers and tended to paralyze the system. Because of Kari's centralized control and hierarchical structure, local controllers were not likely to act on their own initiative.

Because Kari was intended to deal mostly with Israeli and Iranian attacks, the defenses and most complete coverage were concentrated to the east and west of Baghdad. Less attention was paid regarding the south, where Saudi Arabia was an unlikely threat. Although the Iraqis did try to improve their radar coverage of the southern approaches to Baghdad, it was not possible to integrate new sites into Kari in the time prior to the Persian Gulf War.

The hierarchical structure of Kari was also a weakness that the coalition was able to exploit. Because information flowed upward to a centralized decision-making body and orders flowed down, an interruption in communications would cause disorder and paralyze the system. Although the French designers had included redundancy in their system, coalition planners were able to overcome it. Priority targets in the first hours of Operation DESERT STORM included key communication centers. Cruise missile and stealth aircraft strikes were able to take out many land-line communications, while jamming procedures prevented microwave links from working. Direct attacks on the ADOC and SOC headquarters were also effective in disrupting communications.

The coalition also concentrated on suppression of enemy air defenses (SEAD) early in the war. Decoys caused Iraqi controllers to turn on their radars, allowing SEAD aircraft to take them out with high-speed antiradiation missiles (HARMs). Other known radar sites were attacked directly with Hellfire missiles or U.S. Army long-range tactical missile systems. By identifying key parts of the Kari system and their weaknesses, coalition planners developed a comprehensive plan to take Kari out within hours. Although 17 coalition aircraft were lost in the first week of the war, Iraq's IADS was effectively destroyed within the first 24 hours of the war.

After DESERT STORM, Iraq retained and upgraded Kari. One of the most important upgrades was the use of Chinese fiber optic systems to improve the speed and reliability of communications between different levels of operations. Kari was finally eliminated during the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, when the country was overrun and occupied in short order. Kari posed little threat to coalition forces during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Air Defenses in Iraq, Persian Gulf War; Antiaircraft Guns; Antiaircraft Missiles, Iraqi; Antiradiation Missiles, Coalition; Artillery; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; Missiles, Surface-to-Air

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Karpinski, Janis

Birth Date: May 25, 1953

U.S. Army officer who was in charge of the Abu Ghraib Prison in Abu Ghraib, Iraq, some 20 miles west of Baghdad, when allegations of prisoner mistreatment and torture surfaced. Born on May 25, 1953, in Rahway, New Jersey, Janis Leigh Karpinski graduated from Kean College. She received her commission as a second lieutenant in 1977 and attended the Military Police Officer Basic Course at Fort McClellan, Alabama, and the Airborne School at Fort Benning, Georgia. Karpinski served primarily as a military intelligence and military police officer until 1987, when she left active duty and joined the reserves. She worked as an intelligence officer at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and during Operation DESERT

Army brigadier general Janis Karpinski, commander of the 899th Military Police Brigade at Abu Ghraib prison, the largest prison in Iraq. Karpinski commanded Abu Ghraib during the abuse of Iraqi prisoners, which became public knowledge on April 28, 2004. Karpinski, who claimed she had been made a scapegoat, was forced to retire in July 2005. (Chris Helgren/Reuters/Corbis)

STORM in 1991 she deployed to Saudi Arabia, where she was a targeting officer.

Immediately following this brief assignment in the Persian Gulf, Karpinski spent six years as a reservist and adviser, developing and implementing a military training program for women in the United Arab Emirates. After 1997 Karpinski continued as a reservist while also pursuing a civilian career in business.

In 2003 Karpinski was promoted to brigadier general. That June she took command of the 800th Military Police Brigade, which gave her charge of operations that included 3,400 army reservists and several battalions of active duty soldiers at 16 detention facilities in southern and central Iraq, including Abu Ghraib, and in the city of Mosul in the north.

While Karpinski was commanding the 800th Military Police Brigade, reports began to surface charging the unit with incidences of prisoner abuse and torture. While the army investigated the charges, in January 2004 Karpinski's superior, Lieutenant General Ricardo Sanchez, suspended her and 16 others from duty. In April 2005 after the Taguba Investigation, spearheaded by Major General Antonio Taguba, substantiated details of prisoner abuse by some soldiers under her command, the army relieved Karpinski of her duties and command. In May 2005 President George W. Bush approved her demotion to colonel.

Subsequently the army accused Karpinski of dereliction of duty, making a material misrepresentation to investigators, and failure to obey a lawful order. Later, however, army officials cleared Karpinski of the latter two charges. Karpinski mounted a spirited defense, claiming that she had no knowledge of the abuse until the investigation began, that the particular cellblock in question (1A) was under the control of the military intelligence command at the time, and that the army had used her as a scapegoat for the aberrations that occurred at Abu Ghraib. Yet as the commander responsible for the facility, it was her duty to know what was taking place within her command, which she failed to do.

In 2005 Karpinski published an account of her life, career, and involvement in the controversial events at the prison titled *One Woman's Army: The Commanding General of Abu Ghraib Tells Her Story.* In it she attributes the abuses at Abu Ghraib to "conflicting orders and confused standards extending from the military commanders in Iraq all the way to the summit of civilian leadership in Washington. . . . Anyone fighting the counterterrorist war in the Middle East had a clear mandate . . . but only fuzzy rules of engagement." Karpinski retired from military service in July 2005. She lives on Hilton Head, South Carolina, and works as a business consultant.

The Abu Ghraib Scandal had ramifications far greater than the negative impact on Karpinski's career. It added fuel to critics who condemn the Bush administration's decision to go to war in Iraq in 2003 and compounded similar charges of abuse at Bagram in Afghanistan and in other prisons of Iraq as well as attacks on civilians in Iraq. The handling of the incident and the poor treatment of General Taguba showed a consistent effort by the military to pass off responsibility on others and also demonstrated inappropriate decisions made by intelligence, contractors, the military, and the civilian leadership in the hopes of breaking the insurgency, which amounted to promotion of dehumanizing practices. Internationally, the scandal was a considerable embarrassment to the United States, and many believed that it put Americans at greater risk due to the demonstrated lack of respect for prisoner's rights.

DEBORAH KIDWELL

See also

Abu Ghraib; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Taguba, Antonio Mario

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Karzai, Hamid
Birth Date: December 24, 1957

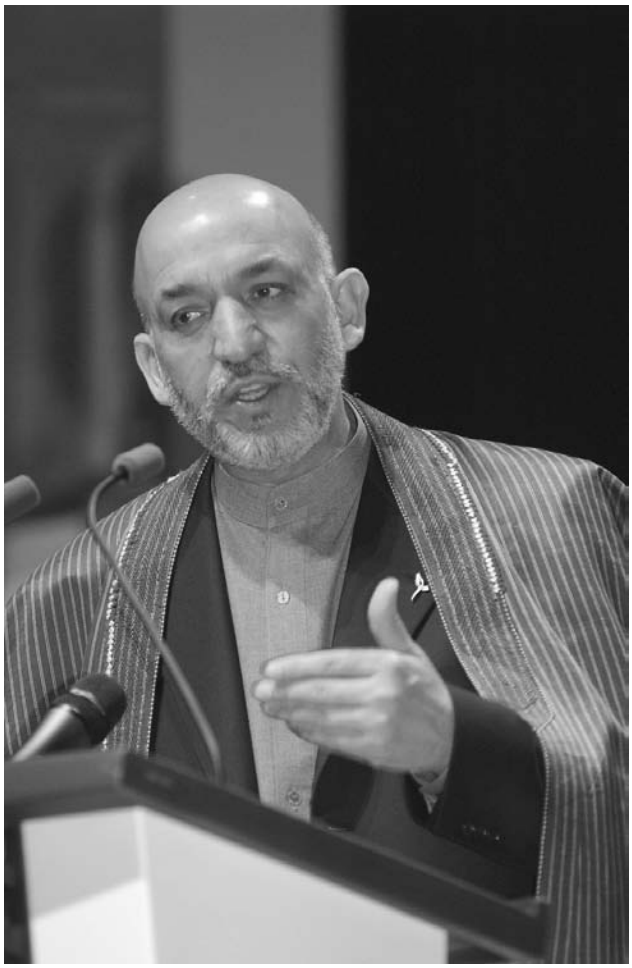
Afghan politician, supporter of the mujahideen, and leader of Afghanistan since the demise of the Taliban regime in December 2001. Hamid Karzai was born into a politically prominent family on December 24, 1957, in Karz, not far from Kandahar, Afghanistan. A Sunni Muslim, Karzai is an ethnic Pashtun from the Popalzai tribe. His grandfather was a high-ranking Afghan official, and his father, Abdul Ahad Karzai, was a tribal elder and served as deputy speaker of the Afghan parliament in the 1960s. In 1976 Hamid Karzai went to India as an exchange student. He later studied international relations and political science at Simla University, from which he earned an MA degree in 1983. During his stay in India, his nation was invaded and occupied by Soviet troops in December 1979, prompting a hard-fought struggle against the Soviets that lasted until 1989.

Beginning in 1984, Karzai dedicated himself fully to the ouster of Soviet forces from his homeland by helping to raise money to support the mujahideen fighters, who had begun to wage an increasingly effective guerrilla war against Soviet occupation troops. He also served as director of information for the National Liberation Front, located in neighboring Pakistan, and later served as deputy director of its political operations. Karzai reportedly became a key contact for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which was helping to funnel money and weapons to the mujahideen.

Before long, Karzai had cultivated close ties with CIA director William Casey and Vice President George H. W. Bush. For a time Karzai was in the United States, but he returned to Afghanistan in 1989 at which time the Soviets had withdrawn their troops from the country. At the same time, the mujahideen were attempting to form a new government.

In late 1989 Karzai began serving the provisional Afghan government as director of foreign relations for the interim president. In 1992 a permanent government was inaugurated, and Karsai began serving as Afghanistan's deputy foreign minister. By 1994 civil war had broken out among numerous mujahideen groups and the ascendant Taliban, an extreme right-wing fundamentalist movement. Initially Karzai supported the Taliban, but he quickly withdrew his support when he saw for himself its real agenda. Resigning his government post in 1994, he began working to form a national Grand Council (Loya Jirga) that would eventually, he hoped, oust the Taliban from power. He exiled himself to Quetta, Pakistan, and there worked with his father to bring down the Taliban. In 1999 his father was assassinated presumably by agents of the Taliban, an event that served to strengthen Karzai's resolve.

When Operation ENDURING FREEDOM began in October 2001, Karzai returned to Afghanistan and organized local support in Kandahar to aid coalition forces and the Northern Alliance in their drive to topple the Taliban. This was accomplished in December 2001. On December 5 he became chairman of the Interim Administration of Afghanistan. Less than three weeks later he was sworn in as interim chairman.



Thrust into the role of interim leader of a country devastated by war and world events, Hamid Karzai was sworn in as chairperson of Afghanistan's coalition government on December 22, 2001. In presidential elections held on October 9, 2004, Karzai received a majority of votes cast and was subsequently confirmed as president. (NATO)

Karzai's job was a difficult one, attempting to rule over a nation exhausted and ravaged by years of war and unrest. Indeed, he found it nearly impossible to travel outside the confines of Kabul, the capital city. In June 2002 Karzai became president of the interim government. In the meantime, he and other Afghan leaders had convened the Loya Jirga.

In October 2004 Karzai was formally elected president in nationwide elections. He began serving his five-year term in December 2004 in an inauguration that received much worldwide attention. Since then, Karzai has found it almost impossible to implement needed reforms on a countrywide basis. He has also witnessed a rise in activity by Taliban fighters and members of Al Qaeda. The nation remains desperately poor, and he rejected U.S. demands that he put an end to poppy production, fearing that doing so would further impoverish Afghans. Nevertheless, Karzai has tried to be a

uniting force in a fractious country and has enjoyed some success in forging alliances with tribal and regional leaders. He remains committed to championing human rights in his country, and he has attempted to empower Afghan women. Toward this end, he has appointed several women to high-ranking government posts. This has met with much resistance among conservatives.

In recent years Karzai has made some headway in the economic sphere and has even reached out to moderate Taliban members, claiming that the Taliban is welcome in Afghanistan so long as it does not include militants or terrorists. Karzai has frequently criticized the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for air strikes aimed at eradicating militants in rural Afghanistan. Numerous attacks have injured or killed innocent civilians. Karzai also pointed out in 2006 that the billions of dollars going to the Iraq War could have easily reconstructed Afghanistan, putting that nation on a much firmer footing. Despite his criticisms, he remains deeply appreciative of American efforts in his nation since 2001 and remains an important ally in the Global War on Terror. In 2006 he pledged to end poppy cultivation in Afghanistan as soon as practical, acknowledging that the crop was helping to feed the continued insurgency there. Between 2002 and 2008 Karzai was been the target of four assassination attempts, at least two of which were blamed on radical Taliban insurgents.

In the waning years of the George W. Bush administration relations between Washington and Kabul deteriorated, especially after Karzai publicly criticized the U.S. war in Iraq, claiming that it was siphoning badly needed funds from the reconstruction effort in Afghanistan. He also rankled U.S. policy makers by proclaiming his close ties to Iran. During 2008 and into 2009, U.S. attacks on Taliban strongholds that inadvertently killed civilians angered the Afghan president. In turn, the Barack Obama administration has criticized Karzai for being ineffective and unsteady and has argued that his regime has done too little to stop the poppy and narcotics trade. Nevertheless, Karzai announced his intention to run for reelection in August 2009 despite U.S. signals that it preferred an alternative candidate and despite rampant Afghan corruption.

Karzai won the 2009 election, amid cries of corruption, intimidation, and vote rigging, when his opponent in the second runoff election bowed out. Throughout 2009, many Western leaders, including Obama, tried to distance themselves from the Karzai regime. In particular, the United States rebuked Karzai for the continued vast corruption and drug trade in Afghanistan and his failure to address security concerns of his people. In January 2010 Karzai reached out to the Taliban, asking them to join a *loya jirga* in an attempt to reach a peace settlement. Karzai was reportedly not much enthused with the Obama administration's decision to send thousands of additional troops to Afghanistan beginning in early 2010.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; Central Intelligence Agency; Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Soviet-Afghanistan War; Taliban

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Katyusha Rocket

The Soviet Union's Katyusha multiple rocket launcher was developed by a design team headed by Gregory E. Langemak at the Leningrad Gas Dynamics Laboratory beginning in 1938 and was in direct response to German development in 1936 of the six-barrel Nebelwerfer rocket launcher. The Soviet rocket was at first intended for aircraft use and was approved on June 21, 1941, on the eve of the German invasion of the Soviet Union. It was first employed in combat in a truck-mounted mode by the Red Army against the Germans in July 1941. The rockets were unofficially named for the title of a popular Russian wartime song, with "Katyusha" a diminutive for Ekaterina (Catherine). The Germans knew the weapon as the Stalinorgel (Stalin's Organpipes) for its distinctive sound.

The unguided Katyusha rocket appeared in a variety of sizes. The first was the BM-8 (BM for *boyevaya mashina,* or combat vehicle) 82-millimeter (mm), but by the end of the war the Soviets were using BM-13 132-mm rockets. The BM-13 was nearly six feet in length, weighed 92 pounds, and had a range of about three miles. Such rockets could be armed with high-explosive, incendiary, or chemical warheads. Although not an accurate weapon, the Katyusha could be extremely effective in saturation bombardment when large numbers of launch trucks were deployed side by side.

The launch system consisted of a series of parallel rails with a folding frame that was raised in order to bring the rockets into firing position. Katyushas were mounted on a variety of truck beds to fire forward over the cab. Each truck mounted between 14 and 48 launchers. Trucks included the Soviet ZiS-6 and the Lend-Lease–supplied and U.S.-manufactured Studebaker US6 2.5-ton. Katyushas were also mounted on T-40 and T-60 tanks and on aircraft for use against German tanks and also appeared on ships and riverine vessels in a ground-support role. Artillerists were not fond of the multiple launch system because it took up to 50 minutes to load and fired only 24 rounds, whereas a conventional howitzer could fire four to six times as many rounds in a comparable time period.

Katyushas continued to undergo refinement. During the Cold War, Soviet forces were equipped with the BM-24 240-mm Katyusha, which had a range of about six miles. Each truck mounted 12 rockets. Two racks, one on top of the other, contained 6 rockets each. In 1963 the Soviets introduced the 122-mm BM-21. It was exported to more than 50 countries. Larger 220-mm and 300-mm Katyushas were also developed.

Over time, the name "Katyusha" has become a generic term applied to all small artillery rockets, even those developed by Israel and based on Katyushas captured during the June 1967 Six-Day War. The Israeli Light Artillery Rocket (LAR) has a range of some

A Katyusha rocket launcher, captured by Israeli forces in southern Lebanon during Operation PEACE FOR GALILEE, shown here on June 29, 1982. (Baruch Rimon/Israeli Government Press Office)

27 miles and can be loaded with a variety of different munitions. It was employed in the October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War and in the 1982 invasion of Lebanon.

Katyushas have also been employed by Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad against Israel and by Iraqi insurgents against U.S. and coalition forces. In March 2006 a BM-21 122-mm Katyusha was fired into Israel from the Gaza Strip, the first time a Katyusha had been sent into Israel from Palestinian-controlled territory. The 9-foot, 2-inch BM-21 has a range of nearly 13 miles and a warhead of nearly 35 pounds. Katyushas are much more a worry to Israel than the short-range home-made Qassam rocket, fired by Hamas into Israel from the Gaza Strip.

It has been estimated that in the fighting between Israel and Hezbollah in Lebanon during July–August 2006, Hezbollah launched as many as 4,000 Katyusha rockets against the Jewish state, with about one-quarter of them hitting densely populated civilian areas. While the rockets were not at first a major problem for U.S. forces in the Iraq War, the use of Katyushas has undergone an increase, probably in response to Syrian and Iranian support of the Iraq Insurgency. In March 2008 Katyusha rockets were reportedly launched against Baghdad's heavily fortified Green Zone. The United States developed the Tactical High Energy Laser (THEL) system specifically to defeat the Katyusha during flight.

The U.S. counterpart to the Katyusha is the Multiple Launch Rocket System (MLRS) M270. The tracked M270 vehicle fires 12 8.9-inch (227-mm) 13-foot long unguided rockets from two self-contained six-round pods.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Green Zone in Iraq; Hezbollah; Iraqi Insurgency; Islamic Jihad, Palestinian; Israel; Lebanon; Lebanon, Israeli Invasion of

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Kazakhstan and the Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

Eurasian country that straddles central Asia and eastern Europe. Kazakhstan covers 1.052 million square miles and had a 2008 population of 15.341 million people. A former Soviet republic that declared its independence in 1991, Kazakhstan borders Russia, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, China, and the Caspian

Sea. Kazakhstan is a presidential republic with a parliamentary-style legislative process. The president holds significant power, as he is both head of state and commander in chief of the armed forces. The prime minister is head of government. There are several political parties in the country. The Fatherland (Otan) Party is by far the largest, followed by the coalition of a Just Kazakhstan, the Democratic Party of Kazakhstan Bright Path, the Social Democratic Party, and the People's Communist Party of Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan has been pro-Western in orientation since the mid-1990s.

Kazakhstan supported the U.S.-led coalitions during Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM as part of a broader effort to bolster ties with the United States and the West. Specifically, Kazakhstan sought to improve its security relations with the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as a means to counter Russian influence in the Caspian region. Concurrently, the United States endeavored to enhance its relationship with oil- and gas-rich Kazakhstan in order to gain increased access to energy supplies.

Following the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, Kazakhstan emerged as an important geostrategic U.S. partner because of its proximity to Afghanistan and the potential for expanded terrorist activities in the region. Kazakhstan granted the United States and its allies use of Kazakh airspace, and increased intelligence cooperation was initiated between the government and the coalition in Afghanistan. The Kazakh government also offered the coalition the use of an air base, but the United States instead chose to use bases in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan because of their closer proximity to Afghanistan. To provide support for Kazakhstan, the United States increased foreign aid to the country. Between 2001 and 2008 the United States provided Kazakhstan with more than $200 million in direct government aid and economic development assistance.

During the buildup to the 2003 Iraq War, Kazakhstan became concerned over the possibility that any conflict might escalate and spread into the Caspian region. The government was also concerned that energy prices could drop dramatically if the war was short and if Iraq quickly restored its production capabilities beyond the limits imposed at the time by international sanctions. The country redeployed forces, including antiaircraft batteries, to protect infrastructure and energy fields.

The Kazakh government officially supported a resolution of the conflict under the auspices of the Untied Nations (UN). However, when the invasion of Iraq began in March 2003, the Kazakh government issued a statement of support for the U.S.-led coalition. Kazakhstan also agreed to send a small number of troops to Iraq and deployed engineering elements of KAZBAT (for Kazakhstan Battalion) in September 2003. The Kazakh contingent numbered about 30 troops, who engaged in de-mining operations and ordnance disposal tasks. The Kazakhs operated in the Wasit Province in southwestern Iraq within the Polish area of operations. The deployment was viewed by the Kazakh government as a manifestation of its growing ties with the United States and the West and as a means of providing its peacekeeping battalion with practical experience. Soldiers rotated through Iraq on 6- to 12-month deployments. The government also announced that it sought greater participation in multilateral peacekeeping operations in the future.

Kazakhstan withdrew its forces from Iraq in October 2008 in line with the general drawdown of international troops. Kazakh forces lost one soldier killed in Iraq when ordnance unexpectedly detonated during a loading operation. Concurrent with the withdrawal of Kazakh forces from Iraq, the government initiated discussions with NATO for the deployment of peacekeepers as part of the alliance's operations in Afghanistan.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Kelly, David Christopher

Birth Date: May 17, 1944
Death Date: July 17, 2003

British biological weapons expert, official in the Ministry of Defence, and United Nations (UN) weapons inspector whose actions and mysterious death in 2003 provoked a political scandal in Great Britain. David Christopher Kelly was born on May 17, 1944, in Rhondda, Wales, United Kingdom. He earned an undergraduate degree from the University of Leeds, a master of science degree from the University of Birmingham, and a doctorate in microbiology from Linacre College, Oxford University, in 1971.

After working in the private sector for a number of years, in 1984 Kelly entered the civil service and became chairman of the United Kingdom's Defence Microbiology Division. He worked on a wide variety of government and international projects dealing with biological weapons, and he twice visited Russia in the 1990s as a weapons inspector. He also worked with the UN in the aftermath of the 1991 Persian Gulf War and was among the weapons inspectors sent to Iraq to ensure that the nation was complying with the postwar disarmament agreements.

Between 1991 and 1999 Kelly made some 37 trips to Iraq as a member of the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM), and during several of those trips he uncovered evidence of Iraq's biological weapons program. He was lauded both at home and abroad for his work, and more than one colleague nominated him for a Nobel Peace Prize for his findings.

In 2002 Kelly was peripherally involved with the compilation of a top-secret but very controversial dossier assembled by the British Defence Intelligence Staff. The dossier was designed to provide intelligence on Iraq's weapons programs to British prime minister Tony Blair, who at the time was considering an Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq ostensibly to rid the nation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). Because of his vast experience in Iraq and his familiarity with Iraqi weapons programs, Kelly was asked to review the report before it was presented to Blair. What Kelly found troubled him, particularly the claim that Iraq was capable of firing chemical and/or biological weapons on the battlefield within 45 minutes of their order for use. Kelly's findings did not support such a claim, but his superiors prevailed, and the information was left in the dossier.

Kelley continued to believe, however, that Iraq may have had some semblance of a biological weapons program, right up to the April 2003 invasion that toppled Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein. As such, in June 2003 Kelly joined an international weapons inspection team charged with looking for Iraq's alleged WMDs. When the media triumphantly announced that inspectors had found two mobile laboratories designed to produce biological weapons, Kelly ridiculed the idea, speaking to a reporter off the record and asserting that they in fact were not biological weapons labs. *The Observer,* a British newspaper, ran the story, but it created little stir because the source was anonymous.

A month prior, in May 2003, Kelly had agreed to meet with Andrew Gilligan, an investigative reporter for the British Broadcasting Company (BBC). The two men agreed that Kelly would discuss strictly off the record the content of the intelligence dossier used by Tony Blair and especially the claim that Iraq could have fired biological or chemical weapons within 45 minutes of first order, an assertion that Kelly believed to be entirely false. On May 29 Gilligan broadcast his findings but attributed the bogus claim in the dossier to Alastair Campbell, Blair's communications director. In fact, certain claims in the dossier were copied from a journal article without attribution, but putting the blame on those responsible for the dossier's publication set off a firestorm at Number 10 Downing Street, as the Blair government vigorously denied any involvement in the compilation of the dossier. Now panicked and perturbed that Gilligan had made claims that he himself had never made, Kelly told his superiors of his contact with Gilligan, and soon the news had leaked out that Kelly had been the true source of Gilligan's story. In the meantime, the Blair government continued to deal with the fallout from the incident.

In July 2003 Kelly, anguished over the unintended results of his actions and mortified by all the publicity, was forced to testify before the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee, which had been charged with investigating the dossier incident. On July 15 he appeared, visibly shaken, before the committee. After grueling questions, he left under duress and was bombarded by reporters. The next day he was similarly grilled by members of the Intelligence and Security Committee. On July 17 Kelley left his Oxfordshire home to take a walk. Instead, he went to a heavily wooded area about a mile from his home, swallowed as many as 30 painkillers, slashed his left wrist, and later died. His body was found by the police the next morning.

The strange circumstances of Kelly's death and his role in the political scandal involving faulty prewar intelligence led many Britons to fear that he had been murdered in an attempt to keep the scandal from snowballing. Because of this, the British government assembled a judicial inquiry to look into the matter, including the circumstances of Kelly's death. On August 1, 2003, the Hutton Inquiry, named after James Brian Edward, Lord Hutton, began its work. On January 28, 2004, the Hutton Inquiry issued its report.

The report, which was met with some skepticism, unequivocally stated that Kelly had taken his own life, that nobody had aided him in any way, and that none of the other people involved in the dossier incident had threatened him or made him believe that taking his life was a solution to the problem. During the investigation, however, a British foreign service official recalled a conversation he had with Kelly in Geneva in February 2003. Allegedly, Kelly had told the unnamed person that he had told the Iraqis that they would not be invaded if they cooperated with weapons inspectors. When pressed, Kelly reportedly said to the man that if war did come, he would "probably be found dead in the woods." Skeptics and critics claimed that there was not enough blood found at the death scene to square with the coroner's report that listed loss of blood as the chief cause of death. In 2006 another investigation was launched into Kelly's death, but no definitive conclusions could be drawn. Some continue to believe that Kelly was a scapegoat for the false claims made to justify the invasion of Iraq and the subsequent war and that someone within the Blair government had ordered him silenced.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Biological Weapons and Warfare; Blair, Tony; United Nations Special Commission; United Nations Weapons Inspectors; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Kennedy, John Fitzgerald

Birth Date: May 29, 1917
Death Date: November 22, 1963

U.S. congressman (1946–1952), senator (1953–1961), and president of the United States (1961–1963). John Fitzgerald Kennedy was born in Brookline, Massachusetts, on May 29, 1917, into a large and wealthy Irish Catholic family. He earned his bachelor's degree from Harvard University in 1940 and served four years in

Democrat John F. Kennedy, elected president in November 1960, ushered in a new period in U.S. history. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963. (John F. Kennedy Presidential Library)

the U.S. Navy during World War II. He was awarded the Navy and Marine Corps Medal and the Purple Heart for action as commander of *PT-109,* which was rammed and sunk by a Japanese destroyer in the South Pacific.

After the war Kennedy worked for a brief time as a newspaper reporter before entering national politics at the age of 29, winning election as Democratic congressman from Massachusetts in 1946. In Congress he backed social legislation that benefited his largely working-class constituents and criticized what he considered to be President Harry S. Truman's weak stand against communist China. Throughout his career, in fact, Kennedy was known for his vehement anticommunist sentiments.

Kennedy won election to the U.S. Senate in 1952, although he had a relatively undistinguished career in that body. Never a well man, he suffered from several serious health problems, including a back operation in 1955 that nearly killed him. Despite his fragile health and lackluster performance in the Senate, he won reelection in 1958. After losing a close contest for the vice presidential nomination at the 1956 Democratic National Convention, he now set his sights on the presidency. Four years later he won the Democratic nomination for president on the first ballot.

Candidate Kennedy promised more aggressive defense policies, health care reform, and housing and civil rights programs. He also proposed his New Frontier agenda, designed to revitalize the flagging U.S. economy and to bring young people into government and humanitarian service. Winning election by the narrowest of margins, he became the nation's first Roman Catholic president. Only 42 years old, he was also the youngest man ever to be elected to that office.

As president, Kennedy set out to fulfill his campaign pledges. Once in office, he was forced to respond to the increasingly urgent demands of civil rights advocates, although he did so rather reluctantly and tardily. By establishing both the Alliance for Progress and the Peace Corps, he delivered American idealism and goodwill to aid developing countries.

Despite Kennedy's idealism, no amount of enthusiasm could blunt the growing tensions in the U.S.-Soviet Cold War rivalry. One of Kennedy's first attempts to stanch the perceived communist threat was to authorize a band of U.S.-supported Cuban exiles to invade the communist island in an attempt to overthrow Fidel Castro in April 1961. The Bay of Pigs invasion, which turned into a disaster for the president, had been planned by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) under President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Although Kennedy harbored reservations about the operation, he nonetheless approved it. The failure further heightened Cold War tensions with the Soviets and ultimately set the stage for the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962.

Cold War confrontation was not limited to Cuba. In the spring of 1961 the Soviet Union renewed its campaign to control West Berlin. Kennedy spent two days in Vienna in June 1961 discussing the hot-button issue with Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev. In the months that followed, the crisis over Berlin was further intensified by the construction of the Berlin Wall, which prevented East Berliners from escaping to the West. Kennedy responded to the provocation by reinforcing U.S. troops in West Germany and increasing the nation's military strength. In the meantime, he had begun deploying what would be some 16,000 U.S. military advisers to prop up Ngo Dinh Diem's regime in South Vietnam. In so doing, Kennedy had put the United States on the path to full-scale military intervention in Vietnam.

With the focus now directed away from Europe, the Soviets began to clandestinely install nuclear missiles in Cuba. On October 14, 1962, U.S. spy planes photographed the construction of missile-launching sites in Cuba. The placement of nuclear missiles only 90 miles from U.S. shores threatened to destabilize the Western Hemisphere and undermine the uneasy Cold War nuclear deterrent. Kennedy imposed a naval quarantine on Cuba that was designed to interdict any offensive weapons bound for the island. The world held its collective breath as the two Cold War superpowers appeared perched on the abyss of thermonuclear war. But after 13 harrowing days the Soviet Union agreed to remove the missiles. In return the United States pledged not to preemptively invade Cuba and to secretly remove its obsolete nuclear missiles from Turkey.

Both Kennedy and Khrushchev had been sobered by the Cuban Missile Crisis, realizing that the world had come as close as it ever

had to a full-scale nuclear war. Cold War tensions were diminished when the Soviet Union, Britain, and the United States signed the Limited Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty on August 5, 1963, forbidding atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons. To avoid potential misunderstandings and miscalculations in a future crisis, a hot line was installed that directly linked the Oval Office with the Kremlin.

As a congressman in 1951, Kennedy had visited the Middle East. Even then he voiced his opposition to colonialism in the region, urging that Middle Eastern nations should govern their own affairs. He specifically called upon the French to give independence to Algeria. Despite these early remonstrations, he nevertheless became the first U.S. president to agree to a major weapons sale to the Israelis, which gave the impression that his administration was pro-Israeli and, by definition, anti-Arab.

Such was not the case. While the Kennedy administration did support Israel, it was not because it was anti-Arab. The president approved the sale of U.S.-made Hawk air defense missiles to Israel chiefly because the Soviets, the French, and even the British had supplied arms to Arab states. Kennedy hoped to readjust the balance of power in the Middle East by bolstering Israeli defenses. The administration made numerous commitments to and statements of support for Arab nations in the Middle East and exhibited compassion toward the Palestinian refugee issue.

In the end, President Kennedy refused to enter into a binding military alliance with the Israelis and was reluctant to sell large caches of armaments and weapons to them. To do so, he believed, would have placed the United States in a vulnerable position in a future Middle East crisis. He did not want a new world war to erupt in the Middle East, which was not out of the realm of possibility given the tense state of superpower relations. He did, however, accede to regularly scheduled consultations between Israeli and American military officials. The Kennedy administration's Middle East policies were guided more by pragmatism than ideology.

At the same time that Kennedy agreed to send antiaircraft missiles to Israel, he was also engaging in quiet diplomacy with Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser. Recognizing Nasser's importance and popularity in the Middle East, Kennedy sought rapprochement with Egypt. Indeed, he and Nasser exchanged personal letters many times. But Nasser's decision to intervene in the civil war in Yemen soured the growing relationship between the two leaders. Kennedy dispatched U.S. fighter aircraft to Saudi Arabia to protect it and to serve as a warning to the Egyptians not to increase their role in Yemen. Although Kennedy did not have to contend with any major crises in the Middle East, he nonetheless engaged in a delicate game of diplomatic chess by which he sought to aid the Israelis, engage the Arabs, limit Soviet influence, and keep the region's rich oil supplies flowing.

Following the nerve-wracking Cuban Missile Crisis, Kennedy looked toward 1963 with considerable enthusiasm. He was also buoyed by his successful efforts to reduce Cold War tensions. In an effort to mediate between warring conservative and liberal Democratic Party factions in Texas, a state that was vital to his reelection, in November 1963 Kennedy embarked on a whirlwind tour there with his wife and vice president. While riding in an open car in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963, Kennedy was assassinated. In a great national and international outpouring of grief the slain president was laid to rest in Arlington National Cemetery on November 25, 1963.

LACIE A. BALLINGER

See also

Arms Sales, International; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Kerry, John Forbes

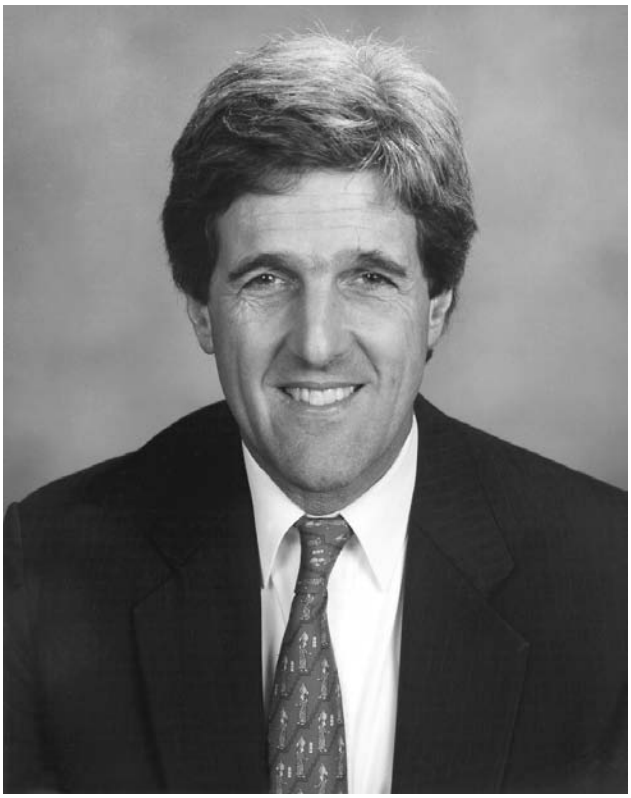
Birth Date: December 11, 1943

Vietnam War veteran, U.S. senator (1985–), and 2004 Democratic presidential nominee. John Forbes Kerry was born in Aurora, Colorado, on December 11, 1943, the son of a World War II Army Air Corps test pilot, foreign service officer, and attorney. His mother, a nurse, was a member of the distinguished and wealthy Forbes family of Boston. As a child Kerry lived abroad for a time and also attended an exclusive college preparatory school in New Hampshire.

Kerry attended Yale University, graduating in 1966. That same year he joined the U.S. Navy, serving on a destroyer off the coast of Vietnam. During 1968–1969 he volunteered to command a swift (navy patrol) boat; he was stationed first at Cam Ranh Bay and then on the island of Phu Quoc. He received three Purple Heart medals for combat wounds, returned to the United States in the spring of 1969, and left the service on March 1, 1970.

Results of the 2004 U.S. Presidential Election

Name	*Party*	*% of Popular Vote*	*Electoral Votes*
George W. Bush	Republican	50.74%	286
John Kerry	Democratic	48.27%	251
Ralph Nader	None	0.38%	0
Michael Badnarik	Libertarian	0.32%	0
Michael Peroutka	Constitution	0.12%	0
John Edwards	Democratic	0.01%	1
Other	—	0.16%	0



Democrat John Forbes Kerry has been a U.S. senator from Massachusetts since 1985. In the election of 2004, Kerry lost his bid to become president of the United States to Republican incumbent George W. Bush. (U.S. Senate)

Upon his return Kerry, who was proud of his service in the war, nevertheless dedicated much energy to opposing the war and speaking out on policies that he believed had failed the U.S. mission in Vietnam. Some of his actions were not without controversy. His antiwar activity included membership in several antiwar organizations, writings against the war, testimony to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the publicizing of alleged war crimes committed by American and Vietnamese soldiers, and participation in numerous demonstrations, including a famous one in which he and nearly 1,000 fellow Vietnam veterans threw down their service medals on the steps of the U.S. Capitol before television cameras.

In 1972 Kerry decided to run for a U.S. House of Representatives seat, representing northeastern Massachusetts as a Democrat. He lost the race and decided to attend law school at Boston College, from which he earned a degree in 1976. He then became a full-time prosecutor in Middlesex County. He left that post in 1979 to establish his own law firm, which was a modest success. In 1982 he successfully ran for the post of lieutenant governor in Massachusetts and served under Governor Michael Dukakis. Two years later Kerry ran for a U.S. Senate seat and won. He has remained in the Senate since January 1985.

In the Senate, Kerry earned a reputation for his earnestness, deep grasp of national issues, and ability to reach across the aisle when necessary to effect bipartisan legislative compromises. He is considered a moderate to left-leaning Democrat. In 2000 he was on Vice President Al Gore's short list of potential running mates for the autumn 2000 presidential election.

Kerry decided to run for president in 2004 and soon established himself as one of the front runners in an unusually crowded slate of Democratic hopefuls. After winning the January 2004 Iowa Caucus, Kerry went on to win a string of state primaries, and by the early spring he was the presumptive Democratic presidential nominee. After choosing North Carolina senator John Edwards as his vice presidential running mate, Kerry was formally nominated at the Democratic National Convention that summer and began a hard-fought campaign to unseat the incumbent George W. Bush.

Kerry's main platform in the election was his opposition to the war in Iraq and Bush's handling of the Global War on Terror after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks. Kerry also scoffed at Bush's economic policies, which had caused huge budget deficits and an uneven economy and had skewed income toward those who already possessed the vast majority of wealth in the country. Kerry also made vague promises of health care reform. Without a doubt, however, the Iraq War was the most important subject of debate in 2004. In this, Kerry's past voting record did not serve him particularly well, as he strongly backed the October 2002 joint congressional resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq. After the March 2003 invasion of Iraq and the subsequent revelation that Iraq did not have weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), Kerry turned sharply against the war and became an outspoken critic of the Bush administration.

Not surprisingly, the Bush campaign jumped on Kerry's position vis-à-vis the Iraq War, particularly Kerry's ill-considered comment that he "first voted for it before he voted against it," opening himself up to charges of flip-flopping on the war. Over the course of the late summer and into the autumn, seeds of doubt were planted in the electorate's mind as to Kerry's competence, decisiveness, and ability to handle national security issues. Indeed, Kerry was portrayed as a weak and effete Massachusetts liberal who was out of step with American voters. The Kerry campaign was sometimes slow and tepid in its reactions to these attacks, which only compounded the damage. A series of searing television ads by the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth group also hobbled Kerry's campaign. Among other things, the group accused Kerry of dishonorable conduct during and after his Vietnam War service and charged that he had lied or greatly exaggerated his role in the war.

Kerry went on to lose the 2004 election by a close margin (Bush won 31 states to Kerry's 19 plus the District of Columbia but bested him by less than 3 percent of the popular vote and 35 electoral college votes). Remaining in the U.S. Senate, Kerry continued to criticize the Bush administration's policies, especially those toward the Iraq War.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also
Bush, George Walker; Swift Boat Veterans for Truth; United States, National Elections of 2004

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Keys, William Morgan
Birth Date: 1937

U.S. Marine Corps general who commanded the 2nd Marine Division during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. William Morgan Keys was born in 1937 in Fredericktown, Pennsylvania. He was commissioned a second lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps in 1960 upon graduation from the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis. He subsequently attended various U.S. Marine Corps schools, including the Amphibious Warfare School and the Command and Staff College at Quantico, Virginia, and he earned a master's degree from American University. Keys also served two tours in Vietnam, and on March 2, 1967, he earned the Navy Cross for action against North Vietnamese forces.

By September 1989 Keys was a major general and commander of the 2nd Marine Division at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. In August 1990 Iraqi forces overran Kuwait, triggering Operation DESERT SHIELD, a buildup of U.S. and coalition forces in Saudi Arabia. At first the division's contribution to the effort was support of the 4th Marine Expeditionary Brigade in the Persian Gulf. In November 1990 the division was alerted for likely deployment to Saudi Arabia in case force was necessary to remove the Iraqis from Kuwait. Much of the equipment needed by the division was provided by prepositioned merchant ships already in the area. To fill out the division, a number of marine reservists were called to active duty. The armor battalions assigned to the division were also equipped with M1-A1 Abrams tanks, giving them state-of-the-art armor. The division was still short one regiment, however, so an armor brigade from the 2nd Armored Division was attached to the 2nd Marine Division. Known as the Tiger Brigade, this U.S. Army unit added significant firepower to the marine division.

Keys arrived in Saudi Arabia on December 14, 1990, and immediately joined in the planning for offensive operations. Initially the marines were ordered to attack near the Persian Gulf coast, with the 1st Marine Division breaking through the Iraqi defenses. Keys's 2nd Marine Division was then supposed to advance through the 1st Marine Division. Later the plan called for the 1st Marine Division to pass through the 2nd Marine Division. The passage of one division through another was a difficult undertaking, and the marines had never tried such a maneuver. Keys was understandably unhappy with the plan.

On January 29, 1991, Iraqi armored forces crossed into Saudi Arabia after the air campaign had begun on January 17, reaching the Saudi town of Khafji. Marine light armor and antitank missiles, along with attack helicopters, helped stop the incursion. Arab forces then drove the Iraqis out of Khafji with support from marine artillery and aircraft. Keys observed the Iraqis carefully and was not impressed with their fighting abilities; he believed that they would not fight against stiff opposition and that their overall coordination was poor. He then approached his commander, Lieutenant General Walter Boomer, about changing the marine plan of attack. Instead of using both divisions to make only one breach in Iraqi defenses, Keys wanted to have the marine divisions attack side by side, breaking through the defending Iraqis more quickly. Boomer, who deeply respected Keys, amended the plan accordingly.

The 2nd Marine Division then shifted to the west. On February 24, the day the ground offensive began, the division quickly broke through Iraqi minefields and drove 20 miles into Kuwait. Thousands of Iraqis were taken prisoner. The marines were so successful that the main attack farther west was moved up from February 25 to the afternoon of February 24. The next morning an Iraqi armored counterattack failed to stop the marine advance. Army and marine tanks destroyed some 70 Iraqi tanks before continuing toward Kuwait City. On February 26 the marines and the Army's Tiger Brigade captured Mutla Ridge and the suburb of Jahrah, west of Kuwait City. The main road to Iraq ran across Mutla Ridge, creating a bottleneck that the division plugged. Along with air force, navy, and marine aircraft, the 2nd Marine Division destroyed hundreds of Iraqi vehicles trying to escape. The division finished the war in place, accepting the surrender of Iraqis soldiers who were unable to escape northward.

Following the war, Keys was promoted to lieutenant general and served as commander of U.S. Marine Corps Forces, Atlantic. He retired on September 1, 1994. Keys later became the chief executive officer of the Colt Manufacturing Company.

TIM J. WATTS

See also
DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; Khafji, Battle of; Mutla Ridge; United States Marine Corps, Persian Gulf War

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Khafji, Battle of
Start Date: January 29, 1991
End Date: February 1, 1991

First major land battle of the Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM) that occurred from January 29 to February 1, 1991. The

fight unfolded after units of the Iraqi Army crossed the border from Kuwait into Saudi Arabia, where they occupied the town of Ras al-Khafji. The Iraqis were forced out of Khafji after heavy fighting with American, Saudi Arabian, and Qatari forces.

Since January 17, 1991, the Iraqi army occupying Kuwait had been bombarded relentlessly by coalition aircraft, which commenced the air campaign. With casualties and material losses mounting and morale plummeting, the Iraqi high command decided on a bold plan to regain the initiative in the war. Three Iraqi divisions would launch a ground attack into Saudi Arabian territory, inflict a humiliating defeat on the Saudis, and provoke a coalition counterattack. The Iraqis hoped that they could inflict such heavy casualties on the counterattacking Americans that public opinion in the United States would turn against the war.

In order to carry out the plan, the Iraqi 5th Mechanized Division pushed down the coastal highway from Kuwait toward Khafji. The 5th Division attack was supported by several hundred Iraqi commandoes who sailed along the coast in small boats, landed behind Saudi lines, and raided communication links. To the right of the 5th Division, the Iraqi 3rd Armored Division was to overwhelm the border posts held by the Saudis and American marines before swinging left to attack the port city of Al Mishab, south of Khafji. Farther inland, the 1st Iraqi Mechanized Division would cover the flank of the other two attacking divisions.

The attacks of the Iraqi 1st and 3rd divisions were stalled on the evening of January 31, however, by determined U.S. marine resistance at the frontier border posts, followed by devastating American air attacks that caught Iraqi vehicles out in the open. The coastal commando raids were intercepted and destroyed by U.S. and British Royal Navy warships. However, elements of the Iraqi 5th Division succeeded in scattering Saudi frontier defenses and storming into Khafji.

The civilian population of Khafji, which normally numbered about 10,000, had been evacuated at the start of the war. A 12-man U.S. marine reconnaissance detachment was left stranded behind Iraqi lines in Khafji, from where they began calling in air strikes.

Frantic to liberate Khafji from the invaders, the Saudi government ordered immediate counterattacks. Two poorly coordinated Saudi attacks, backed up by a detachment of Qatari tanks, failed on the evening of January 30 and the morning of January 31. The Saudis were fortunate to escape with light casualties, thanks largely to the wild inaccuracy of Iraqi fire. However, massive American air strikes ensured that the Iraqis would be unable to reinforce their troops in Khafji. The Iraqi defenders in the town were also worn down by the nonstop air attacks. A third Saudi attack on February 1 finally succeeded in overwhelming the demoralized Iraqis in Khafji, who had been abandoned to their fate by the Iraqi high command.

The estimated Saudi and Qatari losses in the fighting for Khafji numbered 18 dead and 50 wounded. Seven to 10 Saudi V-150 armored personnel carriers and 2 Qatari AMX tanks were destroyed. The Iraqis lost anywhere from 60 to 100 killed and 400 taken prisoner plus at least 50 tanks destroyed in Khafji itself. But further heavy losses to coalition air strikes among Iraqi units to the north of Khafji may have resulted in a total of more than 2,000 Iraqi casualties plus 300 vehicles.

The success of American airpower in the Battle of Khafji led some theorists to claim that airpower was now the decisive factor in modern warfare, although that claim has not been widely accepted. The battle also revealed the serious shortcomings in the Saudi armed forces and in the command and control capabilities of the Iraqi Army.

Paul W. Doerr

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Kuwait, Occupation of by Iraq; Qatar; Saudi Arabia, Armed Forces

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Khalifa, Isa bin Salman al-

Birth Date: June 3, 1933
Death Date: March 6, 1999

Emir of Bahrain from 1961 to 1999 and a member of the ruling family of Khalifa. Born in Manama, Bahrain, on June 3, 1933, Sheikh Isa bin Salman al-Khalifa grew up in the Khalifa family that had ruled Bahrain since 1783. He was educated at the royal court by British and Arab tutors. Sheikh Isa became heir apparent to the throne of Bahrain in 1958 and succeeded his father, Sheikh Salman bin Hamad al-Khalifa, as head of state in December 1961. It was not until August 15, 1971, that the younger Khalifa assumed the title of emir (prince), after Bahrain established itself as a fully independent state from Britain.

In an important speech made after independence, Sheikh Isa promised that the people of Bahrain would be able to participate in governing their nation. To keep his promise, in June 1972 he agreed to establish a Constitutional Assembly and enact a new constitution. The promise proved short-lived, however, after he suspended the Constituent Assembly and the constitution itself in 1975.

The influence of external forces dominated Sheikh Isa's rule, and the emir had to contend with potential threats from Arab radicals in Iran and those within Bahrain, allegedly inspired by Iran. Tensions between Bahrain and Iran reached a crisis point in December 1981 after it became apparent that Iran was supporting an attempted coup in Bahrain. The plan called for the assassination of Sheikh Isa and members of the Khalifa family by the Islamic

Front for the Liberation of Bahrain, which was supported by the Iranian government. In response to these threats, Sheikh Isa forged several formal alliances with Saudi Arabia and the United States.

Although those alliances wavered throughout the 1970s and the early part of the 1980s, cooperation between Bahrain and the United States increased steadily in the run-up to the 1991 Persian Gulf War. During the Persian Gulf War, Bahrain fully supported the United Nations (UN)–backed coalition that liberated neighboring Kuwait from Iraqi occupation, and Sheikh Isa dispatched a small military force that was part of the coalition. Bahrain was also employed as a forward base of operations for Western troops. After the war, in 1992, Bahrain and the United States reached a 10-year bilateral defense agreement that restored a formal U.S. presence in Bahrain.

Under Sheikh Isa's leadership, Bahrain's economy was transformed through the expansion of its banking industry and the development of its industries, especially the petroleum industry. Indeed, oil revenues have made Bahrain a wealthy nation since the 1970s. Sheikh Isa has also been credited for his role in the creation of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (also known as the Gulf Cooperation Council, GCC) in 1981, a council comprised of Bahrain, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates. The GCC provided vital support to coalition forces during the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait.

In the 1990s Sheikh Isa undertook modest government reforms, producing a mixed public response. In 1993 he appointed a 30-member Consultative Council, and in 1995 he changed Bahrain's cabinet, for the first time in 20 years. Sheikh Isa died on March 6, 1999, in Manama, Bahrain. He was succeeded by his son, Crown Prince Sheikh Hamad bin Isa Salman al-Khalifa.

KIRSTY MONTGOMERY

See also

Bahrain; DESERT STORM, Operation; Gulf Cooperation Council

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Khalil, Samir al-

Birth Date: 1949

Iraqi-born British architect and academic who made a case for regime change in Iraq based on charges of human rights abuses. Samir al-Khalil is the pseudonym used by Kanan Makiya, now a professor at Brandeis University, who was born in Baghdad in 1949 and is the son of renowned architect Mohammed Makiya. He attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), earning an undergraduate degree in architecture in 1971 and a master's degree in architecture in 1974. He also studied planning at the London School of Economics. In 1975 he wrote about his father's architectural legacy in transforming Abbasid structures into modern forms in *Post-Islamic Classicism.* Beginning in 1975, he was managing director of Makiya Associates in London, the family-owned firm, which built various major projects in Iraq and elsewhere in the Arab world.

In 1981 Khalil left architecture to write a harsh judgment of President Saddam Hussein's Iraqi regime. The book, titled *Republic of Fear: The Politics of Modern Iraq* (1990), traces the extreme violence in Iraq and the prominent role of the military in the nation back to the massacre of 3,000 Assyrians in 1933; hostility to the enemies of Pan-Arabism as iterated by Sati al-Husri, Iraqi director-general of education; and the bloody wars among political factions in post-1958 Iraq. The book indicts Hussein's government for flagrant human rights violations. Seventy publishers rejected Khalil's manuscript before it was finally published. It became a best seller during the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

In 1992 Khalil established the Iraq Research and Documentation Project at Harvard University, where a large number of Iraqi government documents captured by the Kurds during the Persian Gulf War were housed. In 2003 this project transitioned into the Iraq Memory Foundation, now headquartered in Baghdad. The Foundation has since amassed a much larger collection, which documents the legacy of state violence in Iraq, and has released videos about victims, which were broadcast on Iraqi television in 2007.

With Khalil's sudden prominence as a dissident and the challenges to Arabism during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, a war of words soon emerged between Palestinian-American intellectual Edward Said and Khalil, and between Said and Khalil's ex-wife, Afsaneh Najmabadi. Said's attacks on Khalil were far stronger a decade later because of Said's distress over the American-led 2003 invasion of Iraq, and because Khalil had attacked Said and the poet Mahmud Darwish in his *Cruelty and Silence: War, Tyranny, Uprising and the Arab World* (1994). A pervasive theme in Khalil's work is the failure of Arab intellectuals to respond to crises in their societies, especially in Iraq. The book chronicles the genocidal Iraqi government's Anfal Campaign, which witnessed the deaths of more than 100,000 people.

In 2002 Khalil joined the U.S. Department of State's Future of Iraq Project in its Democratic Principles Working Group, which proposed the democratization and de-Baathification of Iraq following demilitarization. It also proposed war crimes tribunals. Khalil returned to Iraq in 2003 and was appointed an adviser to the Iraq Interim Governing Council by the Coalition Provisional Authority. Khalil, who was close to Ahmad Chalabi, collected thousands of documents for his foundation during 2003–2006 and

was among the drafters of the Iraqi constitution. He returned to Brandeis University in 2006.

Khalil has also published a novel, *The Rock: A Tale of Seventh-Century Jerusalem* (2001), controversial in that its hero is a Yemenite Jewish adviser to the Caliph Umar, conqueror of Jerusalem, and in its claim that the Dome of the Rock was constructed to be the Third Temple, implying that Islam is the continuation of Judaism.

Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Chalabi, Ahmed Abd al-Hadi; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Said, Edward

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Khalilzad, Zalmay Mamozy

Birth Date: March 22, 1951

Afghani-born diplomat who served as the U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan (2003–2005), U.S. ambassador to Iraq (2005–2007), and U.S. ambassador to the United Nations (UN) (2007–2009). Zalmay Khalilzad was born in Mazar-e Sharif, Afghanistan, on March 22, 1951, a member of the Pashtun ethnic group. His family was among the elites of Afghanistan, and his father had served in the government of the last king, Mohammed Zahir Shah. Growing instability in Afghanistan contributed to Khalilzad's desire to emigrate. He first went to the United States as an exchange student in high school. He subsequently attended the American University in Beirut, Lebanon, then a major educational center for the Middle East. He then returned to the United States for graduate training in political science at the University of Chicago, where he earned his PhD before going on to teach political science at Columbia University, where he taught from 1979 to 1989.

In 1984 the Council on Foreign Relations awarded Khalilzad a fellowship with the U.S. State Department. There he worked under Paul Wolfowitz, the director of Policy Planning and an Allan Bloom student who would loom large in neoconservative circles within the George H. W. Bush and George W. Bush administrations. When his fellowship ended, Khalilzad stayed on with the State Department, serving as an adviser on Afghanistan and the Middle East; given his background, he was particularly active in American policy vis-à-vis the arming of the mujahideen. In the George H. W. Bush administration, Khalilzad was made deputy undersecretary of Policy Planning at the Department of Defense.

Upon the election of President Bill Clinton in 1992, Khalilzad returned to the private sector, working for the RAND Corporation. Khalilzad continued to teach and to participate in foreign affairs, writing on the role of the United States in international relations, as well as potential challenges posed by the People's Republic of China (PRC) for the United States. He also took consulting jobs with energy consortiums, advising them on the politics of the Middle East and Central Asia. Khalilzad also became one of the first members of the Project for the New American Century, which included numerous neoconservatives. The Project for the New American Century argued for the continuation of American preeminence within international relations that had existed since the end of the Cold War in 1991. In addition, the group strongly urged the maintenance of U.S. military strength as the foundation for American hegemony.

Upon the election of George W. Bush in 2000, Khalilzad returned to public service, heading the Bush transition team for personnel in the State and Defense departments. Once the administration was in office, he became director for Southwest Asia, Middle East, and North Africa for the National Security Council (NSC). After the attacks of September 11, 2001, Khalilzad, given his background and training, was deeply involved in planning for the war in Afghanistan. On December 31, 2001, he became the president's special envoy to Afghanistan, which post he held until November 2003, when he began serving as the U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan, a position he held until June 2005. In these positions, Khalilzad played a major role in guiding the new Afghanistan government and President Hamid Karzai in the successful oversight of democratic elections and in the first meeting of Afghanistan's legislative body, the Loya Jirga. He was also influential in overseeing relief and recovery efforts in Afghanistan.

In addition to his role in Afghanistan, Khalilzad also became in 2002 the ambassador at large for the free Iraqis, a key position in the run-up to the 2003 Iraq War. This post required Khalilzad to help expatriate Iraqis who wished to return to their nation and be active in a new regime, although his many duties in Afghanistan largely removed him from the bureaucratic battles over planning that took place within the Bush administration. In June 2005 Khalilzad succeeded John Negroponte as the U.S. ambassador to Iraq. In Iraq, Khalilzad oversaw the ratification of the Iraqi constitution, the 2005 Iraqi elections, and the formation of a national government, among other duties. During Khalilzad's tenure in Iraq, the insurgency continued to grow, however. In addition, intersectarian violence became an increasing problem, so much so that Khalilzad warned the Bush administration that these intersectarian conflicts might ultimately destroy the Iraqi state.

In February 2007 President Bush nominated Khalilzad to be the U.S. representative to the UN, and the U.S. Senate unanimously confirmed him in the post. He replaced the polarizing John R. Bolton, whose nomination had forced a showdown between the Democratically controlled Congress and the Bush White House. In the UN, Khalilzad continued to pursue the administration's stance toward Iran, which called for an immediate halt to its nuclear program and sanctions against Iran for failing to comply with the

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and support for a tribunal to be held in Lebanon to determine whether or not Syria was culpable in the assassination of former Lebanese prime minister Rafic al-Hariri. In general, however, Khalilzad struck a far more conciliatory tone than his predecessor. Khalilzad remains an active and influential figure in Republican foreign policy circles, particularly on issues involving southwest Asia and the Middle East.

Michael K. Beauchamp

See also

Afghanistan; Bolton, John Robert, II; Bush, George Walker; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Karzai, Hamid; Loya Jirga, Afghanistan; Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Negroponte, John Dimitri; Neoconservatism; Wolfowitz, Paul Dundes

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———. *Prospects for the Afghan Interim Government.* Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 1991.

Khomeini, Ruhollah

Birth Date: May 17, 1900
Death Date: June 3, 1989

Shiite cleric, leader of the 1979 revolution that overthrew Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, and religious and political head of the Islamic Republic of Iran (1979–1989). Born Ruhollah Mustafa al-Musavi on May 17, 1900, in Khomayn (Khumayn), some 180 miles south of the Iranian capital of Tehran, he was the son and grandson of Shiite religious scholars and leaders (*fuqaha*). Musavi, whose father was murdered when he was seven months old, was instructed in Islam and the Qur'an by his elder brother Ayatollah Pasandideh, following the death of his mother. Musavi studied Islamic law at Arak and moved with his teacher in the 1920s to Qum, where he was recognized as a *mujtahid* (a male Islamic scholar competent to interpret Sharia, or Islamic law) and gave lectures at the Faziye Seminary. By the 1950s, and in response to Pahlavi's actions in the 1960s, he began to express views on the need to Islamicize politics. In the 1950s he was proclaimed an ayatollah (gift of God). At that time he changed his surname to that of his birthplace. In 1962 Burujerdi, the last Grand Ayatollah to be recognized as the ultimate authority, died, and Khomeini's views became more important.

Khomeini detested liberalizing foreign influences and governments that he believed were leading Iran away from true Islam. The primary Iranian force in this Westernizing and modernizing trend was the shah and his family. In 1921 the Russians had helped Reza Shah Pahlavi overthrow Iran's first constitutional government, and his son, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, rose to power in 1941 with the aid of Great Britain, France, and the United States. In 1953, aided by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the shah led a coup that deposed Prime Minister Mohammad Mosaddeq. This event solidified the shah's hold on power. Khomeini, who publicly denounced the new regime, was arrested and imprisoned for eight months. He was released and exiled from Iran to Turkey in November 1964 after challenging the emancipation of women and the shah's reduction of religious estates through land reforms.

Seemingly a permanent exile, Khomeini eventually settled in the Shia holy city of Najaf in northern Iraq. There he developed the doctrine that an Islamic state should be ruled by the clergy (*vilayet-e faqih,* or rule of the jurist). When Iraqi president Saddam Hussein forced Khomeini from Najaf, he and his followers moved to France in 1978 and from there urged the ouster of the shah and his U.S. allies. Khomeini also published numerous statements and books, among them *Islamic Government* (*Hukumah Islamiyyah),* a series of lectures delivered at Najaf in 1970. These lectures laid out his principal beliefs in an Islamic state in which the *fuqaha,* or clergy, should play a guiding and political role. With the Iranian revolution and the flight of the shah on January 16, 1979, Khomeini returned to the country. He arrived from France on February 1, acknowledged by millions of Iranians as the leader of the revolution. Mahdi Bazargan was appointed prime minister of an interim government, but he became critical of Khomeini's Islamic Republican Party (IRP), and the IRP eliminated its civilian rivals and some clerics.

On November 4, 1979, Khomeini's followers, most of them young, zealous Iranian students, stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran and took 70 Americans hostage in blatant defiance of international law. Bazargan resigned. Over the course of the next 14 months, the U.S. government attempted without success to secure the release of the hostages through sanctions against Iran and the freezing of Iranian assets. Seemingly encouraged by Khomeini, the hostage takers refused to intervene and bring an end to the standoff. U.S. president Jimmy Carter's failure to resolve the Iranian hostage crisis brought with it great frustration and embarrassment. A disastrous aborted hostage rescue attempt on April 24, 1980, only added to American frustration over the situation. The hostage crisis was a major cause of Ronald W. Reagan's victory over Carter in the U.S. presidential election of November 1980. Only minutes after Reagan took the oath of office on January 20, 1981, the hostages were released.

In December 1980 Khomeini secured his goal of a new constitution in which Iran was officially declared an Islamic republic. Within several years, hundreds of Khomeini's opponents had been executed. The clergy in Iran were still committed to their traditional roles in education and law. Part of the task of the Islamic revolution was then to transform Iran's laws and prevailing practice to conform with Sharia. Rather than leave this up to individuals, committees and guards imposed dress rules that included wearing the *hijab* in addition to the traditional *chador.* The legislature imposed a new criminal code based on Islamic law. Alcohol was banned,

and for many years Western and Persian music was banned, until some revival of the latter was permitted. Khomeini's Iran remained rather insular on the international stage and became a vociferous opponent of Israel. Although Iran was not itself an active participant in fighting against Israel, it separated itself from the former shah's pro-Israeli positions and sent aid and training to organizations that fought Israel, including Hezbollah in Lebanon.

As Khomeini's revolution progressed, Iraq's Saddam Hussein attempted to take advantage of the turmoil of the revolution and the weakened state of the Iranian military by invading Iran on September 22, 1980. This sparked the devastating Iran-Iraq War, which lasted for eight long years (1980–1988) before both sides accepted a truce brokered by the United Nations (UN). Just as Khomeini had been headstrong about not bringing a quick end to the 1979–1981 hostage crisis, so too was he unwilling to end the war expeditiously. Only after Iran had suffered devastating human losses (some sources estimate more than a million dead) did Khomeini realize that nothing further could be gained by prolonging the war, which featured chemical and biological attacks by the Iraqis. As Khomeini's health declined and a clerical power struggle ensued, Khomeini attempted to preserve the revolution and the Islamic state by strengthening the authority of the presidency, the parliament, and other institutions. In so doing, he further entrenched the power of religious conservatives, who more often than not pursued counterproductive foreign policies that further isolated their country. The long war severely strained the Iranian economy. Khomeini died on June 3, 1989, in Tehran. His legacy was a country bound by Islamic rules and practice and enmity with the United States.

Richard Edwards

See also

Carter, James Earl, Jr.; Hezbollah; Hussein, Saddam; Iran; Iran-Iraq War; Iranian Revolution; Reza Pahlavi, Mohammad; Terrorism

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Kimmitt, Robert Michael

Birth Date: December 19, 1947

U.S. attorney, presidential adviser, and deputy secretary of the Treasury (2005–2009). Robert Michael Kimmitt was born in Logan, Utah, on December 19, 1947, and graduated with distinction from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1969. He served with the 173rd Airborne Brigade in Vietnam (April 1970–August 1971), earning three Bronze Star medals, the Purple Heart, and the Vietnamese Cross of Gallantry. After leaving the regular army, Kimmitt remained with the reserves until his retirement in November 2004 as a major general. In 1977 Kimmitt earned a law degree from Georgetown University.

Kimmitt was twice a member of the National Security Council (NSC) staff, once from 1976 to 1977 and again from 1978 to 1983. During 1977–1978 he was a law clerk to Judge Edward A. Tamm of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. He then served the White House as the NSC executive secretary and general counsel (1983–1985) with the rank of deputy assistant to the president for national security affairs.

From 1985 to 1987 Kimmitt served as general counsel to the U.S. Treasury Department, before leaving to become a partner in a private law firm (1987–1989). Kimmitt returned to government as undersecretary of state for political affairs (1989–1991), where he was instrumental in creating the coalition of 34 Western and Muslim nations that defeated Saddam Hussein's Iraqi forces during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. U.S. president George H. W. Bush awarded Kimmitt the Presidential Citizen's Medal, the nation's second-highest civilian award, for his accomplishments.

Kimmitt served as the ambassador to Germany (1991–1993) before returning again to the private sector. During 1993–1997 Kimmitt was a managing director of Lehman Brothers. He was also a partner in the law firm of Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering (1997–2000); vice chairman and president of Commerce One, a software company (2000–2001); and executive vice president of global public policy for Time Warner, Inc. (2001–2005). Just prior to joining the George W. Bush administration, Kimmitt again served as a partner in a law firm. Kimmitt continued his public service during his private sector tenure as a member of the National Defense Panel (1997), as a member of the Director of Central Intelligence's National Security Advisory Panel (1998–2005), and as a member of the Panel of Arbitrators of the World Bank's International Center for the Settlement of Investment Disputes.

As the deputy secretary of Treasury, a post he began in August 2005, Kimmitt appeared before the Treasury Committee House Financial Services Subcommittee on Domestic and International Monetary Policy in March 2006. At the hearing, he supported Trade and Technology DP (Dubai Ports) World's purchase of the Peninsular and Oriental (P&O) Steam Navigation Company of the United Kingdom, then the fourth-largest ports operator in the world. This would have placed numerous U.S. ports under the nominal control of Dubai, a move that elicited considerable opposition. The bid was soon dropped.

Kimmitt also served as the Bush administration's envoy to the International Compact With Iraq (ICI), an international conference at the United Nations (UN). The goal of the meeting was to develop a framework that would transform the Iraqi economy into a self-sustaining economy within five years. The ICI was an

initiative of the Iraqi government with assistance from the United States and the UN Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI). In this capacity, Kimmitt traveled to Iraq, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), and Kuwait. He also attended the January 2008 Davos World Economic Forum and there warned against a trend toward protectionism in the United States, Europe, and Asia regarding sovereign wealth funds (SWFs) that use state wealth to invest in the assets of other sovereign nations, or businesses based in other sovereign nations. He is thought to have been a candidate for the presidency of the World Bank in May 2007.

RICHARD M. EDWARDS

See also

Bush, George Walker; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present

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King Khalid Military City

American-built military base located in northeastern Saudi Arabia, about two hours from the Kuwaiti border. Construction of the U.S.-designed base began in 1974 and ended in 1987. King Khalid Military City (KKMC) was named in honor of Saudi King Khalid ibn Abd al-Aziz and was designed to accommodate as many as 65,000 people, or an army division of three brigades. It was part of a joint Saudi-American effort beginning in the 1950s to build several military facilities throughout Saudi Arabia. The Saudis funded the construction of the facilities, which were designed by U.S. Army and Air Force engineers. The KKMC facility was the single largest project ever undertaken by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

Located in a fairly remote and sparsely populated region of Saudi Arabia, the self-contained city has a large, fully functioning airport and runways capable of handling the largest commercial and military aircraft. The cost of the airfields alone was $700 million. KKMC hosted thousands of U.S. and coalition soldiers and airmen during Operation DESERT SHIELD and Operation DESERT STORM.

The construction cost of the KKMC has been variously estimated to be as little as $1.3 billion and as high as $20 billion—the Saudi government has never divulged the precise cost. To erect the mammoth facility, the Saudis created a new port on the Persian Gulf designed specifically to receive supplies for the KKMC. The largest pre-cast concrete plant in the world was constructed on the building site, and 21 deep-water wells were drilled to supply the city with ample water supplies. Utility tunnels run between most major structures, and there are 3,398 two-story family housing units within the city's confines. Also included in the city are five multidomed mosques and several large stores.

Since it commenced operations in the late 1980s, a contingent of the U.S. Military Training Mission (USMTM) in Saudi Arabia has been stationed at the KKMC, although in the years after the Persian Gulf War the U.S. presence has been significantly diminished. During Operation DESERT SHIELD and Operation DESERT STORM, thousands of U.S. and coalition troops were housed at the KKMC, and it was one of three major debarkation points for the war effort (the other two being Dhahran and Riyadh). By January 1991, on the eve of DESERT STORM, the KKMC was at or even a bit above capacity in terms of personnel stationed there. The Saudi government does not release figures relating to troop strength within the military city. Clearly, the construction of the facility was meant to facilitate a military endeavor very much like the one that unfolded in 1990–1991.

Without such a large and self-sustaining base of operations, the United States and coalition forces would have had a much more difficult time preparing to wage war against Iraq. Saudi and U.S. officials have over the years tried to segregate their respective armed forces personnel in the KKMC because of cultural and religious differences. Nevertheless, the large U.S. and Western presence there in 1990–1991 saw the emergence of an American-dominated sector within the KKMC.

In 1990–1991 U.S. forces undertook numerous construction projects to make the KKMC more amenable to the war effort. These included the construction of more storage facilities, the erection of a forward operating base, and improvements and additions to runways and air hangars. During the ground phase of DESERT STORM, on February 21, 1991, Iraqi forces fired three Scud missiles at KKMC, which were deflected by the nearby Patriot missile batteries surrounding the facilities.

Sensitive to the Saudis' desire not to host large numbers of foreign troops on their soil after the war was won, the U.S. military and allied forces began a large troop drawdown at the KKMC in the spring of 1991. The U.S. government hoped to place a large amount of its supplies and equipment in storage in Saudi Arabia, but the Saudi government balked. Thus, most American equipment and nonperishable supplies had to be removed from the KKMC and other Saudi facilities. Some of the equipment was relocated to neighboring Kuwait. Thereafter, the Saudis made other infrastructure improvements to the site, including the addition of 149 more living quarters and the completion of a presidential complex where Saudi officials and dignitaries can stay and work.

In the aftermath of DESERT STORM, the U.S. presence at the KKMC has been small, and there are currently fewer than 50 U.S. personnel located there. The city did not play a role in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Saudi Arabia; Saudi Arabia, Armed Forces

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Kirkuk

The oldest site of continuous human occupation in Iraq, Kirkuk is located approximately 142 miles north of Baghdad and rests along the Hasa River, atop the remains of the 11th century BCE Assyrian capital city of Arrapha, in Iraqi Kurdistan. Kirkuk is a city of some 710,000 people (according to 2005 estimates). Its predominant population of Iraqi Kurds and Turkomen, along with the city's position as a hub of the Iraqi petroleum industry, has made Kirkuk a critically strategic center during all of Iraq's political turmoil since World War I. The city played a significant political and geostrategic role during the run-up to the 2003 Iraq War.

In its early incarnation, Kirkuk was a bloody battleground for at least three empires—the Assyrian, the Babylonian, and the Median—for whom the city on the banks of the Hasa was a strategic stronghold. Under the Babylonians, the city was called Kurkura, while under the Greeks it was known as Karkha D-Bet Slokh, which translates as "citadel of the house of Selucid." By the seventh century CE, following the Arab invasion of the Sassanid Empire, Muslim Arabs were calling the city Kirkheni, or "citadel."

With the discovery of oil in 1927 at Bab Gurgur, near Kirkuk, the city became the center of petroleum production in northern Iraq. The oil rush led to the Iraqi annexation of the former Ottoman Mosul wilayah, of which Kirkuk was a part. From 1963 onward the Iraqi Arabs attempted to transform the ethnic makeup of the entire region to take power away from the Kurds and ensure that Iraqi Arabs stayed in control of the oil fields. In 1975 the Iraqi Baath Party, under Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr, began to "Arabize" the Kirkuk area by imposing restrictions on Kurds and Turkomen who lived there, while trying to replace them with Arabs from central or southern Iraq. As many as 1,400 Kurdish villages were razed, and more than half a million Kurds were forcibly relocated. The Arabization process intensified following the failed Kirkuk/Kurdish uprising after the Persian Gulf War in 1991, and between 1991 and 2003 an estimated 120,000 Kurds and Turkomen were forcibly relocated out of Kirkuk.

In the lead-up to the Iraq War (2003), Kirkuk, along with Mosul, proved to be a sticking point that prevented the United States from being able to launch a prong of its assault into Iraq from bases in Turkey. The Turkish Parliament wanted guarantees that Kurdish fighters would not be allowed to capture Kirkuk or Mosul. Because the United States would not, or could not, make such a promise, Turkey refused to grant the Americans and their allies permission to launch attacks from Turkish soil. The Turks also saw this move as a means of squelching the Iraqi Kurds' nationalism, since many of the Kurds view Kirkuk as the "Kurdish Jerusalem."

On April 11, 2003, after days of heated battles, the U.S.-led coalition forces and Kurdish Peshmerga fighters secured Kirkuk from Saddam Hussein's Baath Party loyalists. Victims of the Kirkuk's Arabization attempted to return once the area was free of the Baath Party, yet the new postwar Iraqi government has done little to resolve this crisis, leaving most returning Kurds in a refugee limbo.

B. KEITH MURPHY

See also

Baath Party; Bakr, Ahmad Hassan al-; Kurds; Mosul; Peshmerga; Turkey, Role in Persian Gulf and Afghanistan Wars

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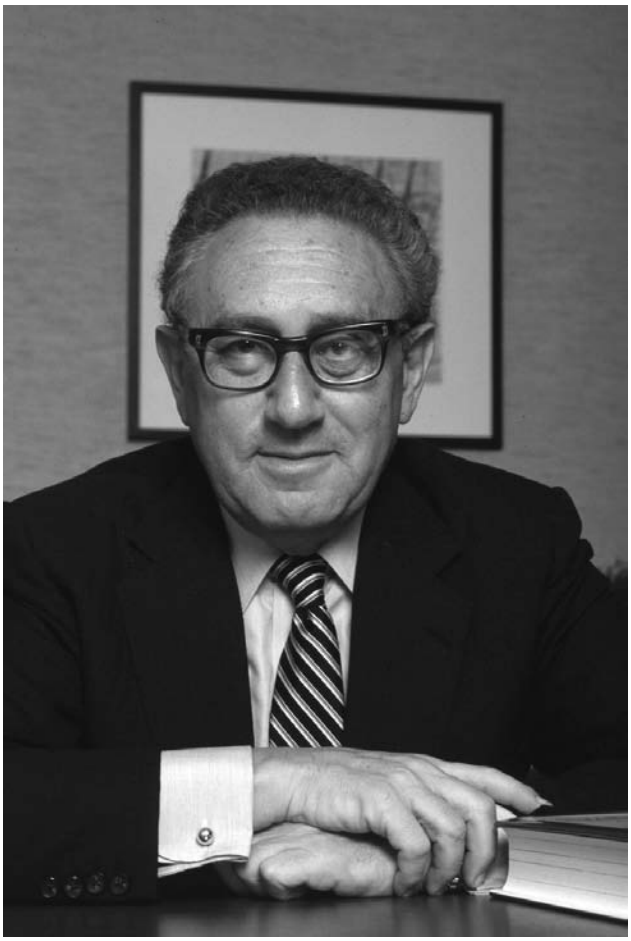
Kissinger, Henry Alfred

Birth Date: May 27, 1923

U.S. national security adviser (1969–1975) and secretary of state (1973–1977) who, together with President Richard M. Nixon, devised and implemented a major reorientation of U.S. foreign policy. Of German Jewish extraction, Henry Kissinger was born on May 27, 1923, in Fürth, Germany. He left Adolf Hitler's Germany for New York in 1938 and became an American citizen five years later. After serving in the U.S. Army as a sergeant in civil affairs, Kissinger became a professor of government at Harvard University, publishing his doctoral dissertation, *A World Restored,* in 1955. The book focuses particularly on Austria's Prince Klemens Wenzel von Metternich, whom Kissinger admired and in some ways modeled himself upon. Kissinger also published a study of U.S. atomic policy for the prestigious Council on Foreign Relations.

Although his intellectual capabilities were highly respected, Kissinger's real ambitions lay in the practice, not the study, of international relations. He used his Harvard position to meet major political figures and served as an adviser to leading Republicans, including New York governor Nelson A. Rockefeller and former vice president Nixon. Kissinger's efforts won him only minor assignments under President John F. Kennedy, but when Nixon became president he appointed Kissinger his national security adviser. Kissinger greatly overshadowed William P. Rogers, who was the nominal secretary of state until August 1973, when Kissinger succeeded him and took virtual control of U.S. foreign policy.



Henry Alfred Kissinger, U.S. national security adviser (1969–1975) and secretary of state (1973–1977). (Library of Congress)

Kissinger's undoubted abilities included an immense capacity for hard work, a talent for grand designs and broad conceptualization, and the imagination to reformulate the international system to accommodate the relative weakness of the United States. He deemphasized ideology in favor of a balance of power and the pursuit of closer relations with the communist People's Republic of China (PRC) and detente with the Soviet Union. This strategy resulted in the 1972 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) and the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which imposed limits on Soviet and American nuclear arsenals and delivery systems; the 1975 Helsinki Accords, which normalized relations between Eastern and Western Europe; the creation of the permanent Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE); and a rapprochement between communist China and the United States that Kissinger pioneered with a secret personal visit to Beijing in 1971.

Initially Nixon and Kissinger left Secretary of State William Rogers to handle Middle Eastern policy while they concentrated on big-power diplomacy. In 1969, seeking to resolve outstanding issues from the 1967 Six-Day War, Rogers and Joseph Sisco, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, developed a peace plan envisaging Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories in return for evenhanded Soviet and U.S. policies toward both Arabs and Israel in the Middle East, and a brokered peace settlement guaranteed by both big powers. Kissinger privately informed Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin that the White House had no interest in this scheme, thereby effectively sabotaging the Rogers Plan, which the Soviet Union in any case rejected in October 1969.

U.S. Middle Eastern policy thereafter remained largely static until the October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, when Egypt and Syria launched a surprise attack on Israel intended to regain the territories they had lost in the previous war. When the Israelis rallied and then counterattacked, threatening to wipe out the Egyptian Third Army, President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, who had tilted toward the United States the previous year in the hope of enabling Egypt to regain the Sinai, appealed to the Soviet Union for aid. To prevent Soviet intervention, Nixon ordered military forces to a DefCon 3 military alert, two levels below outright war, while successfully pressuring the Israelis not to destroy the Egyptian Third Army in return for shipments of U.S. arms to resupply Israel's depleted arsenals. Oil-producing Arab states reacted by imposing an oil embargo on the United States and other Western powers that had supported Israel, while greatly enhancing the international clout of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) by raising oil prices fourfold.

The October 1973 war and its aftermath diverted Kissinger from his previous preoccupation with triangular U.S.-Soviet-Chinese relations. The oil embargo marked the beginning of a decade of economic difficulties for all the Western powers. European powers quickly responded by adopting more pro-Arab policies, a shift that Nixon and Kissinger strongly resented and characterized as craven. Kissinger embarked on several months of high-profile shuttle diplomacy with Israel, Syria, and Egypt, showing himself an excellent negotiator and eventually brokering an armistice. Under both Nixon and President Gerald Ford, Kissinger continued to mediate among the contending Middle Eastern powers for the next two years, eventually negotiating the Sinai Accords of September 1975, whereby Israel returned part of the Sinai to Egypt, a settlement that probably contributed to the more extensive Camp David Accords that President Jimmy Carter negotiated in 1978.

Critics claim Kissinger's weaknesses include a penchant for secrecy and intrigue, vanity, and unseemly personal ambition; an overriding concern to maintain international stability that often led him to endorse brutal right- or left-wing regimes; and an exclusive focus upon realism in foreign policy. Kissinger has also been criticized for his involvement in the controversial bombing of Cambodia and U.S. incursion into the country to wipe out Viet Cong and North Vietnamese sanctuaries there during the Vietnam War; his endorsement of Indonesia's military takeover of Portuguese East Timor in December 1975; and his readiness to authorize wiretapping against American bureaucrats suspected

of leaking official information to the press. These aspects of Kissinger made him the bête noire of many American liberals.

Conservative Republicans found equally opprobrious Kissinger's willingness to accommodate the communist Soviet Union and China and, if Sino-American rapprochement required, to jettison China on Taiwan, a longtime U.S. ally. Under Ford, who became president in August 1974 when the Watergate Scandal forced Nixon's resignation, both the 1972 SALT I Treaty and the 1975 Helsinki Accords on Europe became targets for attack by such conservatives as California governor and presidential hopeful Ronald W. Reagan, who assailed the Soviet human rights record. The fall of Vietnam to communist forces in April 1975, little more than two years after Kissinger had negotiated the Paris Peace Accords supposedly ending the war, also damaged his credibility. On November 3, 1975, Ford replaced Kissinger as national security adviser, although Kissinger remained secretary of state until Ford left office in January 1977.

Upon leaving government Kissinger established an influential business consultancy firm. He continued to provide unofficial advice to successive administrations, wrote and spoke extensively on international affairs, and published three weighty volumes of memoirs. Kissinger has also advised the George W. Bush administration on the War on Terror and the Iraq War. By late 2006, however, he had concluded publicly that a U.S. military victory in Iraq was "not possible." At the same time, however, he warned that a precipitous withdrawal from Iraq could prove disastrous and provoke a wider Middle East conflict.

Kissinger remains a perennially controversial figure. Liberals still denigrate his foreign policy accomplishments, and even decades later journalists including Seymour Hersh and, most notably, Christopher Hitchens have argued that Kissinger's past behavior makes him liable to trial and conviction for war crimes. Pointing out discrepancies between Kissinger's own account of his time in office and the increasingly available documentary record became almost an academic parlor game for these journalists. Outside the United States, Kissinger is a less-polarizing figure, and many in Europe and Asia still admire his achievements.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Nixon, Richard Milhous; Reagan, Ronald Wilson; Sadat, Muhammad Anwar; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Koran

See Qur'an

Korea, Republic of, Role in Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars

East Asian nation located on the southern half of the Korean Peninsula, with a 2008 population of 48.380 million people. The Republic of Korea (ROK, South Korea) covers 38,023 square miles and is bordered by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea) to the north, the Sea of Japan to the east, the Korea Strait to the south, and the Yellow Sea to the west. South Korea is a multiparty representative democracy in which the president holds the reins of executive power. Since the 1980s South Korea's economic development has placed it among the world's major economic powers.

South Korea's military is highly advanced, large, and well trained; it has been the beneficiary of U.S. weapons systems and military hardware since the early 1950s, and it has maintained a high level of readiness because of ongoing tensions with its neighbor, North Korea. Since the end of the Korean War in 1953, the United States has permanently garrisoned troops in South Korea, with as many as 37,000 in place at any one time. Not surprisingly, South Korea has been a strong supporter of U.S. foreign policy, and it provided material contributions to the Vietnam War, Persian Gulf War, and Iraq War.

The South Korean government championed U.S. president George H. W. Bush's tough approach to Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. It also fully supported the various United Nations (UN) resolutions that sought to pressure Hussein into withdrawing prior to the beginning of hostilities in January 1991. When Operation DESERT STORM began, South Korea had already promised material support to the coalition. Ultimately, South Korea dispatched about 350 troops to serve alongside coalition forces, although not in a combat capacity. South Korean forces consisted of medical and transportation support personnel.

South Korea also supported the 2003 invasion of Iraq, orchestrated by the United States. South Korea deployed 3,600 troops to Iraq in May 2003, at which time major combat operations were declared complete. This was the largest foreign troop deployment after those of the United States and Britain, and consisted mostly of engineers and medical personnel. The first contingent of troops, numbering about 670 men, was dispatched to the southern city of Nasiriyah in May 2003; in February 2004 the troops were redeployed to the northern city of Irbil to join another South Korean unit, nicknamed "Zaytun" (Arabic for "olive"), which had arrived in that city in September 2004. Another South Korean unit, the 48th Expeditionary Airlift Wing, consisting of four Lockheed C-130 Hercules cargo planes and 150 airmen, was based in

Kuwait and provided logistics and air support for South Korean troops in Iraq.

Besides providing the community of Irbil with millions of dollars worth of humanitarian supplies, South Korean troops rebuilt schools, repaved roads, repaired water treatment and sewage plants, and provided humanitarian aid and medical care. After Islamic militants kidnapped and beheaded a South Korean civilian working in Iraq in 2004, South Korea's military deployment to Iraq became unpopular among a number of South Koreans. Many South Koreans viewed the American invasion of Iraq as unjust and also questioned the relevance of Iraq to South Korea's interests and security. Others believed, however, that participating in Iraq was a way to express gratitude to the United States for defending and protecting South Korea since the beginning of the Korean War in 1950; they also believed that South Korean participation could strengthen that country's ties with the United States.

Despite public opposition to the deployment, South Korean troops were generally spared from attack because of their deployment in the generally peaceful and stable Kurdish region of northern Iraq. Indeed, the country's only military casualty came in Irbil when a soldier was murdered in a military base barbershop in May 2007.

Over the next several years, South Korea gradually reduced its troop strength in Iraq by about a third. On November 21, 2005, President Roh Moo-hyun's cabinet endorsed the withdrawal of 1,000 troops during the first half of 2006. By 2007 only about 1,200 troops remained in Iraq, and the next year that number had declined to about 600. Nonetheless, despite public opposition to the deployment, the United States requested that South Korea extend its Iraq deployment, and in December 2007 the South Korean parliament voted 146–104 to extend the country's mission in Iraq for another year. President Moo-hyun announced the planned one-year extension in October, saying that it would solidify South Korea's military alliance with the United States—particularly at a time when North Korea was pursuing nuclear weapons and renewing threats toward South Korea.

On December 1, 2008, the day South Korea's remaining 600 troops left Iraq, a South Korean Defense Ministry spokesman announced that the country's mission in Irbil had provided medical services for 88,805 local residents and vocational training to almost 2,500 people. He also reported that all medical facilities, as well as 36,472 articles of medical equipment, would be left for the benefit of the Iraqi people.

STEFAN M. BROOKS

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Nations' Contributions to; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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Kristol, William

Birth Date: December 23, 1952

Prominent conservative author, pundit, strategist, and intellectual whose views helped shape the modern neoconservatism that influenced the George W. Bush administration. William Kristol was born on December 23, 1952, in New York City to Irving Kristol, who is considered the father of neoconservatism, and Gertrude Himmelfarb, a well-known intellectual historian of the Victorian era. Kristol graduated from Harvard University in 1973 before going on to graduate school in government at the same institution. After receiving his PhD in 1979, Kristol taught at the University of Pennsylvania and the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard.

In 1985 Kristol entered government service as chief of staff to William J. Bennett, President Ronald W. Reagan's secretary of education. With the election of George H. W. Bush to the presidency in 1988, Kristol became chief of staff to Vice President Dan Quayle. After President Bill Clinton's election in 1992, Kristol served in a series of Republican think tanks and foundations. Most notably, he chaired the Project for a Republican Future, which urged Republicans to oppose Clinton administration initiatives rather than pursue compromise measures, in particular when it came to the Clinton health care plan of 1993. The strategy Kristol advocated ultimately paid handsome dividends, as the health plan failed miserably, and Republicans won control of both the House and the Senate in 1994, gaining control of the House for the first time since 1954.

In 1994 Kristol and another prominent neoconservative, John Podhoretz, son of neoconservative Norman Podhoretz, launched the *Weekly Standard,* a conservative opinion-making journal. The *Weekly Standard* differs from such other conservative organs as the *National Review* in that it advocates a far more muscular American foreign policy. In addition, the *Weekly Standard* has a far more practical political approach than does the *National Review,* which is more philosophically conservative. In 2000 the *Weekly Standard* supported Arizona senator John McCain in the Republican primaries but was quite supportive of George W. Bush after he won the nomination, and maintained strong ties to the Bush administration once it was in office.

In 1997 Kristol and Robert Kagan, another prominent foreign policy expert, founded The Project for the New American Century, a conservative think tank whose members include many prominent conservative intellectuals and elected officials. The Project for the New American Century seeks to extend into the 21st century the preeminent international position that the United States enjoyed in the aftermath of the Cold War. In essence, Kristol and others believe that the United States, in a role of global leadership, is a source for good in the world and that, in certain circumstances, such leadership requires the use of armed force. The Project explicitly promotes a sort of American hegemony as

preferable to a scenario in which international politics reverts back to a balance of power. In addition, The Project for the New American Century calls for continued investment to sustain American military preeminence in the world as the basis for American leadership, something its critics contend promotes conflicts over soft power. Kristol and other so-called neoconservatives called for and were supportive of the Clinton administration's eventual use of air strikes to stop Serbian aggression in Bosnia and later Kosovo, despite the opposition of many more traditional Republicans, and Democrats as well.

Given Kristol's political philosophy and that of the *Weekly Standard* and The Project for the New American Century, he was a strong proponent of the 2003 invasion of Iraq. In Kristol's view, the beliefs that Iraq might possess weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and support terrorism were compelling reasons enough for invasion, but the very nature of the regime and the threat it posed to its neighbors were also valid reasons for the use of force against Iraq. Consequently, Kristol strongly supported an invasion of Iraq well before the attacks on September 11, 2001, or even the advent of the George W. Bush administration. Indeed, in 1998 the Project for the New American Century sent a letter to President Clinton urging an invasion of Iraq, which was ignored.

With the George W. Bush administration in office in January 2001, Kristol and The Project for the New American Century, as well as many *Weekly Standard* writers, continued to urge this military course in Iraq and found themselves with a far more receptive audience. Even so, Kristol and others, while supportive of the goals in invading Iraq, were often critical of the invasion's implementation. In particular, once they recognized the nature of the Iraqi insurgency, Kristol and other commentators were critical of Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld for inadequate planning regarding the occupation of Iraq.

Kristol remains a supporter of the American war effort in Iraq and is a staunch proponent for a firm American partnership with Israel that opposes terrorist groups of all sorts. As a consequence, Kristol favored the Israeli incursion into Lebanon in the summer of 2006 and Israeli actions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Kristol continues to be an editor at the *Weekly Standard,* a columnist for the *New York Times,* a Fox News commentator, and an influential conservative opinion maker. In addition, he serves on a host of conservative boards, organizations, and think tanks.

MICHAEL K. BEAUCHAMP

See also

Bush, George Walker; Bush Doctrine; Neoconservatism; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

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Kurdistan Democratic Party

Kurdish political party operating in Kurdish-dominated northern Iraq. The Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) was founded in Baghdad in 1946. Mustafa Barzani, tribal chief, fervent Kurdish nationalist, and Naqshbandi sheikh, was its elected president in exile. The KDP, which generally embraces a social democratic ideology and has consistently fought for a Kurdish state, finds its support base in northern Kurdistan (i.e., Irbil, about 50 miles east of Mosul). Most members belong to the Naqshbandi Sufi order and speak the Kurmanji dialect. There are also KDPs in Iran, Syria, and Armenia as well as a KDP-Bakur in Turkey. This entry describes only the KDP operating in and around Iraq.

In 1958 Barzani returned to Iraq from exile in the Soviet Union, claiming that he could unify all Kurdish groups under his control. His return coincided with the overthrow of the Iraqi monarchy that same year. When Iraqi prime minister Abd al-Karim Qasim began forcibly deporting Kurds from Kirkuk, Barzani responded in 1961 by leading a rebellion against the Iraqi regime that lasted on and off until 1975. The Baathists controlling Iraq committed the full strength of their army and air force to destroy the Kurds and drive them into the Zagros and Taurus mountains.

Barzani along with thousands of Kurds fled to neighboring Iran, for Iran provided the KDP with weapons, supplies, and sanctuary. Barzani and the KDP would thus become a permanent enemy of successive Iraqi governments. In 1979 on the death of Mustafa Barzani, his son, Masud Barzani, became the leader of the KDP. He is currently the president of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG).

In the late 1980s Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein tried to eradicate the Kurds during the Anfal Campaign. As many as 4,000 Kurdish villages were destroyed, and more than 100,000 Kurds were killed. A number of members of the Barzani family, tribe, and associated relatives were among those murdered. This campaign caused the Kurds to change their strategy prior to Operation DESERT STORM, which included union with competing political groups.

The KDP, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), and other Kurdish groups now formed the Iraqi Kurdistan Front (IKF) to combine forces to fight Hussein. Once DESERT STORM began in January 1991, 50 percent of the Kurdish soldiers in the Iraqi Army deserted, and some fought in conjunction with coalition troops. After Iraq's defeat in the Persian Gulf War, Kurds from all walks of life joined the IKF. Barzani and Jalal Talabani, leader of the PUK, jointly directed IKF attacks, using Peshmerga (Kurdish fighters). They seized Kirkuk and 75 percent of Kurdistan, and added many Iraqi army deserters to their ranks, thereby obtaining large numbers of heavy weapons. However, immediately after the Persian Gulf War cease-fire, the Iraqi Republican Guards destroyed many Kurdish irregular units, and by March 1991 nearly 1.5 million Kurds had become refugees.

On April 5, 1991, the United Nations (UN) passed Resolution 688, which codified the no-fly zones in northern and southern Iraq and provided for the airdropping of food and medicine to

the Kurds. At the same time, the United States and several of its allies implemented Operation PROVIDE COMFORT, a major humanitarian mission to help the embattled Kurds. On April 10, 1991, the United States established the northern no-fly zone at the 36th Parallel. On April 18, 1991, the UN created a Kurdish-controlled enclave in northern Iraq. However, because there was no political support for a long-term occupation of the region, the UN withdrew all forces on July 5, 1991.

The KDP and PUK now established control in the UN-mandated Kurdish zone. In May 1992 the Kurds founded the KRG, which is composed of, among other groups, the KDP, the PUK, and the Iraqi Communist Party. The Kurds held elections and established a joint legislative assembly with a cabinet. However, the KDP and PUK each tried to seize control of the autonomous region. Amnesty International later reported that in 1994 and 1995 both groups committed scores of killings during their battle for power.

In August 1996, 2,000 Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) soldiers entered Iraq and attacked the KDP on behalf of the PUK. Barzani turned to Hussein for help. Soon a force of as many as 60,000 Iraqi Republican Guards entered the autonomous Kurdish region and drove the PUK from Irbil. The KDP then pushed the remnants of the PUK to the Iranian border. Hussein and the KDP now controlled all of northern Iraq.

On February 5, 1999, U.S. president Bill Clinton issued Presidential Decision Directive 99-13, which authorized the KDP and the PUK to receive U.S. military assistance through the Iraq Liberation Act (Public Law 105-338). During the 2003 invasion of Iraq, the PUK and KDP cooperated with the Anglo-American–led coalition and sent soldiers into the fight. They also removed Ansar al-Islam from the Kurdish region.

Most recently, the Kurdistan Brigades, led by Dilshad Kalari (Dilshad Garmyani), have publicly called for jihad against the KDP and PUK. The Kurdistan Brigades considers both Masud and PUK leader Talabani apostate politicians. Among other things, the Kurdistan Brigades decries the cooperation between the Peshmerga and the Nuri al-Maliki administration in Baghdad and has criticized the loss of control over certain areas in Kurdistan.

Many Iraqi Kurds have fully assimilated into Iraq and do not support Kurdish separatism. The Kurdish region has few resources with which to develop a viable economy, which is one reason why Kurdish nationalists want control of the Kirkuk oil fields. Since 2003 the KDP and PUK have once again united to form the Democratic Patriotic Alliance of Kurdistan in an attempt to realize a Kurdish state. The parties hotly contested the 2005 Iraqi elections, but continued infighting among them has led some to believe that a truly unified and effective Kurdish popular front may be very difficult to achieve.

DONALD R. DUNNE

See also

Kurdistan Workers' Party; Kurds; Kurds, Massacres of; Patriotic Union of Kurdistan; Peshmerga

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Kurdistan Workers' Party

Militant Kurdish separatist group that operates in both northern Iraq and southern Turkey and has been labeled a terrorist organization by numerous nations, including the United States. The Kurdistan Workers' Party (Parti Karkerani Kurdistan, PKK) was founded by Turkish-born Abdullah Ocalan on October 27, 1978. From 1966 to 1978 Ocalan attended the Faculty of Political Science in Ankara, Turkey, where he immersed himself in Marxist-Leninist ideologies. The Turkish government had long suppressed the Kurds, refusing to recognize their ethnicity, language, and culture or to permit Kurdish to be taught in schools. The government employs euphemisms for the conflict and the Kurds, such as the "troubles in the southeast," or deems them all terrorists. It has even prosecuted non-Kurds, such as Nobel Prize–winner Orhan Pamuk, for writing about the issue. Beginning in May 1979, Ocalan directed the PKK from Damascus, Syria.

The PKK desires a wholly independent Kurdistan nation defined by borders that encompass both Turkish and Iraqi Kurds. It would then incorporate Iranian and Syrian Kurds into a regional federation. In addition to seeking Kurdish separatism and nationalism, the PKK also seeks to create a Marxist-Leninist political and economic system for Kurdistan. Historically, the PKK's strategy has included terrorist tactics against Turkish military and security service personnel as well as against Kurds who are believed to collaborate with Turkish officials. From 1980 to 1990 the PKK sought to establish guerrilla cells across Turkey, but many of its members were killed in clashes with the Turkish Army. In the late 1980s PKK terrorists began fleeing into northern Iraq after attacking targets in Turkey. They were often abetted by Iran and Iraq and received safe haven from them. After Operation DESERT STORM, however, the level of Iraqi support to the PKK was a matter of speculation. Nevertheless, open-source reports claimed that the PKK maintained training camps in Iraq after 1991.

In 1991 the number of Kurdish refugees became an issue of global interest, especially after Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's brutal crackdown against the Kurds in northern Iraq in the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War. The PKK used this heightened awareness to garner more support for its agenda. At the time, its strength was estimated at about 3,000 members, but some sources claim that its active supporters ranged in number from 2,000 to 5,000. This increased support enabled the PKK to dramatically increase attacks across Turkey. As part of its attack plan against the Turkish government, the PKK sought to drive tourists away from Turkey by bombing hotels and restaurants. Some of its operations included grenade attacks at beaches and suicide bombing attacks. The party's ranks soon swelled to 10,000 to 15,000 guerrillas. At least 5,000 to 6,000 of them were located in Turkey.

Iran's continued support for the PKK may be due in large part to a PKK pledge that it would not foment insurrectionist and separatist causes among the Iranian (Persian) Kurds. In October 1995, however, Iran and Turkey agreed to conduct a joint operation to remove the PKK from their shared border. Nothing substantive resulted, probably because Osman Ocalan, Abdullah's brother, resided in Iran for a time.

The PKK continues to use its safe havens in northern Iraq and northwestern Iran to wage war against Turkey, and Turkey has adamantly refused to enter into negotiations or even shift its policies to permit expressions of Kurdish culture. Turkey has come under significant criticism for its Kurdish policies during the course of its quest to be admitted to membership in the European Union (EU).

Meanwhile, Turkey has conducted offensive military operations into Iraq and Iran. In 1998, Turkish officials captured Semdin Sakik, Ocalan's deputy commander. Turkey threatened to invade Syria if it continued harboring Ocalan, and Damascus quickly expelled him. Turkish agents arrested Ocalan as he left the Greek embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1999, and he was extradited to Turkey to stand trial. Ocalan's arrest prompted Kurdish demonstrations in many nations, and some Kurds stormed Greek embassies in protest. After Ocalan's arrest, Syria expelled many PKK operatives, many of whom relocated to northern Iraq.

On May 31, 1999, the day his trial began, Ocalan apologized for PKK violence that had claimed the lives of more than 30,000 people. He was convicted on June 29, 1999, of violating Article 125 of the Turkish penal code: seeking to separate a portion of Turkey to create another polity. His death sentence was commuted on October 3, 2002, however, out of concern for Turkey's EU membership requirements, which forbid death penalties. Ocalan is serving his life sentence in Imrali Island Prison in the Sea of Marmara, Turkey.

In April 2002 at its Eighth Party Congress, the PKK changed its name to the Kurdistan Freedom and Democracy Congress (KADEK) and declared that it would pursue Kurdish rights using political processes instead of armed violence. Nevertheless, it stands accused of having armed 8,000 Kurdish guerrillas across Turkey. Since then, the United States and Turkey have begun exploring ways to eliminate KADEK. KADEK responded by changing its name to the Kurdistan People's Congress (Kongra-Gel, KGK), to give it the appearance of a political party. In the summer of 2004 the KGK began attacking Turkish security forces. It is believed that it maintains 500 militants in Turkey and 3,000–5,000 militants in northern Iraq.

Because Turkey has been unable to induce the new Iraqi government to take military action against the KGK/PKK in Iraq, Turkey began conducting cross-border operations using U.S. intelligence reports. Those operations are ongoing. To date, the conflict between Kurdish separatists in Turkey, including the PKK and Turkish military and security forces, has resulted in the destruction of some 3,000 villages and has created more than 1 million refugees. It has also brought about the deaths of at least 35,000 people. Currently, some 15,000 KGK/PKK members are incarcerated.

Donald R. Dunne

See also

Kurds; Kurds, Massacres of

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Kurds

People of Indo-European origin who inhabit the upcountry and mountainous areas chiefly in Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey. Their primary area of concentration in southern Turkey, and northern parts of Iran and Iraq, is known as Kurdistan, although this is not an autonomous region. There are also small enclaves of Kurds in southwestern Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Lebanon. The total Kurdish population worldwide is estimated to number between 30 million and 35 million people, making the Kurds one of the biggest ethnic groups in the world who do not enjoy their own autonomous homeland. The Kurds, whose language is of Indo-European background, are not Arabs. However, numerous Kurds have intermarried with Arabs and have played an important role in Arab and Muslim history. Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi (Saladin, one of the greatest of Muslim leaders) was of Kurdish origin. There have also been numerous Kurdish dynasties, such as the Ziyarids, the Jastanids, and the Kakuyids.

The great majority of Kurds are Sunni Muslims, and their language is related to Persian (which is spoken chiefly in Iran, Afghanistan, and Tajikistan). There are numerous dialects of Kurdish divided into two primary dialect groups: Sorani and

An Iraqi Kurd father carries the body of his dead child in a Turkish refugee camp in May 1991. Ethnic Kurds fled their homes in Iraq for the relative safety of the mountains along the Turkish-Iraqi border when fighting intensified between the Iraqi Army and Kurdish Peshmerga guerrillas. (Joel Robine/AFP/Getty Images)

Kumanji. Just as they have their own language, the Kurds maintain their own unique culture and traditions.

Until the first few decades of the 20th century, most Kurds lived a pastoral, nomadic existence and divided themselves into tribes. For centuries, they led a somewhat isolated lifestyle that clung to tradition and was well ordered by tribal hierarchy and customs. The mountain Kurds' principal avocation was goat and sheep herding, which was migratory in nature. In this sense, they were not unlike the Bedouins to the south. However, when the Ottoman Empire broke apart as a result of World War I, the Kurds found themselves circumscribed within newly created states, none of which was interested in allowing them to continue their centuries-old lifestyle and customs.

As new nations such as Iraq and Turkey (where the bulk of Kurds live) organized themselves into nationalistic nation states, the Kurds came under great pressure to abandon their tribal ways and assimilate into the majority culture. They were also greatly limited in their migratory patterns, which served only to further marginalize them.

Soon after World War I, Kurds began to call for their own nation, Kurdistan. They expected support in this endeavor from the United States. But as an Associated Power in World War I, rather than an Entente Power, the United States had not declared war on the Ottoman Empire and therefore after the war had no voice in its dismemberment and the subsequent League of Nations Mandates. Beyond that, however, the American public had little interest in such a course of action.

While the British gave some lip service to the establishment of a Kurdish state, the Turks effectively quashed the idea, with Iraq and Iran agreeing that they would recognize no Kurdish state encompassing any part of their territory. The Kurds were now subjected to discrimination and oppression in general. This situation was particularly bad in Turkey. The Turkish government refused to recognize the Kurds as a distinct ethnic group (a state of affairs that continues today), forced them to abandon their language, banned their traditional garb, and lured them into urban areas to curtail their pastoral life. This, of course, only brought more discrimination and resulted in high unemployment and poverty rates for urbanized Kurds.

In Turkey the Kurds have periodically risen up in rebellions that have been promptly crushed by the Turkish government. However, an underground Kurdish guerrilla group, formed out of the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) in the 1980s, continues to pursue the dream of an independent Kurdish state and has engaged Turkish, Iranian, and Syrian troops in an ongoing military struggle. In the late 1940s and again in the late 1970s, Kurds attempted

Kurds at a refugee camp near the Turkish-Iraqi border wait in line near a German army helicopter to receive an allotment of water from coalition troops, who have come to the camp to distribute aid and prepare the refugees for a move to organized camps within Iraq as part of Operation PROVIDE COMFORT. Thousands of Kurds fled into Turkey after fighting between Kurdish groups and Iraqi government forces erupted following Operation DESERT STORM. (U.S. Department of Defense)

to form their own autonomous region in Iran. These efforts were both put down by the Iranians.

For decades, Kurds have been subjected to brutal oppression by the Iraqi government. From 1960 to 1975, Iraqi Kurds under the leadership of Mustafa Barzani waged a guerrilla-style war with Iraqi regular forces. This brought significant casualties to the Iraqis and forced them in 1970 to enter into talks with the rebelling Kurds. That same year, the Iraqi government offered a peace deal to the Kurds that would have brought them their own autonomous region (but not sovereignty) by 1974. Meanwhile, Barzani continued his campaign, and the peace offer never took hold. In 1975 the Iraqis began moving thousands of people into northern Iraq in an attempt to Arabize the region while simultaneously exiling close to 200,000 Kurds.

The Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988) brought great misery and many fatalities to Iraqi Kurds. Saddam Hussein's government was brutal in its treatment of the minority, and in 1988 Hussein launched his so-called Anfal ("spoils of war") Campaign. Over a period of several months, Iraqi forces killed perhaps as many as 100,000 Kurds and destroyed some 2,000 villages, often employing chemical weapons. In 1991, in the immediate aftermath of the Persian Gulf War, Iraqi Kurds rebelled again, and they were again crushed.

The Kurdish region of northern Iraq, comprising three provinces, is roughly divided in two by two competing political parties—the Kurdistan Democratic Party, headed by Massoud Barzani, and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, led by Jalal Talabani. Although there is much political infighting between the two groups, their goals and programs are remarkably similar, and they have been able to work together effectively, especially in post-Hussein Iraq. Indeed, the Kurdish fighting groups known as the Peshmerga have fought for decades in Iraq, Iran, and Turkey. Some have fought alongside U.S. troops in a joint effort to defeat Kurdish Islamic extremist groups, such as Ansar al-Islam.

After the 2003 Anglo-American invasion of Iraq and Hussein's overthrow, Kurds took control of Kirkuk and most of Mosul. Ironically, while the United States and its allies have been unable to build a stable, democratic regime in central and southern Iraq, the Kurds in the north have been more successful in creating a stable environment in their sphere of influence. The Kurds are strongly pro-democratic, and somewhat more pro-American than other Iraqis. Northern Iraq has experienced some attacks and bombings,

and Mosul and Kirkuk remain key problem areas as of 2009, but other areas of historic Iraqi Kurdistan have been less dangerous for coalition forces.

The major Kurdish political parties decry Islamic extremism and do not support a theocratic government, although many smaller Kurdish groups do. There is still a great deal of support for the creation of a separate Kurdish nation among Kurds. Such a move, however, would be vociferously opposed by the Turks and Iranians. There is as yet no resolution over the status of Kirkuk, where Arabs and Turkomen dispute Kurdish claims. However, if this issue and some other matters can be resolved, and the Kurds exercise autonomy over their region, they will have a nation in everything but name.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Hussein, Saddam; Iran; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Kurdistan Democratic Party; Kurds, Massacres of; Patriotic Union of Kurdistan; Peshmerga

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Kurds, Massacres of

The Kurdish people are spread across a number of countries in the Middle East, including Turkey, Iraq, Syria, and Iran. Kurds have campaigned for their own homeland for many years and have suffered persecution throughout their history. During recent times, the Kurds have been subjected to repeated repressions and massacres.

Following an uprising led by Mustafa Barzani from 1961 to 1963, the Kurds were given some representation in the Iraqi government. However, following the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War in September 1980, the Kurdish leadership tended to side with Iran, and as a result Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein began a program of systematic persecution against the Kurds. Iraqi attacks increased dramatically from 1986 on. The lead figure directing these attacks was Ali Hasan al-Majid, a cousin of President Hussein. The use of chemical weapons during the attacks on the Kurds would earn Majid the sobriquet "Chemical Ali."

During the campaign as a whole, the Iraqi army deployed more than 200,000 troops against the Kurds. The campaign, launched by Majid himself, was split into seven phases between February and September 1988. This campaign against the Kurds became known as the Anfal Campaign, meaning "the spoils of war." In each phase, an area of Kurdish-dominated territory was sealed off and then attacked. Tactics against the Kurds included the employment of aircraft to bomb the Kurdish villages, as well as ground forces to secure Kurdish settlements and detain and interrogate all males between the ages of 15 and 70. It was then official Iraqi policy either to execute these men immediately or transport them, along with their families, to the Topzawa Camp just outside the northern Iraqi town of Kirkuk. Here the men of proscribed age were segregated and summarily shot; the bodies were then bulldozed into shallow burial pits.

This deliberate plan of genocide grew as the campaign progressed. In the first stage (between February 23 and March 19, 1988), there was no official policy calling for the killing of all adult males; however, by the last phase (August 25–September 6, 1988) Majid did promulgate such a policy. Within Kirkuk, there was mass deportation of Kurdish families. The Baath Party then built large-scale housing projects and encouraged poor Arabs from the south of Iraq to settle in them. This policy of "Arabization" allowed Baghdad to better control the oil-rich area around Kirkuk.

Perhaps the most infamous incident during the Anfal operation was the chemical attack that took place against the Kurdish town of Halabja. Although there were a total of 40 separate chemical attacks in the entire six-month campaign against the Kurds, the one against Halabja was by far the most significant. Halabja, located 150 miles northeast of Baghdad, had an estimated population of 80,000 people. Eight Iraqi Air Force aircraft struck the town on the evening of March 16, 1988, and the attacks continued throughout the night. Chemical agents employed in the attack included mustard gas and nerve agents such as sarin and tabun. During this one attack, more than 5,000 civilians were killed and many thousands of others were injured.

Initially, Baghdad claimed that the attack had been intended to strike Iranian troops, but between 1992 and 1994 the organization Human Rights Watch effectively proved Iraqi culpability in the Halabja massacre. In total, the Anfal Campaign claimed perhaps as many as 50,000 civilian lives and destroyed some 2,000 villages, 1,750 schools, and 2,500 mosques.

Following the outbreak of the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the Kurds in Iraq rose up against the Hussein regime, and under the protection of an allied air umbrella were able to establish their own governments in so-called safe havens established by the United Nations (UN). In 2003 the Kurdish leadership supported the American-led invasion of Iraq and has now established effective control over Kirkuk and the surrounding areas. Thus far, it has prevented any further atrocities against the Kurdish people in Iraq.

Yet Iraq is not the only place where the Kurds have recently suffered. Within Turkey, Turkish security forces have leveled more than 3,000 Kurdish villages and displaced some 378,000 Kurds since 1982. In Iran, during the revolutionary period from 1979 to 1982, Islamic Revolutionary Guards campaigned against the Kurds, killing some 10,000 civilians. And attacks on Kurdish

settlements continue. The most recent incidents occurred on July 9, 2005, following the murder of a Kurdish activist. In Syria, too, there have been incidents. On March 12, 2004, 180 Kurdish civilians were killed or injured in clashes with Syrian forces in Qamishli, a Kurdish city in the northeastern part of the country.

Former Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein and Ali Hasan al-Majid were both tried and convicted by the Iraqi Special Tribunal of crimes against humanity for their role in the Anfal Campaign.

Ralph Baker

See also

Biological Weapons and Warfare; Chemical Weapons and Warfare; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Kurds; Majid al Tikriti, Ali Hassan al-; No-Fly Zones

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Kuwait

Middle Eastern monarchy. The state of Kuwait, with a 2007 population of approximately 2.39 million, occupies 6,880 square miles, including the Kuwaiti share of the Neutral Zone defined by agreement with Saudi Arabia in 1922 and partitioned by mutual agreement in 1966. Kuwait is thus about the size of the U.S. state of Hawaii. More than half of Kuwait's population is made up of noncitizen workers attracted by job opportunities in this oil-rich Persian Gulf nation.

Kuwait is strategically located at the northern end of the Persian Gulf and is bordered by Saudi Arabia to the south, Iraq to the west and north, and the Persian Gulf to the east. The topography is flat, low desert, and the climate is very hot and dry. More than 95 percent of the Kuwaiti people live in urban areas, mostly along the coast. The nation's major natural resources are oil and natural gas, comprising an estimated 10 percent of the world's known reserves. There is a minor fishing industry, but oil sales make up half of Kuwait's gross domestic product (GDP) and provide 80 percent of the government's yearly revenues. The large oil reserves have sustained a relatively high per capita GDP annually and allow for extensive social services for Kuwaiti citizens.

Oil and geographic location have made Kuwait a crucial strategic state, far beyond what might be expected of a country its size and population. Kuwait has been a key to British imperial interests in the Middle East, a major player in regional affairs, a staunch

The Liberation Tower in Kuwait City, named in commemoration of the expulsion of Iraqi forces from Kuwait in 1991. (iStockPhoto)

Cold War ally of the United States, the focus of the 1990 Persian Gulf War, and an important staging area for subsequent American-led operations in Iraq beginning in 2003.

In contrast to its current prominence, Kuwait was a remote part of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century, largely left to manage its own affairs. This earlier insignificance is manifest in the fact that the Utub tribes that settled in the area early in the 18th century called their central town Kuwait, the Arabic diminutive for *kut,* meaning a fortress built near water. By mid-century the Utub's al-Sabah tribe, whose descendants rule Kuwait to this day, had emerged as the most prominent in the area. The al-Sabah focused on developing the local pearl beds and taking advantage of location to promote regional trade.

Recognizing the fact that any increase in the wealth of Kuwait and the al-Sabah family would attract Ottoman attention and invite closer imperial control and higher taxation, Sheikh Mubarak al-Sabah sought the protection of Britain, the major European power in the region. The result was an 1899 agreement in which Kuwait ceded control over its foreign affairs and defense to the British. In return, Kuwait agreed to eschew alliances with other powers and promised not to cede any concessions—economic or military—to

any other nation. Kuwait thus became a British protectorate. This situation remained fairly stable until Britain reduced its imperial commitments after World War II. Kuwait became fully independent in June 1961.

Kuwait then aligned itself with the West—the United States in particular—in regional and international affairs. The 1979 Iranian Revolution served to further strengthen this alliance, and Kuwait became a staunch supporter of Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War, which began in 1980. That support included nearly $35 billion in grants, loans, and other assistance to the Iraqi government. After the war, which ended in 1988, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein demanded that Kuwait forgive Iraq's loans, reasoning that Iraq had been the bulwark in the Arab world against Iran and was thus owed monetary concessions. Iraq also accused the Kuwaitis of slant drilling for oil into Iraqi fields and claimed, as it had in the past, that Kuwait was an Iraqi province, as parts of Kuwait had been in the province of Basra under the Ottoman Empire.

Angry with Kuwait's refusal to forgive the Iraqi debt and convinced that the kingdom was keeping oil prices artificially low by pumping too much oil, Hussein launched an invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990. The international response, which was divided into two stages, was strong and swift. The U.S.-led Operation DESERT SHIELD saw a large-scale military buildup in Saudi Arabia. Then in January 1991, when Hussein steadfastly refused to withdraw from Kuwait, Operation DESERT STORM began, during which the United States led a large international military coalition, including other Arab nations, to drive Iraqi forces from Kuwait. The brief war ended on February 27, 1991, with Iraq compelled to recognize Kuwaiti independence. Kuwait was heavily damaged during the Iraqi occupation and subsequent war, but the nation's immense oil wealth and small size allowed it to rebuild quickly and efficiently.

Thereafter, Kuwait remained a firm ally of the United States, backing it after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks and the subsequent campaign in Afghanistan that unseated the Taliban regime. The Kuwaitis also allowed their territory to be used as a staging area for the U.S.-led effort to oust Hussein from power in the spring of 2003. Kuwait has served as a primary forwarding point for U.S. troops deployed to Iraq, and has hosted a major administrative center for humanitarian aid in Iraq after the March 2003 invasion. In return, the United States has been restrained in its criticism of Kuwaiti internal affairs. In May 2005 Kuwait's parliament did grant full political rights to women, although in the May 2008 elections no women were elected to office. The United States maintains a significant military and naval presence in the region that protects the al-Sabah ruling family of Kuwait, which has had long experience in maintaining its position from the 19th century to the present.

Kuwait has not been a major military force in the Arab-Israeli conflict, but it has strongly supported the Palestinian movement. Numerous Palestinian refugees and students have lived in Kuwait, and branches of both the Fatah and Hamas organizations have been established there. Kuwait did not participate in the 1948 and 1956 wars in and around Israel. After its independence from Britain in 1961, Kuwait sent small numbers of troops to fight in the 1967 and 1973 wars. These were token forces, and Kuwait focused on internal development of its oil resources. The Kuwaiti government taxed the large proportion of Palestinians in the Kuwaiti workforce, and these funds were then used to support Palestinian causes. Yet there was a suspicion of Palestinians as a possible source of political dissidence, such as had occurred in Jordan and Lebanon in the 1970s and 1980s. Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) support for Iraq in the 1990 conflict with Iraq enraged Kuwaitis, who then evicted the Palestinians after the conflict. Kuwait has an active Islamist opposition and is wary of Shia-dominated Iran.

DANIEL E. SPECTOR

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Palestine Liberation Organization; Saudi Arabia

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Kuwait, Armed Forces

Prior to the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the small Persian Gulf nation of Kuwait, with a population of 2.597 million people, maintained a small military force of only about 12,500 personnel. Most of its armaments had been purchased from Great Britain, with which it had long-standing military and political ties, and the United States. Kuwaiti armed forces were in no position to resist an Iraqi invasion.

Within hours on August 2, 1990, Iraq's vastly superior and exponentially larger forces overwhelmed the modest Kuwaiti defenses and began a nearly seven-month occupation of the nation. Sheikh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, Kuwait's 13th emir, promptly fled to neighboring Saudi Arabia, where he established a government in exile. What remained of the Kuwaiti armed force's equipment was either taken by the Iraqis or destroyed.

Only the Kuwaiti air force escaped complete destruction, as many of its airplanes were able to fly to fields in Saudi Arabia during the initial assault. Many military personnel also managed to escape, most of them to Saudi Arabia. Some 9,900 of them were integrated into coalition forces to fight against Iraq when the Persian Gulf War began.

The Kuwaiti military falls under the general command of the ruling emir and is composed of six components: army, navy, air force, national police, national guard, and coast guard. Prior to the 1990 Iraqi invasion, it is believed that the Kuwaiti government spent about $2.1 billion per year on national defense, or about 4.2 percent of gross domestic product (GDP). Kuwait has gradually

Kuwaiti soldiers stand at attention during a multinational military exercise in Egypt in 2001. (U.S. Department of Defense)

increased military spending since then, and is estimated to now be spending about $3.01 billion per year, or 5.1 percent of GDP, making its per capita military spending among the highest in the world.

Currently, Kuwait's army has about 11,000 active and reserve, combat-ready personnel. The air force has 2,500 men, and the navy has about 1,800 personnel. The coast guard numbers about 400 people. There are thus some 15,000 military personnel in all, not counting the national police or national guard.

In 2002, the last year for which reliable figures are available, Kuwait's military arsenal included 368 main battle tanks (including some 200 M-84 tanks) and 18 self-propelled 150-mm guns purchased from France. The air force had 81 combat aircraft of various types and capabilities. The Kuwaiti navy had 16 ships. It is not clear how many vessels the coast guard possessed.

Although Kuwait did not participate directly in either Operation ENDURING FREEDOM or Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, it continues to expand both the size and capabilities of its armed forces. In this it has received considerable help from the United States. Indeed, in September 1991 Kuwait agreed to a multiyear defense cooperation agreement with the Americans that promised arms and technology transfers, advanced training for Kuwaiti troops, and periodic joint military exercises. In return, the United States was granted access to Kuwaiti ports and air bases, as well as storage areas for military hardware.

In 1996, in response to Iraqi provocations, the United States agreed to permanently station a U.S. battalion-sized military unit in Kuwait. As many as 5,000 troops—mostly army and marine units—have been in place in Kuwait since that time, the largest portion being a part of the U.S. Army Central Command (ARCENT), which is part of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM). Kuwait was a primary staging area for the 2003 Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq, although no Kuwaiti troops have participated in that conflict.

U.S. troops and equipment are located in 16 bases and facilities throughout the country, including the Kuwait International Airport. Since 1996 American sales of military equipment to Kuwait have exceeded $5.9 billion. The most noteworthy Kuwaiti acquisitions have been the Patriot missile system, McDonnell Douglas/Boeing F-18 Hornet aircraft, and Abrams M-1A2 main battle tanks. These purchases, combined with continued close cooperation with U.S. forces, have resulted in a Kuwaiti military establishment considerably more robust than the one that faced the Iraqi invasion of August 1990.

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See also

Kuwait; Kuwait, Iraqi Invasion of; United States Central Command

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Kuwait, Iraqi Atrocities in

See Iraqi Occupation of Kuwait, Atrocities

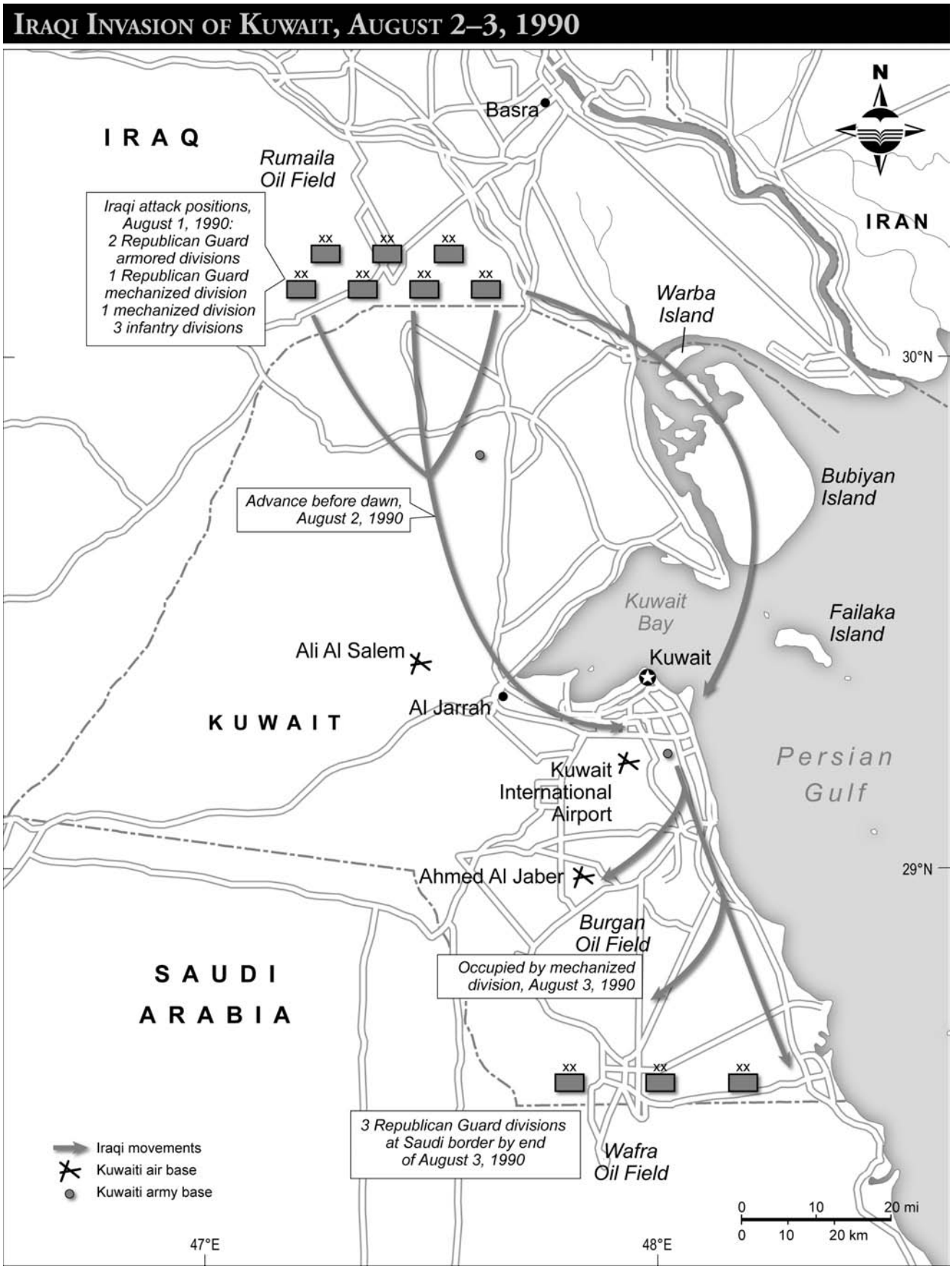
Kuwait, Iraqi Claims on

See Iraqi Claims on Kuwait

Kuwait, Iraqi Invasion of

Event Date: August 2, 1990

At 2:00 a.m. on August 2, 1990, Iraqi forces invaded Kuwait. Two weeks before, on July 17, 1990, Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein had threatened military action against that small Persian Gulf nation for exceeding production limits set by Organization of Petroleum


IRAQI INVASION OF KUWAIT, AUGUST 2–3, 1990
N
IRAQ
IRAN
Basra
Rumaila Oil Field
Iraqi attack positions, August 1, 1990:
2 Republican Guard armored divisions
1 Republican Guard mechanized division
1 mechanized division
3 infantry divisions
Warba Island
30°N
Bubiyan Island
Advance before dawn, August 2, 1990
Kuwait Bay
Failaka Island
Ali Al Salem
Kuwait
Al Jarrah
KUWAIT
Persian Gulf
Kuwait International Airport
Ahmed Al Jaber
29°N
Burgan Oil Field
Occupied by mechanized division, August 3, 1990
SAUDI ARABIA
3 Republican Guard divisions at Saudi border by end of August 3, 1990
Wafra Oil Field
Iraqi movements
Kuwaiti air base
Kuwaiti army base
0 10 20 mi
0 10 20 km
47°E
48°E

Iraqi Army troops in Baghdad celebrate their country's successful invasion and occupation of Kuwait in August 1990. (David Turnley/Corbis)

Exporting Counties (OPEC) oil quotas, which had helped drive down the price of oil.

Relations between the two countries had previously been close. In 1979 a radical regime had come to power in Iran, and Kuwait subsequently proved a staunch ally during Iraq's protracted war (1980–1988) with Iran. Hundreds of thousands of people died on both sides in the war, and Iraq had accumulated a considerable war debt of some $80 billion. Hussein was thus anxious that oil prices be as high as possible, and Kuwaiti excess production worked against this. Kuwait was also the major creditor for the Iraqi war effort, to the tune of some $35 billion. Hussein demanded that these loans be forgiven, reasoning that Iraq had borne the brunt of the fight in defense of Arab interests and deserved monetary concessions.

Hussein was also angry over Kuwaiti slant drilling into Iraqi oil fields along their common border. Finally, Iraq had long claimed Kuwait as a province dating back to the arbitrary administrative boundaries during the period of the Ottoman Empire. Iraq's desire to gobble up its small neighbor certainly did not begin with Hussein. When Britain granted Kuwait its independence in 1961, Iraqi strongman Abd al-Karim Qasim had immediately asserted Iraq's claim to sovereignty. This was a matter of securing not only Kuwaiti oil but also that nation's long coastline. Iraq's sole access to the Persian Gulf was the Shatt al-Arab waterway, sovereignty over which was a point of contention with its enemy Iran. Securing Kuwait would mean easy Iraqi access into the Persian Gulf.

The war with Iran had left Iraq with one of the world's largest military establishments, and Hussein was determined to employ it to advantage. For some time Washington had been concerned over Iraq's expanding nuclear industry and a chemical and biological capability that Hussein had used in the war against Iran as well as against some of his own people, the Kurds. Then, in mid-July 1990, American intelligence satellites detected Iraqi forces massing near the Kuwait border.

Yet U.S. policy was unclear. Fearful of radical Islam in Iran, both the Soviet Union and the United States had assisted Iraq in its war with Iran. Washington had provided valuable satellite intelligence. Up until the invasion of Kuwait, moreover, Washington assumed that Hussein was weary of war and would in any case need a protracted period of peace to rebuild. At the same time, U.S. ambassador to Iraq April Glaspie had followed the George H. W. Bush administration's policy of delivering "mixed messages," which seemed to allow Hussein operational freedom in the Persian Gulf. Hussein probably believed that his moves against Kuwait would not be challenged by the United States. On its part, the State Department did not believe that Hussein would actually

mount a full-scale invasion. If military action occurred, Washington expected only a limited offensive to force the Kuwaitis to accede to Iraqi's demands of bringing the cost of oil in line. Clearly Washington underestimated Hussein's ambitions. The intelligence was there, but the administration failed to act on a Pentagon call for a show of force to deter possible Iraqi aggression. Indeed, the Bush administration did not draw a firm line in the sand until Hussein had already crossed it.

Commander of the Republican Guards, Lieutenant General Ayad Futahih al-Rawi, had charge of the invasion force. It consisted of the Iraqi Hammurabi Armored Division and Tawakalna Mechanized Division, supported by Iraqi special forces and the Medina Armored Division. The Hammurabi and Tawakalna divisions easily overcame the sole Kuwaiti brigade deployed along the common border, then headed south to Jahrad at the head of the Gulf of Kuwait, before turning east to Kuwait. Kuwaiti armored cars had no chance of stopping the massed Iraqi T-72 tanks.

By 5:00 a.m. fighting had begun for Kuwait. Heliborne elite Iraqi troops were airlifted into the city, preventing any Kuwaiti withdrawal back into it. At the same time, Iraqi seaborne commandoes sealed off the Kuwaiti coast. Meanwhile, the Medina Armored Division screened the Iraqi invasion force against the remote possibility of any intervention by the Gulf Cooperation Council's Peninsula Shield Brigade, situated in northern Saudi Arabia. By evening it was all but over. Four Iraqi infantry divisions moved in behind the mobile forces to occupy the country and conduct mopping-up operations. The three Iraqi heavy divisions then took up defensive positions along the border with Saudi Arabia to the south. Kuwait was completely occupied in fewer than 48 hours. In all, the Iraqis lost in the battle two fighter aircraft, six helicopters, and several armored vehicles. Most Kuwaiti Air Force aircraft took refuge in Saudi Arabia.

Once the battle was won, the Iraqis settled in for a brutal occupation that claimed the lives and property of many Kuwaitis. The Iraqis failed in their effort to seize the emir of Kuwait, Sheikh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah. He managed to escape, but Iraqi commandoes killed his brother, Sheikh Fahd, who was in the palace. The Iraqis then proceeded to loot much of the public and private wealth of Kuwait. Hussein set up a brief puppet government under Ala Hussein Ali before annexing Kuwait outright and installing an Iraqi provincial government.

The U.S. reaction was surprisingly swift. President Bush was deeply concerned over the impact of the invasion on the supply of oil and oil prices, as well as on Saudi Arabia, which possessed the world's largest oil reserves and shared a common border with Kuwait. Bush and others of his generation styled Hussein's aggression as a challenge akin to that of Adolf Hitler and made much of a supposed and quite inaccurate contrast between dictatorship (Iraq) and democracy (Kuwait).

On August 8 Bush ordered the deployment of forward forces to Saudi Arabia in Operation DESERT SHIELD. The troops were to bolster the Saudis and demonstrate resolve in the midst of diplomatic maneuvering. Hussein proved intransigent, and war loomed between Iraq and a growing coalition headed by the United States, which included Arab states.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Kuwait

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Kuwait, Liberation of

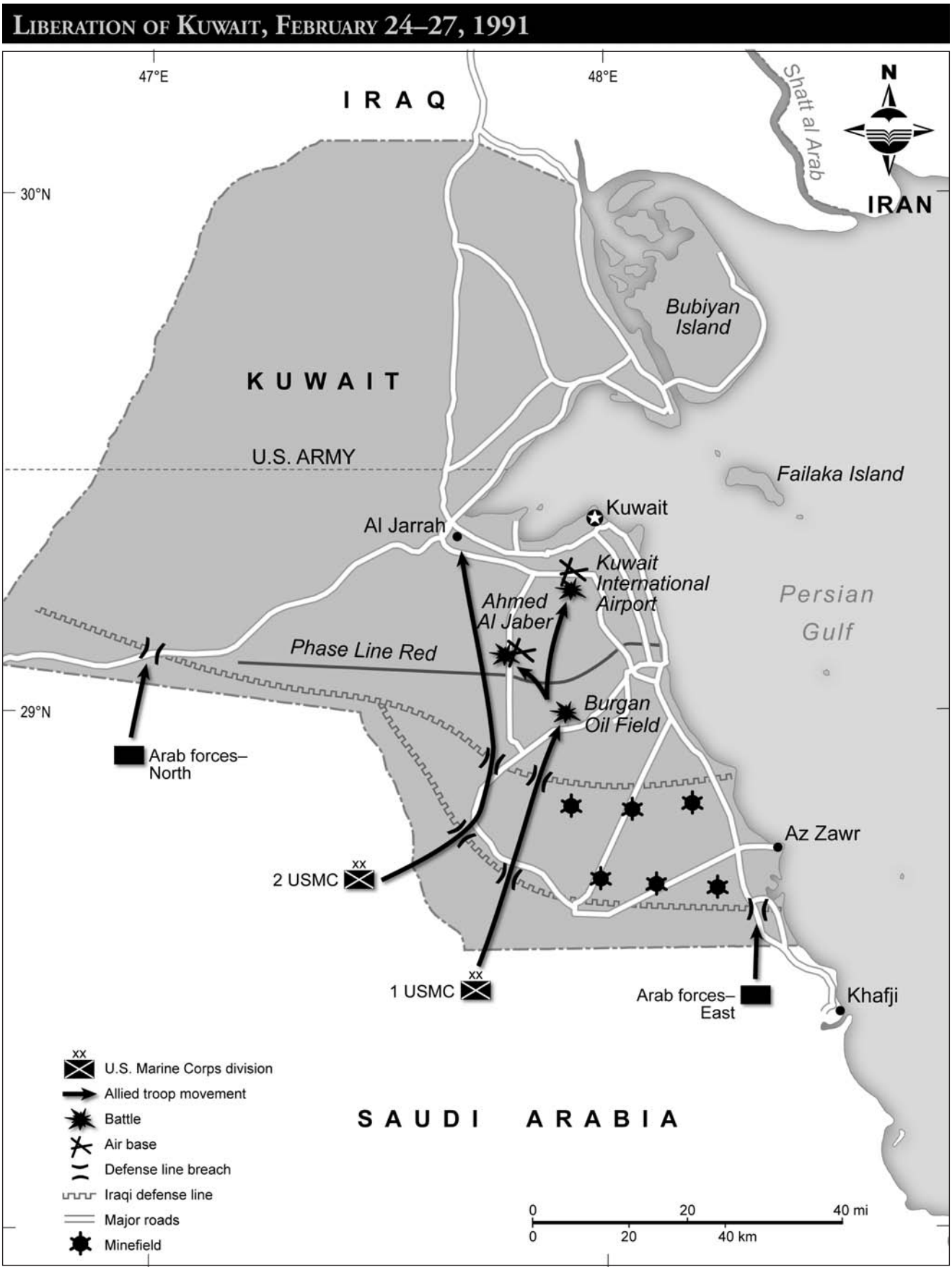
Event Date: February 27, 1991

The liberation of Kuwait from Iraqi military occupation occurred on February 27, 1991, and marked the culmination of the Persian Gulf War and Operation DESERT STORM. It occurred during the 100-hour February 24–27, 1991, ground offensive launched by U.S.-led coalition forces, which ended in a crushing defeat for Iraq.

Iraq, with a standing army of 450,000 men in 1990, had invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990, with 100,000 troops and as many as 700 tanks. The small state of Kuwait was quickly overrun, and Iraqi president Saddam Hussein declared it to be Iraq's "reunited" 19th province. At the same time, Hussein began building up Iraqi forces along the Kuwait-Saudi border.

U.S. president George H. W. Bush led the fight to expel Iraq from Kuwait and received U.S. congressional and United Nations (UN) Security Council approval to reverse Iraq's occupation of Kuwait by all means necessary. U.S. Army general H. Norman Schwarzkopf Jr., commander-in-chief of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), oversaw the military operations of the United States and its coalition allies in the Persian Gulf. Meanwhile, the UN Security Council imposed a January 15, 1991, deadline for Iraq's unconditional withdrawal.

Following movement of more than 750,000 military personnel and their matériel to bases in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf, on January 17, 1991 (Kuwaiti time), Operation DESERT STORM began with withering air attacks on Iraqi targets. Coalition forces had complete air superiority and greatly degraded the effectiveness of Iraqi ground force units. However, air power alone failed to coerce Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait unconditionally.


LIBERATION OF KUWAIT, FEBRUARY 24–27, 1991
47°E
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IRAQ
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Al Jarrah
Kuwait International Airport
Ahmed Al Jaber
Persian Gulf
Phase Line Red
Burgan Oil Field
Arab forces–North
Az Zawr
2 USMC
1 USMC
Arab forces–East
Khafji
U.S. Marine Corps division
Allied troop movement
Battle
Air base
Defense line breach
Iraqi defense line
Major roads
Minefield
0 20 40 mi
0 20 40 km

U.S. M-60A1 main battle tanks of the 1st Tank Battalion, 1st Marine Division, advance toward Kuwait City during the third day of the ground offensive phase of Operation DESERT STORM, February 26, 1991. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Given Kuwait's (then) large expatriate Palestinian community, within hours of the start of DESERT STORM on January 17 Iraq sought, ineffectively, to certify its Pan-Arab/pro-Palestinian national unification vanguard credentials by firing Scud medium-range ballistic missiles into Israel and Saudi Arabia. Iraqi forces also began burning what would total 700 Kuwaiti oil wells and dumping hundreds of thousands of barrels of oil into the Persian Gulf, although with no appreciable effect on allied military operations in Kuwait.

The pending assault to liberate Kuwait, as part of Operation DESERT SABRE, the ground component of DESERT STORM, first constituted a distraction to tie down Iraqi forces from the coalition's left-wing outflanking maneuver into southern Iraq by the U.S. Army XVIII Airborne and VII Corps. The U.S. Navy and 5th Marine Expeditionary Brigade, feinting an amphibious landing on the Kuwaiti coast, had tied down as many as 10 Iraqi divisions out of 43. At 4:00 a.m. local time on February 24, after preliminary infiltration operations, the U.S. 1st and 2nd Marine Divisions in Marine Central Command, followed by Joint (Arab) Forces Command-North on their left and Joint (Arab) Forces Command-East, bordering on the Persian Gulf, initiated the ground assault with "pinning" attack operations against Iraqi fortifications in Kuwait. Meanwhile, XVIII and VII Corps, along with French and British divisions, sought to neutralize reinforcements of the Iraqi Republican Guard, the elite units of the Iraqi armed forces. Of the 14 coalition divisions, 6 (Joint Arab and U.S. Marine) were initially devoted to a northerly attack into Kuwait from Saudi Arabia, directly confronting only 5 Iraqi divisions.

After breaching extensive minefields and taking al-Jaber airfield with 1 dead and 12 wounded from Iraqi rocket fire, both U.S. Marine divisions repulsed repeated Iraqi counterattacks launched from the burning Burgan oil field on February 25, destroying or capturing nearly 200 Iraqi tanks. Joint Arab Forces, both Saudi and Qatari, advanced up the coast on February 24 after heavy shelling by U.S. warships, quickly passing through gaps in the first line of defenses (with 2 Saudis dead and 4 wounded in an air-ground friendly fire incident) to reach the second line, which they overran on February 25. This operation resulted in 6 killed and 21 wounded. Iraqi resistance then collapsed, and the Joint Arab troops reached Kuwait by the evening of February 26. Marine forces approaching on the left from al-Jaber continued to advance and destroyed more than 100 additional Iraqi tanks. Using a combination of U.S. naval gunfire and marine ground units, they eliminated the remnants of the Iraqi armored brigade based at Kuwait International Airport.

Joint Arab Forces-North consisted of Saudi, Kuwaiti, and Egyptian forces, with Syrian forces in reserve. Beginning their northerly

advance into western Kuwait on February 24, they encountered very light resistance and took large numbers of Iraqi prisoners, before turning east to reach Kuwait by 5:00 p.m. on February 26.

Iraqi forces now retreated to Kuwait and intermingled with Iraqi occupation troops based there. On February 26 Hussein ordered his surviving forces to evacuate Kuwait, emptying fortifications around the city that may have been more difficult for coalition forces to take. Iraqi units fleeing west and north from Kuwait along the highways linking it with Basra in southern Iraq had already been under continuous air attack from U.S. Navy and Air Force aircraft since the previous night. The planes dropped aerial mines to prevent their advance or retreat on the roads out of Kuwait. The U.S. Army's 1st "Tiger" Brigade, 2nd Armored Division, attacked, cleared, and occupied the 25-foot-high Mutla Ridge outside of the Jahrah suburb of Kuwait next to the juncture of two multilane highways, destroying numerous Iraqi antiaircraft emplacements and adding its firepower to the attacks below on what became known as the "Highway of Death."

The chaotic flight of Iraqi military and commandeered civilian vehicles, as well as Kuwaiti hostages, prisoners, and refugees including Palestinian militiamen, were trapped on the main highway to the north of Jahrah to Basra, as well as on the coastal road spur to Basra, by the continuous and unhindered U.S. and British attacks and the ensuing turmoil. Those who abandoned their vehicles and fled into the desert may also have been killed. Estimates of the casualties among the total of 1,500–2,000 vehicles destroyed along these two conflated stretches of the "Highway of Death" remain in dispute, ranging between a low of 200 to as many as 10,000. Officers of the U.S. Tiger Brigade, the first American unit to arrive at the "Highway of Death," stated that the unit found only about 200 Iraqi corpses among the thousands of destroyed vehicles. The unit captured about 2,000 Iraqi prisoners hiding nearby in the desert. Other reporters and Iraqis who lived through the event reported that hundreds of bodies, including those of women and children, continued to be buried several days later. Commandeered civilian vehicles seized by regular Iraqi army personnel constituted most of the destruction on the northern main highway route. On the coastal spur, predominantly military vehicles belonging to Republican Guards units were destroyed, with the U.S. Army 3rd Armored division joining the assault.

On February 27 Saudi-commanded units passed through Marine Central Command sector to liberate Kuwait, along with Joint Arab Forces Command-North columns. After contacting Egyptian units, U.S. Army Tiger Brigade troops cleared the major military airfield in Kuwait, the Kuwaiti Royal Summer palace, and bunker complexes.

A cease-fire went into effect at 8:00 a.m., February 28. In return for the cease-fire, Iraq accepted unconditionally all 12 UN Security Council resolutions dealing with Iraq's occupation of Kuwait, thereby renouncing for good its annexation of Kuwait.

Benedict DeDominicis

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Forces; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; Gulf War Syndrome; Iraq, Army; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Kuwait; Kuwait, Iraqi Invasion of; Kuwait, Occupation of by Iraq; Persian Gulf War, Cease-Fire Agreement; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; Topography, Kuwait and Iraq

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Kuwait, Occupation of by Iraq

Start Date: August 2, 1990
End Date: February 27, 1991

The Iraqi occupation of Kuwait began on August 2, 1990, when Iraqi forces stormed across the Kuwait-Iraq border. The invasion ultimately prompted the deployment to Saudi Arabia of more than 500,000 American troops, along with forces from more than a dozen other countries, including Great Britain, France, Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and the Arab Gulf states of Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). This international coalition ultimately routed Iraq's army during Operation DESERT STORM and expelled Iraqi troops from Kuwait. The first Iraqi troop withdrawals from Kuwait began on February 26, 1991. Two days later, and following the cease-fire agreement on February 27, the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait ended, restoring Kuwaiti independence.

Following the Iraqi incursion into Kuwait, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein moved quickly to consolidate his power over Kuwait, which he held to be a rogue province of Iraq. He thus appointed his first cousin, Ali Hassan Abd al-Majid al-Tikriti, as the governor of Kuwait. He instituted a brutal and repressive occupation, with the support of Hussein. The occupation included the plundering of Kuwaiti resources and infrastructure and the killing of many Kuwaiti citizens. Iraq's military looted, plundered, and pillaged Kuwait's consumer economy almost at will, sending back to Iraq

Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, center, accompanied by aides, tours the front line in Iraqi-occupied Kuwait in January 1991. (AP/Wide World Photos)

large quantities of automobiles and luxury goods. Kuwait became a virtual ghost town of looted and burned shops and stores; in many cases, these establishments were stripped of light fixtures and furniture. Even Kuwait's National Museum was not spared. Its collection of priceless Islamic artifacts was looted, and almost every room in the museum gutted by fire.

Iraqi troops imposed a brutal regime that did not spare the Kuwaiti people. Crimes against the citizenry included murder, rape, and torture. Nor were these limited to Kuwaitis, for expatriates and foreign nationals equally suffered. In the aftermath of the six-month occupation, the Kuwaiti government reported that 5,733 people had been systematically tortured by Iraqi troops. Iraqi documents captured after the liberation of Kuwait revealed orders from Baghdad for the summary execution of home owners whose buildings bore anti-Iraqi or pro-Kuwaiti slogans. Orders also directed troops to kill on sight any civilian caught on the streets after curfew or anyone suspected of being involved in any resistance activity. Iraqi forces were also accused of engaging in extrajudicial killings of government officials and members of the Kuwaiti military. Following the liberation of Kuwait, numerous torture chambers were uncovered. Reports from the few who managed to escape Kuwait following the invasion recounted public executions and bodies left hanging from lampposts or dumped by the side of the street. According to both the United Nations (UN) and Kuwait, some 600 Kuwaiti nationals were abducted to Iraq and have yet to be accounted for. Iraqi officials also used Westerners captured in Kuwait as hostages, or human shields, until they were released, as an alleged act of goodwill on the part of Iraq, in December 1990.

It is worth pointing out, however, that some allegations by the exiled Kuwaiti government of human rights abuses were later proven false. For example, in the run-up to the war a young Kuwaiti girl testified before the U.S. Congress that she had witnessed Iraqi troops stealing hospital incubators for newborn infants and leaving the babies to die on the cold floor. This account was later proven false. At the time, Congress was unaware that the young woman was the daughter of a member of the Kuwaiti royal family. Despite such false claims, the wanton brutality of Iraq's occupation of Kuwait cannot be denied.

Food and water supplies meant for the Kuwaiti population were routinely diverted to the Iraqi army, yet even this proved insufficient to feed the occupying Iraqi troops. It was reported, for example, that Iraqi troops killed Kuwaiti zoo animals for food as the UN-approved embargo and blockade on Iraq began to strangle its economy. The invasion and occupation of Kuwait also led to the suppression of radio and television broadcasts while electricity

was turned off and water supplies from desalinization plants were eliminated. In one final act of defiant revenge, Iraqi troops also set fire to more than 600 Kuwaiti oil wells as they withdrew from Kuwait as a consequence of the ground assault by American and coalition forces. This gratuitous destruction not only crippled Kuwait's oil production for many months but also created an environmental nightmare during which millions of gallons of oil spewed into the ground, and oil-well fires turned the Kuwaiti skies black for weeks.

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See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Iraqi Occupation of Kuwait, Atrocities; Kuwait; Kuwait, Liberation of; Majid al Tikriti, Ali Hassan al-

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Kuwait, Provisional Free Government of

Short-lived, Iraqi-installed puppet government of Kuwait instituted after the August 1990 Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait. At 1:00 a.m. on August 2, 1990, Iraqi forces invaded Kuwait. In ordering this action, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein hoped to obtain complete economic and political control of his small, oil-rich neighbor. To disguise his objectives, he had the Iraqi media portray the invasion as a response to an indigenous Kuwaiti uprising. Accordingly, the Iraqi media claimed that Kuwaiti revolutionaries had rebelled against the al-Sabah regime of Kuwait and had requested Iraqi intervention. Baghdad radio announced that a Provisional Free Government of Kuwait (PFGK) had been formed but initially provided few details beyond asserting that the PFGK represented the will of the majority of the Kuwaiti people.

In response to the Iraqi invasion, an emergency meeting of the United Nations (UN) Security Council convened at 5:30 a.m. on August 2. The Iraqi delegate reiterated the claim that the events taking place in Kuwait were internal affairs. He asserted that the PFGK had requested Iraqi assistance in order to establish security and protect the Kuwaiti people and that Iraq's intervention ensued. The Iraqi delegate concluded that, according to terms of agreement reached with the PFGK, Iraqi forces would soon withdraw from Kuwait. At an extraordinary session of the Arab League in Cairo, also held on August 2, the Iraqi delegate repeated this explanation.

Iraq installed a Kuwaiti military officer, 31-year-old Colonel Ala Hussein Ali, as the figurehead ruler of Kuwait with the title of prime minister of the PFGK. Ali also held the positions of commander in chief of the armed forces, minister of defense, and minister of the interior. Four other colonels and four majors joined with him to serve as the nominal leaders of the PFGK.

Following the release of the names of the nine leaders, many Arab diplomats publicly voiced skepticism, saying that the names were either bogus or that they were actually Iraqi names. Their view accorded with opinions expressed by most Arab governments, who were dismayed that Saddam had become the first Arab ruler in modern history to send his army, unprovoked, into another Arab country, overthrow its government, and install a puppet regime.

By midafternoon on August 2, 1990, the PFGK began radio broadcasts from Baghdad announcing that it had deposed Sheikh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, emir of Kuwait. Indeed, the emir had fled to Saudi Arabia aboard a U.S. helicopter. The PFGK continued to spread its propaganda via Arab language radio broadcasts during the first weeks of August 1990. Thereafter, it was replaced with broadcasts by "The Voices of the Masses."

The charade of a free Kuwaiti government did not last long, however. On August 8, the PFGK called for Iraq to annex Kuwait. The next day, Iraq "complied" with the "request," the PFGK disbanded, and Ali became deputy prime minister of Iraq. This was, in fact, a powerless, figurehead position. After their initial introduction on Iraqi television, the members of the PFGK government seldom appeared in public view. All nine men were held inside a presidential compound in Baghdad, and they exercised no real authority.

During the seven-month Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, very few Kuwaitis rallied to support Iraq. Anti-Iraq graffiti, including derisory comments about the PFGK, appeared within days of the Iraqi invasion. Saddam had apparently overestimated the depth of Kuwaiti political opposition to the emir. Contrary to Saddam's expectations, no important Kuwaiti opposition figures collaborated with the Iraqis.

Soon after the Persian Gulf War ended, eight of the former PFGK leaders returned to Kuwait, where they paid a fine and were allowed to go free. Ali remained in Baghdad until 1997. The restored Kuwaiti government sentenced him to death in absentia in 1993 for heading the puppet government. Ali claimed that Iraqi agents had abducted him at gunpoint and threatened to kill him and arrest his family if he refused to participate in the PFGK. Ali returned to Kuwait in January 2000 and was arrested. At his trial, his former colleagues of the PFGK refuted much of his testimony. In May 2000, the criminal court of Kuwait endorsed Ali's death sentence for treason and collaborating with the enemy in a time of war. The sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.

JAMES ARNOLD

See also

Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Kuwait; Kuwait, Iraqi Invasion of; Kuwait, Occupation of by Iraq; Sabah, Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-

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Kuwait-Iraq Diplomacy

Start Date: July 1990
End Date: August 1990

High-level discussions between Iraqi and Kuwaiti diplomats in 1990 ultimately failed to avert Iraq's August 2, 1990, invasion and occupation of Kuwait, which precipitated the Persian Gulf War. In 1980, seeking to take advantage of the turmoil following the 1979 Iranian Revolution and hoping to gain better access to the Persian Gulf through the Shatt al-Arab waterway, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein initiated a war with Iran. Initial Iraqi gains were eclipsed by an eight-year, bloody and brutal war that ended in stalemate. Iraq emerged from the war with its economy in ruins, essentially bankrupt and desperate for cash. Because Iraq was a major producer of oil, Hussein depended on the sale of oil to rebuild the Iraqi economy. With the end of the war, Hussein worried that failure to improve economic conditions in Iraq would lead to unrest and threaten his regime.

Casting his war with Iran largely as an effort to protect the Arab Gulf states, especially Kuwait, from the threat of Iranian Shiite Islamic fundamentalism, Hussein came to regard these states as ungrateful for Iraq's wartime sacrifices. To finance the war, Iraq had amassed a debt of some $70 billion, much of it owed to Kuwait. Hussein now pressed for forgiveness of the debt, but Kuwait refused. In February 1990, at the summit meeting of the Arab Cooperation Council in Amman, Jordan, Hussein asked King Hussein of Jordan and President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt to inform the Gulf States that Iraq insisted that its debts be forgiven and that it needed an immediate infusion of some $30 billion. Hussein reportedly said that if he were not given the money, he "would know how to get it." This not-so-veiled threat was accompanied by Iraqi military maneuvers near the Kuwaiti border.

In late May 1990, at the Arab League summit in Baghdad, Hussein claimed that Iraq was being subjected to "economic warfare" and that it would not long tolerate such treatment. This time, he demanded $27 billion from Kuwait. The Kuwaitis replied that they did not have such a large sum to give or lend out. A month later, at an Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) meeting, Kuwait offered $500 million to Iraq over three years, which Hussein regarded as a paltry and insulting sum when Iraq needed billions.

On July 16, 1990, Iraq publicly accused Kuwait both of violating the OPEC oil-production quota, and thus driving down the price of oil, and of stealing Iraqi oil from the Rumaila oil field, shared by both countries. Hussein claimed that each dollar-per-barrel decrease in the price of oil cost Iraq $1 billion in desperately needed funds. That same day, Iraqi foreign minister Tariq Aziz informed an Arab summit meeting in Tunisia that "we are sure some Arab states are involved in a conspiracy against us" and vowed not to "kneel."

On July 17, in a speech to the Iraqi people, Hussein repeated his claim that Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) were violating OPEC oil-production quotas, and he threatened unspecified military action if it continued. In the meantime, Iraq demanded $2.4 billion from Kuwait for oil allegedly "stolen" via slant drilling from the Rumaila oil field. The next day, Kuwait canceled all military leaves and placed its small military on alert. It also called for an emergency session of the Gulf Cooperation Council, a defense group of Gulf States, and also of the Arab League. The Kuwaiti government concluded, however, that Hussein's demands were tantamount to extortion and that acceding to them would only invite more blackmail later. The Kuwaitis also believed that Hussein was bluffing, refusing to believe that he would invade another Arab nation.

On July 21 the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) reported that Iraq had moved some 30,000 troops and hundreds of tanks to its border with Kuwait. Kuwait, however, concluded that Iraq's provocative action was a bluff to increase the price of oil and blackmail Kuwait into acceding to Hussein's demands. The next day, Tariq Aziz repeated his criticism of Kuwait and the UAE after Hussein met in Baghdad with Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak, who was acting as a mediator between Iraq and Kuwait. Mubarak claims to have received "assurances" from Hussein that Iraq would not attack Kuwait, but Iraqi officials claimed differently, asserting that Hussein had said that nothing would happen to Kuwait as long as negotiations continued. Meanwhile, Mubarak and other Arab states, such as the UAE, had urged the United States not to get involved in the dispute, fearing that such action would only escalate the crisis, so Washington kept a low profile.

On July 26 Kuwait agreed to lower its oil production quotas, but Hussein had already begun moving another 30,000 troops to the Kuwaiti border. Three days later, the CIA reported that 100,000 Iraqi troops and hundreds of tanks were in position along the border. On August 1, at a crisis meeting at the White House, CIA officials concluded that an invasion of Kuwait was "probable." At the time, the United States had no ground troops in the region and only naval power, which would be unable to prevent a full-scale invasion of Kuwait.

Under Saudi Arabian auspices, Kuwaiti and Iraqi representatives met in Jeddah on July 31 to mediate their differences. Iraq

claimed that Kuwait was unwilling to listen or negotiate in good faith. Kuwait, on the other hand, claimed that Iraq did not attend the meeting to negotiate but rather to dictate demands, which included Kuwait ceding disputed territory along the border, increasing Iraq's oil pumping rights, and providing a $10 billion cash payment. Iraqi officials allegedly told Kuwaiti officials to consider Iraq's demands overnight. The next day, the meeting adjourned early because one of the Iraqi diplomats was taken ill, but both sides had agreed to talk again in Baghdad in a few days. The next day, August 2, Iraq invaded Kuwait.

Stefan M. Brooks

See also

Aziz, Tariq; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraqi Claims on Kuwait; Kuwait; Kuwait, Iraqi Invasion of

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Landing Craft Air Cushion

Hovercraft/air-cushion landing craft employed by the U.S. Navy to aid in amphibious landing operations. Landing Craft Air Cushion (LCAC) craft are designed for ship-to-shore landings and transportation along beaches. With an operational crew of five people, they are capable of carrying cargo, weapons, and personnel.

LCAC craft usually accompany the Marine Air-Ground Task Force. With a 60- to 75-ton payload, each is capable of transporting equipment as large as the M-1 tank, and at relatively high speeds. The air-cushion technology permits the LCAC craft to access as much as 70 percent of the world's coastline, 55 percent of which would be inaccessible to conventional landing craft. Currently, the navy possesses 91 LCAC craft. The only other navy to possess LCAC craft is Japan's Maritime Self-Defense Force.

Design and testing of the first LCAC prototypes began in the early 1970s, and Bell Aerospace's version was ultimately chosen as the preferred design. In 1984 the navy took possession of the first LCAC, and two years later the vehicle was deemed fully operational. In 1987 the Department of Defense authorized the construction of 15 LCAC craft, to be built by Textron Marine and Land Systems and Avondale Gulfport Marine. After the initial delivery of these craft, Textron Marine and Land Systems was granted the contract to build the rest of the LCAC craft. In 2001 the 91st LCAC was delivered to the U.S. Navy.

The LCAC craft, besides its transport capabilities, can also be employed in mine-countermeasure operations. The navy deployed the first operation LCAC craft in 1987, aboard USS *Germantown* (LSD-42, Landing Ship Dock). Each craft features four Allied-Signal TF-40B gas-turbine engines capable of producing up to 4,000 horsepower (hp) each. Two are used for lift, and two are used for forward propulsion. At maximum output of 16,000 hp, the LCAC's engines can propel the craft to a top speed of 40 knots (46 miles per hour [mph]), fully loaded. Each craft measures 87 feet, 11 inches long, and displaces 87.2 tons unloaded and 170–82 tons loaded. The craft's beam is 40 feet. The range of the LCAC is 200 miles at maximum speed, or up to 300 miles at 35 knots (40 mph). Each craft is armed with two 12.7-mm machine guns; gun mounts can also accommodate the M-2HB .50 caliber machine gun, MK-19 40-mm grenade launcher, and the M-60 machine gun. Like other naval vessels, the LCAC has the latest radar and navigational equipment.

LCAC craft were employed with much success during the 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM) and the 1993 Operation RESTORE HOPE in Somalia.

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See also

DESERT STORM, Operation

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Landing Craft Air Cushion (LCAC) vehicles are hovercraft employed in amphibious landing operations. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Land Remote-Sensing Satellite

The longest-running U.S. satellite program that provides imagery of earth from space. The Land Remote-Sensing Satellite (LANDSAT) was used to provide wide-area, multispectral imagery (MSI) of the Persian Gulf theater of operations to coalition forces during Operation DESERT SHIELD and Operation DESERT STORM.

The United States launched the first LANDSAT satellite in 1972; the most recent satellite, LANDSAT 7, was launched on April 15, 1999. Since the first launch, LANDSAT satellites have acquired millions of images, all archived in the United States and at LANDSAT receiving stations around the world. They form a unique resource for global change research and applications in agriculture, cartography, geology, meteorology, forestry, regional planning, surveillance, education, and national security.

Originally called the Earth Resources Observation Satellite Program in 1966, the program's name was changed to LANDSAT in 1975. In 1979 President Jimmy Carter issued Presidential Directive 54, which transferred LANDSAT operations from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) to the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), recommended development of a long-term operational system with four additional satellites beyond LANDSAT 3, and transferred the system to the Department of Commerce. In 1985 NOAA selected the Earth Observation Satellite Company (EOSAT) to operate the LANDSAT system under a 10-year contract. EOSAT operated LANDSATs 4 and 5, had exclusive rights to market LANDSAT data, and was scheduled to build LANDSATs 6 and 7.

From 1989 through 1992, NOAA lacked sufficient funding for the LANDSAT program and directed that LANDSATs 4 and 5 be shut down. The U.S. Congress and the users of LANDSAT imagery provided emergency funding for these years. In late 1992 EOSAT ceased processing LANDSAT data because of funding problems, but the program received funding in 1993 to launch LANDSAT 6, which was unfortunately lost during a launch failure in October of that year. Recognizing the limited MSI capabilities of LANDSAT 5, the Department of Defense worked with NASA to acquire better MSI capabilities for LANDSAT 7. In 1994 EOSAT resumed processing imagery from LANDSATs 4 and 5, and NASA finally launched LANDSAT 7 on April 15, 1999. However, in 2003 LANDSAT 7 developed a sensor problem that limits its capabilities, and both LANDSATs 5 and 7 will run out of fuel in 2010 or 2011.

Currently, the Future of Operational Land Imaging Working Group, working with representatives from the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy, NASA, U.S. Geological Survey, NOAA, and the departments of State, Energy, Agriculture, Transportation, and Defense, is leading a multiagency effort

to develop the LANDSAT Data Continuity Mission, scheduled to launch in 2011.

Before the 1991 Persian Gulf War, LANDSAT was used to image the Persian Gulf region to identify areas of contention between Iraq and Iran during their eight-year war as well as areas of economic contention during the concurrent tanker wars. During Operation DESERT SHIELD, LANDSATs 4 and 5 provided MSI of a 115-mile-wide area with a spatial resolution of 100 feet in the theater of operations on each 16-day pass. The Defense Mapping agency used these images to create maps with a scale of about 1:80,000. The U.S. Air Force also used LANDSAT images to produce engineering drawings for the construction of several very large airfields in Saudi Arabia. Coalition forces used LANDSAT's MSI of the Saudi-Kuwaiti border to determine changes in Iraqi emplacements, fortifications, and significant military movements. During Operation DESERT STORM, battlefield commanders usually preferred the wide-angle LANDSAT imagery to the incredibly large-scale detail of the images from reconnaissance satellites. Although LANDSAT imagery provided good multispectral views of wide areas, it did not always provide timely or accurate data for mission planning, bomb damage assessment, or use of precision-guided weapons.

Because LANDSAT was a commercial satellite system, the Department of Defense paid for its imagery. To prevent Iraq from purchasing LANDSAT images, the Department of Defense convinced EOSAT not to sell LANDSAT images to Iraq between August 1990 and May 1991. Shortly before the ground offensive in late January 1991, the Defense Intelligence Agency intervened to prevent U.S. news media from obtaining LANDSAT data of the Saudi-Kuwaiti border that could have revealed the coalition's preparations for the ground offensive.

During and after the war, LANDSAT images were used to evaluate the environmental damage in Kuwait and the Persian Gulf from oil spills and oil-well fires. The Iraqi army intentionally released some millions of barrels of oil into the Persian Gulf from January to May 1991, polluting more than 800 miles of Kuwaiti and Saudi Arabian coastline. Military pilots had made initial sightings of the oil spills in the early days of the war, and NOAA satellites discovered them on October 3, 1990. LANDSAT first displayed the oil spills in images obtained on February 8, 1991. A detailed examination of successive imagery from LANDSATs and SPOT (Satellite pour l'Observation de la Terre), a French satellite system similar to the LANDSAT satellite, along with computer programs such as the Geographical Information System, allowed analysts to track the progression and extent of the environmental damage from the oil spills. Additionally, Iraqi troops set fire to hundreds of wells throughout Kuwait as they were evacuating the country. The LANDSAT images, taken between January and October 1991, clearly show the oil-smoke plumes, which analysts used to estimate the location and number of burning wells.

In December 1993 the Department of Defense withdrew from the LANDSAT 7 program. Combined with the earlier loss of LANDSAT 6, U.S. military forces became dependent on the aging LANDSAT 5 and foreign remote-sensing satellites, primarily the French SPOT system, to fulfill their MSI needs, particularly wide-area coverage and responsive map-generation capabilities that contributed to successful mission planning and rehearsal, counterdrug operations, terrain analysis, and treaty monitoring. The U.S. Space Command is working with the Office of the Secretary of Defense to determine how national and commercial systems can best meet Department of Defense MSI requirements.

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See also

Defense Meteorological Satellite Program; Defense Satellite Communications System; Navigation Satellite Timing and Ranging Global Positioning System; Oil Well Fires, Persian Gulf War; Satellites, Use of by Coalition Forces

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Latvia, Role in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

Baltic nation and former Soviet Republic with a 2008 population of 2.245 million. Independent since August 1991, Latvia borders on Lithuania and Belarus to the south, Russia to the east, Estonia to the northeast, and the Baltic Sea to the west-northwest. The country occupies 24,938 square miles of territory. Latvia has a democratic presidential-parliamentary form of government with a unicameral legislation elected by popular vote every four years. The president is elected by parliament and is head of state, although many of his functions are ceremonial in nature. The president appoints a prime minister, who is head of government. Latvian politics feature numerous parties and coalitions, the largest and most influential being the People's Party (conservative), the Union of Greens and Farmers (centrist-green), the New Era Party (conservative-centrist), and Harmony Centre (socialist-social democratic).

Along with Estonia and Lithuania, Latvia was a staunch supporter of the U.S.-led coalitions in the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq. In the aftermath of the Cold War, the Baltic nations endeavored to develop stronger ties with the United States and Western Europe. They particularly sought membership in the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Latvia joined both the EU and NATO in 2004. During the 1990s Latvian troops, along with their other Baltic counterparts, were

deployed in Bosnia-Herzegovina and later Kosovo, as part of NATO-led peacekeeping missions.

Latvia provided both diplomatic and security support to the United States following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. The Latvians offered the United States and its allies use of the country's airspace, ports, and military facilities for the War on Terror. It also doubled the number of military forces serving as peacekeepers in Bosnia and Kosovo to allow the United States to redeploy troops from those missions to Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. Latvia sent a small contingent of logistics personnel to Kyrgyzstan as part of a Danish-led force that provided transport support to coalition troops during the campaign to overthrow the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan during the winter of 2001–2002. In February 2003 Latvia deployed a medical unit in Kabul as part of the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF). Subsequently, Latvian staff officers were stationed as part of ISAF's headquarters force in Kabul, and various units, including infantry troops and ordnance disposal experts, served with the Norwegian-led provincial reconstruction team in Maymana. Latvian forces undertook a variety of humanitarian projects worth more than $1 million, including the construction of water-treatment facilities and security and court buildings. Latvia has maintained about 150 troops in Afghanistan since 2005. It has also dispatched several civilian police trainers and a political adviser. One Latvian soldier had been killed in Afghanistan through 2008.

Latvia also supported the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003. The first Latvian troops, including ordnance disposal experts and logistical forces, were deployed to Iraq in May 2003. Later, infantry troops were also dispatched to Iraq. The Latvian contingent's peak strength was about 140 soldiers. The Latvians undertook operations in several areas, including Hillah, Kut, Kirkuk, and Diwaniya, and were under the operational command of the Polish-led Multi-National Force. In addition to ordnance demolition and general security operations, the Latvians established a training program for explosive ordnance disposal for Iraqi forces. They also initiated a human rights training program for Iraqi political and security officials. Beginning in June 2007 Latvia began to reduce its contingent; it withdrew its remaining forces from Iraq in November 2008. More than 1,150 Latvians served in Iraq, of whom 3 were killed and 5 were wounded.

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See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; International Security Assistance Force; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Lausanne, Treaty of

Peace treaty between the Allied Powers and Turkey signed on July 24, 1923, at Lausanne, Switzerland. Unlike the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres, the terms of which the Allies had dictated to the Ottoman government, the Treaty of Lausanne was a negotiated peace. The Treaty of Sèvres had been a humiliation for Turkey. Under its terms Greece assumed control over Smyrna and the hinterland, as well as all of the Ottoman Europe outside of Constantinople. The treaty also removed the Arabic-speaking lands and Armenia from Ottoman control and established an autonomous Kurdistan under League of Nations guidance. It fixed the size of the Turkish army at 50,000 men, and it also left in place the capitulations treaties that gave foreigners the right of extraterritoriality and established foreign control over many aspects of the Turkish financial system.

The terms of the treaty set off a wave of nationalism in Turkey, personified in Mustafa Kemal, known as Ataturk. On August 19, 1920, the National Assembly, called into session by the sultan to approve the Treaty of Sèvres, instead rejected the treaty and denounced as traitors those who had supported it. The sultan then dissolved Parliament, which led Kemal to establish a rival government in the interior of Anatolia. He soon concluded an agreement with Russia that proved beneficial to both nations. Turkey recognized Russian incorporation of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and half of Armenia. In return, Turkey received surplus Russian arms and Russia's diplomatic support, including its recognition of Turkish control over the other half of Armenia.

Kemal soon took advantage of the Russian arms to go to war against Greece in Smyrna. Although Greek prime minister Eleuthérios Venizélos sent forces into Anatolia, Kemal carried out a brilliant military campaign in the Greco-Turkish War of 1920–1922, during which he retook Smyrna and its hinterland and then turned north against Constantinople. Italy, which had come to see Greece as a more immediate rival than Turkey, agreed to withdraw its own occupation troops after a defeat at Kemal's hands in Central Anatolia. This led the British and French also to depart.

Turkish success on the battlefield produced gains at the bargaining table. In November 1922 a conference to consider revisions to the Treaty of Sèvres opened in the Swiss city of Lausanne. Plenipotentiaries from eight nations negotiated there for seven months. As evidence of their parity at the conference, Turkish diplomats successfully rejected a draft treaty presented in April 1923. The two sides resumed talks until a revision met with the approval of all parties in July.

The Treaty of Lausanne abrogated the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres. It included no provisions for the autonomy of Kurdistan, thus recognizing its reincorporation into Turkey. The capitulations continued in theory, but only a handful of Western legal and medical advisers remained in Turkey after 1923. Eastern Thrace and all of Anatolia returned to Turkish control, settling border disputes with both Greece and Bulgaria. The military terms of the treaty were also favorable to Turkey. Greece agreed not to fortify

its Aegean Islands and also promised not to fly military aircraft over Turkish airspace.

The treaty also resolved the delicate issue of the Bosporus and the Dardanelles. The International Straits Committee, established at Sèvres and composed of Great Britain, France, and Italy, remained in place, but Turkey became a member. More importantly, the committee lost the right of intervention granted in the previous treaty. Thereafter, determinations about the security of the straits were the preserve of the League of Nations. In exchange for these concessions, Turkey recognized British control of Cyprus and Italian authority in the Dodecanese Islands.

The Treaty of Lausanne also freed Turkey from reparation payments that the Ottoman government had accepted in the Treaty of Sèvres. In return, Turkey agreed to pay outstanding prewar debts incurred by the Ottomans to the other signatories.

The treaty represented a major triumph for Kemal and the Turkish nationalists. Eleuthérios Venizélos, former prime minister, signed for Greece. He had been one of the most vocal supporters of Greek territorial aims in Turkey, and his signature symbolized the end of Greek designs across the Aegean Sea. The United States had not declared war on Turkey, and therefore did not have a major role when it came to decisions about the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. Although not signatories, the United States and Russia lent support.

The treaty also led to one of the largest forced movements of populations in history. It took religion as a basis for defining ethnicity and implicitly argued that religious minorities could not exist within the newly created borders. As a result, more than 1.2 million Eastern Orthodox Christians moved from Turkey to Greece; 150,000 of them were from Constantinople (soon to be renamed Istanbul). Similarly, 380,000 Muslims moved from Greece to Turkey. The flood of refugees caused financial and social problems for both nations.

The Treaty of Lausanne can be understood as a monumental triumph for Turkey. It formally ended any chance of the return of the sultanate, and it established Turkey as a power in the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia. The biggest losers under the treaty were the independence-minded Kurds and the Armenians, who now had to live under Turkish and Soviet control. The treaty also significantly reduced tensions in the region among Greece, Italy, and Turkey, thus calming the Balkans considerably.

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See also

Mandates; Sèvres, Treaty of; Turkey, Role in Persian Gulf and Afghanistan Wars

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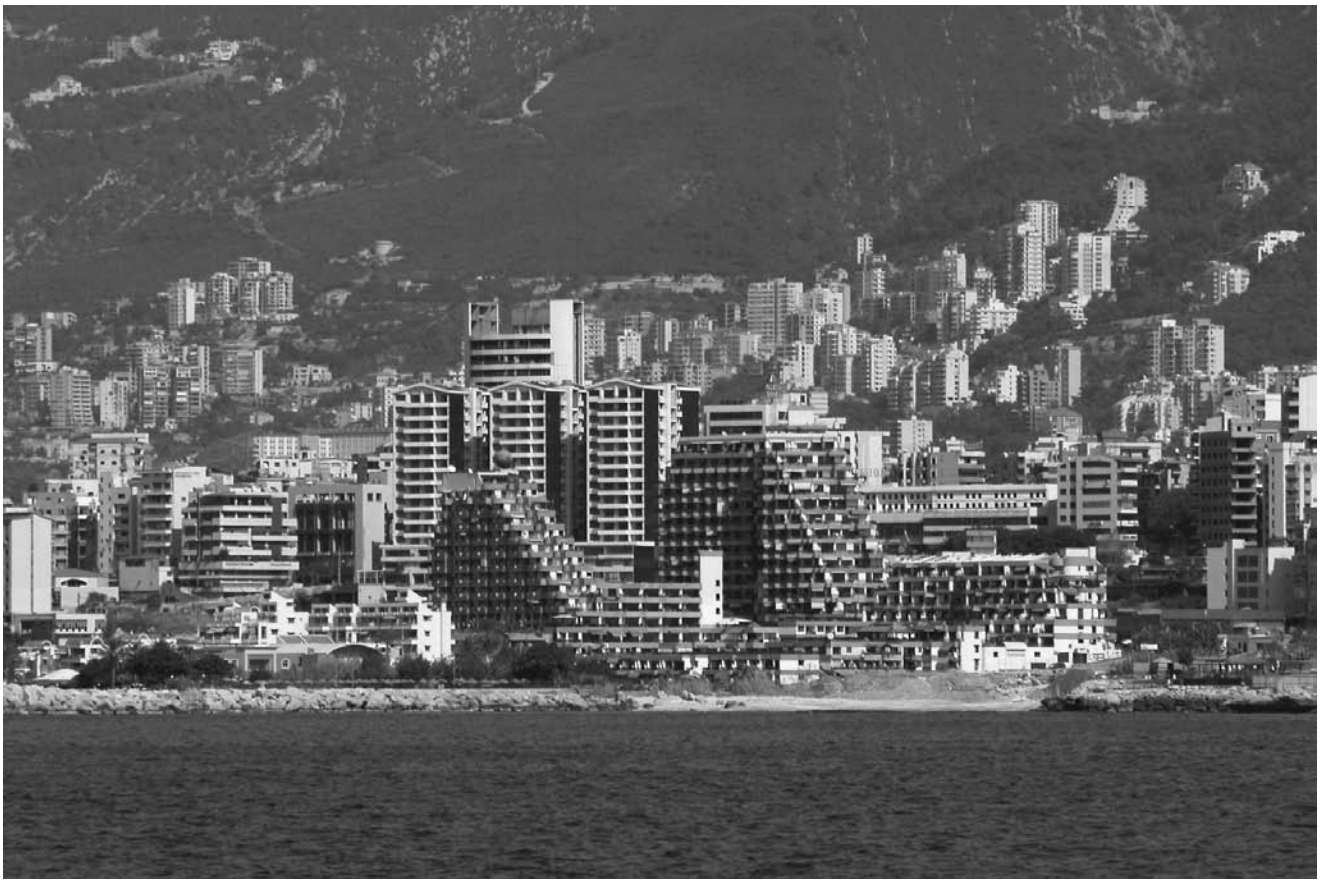
Lebanon

Middle Eastern nation located on the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea. Lebanon borders on Israel to the south and Syria to the east and north and covers 4,015 square miles (roughly twice the size of the U.S. state of Delaware). Lebanon's estimated 1948 population was approximately 1.5 million, but that was not based on an official government census. The only government census was conducted in 1932 when France held Lebanon as a League of Nations mandate and counted 861,399 people, which became the basis for the religious composition of the government. This gave a 6-to-5 advantage to Lebanese Christians. The unwritten *mithaq al-watani* (national pact) between Bishara al-Khuri and Prime Minister Riyadh al-Sulh in 1943 formalized this understanding as well as the allocation of leadership positions to specific confessional or religious sects, with, for example, the presidency allocated to the Maronites, the dominant political sect; the office of the prime minister allocated to the Sunni Muslims; the Speaker of parliament allocated to the Shia; and Lebanon's status as nation defined as having an Arab "character." This arrangement continued even though subsequent population figures estimated that demographic trends showed an increase in the Muslim population. A U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) population estimate in 2003 put the population at 3.72 million, with 70 percent Muslims and 30 percent Christians.

The Lebanese population is further divided among the Sunni, Shia, and Druze sects of Islam and the Maronite, Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic, Armenian Orthodox, and Syriac denominations of Christianity. The Shia community contained more poor workers and peasants, located in the capital, southern cities, and eastern and southern regions of the country. Because of their depressed economic conditions, Shia were looked down on and discriminated against. A belt of rural poverty also existed in the Sunni north. Certain Christian areas were also impoverished.

Lebanon's population suffered greatly during World War I, leading to high emigration in a pattern repeated during the lengthy civil war of 1975–1991. Remittances from Lebanese abroad were essential to the economy, as were Beirut's services and banking. On the other hand, many areas of the country were dependent on agriculture and were farmed by peasants with small plots or who were landless and worked for large landholders. A neofeudal system remained even after independence whereby the larger landholders, traditional chieftains, counted on the political support of their dependents. Urban counterparts operated like political bosses.

Lebanon declared its independence from France in November 1941 and became a charter member of the United Nations (UN) in 1945, the same year it joined the Arab League. Although independence and international status were welcomed by the Lebanese, sectarian tensions have continually threatened internal peace. The country essentially developed different cultures tied to some degree to educational systems: the private and greatly superior French-language system as opposed to the national system, which in later years increasingly utilized Arabic.



Aerial photograph of the city of Beirut, Lebanon. (Mpalis/Dreamstime.com)

On the basis of the 1932 census and, more importantly, by virtue of their education and political prominence, certain Maronite Christian families maintained a privileged place in Lebanese government. In Lebanon, only a Maronite may become the president, only a Sunni may become the prime minister, and only a Shia may become the Speaker of parliament. As demographic developments led to a Muslim majority by the 1960s, Maronite predominance, at least in legislative representation, came under increasing pressure from various Muslim groups as did other policies, which prevented the consensual nature of politics that was the goal of the Lebanese system. The fact that neither the Christians nor the Muslims were monolithic forces further complicated matters. The Shia outnumbered the Sunnis, but many of the urban Sunni merchant families were far better off than the poverty-stricken Shia peasants or tobacco workers. On top of this, the Arab cold war (or battle between conservative and military progressive states), the overall Cold War, and the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict all presented Lebanon with very serious challenges.

As a member of the Arab League, Lebanon sent troops to fight Israeli forces when the latter declared its independence in May 1948. Lebanese forces and Lebanese volunteers in the Arab Liberation Army fought alongside those from Syria in the north in the Israeli War of Independence (1948–1949) but were not successful. A series of battles ended with Israel in control of the Jordan River, the lakes of Galilee and Hulah, and a panhandle of territory jutting north and bordering on both Lebanon and Syria. Lebanon was not a major player in the 1956 Sinai Campaign or the 1967 Six-Day War between Israel and its Arab opponents because the Lebanese Army was so small.

This did not mean that Lebanon remained at peace, however, for sectarian troubles and the evolving Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union brought their own set of challenges. Both sides sought to support local regimes that they believed would support them in the worldwide conflict. The 1956 Suez War boosted President Gamal Abdel Nasser's popularity, and his declaration that "the Arab nation is one nation" was greeted with considerable enthusiasm by Lebanese Muslims, especially the young. In 1958 the pro-Western monarchy in Iraq fell and was replaced by a government that tilted toward the Soviet bloc. Egypt had already rejected Western support in favor of Soviet aid and was pursuing union with Syria, which still had claims to Lebanon as part of the so-called Greater Syria.

Lebanon's Christian Maronite–dominated government responded to these perceived threats by requesting American aid. President Dwight D. Eisenhower responded by sending U.S. marines to Beirut in the hopes of stabilizing the region. Almost simultaneously, the British sent troops to Jordan to prop up the monarchy there following an alleged coup attempt. The interventions actually

Governorates of Lebanon

heightened tensions and divisions in both nations. The extreme poverty of Lebanon's countryside was in contrast to its attraction for wealthy Arabs who came to vacation in the so-called Switzerland of the Middle East. This mirage of Swiss neutrality belied the politics in Lebanon that simmered just under the surface. The relative degree of freedom of the press meant that political exiles of all types were present, but Lebanon was probably most important in this era as the banking and services capital of the region.

Gradually the Muslim population became the clear majority, and Lebanon could not avoid becoming involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Following the Israeli victory in the 1948–1949 war, about 100,000 Palestinian refugees fled to Lebanon, where some of them carried out hit-and-run actions against Israel. Other Lebanese, for example the leaders of the Phalange party, opposed these guerrilla operations, fearing that Israeli reprisals would threaten Lebanese independence. The refugees from 1948 together with those from the Six-Day War in 1967, coupled with the expulsion of the Palestinians from Jordan in 1970 and 1971 (many relocating to Lebanon), increased the overall numbers of Muslims in the country. More important than tipping the sectarian balance, they fueled the conflict between Christian supporters of the political status quo and Christian leftist and progressive and Muslim and Druze challengers to politics as usual. While the Lebanese military tried to maintain order and restrain the Palestinian guerrillas from using Lebanon as a base for attacks against Israel, the effort did not work. This led to clashes between groups of Lebanese Christians and Palestinians and their progressive and Muslim supporters. The progressives linked together in the National Front under the leadership of Kamal Jumblatt also protested Lebanon's failure to democratize and to develop politically or to implement developmental schemes favored by President Shihab that would address deeply rooted economic disparities. Because of their progressive and leftist leanings they saw the problem as one of feudalism and skewed laissez-faire capitalist development. In Lebanon there also was strong dependence on families rather than the state. In addition, many younger Lebanese sought both a role in politics and support for the Palestinian cause.

The result ultimately was a civil war that began in 1975, leading to the deaths of many Lebanese. In sectarian fighting between March 1975 and November 1976 at least 40,000 died and 100,000 more were wounded. The carnage continued. Lebanon was again brought into the larger Arab-Israeli conflict, with disastrous results. Repeated attacks by guerrillas operating in southern Lebanon brought the inevitable Israeli response. In June 1982 Israeli forces invaded Lebanon and even drove north to Beirut, which they occupied by August, leading to an agreement whereby the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) departed Beirut for Tunis. The conflict was temporarily ended by international agreements. But with the exodus of the Palestinian fighters and leadership, Lebanese Christian militias massacred scores of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut. Part of the truce agreement involved the United States sending U.S. marines into Beirut, and the French followed suit in 1983. Israel and Syria maintained significant forces in Lebanon and continued to do so until 2000 and 2005, respectively, long after the United States and France withdrew in response to suicide attacks on their forces in October 1983.

During the civil war the Lebanese government was unable to carry out any of the normal functions of government, whether providing services or security, managing municipalities, or controlling the movement of goods or persons in or out of the country. Israel maintained forces and backed Lebanese allies in the south, ostensibly to prevent raids and rocket attacks against Israeli territory.

The Syrian intervention in Lebanon came about in a piecemeal fashion, first with only 50 troops and then in a much larger force. This was eventually sanctioned by the Arab League as one component of the Arab Deterrent Force, supposedly under the command of the Lebanese president. Syria managed to influence the Lebanese political system as well as became a combatant in the civil war with alliances that shifted over time. In 1993 and in 1996 during the Israeli Operation GRAPES OF WRATH, hundreds of thousands of Lebanese fled their homes in the south to avoid Israeli attacks. Israel decided to withdraw from Lebanon in May 2000 in advance of a previously planned withdrawal under heavy pressure from Hezbollah, which had attained weaponry from Iran. This withdrawal, which many Lebanese regarded as a national victory, brought an end to the 18-year-long Israeli occupation. The withdrawal did not bring stability along Israel's northern border, however, in part because of disputes over the status of a number of Lebanese villages there. After 2000, moreover, Hezbollah's militia further fortified its positions.

Under heavy international pressure as a result of its involvement in a number of assassinations of Lebanese leaders, including former prime minister Rafic al-Hariri, Syria did withdraw its troops from Lebanon in mid-2005, and there was fleeting hope that Lebanon might enter a new era, with foreign forces finally leaving its territory. However, those political and intelligence elements that had relied on Syria in the previous era continued to be active.

Lebanon was plagued by internal conflicts, including the continuing debate over the structure of its government. Hezbollah continued to arm its militia and participated in limited border hostilities with Israel during 2000–2006. As the Lebanese Army could not defend the country, Hezbollah claimed the right to do so. In July 2006 war again erupted between Lebanon and Israel. The Lebanese referred to this 2006 conflict as the Fifth Arab-Israeli War.

On July 12, 2006, Hezbollah miscalculated the Israeli response to a raid in a disputed border village, where it captured two Israeli soldiers, intending to hold them for a prisoner exchange. Israel launched a massive response. Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah later admitted that the raid would not have been launched if he had known the likely Israeli response. The result was a month of war until a tenuous UN cease-fire was negotiated on August 14. Both sides suffered casualties and damage, although they were far more numerous on the Lebanese side. Hezbollah had about 1,000 fighters well dug into positions in southern Lebanon, backed by

An Israeli 155-mm self-propelled gun fires into a Hezbollah camp in Lebanon during the 34-day Israel-Hezbollah conflict in 2006. (iStockPhoto)

other militias and a civilian population who largely supported them, facing up to 30,000 Israel Defense Forces (IDF) troops.

Hezbollah fighters and militias supporting them sustained between 250 and 600 dead during the month-long war, while the Lebanese Army suffered 46 dead and about 100 wounded. Israel reported 119 dead, up to 450 wounded, and 2 captured. UN observer forces in the area also suffered 7 dead and 12 wounded. The worst toll, however, was among Lebanese civilians. Perhaps 1,187 Lebanese civilians died, while 4,080 more were injured. As many as 1 million Lebanese were displaced by the fighting, which brought the destruction of much of the country's infrastructure, especially its bridges and highways. Some Lebanese returned to their homes after Hezbollah issued a call for them to do so, leaving some 255,986 still displaced. Israel suffered 44 civilian deaths and more than 1,300 injured from Hezbollah rockets.

Both sides expended massive amounts of ordnance in the conflict. Israel had complete control of the skies and was able to fly 12,000 sorties over Lebanese territory. In addition to Israeli artillery, the Israeli Navy fired 2,500 shells against Lebanese shore targets. Lebanon suffered damage to its infrastructure that would require billions of dollars and many years to repair.

The effective blockade imposed by Israel until September 2006 exacerbated the problems faced by Lebanon. The power of the Israeli military was not a surprise, but the robust defense put up by Hezbollah was. This militia had used its years of control over southern Lebanon to increase its stocks of weapons and prepare defensive positions. Hezbollah was able to fire 4,000 rockets into Israeli territory. These included not only the short-range Katyushas but also middle-range missiles capable of hitting Haifa and other points believed safe from the usual Hezbollah rockets. In southern Lebanon, Hezbollah was able to resist Israeli armored attacks, destroying 20 main battle tanks in two engagements. Hezbollah's launching of what is presumed to have been a cruise missile against an Israeli warship was also a surprise.

The cease-fire called for a halt in the fighting, an end to the Israeli blockade, and the deployment of UN forces to southern Lebanon to maintain peace, with the Lebanese Army aiding in that effort. Whether these measures would be successful was questionable. Hezbollah soon announced that it had already restocked its missiles (via Iran and Syria).

The political fallout from the summer's war manifested itself in a struggle over the Lebanese cabinet's recommendation that a

tribunal be established to hear evidence on the assassination of former prime Hariri and other anti-Syrian individuals. The issues at stake were no longer the future of Syria's government and influence in Lebanon but instead concerned the willingness of Lebanese leaders to compromise and the proper methods to balance disputes among the Aounists, Hezbollah, Saad al-Hariri's Future Party, and other pro- and anti-Syrian Christian elements and the need to diminish sectarianism as spelled out in the Taif Accords but not achieved since the end of the Lebanese Civil War.

In May 2008 following some 18 months of political turmoil and some actual fighting that threatened to become full-scale civil war, an Arab delegation succeeded in brokering an agreement whereby the Lebanese parliament elected General Michel Suleiman, former army chief, as president of Lebanon. The post had been vacant since the previous November, and Suleiman's election, though a foregone conclusion, was seen as a clear victory for Hezbollah. It was, however, also heralded by many quarters in Lebanon as preferable to another round of violence. This election was seen as the first step in an effort to enact a new power-sharing arrangement in the country. Still, the odds against a peaceful arrangement would appear long. Hezbollah has not disarmed, sharp political divisions remain, and the tribunal has gone forward.

Daniel E. Spector and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arab League; Hezbollah; Katyusha Rocket; Lebanon, Armed Forces; Lebanon, Israeli Invasion of; Palestine Liberation Organization

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Lebanon, Armed Forces

During the French mandate over Lebanon following World War I, the French authorities recruited a special militia force known as the Troupes Spéciales du Levant, which served all Syria (present-day Syria and Lebanon), and functioned as a gendarmerie for internal security. This force was at first largely staffed with French officers, but the number of Arab officers increased over time. Recruitment was higher from rural areas and among the Druze, Circassians, Alawites, Christians, and Kurds. Special squadrons, such as the Druze and Circassian cavalry squadrons, relied entirely on fighters of one sect or ethnicity.

Following the defeat of France by the Germans in June 1940, the Troupes Spéciales of Lebanon came under control of the Vichy French government. After the Allied invasion of Lebanon (Operation exporter) in 1941, some Circassian squadrons led by a Colonel Collet defected to the Allies, but most Lebanese units fought on the Vichy side. With the Allied victory, by June 1943 the reconstituted Troupes du Levant (the former Troupes Spéciales) operated under British forces in the Middle East. After Lebanon gained its independence in 1945, this 3,000-man force became the cadre of the Lebanese Army.

The Lebanese Army was deliberately a small military force and therefore weak. This was a reflection of the fragmented nature of Lebanese society. Some Christian Lebanese during the 1950s and 1960s feared that a strong army would only embroil Lebanon in the Arab-Israeli wars. Muslim political leaders also feared that a strong military force, commanded primarily by Christians, would be too easily used against Muslim interests, but, conversely, they also wanted the army to be strong enough to play a role in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Finally, all too many Lebanese political leaders, both Christians and Muslims, were also local powers resembling feudal lords or Chicago-style political bosses, with their own strongmen (*abuday*). Certain figures had already put their own militias in place. These individuals saw the possibility of a strong national army's interference in their own interests and disputes as an uncomfortable prospect.

Lebanon committed two battalions to the Israeli War of Independence, which began in earnest on May 15, 1948. The Lebanese also had small detachments of cavalry and a small number of armored cars and tanks. On May 15 Lebanese forces attempted to cross the Palestine border near Rosh Ha-Nikra but were repelled by Israeli troops. When the Arab Liberation Army (ALA) found itself isolated from its Syrian bases, the Lebanese Army performed badly needed logistical services. After the ALA was defeated at the Battle of Sasra in late October 1948, ALA units withdrew to Lebanon for safety. When Israeli forces pursued them into Lebanon proper, Lebanese officials quickly negotiated an armistice, and the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) withdrew.

In 1958 when President Camille Chamoun unconstitutionally extended his presidency and met with political opposition, he requested U.S. military assistance to prevent what he described as a potential takeover by Nasserist elements. The 1958 events exposed the inherent weakness of the Lebanese armed forces, which might have more effectively controlled the situation than did the Americans (who actually did little). However, by that time the army officer corps and leadership, who were predominantly Christian, also had loyalties to their respective political blocs. Lebanese officials made concerted efforts to augment the nation's military strength after 1958, at least to ensure that the Lebanese Army could maintain order and provide some measure of effective defense.

By 1975, the year the Lebanese Civil War broke out, the Lebanese armed forces had expanded considerably. The Lebanese Air Force was equipped with 10 British Hawker Hunter and 9 French Dassault Mirage III aircraft. It also had a helicopter squadron with 16 aircraft, the majority of which were French Aerospatiale Alouette II/IIIs. The Lebanese Navy operated 6 patrol craft. The army had 17,000 combat-ready troops in 20 infantry battalions

equipped with either the French Panhard armored personnel carriers or American M-113s. The army also operated 25 French AMX-13 tanks and 18 U.S. M-41 Walker Bulldog tanks. Artillery support consisted of 4 batteries of both 122-mm and 155-mm howitzers and 60 Charioteer self-propelled anti-tank guns. Missile systems included the ENTAC, SS-11, and TOW systems. Antiaircraft support comprised 15 M-42 Duster self-propelled 40-mm twin guns. In addition to the regular forces, the gendarmerie numbered about 5,000 men.

The civil war that began in 1975 effectively led to the dismemberment of the Lebanese Army. In January 1976 Sunni lieutenant Ahmed al-Khatib established the Lebanese Arab Army (LAA). Many of the Muslims who served in the lower ranks followed him, as the LAA joined ranks with the Lebanese National Movement. They mounted an attack on the presidential palace. Some of the recruits to the 140 independent Lebanese militias or small fighting forces that formed during the conflict came from the ranks of the regular army. Others were ordinary citizens. The militias were able to acquire matériel that had been purchased during the civil war by the army from the United States and was worth several billion dollars. Further complicating the situation, Israel, France, Iraq, Syria, other Arab nations, and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) equipped and supported the various competing militias. One of the largest of the predominantly Christian militias was the South Lebanese Army (SLA). The SLA was established after 1982 by Colonel Saad Haddad, who had formed a militia in 1978 while still serving in the Lebanese Army. The SLA was mainly Christian, but later it recruited Shia Muslims who would accept Israeli support in return for control of a sector of southern Lebanon. The Israelis quickly allied themselves with this group, training and equipping many of its fighters. The Phalangist militia also received some funds, assistance, and other support from Israel. In addition, it profited from land speculation and the levying of customs and taxes, through the port of Beirut, under the Sunduq al-Watani.

Druze militias on the opposing side numbered some 4,000 men. They drew closer to Syria until late in the war, when Amal and the Druze came to blows. The Syrian Army also intervened early in the civil war and deployed more than 40,000 troops into the country, inevitably gaining control over many of the militia groups.

The regular Lebanese Army was re-formed in 1982. Toward the end of that year the Lebanese forces were reequipped by the United States with M-16 rifles, M-113 armored personnel carriers, and UH-1H helicopters. Under the reorganization program, Lebanese recruits received limited training from U.S. Marines in the Beirut area prior to their withdrawal. The next phase of the civil war was particularly brutal, with the introduction of snipers paid simply to kill a set number of persons per day, numerous kidnappings and hostage takings, and reprisal actions by militias against not only leading individuals but also their entire families. Various realignments of the Christian political elements, the Syrians, and new groups such as Hezbollah occurred following the expulsion of the Palestinian leadership from Lebanon to Tunis.

By 1988, when the Lebanese Parliament failed to elect a new president, former president Amin Jumayyil (Gemayel) appointed a military government before leaving office. With two competing governments vying for power, the army was split between two different commands according to their location. The result was rapid military deterioration and polarization. In 1989 President Michel Aoun vowed to remove Syrian influence from Lebanon, and the following year the Lebanese Army was again unified. Syrian interference, however, subsequently forced Aoun from office.

In May 1991, after Syrian troops again battled Lebanese forces, most of the militias were dissolved, and the Lebanese Armed Forces began slowly to rebuild as Lebanon's only major nonsectarian institution. The country was not back to normal conditions until after about 1994, and the Israeli/SLA occupation of the South continued. The Lebanese military was not engaged in the 2006 summer war when the IDF bombarded large sections of the country in an effort to neutralize Hezbollah. In the wake of the war, the army was deployed to southern Lebanon in advance and support of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). However, the mission of UNIFIL was disputed; the LAF believes that its mission is to monitor violence between Israeli forces and Hezbollah, but not to disarm the latter group. The military was also deployed when brief spates of violence emerged between Sunni and Shia youth in the wake of nearly two years of public demonstrations in Beirut against the Fuad Siniura government, and when Hezbollah attacked the Future Party's media outlet.

The LAF engaged in a major operation on the radical Palestinian group Fath al-Islam, allegedly funded and initiated by Syrian-based agents. Because the LAF bombarded the refugee camps, breaking with the Cairo Accords, refugees fled, and the group was contained. This shifted the tenor of debate about the long-lived Palestinian refugee presence in the country.

The present Lebanese Army consists of 11 mechanized brigades, 2 artillery regiments, 5 special-forces regiments, 1 airborne regiment, 1 commando regiment, 1 Republican Guard brigade, and various support brigades. Total army troops number about 55,000. The primary weapons systems include some 100 U.S. M-48 tanks and 200 Soviet T54/55 tanks. With 725 of these, the U.S. M-113 APC is the most common armored fighting vehicle, but the Lebanese also have small numbers of French AMX-13s. Lebanese artillery consists of about 140 towed guns, an assortment of American 105-mm and 155-mm guns, and Russian 122-mm and 130-mm guns. The Lebanese also have approximately 25 BM-21 multiple-rocket launchers. The principal anti-tank weapons include the Milan and TOW.

The Lebanese Navy remains small and is limited to coast patrol activities and a naval commando regiment. During the civil war, the navy remained largely intact and was able to defend the Jounieh naval base from the various militias. Militia forces captured the base in 1991, but the navy's patrol craft were able to escape. The Jounieh base was rebuilt in 1991. The chief vessels are seven British-made Tracker- and Attacker-class patrol boats.

Lebanese Army soldiers patrol the outskirts of the besieged Palestinian Nahr al-Bared camp in northern Lebanon on May 24, 2007. Lebanon's leaders vowed to crush the Islamic fighters holed up in the camp, raising fears of a deadly new showdown after fierce fighting killed 69 people and sent thousands fleeing in the deadliest fighting since the 1975–1990 civil war. (AFP/Getty Images)

The Lebanese Air Force currently has no operational fixed-wing aircraft. The air fleet consists of 4 SA-342 helicopters and a variety of transport helicopters, of which the 30 UH-1Hs are the most common.

Current Lebanese military expenditures amount to $550 million, about 3.5 percent of Lebanon's gross domestic product (GDP).

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See also

Chamoun, Camille Nimr; Hezbollah; Lebanon; Lebanon, U.S. Intervention in (1958); Lebanon, U.S. Intervention in (1982–1984); Palestine Liberation Organization; Syria; Syria, Armed Forces

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Lebanon, Civil War in

Start Date: April 13, 1975
End Date: October 13, 1990

The Lebanese Civil War, which lasted from 1975 to 1990 (and continued unofficially thereafter), was the most devastating event in that country's history. The war had its origin in the conflicts and political compromises of Lebanon's colonial period and was exacerbated by the nation's changing demographics, Christian and Muslim interreligious strife, and Lebanon's proximity to both Syria and Israel. Indeed, the Lebanese Civil War was part and parcel of the wider Arab-Israeli conflict and was emblematic of the inherent volatility and instability of the Middle East after World War II.

Lebanon in its present-day borders dates to 1920, when France exercised a mandate over the region. The French added several districts to the historic *mustashafiyya,* Mount Lebanon, a separate administrative district that had called for Western protection in the 19th century, eventually establishing Greater Lebanon. This

meant the inclusion of areas whose populations had always been administered from Syria and did not necessarily support separation from that country. These heavily Sunni and Shia Muslim areas diluted the previous Maronite Christian and Druze majority of Mount Lebanon. When Lebanon won its independence from France in 1943, an unwritten power-sharing agreement was forged among the three major ethnic and religious groups. These included Maronite Christians (then in the majority), Sunni Muslims, and Shiite Muslims.

Lebanon's Muslim groups were discontented with the 1943 National Pact, which established a dominant political role for the Christians, especially the Maronites, in the central government. Druze, Muslims, and leftists joined forces as the National Movement in 1969. The movement called for the taking of a new census, as none had been conducted since 1932, and the subsequent drafting of a new governmental structure that would reflect the census results.

Muslim and Maronite leaders were unable to reconcile their conflicts of interest and instead formed militias, undermining the authority of the central government. The government's ability to maintain order was also handicapped by the nature of the Lebanese Army. It was composed on a fixed ratio of religions, and as members defected to militias of their own ethnicity, the army would eventually prove unable to check the power of the militias, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), or other splinter groups.

Maronite militias armed by West Germany and Belgium drew supporters from the larger and poorer Christian population in the north. The most powerful of these was al-Kataib, also known as the Phalange, led by Bashir Jumayyil. Others included the Lebanese Forces, led by Samir Jaja (Geagea), and the Guardians of the Cedars.

Shiite militias, such as the Amal militia, fought the Maronites and later fought certain Palestinian groups and occasionally even other Shiite organizations. Some Sunni factions received support from Libya and Iraq. The Soviet Union encouraged Arab socialist movements that spawned leftist Palestinian organizations, such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PLFP) and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Prior to the civil war, the rise of Baathism in Syria and Iraq was paralleled by a surge of Lebanese Baathists. Within the civil war these were also reflected in groups such as al-Saiqa, a Syrian-aligned and largely anti-Fatah Palestinian fighting force, and the Arab Liberation Front, an Iraqi-aligned Baathist movement.

In 1970 Jordan's King Hussein expelled the PLO from Jordan after the events of Black September. PLO chairman Yasser Arafat thus regrouped his organization in the Palestinian refugee areas of Beirut and southern Lebanon, where other refugees had survived since 1948. The National Movement attracted support from the PLO Rejection Front faction, prominently including the PFLP, although Arafat and Fatah initially sought to remain neutral in the inter-Lebanese conflict. The National Movement supported the Palestinian resistance movement's struggle for national liberation and activities against Israel, and although Palestinians could not vote in Lebanon and, being outside of the political system, had no voice in its reformation, they nonetheless lent moral support to the movement's desire for political reformation. By the early 1970s the Palestinian Resistance groups, although disunited, were a large fighting force. Maronites viewed the Resistance and the PLO as disruptive and a destabilizing ally of the Muslim factions.

On the morning of April 13, 1975, unidentified gunmen in a speeding car fired on a church in the Christian East Beirut suburb of Ayn ar Rummanah, killing 4 people including 2 Maronite Phalangists. Later that day Phalangists led by Jumayyil killed 27 Palestinians returning from a political rally on a bus in Ayn ar Rummanah. Four Christians were killed in East Beirut in December 1975, and in growing reprisals Phalangists and Muslim militias subsequently massacred at least 600 Muslims and Christians at checkpoints, igniting the 1975–1976 stage of the civil war.

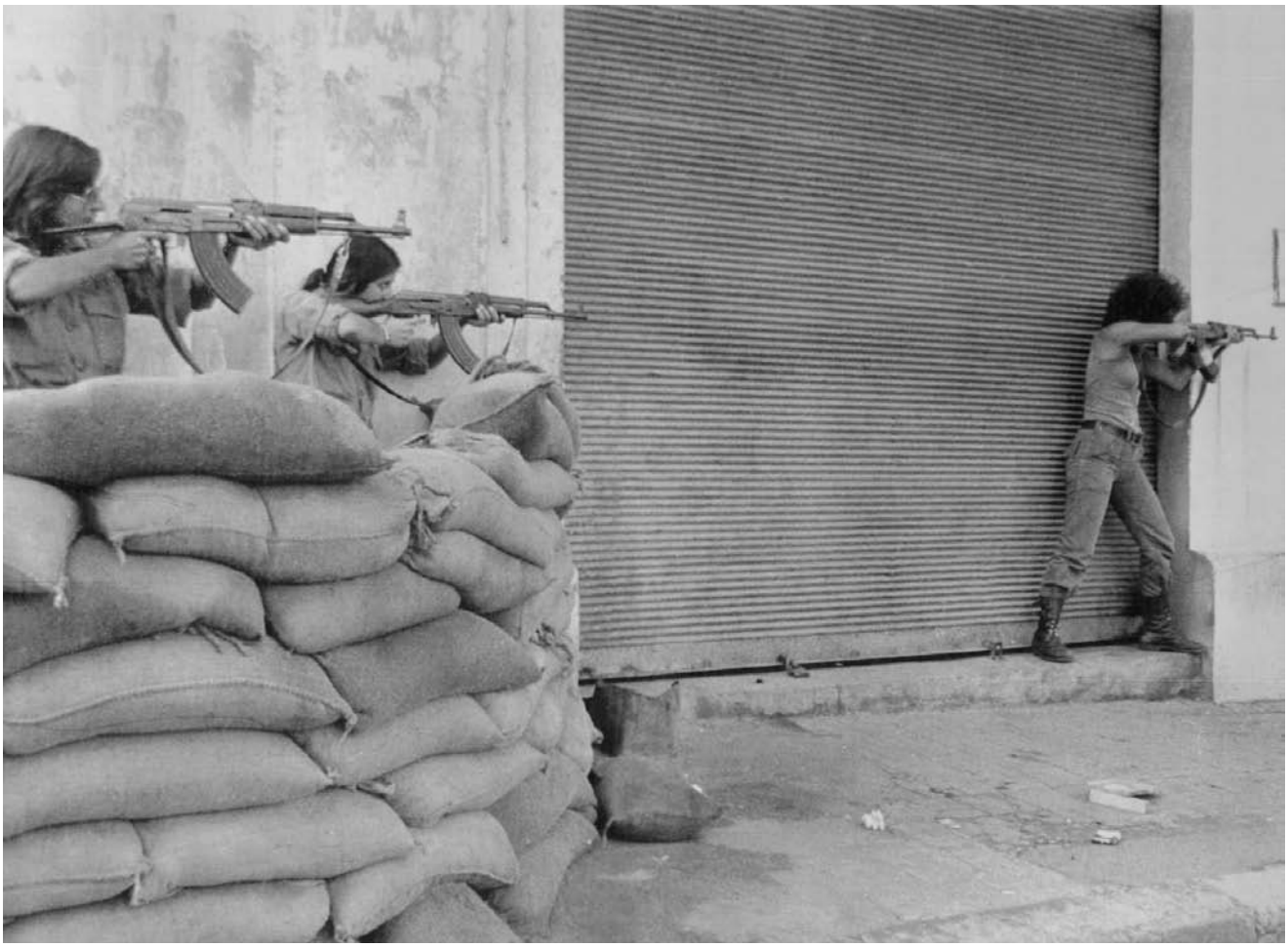
The fighting eventually spread to most parts of the country, precipitating President Suleiman Franjieh's call for support from Syrian troops in June 1976, to which Syria responded by ending its prior affiliation with the Rejection Front and supporting the Maronites. This technically put Syria in the Israeli camp, as Israel had already begun to supply the Maronite forces with arms, tanks, and military advisers in May 1976. Meanwhile, Arafat's Fatah joined the war on the side of the National Movement.

Syrian troops subsequently entered Lebanon, occupying Tripoli and the Bekáa Valley, and imposed a cease-fire that ultimately failed to stop the conflict. After the arrival of Syrian troops, Christian forces massacred some 2,000 Palestinians in the Tal al-Zaatar camp in East Beirut. Anther massacre by Christian forces saw some 1,000 people killed at Muslim Qarantina.

Some reports charge al-Saiqa, the Syrian-backed Palestinian force or a combination of al-Saiqa, Fatah, and the Palestine Liberation Army along with some Muslim forces with an attack on the Christian city of Damour, a stronghold of Camille Chamoun and his followers. When the city fell on January 20, the remaining inhabitants were subject to rape, mutilation, and brutal assassinations. The civilian dead numbered at least 300, with one estimate being as high as 582. Graves were desecrated, and a church was used as a garage. Also, former camp dwellers from Tal Zatar were resettled in Damour and then evicted again after 1982. As a result of the massacre, other Christians came to see the Palestinian presence as a threat to their survival.

The nation was now informally divided, with southern Lebanon and the western half of Beirut becoming bases for the PLO and other Muslim militias and with the Christians in control of East Beirut and the Christian section of Mount Lebanon. The dividing thoroughfare in Beirut between its primarily western Muslim neighborhoods and eastern Christian neighborhoods was known as the Green Line.

In October 1976 an Arab League summit in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, gave Syria a mandate to garrison 40,000 troops in Lebanon as the bulk of an Arab deterrent force charged with disentangling the combatants and restoring calm. However, in no part of the



Teenage Christian girls, all members of the right-wing Phalangist Party, fire their weapons in Beirut in November 1975. The Lebanese Civil War of 1975–1990 split the city in half, pitting Maronite Christian Phalangists against an alliance of Muslim militias. (Bettmann/Corbis)

country had the war actually ended, nor was there a political solution offered by the government.

In the south, PLO combatants returned from central Lebanon under the terms of the Riyadh Accords. Then on March 11, 1978, 8 Fatah militants landed on a beach in northern Israel and proceeded to take control of a passenger bus and head toward Tel Aviv. In the ensuing confrontation with Israeli forces, 34 Israelis and 6 of the militants died. In retaliation, Israel invaded Lebanon four days later in Operation LITANI in which the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) occupied most of the area south of the Litani River, resulting in approximately 2,000 deaths and the evacuation of at least 100,000 Lebanese. The United Nations (UN) Security Council passed Resolution 425 calling for an immediate Israeli withdrawal. It also created the UN Interim Force in Lebanon, charged with maintaining peace. Under international pressure to do so, Israeli forces withdrew later in 1978.

However, Israel retained de facto control of the border region by turning over positions inside Lebanon to the group later known as the South Lebanon Army (SLA), led by Major Saad Haddad. Israel meanwhile had been supplying Haddad's forces. The SLA occupied Shia villages in the south, informally setting up a 12-mile-wide security zone that protected Israeli territory from cross-border attacks. Violent exchanges quickly resumed among the PLO, Israel, and the SLA, with the PLO attacking SLA positions and firing rockets into northern Israel. Israel conducted air raids against PLO positions, and the SLA continued its efforts to consolidate its power in the border region.

Syria meanwhile clashed with the Phalange. Phalange leader Jumayyil's increasingly aggressive actions (such as his April 1981 attempt to capture the strategic city of Zahleh in central Lebanon) were designed to thwart the Syrian goal of brushing him aside and installing Franjieh as president. Consequently, the de facto alliance between Israel and Jumayyil strengthened considerably. In fighting in Zahleh in April 1981, for example, Jumayyil called for Israeli assistance, and Prime Minister Menachem Begin responded by sending Israeli fighter jets to the scene. These shot down two Syrian helicopters. This led Syrian president Hafiz al-Assad to order ground-to-air missiles to the hilly perimeter of Zahleh.

In July 1981 Israeli forces attacked Palestinian positions, provoking retaliatory shelling by the PLO. The Israeli response to this shelling culminated in the aerial bombardment of a West Beirut suburb where Fatah's headquarters were located, killing

200 people and wounding another 600, most of them civilians. The PLO rejoinder was a huge rocket attack on towns and villages in northern Israel, leaving 6 civilians dead and 59 wounded. These violent exchanges prompted diplomatic intervention by the United States. On July 24, 1981, U.S. special Middle East envoy Philip Habib brokered a cease-fire agreement with the PLO and Israel. The two sides now agreed to cease hostilities in Lebanon proper and along the Israeli border with Lebanon. The cease-fire was short-lived.

On June 3, 1982, the Abu Nidal organization attempted to assassinate Israeli ambassador Shlomo Argov in London. Although badly wounded, Argov survived. Israel retaliated with an aerial attack on PLO and PFLP targets in West Beirut that led to more than 100 casualties, a clear violation of the cease-fire. The PLO responded by launching a counterattack from Lebanon with rockets and artillery.

On June 6, 1982, Israeli forces began Operation PEACE FOR GALILEE, an invasion of southern Lebanon to destroy PLO bases there. The Israeli plan was subsequently modified to move farther into Lebanon, and by June 15 Israeli units were entrenched outside Beirut. Israel laid siege to Beirut, which contained some 15,000 armed members of the PLO. Over a period of several weeks, the PLO and the IDF exchanged artillery fire. On a number of occasions the Palestinians directed their fire into Christian East Beirut, causing an estimated 6,700 deaths of which 80 percent were civilians. On August 12, 1982, Habib again negotiated a truce that called for the withdrawal of both Israeli and PLO elements. Nearly 15,000 Palestinian militants had been evacuated to other countries by September 1. Within six months, Israel withdrew from most of Lebanon but maintained the security zone along the Israeli-Lebanese border.

Jumayyil was elected Lebanon's president on August 23, 1982, with acknowledged Israeli backing. But on September 14, 1982, he was assassinated. The next day Israeli troops crossed into West Beirut to secure Muslim militia strongholds and stood back as Lebanese Christian militias massacred as many as 2,000 Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. This event was protested throughout the Arab world, especially because of the Israeli presence in Beirut.

With U.S. backing, the Lebanese parliament chose Amin Jumayyil to succeed his brother as president and focused anew on securing the withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian forces. On May 17, 1983, Lebanon, Israel, and the United States signed an agreement on Israeli withdrawal that was conditioned on the departure of Syrian troops. Syria opposed the agreement and declined to discuss the withdrawal of its troops. In August 1983 Israel withdrew from the Shuf (a district of Mount Lebanon to the southeast of Beirut), thus removing the buffer between the Druze and the Christian militias and triggering another round of brutal fighting.

By September the Druze had gained control over most of the Shuf, and Israeli forces had pulled out from all but the southern security zone. The collapse of the Lebanese Army in February 1984 following the defection of many Muslim and Druze units to militias was a major blow to the government. On March 5, 1984, the Lebanese government canceled the May 17 agreement.

This period of chaos had witnessed the beginning of retaliatory attacks launched against U.S. and Western interests, such as the April 18, 1983, suicide attack at the U.S. embassy in West Beirut that left 63 dead. Then on October 23, 1983, a bombing in the Beirut barracks that hit the headquarters of U.S. military personnel left 241 U.S. marines dead. A total of 58 French servicemen also died in the attack. Months later, American University of Beirut president Malcolm Kerr was murdered inside the university on January 18, 1984. After U.S. forces withdrew in February 1984, anti-Western terrorism as well as that directed against Lebanese enemies continued, including a second bombing of the U.S. embassy annex in East Beirut on September 20, 1984, that left 9 Americans dead, including 2 U.S. servicemen.

Between 1985 and 1989 factional conflict worsened as various efforts at national reconciliation failed. The economy collapsed, and the militias that had participated in crime, car theft, hijackings, and kidnappings for ransom expanded their activities. The larger militias were also involved in profiteering, land investment, and sales, and they, rather than the government, also collected tariffs and customs.

Heavy fighting took place in the War of the Camps in 1985 and 1986 as the Shia Muslim Amal militia sought to rout the Palestinians from Lebanese strongholds. Many thousands of Palestinians died in the war. Sabra, Shatila, and Burj al-Barajnah were reduced to ashes. Combat returned to Beirut in 1987 with Palestinians, leftists, and Druze fighters allied against Amal, eventually drawing further Syrian intervention. Violent confrontation flared up again in Beirut in 1988 between Amal and Hezbollah.

Meanwhile, Lebanese prime minister Rashid Karameh, head of a government of national unity set up after the failed peace efforts of 1984, was assassinated on June 1, 1987. President Jumayyil's term of office expired in September 1988. Before stepping down, he appointed another Maronite Christian, Lebanese Armed Forces commanding general Michel Aoun, as acting prime minister, contravening the National Pact. Muslim groups rejected the violation of the National Pact and pledged support to Selim al-Hoss, a Sunni who had succeeded Karameh. Lebanon was thus divided between a Christian government in East Beirut and a Muslim government in West Beirut, each with its own president.

In February 1989 Aoun attacked the rival Lebanese Forces militia. By March he turned his attention to other militias, launching what he termed a War of Liberation against the Syrians and their allied Lebanese militias. In the months that followed Aoun rejected both the Taif Accords that ultimately ended the civil war and the election of another Christian leader as president. A Lebanese-Syrian military operation in October 1990 forced him to take cover in the French embassy in Beirut. He later went into exile in Paris.

The Taif Accords of 1989 marked the beginning of the end of the fighting. In January 1989 a committee appointed by the Arab

U.S. marines search through tons of rubble looking for missing comrades in Beirut, Lebanon, on October 23, 1983. A truck packed with explosives crashed into the building, killing 241 marines. U.S. president Ronald Reagan withdrew all remaining troops. The marines were in Lebanon on a peacekeeping mission during that country's civil war. (U.S. Marine Corps)

League, chaired by a representative from Kuwait and including Saudi Arabia, Algeria, and Morocco, had begun to formulate solutions to the conflict. This led to a meeting of Lebanese parliamentarians in Taif, Saudi Arabia. There in October they agreed to the national reconciliation accord. Returning to Lebanon, they ratified the agreement on November 4 and elected Rene Muawad as president the following day.

Muawad was assassinated 18 days later on November 22 in a car bombing in Beirut as his motorcade returned from Lebanese Independence Day ceremonies. He was succeeded by Elias Hrawi, who remained in office until 1998. In August 1990 parliament and the new president agreed on constitutional amendments. The National Assembly of 128 seats was now divided equally between Christians and Muslims. Because the Muslim sects together now outnumbered the Christians, this decision did not represent a one-vote–one-man solution but was nonetheless an improvement on the previous situation. On October 13 Syria launched a major military operation against Aoun's stronghold around the presidential palace. In the ensuing fighting hundreds of Aoun supporters were killed, and the Syrians took control of the Lebanese capital. Aoun sought refuge in the French embassy. He later announced that the war was over and went into exile in France. Aoun did not return to Lebanon until May 2005.

In March 1991 parliament passed an amnesty law that pardoned all political crimes prior to its enactment. In May 1991 the militias were dissolved, and the Lebanese Armed Forces began to slowly rebuild as Lebanon's only major nonsectarian institution.

Moshe Terdiman

See also

Arab League; Arafat, Yasser; Assad, Hafiz al-; Begin, Menachem; France, Middle East Policy; Habib, Philip; Hezbollah; Hussein ibn Talal, King of Jordan; Israel; Israel, Armed Forces; Lebanon; Lebanon, Armed Forces; Lebanon, Israeli Invasion of; Palestine Liberation Organization; Shia Islam; Suicide Bombings; Sunni Islam; Syria; Syria,

Armed Forces; United Nations; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Lebanon, Israeli Invasion of
Event Date: 1982

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon, code-named Operation PEACE FOR GALILEE, began on June 6, 1982, when Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, acting in full agreement with instructions from Prime Minister Menachem Begin, ordered Israel Defense Forces (IDF) troops into southern Lebanon to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) there.

In 1977 Begin had become the first Israeli prime minister from the right-wing Likud Party. He sought to maintain the Israeli hold over the West Bank and Gaza but also had a deep commitment to a Greater (Eretz) Israel, which he defined as the ancestral homeland of the Jews that embraced territory beyond Israel's borders into Lebanon and across the Jordan River.

Israeli defense minister Sharon, also a prominent member of the Likud Party, shared Begin's ideological commitment to Greater Israel. Indeed, Sharon played an important role in expanding Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. He took a hard-line approach toward the Palestinians, endeavoring to undermine PLO influence in the West Bank and Gaza, and was also influential in the formation of Israeli foreign policy.

In June 1978 under heavy U.S. pressure, Begin withdrew Israeli forces that had been sent into southern Lebanon in the Litani River operation. United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) then took over in southern Lebanon. They were charged with confirming the Israeli withdrawal, restoring peace and security, and helping the Lebanese government reestablish its authority in the area. The Israeli failure to remove Palestinian bases in southern Lebanon was a major embarrassment for the Begin government.

UNIFIL proved incapable of preventing Palestinian forces from operating in southern Lebanon and striking Israel, which led to Israeli reprisals. Attacks back and forth across the Lebanese-Israeli border killed civilians on both sides as well as some UNIFIL troops. Israel meanwhile trained, funded, and provided weapons to the force later known as the South Lebanon Army, a pro-Israeli Christian militia in southern Lebanon led by Major Saad Haddad, and the force used them against the PLO and local villagers.

In July 1981 U.S. president Ronald Reagan sent Lebanese-American diplomat Philip Habib to the area in an effort to broker a truce during the Lebanese Civil War. On July 24 Habib announced agreement on a cease-fire, but it was in name only. The PLO repeatedly violated the agreement, and major cross-border strikes resumed in April 1982 following the death of an Israeli officer from a land mine. While Israel conducted both air strikes and commando raids across the border, it was unable to prevent a growing number of Palestinian fighting forces from locating there. Their numbers increased to perhaps 6,000 men in a number of encampments, as Palestinian rocket and mortar attacks regularly forced thousands of Israeli civilians to flee their homes and fields in northern Galilee and seek protection in bomb shelters.

In London on June 3, 1982, three members of a Palestinian terrorist organization connected to Abu Nidal attempted to assassinate Israeli ambassador to Britain Shlomo Argov. Although Argov survived the attack, he remained paralyzed until his death in 2003. Abu Nidal's organization had been linked to Yasser Arafat's Fatah faction within the PLO in the past, and the Israelis used this as the excuse to bomb Palestinian targets in West Beirut and other targets in southern Lebanon during June 4–5, 1982. The Palestinians responded by attacking Israeli settlements in Galilee with rockets and mortars. It was this Palestinian shelling of the settlements rather than the attempted assassination of Argov that provoked the Israeli decision to invade Lebanon.

Operation PEACE FOR GALILEE began on June 6, 1982. It took its name from the Israeli intention to protect its vulnerable northern region of Israel from the PLO rocket and mortar attacks launched from southern Lebanon. Ultimately, Israel committed to the operation some 76,000 men, 800 tanks, 1,500 armored personnel carriers (APCs), and 364 aircraft. Syria committed perhaps 22,000 men, 352 tanks, 300 APCs, and 96 aircraft, while the PLO had about 15,000 men, 300 tanks, and 150 APCs.

The Israeli mission had three principal objectives. First, Israeli forces sought to destroy the PLO in southern Lebanon. Second, Israel wanted to evict the Syrian Army from Lebanon and bring about the removal of its missiles from the Bekáa Valley. Although Sharon perceived Syrian forces in Lebanon as a major security threat to Israel, he maintained that the IDF would not attack them unless it was first fired upon. Third, Israel hoped to influence Lebanese politics. Israel sought to ally itself with the Maronite Christians, led by Bashir Jumayyil (Gemayel), the leader of the Phalange

(al-Kata'ib) and head of the unified command of the Lebanese Forces.

The Phalange was a long-standing militia and political force. Part of the Lebanese Forces, it was an umbrella military organization comprised of several Christian militias. Jumayyil had carried out a series of brutal operations to destroy the autonomy of the other Christian militias and had incorporated them into his Lebanese Forces. He was opposed to relinquishing to the Sunni and Shia Muslims of Lebanon the power held by the Maronites in traditionally Christian-dominated Lebanon. Some in the Phalanges maintained that their heritage was Phoenician, thus predating the Arabs, and they sought to maintain their historic linkages with France and the West. Jumayyil also cooperated closely with Israel because of his desire to preserve a Maronite homeland. Early in the civil war his forces battled the Syrians.

Palestinian militias were not only entrenched in the southern part of the country but were also well established in West Beirut. Understandably, the Israeli cabinet was loath to place its troops into an urban combat situation that was bound to bring heavy civilian casualties and incur opposition from Washington and Western Europe. Begin and Sharon informed the cabinet that the goal was merely to break up PLO bases in southern Lebanon and push back PLO and Syrian forces some 25 miles, beyond rocket range of Galilee.

Once the operation began, however, Sharon quickly changed the original plan by expanding the mission to incorporate Beirut, which was well beyond the 25-mile mark. Many in the cabinet now believed that Begin and Sharon had deliberately misled them. The IDF advanced to the outskirts of Beirut within days. Tyre and Sidon, two cities within the 25-mile limit, were both heavily damaged in the Israeli advance. The entire population was rounded up, and most of the men were taken into custody. Rather than standing their ground and being overwhelmed by the better-equipped Israelis, the Palestinian fighters and PLO leadership withdrew back on West Beirut. Sharon now argued in favor of a broader operation that would force the PLO from Beirut, and for some 10 weeks Israeli guns shelled West Beirut, killing both PLO forces and civilians.

Fighting also occurred with Syrian forces in the Bekáa Valley. Unable to meet Israel on equal footing and bereft of allies, Syria did not engage in an all-out effort. Rather, much of the battle was waged in the air. By June 10 the Israeli Air Force had neutralized Syrian surface-to-air missiles and had shot down dozens of Syrian jets. (Some sources say that the ultimate toll was as many as 80 Syrian jets.) The Israelis employed AH-1 Cobra helicopter gunships to attack and destroy dozens of Syrian armored vehicles, including Soviet-built T-72 tanks. The Israelis also trapped Syrian forces in the Bekáa Valley. Israel was on the verge of severing the Beirut-Damascus highway on June 11 when Moscow and Washington brokered a cease-fire.

In Beirut meanwhile, Sharon hoped to join up with Jumayyil's Lebanese Forces. Sharon hoped that the Lebanese Forces might bear the brunt of the fighting in West Beirut, but Jumayyil was reluctant to do this, fearing that such a move would harm his chances to become the president of Lebanon.

Begin's cabinet was unwilling to approve an Israeli assault on West Beirut because of the probability of high casualties. Meanwhile, the United States had been conveying ambiguous signals regarding its position in the conflict. This only encouraged Arafat to entrench himself and the PLO in West Beirut.

Sharon disregarded cabinet opposition and placed the city under siege from air, land, and sea. He hoped that the Israeli bombardment would cause citizens to turn against the Palestinians, civilians as well as fighters, and drive them eastward, where they could be eliminated. The bombing and shelling resulted in mostly civilian casualties, however, provoking denunciations of Israel in the international press. The PLO believed that it could hold out longer under siege than the Israelis could under international pressure, leading Israel to intensify its attack on Beirut in early August. The PLO then consented to a UN-brokered arrangement whereby American, French, and Italian peacekeeping forces, known as the Multi-National Force in Lebanon, would escort the PLO fighters out of Lebanon by the end of the month, relocating them to Tunis. Habib assured the PLO that the many refugees left behind in camps in Lebanon would not be harmed.

On August 23, 1982, Jumayyil was elected president of Lebanon. He was dead within two weeks, the victim of assassination on September 14, 1982, by a member of the pro-Damascus National Syrian Socialist Party. Jumayyil had indeed paid for his connection to the Israelis. While the National Syrian Socialist Party took responsibility for the murder of Jumayyil, some suspected an Israeli conspiracy to kill him owing to his more recent attempts to disassociate himself from Israel.

Following the assassination of Jumayyil, Israeli forces occupied West Beirut. This was in direct violation of the UN agreement calling for the evacuation of the PLO and protection of the Palestinian refugees who remained behind. With the PLO removed, the refugees had virtually no defense against the Israelis or their Christian allies.

Once Israel had control of the Palestinian refugee camps, in September 1982 Sharon invited members of the Phalange to enter the camps at Sabra and Shatila to "clean out the terrorists." The Phalange militia, led by Elie Hobeika, then slaughtered more than 1,000 refugees in what he claimed to be retaliation for Jumayyil's assassination. Estimates of casualties in the Israeli invasion and subsequent occupation vary widely, although the numbers may have been as high as 17,826 Lebanese and approximately 675 Israelis killed.

Israel had achieved a number of goals. It had accomplished its immediate aim of expelling the PLO from Lebanon and temporarily destroying its infrastructure. It had also weakened the Syrian military, especially as far as air assets were concerned. The Israelis had also strengthened the South Lebanon Army, which would help control a buffer, or security zone, in the south. It had also disheartened the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza by the near destruction of their national organization and failure of any international agreement to protect civilians in Lebanon.

Israeli forces invade the city of Beirut, Lebanon, on September 16, 1982, in an attempt to dislodge the forces of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) barricaded in the western part of the city. The city was heavily damaged in the fighting. (UPI-Bettmann/Corbis)

However, the invasion had negative repercussions as well. Much of Beirut lay in ruins, with damage estimated as high as $2 billion, and the tourist industry was a long time in recovering. Operation PEACE FOR GALILEE also became an occupation, which many Israelis protested as immoral or at least the wrong diversion of resources. In May 1983, with assistance from the United States and France, Israel and Lebanon reached an agreement calling for the staged withdrawal of Israeli forces, although the instruments of this agreement were never officially exchanged. In March 1984 under Syrian pressure, the Lebanese government repudiated the agreement. In January 1985 Israel began a unilateral withdrawal to a security zone in southern Lebanon, which was completed in June 1985. Not until June 2000 did Israel finally withdraw all its forces from southern Lebanon.

Rather than producing a stable pro-Israeli government in Beirut, the occupation led to contentious new resistance groups that kept Lebanon in perpetual turmoil. There was also considerable unrest in Israel. A protest demonstration in Tel Aviv that followed the Sabra and Shatila massacre drew a reported 300,000 people. Responding to the furor within Israel over the war, the Israeli government appointed the Kahan Commission to investigate the massacres at Sabra and Shatila. The commission found that Israeli officials were indirectly responsible, and Sharon was forced to resign as minister of defense. Begin's political career also suffered greatly. Disillusioned by the invasion and the high Israeli casualties, he resigned as prime minister in 1983, withdrawing entirely from public life.

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See also

Begin, Menachem; Habib, Philip; Lebanon; Palestine Liberation Organization; Sharon, Ariel

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Lebanon, U.S. Intervention in (1958)

Event Date: July 1958

In July 1958 the Dwight D. Eisenhower administration in the United States intervened militarily in Lebanon to ensure that the pro-Western regime of Camille Chamoun, president during 1952–1958, would not be overthrown and that the nation would not be plunged into a full-blown civil war. Another reason for sending

troops to Lebanon was likely to send a warning to Soviet leaders and their ally, Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser, not to destabilize the Middle East. Finally, Washington hoped to reassure other pro-Western governments in Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey of American resolve in the region. The 1958 intervention, known as Operation BLUE BAT, was officially launched on July 15, 1958, and ended just three months later with the departure of U.S. forces on October 25.

President Eisenhower's decision to dispatch the troops was based in part on his foreign policy stance expressed in a message to Congress on January 5, 1957, which became known as the Eisenhower Doctrine. Asserting that the United States was determined to deny the Soviet Union the opportunity to dominate and control the Middle East, the president pledged to assist both economically and militarily any Middle Eastern nation in the preservation of its independence, to include the deployment of U.S. military forces "against armed aggression from any nation controlled by international Communism."

At the time, the United States regarded with alarm the rise of Arab hostility toward the West and the growing influence of the Soviet Union in the Middle East. Particularly worrisome to Washington were the policies of Egypt and Syria, which had developed great antipathy toward the West. After Nasser had nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956, Britain, France, and Israel invaded Egypt. The resulting 1956 Suez Crisis inflamed Arab hostility toward the West and boomeranged in that it enhanced Nasser's prestige in the region and his Arab nationalist policies, known as Nasserism.

Eisenhower viewed the Suez Crisis as having effectively ended British and French influence in the Middle East, thus creating a power vacuum. To deny the Soviet Union the opportunity to exploit this power vacuum, thwart Nasser's Arab nationalist policies (which later enjoyed Soviet support), and protect the supply of oil, Eisenhower was prepared to intervene militarily in the Middle East should that prove necessary.

The first real test of the Eisenhower Doctrine came in Lebanon in 1958. By the spring of that year, a series of international and domestic events had plunged the country into crisis. Relations with Egypt deteriorated when President Chamoun, a Christian, refused to sever diplomatic relations with Britain and France following their invasion of Egypt during the Suez Crisis, which angered Lebanese Muslims who supported Nasser, including Lebanese prime minister Rashid Karami, a Sunni Muslim. Meanwhile, hostile Egyptian propaganda against Chamoun exacerbated Lebanese Muslim resentment toward his regime. Chamoun's refusal to denounce the 1955 Baghdad Pact and his decision to place Lebanon under the umbrella of the Eisenhower Doctrine further angered Nasser and Lebanon's Muslims. Karami regarded the Baghdad Pact as a threat to Arab unity and an attempt to divide the Arab world.

On February 1, 1958, Egypt and Syria formed a unitary state in the United Arab Republic. Many of Nasser's supporters in Lebanon were enthusiastic about the United Arab Republic and hoped that Lebanon might join. Chamoun not only refused but was antagonistic toward the Arabists in Lebanon and hoped to keep his country neutral. Lebanese Muslims viewed Chamoun's decision as proof of his desire to remain aligned with the West. The president's position further alienated his Muslim countrymen, however.

In terms of domestic politics, the 1958 Lebanese Crisis grew principally from growing Muslim disenchantment with Christian domination of both the government and the military, especially when Muslims held that Christians were no longer in the majority. Lebanon's only official census, in 1932, had served as the basis for distributing political power among Lebanon's Christians and Muslims (both Sunni and Shiite) as well as other religious faiths such as the Druze. Using dubious statistics, such as counting Christians Lebanese living abroad, the 1932 census showed a slim majority of Christians living in Lebanon. When Lebanon gained its independence in 1943 from France, an informal agreement, known as the National Pact, served as the basis for reconciling religious rivalries by attempting to create a stable, united, and peaceful country among people of different faiths and sought to ensure that no one religion would dominate the government.

Based on the 1932 census, the National Pact stipulated that the president would be a Christian of the dominant Maronite sect (which accounted for approximately 50 percent of the Christians), the prime minister would be a Sunni Muslim, the Speaker of the parliament would be a Shiite Muslim, and the commander of the Lebanese military would be a Maronite. The National Pact also established, per the 1932 census, that the ratio of seats in the parliament, cabinet offices, and positions in the bureaucracy would be awarded on a ratio of six to five, Christians to Muslims. The pact specified that Lebanon was to have an Arab identity but would neither unify with Syria nor invite Western intervention. In sum, the basis of both the government and the idea of a Lebanese national identity was principally a function of religious faith, making national unity tenuous at best and Lebanese democracy an illusion. Although never committed to writing or affirmed by the people, the National Pact was nonetheless accepted by the religious-political elite of the country as the basis for establishing a government and preserving national unity. But as the Muslim population increased, the legitimacy of the political divisions, the relative power of the Christian minority, the powers of the president, and the veto power of the opposition all came into question, and sectarian tensions grew.

Lebanese Muslims generally identified with the Arab world in the sense that they recognized Lebanon as an Arab nation, which was a key point of the National Pact. This agreed with Nasser's Pan-Arabism. One segment of the Lebanese Christian community also identified with Arabism, while another had historically seen itself as a Christian pro-Western enclave. People of the latter segment identified with France, were educated in French and not in Arabic, and were opposed to the leftists and Nasserists. Meanwhile, Middle Eastern politics aggravated the tensions between

A U.S. marine sits in a foxhole and points a machine gun toward Beirut, Lebanon, in the distance, July 1958. (Library of Congress)

the groups, undermining the tenuous unity of this multireligious nation. By the mid-1950s many younger Lebanese, both Christians and Muslims, were opposed to the power of what they called feudalism in Lebanon. They rejected the governing arrangements such as the National Pact and believed that a new census would show that the Muslims were the majority in the country, which should allow them to elect a larger number of deputies in the national assembly. They opposed Chamoun's 1958 decision to amend the constitution that would allow him a second term, and his stance touched off simmering religious tensions.

In May 1958 violent disturbances broke out throughout Lebanon as Chamoun's opponents called for a general strike against the government. Chamoun ordered the commander of the Lebanese Armed Forces, General Fuad Shihab, to intervene. Fearing great bloodshed between Christians and Muslims, Shihab refused. He reasoned that suppressing the rebellion would destroy the military's neutrality, not preserve national unity, and that it would plunge the military into the growing civil war. Indeed, the military was itself composed of both Christians and Muslims, and Shihab knew that any military intervention would dissolve the military into sectarian factions.

Shihab's wise decision to keep the military neutral spared Lebanon a full-scale civil war that summer, and had international events not intruded, Lebanon might have overcome the crisis with another political solution. The urgency and danger of the crisis, however, increased when on July 14, 1958, Pan-Arab nationalists overthrew and killed King Faisal, the pro-British monarch of Iraq and the key figure behind the Baghdad Pact. Fearing that the coup was part of a concerted effort to take advantage of Lebanon's disorder, overthrow his regime, and turn the country into a solidly Arab-Muslim state with close ties to Nasser and the Soviet Union, Chamoun appealed for American military assistance.

Alarmed at the unexpected coup in Iraq and determined to prevent a friendly regime in Lebanon from suffering the same fate while also seeking to reassure the pro-Western governments of Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan, the American president invoked the Eisenhower Doctrine and dispatched 14,000 U.S. troops to secure Chamoun's regime. Washington made clear to Chamoun, however, that it was not intervening to assist or to endorse his questionable reelection bid.

Of the 14,000 U.S. soldiers who landed in Lebanon, about 8,500 were from the army; the remainder were marines. By mid-July 1958 the United States had 70 warships and support ships in the Mediterranean with an additional 40,000 men at sea, ready to be deployed in short order if necessary.

The presence of U.S. troops as peacekeepers averted other foreign influence in the Lebanon crisis and signaled to all warring factions, including Chamoun, that the United States would not

tolerate a civil war in Lebanon. However, many Lebanese regarded the marines as unnecessary and a sign that the president disregarded the balance of powers in the Lebanese political system.

President Chamoun's decision to resign, not amend the constitution, and not seek a second term, along with parliament's selections of General Shihab as Chamoun's successor on July 31, averted a civil war and cooled sectarian tensions. That same day a cease-fire was declared in the city of Tripoli, the scene of some of the worst fighting.

The U.S. troops remained in Lebanon for just 103 days, until October 25, and suffered only 1 combat casualty. Meanwhile, a total of between 2,000 and 4,000 Lebanese had died. This time, at least, Lebanon had been spared a full-scale civil war.

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See also

Arab Nationalism; Chamoun, Camille Nimr; Egypt; Eisenhower, Dwight David; Eisenhower Doctrine; Lebanon; Lebanon, Armed Forces; Lebanon, U.S. Intervention in (1982–1984); Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Syria; United Arab Republic

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Lebanon, U.S. Intervention in (1982–1984)

Start Date: 1982
End Date: 1984

The U.S. military intervention in Lebanon began in August 1982 and was prompted by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon on June 6, 1982, during the Lebanese Civil War (1975–1990). In response to continuing raids and attacks on Israeli soil by Palestinian guerrillas—principally those associated with Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)—from bases in southern Lebanon, the government of Menachem Begin ordered the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) to invade Israel's northern neighbor. Although publicly proclaiming that the goal was only to destroy Palestinian forces in southern Lebanon, Begin and Defense Minister Ariel Sharon expanded the objectives to include eviction of the PLO and as many as Palestinians as possible from all of Lebanon. As a result, Israeli forces then besieged and blockaded the Lebanese capital of Beirut. Despite heavy Israeli bombardment for 70 days, PLO forces refused to surrender. Israel, however, demurred from invading Beirut proper, fearing heavy casualties from a guerrilla war in the city's rubble-strewn streets and alleys.

Meanwhile, mounting civilian casualties in Lebanon and growing international opposition to the Israeli invasion compelled the United States to intervene in Lebanon in August and September 1982 as part of the international peacekeeping force known as the Multi-National Force (MNF) in Lebanon. With no end in sight to the siege of Beirut, Israel, the PLO, and Lebanon's embattled government all looked to the United States for a settlement. During the intervention, 1,200 U.S. marines from the 1st Battalion of the 8th Marine Regiment and the 2nd Marine Division were to supervise, along with British, French, and Italian troops of the MNF, the evacuation from Lebanon of the PLO. They were also charged with supervising the withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian forces from Beirut and its environs and ensuring the safety of Palestinian civilians. The U.S. marines landed on August 25, 1982, and were based at Beirut International Airport.

The basic terms of the international intervention and PLO evacuation had been negotiated by American envoy Philip Habib. The Habib Agreement stipulated that Israel would end its siege of Beirut and not invade the city or harm Palestinian civilians if PLO fighters withdrew from Beirut and left the country, which they did under the protection of the MNF. By September 1, 1982, U.S. troops had been withdrawn, and the conditions of the Habib Agreement had been fulfilled.

However, the September 14, 1982, assassination of newly selected Lebanese President Bashir Jumayyil, leader of the dominant Christian Maronite faction and an Israeli ally, prompted Israel to invade Muslim-dominated West Beirut that month. During September 16–18 Israeli forces had allowed Jumayyil's Phalange militia to enter two Palestinian refugee camps, Sabra and Shatila, leading to the massacre of as many as 3,500 Palestinians. Many Americans, including President Ronald Reagan, regretted that the U.S. troops had been withdrawn so quickly and called for another multinational force to protect civilians and somehow bring a semblance of peace and stability to Lebanon by separating the warring groups in Lebanon's seven-year-long civil war.

The September massacres at Sabra and Shatila prompted the redeployment of 1,200 U.S. marines to Lebanon later that month, ostensibly to support and stabilize the weak and embattled Lebanese government. The Reagan administration feared that allowing Lebanon's pro-Western government to collapse would turn the

Deaths, by Type, in the U.S. Armed Forces during the Lebanon Peacekeeping Mission (1982–1984)

	U.S. Air Force	*U.S. Army*	*U.S. Marine Corps*	*U.S. Navy*	*Total*
Hostile deaths	0	3	234	19	256
Nonhostile deaths	0	5	2	2	9
Total	0	8	236	21	265

U.S. marines arrive at Beirut International Airport, part of a multinational peacekeeping force deployed to Lebanon during the conflict between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). (U.S. Department of Defense)

entire country into a hostile Arab state. This, they feared, might allow Syria, aided at the time by the Soviet Union, to control all of Lebanon. Alternatively, Lebanon might have become a client state of Iran's radical Shiite government, which was arming and supporting Lebanese Shiite groups at the time. The marines served in the MNF along with French and Italian troops, arriving in Beirut on September 29 and again setting up headquarters at Beirut International Airport.

U.S. intervention in the civil war and in particular shelling by the battleship *New Jersey,* coming with Israel's invasion of Lebanon and occupation of the southern part of the country, stoked a strong climate of anti-Americanism in Lebanon. Indeed, most Lebanese distrusted the motives behind the American intervention, believing that the Reagan administration had both given its approval of and supported Israel's invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 and its subsequent occupation of Beirut. With such sentiments running high, the United States was dragged into Lebanon's civil war and into conflict with rival neighboring governments, namely Israel and Syria but also Iran. Nevertheless, during the winter of 1982–1983 the MNF was largely successful in limiting the number of attacks by Lebanon's rival groups and the Israeli military.

Not surprisingly, however, with America's military presence in Beirut viewed as not only a tempting target but also an intolerable obstacle to the objectives of the warring groups, the MNF and U.S. marines came under increasing attack from both Druze and other various Muslim militias. To make matters worse, because the marines were garrisoned at Beirut International Airport they were dangerously exposed to attack, occupying flat terrain with minimal protection behind sandbags and surrounded by heavily armed groups occupying both nearby tall buildings and also the hills and mountains ringing the airport and the city. The U.S. marines also held a strategic target long coveted by the warring factions.

On April 1983 the American embassy in Beirut was bombed, resulting in the deaths of 63 people. The attack was an ominous sign for U.S. forces in Lebanon. In August after the Israelis had withdrawn from Beirut, U.S. forces engaged in fighting with both Druze and Shiite militias.

In September 1983 the United States interceded on behalf of Lebanese president Amin Jumayyil's army, which was battling Druze militias in the village of Suq al Gharb in the mountains above Beirut. This took the form of naval gunfire from ships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet off the Lebanese coast. This was followed up by French aerial bombardments. In so doing, the United States and France had been drawn into the Lebanese Civil War on the side of the Christian-led government. By now, most Lebanese Muslims were outraged by Western intervention in the conflict. In support of President Jumayyil's troops battling Druze fighters, U.S. naval gunfire shelled villages inhabited not only by the Druze but also by

Shiites and some Sunnis, causing significant civilian casualties. To many Lebanese Muslims as well as Muslims throughout the Middle East, America's intervention on behalf of a government they opposed ended any pretense of American neutrality, and in consequence attacks against the U.S. marines, along with the French and Italian forces, increased, as did kidnappings of Westerners.

On October 23, 1983, in apparent retaliation for the American shelling of mountain villages, a massive suicide truck bomb destroyed the U.S. Marine Corps barracks at the Beirut International Airport. The explosion killed 241 marines and wounded more than 100. An attack on the French Army barracks that same day killed 58 French soldiers. Islamic Jihad, a Shiite terrorist group allegedly armed and supported by Iran, claimed responsibility for both bombings. Continued attacks on the U.S. marines, increasing engagements between American and Syrian forces, and resurgent fighting in Beirut led President Reagan to withdraw the U.S. marines on February 26, 1984.

On May 30, 2003, a U.S. federal judge ruled that the suicide truck bombing of the U.S. Marine Corps barracks in Beirut had been carried out by the terrorist group Hezbollah with the approval and funding of Iran's government, giving the survivors and families of those killed in the attack the right to sue Iran for damages. Iran, however, continues to deny any responsibility for the bombing and has dismissed the ruling as nonsense.

STEFAN M. BROOKS

See also

Arafat, Yasser; Habib, Philip; Hezbollah; Islamic Jihad, Palestinian; Lebanon; Lebanon, Civil War in; Lebanon, Israeli Invasion of; Palestine Liberation Organization; Reagan Administration, Middle East Policy

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Libby, I. Lewis

Birth Date: August 22, 1950

Attorney, author, leader in the neoconservative movement, and the central figure in the Valerie Plame Wilson incident. I. "Scooter" Lewis Libby was born in New Haven, Connecticut, on August 22, 1950. Lewis has never divulged publicly his actual first name, using only the initial "I." He grew up in an affluent family and graduated from the exclusive Philips Academy (Andover, Massachusetts) in 1968. He enrolled at Yale University, from which he graduated magna cum laude in 1972, and then earned a law degree from Columbia University School of Law in 1975. While an undergraduate at Yale, Libby was greatly impressed and influenced by a young political science professor there, Paul Wolfowitz, who would later become deputy secretary of defense in the George W. Bush administration. Libby began a lifelong friendship and mentorship with Wolfowitz and also began to write a novel during his Yale days, which was ultimately published as *The Apprentice* in 1996. Despite his connection with Wolfowitz, as a young man Libby had Democratic leanings, and he worked in Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis's gubernatorial campaign.

From 1975 to 1981 Libby practiced law with a prestigious law firm, becoming a junior partner in 1976. With the advent of the Republican Ronald Reagan administration, Wolfowitz invited Libby to join him on the State Department's influential policy planning staff, an opportunity that Libby believed he could not refuse. He remained in the State Department until 1985, at which time he left government service to take up the practice of law. In 1989 he again entered government service, this time with the Department of Defense working for Wolfowitz as deputy undersecretary for strategy and resources. In 1992 Libby became deputy undersecretary for defense policy, a post he held until 1993, at which time he went back to private law practice. During his stints in government, Libby had become allied with both established and up-and-coming neoconservatives, including Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and future national security adviser and secretary of state Condoleezza Rice. In the late 1990s Libby was active in the Project for the New American Century, a favored group of neoconservatives.

In 2001 Libby joined the George W. Bush administration, serving as an adviser to the president and, more importantly, as chief of staff for Vice President Richard B. Cheney. Libby's role in the West Wing was a large one, and he had considerable access to policy-making decisions. He was a staunch defender of Cheney, and the two men were reportedly very close both professionally and personally. From 2001 to 2003 Libby also played a significant role on the Defense Policy Board Advisory Committee, which was chaired by the vaunted neoconservative Richard Perle. Libby was reportedly much involved in the formulation of U.S.-Israeli policies and had a direct role in the promulgation of the so-called Road Map to Peace in late 2002 and early 2003. Libby, unlike some of his fellow neoconservatives, kept a very low profile while in office; he rarely granted interviews and preferred to work behind the scenes, in which he was especially adept.

Libby's greatest role in the Bush administration came in the Valerie Plame Wilson incident, a multiyear saga that embroiled the White House in a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) leak case that was allegedly undertaken in retribution for Ambassador Joseph Wilson's unflattering comments made about the Iraq War in July 2003. Valerie Plame, who at the time was a covert CIA operations officer, was Wilson's wife. It was alleged that Libby had a direct role in revealing the identity of Plame during interviews he granted with Judith Miller, a reporter for the *New York*

Times, in July 2003. They took place in the immediate aftermath of an op-ed piece that Wilson wrote for that same newspaper in which he questioned the legitimacy of the Bush administration's claims concerning Iraqi attempts to buy enriched uranium from Niger, claims that had been strongly disputed by Plame and some of her colleagues. Wilson also questioned other justifications for the March 2003 invasion of Iraq. Knowingly revealing the identity of an undercover intelligence officer is a federal offense.

When questioned by Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents and testifying before a federal grand jury, Libby claimed that he had learned of Plame's identity from a television reporter and had "forgotten" that Vice President Cheney had previously told him about Plame's identity. In September and October 2005 Libby's story began to fall apart. It was soon revealed to the special counsel investigating the case that Libby had had numerous conversations about Plame, including ones with Miller in which he divulged her identity. Other contradicting testimony led investigators to believe that Libby had not, in fact, learned the identity of Plame from a television reporter. As a result, on October 28, 2005, Libby was indicted on five felony counts: obstruction of justice, making false statements to FBI officers (two counts), and perjury in his grand jury testimony (two counts). He immediately resigned from the White House staff. On March 6, 2007, Libby was convicted of four of the five counts against him. Libby's lawyers filed appeals and indicated that they would seek a retrial, although they decided against the latter.

On June 5, 2007, Libby was sentenced to 30 months in prison and a $250,000 fine. He was also disbarred and will not be able to practice law in the future. On July 2 President Bush commuted Libby's sentence, terming it "excessive." While the commutation saved Libby from a prison term, the $250,000 fine remains, as do the felony convictions themselves. Only if Libby were to be issued a full pardon would his record be wiped clean. From January 6, 2006, to March 7, 2007, Libby served as a senior adviser to the Hudson Institute. He is not now actively engaged in work and may be working on his memoirs. Many believed that Libby's conviction was at least in part politically motivated and that he was a scapegoat for higher-ranking members of the Bush White House. Indeed, Cheney never testified at any of the legal proceedings, and it is still unclear who actually initiated the leak.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Neoconservatism; Niger, Role in Origins of the Iraq War; Perle, Richard; Rice, Condoleezza; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Wilson, Joseph Carter, IV; Wilson, Valerie Plame; Wolfowitz, Paul Dundes

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Liberty Incident

Event Date: June 8, 1967

On June 8, 1967, the electronic intelligence-gathering ship USS *Liberty* was attacked by Israeli Air Force and naval units while it was on patrol 13 nautical miles off El Arish on Egypt's Sinai peninsula. The reasons for the attack and charges of a cover-up have been the topics of conspiracy theories, but numerous inquiries in both the United States and Israel have concluded that the attack resulted from mistaken identity, and this remains the official U.S. government position.

The U.S. Navy acquired the 7,725-ton civilian cargo ship *Simmons Victory* and converted it into an auxiliary technical research ship (AGTR). The conversion was completed in 1965, and the ship was renamed the *Liberty* (AGTR-5). Initially it operated off the west coast of Africa. With the Six-Day War in June 1967, the *Liberty* was directed to collect electronic intelligence on Israeli and Arab military activities from the eastern Mediterranean. Commander William L. McGonagle had command.

The attack occurred on the fourth day of the war. On June 4, the day before the start of the war, the Israeli government had asked the United States if it had any ships in the area. Washington responded that it did not because the *Liberty* was only then entering the Mediterranean.

By June 8 the Israelis had routed Egyptian forces in the Sinai Desert and Jordanian forces on the West Bank and were preparing to move aggressively against Syria. The Israelis, aware that their coastlines were vulnerable to naval attack, had warned the United States to keep its ships at a safe distance.

The *Liberty* was off the coast monitoring communications. Responding to the Israeli warning, Washington had sent several warnings to the *Liberty* not to close within 100 miles of the coast, but these messages were rerouted because of an overloaded U.S. Navy communications system and did not reach the ship before the Israeli attack.

A series of explosions in El Arish, which had been recently captured by the Israelis, led the Israelis to conclude that the town was being shelled by an Egyptian ship. It was later determined that the explosions had occurred accidentally in an abandoned ammunition dump. Israeli aircraft patrolling off the coast nonetheless mistakenly identified the *Liberty* as an Egyptian vessel. There was no wind, and a large U.S. flag flying from the *Liberty* was drooping and not identifiable. Identification markings on the side and stern of the ship were apparently not visible to the Israeli pilots, who attacked the ship head-on.

The Israeli attack began at 1:57 p.m. local time on June 8. Two or three Israeli Air Force planes, probably Dassault Mirage IIIs, strafed the ship with 30-millimeter cannon fire. The first Israeli pilot to reach the ship was Yiftav Spector, one of Israel's leading aces. This attack was followed by a comparable number of Dessault Mystères, which dropped napalm. More than 800 bullet holes were later counted in the ship's hull. Some 20 minutes later three Israeli

Gunfire and rocket damage to the U.S. Navy intelligence-gathering ship *Liberty*, inflicted when it came under attack by Israeli forces off the Sinai Peninsula on June 8, 1967. (U.S. Navy)

torpedo boats arrived on the scene, and members of the *Liberty*'s crew opened fire on them with two .50-caliber machine guns in the mistaken belief that the ship was under Egyptian attack.

McGonagle could not signal the Israeli vessels, as all the ship's signal lights had been destroyed. The Israeli torpedo boats fired a number of torpedoes at the *Liberty,* one of which struck the ship on its starboard side and opened a large hole. The torpedo boats then approached to closer range and opened up with machine-gun fire against the American sailors, some of whom were attempting to launch life rafts. The torpedo boats then left the area.

The Israelis claimed that they did not know the *Liberty* was a U.S. ship until a life raft with U.S. Navy markings was found drifting in the water. Three hours after the attack, the Israeli government informed the U.S. embassy in Tel Aviv of events. Although the *Liberty* had been badly damaged, its crew managed to keep the ship afloat. The *Liberty* was able to make its way to Malta under its own power, escorted by ships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet.

Thirty-four American personnel died in the attack, and another 172 were wounded, many seriously. For his heroism and leadership, Commander McGonagle, who was wounded early in the attack, was subsequently awarded the Medal of Honor. His ship received the Presidential Unit Citation. Following stopgap repairs, the *Liberty* returned to the United States and was decommissioned in 1968. It was scrapped in 1970.

The Israeli government later apologized and paid nearly $13 million in compensation. Those dissatisfied with the official inquiries in the United States and Israel have speculated that the Israelis knew that they were attacking a U.S. ship and did so because they feared that intercepts by the *Liberty* would reveal that Israel was about to attack Syria. But such a theory fails to explain why Israel would risk the anger of its only superpower sympathizer. Knowledge of the imminent Israeli attack on Syria was also widespread and hardly a secret by June 8.

Paul William Doerr and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview

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Libya

Predominantly Muslim North African nation covering 679,358 square miles whose 2008 population was 6.174 million people. Libya borders Niger, Chad, and Sudan to the south; Tunisia and the Mediterranean Sea to the north; Algeria to the west; and Egypt to the east. The Ottoman Empire ruled Libya for much of the 19th century, but in 1907 Italy began to assert itself in the region. After a brief war with the Turks during 1911–1912, Italy gained control of Libya. A 20-year Libyan insurgency resulted, and Italy did not pacify the colony until 1931.

Libya saw significant fighting in the North African campaigns of World War II until it was ultimately secured by British forces in 1943. At the end of the war Libya's status was immersed in the larger question of the fate of European colonial possessions in the Middle East and Africa. Ultimately, in 1949 the United Nations (UN) passed a resolution in favor of an independent Libya. Negotiations among the varied regions in Libya proved delicate. Those in and around Tripoli supported a large degree of national unity, while the more established government of Cyrenaica preferred a federal system and insisted on choosing the monarch. The process resulted in a constitutional monarchy, an elected bicameral parliament, and a federal system of government. Emir Idris of Cyrenaica was named hereditary king of Libya, and final independence was declared on December 24, 1951.

The new Kingdom of Libya had strong links to the West. Both Britain and the United States maintained military bases on its soil and helped support the state financially. Libya also had a strong Arab identity and joined the Arab League in 1953.

Arab nationalist movements grew in response to the 1948 creation of Israel, and Libya had experienced de-Arabization and a conflict of identity during the oppressive years of Italian colonization. The emergence of Gamal Abdel Nasser's Arab nationalist regime in Egypt by 1954 and its advocacy of Arab unity and socialism encouraged the growth of similar political thought in Libya, and the 1956 Suez Crisis only increased this trend. The discovery of oil in the late 1950s transformed the country, endowing it with wealth and increased geopolitical significance. Oil exports reached $1 billion by 1968.

The June 1967 Six-Day War proved a turning point for Libyan politics. On June 5, 1967, the day hostilities began, anti-Jewish and anti-Western riots broke out in Tripoli. When Nasser claimed that the Arab defeat was because of American and British assistance to Israel, Libyan oil workers refused to load Western tankers. The Libyan prime minister was forced to resign, and the king appointed a new cabinet.

In the months after the war, the Libyan government was under continued pressure from Arab nationalists. Libya pledged financial aid to Egypt and Jordan and demanded the closing of all foreign bases on Libyan soil (although the demand was not pressed). On July 31, 1969, a group of junior army officers seized power while the king was out of the country. The Revolution Command Council, headed by Colonel Muammar Qaddafi, took control with little opposition.

Qaddafi, an adherent of Nasser's version of Arab nationalism, stressed Arab unity, opposition to Western imperialism, and socialist economic policies. Qaddafi maintained that this agenda could be reconciled with a strong emphasis on an Islamic way of life and an Islamic political and economic system. He rejected the Western presence in the Middle East but also rejected communism and socialism. After Nasser's death, Qaddafi actively sought leadership in the Muslim world in the 1970s, promoting his so-called Third International Theory, a claim that Libya and Islam present a middle way between the communism of the Soviet Union and the capitalism of the West. Although he succeeded in convincing more than 30 African countries to reject relations with Israel, he never gained the confidence of certain other Muslim nations, perhaps because of his repression of the Muslim Brotherhood and other Muslim figures in Libya or more likely because of his advancement of radical causes and interference in regional politics.

Always an enemy of Zionism, Qaddafi supported Yasser Arafat's Fatah faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and sponsored terrorist attacks against Israel and related Western targets. As the 1970s progressed Qaddafi voiced his support for anticolonialist movements around the world, including the Irish Republican Army (IRA), and Libya played host to a number of insurgent groups. Qaddafi also sought to build up the Libyan military and pursued significant arms purchases from France and the Soviet Union after 1970.

Residents in the old market in Tripoli, Libya, on August 15, 2000. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Internally, Qaddafi sought to remake Libyan society, insisting that a mixture of socialism and Islam would ensure social justice. He created a welfare state based on oil revenues and reformed the legal system to include elements of Sharia (Islamic law). His *Green Book* (1976) laid out his political and economic philosophy. In it he rejected representative government in favor of direct democracy. Finally, he transformed Libya's oil industry by insisting on a larger share of profits from international oil companies, setting a pattern that would be imitated by other oil-rich states.

Despite Qaddafi's radical politics, Libya and the United States avoided direct confrontation for much of the 1970s because of their economic relationship. This changed, however, when Libya vehemently opposed the 1978 Camp David Accords. Qaddafi viewed any Arab rapprochement with Israel as a betrayal. In 1977 President Jimmy Carter's administration listed Libya, Cuba, and North Korea as states that supported terrorism. U.S.-Libyan relations continued to sour. On December 2, 1979, rioters targeted the U.S. embassy in Tripoli in imitation of the attack on the U.S. embassy in Tehran earlier that year. As a result, in May 1980 the United States withdrew its diplomatic personnel from Libya.

With the election of President Ronald Reagan in 1980, relations chilled further. On May 6, 1981, the Reagan administration expelled Libyan diplomats from the United States. The administration also pursued a freedom of navigation policy and challenged Libya's 1973 claims of sovereignty over the Gulf of Sidra in the Mediterranean. On July 19, 1981, the *Nimitz* carrier battle group was patrolling near the Gulf when two of the carrier's Grumman F-14 Tomcat fighters were approached and attacked by two Libyan Soviet-made Sukhoi Su-22 fighter jets. The American planes evaded the attack and shot down both Libyan aircraft.

Tensions increased further, and in March 1982 the United States banned the import of Libyan oil. The sanctions had limited effect, however, as European nations did not adopt U.S. policies. Qaddafi continued to support revolutionary and terrorist activity. On April 5, 1986, an explosion in a Berlin nightclub killed 3 and injured 200, including 63 U.S. servicemen. The United States claimed Libyan involvement and retaliated with great ferocity. On April 15, 1986, U.S. Air Force and U.S. Navy planes bombed five targets in Libya. One of the targets was Qaddafi's home. He escaped injury, but an adopted daughter was killed in the raid.

The Reagan administration maintained that the raid resulted in significant disruptions to Libyan-supported terrorism, and such activity did decline for a number of years. However, on December 21, 1988, Pan Am Flight 103 was destroyed over Lockerbie, Scotland, by a terrorist bomb. More than 270 people died, and subsequent investigations pointed to 2 Libyan men as primary suspects. When the Qaddafi regime refused to extradite the men for arrest and trial, the UN imposed sanctions on Libya in 1992. American confrontations with Libya continued, and a second incident over the Gulf of Sidra resulted in the destruction of two Libyan MiG-23 fighter planes in January 1989. At the end of the Cold War, the Qaddafi regime remained steadfast in its support of revolutionary movements and terrorist actions against Israel and the West.

In recent years Qaddafi has reversed himself in many positions in order to reconstitute his relations with the West, including turning over the men responsible for the Pan Am bombing and agreeing to pay restitution to victims' families. However, in August 2009 when Abdelbaset Ali Mohmed Al Megrahi was released from prison in Scotland on compassionate grounds because he was judged not to have long to live, Qaddafi arranged a hero's welcome for the convicted Pan Am bomber on his return to Libya.

After the September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States, Qaddafi issued a stinging denunciation of the acts and condemned Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups. In February 2004 Libya declared that it would renounce its weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) program and comply with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. This began a significant thaw in relations with the United States. The two countries resumed diplomatic relations that June, and the United States and the UN lifted all remaining economic sanctions in September 2004.

The George W. Bush administration has used Libya as an example of how tough policies toward rogue states, such as Iran and North Korea, can have dramatically positive results. Critics of Bush's hard-line foreign policy, however, point out that Libya's behavior was changed not because of an Iraq-style military invasion but rather because of firm diplomatic and economic pressure applied by the international community as a whole.

Robert S. Kiely

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arab League; Arab Nationalism; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Palestine Liberation Organization; Qaddafi, Muammar; Suez Crisis; Terrorism

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Lifton, Robert Jay

Birth Date: May 16, 1926

Psychiatrist, prolific author, psychohistorian, and critic of modern war. Born in New York City on May 16, 1926, Robert Jay Lifton, the son of a physicist, attended Cornell University and obtained his M.D. degree from New York Medical College in 1948. He interned at Jewish Hospital in Brooklyn (1948–1949) and performed his residency in psychiatry at Downstate Medical Center (1949–1951). Lifton served in the U.S. Air Force from 1951 through 1953, six months of which he served in the Republic of Korea (ROK, South Korea). His study of prisoners of war who had allegedly been subjected to "brainwashing" during the Korean War led to further research on the subject and his first book, *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism: A Study of "Brainwashing" in China* (1961).

On his return to the United States in 1953, Lifton worked on the faculty of the Washington (D.C.) School of Psychiatry (1954–1955). He then received an appointment as associate in psychiatry and in East Asian Studies at Harvard University (1956–1961). In 1961 he was appointed to the Foundation Fund for Psychiatric Research professorship at Yale University, and in 1985 he became distinguished professor of psychiatry and psychology, as well as director of the Center on Violence and Human Survival at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York.

Lifton is well known for his work in the 1970s on post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). He had previously studied survivors of the World War II Holocaust, the 1945 Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombings, and prisoner-of-war camps in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea). During the Vietnam War, he participated in a number of antiwar activities, including the 1970 Winter Soldier Investigation, a media event in Detroit at which members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) attested to atrocities they claimed to have committed or witnessed, and the

1971 Operation DEWEY CANYON III, at which veterans discarded their medals on the Capitol steps in Washington, D.C. In December 1970 Lifton began a series of "rap groups," or group therapy sessions, with members of the New York chapter of VVAW. From these sessions grew most of the subsequent definitions and treatment methods for PTSD, including the Vet Centers established in 1979 as part of the Veterans Administration (VA) system.

In 1972, with the National Council of Churches, Lifton sponsored the "First National Conference on the Emotional Needs of Vietnam-Era Veterans," attended by national VA officials. In 1973 he published his landmark book on the subject, *Home from the War,* based on his work with the New York rap groups. The book has since been reissued several times and is frequently cited not only in professional literature but also in the popular media. In 1976 Lifton headed the American Psychiatric Association's task force to develop a description of PTSD for the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual;* the task force's work, also based on Lifton's own work with the New York rap groups, was published in 1980.

A consistent critic of modern war and the ideology behind it, Lifton next turned his attention to the study of state-sponsored euthanasia and genocide. His 1986 book, *The Nazi Doctors,* was the first in-depth study of how German medical professionals were able to rationalize and justify their roles in medical experimentation and the Holocaust during the 1930s and 1940s. The book was well received and widely read by experts and general readers alike. Lifton also became a vocal opponent of nuclear weapons and nuclear war-fighting strategy, arguing that nuclear war makes mass genocide banal and thus conceivable, raising the likelihood of an actual nuclear exchange.

In his 1999 book, *Destroying the World to Save It,* Lifton posits that the possibility exists for the rise of an apocalyptic terrorist cult, steeped in totalist ideologies, that could hold most or all of the world hostage. After the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States, Lifton rejected the term "War on Terror" as one that has little meaning and destroys "all vulnerability." At the same time, he acknowledged that terrorism in the 21st century is a serious concern, especially with nuclear proliferation. Lifton has spoken out repeatedly against the Iraq War (2003–), arguing that it, like the Vietnam War, is driven by an irrational and aggressive strain in U.S. foreign policy that uses the politics of fear to rationalize wars in which the nation's vital interests are not at stake. His 2003 book, *Superpower Syndrome: America's Apocalyptic Confrontation with the World,* takes up these very themes.

PHOEBE S. SPINRAD

See also

Antiwar Movements, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Global War on Terror; Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder; Terrorism

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Lithuania, Role in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

Baltic nation and Soviet republic until 1991. With a 2008 population of 3.565 million people, Lithuania covers 25,174 square miles. It borders the Baltic Sea, Russia, and Poland to the west; Belarus to the south and east; and Latvia to the north. The Lithuanian government is a presidential-parliamentary republic in which the president is popularly elected; the president in turn appoints the prime minister with the approval of parliament. The Lithuanian presidency is largely ceremonial, as the prime minister holds the preponderance of executive powers. The modern Lithuanian political landscape features numerous political parties, the most influential of them being the Homeland Union/Lithuanian Christian Democrats (conservative-Christian democratic), the Social Democratic Party, the National Resurrection Party (center-right), the Order and Justice (rightist), the Lithuanian Peasant Popular Union (conservative), and the New Union (center-left).

Along with its fellow Baltic states, Lithuania strongly supported the U.S.-led military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. Following the end of the Cold War and independence, Lithuania pursued a foreign and security policy designed to integrate the former Soviet-occupied state into the broad institutional framework of the West. Successive Lithuanian governments perceived closer ties with the United States as the best means to counter any potential resurgent threat from Russia. Like the other Baltic states, Lithuania joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Partnership for Peace program in 1994 and subsequently participated in NATO peacekeeping operations in the Balkans as it pursued full membership in the alliance. The nation joined both NATO and the European Union (EU) in 2004.

Lithuania offered the United States the use of its airspace and other logistical support following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. In addition, Lithuania supported the invocation of NATO's collective defense clause, Article 5, in response to the attacks. Lithuania thereafter increased its peacekeeping units in Bosnia and Kosovo to allow U.S. forces to be redeployed to Afghanistan. Lithuania deployed 10 troops as part of a Danish-led contingent of transport handlers, which was stationed in Kyrgyzstan to support Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, and in November 2002 Lithuania sent a 40-member special operations force to Bagram air base in Afghanistan, where they operated under U.S. command. A second 40-member force was rotated into Afghanistan in the spring of 2003, but all combat forces were withdrawn that October. In 2003 Lithuania also dispatched a small medical team and logistics personnel to serve as part of the NATO-led

International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). The country has also provided humanitarian and medical aid to the Afghan national government.

Lithuania endorsed the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003. In August 2003 Lithuania deployed elements of the Grand Duchess Birute Motorized Infantry Brigade to Hillah in central Iraq as part of the Polish-led Multi-National Force. The 50 troops were designated the Lithuanian Detachment (LITDET). A second platoon from the Grand Duke Algirdas Mechanized Infantry Battalion was stationed with the British forces in Basra and was deployed as part of a Danish-led unit. These troops were designated as the Lithuanian Contingent (LITCON). Both LITDET and LITCON conducted general security operations, including patrols and checkpoint service. They also supported humanitarian operations and reconstruction efforts. In addition, LITCON undertook ordnance disposal missions and training exercises with Iraqi security forces. Lithuania also dispatched a medical unit to operate on board the Spanish hospital ship *Galicijia* to support coalition operations and stationed staff officers as part of the coalition headquarters unit in Baghdad. There was also an 8-member logistics unit stationed at Tallil air base, south of Nasiriyah. Lithuania's peak troop strength in Iraq was approximately 120 soldiers. Prior to deployment in Iraq, Lithuanian forces underwent training and acclimation in Kuwait. In 2006 LITDET was withdrawn. The bulk of the remaining Lithuanian soldiers were withdrawn in December 2008 after the British announced further reductions to their troop strength in the region. No Lithuanian soldiers were killed during the country's Iraq deployment.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; International Security Assistance Force; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Logistics, Persian Gulf War

Logistics involves the procurement, maintenance, and transportation of matériel, personnel, and facilities during a military operation. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, surprised the United States and its allies. Following the decision to use force if necessary to dislodge the Iraqis, the major logistical challenge facing American military planners, or logisticians, was how to quickly create an infrastructure to support combat troops in Saudi Arabia, where a likely invasion force would be based. Fortunately, numerous preinvasion exercises that envisioned moving combat troops from the United States to Europe to contest a hypothetical Soviet invasion of Western Europe had provided planners with realistic practice. Those exercises had tested the ability to assemble and move large numbers of troops and equipment. Senior commanders such as Lieutenant General John Yeosock and Major General William Pagonis and their subordinates quickly applied their experience to Operation DESERT SHIELD.

The sheer distance from the United States to Saudi Arabia, about 8,000 miles, made the logistical challenge daunting. The head of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, made the challenge even harder by insisting that the number of support personnel—the so-called logistical tail—be kept very low. In Schwarzkopf's view, every cook or typist who traveled to Saudi Arabia came at the expense of a combat soldier.

The logistical effort clearly benefited from the reduced threat that the Soviets posed in Europe. Because of the unlikelihood of a Soviet attack in Europe, planners were able to move confidently critical supplies from there to the Middle East. The host country, Saudi Arabia, supplemented the logistical effort by sharing its resources with allied forces. Saudi Arabia provided assets ranging from telecommunications to long-haul trucks and drivers as well as more than 1 million gallons of packaged petroleum products and 20 million meals. Likewise, American industry rallied to help fill critical needs, such as new fuses and warheads for the Patriot PAC-2 antimissile missiles and additional AGM-114A Hellfire antitank missiles.

Still, there were inevitable breakdowns and omissions. The tremendous influx of men and matériel overwhelmed Saudi ports and roads. Traffic clogged the ports and jammed the inland roads that served as the military's main supply routes, and many combat units were based in roadless regions. Movement across rock-strewn or sandy desert terrain destroyed tires and caused engine and transmission troubles. The solution was to exchange older utility cargo vehicles for newer heavy expanded-mobility tactical trucks and rugged, reliable off-road vehicles built by the Oshkosh Company of Wisconsin.

Numerous problems stemmed from the difficulty of communicating tremendous volumes of data from frontline units in Saudi Arabia to sources of supply in far-distant places. Many American logisticians working in Saudi Arabia simply ignored formal procedures and instead worked outside the system to directly contact supply centers back in the United States. In addition, the scale of the demands sometimes exceeded all supplies. For example, desert camouflage material remained in such short supply that most of the soldiers in the U.S. VII Corps entered battle clad in dark green instead of desert camouflage uniforms.

In spite of all the obstacles, during the course of Operation DESERT SHIELD, which lasted from August 1990 to January 1991, the U.S.

military moved and unloaded some 500 ships and 9,000 aircraft in Saudi ports and airfields. These delivered about 1,800 U.S. Army aircraft, 12,400 tracked vehicles, 114,000 wheeled vehicles, 38,000 containers, 1.8 million tons of cargo, 350,000 tons of ammunition, and more than 350,000 service personnel and civilians. From the Saudi ports, the supplies and men moved inland via 3,568 convoys of supply trucks that traveled some 35 million miles. In addition to moving along existing roads, the convoys drove along hundreds of miles of newly constructed roads. It was a stupendous logistical feat, the equivalent of moving the entire city of Atlanta, Georgia, more than 8,000 miles to Saudi Arabia.

During the Persian Gulf War, the military's high-profile combat elements—the Abrams tanks and AH-64 Apache helicopters—rightfully received the majority of attention and praise. However, the logistical effort that supported the combat elements was absolutely critical to victory. According to the official U.S. Army history of the war, the ability of civilians, soldiers, and leaders to demonstrate intelligent initiative made the logistical system work. The experience gleaned from this war led to new concepts and methods to move a large military force to a foreign land and sustain it once it arrived.

Because the Persian Gulf War took place in Iraq and Kuwait, Iraq had a much simpler logistical challenge, and its supply lines were within its own borders. Iraqi logisticians had ample time to prepare before Iraq invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990. The farthest any unit had to move was about 460 miles. After Iraq conquered Kuwait, truck convoys stocked bunkers inside Kuwait with more than 320,000 tons of ammunition, enough to allow the Iraqi Army to fight for two weeks without supply. About 2 million tons of ammunition remained in Iraq as a reserve supply.

When DESERT STORM began on January 17, 1991, the Iraqi logistical challenges became harder. The allies had absolute control of the air, thus making all Iraqi movements on the ground perilous, and coalition powers had effected a tight naval blockade. However, because the war was so short, lasting only 45 days, the Iraqis seldom suffered from serious supply shortages.

JAMES ARNOLD

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Pagonis, William Gus; Yeosock, John J.

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Lott, Charles Trent

Birth Date: October 9, 1941

Republican U.S. congressman and senator from Mississippi and outspoken critic of Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld's handling of the 2003 Iraq War. Born on October 9, 1941, in Grenada, Mississippi, Charles Trent Lott earned a BA degree and a law degree from the University of Mississippi in 1965 and 1967, respectively. From 1968 to 1972 he was administrative assistant to Congressman William H. Colmer, a leading segregationist in the Democratic Party. When Colmer announced his plans to retire, he supported Lott's campaign to fill his seat, even though Lott ran as a Republican.

Lott, who won the 1972 election by a wide margin, was only the second Republican from Mississippi elected to the U.S. Congress since Reconstruction. He was subsequently reelected to the House of Representatives seven times. From 1981 to 1989 Lott was the House minority whip.

Lott ran successfully for the U.S. Senate in 1989, replacing retiring Senator John C. Stennis. Lott became Senate majority leader in 1996 when Kansas senator Robert Dole resigned to run for president. In 1999 Lott led the unsuccessful impeachment process against President Bill Clinton in the Senate. During January 3–20,

Republican Trent Lott represented the state of Mississippi in the U.S. Senate from 1988 to 2007. He served as both minority and majority leader. He is now a Washington lobbyist. (U.S. Senate)

2001, Lott acted as temporary Senate minority leader because the 50–50 partisan split in the Senate allowed Vice President Al Gore to cast his vote with the Democrats. After George W. Bush became president, Vice President Dick Cheney was able to cast the tie-breaking vote, which once again allowed Lott to resume his position as Senate majority leader.

On December 5, 2002, at a celebration of South Carolina senator Strom Thurmond's 100th birthday, Lott made a speech that was interpreted by many to be an endorsement of Thurmond's earlier support of racial segregation. Following a highly publicized controversy, which included President Bush's criticism of Lott's remarks, Lott resigned as Senate majority leader on December 20, 2002. He subsequently became chairman of the Senate Rules Committee.

In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, Lott wholeheartedly supported the Bush administration's Global War on Terror. Lott also championed the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq that removed Saddam Hussein from power. Although most political observers view Lott as neither a moderate nor a maverick Republican, in December 2004 he harshly criticized Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld. Lott joined other Senate Republicans who found fault with the Rumsfeld Doctrine, which called for sending only a small force to Iraq to overthrow Hussein. Lott was especially critical of what he called Rumsfeld's failure to properly equip U.S. troops in Iraq and the lack of planning for the occupation of Iraq after the overthrow of Hussein's regime. Most importantly, Lott called for Rumsfeld's resignation within the year. The defense secretary did not resign until late 2006, however, after the Republicans lost control of both houses of Congress in the off-year November elections.

On December 18, 2007, Lott unexpectedly announced his resignation from the U.S. Senate less than one year into his six-year term. He stated that his decision was based on a desire to spend more time with his family and to pursue interests in the private sector. Many believe, however, that Lott's sudden departure had also been motivated by the recent indictment of his attorney brother-in-law Richard Scruggs. Scruggs was accused of having offered a $50,000 bribe to a Mississippi judge. There was no apparent connection between the bribery scheme and Lott, but Scruggs had represented Lott in a suit against an insurance company, which had initially refused to cover the loss of Lott's home in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in 2005. Lott is now a lobbyist in Washington, D.C.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Bush, George Walker; Global War on Terror; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; September 11 Attacks

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Low-Altitude Navigation and Targeting Infrared for Night Targeting Pods

Integrated navigation and targeting pods used by the U.S. Air Force's Boeing F-15E Strike Eagle and General Dynamics/Lockheed F-16C/D Fighting Falcon and the U.S. Navy's Grumman F-14 Tomcat. The Low-Altitude Navigation and Targeting Infrared for Night (LANTIRN) targeting pods permit these aircraft to fly at night, at low attitudes, and in adverse weather to attack ground targets with a variety of precision-guided and unguided weapons.

The LANTIRN system consists of an integrated navigation pod and a targeting pod mounted externally beneath the aircraft. The AN/AAQ-13 navigation pod provides high-speed penetration and precision attack on tactical targets at night and in adverse weather. The navigation pod also has a terrain-following radar and a fixed infrared sensor that provides a visual cue and input to the aircraft's flight control system. As a result, the aircraft can maintain a preselected altitude above the terrain and avoid any obstacles. This sensor displays an infrared image on the pilot's head-up display. With the navigation pod, the pilot can fly following the contours of the terrain at high speed, using geographic features (e.g., mountains, valleys) and darkness to avoid detection. The pod houses the first wide-field, forward-looking infrared navigation system for air force air-superiority fighters.

The AN/AAQ-14 targeting pod has a high-resolution, forward-based infrared sensor that displays an infrared image of the target to the pilot, a laser designator-rangefinder for precise delivery of laser-guided bombs, a missile bore-sight correlator for automatic lock-on of AGM-65D imaging infrared Maverick missiles, and software for automatic target tracking. With Maverick missiles, the pods automatically hand the target off to the missile for launch, with the pilot's consent. For laser-guided munitions, the pilot aims the laser designator and the bomb guides itself to the target. For a conventional bomb, the pilot may employ the laser to determine range; the pod then supplies the range data to the aircraft's fire-control system. These features simplify the functions of target detection and recognition and attack, and permit pilots of single-seat fighters to home in on targets with precision-guided weapons during a single pass.

In September 1980 the air force awarded a research and development contract to Martin Marietta Corporation (now Lockheed Martin, Inc). The contractor completed the initial operational tests and evaluation of the LANTIRN navigation pod in December 1984, and the air force approved low-rate initial production in March 1985 and full-rate production in November 1986. The first production navigation pod was delivered on March 31, 1987.

In April 1986 the initial operational test and evaluation of the LANTIRN targeting pod proved the feasibility of a low-altitude, night, adverse-weather, precision-attack mission. The air force approved low-rate initial production in June 1986. Introduction of the LANTIRN system revolutionized night warfare by denying enemy forces the sanctuary of darkness.

A U.S. Navy F/A-18F Super Hornet conducts a mission over the Persian Gulf in 2005. The Hornet is armed with an AIM-9 Sidewinder missile on the wingtip and an AGM-65 Maverick missile on the pylon. Tucked under the intake is an AAQ-14 LANTIRN (Low-Altitude Navigation and Targeting Infrared for Night) pod. (U.S. Department of Defense)

After the navy decided to phase out the Grumman A-6 Intruder carrier-based ground-attack aircraft by mid-1996, it requested modifications to include a Global Positioning System (GPS) and an inertial navigation subsystem in the AN/AAQ-14 targeting pod so that its F-14 Tomcat could use the LANTIRN pods. Equipped with the LANTIRN system, the VF-103 strike fighter squadron, deployed aboard USS *Enterprise* (CVN-65), became operational with the LANTIRN pods in June 1996 and saw some action in Bosnia (1999) and Iraq (2003). Eventually, the U.S. Navy modified 210 F-14 Tomcat aircraft to utilize the LANTIRN targeting pods to give them ground-attack capability.

In August 1990, when the Iraqi army invaded Kuwait and the United States began Operation DESERT SHIELD and Operation DESERT STORM, the air force had only one precision-guided munitions-capable wing, the 4th Tactical Fighter Wing (TFW), based at Seymour-Johnson Air Force Base, North Carolina. It consisted of two squadrons of F-15E Strike Eagles. One squadron had just received its LANTIRN navigation pods, and the other squadron received its targeting pods in September 1990 and did not deploy to the Persian Gulf theater until December. As a result, the LANTIRN targeting pod underwent its operational testing in the actual combat of the DESERT STORM air campaign. Additionally, there were only 72 LANTIRN navigation pods available for use by two squadrons of F-16s. As a result, the majority of the F-16s that participated in the air campaign had to rely on General Dynamics F-111 Aardvark and F-15E aircraft to "paint" targets for their laser-guided bombs.

The LANTIRN pods provided aircraft with the ability to conduct low-altitude, high-speed night attacks, a mission for which pre–DESERT STORM air force pilots had not been trained. In December 1990 the U.S. Air Force conducted an in-theater night-training exercise, Operation NIGHT CAMEL, to determine whether infrared-equipped aircraft could carry out night interdiction against supply lines and cluster-bomb attacks against armor. The exercise confirmed the ability of LANTIRN-equipped aircraft to carry out low-altitude interdiction attacks at night. It also led to the discovery of images of armored vehicles on the cockpit videotapes of F-111s, equipped with the infrared sensor PAVE TACK, (General Dynamics) F-5Es (Tiger IIs), and F-16Cs, equipped with LANTIRN pods. The infrared sensor of the LANTIRN (and the PAVE TACK) targeting pod had picked up the "hotter" signature

of the vehicles because desert sand cools faster at night than do metal vehicles.

When the air campaign began in January 1991, the LANTIRN-equipped F-15Es (and the F-111s with the PAVE TACK) used this new information to attack, with GBU-12 500-pound laser-guided bombs, tanks that the Iraqi army had covered with sand, thinking that the sand would camouflage them. This tactic soon became known as "tank plinking," a term that stuck until General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of Central Command (CENTCOM), ordered that the term "tank busting" be used instead. Very quickly the Iraqi tank crews realized that they were no longer safe in their tanks and began sleeping on the ground outside of them. During the air campaign, U.S. Air Force aircraft destroyed up to 500 Iraqi armored vehicles daily. The Iraqis, as well as most other armies and military thinkers, discovered that, with the arrival of the new infrared targeting pods and laser-guided bombs, armies had lost the advantages of digging into the ground and dispersing forces, or massing only at night.

Additionally, LANTIRN-equipped air force aircraft played significant roles in two other DESERT STORM operations. LANTIRN-equipped F-15Es participated in the hunt for Iraqi mobile Scud-missile transporter-erector-launchers (TELs) in the western desert area of Iraq. On January 18, 1991, Iraq initiated a series of Scud missile attacks against Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain. While these low-accuracy, low-reliability weapons produced few tactical results, the Scud attacks posed a major strategic threat, since the Arab countries would surely desert the fragile anti-Iraq coalition if Israel decided to retaliate militarily.

To counter the Scud threat, the United States sent a number of anti-missile Patriot missile batteries to Israel, deployed U.S. and British special operations teams into the western desert, and allocated some 2,500 sorties (about 8 percent of all combat flights) against the mobile TELs in the western desert of Iraq. Among the aircraft used for the Scud hunt were 12 F-15Es in three flights of two pairs of aircraft each. Usually one of the F-15Es of the pair had a LANTIRN targeting pod to designate prospective targets for attack by a GBU-10 bomb, as required. Unfortunately, the F-15Es could not identify and acquire the TELs, whose infrared and radar signatures were virtually indistinguishable from trucks and other electromagnetic "clutter" in the Iraqi desert and were relatively easy to mask. The difficulty of identifying and destroying the Scud TELs is demonstrated by the fact that on the 42 occasions during the war when orbiting aircraft visually sighted mobile TELs, in only 8 instances could they identify the targets sufficiently to release their weapons. The great Scud hunt was a tactical and operational-level failure, as coalition aircraft destroyed few Scud TELs. However, in the long run, the coalition's overall anti-Scud effort achieved its strategic objective because it sufficiently convinced the Israeli government that it did not have to retaliate against Iraq.

On the night of February 26–27, 1991, a Northrop-Grumman E-8 Sentry Joint Surveillance and Target Attack Radar System aircraft discovered hundreds of Iraqi vehicles on Highway 80 between Kuwait and Basra, Iraq, headed for the Iraqi border to avoid being cut off by the coalition ground offensive. Numerous coalition aircraft, including 12 LANTIRN-equipped F-15Es, attacked the long line of Iraqi military vehicles and stolen Kuwaiti civilian vehicles, destroying in the process more than 2,000 vehicles and killing an unknown and disputed number of Iraqi soldiers and civilians. The scenes of carnage on the so-called Highway of Death remain some of the most recognizable images of the war. LANTIRN pods played a relatively small role during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in 2003 owing to the short duration of the conflict and the badly degraded condition of Iraqi forces.

ROBERT B. KANE

See also

Aircraft, Attack; Aircraft, Bombers; Aircraft, Fighters; Bombs, Gravity; Bombs, Precision-Guided; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; Scud Missiles, U.S. Search for during the Persian Gulf War

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Low-Altitude Safety and Targeting Enhancement System

A computer system developed for the A-10 Thunderbolt II fighter aircraft that allows the pilot to deliver ordnance more accurately. From the advent of aerial warfare, the world's air forces have constantly tried to improve weapons-delivery accuracy. Early attempts began in World War I, with direct pilot inputs to compensate for wind variations. The United States introduced the Norden Bombsight during World War II, which became the first primitive computerized weapons-delivery system. Both world wars witnessed numerous aircraft flying in formation to maximize the destructive power of their bombs. In the last several decades, the U.S. military establishment has made drastic improvements in accuracy and delivery methods, eliminating the need for mass bombardment efforts.

Because the A-10's primary role is to support ground personnel, the safe and accurate delivery of weapons close to friendly forces is crucial. The Low-Altitude Safety and Targeting Enhancement System (LASTE) computer, with its highly accurate delivery

system, has allowed one aircraft to do the same job that once required numerous aircraft. While LASTE was not fully operational during Operation DESERT STORM, it proved itself shortly thereafter when a LASTE-equipped A-10 won the U.S. Air Force Gunsmoke competition in 1991. Since then, the LASTE system has been used to support friendly troops in both Operation ENDURING FREEDOM and Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

Originally designed by General Electric in the late 1980s to improve efficient weapons delivery while keeping pilots safe at low altitudes, the LASTE system consists of several smaller avionics programs that perform crucial functions for the A-10. LASTE's two main components include a Ground Collision Avoidance System (GCAS) and a computerized weapons-delivery system.

The GCAS acts as a warning to the pilot while operating at low altitudes. Information is relayed to the Heads-Up Display (HUD) via a radar altimeter when the aircraft passes through a preset altitude. Radar altitude displays the height above ground and is constantly changing as the aircraft flies. The HUD allows the pilot to focus attention outside the cockpit while flying at extremely low altitudes, attempting to minimize any possibility of colliding with the ground. When the aircraft passes through the designated altitude, a computerized voice tells the pilot to pull up.

The LASTE system also includes a simple autopilot system that can be used in both combat and training environments. The pilot has several different options when employing the Low-Altitude Autopilot (LAAP). If the pilot needs to circle over a specific target area, he or she can select "altitude hold," enabling the aircraft to be placed in a slight turn and allowed to circle overhead. Additionally, the pilot can also select "altitude/heading hold," which maintains a preset altitude and heading determined by the pilot.

The system also greatly improves munitions accuracy through a computerized weapons-delivery system that accounts for wind, aircraft speed, angle of attack, altitude, and bomb trajectory path. These elements are factored into a computer program that gives the pilot an exact aim point in the HUD. Theoretically, the bomb will fall wherever the pilot aims.

Two separate programs offer the pilot different options for ordnance delivery. The Continuously Computed Impact Point (CCIP) program allows the pilot to aim the aircraft at a specific point on the ground using computer symbology in the HUD. This program requires the pilot to dive at the target while almost directly overhead. The Continuously Computed Release Point (CCRP) program allows the pilot to loft or toss free-fall weapons from a greater distance while flying straight and level. This feature minimizes the pilot's exposure to ground-based antiaircraft artillery (AAA) and surface-to-air missiles (SAMs).

Finally, LASTE includes a Precision Attitude Control (PAC) program that compensates for gun vibration, wind variations, and other factors that cause discrepancies beyond the pilot's control. Used specifically when firing the GAU-30-millimeter Avenger Cannon, the PAC program ensures bullet accuracy by keeping the gunsight locked onto the target while the trigger is depressed. When engaged, the PAC program keeps the target on the aim point by moderately locking the flight controls. The aircraft will not stray from the gunsight without significant pilot input. Only when the trigger is released will the aircraft return to normal flight mode.

MATTHEW R. BASLER

See also

Aircraft, Attack; United States Air Force, Afghanistan War; United States Air Force, Iraq War; United States Air Force, Persian Gulf War

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Loya Jirga, Afghanistan

The Pashto term *loya jirga* ("grand council") has Turco-Mongolian origins and originally meant "great tent." *Loya* (meaning "great" or "grand") and *jirga* (meaning "council, assembly, dispute, or meeting") subsequently became a phrase referring to large meetings held among certain central Asian peoples. In Persian it translated to "grand assembly."

In Afghanistan the councils served as a forum for political consensus-building among tribal elders. In Pashtun tradition, *loya jirgas* were held at critical moments to make or legitimize important decisions. The members of the Jirgas mostly belonged to the royal family, religious leaders, and Afghan tribal chiefs. Pashtun elders dominated the *loya jirgas* throughout most of Afghanistan's history. Eventually, other ethnic groups, including Tajiks and Hazaras, were allowed to attend as observers.

In the twentieth century *loya jirgas* were convened to deliberate about Afghanistan's role in World War I (1915), to approve the rules of business for the national council (1930), to decide Afghanistan's role in World War II (1941), and to resolve the Afghan relationship with Pakhtunistan in 1955 after Pakistan inherited the British role in the region. In 1977 Mohammad Daoud Khan convened a *loya jirga* to legitimize his rule, pass a new constitution, elect a new president, and obtain permission to found a new revolutionary political party. Following the Communist Revolution of 1978, and the subsequent Soviet invasion in December 1979, Afghanistan split into pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet factions.

From time to time during the period of Soviet occupation and subsequent Taliban rule, a variety of factions convened *loya jirgas.* Because the councils were either dominated by or heavily influenced by foreign powers, however, these *loya jirgas* did not enjoy popular credibility. The most influential of the rival *loya jirgas* was in Germany in 2001 and produced the Bonn Agreement,

Women delegates read an official statement during the Loya Jirga's opening session in Kabul, Afghanistan, on June 11, 2002. (AP/Wide World Photos)

which was brokered by the United Nations (UN). The agreement, reached in December, following the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan, established an Afghan Interim Authority and prepared the way for the establishment of a new Afghan constitution.

Following the U.S.-led overthrow of the Taliban on June 13, 2002, an emergency *loya jirga* took place in Kabul to select an interim government. In preparation for this meeting, the UN, in accordance with the Bonn Agreement, had supervised an initial round of elections for delegates to the Loya Jirga in Afghanistan. Local power struggles influenced these elections, leading to inevitable accusations of corruption and coercion. Each of Afghanistan's 362 districts had at least one seat, with a further seat allotted for every 22,000 people. No group was excluded, except for those alleged to have committed acts of terrorism or suspected of crimes. International pressure helped influence the rule that the Loya Jirga would guarantee seats for 160 women.

The Loya Jirga also assigned current government officials 53 seats, reserved 100 seats for Afghan refugees, reserved 6 more seats for internally displaced Afghanis, and provided 25 seats for nomads. The emergency Loya Jirga of 2002 then elected Hamid Karzai as head of state. Karzai won 83 percent of the 1,555 valid votes cast by members of the Loya Jirga. In his acceptance speech, Karzai referred to the historic tradition of the Loya Jirga by saying that "after twenty-five years, all the Afghans are gathering under one tent."

On December 13, 2003, 500 delegates convened at a Loya Jirga to deliberate the drafting of a constitution. The role of women proved particularly contentious. In many districts religious scholars opposed the election of women. Delegates to the Loya Jirga had to seek a balance between Afghanistan's deep-rooted Islamic traditions and its aspirations for democratic rule. Influencing the debate was the struggle for power among rival sects and factions.

International observers have noted that the Loya Jirga is a critical piece in the establishment of Afghanistan's political future. In January 2004 a second Loya Jirga ratified the newly drafted constitution of Afghanistan. The Taliban was not represented, although groups sharing some of their views did participate.

James Arnold

See also

Afghanistan; Karzai, Hamid

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Luck, Gary Edward
Birth Date: Unknown

U.S. Army officer. Gary Edward Luck served in the U.S. Army from 1959 to 1994 and retired as a four-star general in 1994. A Kansas native, Luck attended Kansas State University, where he enrolled in its ROTC program. He graduated in 1959 and was commissioned a 2nd lieutenant in the army shortly thereafter. Luck fought in Vietnam as both a Special Forces officer and a cavalry troop commander.

In the years following the Vietnam War, Luck steadily moved up the military hierarchy. He commanded the 2nd Infantry Division in the mid-1980s, but his most significant assignment in that decade was as commander of Joint Special Operations Command (1989–1990), at which time he held the rank of major general. In that capacity he had a central role in the planning for the 1989 invasion of Panama that overthrew General Manuel Noriega.

Because of Luck's considerable experience in special operations, General Colin L. Powell, then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JSC), relied heavily on him in the planning for the Panama invasion, an operation that made much use of special operations units from all three services. Luck was particularly involved in planning for the rescue of American hostages held at Modelo Prison. On October 16, 1989, Luck and Powell briefed President George H. W. Bush on the overall invasion plan. Luck's presentation focused on the special operations capabilities for locating and rescuing American hostages, and his plans eventually formed the basis for the December 1989 invasion.

Luck also played a pivotal role in the Persian Gulf War as commander of the XVIII Airborne Corps. Luck's corps was responsible for the critical left flank and for the wide-sweeping left hook designed to outflank the Iraqi Republican Guard divisions. A longtime friend of General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, Luck was not afraid to speak his mind to the theater commander during the Operation DESERT SHIELD buildup and the planning for Operation DESERT STORM. Luck was particularly critical of the notion of using only one corps for the flanking attack but, after a sharp rebuke from Schwarzkopf, acquiesced. Luck's approach to commanding at the corps level was highly decentralized, leaving the bulk of the operational planning for XVIII Airborne Corps assault into Iraq in the hands of his divisional commanders. With the commencement of the ground war, Luck's divisions advanced rapidly and completed their flanking maneuver despite problems in coordinating their advance with VII corps. Luck saw XVIII Corp's success as a vindication of his decentralized approach to the planning and conduct of operations.

Following DESERT STORM, Luck, now promoted to full (four-star) general, served as commander in chief of United Nations Command/Combined Forces Command in Korea. He retired from the army in 1994. In retirement, he has continued to be engaged in military issues, writing a number of books and articles on the impact of new technologies on command and control. He has also remained an active consultant on current military issues, particularly the war in Iraq that began in March 2003. In the lead-up to the war, he served as a key adviser to Lieutenant General Tommy Franks. Luck has not been afraid of controversy. In late 2004 and early 2005 he led a study group to Iraq to analyze operations and the status of U.S. operations there. The group concluded that the security situation was worse than was being depicted, that the insurgency was gathering momentum, that progress in training Iraqi military and security forces was going slower than expected, and that U.S. intelligence operations were flawed. Needless to say, this did not endear Luck to the George W. Bush administration. Thanks to Luck's activities as both an author and a consultant on military affairs, he has been as influential in retirement as he was on active duty.

WALTER F. BELL

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Franks, Tommy Ray; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; Powell, Colin Luther; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.

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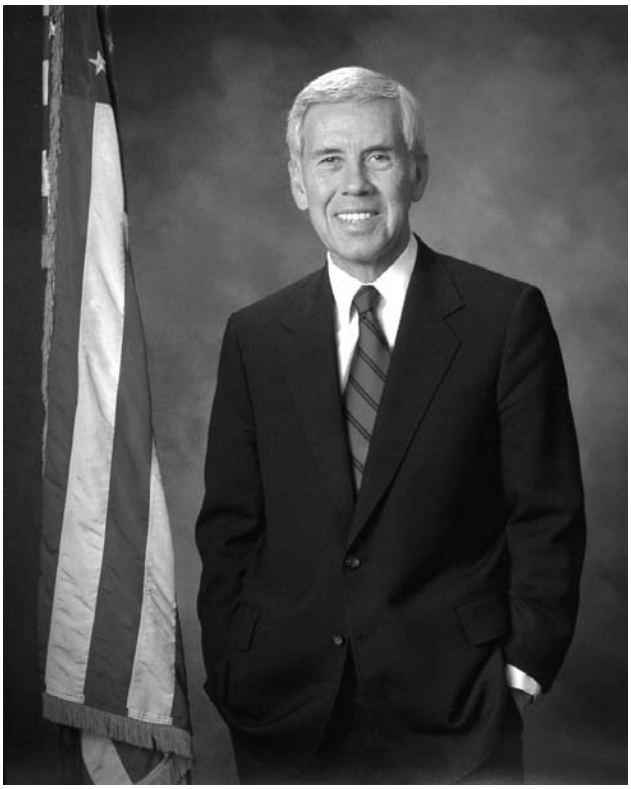
Lugar, Richard Green
Birth Date: April 4, 1932

U.S. Republican senator from Indiana and foreign policy expert who in 2007 broke with the George W. Bush administration over the continuing war in Iraq. Richard (Dick) Green Lugar was born on April 4, 1932, in Indianapolis, Indiana. His family owned a sizable farm near Indianapolis and a company that produced machinery for food processing and preparation that had been founded by his grandfather in 1893. Lugar attended Denison University in Ohio, graduating with distinction in 1954. Awarded a Rhodes Scholarship, he earned a master's degree from Pembroke College–Oxford University in 1956. The following year he entered the U.S. Navy, serving until 1960.

After leaving the navy, Lugar helped run his family's 600-acre farm and was active in the management of the family-owned company. He entered politics in 1964, when he successfully ran for a spot on the Indianapolis School Board of Commissioners. In 1967 he ran for mayor of Indianapolis on the Republican ticket and, at age 35, became one of the youngest men ever elected to head a major American city. As mayor, Lugar earned high marks for his effective management and became known for his unimpeachable integrity and honesty. Lugar ran for the U.S. Senate in 1974 but



Republican Richard Lugar has represented the state of Indiana in the U.S. Senate since 1977. The longest-serving U.S. senator in Indiana history, Lugar broke with the George W. Bush administration over its Iraq policy in 2007. (U.S. Senate)

was unable to unseat incumbent Democratic senator Birch Bayh. Lugar served as Indianapolis mayor until 1975 and the following year launched a successful bid for a U.S. Senate seat. Taking office in January 1977, he immediately set about learning the intricacies of the Senate. Lugar was a moderate Republican who strongly supported the Ronald Reagan administration's efforts to devolve federal power to the state and local levels.

Before long, Lugar had carved for himself a niche as the leading Republican senator with expertise in foreign and military policy. In 1985 he became chairman of the important Senate Foreign Relations Committee but had to give the position up in 1987 after the Democrats regained control of the Senate in the 1986 mid-term elections. This did not dampen his enthusiasm for foreign policy, however, and he was influential in securing ratification of numerous treaties to eliminate or reduce the deployment, stockpiling, and use of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). In 1991, working in tandem with Democratic senator Sam Nunn, then the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Lugar helped craft the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction plan, which helped to finance and plan for the deactivation of Soviet nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons in the wake of the Cold War. Especially important was the management of Soviet weapons then housed in former Soviet satellite states, such as Ukraine and Kazakhstan. The Nunn-Lugar initiative has more recently increased its scope to include the monitoring of WMDs that might fall into the hands of terrorists and rogue nations. It is believed that almost 6,000 nuclear weapons have been mothballed since the Nunn-Lugar plan went into effect in 1992.

Lugar was also heavily involved in farm legislation as a senator. From 1995 to 2001 he chaired the Senate Committee on Agriculture, during which time he helped end many outdated farm subsidies that dated to the Great Depression of the 1930s. He also led the way toward the development of biofuels, helped to reorganize the Department of Agriculture and the food stamp program, and fought to maintain the school-lunch program when it came under scrutiny in the late 1990s. In 1996 Lugar launched a brief but abortive campaign to win the Republican presidential nomination of that year.

In January 2003 Lugar once again assumed the chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In that role he was generally supportive of the George W. Bush administration's foreign and military policy concerning the Global War on Terror and the invasion of Iraq in March 2003. Lugar retained this post until January 2007, at which time the Democrats assumed control of Congress.

In June 2007 Lugar publicly broke with the Bush administration over war policy in Iraq. Although Lugar had initially supported the military conflict, he did not believe that the war could be successfully concluded without a major change in strategy. He also did not believe that the surge strategy, first unveiled in January of that year, was working or was likely to bring about a quick or successful end to the fighting. Lugar's comments, made on the floor of the Senate, came as a blow to the White House but buoyed long-term critics of the war. Given Lugar's stature in foreign affairs, his conclusions clearly showed that frustration with the war was growing and that support for it was slipping. Notably, Lugar did not wait until September to make his comments, at which time another progress report on the Iraqi insurgency was to be made to Congress. At the same time, however, Lugar was careful not to endorse an immediate pullout of U.S. troops or even a specific timetable for such a measure. Two days after his speech, he stated that benchmarks and timetables "will not work." Lugar was more circumspect later in 2007 and beyond when some signs of progress in Iraq began to manifest themselves.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Iraqi Insurgency; Surge, U.S. Troop Deployment, Iraq War; United States Congress and the Iraq War

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Lute, Douglas Edward
Birth Date: November 3, 1952

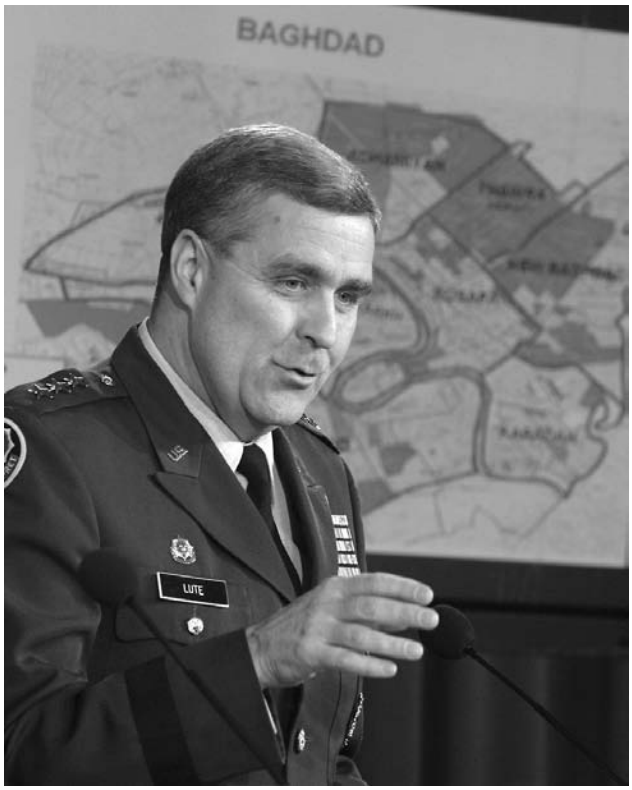
U.S. Army general and assistant to the president and deputy national security adviser for Iraq and Afghanistan (known as the war czar) in the George W. Bush and Barack Obama administrations (2007–present). Born in Michigan City, Indiana, on November 3, 1952, Douglas Edward Lute graduated from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1975. As second lieutenant, his first assignment was with the 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment in the Federal Republic of Germany. Lute earned a master's degree in public administration from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University in 1983 and then returned to West Point to teach in the Social Sciences Department. Lute's next assignment was to attend the British Army Staff College before returning to the 2nd Cavalry Regiment, with which he participated in Operation DESERT STORM in 1991.

Following service in the Office of the Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army, Lute commanded a squadron of the 7th Cavalry Regiment at Fort Hood, Texas, during 1992–1994. He returned to Washington assigned to the Joint Staff in the Directorate for Strategic Plans and Policy. After holding a fellowship at the Atlantic Council in Washington, D.C., Colonel Lute commanded the 2nd Cavalry Regiment of the XVIII Airborne Corps at Fort Polk, Louisiana.

Promoted to brigadier general in 2001, Lute was again assigned to Washington as executive assistant to the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). In 2002 he became assistant division commander of the 1st Infantry Division in Schweinfurt, Germany. Later that same year he commanded Multinational Brigade East as part of the peacekeeping mission in Kosovo. In early 2003 Lute became deputy director of operations for the U.S. European Command.

Beginning in June 2004 Lute, now promoted to major general, held for more than two years the post of director of operations for the United States Central Command (CENTCOM), during which time he oversaw U.S. operations in Iraq and Afghanistan as well as other parts of the Middle East, Central Asia, and the Horn of Africa. Promoted to lieutenant general in 2006, he became director of operations of the Joint Staff in Washington that September. Lute is married to Jane Holl Lute, who holds a doctorate in political science from Stanford and a JD degree from Georgetown University and is the United Nations (UN) assistant secretary-general for peacekeeping operations.

Although there was some criticism of the George W. Bush administration's decision to create an additional slot in the White House for oversight of the Iraq War and the Afghanistan War (some claimed that this responsibility should rest with the president himself), the Bush administration named Lute as assistant to the president and deputy national security adviser for Iraq and Afghanistan. The assignment called for Lute to work with the commanders in the field to meet their requests and to coordinate efforts with the various cabinet members to implement administration strategies for these two theaters of war.



U.S. Army lieutenant general Douglas Lute conducts a Pentagon briefing on February 9, 2007. President George W. Bush selected Lute, formerly the director of operations for the Joint Staff, to serve as the "war czar" for the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. (U.S. Department of Defense)

The U.S. Senate confirmed Lute in his new position on June 28, 2007. In the hearings, the senators pressed Lute to demand greater progress by the Iraqis to meet the benchmarks established by the Bush administration. Lute confirmed that the Iraqis had thus far shown little progress toward reconciliation and that violence was likely to continue in that country for the indefinite future. In his new post, while serving as deputy to National Security Advisor Stephen J. Hadley, Lute nonetheless reported directly to President Bush. President Barack Obama kept Lute in his same position.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also
Bush, George Walker; Hadley, Stephen John

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Lynch, Jessica
Birth Date: April 26, 1983

U.S. Army soldier who was taken prisoner early in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM and who, upon being rescued, became a national celebrity and a controversial symbol of the Iraq War. Born in Palestine, West Virginia, on April 26, 1983, Jessica Lynch joined the army largely because she was interested in traveling. On the eve of the war she was deployed to Iraq as part of the 507th Maintenance Company. On March 23, 2003, after an element of her supply convoy became separated from other vehicles and became disoriented, she was injured in a Humvee accident during an ambush and taken captive by the Iraqis. The attack took place in the city of Nasiriyah.

After the engagement ended, Private First Class Lynch lost consciousness. She later awoke in an Iraqi military hospital. There, and subsequently at Saddam Hussein General Hospital, Iraqi doctors and nurses treated Lynch for the severe injuries she had sustained. She remained hospitalized until April 1, 2003, when an American Special Forces team raided the hospital and freed her, carrying her out on a stretcher and delivering her to military authorities for medical treatment. Footage of the rescue operation was released to the media, and Lynch quickly became a symbol of American fortitude and resolve in the early days of IRAQI FREEDOM.

Although much of the media portrayed Lynch as a hero, the details of her ordeal remain unclear. Some reports, for example, suggested that during the ambush she had fired her weapon in an effort to fend off the attackers; others maintained that the firing mechanism of her assault rifle was inoperable because it was jammed with sand. The nature of her captivity also became a source of speculation. While there is a great deal of evidence that the Iraqi medical staff treated her professionally and in accordance with the provisions dictated for prisoners of war, questions persist about the possibility that she had been interrogated and abused. Additionally, many critics are skeptical of whether or not the operation to reclaim her was as dangerous as it appeared to be, and there are conflicting reports about whether or not the soldiers encountered any resistance as they entered the hospital. Some have suggested that the George W. Bush administration and the media embellished the story to increase public support for the war and turn her rescue into compelling headlines.

Beyond the disagreement about the details of her captivity, Lynch's story reignited much larger debates about gender, race, and the military. For opponents of the combat exclusion that bars women from frontline duty, Lynch's courage indicated the fitness of women for combat situations. Conversely, for those who support the ban on women in combat, her apparent helplessness proved the rightness of their claims. Other observers wondered why Lynch was the only captive whose cause became famous, particularly because there were two other female casualties of the Nasiriyah ambush, Private First Class Lori Piestewa and Specialist Shoshana Johnson. Piestewa died of injuries sustained during the skirmish, while Johnson was held captive for 22 days. Despite being the first Native American woman to die in combat and the first female African American prisoner of war, respectively, neither woman received as much media attention as did Lynch, and some have claimed that this disparity was a result of race and that mainstream America was more interested in the suffering of a white woman than that of her nonwhite peers.

Whatever the reasons, Lynch became an instant celebrity. Multiple television networks developed her story into full-length programs. In an effort to capitalize on her iconic status, some media outlets may have exaggerated certain aspects of the story, and Lynch later contested the accuracy of an NBC-TV dramatization in particular. Seeking to make her own voice heard, Lynch told her story to Pulitzer Prize–winning journalist Rick Bragg, who developed it into the popular book *I Am a Soldier, Too: The Jessica Lynch Story* (2003). Throughout the text, which covers everything from Lynch's idyllic childhood to her postwar return to her home in Palestine, West Virginia, Lynch resists being labeled a hero and instead tries to provide an accurate account of her life and her time in Iraq. Now a decorated veteran, Lynch has returned to civilian life and is pursuing a college education. She became a mother for the first time in January 2007.

REBECCA A. ADELMAN

See also

IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Women, Role of in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

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THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
MIDDLE EAST WARS

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THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MIDDLE EAST WARS

The United States in the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Conflicts

VOLUME III: M–S

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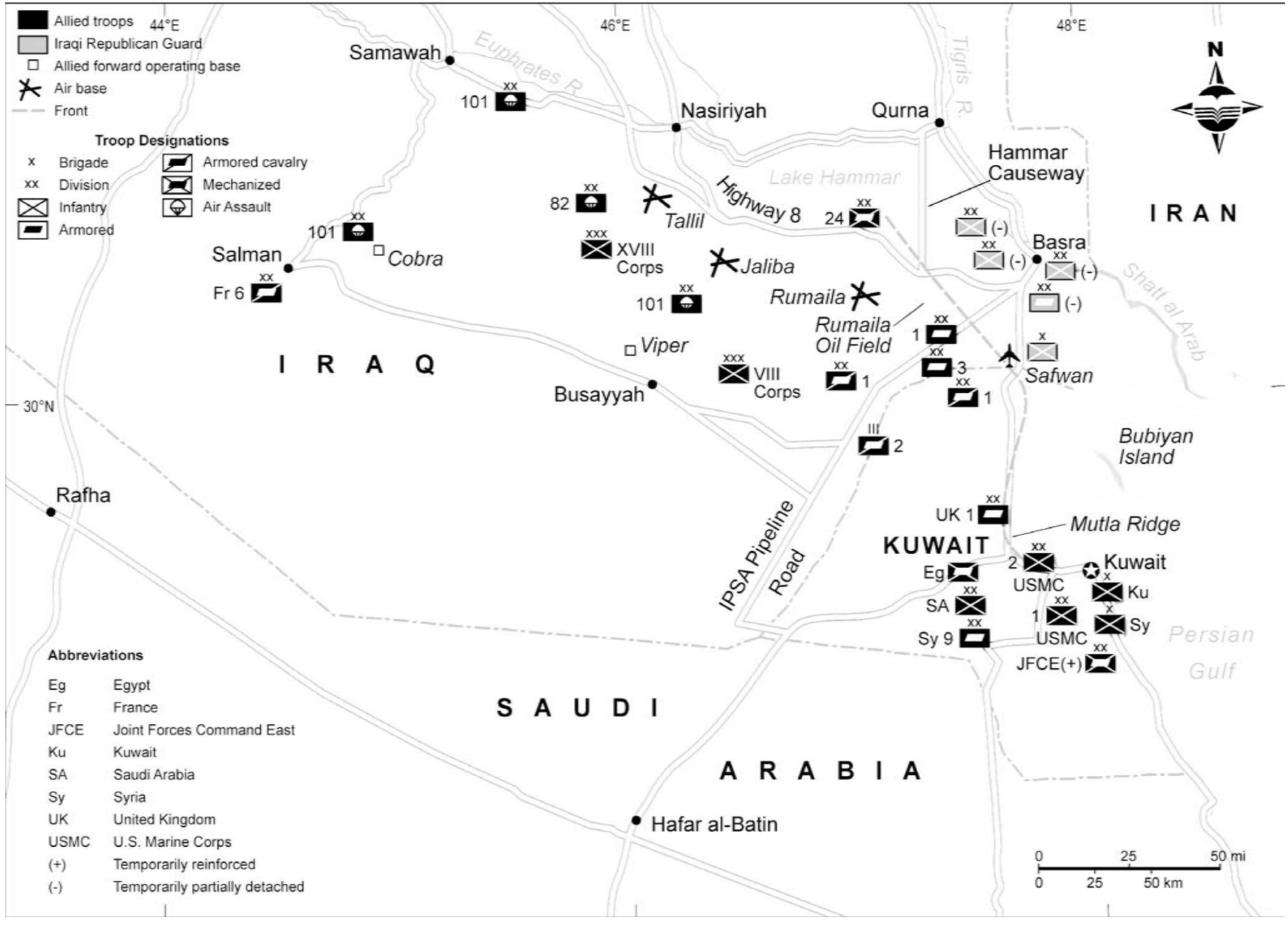
20°N
Masirah
OMAN
SUDAN
YEMEN
ERITREA
Sanaa
Arabian Sea
DJIBOUTI
ETHIOPIA
SOMALIA
0 50 100 mi
0 50 100 km
30°E
40°E
50°E
60°E

Topography of the Middle East

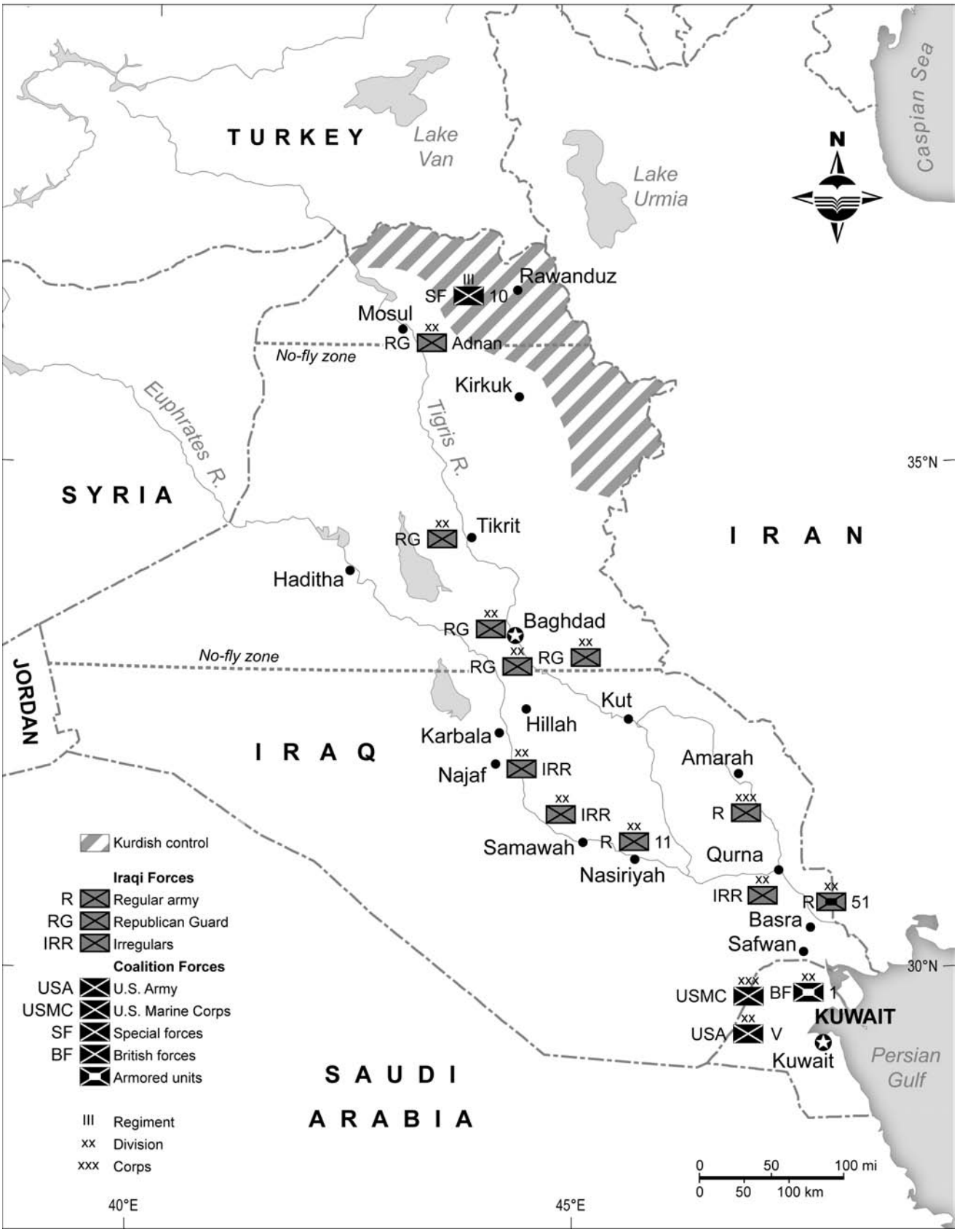
Coalition against Iraq, August 2, 1990–February 28, 1991

Troop Positions at the Close of Operation DESERT STORM



Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, 2001

Disposition of Forces on the Eve of the 2003 Iraq War



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45°E
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SOF
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35°N
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I R A N
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H2
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SOF
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Rumaila Oil Fields
Umm Qasr
Basra
30°N
Coalition Staging Bases
VISOBS
S A U D I
A R A B I A
Kuwait
Persian Gulf
KUWAIT
Coalition movements
Coalition air base
SOF Special operations forces
VISOBS Visual observers
0 50 100 mi
0 50 100 km

M

M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks

The M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams is the most powerful U.S. tank and one of the top main battle tanks (MBTs) in the world. Designed to replace the M60 (which had entered service in 1960), the M1 began as a project by the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, West Germany) and the United States for an MBT able to engage and defeat the vast number of tanks that the Soviet Union and its satellites might field in an invasion of Central Europe. Designated the MBT-70, the new tank was centered on the Shillelagh gun/missile launcher and a 1,500-horsepower engine, neither of which, however, worked out as planned.

Collapse of the MBT-70 project and cancellation of the follow-on XM803 program led to a brand new program, begun from the ground up, in 1972. That same year the U.S. Army came up with a concept of what it wanted in the new MBT, and two companies—Chrysler Defense and the Detroit Diesel division of General Motors—built prototypes of what was then designated the XM1 MBT. Both were tested in early 1976, and that November the army declared Chrysler the winner. Following manufacture of a number of test vehicles, the first production model M1 tank came off the assembly line in February 1980. The new tank was named for General Creighton Abrams, armor tank battalion commander in World War II, commander of allied forces in Vietnam, and then army chief of staff.

The M1 was a revolutionary design and a sharp departure from previous U.S. tanks, with their rounded surfaces and relatively high profile. The M1 was more angular, with flat-plate composite Chobham-type armor and armor boxes that can be opened and the armor changed according to the threat. It was also considerably lower (8 feet) than the M60 (10 feet 9 inches).

From the start the army's intention was to arm the M1 with the 105-millimeter (mm) gun. As a result of a program aimed at securing a common main armament for U.S., British, and West German tanks, the army made the decision, after initial M1 production had begun, to arm the M1 with a German-designed Rheinmetall 120-mm smoothbore gun. But that gun was still under development when the tank was ready, so the army decided to continue with the 105-mm M68 gun utilized in the M60. The 120-mm M256 gun, essentially the German-designed gun with a U.S. breech, was available in 1984, and the first M1A1 with this new armament came off the production line in August 1985. The M1A1HA introduced a new steel-encased depleted uranium armor, which is virtually impenetrable but also dramatically increased the tank's weight to nearly 146,000 pounds. A total of 3,273 M1s were produced for the U.S. Army.

The M1A1, produced beginning in 1985, mounts the 120-mm main gun, and the next modification was the introduction of almost-impenetrable steel-encased depleted-uranium armor, designated HA (heavy armor). Prior to the 1991 Persian Gulf War, upgrades were carried out in Saudi Arabia on all in-theater M1A1 tanks to bring them to M1A1HA status.

A total of 4,796 M1As were produced for the U.S. Army. The U.S. Marine Corps received 221, along with 403 M1s transferred from the army, to replace its more than 700 M60A1s. Kuwait also purchased 218 Abrams tanks, and Saudi Arabia bought 315. Egypt also arranged to produce 551 of them under a coproduction arrangement in which they were built in Egypt by the Halwan Tank Plant. In 2006–2007 the Australian Army took delivery of 59 M1A1s. In July 2008 Iraq issued a formal request to purchase 140 upgraded M1A1Ms from the United States.

In the Persian Gulf War, the M1A1 Abrams and British Challenger proved their great superiority over their Soviet counterparts,

An M1A1 Abrams tank provides area security alongside a street intersection in Iraq, 2005. (U.S. Marine Corps)

especially in night fighting. Of some 600 M1A1 Abrams that saw combat, only 18 were disabled by enemy action. None were penetrated by an enemy round, but 3 were struck by depleted uranium shells fired from other M1s, although none of these were permanently disabled, and there were no crew fatalities. This reflected the survivability features built into the tank, including armored bulkheads to deflect blasts outward. Conversely, the M1A1's 120-mm gun proved lethal to Iraqi MBTs. The M1A1 could engage Iraqi armor at some 3000 yards, twice the Iraqi effective range, and its superior fire-control system could deliver a first-round hit while on the move. The depleted uranium penetrators could almost guarantee a kill.

The M1A2 was first produced in 1986. Most changes are internal. These include a thermal viewer for the tank commander, a new land navigation system, and the Inter-Vehicular Information System (IVIS). The latter is a datalink compatible with other advanced armored fighting vehicles (AFVs) and helicopters. Although only 77 M1A2s were delivered new, more than 500 M1A1s were upgraded to M1A2s. The M1A2 weighs some 139,000 pounds, mounts a 120-mm main gun and three machine guns: two M-240 7.62-mm (.30-caliber), one for the loader and the other mounted coaxially to the right of the main gun, and one M-2 12–7-mm (.50-caliber) mounted on the tank commander's cupola. A six-barrel smoke grenade launcher is located on each side of the turret, and the tank can also lay a smokescreen by an engine-operated system.

During the Iraq War, no Abrams tanks were disabled by enemy action during the initial battles in March and April 2003. During the occupation that followed, some 80 Abrams were knocked out of action as of March 2005. Five crew members have been killed inside their tanks when the vehicles were hit by large improvised explosive devices (IEDs) using explosively formed penetrators (EFPs). Ten crew members also died after being hit while riding partially exposed in open hatches.

Production of the M1A2 was completed in 1996 but can be renewed if necessary. The M1A2 is also in service in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Antitank Weapons; Armored Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Challenger Main Battle Tanks; Improvised Explosive Devices; T-54/55 Series Main Battle Tank; T-62 Main Battle Tank; T-72 Main Battle Tank

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M-113 Armored Personnel Carrier

The M-113 armored personnel carrier (APC) originated in a 1954 U.S. Army requirement for an air-deliverable armored personnel carrier. The Food Machinery Corporation (FMC), later United Defense and BAE Systems, began production in 1960. The requirement was to deliver a squad of 11 infantry to a battle area in an armored vehicle. The crew would be comprised of a track commander (who was also the infantry squad leader) and a driver, and the vehicle would be armed with a .50-caliber machine gun and 2,000 rounds of ammunition. The first model was a gasoline-powered tracked vehicle that was basically a box protected by rolled aluminum armor on three sides and had a sloped front.

The armor on the sloped front was 1.5 inches thick, while the thickness of the armor on the sides and floor varied from 1.125 inches to 1.75 inches. The engine was an 8-cylinder Chrysler V-8 with 209 horsepower. The 80-gallon internal fuel tank allowed a range of 200 miles and a speed up to 40 miles per hour (mph). Air-droppable weight was 18,600 pounds, while the combat weight was 22,900 pounds. The M-113 was 15 feet 11 inches long, 8 feet 10 inches wide, and 8 feet 2 inches high. It had a ground clearance of 16.1 inches and could ascend a 60 percent grade, cross a 66-inch-wide trench, and move in water at 3.5 mph, powered by the tracks. The M-113 would prove to be one of the most popular armored vehicles in the American inventory, from the conflict in Vietnam to current conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The M-113 has gone through four major upgrades, with more possible. Approximately 80,000 have been produced in the United States and under license in Italy. More than 50 nations include the M-113 in their force structures. The M-113 has become a Family of Vehicles (FOV), with numerous variants adapted to specialized missions. Among the variants are several mortar carriers, smoke-generator carriers, command-post carriers, a medical evacuation vehicle, and other specialized-use vehicles, including Soviet-looking vehicles used for training at the National Training Center at Fort Irwin, California. The many nations using the M-113 have also made their own specialized versions.

The first upgrade was FMC's M-113A1 in 1964. This vehicle had a General Motors 6-cylinder diesel engine that produced 212 horsepower. There were no changes in armor or dimensions, but there were a modest increase in weight and an increase in range to 300 miles, partially accounted for by a fuel tank capable of holding 95 gallons. The M-113A2 in 1979 moved the fuel tank to armored external tanks, along with providing improvements in engine cooling and suspension and smoke grenade launchers. Moving the fuel tanks freed up 16 cubic feet of space inside the vehicle and reduced the hazards to the occupants from explosion of fuel due to enemy fire. The new model, also produced by FMC, weighed about 200 pounds more but was still capable of swimming, although this was no longer a requirement and was eliminated from training. This model was the one most used in Operation DESERT STORM, with deployment of 762 such vehicles with U.S. forces and significant numbers with coalition forces. The M113A2 was the most numerous of all APCs in DESERT STORM.

FMC introduced the M-113A3 in 1987, and some participated in Operation DESERT STORM along with the older models. In January 1991 the U.S. Army possessed 972 M-113s of all models. Lieutenant General Frederick Franks, commander of the VII Corps, chose the A3 model as his command track. The turbo supercharged diesel engine produced 275 horsepower, while speed increased to 41 mph, allowing it to keep pace with the M1 Abrams tank. The transmission was improved, and the more powerful engine allowed application of an external armor kit to enhance protection. A traditional steering wheel replaced the lever controls that controlled each track and, along with improved braking, made the new model easier to drive. Although some M-113s were able to keep up with the Abrams tank, many could not, and after-action reports noted this problem.

As each new model of the M-113 came on line, earlier models cycled through the U.S. Army depot system, such as the Anniston Army Depot, to be refitted by depot personnel and United Defense contractors, including modern electronics. There are also programs to use the M-113 as a platform for a variety of new models of APCs. United Defense has proposed stretching the M-113 from five to six road wheels to add 34 inches to the length of the vehicle. As M-113 chasses become available by replacement by newer vehicles, three variations are being considered. One is the M113 A3+ Mobile Tactical Vehicle Light, a demonstration vehicle upon which variations can be adapted. More specialized is the M113 A3+ Engineering Squad Vehicle designed to transport an eight-man engineering squad with all its equipment and also accommodate a mine dispenser and a pathfinder marking system, and tow a trailer with engineering equipment. Another idea is the Infantry Fighting Vehicle Light with a turret with a 25-mm gun, a 400-horsepower engine, and upgraded armor. Also being developed is a Hazardous Materials Recovery Vehicle, with a bulldozer blade and an external mechanical arm. This vehicle, which could have civilian use, would have an overpressure closed-circuit life support system for operating in chemically and biologically contaminated environments.

All of these vehicles will be able to roll on and off the Lockheed C-130 Hercules air transport aircraft. The U.S. Army continues to have the M-113 in its inventory and employs them both in Afghanistan and Iraq. The initial force deployed by air to northern Iraq during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM included 10 M-113s and 4 M-1094 20-mm mortars on the M-113 chassis. Small numbers have been used elsewhere in Iraq, and about 20 have been lost to combat.

The proliferation of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) in Iraq and Afghanistan, which are becoming increasingly lethal, has led to a program of sending M-113A1s to Iraq to provide more protection against IEDs. U.S. representative Ike Skelton (D-Miss.) proposed this in December 2004, noting that there were more than 700 M-113s in Kuwait that would provide better protection for infantry patrols than the Humvees in current use. In early 2005

the U.S. Army began an $84 million program to enhance the armor of 734 M-113A3s and the command vehicle counterpart. The armor upgrade, with parts made in the United States and installed in Kuwait, includes steel side armor, a slat-armor cage that bolts to the steel armor and provides protection from rocket-propelled grenades, and antimine armor at the bottom of the vehicle. This program will give the M-113 a lease on life for a time longer, but the army intends to phase out the M-113s in favor of the Bradley fighting vehicle and the wheeled Stryker combat vehicle.

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See also

Bradley Fighting Vehicle; Franks, Frederick Melvin, Jr.; High Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicle; Improvised Explosive Devices; M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks

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Macedonia, Republic of, Role in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

Former Yugoslav republic and Balkan nation, independent since 1991. With a 2008 population of 2.06 million people, Macedonia is a landlocked country bordered by Albania to the west, Bulgaria to the east, Serbia to the north, and Greece to the south. The small nation covers just 9,780 square miles. Macedonia has been a member of the United Nations (UN) since 1993. In 2005 Macedonia became a candidate for entry into the European Union (EU) and has also applied for membership to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Not surprisingly, Macedonia's foreign policy since independence has been oriented toward Western Europe and the United States. Macedonia's government is a representative parliamentary democracy with a president as head of government and a prime minister who is chosen by the unicameral legislature. The president is elected popularly to a five-year term and may not serve more than two terms. The multiparty political landscape features broad political coalitions that share legislative power. The major political parties include the Social Democratic Union of Macedonia, the International Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, the Democratic Union for Integration, and the Democratic Party of Albanians.

Macedonia's economy moved steadily to embrace free-market capitalism in the 1990s, and by 2006 it was among the best performers of the 178 nations in the world monitored by the World Bank. By 2007 Macedonia's annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth was estimated to be 5.5 percent. About one-third of the nation's population is Muslim, giving it Europe's fourth-largest Muslim population (by percentage). Although Macedonia was not involved in the devastating Balkan Wars of the 1990s, in 2001 the Macedonian government fought a brief conflict with Albanian minority insurgents in the northern and western parts of the nation. In June 2001 a NATO-brokered cease-fire took effect, and the government agreed to allow more autonomy to its Albanian minority. To date, there have been only sporadic and isolated incidents of violence stemming from the conflict.

Hoping to gain entrance into the EU and NATO and recognizing that global terrorism was a growing concern, Macedonia has participated—albeit in a very minor role—in both the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War. In mid-2003 Macedonia signaled its willingness to send a small troop deployment to Afghanistan and since then has maintained some 130 military personnel in the war-torn nation. They have served chiefly in support roles alongside U.S. and NATO forces as part of the International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF). In July 2003 after major combat operations ended in Iraq, Macedonia provided approximately 50 noncombat personnel to work with U.S.-led forces there as part of the Multi-National Force–Iraq. Macedonia's deployment peaked at 77 personnel, all of whom were withdrawn upon consultation with the United States and other allies in November 2008. Macedonia has suffered no fatalities to date.

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See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; International Security Assistance Force; Iraqi Freedom, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Madrasahs

The term "madrasah" is simply the Arabic word for school. It can also mean a more advanced academy or college of Islamic studies. In the past, the lower-level school of Islamic study was called a *kuttab,* where memorization of the Qur'an is taught, but in modern times a *kuttab* is sometimes confused with a madrasah as in the general meaning of the word. Mosques, or *masajid,* may also have a *halaqat,* or study circle. Early in Islamic history, madrasahs were attached to mosques. Those as separate institutions came later. Nizam al-Mulk, an 11th-century ruler, is said to have institutionalized the system by building a great school, the Nizamiyah, that was then copied by others.

These separately established madrasahs were primarily created to teach Islamic law but included subjects other than *fiqh*

(jurisprudence), such as Arabic, *tafsir* (study of the interpretation of the Qur'an), mysticism, and hadith science. They were open to traveling students, often from the poorer classes in society. Typically, these madrasahs were endowed to give stipends to students who might live there and to provide salaries to the faculty. The fortunes of the madrasahs rose and fell depending on the times. Thus, the madrasahs of Mecca were not as well endowed in the 19th century as later.

Particularly in the wake of the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, the entire system of Islamic education was heavily criticized in the West and blamed for the rise of the Taliban, for example. Certainly many, although not all, of the Taliban did come from the madrasahs in Pakistan, but the critique of all madrasahs as institutions teaching hatred for the West or seeking to institute a radical form of Islam is misinformed. Most acts of Islamic terrorism around the world have been the product of individuals trained outside of the madrasah system. Nevertheless, it is true that some madrasahs in Pakistan have provided jihadists to the Taliban and Kashmiri militant groups. At least two of the suicide bombers who struck the London transportation system on July 7, 2005, had spent time at a Pakistani madrasah. However, it is also true that one cannot obtain advanced Islamic training outside of the Islamic education system, as the requisite subjects are not taught at all in universities or Western seminaries.

In some areas the madrasahs are being subjected to reforms imposed by the state, as in Saudi Arabia. In other countries they have long been under attack or even shut down by the government, as in Turkey. In Egypt's renowned al-Azhar University system, the madrasah curriculum has evolved steadily, although this has not satisfied all critics of al-Azhar's broader educational system, which includes primary and secondary schools. In Iraq in the holy cities of Karbala and Najaf, the madrasah system is presided over by the Hawzah al-Ilmiyya (the certified Islamic scholars). In general, clerics of the Hawzah support a separation of the life and work of the Muslim scholar from politics, which is why clerics such as Ayatollah Sistani resist being identified with political parties and may express views divergent from the government.

Many of the madrasahs in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and areas outside of the Arab heartland maintain a connection with the Arab Middle East, both through idealizing the history and legacy of Islamic studies and by religious and educationally related travel. Hence, connections with Saudi Arabia, for example, are to some degree unavoidable and not necessarily radicalizing. On the other hand, Muslim state governments are now keeping a close watch on pilgrims and those who travel for religious studies. Realization that many suicide bombers and other terrorists involved in terrorist attacks are not products of the madrasah system could contribute to critical thinking about the modern phenomenon of Islamist terrorism.

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See also

Afghanistan; Islamic Radicalism; Jihad; Pakistan; September 11 Attacks, International Reactions to; Taliban

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Madrid Attacks

Event Date: March 11, 2004

Terrorist bombing attacks in Madrid, Spain, on March 11, 2004, also referred to as 3/11. The attacks were launched in the morning against the city's commuter train system, killing an announced 191 people and wounding 1,755 others. Later estimates, after reexamination of the remains of the victims, reduced the death toll to 190. The victims included citizens of 17 countries.

The attacks took place during the morning rush hour on four commuter trains traveling between Alcala des Henares and the Atocha Station in Madrid in an obvious effort to inflict the greatest amount of casualties possible. Thirteen bombs, hidden in backpacks, were placed on the trains, and 10 of these exploded within a two-minute period beginning at 7:37 a.m. Two of the 3 additional bombs were detonated by a police bomb squad, as was a suspicious package found near the Atocha Station. An additional unexploded bomb was brought intact to a police facility and later dismantled. This unexploded bomb provided evidence for the investigation and subsequent trial of the terrorists.

In the immediate aftermath of the attacks, the Spanish government blamed the attacks on Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque Homeland and Freedom, or ETA), the Basque separatist movement that had launched terrorist attacks in the past. Investigators quickly absolved ETA of the attacks, however, and the blame shifted to the terrorist group Al Qaeda, which had perpetrated the September 11, 2001, attacks against the United States. Spanish authorities have claimed that the attackers were a loosely knit group of radical Muslims primarily from Morocco, Syria, and Algeria. A number of Spanish nationals were also involved, mainly by selling the explosives to the terrorists.

The Partido Popular (Popular Party, PP), which then formed the government of Spain, was defeated in national elections held three days later, replaced in power by the left-leaning Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE). While Al Qaeda later claimed that the attacks had led to

Rescue workers remove victims from the destroyed passenger car of a bomb-damaged train at Atocha Station in Madrid, Spain, on March 11, 2004. The Madrid attacks came just ahead of national elections that resulted in a dramatic shift in Spain's political landscape. (AP/Wide World Photos)

the electoral defeat, most experts agree that the PP government's clumsy handling of the aftermath of the attacks was the primary factor in the PSOE victory in the election. The PP had held only a narrow and shrinking lead in the polls prior to the attacks. The government's early declaration that the attacks were the work of the ETA had been seen by many as influenced by electoral considerations, and when the claim was quickly shown to be untrue, the government's credibility was badly damaged.

The PSOE had strongly opposed Spain's participation in the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, which the PP had supported. Shortly after the elections the new government under Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero withdrew Spanish troops from the coalition in Iraq, adding some weight to the Al Qaeda assertion that its attacks had directly affected Spanish foreign policy. The precipitous Spanish troop withdrawal also led to considerable tension in U.S.-Spanish relations. As late as the 2008 U.S. presidential elections, Republican candidate John McCain said that he would not meet with Spanish prime minister Zapatero.

A few weeks after the attacks, on April 2, 2004, an additional explosive device was found on the tracks of a high-speed rail line. The explosives had been prepared for detonation but were not connected to any detonating device. Following this further discovery, new investigations were launched, and Spanish police tracked down suspects in an area south of Madrid. During the raid to apprehend them an explosion, apparently caused by a suicide bomb, killed seven suspects. Security officials believe that between five and eight suspects managed to escape the police that day. They have not yet been apprehended.

In all, 29 suspects, 20 Moroccans, and 9 Spaniards were apprehended and charged for involvement in the attacks. Their trial began on February 15, 2007, and lasted four and a half months. The verdict, handed down on October 31, 2007, found 21 guilty of various crimes, ranging from forgery to murder. Two of the convicted terrorists were sentenced to prison terms that added up to 42,924 years, but Spanish law limits actual imprisonment to 40 years.

The court sentences did not mention any direct links between the convicted terrorists and Al Qaeda, however. While Al Qaeda may have inspired the Madrid terrorists and a connection cannot be ruled out, no irrefutable evidence has been found to connect it with the planning, financing, or execution of the Madrid attacks.

Nevertheless, the Madrid attacks may well have been the first major success for an Al Qaeda–type terrorist organization in Europe. The attacks did lead to greater cooperation between West European security services in an attempt to prevent further attacks. Yet on July 7, 2005, London suffered multiple terrorist bombings that also appear to have independent from but inspired by Al Qaeda.

Elliot P. Chodoff

See also

Al Qaeda; Global War on Terror; McCain, John Sidney, III; Spain, Role in Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Wars; Terrorism

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Mahdi Army

Paramilitary wing of the Iraqi political movement Tayyar al-Sadr (the Sadr Movement) led by Iraqi junior Shiite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr. Muqtada al-Sadr is the son of Ayatollah Muhammad Sadiq al-Sadr, a prominent and outspoken critic of the Iraqi Baath Party and of President Saddam Hussein's regime during the 1990s. The elder Sadr was assassinated along with two of his other sons, Mustafa and Muammal, on February 18, 1999. Sadiq al-Sadr was a cousin of both Grand Ayatollah Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr, a prominent Iraqi Shiite activist cleric in the 1960s and 1970s, and Musa al-Sadr, the prominent cleric who oversaw the political mobilization of Lebanese Shia from the late 1950s until his disappearance on a trip to Libya in 1978.

Sadiq al-Sadr received his religious education in the seminary of Najaf and studied with his cousin, Baqir al-Sadr, and Iranian Grand Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who lived in exile in Najaf from 1965 to 1978. Sadiq al-Sadr's popularity among Iraqi Shia began to grow beginning in the mid-1980s, and by the end of that decade, despite debates among clerical circles about his qualifications for the rank, he had come to be recognized by many to be an elevated religious leader known as a *marja' al-taqlid,* meaning a source of authority whom a follower might emulate.

Sadr was a rising star in the 1990s because of his vocal criticism of the Baathists and his belief in an active seminary, a dangerous position in Iraq. He challenged the silent seminary, which was represented by the politically quietist Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Husayn al-Sistani and the other members of the *marjaiyya,* the council of Iraq's resident grand ayatollahs that sits in Najaf. Sadr took advantage of government crackdowns on the traditional Shiite seminaries in southern Iraqi cities, such as Najaf, Karbala, and Kufa, following the suppression of the 1991 Shiite and Kurdish rebellions in Iraq.

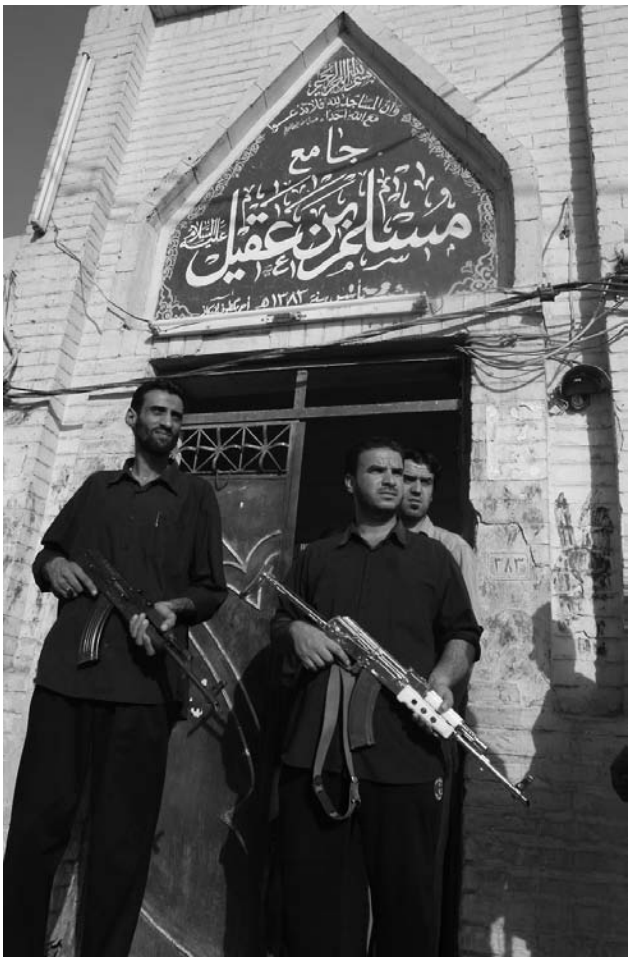
While senior clerics such as Sistani came under increasing government scrutiny and were basically placed under house arrest, Hussein's regime initially tolerated Sadr because he was seen as a potential counterweight to Sistani. A divided Iraqi Shiite community was more advantageous to the ruling Baathists than a unified one. However, by the mid-1990s Sadr had begun to take more confrontational positions vis-à-vis the government, issuing a fatwa (juridical opinion) forbidding his followers from joining the Baath Party, holding Friday prayers in defiance of a government ban, and calling for the implementation of a clerically governed Islamic state in Iraq.

Sadr was also critical of Sistani and the *marjaiyya* for remaining politically disengaged in the face of government suppression. An Iraqi native and Arab, Sadr presented himself as the native alternative for Iraqi Shiites to follow in opposition to the Iranian-born Sistani and the other members of the *marjaiyya,* all of whom were foreign born. Sadr's speeches and sermons drew tens of thousands of people, and his representatives successfully took over thousands of mosques, local religious centers, and Husseiniyyas (buildings used to commemorate the lives and martyrdom of the Shiite imams, such as the third imam Hussein).

After the assassination of Sadr in February 1999, control of his grassroots movement in Iraq was assumed by his son Muqtada al-Sadr, a low-ranking seminary student, although most of his followers took as their *marja' al-taqlid* Ayatollah Kadhim Hairi, one of Sadiq al-Sadr's best students. Hairi, however, resided in Qum, where he remains today, and thus was not well placed to assume control of Sadiq al-Sadr's movement in Iraq. For a time Muqtada al-Sadr recognized Hairi as the spiritual guide of the Sadr Movement; however, the two had a falling out in late 2003 after Hairi declined to return to Iraq.

In early April 2003 following the March U.S.- and British-led invasion of Iraq, Muqtada al-Sadr's representatives and clerical allies reopened mosques and religious centers in Sadrist strongholds in places such as the southern city of Kufa and the sprawling Shiite district known as Sadr City in eastern Baghdad. These mosques and centers form the social support base for the Sadr Movement and remain as key elements of Sadr's influence and authority. Sadr City and large swaths of southern Iraq are Sadrist strongholds, giving the movement significant popular support among the Iraqi Shiite population, which makes up an estimated 60–65 percent of Iraq's 28 million people. Despite its continued prominence, the Sadr Movement began to splinter in 2005. Ayatollah Muhammad Yaqubi and Mahmoud Sarkhi al-Hassani, two former students of Sadiq al-Sadr, broke away from the movement and formed their own sociopolitical groups. Yaqubi created the Fadhila (Islamic Virtue) Party, and Hassani formed a smaller movement popular among more messianic Iraqi Shiites who await the return of the Twelfth Shia Imam, Muhammad al-Mahdi.

The Mahdi Army was formed soon after the collapse of the Iraqi government in the spring of 2003, and by the spring of 2004 its membership had swelled to an estimated 6,000–10,000 fighters, of whom a core group of 500–1,000 were highly trained. Muqtada al-Sadr has been blamed for ordering the murder of Hujjat al-Islam Abd al-Majid al-Khoi, a midlevel cleric and son of the late prominent Iraq-based grand ayatollah Abu al-Qasim al-Khoi, who was a U.S. ally; the younger Khoi was stabbed to death in a crowd in Najaf on April 10, 2003. Sadr has repeatedly denied that he was involved in the murder. Later that month Mahdi Army fighters



Members of the Mahdi Army, loyal to Shiite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr, guard a Shiite mosque in the Sadr City area of Baghdad, Iraq, on July 12, 2006. (AP/Wide World Photos)

surrounded the Najaf homes of Sistani and other members of the *marjaiyya,* demanding that they leave Iraq. The Mahdi Army was forced to stand down when several thousand Shiite Arab tribesmen loyal to the *marjaiyya* came to Najaf to protect the grand ayatollahs. Sadr has maintained a tenuous relationship with the grand ayatollahs and has publicly recognized their authority, although he may simply be paying them lip service.

Sadr ordered the Mahdi Army into the streets in April 2004 after the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), the U.S.-dominated governing body headed by L. Paul Bremer that ran Iraq from 2003 to June 28, 2005, closed the offices of the main Sadrist newspaper, *al-Hawza,* and pressured an Iraqi court to indict Sadr and several of his aides for the murder of Khoi. Fighting between the Mahdi Army and coalition forces continued until early June, when a tenuous cease-fire was negotiated.

Heavy fighting between the two sides began again on August 3, 2005, when U.S. and Iraqi forces tried to arrest Sadr. The fighting lasted until August 25, when Sistani, who had recently returned to Iraq after undergoing medical treatment in Great Britain, brokered a cease-fire. During the height of the fighting, Sadr and several hundred of his supporters took over Najaf's Shrine of Imam Ali, a revered Shiite holy site where the first imam is buried. The old city of Najaf was heavily damaged in the fighting. After meeting with Sistani on August 25, Sadr and his armed supporters left the shrine compound and turned over its keys to Sistani's representatives.

Following the December 2005 national elections, the Sadr Movement gained control of four ministries and reportedly infiltrated branches of the security services with Mahdi Army militiamen, who were accused of carrying out attacks on Sadr's rivals and Sunni Arabs. Despite such allegations, Sadr remained the most popular Iraqi Shiite leader with Sunni Iraqis, many of whom respected and admired his resistance to continued U.S. and British occupation. His crossover popularity, however, was shattered following the February 22, 2006, bombing of the revered Shiite Askari shrine in Samarra. Mahdi Army militiamen and other rogue elements, some of them former members of his movement, ignored instructions from Sadr not to carry out random revenge attacks and instead attacked Sunni mosques and murdered Sunni religious leaders and random passersby in retaliation.

The ensuing descent of Iraq into a virtual civil war has made it more difficult to determine which elements are truly a part of the Sadr Movement and the Mahdi Army, whose membership reportedly has swelled to some 60,000 according to the Iraq Study Group report. Many groups that are carrying out sectarian killings are thought to be led by former Mahdi Army commanders who were expelled from the movement or even individuals who have never been Mahdi Army members but use its name to carry out extortion and kidnappings for ransom. The real Mahdi Army and the Sadr Movement, although initially supportive of Iraqi prime minister Nuri al-Maliki, began to face government-led attacks in April 2008 when Iraqi forces and U.S. aircraft attacked Mahdi Army positions in the southern port city of Basra. These assaults were reportedly spearheaded by Iraqi Army and police units dominated by the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council, headed by Sadr's chief Shiite rival, Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim. The attacks are believed to have been an attempt to damage the Sadrists' political chances in provincial elections set for 2009.

The Mahdi Army and the Supreme Council's paramilitary wing, the Badr Corps, have engaged in running gun battles since 2005, with a large-scale battle between the two occurring in Karbala in January 2008 during Ashura religious processions. Despite these attacks, in early May 2008 Sadr announced the six-month renewal of a 2007 cease-fire agreement between the Sadr Movement and the Iraqi government. He ordered his supporters not to engage in violence and instead requested that they focus on grassroots nonviolent political protests against the continued occupation of Iraq.

Christopher Anzalone

See also

Baath Party; Badr Organization; Fadhila Party; Fayyad, Muhammad Ishaq al-; Hakim, Abd al-Aziz al-; Hakim, Muhammad Baqir al-; Iraq, History to 1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Maliki, Nuri

Muhammed Kamil Hasan al-; Sadr, Muqtada al-; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam; Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council

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Mahmoud, Salah Aboud

Birth Date: ca. 1950

Iraqi military officer who led the Khafji offensive during the 1991 Persian Gulf War and was part of the delegation that negotiated the end of the war with the Americans in February 1991. Salah Aboud Mahmoud was born in Baghdad, probably in 1950, to a Sunni Arab family. Like many Iraqis from modest background, he joined the army. He rose to prominence in the latter stages of the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War, when Iraq had begun to seize the initiative with offensive operations at Fao and other areas to solicit Iranian responses that were then successfully met with Iraqi infantry, artillery, and mechanized units. Mahmoud acquitted himself admirably in these operations and was promoted to brigadier general and then to major general. His military career was exceptional in a regime in which political ties based on family, tribe, and region were essential to advancement; instead, he rose on the basis of his achievements alone.

In 1990 Mahmoud, now a lieutenant general, commanded the Iraqi III Corps, a key part of the invasion force that stormed into Kuwait on August 2, 1990. Mahmoud was then charged with the attack at Khafji, near the border with Saudi Arabia. As it turned out, it was the only organized Iraq offensive of the entire Persian Gulf War. With recent Iraqi artillery shelling Khafji civilians had already evacuated, but a Saudi National Guard force remained. Iraqi president Saddam Hussein visited Basra to discuss the Khafji offensive with Mahmoud. The Khafji attack was part of a wider Iraqi offensive into Saudi Arabia designed to inflict casualties and encourage opposition to the war there.

On January 29, 1991, Mahmoud's forces, made up of two mechanized divisions and an armored division, successfully drove off Saudi forces, but American troops from the 1st Marine Division stopped the offensive cold, although Khafji remained in Iraqi hands. On January 31, 1991, Saudi and Qatari forces retook the town, aided substantially by coalition air strikes. Given the losses endured, Mahmoud asked several times for permission from Baghdad to withdraw but was refused. Despite his orders, he could not achieve a victory, and on February 1, 12 hours from his first communication with Baghdad, he ended the putative offensive. The Iraqis suffered heavy casualties during their retreat when they came under heavy and prolonged air attack.

After the retreat from Khafji, Mahmoud was ordered to Baghdad to account for his failure. Meanwhile, what was left of his corps was assigned to protect an air force base at Jaber, Kuwait. When the allied ground offensive began, the 1st U.S. Marine Division was tasked with taking that base, and on February 25 Mahmoud employed two of his brigades to attack the flanks of the marine division as it approached. Although unsuccessful, the counterattacks marked Mahmoud as one of the more competent Iraqi military commanders in an officer corps awash with mediocrities.

Mahmoud ordered a withdrawal early on the morning of February 26, and until February 28 Iraqi troops were subjected to air attacks along Highway 6 to Basra, the so-called Highway of Death. Mahmoud's force, already reduced by the Khafji offensive, was further degraded during its rapid retreat from Kuwait. When Baghdad agreed to truce terms, Mahmoud, along with General Sultan Hashim Ahmad, the deputy chief of staff at the Defense Ministry, made up the Iraqi delegation that negotiated with coalition commander U.S. General H. Norman Schwarzkopf and Saudi Prince Khalid ibn Sultan al-Saud. Ahmad and Mahmoud ultimately agreed to terms that set conditions for the peace, allowed for prisoner transfers, and permitted the Iraqis to continue to fly helicopters in what were otherwise no-fly zones.

After the war Mahmoud was cycled out as commander of III Corps, a regular process in the Hussein regime to ensure that officers did not retain commands too long lest they pose a threat to the regime. Mahmoud was later made governor of Dhi Qar, a predominantly Shia province in southern Iraq, that in 1991 briefly fell to the Shiite insurgency before it was brutally suppressed. In December 1994 when Iraqi major general Wafiq as-Samarrai defected to Jordan and called on a number of officers to revolt, Mahmoud's name was listed among those being asked to defect. Still other officers, as well as Hussein's two sons-in-law, defected. Despite Mahmoud's connection to many of the purged and defected officers, he was not executed, although he was cycled out of his governorate and other positions, likely because of Samarrai's statements.

In 1998 Hussein created four administrative regions for Iraq and appointed naval commander Mizban Khidher Hadi as the governor of the Central Euphrates Region. In late March 2003 at the time of the Anglo-American–led invasion, many in the Iraqi leadership believed that Mahmoud would be recalled to duty and appointed to the Central Euphrates governorship after Mizban was dismissed, but Mizban was reinstated before this could occur. Mahmoud's fate and whereabouts after 2003 remain unknown.

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See also

DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Khafji, Battle of; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.

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Majid al Tikriti, Ali Hassan al-
Birth Date: 1941
Death Date: January 25, 2010

High-ranking Iraqi government official, minister of defense (1993–1995), cousin of Baath Party leader and Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, and known as "Chemical Ali" because of his role in the use of chemical weapons to suppress ethnic uprisings by the Kurds and Shiites. Ali Hassan al-Majid al Tikriti was born sometime in 1941 in Tikrit to a relatively modest family.

Majid, along with many others from Tikrit, joined the Baath Party in 1958 and enlisted in the Iraqi Army that same year. He was arrested during the 1963 coup when Colonel Abd al-Salam Arif seized power and moved against the Baathists. After the Baath Party seized power in 1968, Majid rose steadily within the party ranks, along with his cousin Saddam Hussein and many other men from Tikrit, a number of them interrelated. This cadre formed the base of Hussein's power, as all were family members or members of the same tribe, people whom he could trust. By 1978 Majid headed the Regional Secretariat Office of the Baath Party. That same year, after graduating from the National Defense Academy, he was appointed to the Military Bureau.

When Hussein became president of Iraq in 1979, replacing Ahmad al-Hassan Bakr, Majid's star continued to rise. In 1982 he became a member of the Regional Command. After an assassination attempt on Hussein in 1983, Majid was charged with punishing those connected—even tangentially—with the attempt. During 1984–1987 he was the director-general of internal security, making him a key part of Hussein's security apparatus that ensured the survival and continuation of the regime.

In 1987 Hussein appointed Majid governor of the northern bureau, which included Kurdistan in northern Iraq. By 1987, with the pressures of the Iran-Iraq War weighing heavily upon Baghdad, the security situation in northern Iraq was seen as very precarious, with a growing Kurdish resistance movement distracting the government from the war effort against Iran. To bring an end to the Kurdish insurgency, Majid ordered civilian Kurds to be attacked using chemical weapons, including mustard gas and sarin. One attack on Halabja resulted in more than 5,000 deaths, leading to the sobriquet of "Chemical Ali." Following the Halabja massacre, Majid oversaw an Arabization campaign in Anfal that involved the forced transfer of Kurdish populations and the continued use of chemical weapons to break the Kurdish resistance.

In 1989 Majid became minister of local administration, a position designed to oversee the repopulation with Arabs of the areas that he had depopulated in Kurdistan in his last posting. After the invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 Majid was made governor of Kuwait, in which position he oversaw the organized Iraqi looting and sacking of the nation and the elimination of opposition to Iraqi rule.

With the 1991 Persian Gulf War and the Shiite rebellion centered in Basra against the regime, Hussein placed Majid in charge of the southern forces to put down the insurgency, which he did with brute force. In 1991 Majid became a member of the Revolutionary Command Council. He served as minister of the interior during 1991–1993, and from 1993 to 1995 he headed the Ministry of Defense. These appointments to key security posts clearly illustrated Hussein's trust in Majid, but the constant shifts in assignments also revealed Hussein's paranoid nature. No official served in any key military or security post for long, lest he come to pose a threat to the regime. Rotation in office was a key element of Hussein's modus operandi, even if the rotation occurred among a limited elite.

In 1995 Majid was removed from office for allegedly having traded with Iran, but in 1998 he reemerged to govern the southern portion of Iraq, where government power was limited because of the no-fly zone established by the allies after the Persian Gulf War. Shortly before the Iraq War began in March 2003, Hussein divided the nation into four administrative areas, with Majid having charge of the southern portion. During the American-led invasion, Majid was reportedly killed in an air raid on Basra, but this proved false. Indeed, he was arrested on August 17, 2003, and handed over to Iraqi authorities to be put on trial on charges of crimes against humanity and genocide arising from his campaign against the Kurds. During the trial Majid was unapologetic, arguing that his actions had been approved by the legitimate Iraqi government and that he was simply carrying out orders. On June 24, 2007, an Iraqi court found Majid guilty. The court gave him five death sentences. A series of judicial and political hurdles delayed the sentence from being carried out until January 25, 2010, when Majid was executed by hanging.

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See also
Baath Party; Chemical Weapons and Warfare; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Kurds; Kurds, Massacres of

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Major, John Roy
Birth Date: March 29, 1943

British Conservative Party politician and prime minister (1990–1997). Born in Carshalton, London, on March 29, 1943, John Major was christened John Roy Major. He used the middle name until the early 1980s, although his birth certificate does not include the name Roy. His father was a former circus performer who also ran a business selling garden gnomes, and in 1955 the family moved to Brixton where Major, after leaving school at age 16, managed to obtain a job as a clerk for an insurance broker. He then secured a position with the London Electricity Board and began a correspondence course to study banking, joining the Standard Chartered Bank in May 1965. Two years later he was sent to Nigeria for business, and by this time he had become active in politics as a supporter of the Conservative Party. He contested the two general elections in 1974, and in 1979 he won the seat for Huntingdonshire (later Huntingdon, after boundary changes) in Parliament. In that election Margaret Thatcher was elected prime minister, and the Conservatives began a long tenure in power.

Major held a number of minor positions in the government, entering the cabinet in 1987 as chief secretary to the Treasury. Two years later he became foreign secretary but was in the post for only three months before becoming chancellor of the Exchequer, presenting the budget in 1990.

When the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait occurred in August 1990, the British government under Thatcher was one of the strongest supporters of the deposed emir of Kuwait. Soon after the invasion but unconnected with events in the Middle East, Thatcher's leadership of the party was challenged by Michael Heseltine, a longtime rival. After she came just short of securing the party's leadership in the first ballot she withdrew, and Major stood in the second round, winning the top post easily and becoming leader of the Conservative Party on November 27, 1990. The following day he was appointed prime minister. The British were already closely involved in Operation DESERT SHIELD, the preparations that led to Operation DESERT STORM.

Major's humble origins, along with his quintessential Englishness, made him a popular figure in Britain, although this tended not to go over so well in Scotland and Wales. There was no doubt that Major would support the international coalition against Iraq, for which he had support from the opposition Labour Party, but in his memoirs he noted two serious reservations about the war. The first was the strength of Iraqi forces, and the second was whether the Iraqis would employ chemical and/or biological weapons. The British hoped that the Iraqis might withdraw from Kuwait without an armed confrontation and repeatedly urged them to do so.

Conservative Party politician John Major replaced Margaret Thatcher as British prime minister in the midst of the Persian Gulf crisis in 1990 and remained prime minister until 1997. (Corel)

After diplomacy failed and the war began in January 1991, Major and his war cabinet met regularly to discuss the nature of the war and the possible effects of it on Britain's relations with other countries. They also debated whether or not there would be an increase in terrorism after the war was won. Major always believed that the cease-fire signed on February 28, 1991, was a "frustrating conclusion" to the war, but over the succeeding years his government continued to enforce sanctions against Iraq. In spite of the successful conclusion to the war, Major and the Conservatives were expected to lose the general election in April 1992. Nevertheless, he managed to win a narrow victory, with a majority of 21 seats.

During Major's tenure there were numerous economic crises, and there was much discussion over the role Britain should or should not play in post–Cold War Europe. There were also a number of scandals, one of which involved Minister of State for Defence Procurement Jonathan Aitken, who was accused of being involved in secret business arrangements with Saudi princes and specifically allowing an Arab businessman to pay for Aitken's stay at the Ritz Hotel in Paris. In the court case that followed Aitken was found to have lied under oath and was jailed for perjury. The event not only reflected badly on the Major government but also associated it more clearly with negative events in the Middle East.

Major gradually lost his majority in parliament through by-election defeats, and in 1997 he lost the general election to Tony Blair's Labour Party. Major remained in Parliament until 2001. In 1998 he became a member of the European Advisory Board to the Carlyle Group, a major U.S.-based private equity investment firm, and he as well as former president George H. W. Bush, former secretary of state James A. Baker III, and others were at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in Washington, D.C., in 2001 attending meetings of the Carlyle Group when the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon took place. Major is a sought-after speaker, and in December 2006 he called upon Parliament to launch an independent investigation of Prime Minister Blair's motives for participating in the March 2003 invasion of Iraq.

JUSTIN J. CORFIELD

See also

Blair, Tony; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Thatcher, Margaret; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy

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Makiya, Kanan

See Khalil, Samir al-

Makkawi, Muhammad Ibrahim

See Adl, Sayf al-

Maliki, Nuri Muhammed Kamil Hasan al-

Birth Date: June 20, 1950

Iraqi political leader and prime minister since May 20, 2006. For many years, Nuri Muhammed Kamil Hasan al-Maliki was a leader of the Islamic Dawa Party, an Islamist organization that was ruthlessly suppressed by former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. He remains the secretary-general of the party. Until 2006, Maliki was known by the pseudonym "Jawad," which he adopted while in exile in Syria.

Maliki was born in Abi Gharq, Iraq, near Karbala, on June 20, 1950. He received a bachelor's degree at the Usul al-Din College in Baghdad and a master's degree in Arabic literature at Salahaddin University in Sulamaniyah. It was during his college years that he became politically active and joined the Islamic Dawa Party in 1968, steadily rising in the organization's hierarchy. Maliki represents the jihadist faction within the party.

When Iraqi president Saddam Hussein cracked down on the Dawa Party in the 1970s, its members were sentenced to death, even in absentia. Maliki was forced to flee Iraq in October 1979. Fleeing through Jordan, he first traveled to Syria and remained there until 1982, when he moved to Iran. He resided for a year in Ahwaz and then moved to Tehran. In September 1989, he returned to Damascus. He remained in Syria until the fall of Saddam's government in April 2003.

While in Syria, Maliki supervised the Dawa Party's publication, *Al-Mawqif,* and became the head of the organization in Damascus and in Lebanon, participating in the Iraqi opposition coalition known as the Joint Action Committee in 1990. He toured the Middle East and Europe to solicit support for the Iraqi opposition movement and convened an important conference representing the various Iraqi opposition groups held in Beirut in 1991.

On his return to Iraq in 2003, Maliki served in various positions in the new Iraqi interim government; he was named to the National Council, headed the security committee of the transitional Iraqi National Assembly, and was then elected to the new National Assembly, where he served on the National Sovereignty Committee. He also became the chief spokesperson and negotiator for the alliance of the various Shia parties and groups known as the United Islamic Alliance during the drafting of the new Iraqi constitution.

When Ibrahim al-Jafari, Iraq's first prime minister, was unable to obtain support from the United States and certain Iraqi groups, Maliki was nominated as prime minister. He took office on May 20, 2006; he also served as the acting minister of the interior until June 2006.

Iraq's prime minister–designate Nuri al-Maliki during a news conference in Baghdad on May 9, 2006. Maliki was officially sworn in as the country's new prime minister on May 20. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Maliki has been described by Iraq experts as a pragmatic individual who represents the Arab-Iraqi-centered orientation of the Dawa Party and is not overly influenced by Iran. However, it has been difficult for Iraqi officials to steer clear of pressure from the United States and to deal with sectarian and party loyalties in the context of intersectarian fighting, which has further delayed reestablishing stability in Iraq. U.S. senator Carl Levin (D-Mich.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, attacked the Maliki government in August 2007 for being "too beholden to religious and sectarian leaders." At the same time, Senator Hillary Clinton (D-N.Y.) charged that Maliki was too "divisive" a figure. Yet, his political skills have been demonstrated, certainly prior to his assuming the office of prime minister, in his generally good working relationships with various opposition parties. These relationships were strained later, in part because of the tension between Washington's and Baghdad's differing goals and priorities.

Under the Maliki government, the U.S. military has forged new alliances with Sunni tribal elements to defeat Al Qaeda in Iraq and other Sunni insurgency groups and has urged measures to reverse de-Baathification, causing concerns among Iraqi Shiites. A point of controversy has been legislation regarding the sharing of oil revenues, resisted by Sunni and Kurdish leaders. A major Maliki triumph, however, was passage of the Status of Forces Agreement of December 2008.

On these issues, Maliki has been responsive to Iraqi concerns and has consistently called for a definite time frame for a U.S. troop withdrawal, despite various American warnings that setting a withdrawal date is unwise. The United States has reportedly monitored all of Maliki's and other Iraqi government leaders' communications, perhaps because of these differences.

Maliki has also had to deal with inter-Shiite tensions, such as when the Fadhila Party withdrew its representatives from the Shiite coalition in 2007 and when he responded to pressures to counter the power of the Mahdi Army of Muqtada al-Sadr and the Badr organization/militia. Indeed, he moved against the latter two in 2008. In November 2008, tensions with the Kurds expressed itself in directives made to the Peshmerga forces.

Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Badr Organization; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Islamic Dawa Party; Mahdi Army; Sadr, Muqtada al-; Status of Forces Agreement, U.S.-Iraqi

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Mandates

System of administration of the former German overseas colonies in Africa and Asia and territories of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East after World War I (1914–1918). The mandates were established under the aegis of the League of Nations, the predecessor to the United Nations (UN). Early in the war, the Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers. By the end of the war, British Empire forces had driven the Ottoman Army from Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Syria.

Following the war, the disposition of these occupied territories became an international issue. U.S. president Woodrow Wilson, who held a strong bargaining position at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, refused to allow the distribution and outright annexation of colonial territory by the victorious powers. The peoples of the Middle East sought independence, but the leaders of Britain and France did not believe this was feasible.

To resolve the matter, the conferees at Paris created the mandate system in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Colonial areas acquired from Germany and the Ottoman Empire would thus be in a transitional status until the people of these territories "could stand by themselves." These territories were entrusted to certain victor states until such time as they were deemed ready for independence. Mandates were divided into three categories: Class-A mandates (the former Ottoman territories in the Middle East); Class-B mandates (mostly in Tropical Africa); and Class-C mandates (those territories of Southwest Africa and the Pacific). The local populations in Class-A mandates were to have a higher degree of autonomy, whereas those in Class-C would have the least autonomy. A Permanent Mandates Commission (PMC) was established within the League of Nations machinery to examine the annual administration reports submitted by the mandatory states and advise the League Council concerning them.

In the Class-A Middle East mandate system, France controlled Lebanon and Syria. Great Britain meanwhile took control of three mandated Class-A territories—Iraq, Transjordan (present-day Jordan), and Palestine. In Iraq and Transjordan, the British allowed some autonomy early on by placing on the throne in Iraq the Hashimite Amir Faisal, who became King Faisal I in 1921. In Transjordan, Prince Abdullah, also a son of the Sharif Hussein of Mecca and Medina, became King Abdullah I, also in 1921. The Palestine mandate was the most difficult to administer, not only because of conflicting claims of interest by both Arabs and Jews there but also because the British had sent conflicting signals to both groups over who would ultimately control the region. This tension continues to the present day. Between 1945 and 1955, the British had divested themselves of all their formal ties to the Middle East; France followed suit.

Some accused the victorious imperial powers of an overt attempt to annex the conquered territories. Others saw these developments as a denial of the right of conquest and the forerunner of decolonization. The truth probably lies somewhere in between.

The British mandate of Iraq was terminated in 1932, when Iraq became an independent state (it joined the League of Nations the same year). However, Great Britain remained influential in Iraq and intervened to crush a subsequent coup and shift of power there during World War II, in 1941. Outside of the formal mandate system and despite nominal independence granted in 1922, Britain maintained a military presence and administrative control in Egypt. Also outside the mandate system, France retained control over Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, where the Spanish also held a colony until the 1970s; Italy controlled Libya.

Independence that had been pledged to the Middle Eastern mandates was put off due to World War II. Early in that conflict, the Axis powers sought to stir up nationalist sentiment in

Decolonization of the Middle East and North Africa

Country	*Received Independence on*	*Received Independence from*
Algeria	July 5, 1962	France
Bahrain	August 15, 1971	Britain
Egypt	February 28, 1922	Britain
Iraq	October 3, 1932	Britain (League of Nations mandate)
Israel	May 14, 1948	Britain (League of Nations mandate)
Jordan	May 25, 1946	Britain (League of Nations mandate)
Kuwait	June 19, 1961	Britain
Lebanon	November 22, 1943	France (League of Nations mandate)
Libya	December 24, 1951	United Nations Trusteeship
Morocco	March 2, 1956	France
Qatar	September 3, 1971	Britain
Syria	April 17, 1946	France (League of Nations mandate)
Tunisia	March 20, 1956	France
United Arab Emirates	December 2, 1971	Britain

the region. Germany also supplied arms to Iraqi nationalists, the government of Vichy France having provided permission for their shipment through Lebanon and Syria. This led the British to intervene militarily in both Lebanon and Syria. At the end of the war there was some violence, as both Syria and Lebanon secured their independence.

Increased Jewish migration into Palestine, meanwhile, led to tensions and outright violence between Arabs and Jews in that British mandate in the 1930s. London soon found itself caught in a three-way war among the British Army, Arabs, and Jews. The inability to work out a political arrangement satisfactory to the two sides led to a precipitous British abandonment of their mandate in Palestine in 1948. This decision brought a declaration of independence by the Jews of Palestine and the first Arab-Israeli war.

Tohmatsu Haruo

See also

Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant; France, Middle East Policy; Iraq, History to 1990; Jordan; Lebanon; Syria; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy

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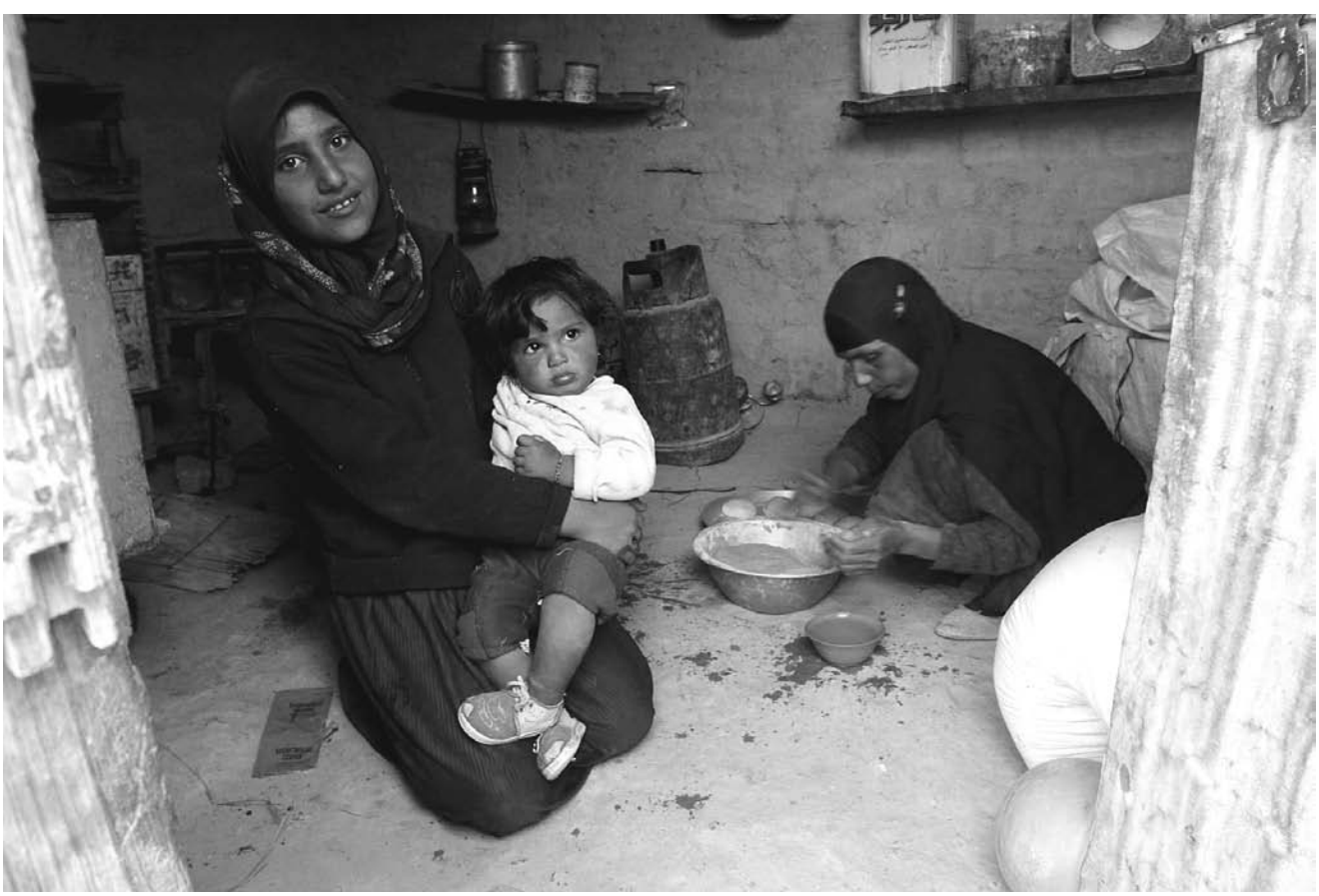
Marsh Arabs

Indigenous people, known as the Madan (Ma'dan), who have traditionally inhabited the marshlands in southern Iraq (hence "Marsh Arabs"). The Marsh Arabs have a unique seminomadic 5,000-year-old waterborne culture, derived from the ancient Sumerians and Babylonians. They live in the marshy lowlands of southern Iraq in the disputed border area near the Iranian border (historically known as Persia), an area also known as the Tigris-Euphrates alluvial salt marsh and Hawizeh. They are ethnically Arab and are Shiite Muslim, the majority religious group in Iraq. Although the marshes provided a refuge from persecution by the Sunni Muslim Ottoman Turks, the Persians, and the British, the wetlands did not insulate the Marsh Arabs from the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's wrath following



A Marsh Arab family inside their home in southern Iraq. Humanitarian groups characterized Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's repression of the Marsh Arabs as a crime against humanity. (AP/Wide World Photos)

his defeat in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, or the 10 years of United Nations (UN) economic sanctions that followed.

At the beginning of the Iran-Iraq War, there were 250,000–500,000 Marsh Arabs inhabiting approximately 7,700 square miles of wetlands. That conflict saw great pressure on the Marsh Arabs and their numbers plummeted. The subsequent Persian Gulf War had removed Hussein's forces from Kuwait, but U.S. president George H. W. Bush also encouraged an internal revolt against Hussein. The Marsh Arabs joined the resultant short-lived Shiite uprising in southern Iraq. It lasted for just a month, during March 1991.

Hussein brutally crushed the rebellion. Also, starting in the 1950s, British engineers working for the Iraqi government planned and began carrying out a project to build embanked canals that would concentrate the water of the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers and reclaim the water of the marshes, so as not to waste it. The project, which began in 1953, was reenergized during the Iran-Iraq War. The problems with the project are both ecological and social, since the Iraqi government was essentially forcing the Madan from their homelands, apparently for political purposes. The destruction of the wetlands' rich biodiversity drastically reduced the Marsh Arabs' primary food sources (rice, barley, wheat, pearl millet, fish, sheep, and cattle) as well as the reeds used to create their boats and homes. By 1993, about two-thirds of the rivers waters had been diverted from the marshes into the constructed Third Waterway. The Marsh Arabs' sources of income were sharply curtailed, and the desertification decimated the Marsh Arabs' commercial fisheries.

Between 1991 and 2000 or so, many Marsh Arabs were killed and many others fled to Iran or to other Shiite areas within Iraq, leaving approximately 40,000 of the original Marsh Arab population in their ancestral region. By 2001, the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) estimated that Hussein's efforts had reduced the marshes to no more than 386 square miles. Hussein and his supporters asserted that the diversion was not intended to destroy the Madan people and culture. Rather, they argued that the draining of the marshes was intended to make rich oil reserves more accessible and to create new agricultural opportunities for an impoverished region.

The American- and British-led March 2003 invasion of Iraq that ousted Hussein and overthrew Iraq's Sunni-led Baathist government (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM) was followed by a planned restoration of the marshes. This was aided initially by the ending of a four-year drought in 2003 and the destruction of Hussein's diversion dams by the Marsh Arabs. By 2007, the marshes had been restored to approximately 50 percent of their area prior to the wars. The restoration of Madan culture and the resettlement of the region by the indigenous population has been slow and fitful, however, hindered by the continuing conflict in Iraq, growing tensions with Iran, and the vastly reduced number of Marsh Arabs.

RICHARD M. EDWARDS

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Shatt al-Arab Waterway; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam

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Martyrdom

The act of dying for principles or a particular cause, usually religious. The term is derived from the Greek *martys,* meaning "witness," and was first used in a religious context in reference to the apostles of Jesus Christ, who were "witnesses" of the life and deeds of Jesus, although the idea of death and suffering for religious beliefs appears earlier in Egyptian, Hindu, and Mesopotamian faiths.

Martyrdom acquired its current usage in the Western, Christian world in the early Christian period, when Christians were being persecuted by authorities of the Roman Empire. Those killed for upholding their beliefs were called martyrs, their acceptance of death being considered a testimony of their faith. Some Christian martyrs sought out and welcomed martyrdom as a means of emulating Jesus' willingness to be sacrificed on the cross. Judaism does not connect martyrdom to the idea of witnessing faith but rather refers to it as sanctification of the name of God, or *kiddush ha-Shem.* In both Christianity and Judaism, martyrdom refers to a case in which the believer accepts death rather than denies or changes his or her religious beliefs.

In Islam, martyrdom (*shuhada*) or becoming a martyr for the faith (*istishhad*) is connected to the concept of declaring or witnessing Islam and to struggle for the sake of Islam (*jihad*). The most important Qur'anic verse usually connected with martyrdom is 4:69: "Whosoever obeys Allah, and the Messenger—they are with those whom God has blessed, Prophets, just men, martyrs [*shuhada*], the righteous; the best of company are they!" According to Islam, martyrs are not questioned after death by the two angels Munkar and Nakir, bypass purgatory, and do not require the intercession of the Prophet to proceed to paradise, as they are free of sin. Martyrs can serve as intercessors for others and are buried in the clothes they die in and not washed after death.

In the early period of Islam, martyrdom referred to those Muslims killed in battle against the armies of Mecca, for example at the Battle of Uhud, and to 11 of the Shia imams. Today, the term also refers to suicide attackers who believe they are defending the cause of Islam. A true martyr (*shahid*) is, according to doctrine, one who does not seek his own death deliberately but accepts it and is granted religious legitimacy and assured a place in heaven. However, suicide committed for personal reasons is prohibited by

Islamic law and may be punished by an endless repetition of the same form of death in hell.

Present-day Islamic terrorist organizations alluded to the concept of martyrdom when they began using suicide attacks as a tactic. This was not a new phenomenon but both a revival of an ancient tradition dating back to the early wars of Islam and an adaptation of the discourse of radical Islamic leaders who believed that martyrdom was inevitable for those struggling in the Islamic cause.

Suicide attacks provide two significant advantages over standard attacks. First, if successful, they are tactically and logistically easier to execute, because no escape route or retreat is needed, and they are therefore more efficient. Second, they provide a shock to the enemy that goes beyond the actual casualty figure, as they suggest great vulnerability and further probable use of this tactic. Third, they provide a martyr symbol that makes recruiting new members for the organization an easier task by strengthening the ideology behind a group's agenda. The fact that the martyr is willing to commit suicide is used by the group as "testimony" and "evidence" of the worthiness of its cause.

Terrorist suicide attacks in contemporary times began outside the Middle East, in Sri Lanka by Tamil separatists. Much used there, it has no connection with Islamic ideology and demonstrated only the resolve of the attackers. Claims of martyrdom, however, were made for those killed in demonstrations against the Iranian government prior to the Islamic Revolution. Suicide attacks were not used in that revolution, however. Suicide attacks that involved claims of martyrdom did occur in Syria in the late 1970s and early 1980s in battles between Islamic groups and the Syrian government in Damascus, Hama, and Homs.

The term "martyr" was used in the Lebanese civil war by both Christians and Muslims. The connection between martyrdom and suicide attacks came with the Islamic resistance, which responded to the Israeli invasion and occupation of Lebanon in 1982. These actions were undertaken by only a few, but some of the large attacks launched in 1983, as by Islamic Jihad against the U.S. Marines and barracks and French forces, were truck bombings involving suicide.

Much of the present-day discussion of martyrdom comes out of the War on Terror. This depends on one's point of view. Thus Americans note suicide bomber attacks in Iraq, while some Iraqis style such events as martyrdom operations and part of the resistance against the occupation.

A long-standing discussion of martyrdom in acts of resistance also arose among Palestinians opposing Israeli occupation of what

A 14-year-old Palestinian would-be suicide bomber surrenders at a checkpoint for the West Bank city of Nablus on March 24, 2004. Israeli troops arrested the boy before he could detonate his explosive belt. (FLASH 90/Reuters/Corbis)

they perceive to be their homeland. Those killed in all stages of the resistance to Israel—but particularly those active in political movements—have been referred to by most Palestinians as martyrs. Suicide attacks began to be employed in the Palestinian-Israeli struggle in 1994 and were at the time very controversial among Palestinians. Were these necessary acts of desperation or a bona fide tactic in a war of the weak? That question led to discussions among religious leaders that only expanded after the September 11 Al Qaeda terrorist attacks on the United States. Although these later were largely condemned by Muslim leaders, Palestinian suicide attacks were not, because of the conditions of the Israeli occupation and collective punishment and other tactics employed by the Israeli government. Sheikh Qaradawi, a popular Egyptian preacher who now lives in Qatar, has pronounced those who engage in such attacks in Palestine to be reacting under defensive jihad, justified by the Qur'an.

Some prominent Muslim religious leaders have given their public support for various types of martyrdom. Iranian leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini approved self-sacrifice by Iranian troops and citizens during the war against Iraq (1980–1988), when these forces, which included civilian volunteers, were forced to advance in human wave assaults against Iraqi defensive fire, in what would have to be classified as suicidal attacks. Other organizations that adopted the suicide/martyr method for attacks include Al Qaeda, Abu Sayyaf, and a Bedouin group called Tawhid wa-l Jihad by the Egyptian security services, as well as the non-Islamist al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades. Even Al Qaeda leaders such as Sayf al-Adl indicate that they have sought to rein in the desire for suicide attacks by younger and less self-controlled members for, if such fervor were uncontrolled, there would be few operatives to run the movement.

Controversial aspects of the present-day link between jihad and martyrdom include the deaths of innocent civilian victims who are not the primary targets of such attacks. Extremist groups employing suicide attacks excuse these victims away as simply additional martyrs. There is also the issue of motivation—whether the suicide bombers are impelled to act by the wrong intent (*niyah*)—because if so, then they are not true martyrs. According to the companion of the Prophet and early caliph Umar, those waging jihad should not set out deliberately to die and become martyrs in an egotistical aim to be known as a hero. There is also a financial aspect to this, as those who engage in jihad (including those who are martyred) are enjoined not to leave their families without support or in debt. In contemporary times, would-be suicide martyrs sometimes ignore or reinterpret these rules or organizations promise to provide for their widows and families.

All of this has led to a serious effort to deradicalize by uncoupling the concepts as jihad and martyrdom within Muslim communities and by Muslim governments. While not uniform in approach and content, these attempts generally stress moderation and peaceful efforts rather than violence to change society. This task is extremely difficult where foreign occupation and military campaigns are ongoing, as in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iraq, but also in Saudi Arabia, where alliances with the United States are blamed for violence against Muslims.

Elliot P. Chodoff and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Adl, Sayf al-; Al Qaeda; Fatah; Hamas; Hezbollah; Intifada, Second; Islamic Jihad, Palestinian; Jihad; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Suicide Bombings

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Mashal, Khaled

Birth Date: 1956

Leader of Hamas. Khaled Mashal (Mashaal, Meshal) was born in 1956 in the village of Silwad, north of Ramallah in the West Bank (then Jordan, now controlled by Israel). The son of a farmer, Mashal moved with his family to Jordan in 1967. He earned a BS degree in physics from Kuwait University. While a student there, Mashal challenged the leadership of Yasir Arafat's Fatah organization in the General Union of Palestinian Students and helped form the Islamic Haqq Bloc that competed with Fatah.

Mashal joined the Muslim Brotherhood in 1971. He taught school in Kuwait during 1978–1984. Mashal was one of the founders of the Palestinian Islamist organization known as Hamas in 1987 and has been a member of its political bureau from the beginning. He first headed its Kuwaiti branch. Mashal lived in Kuwait until 1990 when, due to the Iraqi invasion of that country, he moved to Jordan. He became the chairman of the political bureau, in effect head of Hamas, in 1996. Mashal survived an assassination attempt on September 25, 1997, carried out by the Israeli Mossad special operations service and ordered by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. He was poisoned, but the Israeli agents were caught and a furious King Hussein of Jordan demanded that Israel supply an antidote, which was done.

With the expulsion from Jordan of the leadership of Hamas by King Abdullah in August 1999, Mashal relocated first to Qatar and then to Syria. He has lived in Damascus since that time. Although he is not in the Palestinian territories, Marshal directs Hamas strategy. Free of restraints, he is also the chief fund-raiser for the organization, which has proved critical for Hamas after the United

States and Western European countries cut off aid to the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) in 2006. Described as charismatic with developed diplomatic skills, he has met with Western diplomats as well as Arab leaders.

In May 2009, shortly after his reelection to a fourth four-year term as the leader of Hamas, Mashal gave an extensive two-day interview in Damascus to correspondents of the *New York Times.* In what may have been a gesture toward the Barack Obama administration in the United States and other Western governments, Mashal announced that Hamas was for the time being suspending rocket attacks from the Gaza Strip against Israel and that the organization sought a Palestinian state only in the areas taken by Israel from Jordan in the 1967 war. Although he announced that Hamas sought to be "part of the solution," he stopped short of recognizing Israel. Indeed, Mashal noted, "There is only one enemy in the region, and that is Israel." Although he said he would not seek to amend it, he urged outsiders to ignore the provision in the Hamas charter that calls for the obliteration of Israel through jihad. "We are shaped by our experiences," Mashal said.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Abbas, Mahmoud; Arafat, Yasser; Hamas; Netanyahu, Benjamin

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Mashhadani, Mahmud al-
Birth Date: 1948

Iraqi politician and speaker of the Council of Representatives during 2006–2008. Born in 1948 in a Shiite district of Baghdad, Mahmud al-Mashhadani is a Sunni Muslim. He graduated from Baghdad Medical College in 1972. Commissioned in the Iraqi Army as a lieutenant, he rose to the rank of major but was imprisoned by the government owing to his opposition to the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988). Subsequently tried, he was convicted and given a death sentence, which was commuted to 15 years in prison, reportedly on the payment of bribes. Following the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003, Mashhadani was also briefly imprisoned by American authorities, allegedly for his association with Ansar al-Islam and Jaysh Ansar-al-Sunna.

Elected to the new Council of Representatives on the Sunni-Arab-led Iraqi Accord Front list, Mashhadani was selected its speaker on April 22, 2006, after the United Iraqi Alliance objected to the nomination of Tariq al-Hashimi. The vote was unanimous. Mashhadani received 159 affirmative votes, although there were also 97 spoiled ballots and 10 abstentions.

Mashhadani's tenure as speaker was marked both by sharp and abusive language, most often directed toward Kurdish and Shiite legislators, and by erratic personal behavior. He met with President George W. Bush during the latter's June 2006 visit to Baghdad, and the American leader later declared that he was much impressed with the speaker. That July, however, Mashhadani blamed the violence in Iraq on "Jews, Israelis, and Zionists" and charged that the perpetrators were directed by Israeli intelligence on orders from Tel Aviv. Later that same month, Mashhadani created considerable controversy in the United States when he also declared that while Saddam Hussein's regime was certainly corrupt, regimes should be changed by surgery and not by "butchery of the Iraqi people" under the "slogan" of democracy and human rights. In subsequent conversations with U.S. officials concerning his remarks, he was quoted as having said that he appreciated the sacrifice made by so many Americans on behalf of Iraq. However, Mashhadani also described suicide bombers who attacked and killed Americans as "heroes."

In June 2007, there was general agreement among deputies in the Council of Representatives to replace Mashhadani as a consequence of his repeated verbal clashes with both Kurdish and Shiite lawmakers and an altercation in which his bodyguards attacked and beat a Shiite legislator. He continued in his post, however.

Mashhadani expressed opposition to the 2008 conclusion of a Status of Forces Agreement with the United States and other nations that would allow U.S. forces to remain in Iraq into 2009, and he refused to allow debate on the matter of the detention of journalist Muntadhar al-Zaydi, who threw his shoes at President Bush during a press conference on December 14, 2008. This latter event led to a shouting match in the Council of Representatives. Mashhadani had called al-Zaydi "the pride" of Iraq; however the journalist was severely punished in court proceedings.

With Kurdish and Shiite representatives pressing for him to step down, Mashhadani threatened to resign. The legislators appeared to be determined to force him to make good on his threat by a boycott of parliament if necessary, and Mashhadani stepped aside on December 23, 2008, although he retained his seat in the parliament.

Within a half-hour of his resignation as speaker, the legislators approved on a voice vote a resolution that would allow British, Australian, and other nations to retain their troops in Iraq until July 31, 2009. This came only one week before the United Nations (UN) mandate authorizing foreign forces in the country was to expire.

Mashhadani said he feared for the future of his country. He also said he had "consulted" God on the matter of his resignation. The deeply religious Mashhadani adheres to salafism, as do many Sunni Iraqis today. Some members of the parliament expressed concerns that the way Mashhadani's departure was handled might encourage more sectarianism.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Ansar al-Islam; Bush, George Walker; Salafism; Status of Forces Agreement, U.S.-Iraqi; Zaydi, Muntadhar al-

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Mauz, Henry H., Jr.

Birth Date: May 4, 1936

U.S. Navy admiral who commanded naval forces during Operations EL DORADO CANYON (1986) and DESERT SHIELD (1990). Born in Lynchburg, Virginia, on May 4, 1936, Henry H. Mauz Jr. graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1959. He then served on destroyers before graduating from the Naval Postgraduate School in 1965. During 1966–1967, Mauz commanded River Section 543, a flotilla of 10 river patrol boats that operated in the Mekong Delta during the Vietnam War. Returning to the United States, he then commanded the minesweeper *Prime* (1967–1969); studied at the Air Force Command and Staff College (1969–1970); earned an MBA from Auburn University (1970); and commanded the guided missile destroyer *Semmes* (1972–1973) and the guided missile cruiser *England* (CG-22) (1980–1982).

Promoted to rear admiral in 1983, Mauz served as chief of the Operations/Readiness Branch at Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe in Belgium (1983–1985) and then commanded Cruiser Destroyer Group 12 (1985–1986). As commander of the aircraft carrier *America* battle group deployed to the Mediterranean, Mauz was the Battle Force Anti-air Warfare Commander during Operation ATTAIN DOCUMENT III against Libya, March 24–27, 1986; he then commanded the Battle Force Sixth Fleet during Operation EL DORADO CANYON when U.S. aircraft from the *America* and *Coral Sea* (CV-43) struck Libyan targets on April 15, 1986.

Mauz was promoted to vice admiral in 1988. He then commanded the U.S. Seventh Fleet (October 1988 to December 1990). In August 1990 he became commander, U.S. Naval Forces, Central Command (ComUSNavCent) in command of all U.S. naval forces in the Middle East during Operation DESERT SHIELD. Mauz exercised command not from Central Command (CENTCOM) headquarters in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, but rather from command ships afloat, first the *La Salle,* a Raleigh-class amphibious transport dock, and then the command ship *Blue Ridge* (LCC-19). Mauz held that the two ships possessed better equipment for communicating with the multinational flotilla of warships assembled by the coalition forces.

Early in DESERT SHIELD, Mauz advocated implementing a system of "route packages" in which each service was assigned delineated geographical regions in which it would conduct autonomous air operations in the case of an Iraqi attack south from Kuwait into Saudi Arabia. He believed such a system would simplify planning and help prevent pilots from mistakenly firing on coalition aircraft. Air force officials opposed the system, apparently based on experiences dating back to the Vietnam War. Mauz also believed that techniques developed by him and his staff to suppress Soviet air defenses in the Far East could be applied to planning the destruction of Iraqi radars, command and control centers, and missile batteries to pave the way for U.S. bombers. Air force leaders, however, resisted navy participation in planning the air campaign (at the end of September 1990 only 2 of 29 officers assigned air campaign planning in the Pentagon were from the navy), but Mauz's presentation of his views directly to air force lieutenant general Charles Horner, the Joint Force Air Component Commander (JFACC), led to a shift of focus to that of crippling Iraq's air-defense system at the start of Operation DESERT STORM, which occurred in January 1991, six weeks after Mauz had turned over control of CENTCOM naval forces to Vice Admiral Stanley Arthur on December 1, 1990.

Early in the summer of 1990, Mauz had been slated to succeed Vice Admiral William Smith as deputy chief of Naval Operations (DCNO) for Navy Program Planning, but the change in command of the Seventh Fleet was postponed when Mauz also became ComUSNavCent in August. By November, with no firm military operations against Iraq in sight, and Smith's departure for a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) position in Brussels, the rotation of officers could not be delayed longer, and Arthur relieved Mauz at Central Command. Moving to the Pentagon, Mauz served as DCNO from 1991 to 1992; he received a fourth star in July 1992 and took command of the Atlantic Fleet during 1992–1994.

Upon retirement in November 1994, Mauz moved to Pebble Beach, California. He served as president and chairman of the Naval Postgraduate School Foundation (1997–2008) and continued to serve on the board of directors of Texas Industries Con-way, Inc., and CoalStar Industries, Inc. He also serves on the Northrop Grumman Ship Systems Advisory Board.

JAMES C. BRADFORD

See also

Arthur, Stanley; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Planning for; Horner, Charles; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War; Warden, John Ashley, III

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Mawdudi, Sayyid Abu al-Aala

Birth Date: September 25, 1903
Death Date: September 22, 1979

Muslim scholar, author, journalist, political activist, and founder of the Jamaat-e Islami. Abu al-Aala Mawdudi, who occupies an

important place in the Islamic revival movement of the 20th century, was born September 25, 1903, in the city of Aurangabad in central India. Mawdudi's father was a well-educated lawyer of the middle class. His education was a mix of home tutoring, education at a madrasah, self-learning, and study at Dar al-Ulum, which prepared him for the examinations required to become an Islamic teacher in India, known as a *maulvi.*

Mawdudi was also raised on the history of early Islam, which clearly affected his own views later in life. When civil disturbances grew in India over British rule in the 1920s, Mawdudi participated in the Khilafat movement, which called for the expulsion of the British and the creation of an Islamic state based on the rule of a caliph. He became a journalist, contributing to leading Urdu publications and then Islamic news sources.

Mawdudi founded the Jamaat-e Islami in 1941 to promote Islamic values, and throughout his life he contributed to scholarship and writing on Islam. He produced a serious interpretation, or *tafsir,* of the Qur'an in Urdu, which took 30 years, and he wrote many other works discussing the ideal Islamic society. Mawdudi originally opposed the idea of a separate state for Muslims in Pakistan, but he later accepted this course of action, arguing for Pakistan to be an Islamic state. Mawdudi's writings also promoted the Muslim practice of *dawa,* as missionaries spread Islam. He argued that they were not to assimilate into non-Muslim cultures, and that Muslims should be in control of governmental affairs. He called on non-Muslims to pay the historical *jizya* or poll tax. He believed an Islamic government could be a theo-democracy but should oppose conditions of nonbelief and underdevelopment. While it is generally believed that he promoted jihad as an effort for Islam's success, he also wrote that active combat was not always the proper method of jihad. Distressed over the lack of unity among Muslims in the region, Mawdudi worked to organize a united political front, via the Jamaat-e Islami.

Mawdudi's principal concern was that any separate state created for Muslims, such as Pakistan, should be based solely on Islamic law, and that the movement should eventually spread internationally. To aid in this process, Muslims were not only to convert non-Muslims but were to engage in a birth-rate revolution to increase their numbers. The creation of the Jamaat devoted itself to ensuring Islamic rule in what was soon to become Pakistan. Many supporters moved north into the Punjab region in anticipation of this event, and by 1947 Mawdudi had migrated to the newly created nation of Pakistan.

Mawdudi's conception of an Islamic state was one where life would be guided by Islamic law and where the sovereignty of God, *hakmiyya,* would be reflected in the political system. This last was among the most influential of his ideas in the Muslim world. Non-Muslims could continue to live in such a state, but could not attempt to convert Muslims, as Islam was a public affair, and such conversion was illegal under Islamic law, meriting the death penalty. He advocated a three-fold process for seizing power. Initially, an invitation to Islam would be made, followed by efforts to gain power through peaceful and legal means. If this second stage failed, he discreetly advocated the use of revolutionary force to create the Islamic state. Criticized by some for this revolutionary approach, he was also rejected by salafists for noting that the Dajjal, or Antichrist, had not appeared in the time of Muhammad, Prophet of Islam, as predicted.

The establishment of Pakistan in 1947 did not lead to the Islamic state he so desired, so Mawdudi's political activism led to multiple arrests and the banning of some of his works by the Pakistani government. In the early 1950s he supported the violent Muslim suppression of the schismatic Qadianis, receiving a death sentence from the government, which was later commuted. His struggle for an Islamic constitution for Pakistan was largely fulfilled in 1956. Later rulers scrapped this document, however, and beginning in 1958 Mawdudi and his followers endured four years of martial law under which the Jamaat was banned. It was restored in 1962 under a new constitution, which was seen as a departure from the nation's initial Islamic foundation.

While continuing his political work, Mawdudi focused on writing his *tafsir,* or commentary, of the Qur'an, which he completed in 1972. Of particular importance were his introductions to each of its chapters, or *surahs.* Having traveled to the United States to seek medical treatment, Maududi died on September 22, 1979, in Buffalo, New York, from complications arising from stomach, kidney, and heart problems. He was buried in Lahore, Pakistan. Mawdudi, who wrote more than 120 books and pamphlets and gave close to 1,000 speeches, is considered one of the most prominent and important advocates of the modern Islamic revival movement and of the social activism promoted by the Jamaat. His works are still widely read by Muslims around the world, especially his *tafsir* of the Qur'an and introductions to its *surahs.*

Russell G. Rodgers and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Islamic Radicalism; Pakistan; Qur'an; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam

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Mayville, William
Birth Date: April 15, 1960

U.S. Army officer and commander of the 173rd Airborne Brigade when it parachuted into northern Iraq at the beginning of Operation Iraqi Freedom in March 2003. William Mayville was born on April 15, 1960, in Springfield, Virginia, and graduated from the

U.S. Military Academy, West Point, in 1982. Commissioned a second lieutenant, his first command was as a platoon leader in the 1st Battalion of the 75th Infantry Battalion (Ranger). Mayville moved steadily up the command ladder, leading units at the company, battalion, and brigade level.

Mayville graduated from the Airborne, Ranger, Pathfinder, the Infantry Basic and Advanced courses, and the U.S. Army Command and General Staff course. He also holds an MS from Georgia Institute of Technology and an MA from the National War College.

Prior to IRAQI FREEDOM, Mayville had participated in two combat operations. He parachuted into Grenada during Operation URGENT FURY in 1983 and also parachuted into Panama during Operation JUST CAUSE in 1989. By 2003 Mayville, now a colonel, was commanding the 173rd Airborne Brigade. Located at Vicenza, Italy, it is the principal combat force of the U.S. Southern European Task Force. The brigade consisted of two airborne infantry battalions, a light reconnaissance unit, and a detachment of field artillery. In 2005, the army began converting the 173rd into a full six-battalion brigade combat team.

Initial planning for Operation IRAQI FREEDOM began in November 2001. The original operational plan called for a two-pronged attack. The first attack would be the main advance from the south, out of Kuwait toward Baghdad and on to Tikrit. The second, and secondary, attack would be from the north, out of Turkey toward Tikrit and on to Baghdad. This plan was foiled when the Turkish government refused to allow the staging of U.S. troops on its soil. Turkish officials did, however, allow the use of their airspace for the transit of American aircraft. With this accommodation, the 4th Infantry Division was no longer an option for the northern operation. The 173rd was chosen instead.

On March 26, 2003, the 173rd was moved by McDonnell Douglas Globemaster III C-17 cargo aircraft from Aviano Air Base (Italy) to its drop zone, where the brigade parachuted into Bashur Air Base (Iraq). Mayville was one of the first men of the brigade to jump. Within six hours, the 173rd had taken Bashur and was ready to receive follow-up forces. By March 30, 2003, the entire 173rd was in Iraq. Following the establishment of the airhead, troopers began operations against the local Iraqi military. The 173rd's mission was to keep these units in northern Iraq and prevent their use in the south to fight the main invasion.

In early April 2003, U.S. and allied Kurdish forces advanced south and liberated Kirkuk. This was important because that city is the hub of the northern oil region. Its possession would assist the Kurds and starve the Iraqi military of precious resources. The 173rd then carried out security and counterinsurgency operations in Kirkuk and the vicinity. Mayville saw this shift as the most important part of his mission. Without a stable Kirkuk, Iraq could possibly descend into civil war.

The 173rd was relieved in February 2004 and returned to its Italian base. Mayville was then promoted to brigadier general and assigned as the deputy director of the European Plans and Operations Center (EPOC), Headquarters, U.S. European Command, Stuttgart, Germany, in 2006. In 2008, Mayville became deputy commanding general of the 82nd Airborne Division, at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

SHAWN LIVINGSTON

See also

IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; United States Army, Iraq War

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Mazar-e Sharif, Battle of

Event Date: November 9, 2001

First major battle of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. It occurred on November 8, 2001, between forces of the Northern Alliance, supported by American, British, and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces, and Taliban fighters. Lying astride the famous Silk Road, Mazar-e Sharif is located just 40 miles from Uzbekistan and is situated north of the Hindu Kush mountains. Mazar-e Sharif is held sacred by Afghans as the birthplace of the caliph Ali, who ruled during 656–661. It is the capital of Afghanistan's Balkh Province. Mazar-e Sharif has a mainly Uzbek population of nearly 250,000, but it also possesses a significant Pashtun minority.

In August 1998 after heavy fighting, Taliban forces captured Mazar-e Sharif from General Abd al-Rashid Dostum, an Uzbek warlord. Its military importance lay in the fact that it possessed an airstrip that could be used to supply troops and act as a springboard for the Taliban to capture Kabul, the Afghan capital.

Before the Americans and coalition forces entered Afghanistan in the autumn of 2001, the mainly Pashtun Islamist Taliban, which claimed to be the legitimate Afghan government, seemed to have an overwhelming advantage over their Tajik-led Northern Alliance opponents. The latter group was under the command of General Muhammad Fahim, who took over for Ahmed Shah Massoud, who was assassinated in an Al Qaeda–orchestrated bombing just two days before the September 11, 2001, Al Qaeda terrorist attacks on the United States. General Dostum, who had once been a Soviet ally but who had later joined forces with Massoud, led the coalition forces that advanced on Mazar-e Sharif. The Uzbek warlord was joined in the effort by Ustad Atta Mohammed, a Tajik commander and erstwhile foe.

At the time of the November 2001 battle, forces of the Northern Alliance controlled a mere 10 percent of Afghanistan and were outmanned, outgunned, and on the defensive. The Northern Alliance had an estimated 8,000 troops as opposed to the 40,000–50,000 that the Taliban allegedly mustered under the leadership of Mullah

Mohammed Omar. The latter included 8,000–12,000 foreign fighters, counting members of the Al Qaeda terrorist organization.

On October 7, 2001, the United States began a bombing campaign as part of what came to be called Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. At the same time, having to negotiate more than 100 miles of winding, mountainous roads with the constant danger of ambushes presented a daunting logistical problem for the anti-Taliban forces, which received supplies from across the border with Tajikistan. The United States provided food, supplies, and weapons for the Northern Alliance. An American air campaign employing bombers and cruise missiles preceded the move to capture Mazar-e Sharif. Small teams of U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOF) as well as Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) agents, who had been inserted into Afghanistan in mid-October aboard specially modified Boeing CH-47 Chinook helicopters, lent support to the Northern Alliance. These teams directed close air support (CAS) and offered tactical advice in the capture of Mazar-e Sharif.

Ground operations began just before Ramadan so as not to arouse Muslim sensibilities. The approach of winter added even more pressure to mount a quick and decisive military campaign. The Northern Alliance advance on Mazar-e Sharif was methodical and came along the axes of the Dar-i-Suf gorge and Balkh River valley. In the former, a SOF team located exposed Taliban positions close to Bishqab from a distance of five to six miles and called in precision air strikes. General Dostum took the village on October 21 and continued his push toward Mazar-e Sharif.

Over the next few days, Dostum's force pressed northwards and clashed with and defeated the Taliban and their allies along the way. In these engagements, American SOF teams played a vital role calling in strikes against enemy command posts, armor, antiaircraft guns, and troop concentrations when weather permitted aerial sorties. U.S.-directed CAS proved deadly for those Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters who did not learn from their mistakes and improve the concealment of their men and matériel. Unable to pinpoint the location of mainly Al Qaeda forces at Bai Beche, near a strategically situated mountain pass south of Mazar-e Sharif, Northern Alliance forces came under heavy rocket fire and found their advance obstructed. As a consequence, the coalition employed bombing to degrade well-prepared defenses and then overran the hamlet on November 5 with the aid of CAS in what proved to be a close victory. By that day, the Northern Alliance forces had moved to within 45 miles of Mazar-e Sharif. Although the Taliban had brought up some 400 reinforcements, they were under incessant U.S. air attack.

Meanwhile, General Atta Mohammed's men were advancing along the Balkh River to the east of Mazar-e Sharif. They encountered forces that had not learned the lessons of seeking cover from aerial attack, so American aircraft, directed by SOF observers, wiped out exposed targets with relative ease. Thus, the outlying village of Ac'capruk fell to the Northern Alliance, and the way was clear for a combined attack on Mazar-e Sharif. Reportedly a number of Taliban fighters switched sides and others simply took flight, allowing the Northern Alliance forces into their lines.

After a four-day push from the south, the combined Northern Alliance forces conducted the final assault of the city on November 9, 2001, using artillery, tanks, horse-mounted soldiers, and infantry. At 2:00 p.m., the attack began. U.S. aircraft once more provided invaluable CAS for opposition troops. SOF units joined in the remarkable, 21st-century cavalry charge of 2,000 Uzbeks on the Taliban stronghold. The application of combined arms proved devastating. The battle was bloody and intense but lasted less than four hours.

To begin the assault on the city, American planes dropped dozens of bombs on Taliban fighters who had concentrated to defend it at its southern approach at the Chesmay-i-Safa Gorge. Entering Mazar-e Sharif from both the south and the west, opposition forces managed quickly to capture the Pul-i Imam Bukhri Bridge and likewise overran the airport to the south of the city. Resistance quickly collapsed with the panicking Taliban fleeing Mazar-e Sharif en masse. As they withdrew, they torched homes, killing many ethnic Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Hazaras in the process.

Left behind in the melee, however, were hundreds of foreign fighters, many of whom took refuge at a military base and others at a girls' school. Northern Alliance forces lay siege to both of these pockets of resistance, used tanks and air strikes against those who continued fighting, and it took another 48 hours before the city had been entirely pacified. Unconfirmed reports of troop strengths indicated that as many as 8,000 men constituted the Northern Alliance force, while their opponents had perhaps 12,000 fighters in the battle. According to an estimate by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Afghan Red Crescent, the Taliban and Al Qaeda lost 300–400, mostly non-Afghans killed in the fighting, and the Northern Alliance claimed to have captured another 500 men. The opposition's losses were fewer than 100 men.

The capture of Mazar-e Sharif proved a watershed event for ENDURING FREEDOM. Although some small pockets of resistance remained, for all intents and purposes the battle brought to an end the Taliban presence in northern Afghanistan. Besides its military significance, this first major victory of the war provided a boost to the George W. Bush administration, which was under heavy criticism concerning the wisdom of its strategy in Afghanistan. Able now to land planes and helicopters at a base in the north, the United States increased its operational capability and was able to fly far more sorties with heavier payloads and thus greatly intensify the air war in Afghanistan. The battle gave further credibility to the military capabilities of the Northern Alliance and accelerated defections from the Taliban, especially from ethnic groups other than the Pashtuns. The Taliban collapsed in the days immediately after the fall of Mazar-e Sharif, and Kabul soon fell into the hands of the Northern Alliance.

GEORGE L. SIMPSON

See also

Dostum, Abd al-Rashid; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Northern Alliance

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McCaffrey, Barry Richard
Birth Date: November 17, 1942

U.S. Army general. Barry Richard McCaffrey was born November 17, 1942, in Taunton, Massachusetts. A graduate of the Phillips Academy, he attended the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, graduating in 1964. McCaffrey served overseas for 13 years, 4 as a combat officer. These tours began in 1965 with duty in the Dominican Republic with the 82nd Airborne Division. He then served two tours in Vietnam as a rifle company command, receiving two Distinguished Service Crosses and three Purple Hearts for combat wounds, including a severe wound to his arm—his doctors initially wanted to amputate it—that nearly ended his military career.

McCaffrey advanced through the ranks and attended both military and civilian schools. He earned an MA in government from American University and completed the National Security Course at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

U.S. Army general Barry R. McCaffrey commanded the U.S. Southern Command during 1994–1996. He then directed the Office of National Drug Control Policy in the Bill Clinton administration during 1996–2001. McCaffrey is currently a business adviser and military commentator. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Military courses included the Armor Advanced Officer Course, Command and General Staff College, the Army War College, and the General Officer Strategic Course at the National Defense University.

As a major general, McCaffrey served in the Pentagon as a strategic planner for the deputy chief of staff for operations. In 1991, McCaffrey commanded the 24th Infantry Division at Fort Stewart, Georgia. On August 2, 1990, Iraqi forces invaded Kuwait and the United States began planning to counter this action. Planning included deployment of U.S. military forces to the Persian Gulf, including the XVIII Airborne Corps, consisting of the 24th Infantry Division, the 82nd Airborne Division, and the 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault). Within days, elements of McCaffrey's division were en route to the Persian Gulf as part of Operation DESERT SHIELD. McCaffrey was intimately involved in the planning for the expulsion of Iraqi forces from Kuwait, Operation DESERT STORM, in 1991.

In February 1991, McCaffrey held a key place on the assault line; his division began the ground attack on February 25, 1991, on the far right of XVIII Corps. McCaffrey's objective was to drive to and cross the Euphrates River near An Nasiriyah. To McCaffrey's right was the farthest left division of Lieutenant General Frederick M. Frank's VII Corps, the 1st Armored Division, moving toward the Euphrates, then turning east to isolate Iraqi forces. This offensive was an overwhelming success, resulting in a cease-fire in 100 hours and very few coalition casualties.

At the combat level, there were two controversial issues during the war, one now called the "Generals' War," in which General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commanding coalition forces, criticized Frank for not advancing as quickly as desired. Others questioned whether McCaffrey continued his division's attack after the cease-fire, killing and wounding more Iraqi troops than necessary. Pulitzer Prize–winning author Seymour Hersh claimed in *New Yorker* magazine that McCaffrey ordered his division to fire on retreating Iraqi forces after the declaration of the cease-fire, a charge supported by some officers in McCaffrey's headquarters during the incident but which was later dismissed by an army investigation. The 24th Infantry Division was at a critical junction between the XVIII and VII Corps, and there is often a problem in coordinating the operations of units under different commands such as the two corps. Ending fire while still engaged is not an easy task after a cease-fire is declared by higher headquarters. Neither controversy ended these officers' careers. Both men advanced to the four-star rank before retiring.

McCaffrey was promoted to lieutenant general and served as the strategic planner for the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) and special assistant to General Colin Powell from 1992 to 1994. He then commanded the U.S. Southern Command at four-star rank, responsible for U.S. forces defending Central and South America. These numbered some 84,000 personnel. The command devoted great effort to combating the drug trade in the region. This experience led to President Bill Clinton's selection of McCaffrey to be director of the White House National Drug Control Policy in 1996 when he retired from the army. McCaffrey held the post commonly referred

to as the U.S. Drug Czar until 2001. There he supervised a federal budget of about $20 billion annually.

From 2001 to 2005, McCaffrey was the Bradley Professor of International Security Studies at the U.S. Military Academy, and he continues to be an adjunct professor of International Affairs there. The author of numerous articles, he has also served as national security and terrorism analyst for NBC News and is consulted widely by the media on national security affairs. He is president of BR McCaffrey Associates, a consulting firm based in Alexandria, Virginia.

Since the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq in 2003, McCaffrey has traveled to Iraq several times at the behest of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM). His first report on the situation there, released in the summer of 2005, was upbeat, predicting that the insurgency would peak in early 2006 and would thereafter subside, allowing some troop withdrawals by late summer 2006. His subsequent visits, however, resulted in sharply negative assessments of the Iraq War. In 2006, he asserted that "Iraq is abject misery." His third visit, in March 2007, echoed his summation from 2006 and also voiced his concern about the effects of the continuing war on U.S. military readiness. In a cautious conclusion, however, he did laud the apparent willingness of Iraqi moderates to stem the tide of violence and reassert control over their own affairs.

Daniel E. Spector

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; desert shield, Operation; desert storm, Operation; Franks, Frederick Melvin, Jr.; iraqi freedom, Operation; Powell, Colin Luther; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.

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McCain, John Sidney, III

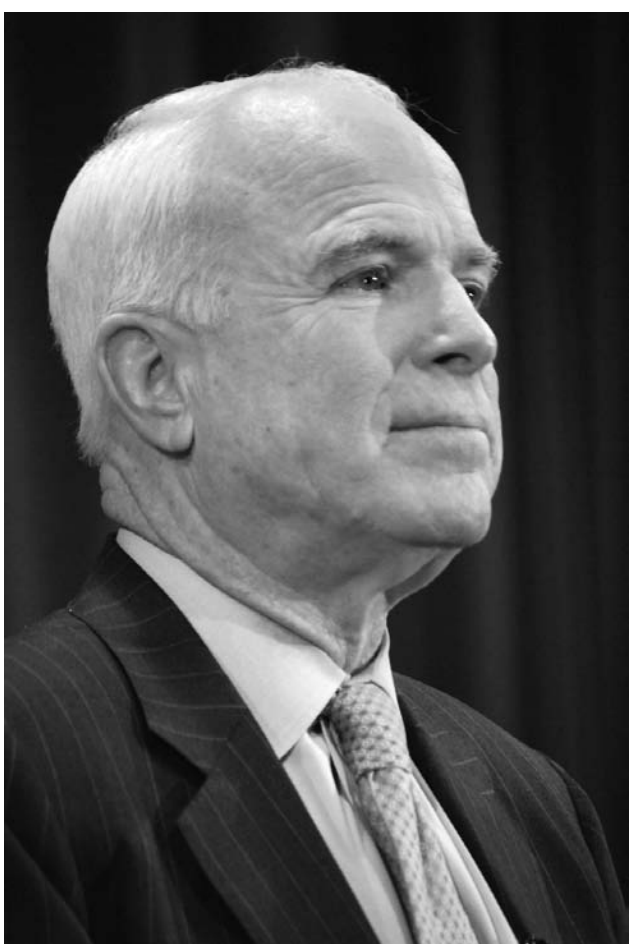
Birth Date: August 29, 1936

U.S. Navy pilot, prisoner of war (POW) during the Vietnam War (1967–1973), U.S. Representative (1983–1987), U.S. Senator (1987–present), advocate of normalized U.S. relations with Vietnam, and Republican presidential nominee in 2008. Born on August 29, 1936, in the Panama Canal Zone, John Sidney McCain III came from a line of navy admirals. His father, Admiral John S. McCain Jr., was commander in chief, Pacific Command (CINCPAC) from 1968 to 1972; his grandfather John S. McCain Sr. was a four-star admiral who served in both World War I and World War II.

McCain was a rebel who graduated fifth from the bottom of his class at the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, in 1958. He became a naval aviator and his devil-may-care attitude and leadership skills made him a highly effective pilot. On October 26, 1967, Lieutenant Commander McCain was piloting a Douglas A4 Skyhawk when he was shot down and he crashed in Western Lake in the middle of Hanoi in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam). The Vietnamese made the site and plane into a military memorial, which McCain visited on his return to Hanoi in 1992.

With two broken arms, a broken leg, a broken shoulder, and a deep wound in his foot, McCain was probably the most seriously injured pilot to enter the Hoa Lo Prison (also known as the Hanoi Hilton). "The crown prince," as the Vietnamese guards called him because of his father's high position, was a tough and highly respected POW who, despite his serious condition and being subjected to torture by his captors, refused the opportunity to be sent home in June 1968.

Released at the end of the war on March 14, 1973, McCain retired from the Navy to enter politics. In 1980 he divorced his first



Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) ran for the Republican Party's presidential nomination in 2000. Although McCain was unsuccessful, his campaign raised important ethical questions about politics. McCain won his party's nomination in 2008, but lost the national election to Democrat Barack Obama. (Shutterstock)

wife and married Cindy Lou Hensley, the daughter of a wealthy beer distributor. For a time he worked in the family business, but he seemed destined for political office. In 1982 he was elected to the House of Representatives from Arizona's 1st District, and in 1986 he was elected a U.S. Senator from Arizona as a Republican, taking office in January 1987.

McCain had a generally distinguished record in the Senate, and on several occasions he was on the short list to be a vice-presidential candidate. In Congress, he naturally gravitated toward foreign, military, and national security matters. The only blight on his record was his involvement, in the mid-1980s, in a scandal involving Charles Keating and the Lincoln Savings and Loan Association, which had bilked depositors and investors out of millions of dollars. Although McCain had been involved with Keating without knowing of his nefarious dealings, he nonetheless admitted that he had used poor judgment in accepting contributions and other perks from him.

McCain made several trips to Vietnam after he reached Congress. The first visit was in 1985; the second one came in 1992, as part of his work on the Senate Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs. McCain met with some of his former captors in 1992 during what was an emotion-filled visit. McCain, along with other committee members, concluded in 1993 that there were no known POWs or soldiers missing in action (MIA) still residing in Vietnam. He came under attack from some who strongly believed that Americans were indeed still being held by the Vietnamese. After his second visit, McCain became a strong supporter of normalized relations with Vietnam and an end to economic sanctions, which was realized beginning in 1995.

In 2000, McCain ran in the Republican presidential primary, ultimately losing to George W. Bush in a fairly close contest. McCain's allure was that he was not an ideologue and was not afraid to go against his own party. McCain generally backed the Bush administration's War on Terror after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, but he parted company with Bush on several issues, including the use of torture against enemy combatants, tax cuts for the wealthy, gun legislation, and climate change.

McCain backed the Iraq War from the beginning, but by 2004 he had begun to question the prosecution of that conflict; he openly challenged Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld to put more ground troops into the theater to deal with the mounting Iraqi insurgency. He traveled to Iraq numerous times to see for himself the situation on the ground, and what he saw did not impress him. In August 2006, McCain publicly charged the Bush administration with having constantly underestimated the Iraqi insurgency and took military commanders in Iraq to task for having provided unrealistic assessments of the ground situation. McCain repeatedly urged the Bush administration to prosecute the Iraq war with more zeal and greater commitment, and so it is no surprise that he strongly backed the troop surge strategy implemented in 2007.

In 2008, McCain sought and gained the Republican presidential nomination. From the start, however, he was hobbled by his relatively close association with President Bush, who by then was wildly unpopular; his stance toward the Iraq War; and a failing U.S. economy. His campaign began strongly but fell victim to repeated verbal and strategic gaffes. He shifted from one issue to another while his opponent, Senator Barack Obama, successfully portrayed McCain as Bush redux. McCain's charge that Obama's call for withdrawing U.S. troops from Iraq as quickly as possible was tantamount to defeat fell on deaf ears. McCain touted his role in the successful troop surge, but Obama stuck with his position that the Iraq War had been a mistake in the first place. McCain's choice of Sarah Palin as a running mate, the governor of Alaska who had little national recognition, may not have helped his candidacy. In the end, McCain lost by a large margin in both the popular and electoral vote, but he opted to remain in the Senate as one of its most senior—and seasoned—members.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Walker; Obama, Barack Hussein, II; Surge, U.S. Troop Deployment, Iraq War

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McChrystal, Stanley A.

Birth Date: August 14, 1954

U.S. Army general and commander of U.S. forces in Afghanistan (2009–2010). Stanley McChrystal was born on August 14, 1954, and graduated from the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, in 1976. Commissioned a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army, his first assignment was with the 82nd Airborne Division. In 1978 he underwent Special Forces training at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. He commanded a detachment of the 7th Special Forces Group (Airborne) until 1980, when he attended the Infantry Officer Advanced Course at Fort Benning, Georgia.

McChrystal served a tour in the Republic of Korea before being assigned to Fort Stewart, Georgia. During 1989–1990, he completed the Command and Staff Course at the Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island. Assigned to the Joint Special Operations Command during 1990–1993, he deployed to Saudi Arabia during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. Promoted to lieutenant colonel, during 1993–1994 McChrystal commanded a battalion of the 82nd Airborne division. Following a year as a senior fellow at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and promotion to colonel in September 1996, he commanded the 75th Ranger Regiment during 1997–1999. He next spent a year as a fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations.

Promoted to brigadier general in January 2001, McChrystal was the assistant division commander for operations of the 82nd Airborne Division in 2000–2001. During 2001–2002, he was chief of staff of the XVIII Airborne Corps. This assignment included duty as chief of staff of Combined Joint Task Force 180, the headquarters formation charged with direction of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan. From July 2002, McChrystal was director of operations on the Joint Staff in Washington, D.C., where he delivered public briefings on the military situation during the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq.

In September 2003 McChrystal took command of the Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC), first as commanding general of JSOC from September 2003 to February 2006 and then as commander, JSOC/Commander, JSOC Forward, from February 2006 to August 2008. Although the command was situated at Fort Bragg, McChrystal spent most of his time in Afghanistan, in Qatar, and in Iraq.

McChrystal's Task Force 6-26 was subsequently accused of abuses in prisoner interrogations at Camp Nama in Baghdad, and five Rangers were ultimately convicted of prisoner abuses at the facility. McChrystal also came under criticism for his handling of details surrounding the death by friendly fire of Ranger and former professional football player Pat Tillman in Afghanistan in 2004. Although McChrystal was one of eight officers recommended for disciplinary action in the affair, the army declined to take action against him.

In February 2006, McChrystal was promoted to lieutenant general. His colleagues described him as a warrior-scholar. His JSOC was widely praised for its ability to find and kill Iraqi insurgents, and some observers have stated that it, rather than the so-called surge, was largely responsible for the decline in violence in Iraq during 2007–2008.

McChrystal was nominated to direct the Joint Staff in February 2008, but his confirmation was held up for a time in the Senate over charges of mistreatment of detainees by forces under his command in Afghanistan and in Iraq. He took up his new post in August 2008.

On May 11, 2009, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates announced that he was recalling General David McKiernan, the top U.S. commander in Afghanistan, and nominating McChrystal as his replacement. McKiernan had held the post for less than a year and been instrumental in securing additional U.S. forces for Afghanistan. Although Gates said that McKiernan had done nothing wrong, he also said that "new leadership and fresh eyes" were needed. The announcement came less than one week after President Barack Obama's meeting with the leaders of Afghanistan and Pakistan, during which he pledged a more coordinated effort to fight Taliban forces in both countries. It is believed that a planned shift in favor of counterinsurgency as opposed to conventional operations and the fact that McKiernan did not get on well with Central Command commander General David Petraeus was the principal reason for McKiernan's ouster and McChrystal's selection.

On June 24, 2010, following a brief meeting with McChrystal at the White House, President Obama removed him from command of U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan. McChrystal had been recalled to Washington following the release of the copy of an article to appear in *Rolling Stone* magazine with highly critical comments by McChrystal and his staff of Obama, Vice President Joseph Biden, and other key members of the administration. The last time a U.S. president stepped in to remove a commander in the middle of a war was in April 1951, when President Harry S. Truman removed United Nations Command (UNC) commander in Korea General Douglas MacArthur over the general's all-too-public criticisms of U.S. policy. Obama said there were no policy differences in this case, but that McChrystal's comments fell far short of the conduct expected of commanders and represented a clear violation of the military chain of command that could not be tolerated. Although there was shock at the decision, which reportedly went against appeals by Afghan president Hamid Karzai and U.S. secretary of defense Robert Gates, negative reaction was muted and passed quickly. McChrystal's replacement was Central Command commander General David H. Petraeus, whose appointment sent a clear signal that the current U.S. strategy in Afghanistan would continue.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Gates, Robert Michael; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; McKiernan, David Deglan; Obama, Barack Hussein, II; Petraeus, David Howell; Taliban; Tillman, Patrick Daniel

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McClellan, Scott

Birth Date: February 14, 1968

Republican Party strategist, campaign official, and White House press secretary (2003–2006). Scott McClellan was born in Austin, Texas, on February 14, 1968, to a politically prominent family. His mother, Carole Keeton Strayhorn, a longtime politician in Texas, served as the state's comptroller for several terms and ran unsuccessfully for the governorship of Texas in 2006. His father, Bar McClellan, is a noted attorney and author, and his brother Mark was a former commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) and later head of Medicaid and Medicare Services from 2004 to 2006.

McClellan graduated from the University of Texas at Austin and immediately went into politics. In addition to running three

of his mother's electoral campaigns, he worked with several grassroots political action committees and was, for a time, chief of staff to a Texas state senator.

While working for his mother, McClellan caught the eye of Karen Hughes, a close political confidante and adviser to then-Governor George W. Bush. Impressed by his performance and dedication, Hughes invited McClellan to join Bush's 2000 presidential election campaign team as a media analyst and traveling press agent. After being named deputy press secretary, he became press secretary on July 17, 2003, upon the resignation of Ari Fleischer. McClellan left his post on April 26, 2006, succeeded by Tony Snow.

McClellan's tenure coincided with the Valerie Plame Wilson debacle, which saw senior-level Bush administration officials leak classified information to the media that revealed Plame Wilson's identity as an operations officer for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The revelation was purportedly in retaliation for a newspaper piece that was critical of the Bush administration's pre–Iraq War intelligence written by Plame Wilson's husband, former ambassador Joseph Wilson. At the time, McClellan was instructed to deny any connection between the White House and the Valerie Plame Wilson incident.

In May 2008, much to the surprise of the White House—for it was totally unexpected from its heretofore presumed entirely loyal staffer—McClellan published one of the most revealing and incendiary accounts of the Bush White House to date, which among other things accused the president and his inner circle of deception, hubris, and incompetence (*What Happened: Inside the Bush White House and Washington's Culture of Deception*). In his book, McClellan made it clear that he had unwittingly helped deceive the American public about the Valerie Plame Wilson incident and had falsely exonerated two top-level officials alleged to have been guilty of the leak—Karl Rove, senior adviser to the president, and I. Scooter Libby, chief of staff to Vice President Dick Cheney. He further alleges that the two men held a secret meeting as the federal prosecutor was investigating the case in an attempt to cover up their role in the affair. Libby was later found guilty of perjury, but Rove was never prosecuted. Bush, McClellan believes, was also misled about the affair, perhaps by his own vice president.

McClellan's tell-all book was derided for disloyalty and even retribution by Bush supporters, while others used the account to further attack the Bush administration and, in particular, its conduct of the war in Iraq. Among many assertions, McClellan charges the president and his advisers of self-deception, and he alleges that they manipulated public opinion to manufacture a cause for war against in Iraq in 2003, a war that he claims was entirely unnecessary. He wrote that the White House operated as if it were in a perpetual campaign mode, with key personnel unwilling to assert themselves when policies appeared misguided. McClellan also took to task the American media, which he claims allowed the Bush White House free rein in the early years of the war and was not sufficiently aggressive in its reporting.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Libby, I. Lewis; Rice, Condoleezza; Rove, Karl; Wilson, Joseph Carter, IV; Wilson, Valerie Plame

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McGinnis, Ross Andrew

Birth Date: June 14, 1987
Death Date: December 4, 2006

U.S. soldier and posthumous Medal of Honor recipient. Born in Knox, Pennsylvania, on June 14, 1987, Ross Andrew McGinnis graduated from Keystone Junior-Senior High School in 2005 and enlisted in the army. Following basic training at Fort Benning, Georgia, he joined the 1st Battalion, 26th Infantry Regiment at Schweinfurt, Germany. In August 2006, the regiment deployed to Iraq. Private First Class McGinnis was assigned as an M2 .50-caliber machine gunner in a Humvee during operations against insurgent forces at Adhamiyah.

On December 4, 2006, in the course of a mounted patrol in Adhamiyah, an insurgent was able to throw a hand grenade into McGinnis's vehicle. Reacting quickly, McGinnis shouted "Grenade!" to alert the other occupants of the Humvee, then quickly threw his body against the grenade. McGinnis absorbed most of the explosion and, although he was mortally wounded, his action saved the other occupants of the Humvee from serious injury or death.

For his selfless action, McGinnis was posthumously promoted to specialist and awarded the Medal of Honor. President George W. Bush presented the award to his family in a White House ceremony on June 2, 2008. McGinnis was the second soldier to receive the Medal of Honor in the Iraq War and the fourth member of the U.S. armed forces to be so honored for heroism in Iraq.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Bush, George Walker

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McGonagle, William Loren

Birth Date: November 19, 1925
Death Date: March 3, 1999

U.S. Navy officer and commander of the electronic intelligence-gathering ship *Liberty* when it came under Israeli attack during the

June 1967 Six-Day War. William McGonagle was born in Wichita, Kansas, on November 19, 1925. He attended secondary school in California and joined the Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps (NROTC) while a student at the University of Southern California. He was commissioned an ensign on graduation in June 1947.

During 1947–1950, McGonagle served in the destroyer *Frank Knox* and the minesweeper *Partridge.* During the Korean War (1950–1953), he was assigned to the minesweeper *Kite* and took part in its extensive minesweeping operations. From 1951 to 1966 he served in various postings ashore and afloat, including command of the fleet tug *Mataco* and the salvage ship *Reclaimer.*

In April 1966, with the rank of commander, McGonagle assumed command of the *Liberty* (AGTR-5), taking the ship on intelligence-gathering missions off the west coast of Africa. Ordered to gather intelligence during the war between Israel and Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon, McGonagle took his ship into the Mediterranean. On June 8, 1967, the *Liberty* was located in international waters 13 miles off the Egyptian port of El Arish when it came under attack from Israeli aircraft and torpedo boats. Messages from Washington ordering McGonagle to move 100 miles from the coast were not received in time by the *Liberty.*

McGonagle was badly wounded early in the Israeli strike but remained at his station on the bridge for the next 17 hours. Only when his ship rendezvoused with a U.S. Sixth Fleet destroyer did he relinquish command. He also refused medical treatment until the most seriously wounded had been cared for. The attack on the *Liberty* claimed 34 dead and 172 wounded among its crew. The survivors were able to keep the ship afloat, however, and it steamed to Malta for stopgap repairs. For his heroism and leadership on that occasion, McGonagle was awarded the Medal of Honor. His ship received the Presidential Unit Citation.

Promoted to captain in October 1967, McGonagle commanded the new ammunition ship *Kilauea* and led the NROTC unit at the University of Oklahoma. He retired from active duty in 1974. McGonagle died at Palm Springs, California, on March 3, 1999.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; *Liberty* Incident

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McKiernan, David Deglan

Birth Date: December 11, 1950

U.S. Army officer, commander of the Coalition Force Land Component Command (Middle East) during 2002–2004, and commander of the International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF) led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) during 2008–2009. As such, David Deglan McKiernan was the top military official in Afghanistan for all international military forces and commander of all U.S. armed forces in Afghanistan. McKiernan was born on December 11, 1950. He attended the College of William and Mary, where he was a member of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC). Upon his graduation in 1972, he entered active service in the army as an armor officer. He later earned a master's degree in public administration from Shippensburg University and graduated from the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College and the Army War College. As an advancing career officer, McKiernan spent his years as a junior officer in the United States, South Korea, and Germany and held several staff positions in Germany and at the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC).

During Operation DESERT STORM in 1991, McKiernan ran the army's VII Corps mobile command post in Saudi Arabia as the assistant G-3 (operations). He was the G-3 for the 1st Cavalry Division, later becoming the division's 1st Brigade commander from 1993 to 1995. McKiernan was promoted to brigadier general in October 1996 when serving as the deputy chief of staff in the Allied Command Europe Rapid Reaction Corps, which was stationed in Germany and deployed in Sarajevo, Bosnia. After becoming the assistant division commander of the 1st Infantry Division in Germany, he served as the deputy chief of staff for operations for the U.S. Army Europe during military operations in Bosnia, Albania, and Kosovo in 1998 and 1999. Promoted to major general, he commanded the 1st Cavalry Division. McKiernan became a lieutenant general shortly after becoming the army's deputy chief of staff for plans and operations in October 2001.

As the United States prepared for an invasion of Iraq in 2002, McKiernan assumed command of the U.S. Third Army and U.S. Army Forces Central Command, known by the acronym ARCENT. He assisted with the plans for the initial Iraq invasion in March 2003, which embroiled him in a conflict between Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and other top army commanders about the appropriate number of troops to deploy. McKiernan was among those army officers who advocated that more troops be sent to the region. In interviews, McKiernan claimed that he had sufficient troops to accomplish his mission for the invasion. As the Coalition Forces Land Component Command (CFLCC) commander from 2002 to 2004, McKiernan directed all U.S. and coalition ground forces during the initial phases of the war. As such, he was also involved in the controversies surrounding the lack of clear postconflict plans and the slow recognition of the Iraqi insurgency. In October 2004, McKiernan served as the deputy commander and chief of staff at the U.S. Army Forces Command. Promoted to full general in December 2005, McKiernan became the commanding general of U.S. Army Europe and Seventh Army.

In June 2008, McKiernan assumed command of ISAF and called for additional troops to help contain the Taliban insurgency

and prevent the resurgence of the Al Qaeda terrorists who had previously used Afghanistan as their base of operations. In February 2009, President Barack Obama authorized an additional force of 17,000 soldiers to deploy to Afghanistan, which would raise U.S. force levels to 50,000. Many of those troops were deployed to southern Afghanistan, where the fighting was fiercest. McKiernan believed that further resources, including the deployment of more civilians, had to be dedicated to Afghan police training, eliminating corruption, and combating the drug trade.

In May 2009 after only 11 months on the job, in a surprise announcement, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates said that he was replacing McKiernan with Lieutenant General Stanley A. McChrystal, a former commander of the Joint Special Operations Command. Gates said that McKiernan had done nothing wrong but that "new leadership and fresh eyes" were needed in a war that Washington has admitted is not being won. It was the first replacement of a field commander during combat operations since the dismissal of General Douglas MacArthur during the Korean War. Factors behind the dismissal of McKiernan were that he and Central Command (CENTCOM) commander General David Petraeus had not developed a close relationship and that leadership believed greater emphasis should be placed on counterinsurgency initiatives. Although McKiernan had an unblemished record, his expertise lay in conventional rather than insurgent warfare.

LISA MUNDEY

See also

Al Qaeda; Coalition Force Land Component Command; DESERT STORM, Operation; International Security Assistance Force Afghanistan; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan; Obama, Barack Hussein, II; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Taliban; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

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McKnight, Daniel

Birth Date: April 9, 1951

U.S. Army Ranger officer, who participated in the October 3–4, 1993, Battle of Mogadishu. Daniel "Danny" McKnight was born on April 9, 1951, in Columbus, Georgia. His family moved in 1959 to Rockledge, Florida, where he spent his formative years. McKnight graduated from high school in 1969 and spent two years at Brevard Community College. He continued his higher education at Florida State University, where he was a member of the army Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) unit. Upon graduation in 1973, McKnight was commissioned a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army.

McKnight completed the Infantry Officer Basic Course, Airborne School, and Ranger School. Among his early assignments were positions as a company executive officer and Ranger instructor. He also served as an aide to the commanding general at Fort Benning, Georgia, and as a company commander in the 58th Infantry Regiment (Mechanized). McKnight was then assigned to the ROTC Department at the University of Florida, and while there he also completed a master's degree. He then attended the Air Force Command and Staff College.

In 1989, McKnight was assigned as the executive officer of the 3rd Ranger Battalion, 75th Ranger Regiment. In this capacity he participated in Operation JUST CAUSE, the U.S. invasion of Panama in December 1989. In 1991 he commanded a battalion of the 27th Infantry Regiment garrisoned in Hawaii. In February 1993, Lieutenant Colonel McKnight returned to the Rangers as commander of his former unit of the 3rd Ranger Battalion.

In August 1993, McKnight deployed with his battalion to the Horn of Africa as part of the U.S. contingent in support of United Nations (UN) operations to ensure humanitarian aid to Somalia and to quell the Civil War there. The 3rd Battalion was part of Task Force Ranger. Among that unit's missions was the capture of the warlord Mohammed Farrah Aidid (Aideed), leader of the Somali National Alliance. Following two previous unsuccessful efforts, on October 3, 1993, Task Force Ranger received intelligence that Aidid and his aides were meeting in downtown Mogadishu. An attack plan was developed to include both helicopters and ground forces to take the men prisoner.

The plan went awry after Somali rocket-propelled grenades brought down two U.S. Sikorsky UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters, and a 15-hour firefight ensued between the lightly armed U.S. forces on the ground and Aidid's militia. McKnight's ground convoy was ordered to the first crash site but confusion in Mogadishu's streets and Somali armed resistance forced the convoy to return to base. In the fighting, McKnight was wounded in the neck. A Pakistani force with tanks was slow to arrive on the scene, and the October 3–4 battle claimed 18 U.S. dead and 79 wounded. The high U.S. death toll and images of the bodies of U.S. soldiers being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu led to a backlash in the United States against the mission and the subsequent withdrawal of all U.S. forces.

Upon redeployment to the United States, McKnight attended the Army War College. His last army assignment was as deputy chief of staff for training, First Army. He retired at the rank of colonel on January 1, 2002. After retirement, McKnight worked in the security field.

SHAWN LIVINGSTON

See also

Aidid, Mohammed Farrah; JUST CAUSE, Operation; Somalia, International Intervention in

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McNeill, Dan K.
Birth Date: 1946

U.S. Army general. Dan K. McNeill was born in Warsaw, North Carolina, in 1946 and earned an undergraduate degree from North Carolina State University in 1968. A Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) student, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in November 1968 and saw duty in the Vietnam War. Returning stateside in 1969, he held a variety of posts in the United States, South Korea, and Italy. He attended the Army Command and General Staff College and graduated from the Army War College in 1989. McNeill also participated in the 1989 invasion of Panama and the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

Promoted to brigadier general in September 1995, McNeill assumed command of the 3rd Brigade, 82nd Airborne Division, at Fort Bragg, North Carolina; he held the command until July 1993, at which time he became assistant chief of staff, G-3 (Operations), XVIII Airborne Corps. McNeill left that post in March 1995 to serve as assistant division commander of the 2nd Infantry Division, a position that he retained until June 1996. Until August 1997, he was chief of staff, XVIII Airborne Corps, Fort Bragg. From August 1997 to July 1998 McNeill served as deputy commanding general, I Corps; from July 1998 to July 2000 he was the commanding general of the 82nd Airborne Division. McNeill was promoted to major general in October 1998 and lieutenant general in July 2000.

In July 2000, McNeill took command of XVIII Airborne Corps. After Operation ENDURING FREEDOM began in 2001, he also acted as commanding general, Combined Joint Task Force 180 in Afghanistan. He retained that command until August 2003, at which point he became deputy commanding general/chief of staff, U.S. Army Forces Command, Fort McPherson, Georgia. He was promoted to full general (four-stars) in July 2004. He held this command until February 2007, at which time he became commander of the International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan; he held that position until June 2008.

During his first tour in Afghanistan, in an attempt to defeat the Taliban and allied insurgents, McNeill was a strong proponent of coalition air strikes. But these strikes killed many civilians, which outraged Afghanis and raised concerns in the international community. Afghani citizens became even more disgruntled when, following a July 2002 attack on Deh Rawood, a number of Afghan wedding participants and guests were killed during an American attack on a suspected Taliban stronghold. McNeill offered compensation and assistance to those innocents killed or wounded by U.S. strikes, but he made no apologies. Afghanis became even more alarmed when they began to hear rumors about torture and deaths in U.S. detainment camps, which they believed were being covered up by the American military.

While in command, McNeill also oversaw the prison at Bagram Air Force Base. In December 2002, two Afghani prisoners died while in custody at Bagram. McNeill maintained that the men had died of natural causes, but autopsy reports showed both had died from blunt-force injuries. As commander, McNeill should have known that prisoners were being treated harshly, but he insisted that no international laws of conduct had been broken. He also refused to acknowledge the autopsy reports of the dead prisoners.

On February 4, 2007, McNeill took command of the International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF). With this command, he became the highest-ranking U.S. general in the region, which many surmised to be a demonstration of the renewed U.S. commitment to Afghanistan. Many hoped that McNeill's appointment would witness a reinvigorated effort to pacify the troubled Afghani-Pakistani border areas, rife with insurgent activity. Others, however, citing McNeill's past performance in Afghanistan, wondered if he were the right man for the job. Certainly many Afghanis did not welcome his return. Nevertheless, all sides believed that McNeill would bring a more hard-line approach to the growing Taliban insurgency. At the same time, McNeill was expected to boost Afghani reconstruction efforts, which had lagged in recent years.

When McNeill departed Afghanistan in June 2008, he admitted that insurgency activity had increased substantially over the preceding year, up 50 percent in April 2008 alone. He stated clearly that the insurgency could not be contained or defeated without significantly more "boots on the ground," a stance that many American politicians had taken, including then presidential candidate Barack Obama. McNeill also voiced concern with the growing Taliban insurgency in the border areas of Pakistan. McNeill retired from the army at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, on June 20, 2008.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also
Afghanistan; Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; Combined Joint Task Force 180; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; International Security Assistance Force; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

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Meals, Ready to Eat

U.S. self-contained individual field rations issued to soldiers at the front. In 1981 the Meal, Ready to Eat (MRE) became the new standard food ration for U.S. soldiers in the field. The MREs were

derived from Vietnam-era experiences with rations issued to long-range patrols, which operated far from base areas. Soldiers had to carry sufficient food to survive for an extended period of time, but traditional canned C Rations were too heavy. In response, the Department of Defense developed a special, dehydrated ration stored in waterproof canvas.

In 1975, the military began developing a new ration stored in a plastic retort. This became the MRE, which replaced both the traditional canned individual ration and the Long-Range Patrol ration. The modern MRE has a shelf life of about three years.

The first MRE came in a heavy plastic bag holding one entire meal. Inside the bag was an entrée. For example, an entrée labeled "Chicken in Thai Style Sauce" came in a box that was 8¼ inches by 4¾ inches by ¾ inch. Inside the box was a flexible pouch containing an eight-ounce serving of chicken and sauce. Officially labeled a "tri-laminate retort pouch," the pouch was basically a flexible can made up of layers of aluminum foil and plastic. Compared to a traditional metal can, the pouch was lighter, flexible (so that it could withstand rough handling), and flat (so that it fit well inside a soldier's backpack or pocket).

Also inside the plastic bag was a slightly smaller box labeled "Yellow and Wild Rice Pilaf," which contained a flexible pouch with a five-ounce serving of rice. A flameless heater using a simple chemical reaction allowed a soldier to warm the food. Additional contents included: one 1.4-ounce foil package of crackers; one 1.3-ounce Nutra Fruit cereal bar; one packet each of spiced cider drink mix, instant coffee, sugar, salt, pepper, and grape jelly; one piece of chewing gum; one moist towelette; one pack of matches; one packet toilet paper; and a plastic spoon. The entire meal provided 820 calories.

As time passed, soldiers requested more menu options with larger serving sizes. Accordingly, MREs expanded from an initial set of 12 to some 24 options. Chicken entrées included "Chicken with Salsa and Mexican Rice," "Country Captain Chicken with Buttered Noodles," and "Chicken Breast with Minestrone Stew." Other varieties of MREs provided beef, pork, and pasta entrées. There were even a few relatively exotic MREs, such as "Jambalaya" and "Black Bean and Rice Burrito" as well as old reliables, such as "Meat Loaf with Gravy" and "Turkey Breast with Gravy and Potatoes."

The food was not wonderful. According to the manufacturer, the food tasted like any canned food. For example, the "Chicken in Thai Style Sauce" tasted liked canned chop suey with its mix of chicken, celery, red pepper, and mushrooms in a slightly sweet, slightly salty sauce. The taste and texture were monotonous. But, if it was the only food available, hungry soldiers wolfed it down. Still, soldiers learned to call the rations "Meals Refused by Everyone."

Because of the development of microwave cooking, commercial food preservation technology made notable advances during the 1980s. Commercial products that resisted spoilage offered an alternative to the MREs. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the military supplemented the unpopular MREs with commercially packaged food. Before the war ended, the U.S. Army alone had purchased almost 24 million individual commercial meals. They proved a popular, tasty alternative to the MREs.

Based on combat experience in Kuwait, Iraq, and Afghanistan, the Department of Defense continued to improve and modify the MREs in an effort to provide more varied and nutritious food in lighter-weight, more durable packages. For example, in 2006 so-called beverage bags were added to the basic MRE.

JAMES ARNOLD

See also

Logistics, Persian Gulf War

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Media and Operation DESERT STORM

The media coverage of Operation DESERT STORM marked the beginning of a new era in war reporting and the way in which people receive information regarding war. Major news organizations from around the world spent millions of dollars to cover the crisis in the Persian Gulf region. What is more, they were subjected to the loss of millions of dollars in lost advertising revenue as broadcast networks switched from regularly scheduled programming to live, uninterrupted war programming. Beginning in January 1991, DESERT STORM unfolded on television screens across the world in real time. Coverage was also notable for the extensive efforts of leaders on both sides of the conflict to use the media as a vehicle by which to conduct foreign policy and shape public opinion.

Media coverage of war in the early 1990s had changed dramatically from the 1960s and 1970s coverage of the Vietnam War, the last significant U.S. conflict before 1991. By 1990, 65 percent of American adults had identified television as their primary source of news from around the world. In America, at the beginning of Operation DESERT STORM, the three major broadcast networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) broke away from their regular schedules and offered hours of news coverage. On top of the coverage offered by the three major broadcast networks, other news outlets provided in-depth coverage. By early 1991, over 1,400 journalists were in the Persian Gulf region. During the first few hours of war, Cable News Network (CNN), a 24-hour cable news organization, provided eyewitness reports of the bombing with its live, electronic connection to Baghdad.

Besides television alone, several wire services, newspapers, and news organizations offered extensive coverage of DESERT STORM. Many American newspapers, and magazines like *Time, Newsweek,*

Journalists interview U.S. Marine Corps aviators at a desert landing strip following the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait during Operation DESERT STORM. (U.S. Department of Defense)

and *U.S. News and World Report,* published special editions devoted to DESERT STORM. In newspaper issues the day after the air campaign began in January 1991, most headlines ran in gigantic typeface, the likes of which had not been seen since the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in 1963 or the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941.

Because the American public received information about war much faster than in any previous conflict, the U.S. government took great measures to make sure that the American media did not report information that would hamper the war effort or give the enemy any advantage. Because of the way in which many Americans had turned against the U.S. war effort in Vietnam after viewing repeated negative news reports about it, the George H. W. Bush administration was very sensitive to public opinion. As a result, the U.S. military imposed limits on the press, which restricted them from unfettered physical access to the troops or battle zones while at the same time limiting what they could report to the public. This was the first time that the U.S. military had placed restrictions on the media since the 1950–1953 Korean War. Because of such restrictions, many members of the media were unable to witness everything that they wished to see or report all that they may have known.

There were few so-called imbedded reporters in Iraq and Kuwait, and the few who were there had been vetted thoroughly by the U.S. military establishment. They were exhaustively briefed on what they could and could not report, and any interviews with troops were in the company of at least several officers. And the military had the option of censoring any portions of any interview when it deemed appropriate.

Portable satellite transmitters and cell phones, not available to reporters until at least the 1980s, undoubtedly lent to the war coverage an air of imminent danger and suspense. A number of television news reporters, for example, stayed in Baghdad even when war was just hours away. Their reporting, complete with ear-splitting explosions, fireballs, and tracers in the background, was riveting. While they were hunkered down in Baghdad's Al-Rashid Hotel, CNN's Peter Arnett, John Holliman, and Bernard Shaw became media stars when they began transmitting reports via cell phone as the first bombs of the war met their targets on the outskirts of Baghdad. Indeed, many media pundits credit the Persian Gulf War and its reporting for catapulting the fledgling network into the avant-garde of television journalism.

Both sides tried to use the media to their own advantage. Iraqi president Saddam Hussein willingly opened his country to media members and their cameras. Hussein wanted to use the media to disseminate images of coalition destruction in Iraq. In doing so, he hoped to build sympathy for his country and its citizens and force

the citizens of coalition countries to question the actions of their governments. On January 20, 1991, photographs of a bombed "baby milk factory" with Iraqi employees wearing uniforms with "Baby Milk Factory" printed in English on their backs were taken and then disseminated to a worldwide audience the next day through CNN. On February 13, the bombing of a civilian bomb shelter at Amariyah produced images of civilian casualties that totaled 314.

The media reaction around the world to such attacks was varied. Many in Europe and the Muslim world deplored, in particular, the raid on the Amariyah bomb shelter. Others, however, saw such casualties as unavoidable and blamed Hussein for bringing them on his own people. The U.S. government combated negative press coverage by attempting to vilify Hussein. The government spread images of oil fires that Iraqi forces had set in Kuwait and oil dumps into the Persian Gulf. The U.S. essentially charged Hussein with environmental terrorism and used media images to back up its assertion. Some foreign papers, like the French paper *Paris Journal de Dimanche,* accused coalition forces of starting most of the fires, although there is no reliable evidence to back up this claim.

The media coverage of Operation DESERT STORM forever changed the way in which war was reported. Government attempts to manipulate media coverage in order to shape public opinion, while a major part of earlier wars, played a larger role during the Persian Gulf War because of the mass amount of information that could be distributed to news consumers around the world. Because technological advances allowed news organizations to provide real-time updates on the war instantaneously, governments had to ensure that information detrimental to their mission did not reach the enemy. During the Persian Gulf War, both sides attempted to use the media against one another and each side had its successes. However, by war's end, it was the coalition that had ultimately translated those media successes to victory on the battlefield.

GREGORY W. MORGAN

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; National Media Pool

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Medina Ridge, Battle of
Event Date: February 27, 1991

The last major ground engagement of the 1991 Persian Gulf War and a decisive tank battle, which took place on February 27, 1991, near Basra, Iraq. The battle occurred when a brigade of the U.S. 1st Armored Division attacked and defeated the 2nd Brigade of the Iraqi Republican Guard (Medina Division). The battle demonstrated the superiority of American training and technology during the conflict.

The coalition's plan for the liberation of Kuwait called for two U.S. Marine Corps divisions to attack directly into Kuwait to pin the Iraqi Army to its defenses. The main attack would be carried out by the U.S. VII and XVIII Corps, which would execute a giant left hook through the western Iraqi desert before turning right and encircling Iraqi forces in Kuwait. These two corps would also engage the Republican Guard divisions of the Iraqi Army, which were stationed in reserve north of Kuwait.

The ground offensive began on February 24, 1991. On the morning of February 27, the U.S. VII Corps was preparing to complete the encirclement of Iraqi forces in Kuwait. The 2nd Brigade, 1st Armored Division, commanded by Colonel Montgomery Meigs, and consisting of 200 vehicles of all types, encountered an armored brigade of the Medina Republican Guard Division dug into the far side of a long, low ridge that ran north-south, known as the Medina Ridge. The Iraqi plan was to pick off American tanks and armored vehicles as they crested the ridge. The Iraqis were equipped with T-72 tanks mounting 125-millimeter main guns and with BMP-1 armored vehicles and backed by an assortment of older T-55 and T-62 tanks. The Iraqi deployment line stretched for a distance of about six miles.

Meigs's brigade massed 200 vehicles for the engagement. The Americans were equipped with M1A1 Abrams tanks and Bradley Fighting Vehicles. The 105-millimeter main gun on the Abrams tank had a range of 4,375 yards and fired armor-piercing discarding sabot (APDS) ammunition, with a core projectile made of depleted uranium. Abrams tanks were also equipped with thermal sights that enabled them to fight in conditions of poor visibility. In assault formation, Abrams tanks advanced ahead of the more vulnerable Bradleys. Iraqi tank guns had ranges of only about 2,000 yards, and the ammunition fired from Iraqi tanks could not penetrate the front armor of Abrams tanks. Only a very small proportion of Iraqi tanks, specifically the most advanced models of the T-72, had laser rangefinders, and these were still outranged by the Abrams. T-72 tanks weighed much less than the Abrams, reflecting the difference in armor protection and crew space. The BMP vehicles used by the Iraqis were obsolete in comparison to the Bradley.

Having arrived on the ridge, the tanks of the 2nd Brigade located Iraqi tanks by using thermal sights and then began destroying them at long range. The Bradleys fired antitank missiles and engaged lighter Iraqi vehicles with 25-millimeter cannon. The Iraqis aimed at the muzzle flashes of the Abrams tanks, but they were completely outranged and unable to respond adequately. Air support for the Americans was provided by Fairchild-Republic A-10 Thunderbolt (Warthog) aircraft. Additional air support came from six AH-64 Apache helicopters firing Hellfire missiles. One U.S. aircraft was shot down by Iraqis firing a ZSU-23/4 antiaircraft gun. Artillery support for the 2nd Brigade was provided by Multiple Launch Rocket System (MLRS) launchers.

Although the Iraqis knew the Americans were coming, they failed to deploy observation teams and left many vehicles unmanned while the crews ate lunch. They had also attempted to dig their tanks into hull-down positions, leaving only the turrets exposed, to provide more protection. However, the procedure was improperly carried out. Instead of digging their tanks into the ground, the Iraqis simply pushed sand up against the sides and front of the tanks, a technique that proved useless, because American tank rounds easily penetrated this makeshift defense. Iraqi artillery fired only at preregistered positions and could not adjust to new targets. The Iraqi tank crews that did fight back mostly stayed in position and failed to move effectively. The one group of Iraqi tanks that attempted a fighting withdrawal was promptly located and destroyed. The outcome of the battle, which lasted only about three hours, was never in doubt.

The Battle of Medina Ridge was the largest armored engagement of the war and ended in a lopsided American victory after only a few hours of combat. Medina Ridge also marked the last truly substantial attempt at opposition offered by the Iraqi Army in the Persian Gulf War. Superiority in American equipment and technology was an important factor in the victory, but training and discipline enabled U.S. tank crews to fight successfully in conditions of extreme duress. Estimates of Iraqi losses vary, but about 93 Iraqi tanks and 73 other vehicles were destroyed. The 2nd Brigade suffered 1 fatality, 30 wounded, and 4 Abrams tanks disabled but not destroyed. The Persian Gulf War ended in a cease-fire the following day.

PAUL W. DOERR

See also

Armored Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; BMP-1 Series Infantry Fighting Vehicles; Bradley Fighting Vehicle; DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; Infantry Fighting Vehicles, Iraqi; M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks; Multiple Launch Rocket Systems; T-54/55 Series Main Battle Tank; T-62 Main Battle Tank; T-72 Main Battle Tank

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MEDUSA, Operation

Start Date: September 2, 2006
End Date: September 17, 2006

Military campaign undertaken by the International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF), which was led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), from September 2 to September 17, 2006, against the Taliban and Al Qaeda insurgents. Operation MEDUSA was in response to increased insurgent activity in an area west of Kandahar and was part of a broader ISAF effort to expand the regions under the authority of the Afghan national government.

The main area of operations of ISAF forces during the operation were the districts of Panjwali, Pashmul, and Zhari in Kandahar Province. ISAF forces numbered about 2,000 and included troops from Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States, as well as soldiers from the Afghan National Army. The primary forces were elements of the Royal Canadian Regiment Battle Group, companies of the U.S. Army 10th Mountain Division and special operations forces, Dutch artillery units, and assorted Afghan infantry. U.S. aircraft from the aircraft carrier *Enterprise* provided air support and used precision-guided munitions against insurgent positions. The American planes flew more than 100 support sorties during MEDUSA. Brigadier David Fraser of the Canadian Army was the operational commander of the offensive.

The Taliban numbered between 1,000 and 1,500 men and were dug-in in caves and ground bunkers. The number of Al Qaeda fighters is unknown. Coalition forces used air power and artillery to suppress the insurgents as ground forces advanced from village to village and conducted search-and-destroy missions against Taliban and Al Qaeda positions. Meanwhile, other coalition forces blockaded the main roads and trails, cutting off the potential escape routes of the enemy. The Taliban and Al Qaeda employed a combination of hit-and-run tactics and defensive stands against the advancing ISAF forces; they also planted land mines and improvised explosive devices (IEDs).

On the first full day of combat, September 3, coalition forces killed about 200 insurgents, and 4 Canadians were killed. Afghan security forces also took part in the fighting and captured about 80 suspected Taliban insurgents. ISAF forces were subsequently able to capture three large insurgent bases and a dozen smaller compounds, including a weapons-manufacturing facility and weapons caches. On one of the most difficult days of fighting, September 10, the insurgents launched a counterattack in an unsuccessful effort to break through the ISAF lines and create an escape route. The attacking force suffered 92 dead; no coalition troops were killed.

One of the immediate successes of MEDUSA was that the majority of Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters were either killed or captured during the campaign, unlike previous operations in which large numbers of the rebels were able to escape. Only about 150 to 200 insurgents were able to flee the area. The ISAF estimated that more than 500 Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters were killed and more than 100 were captured. During the operation, a British reconnaissance aircraft crashed, killing all 14 on board. In addition, 12 Canadians and 1 American died. The combat operations of MEDUSA were followed by a series of ISAF-led reconstruction projects, including highway construction.

TOM LANSFORD

See also
Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; Al Qaeda; Canada, Role in Persian Gulf and Afghanistan Wars; International Security Assistance Force; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan; Taliban; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

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Meir, Golda Mabovitch
Birth Date: May 3, 1898
Death Date: December 8, 1978

Israeli politician and prime minister (1969–1974). Born in Kiev, Russia, on May 3, 1898, Golda Mabovitch was one of eight children. Her father immigrated to the United States in 1903, and the remainder of the family joined him in Milwaukee in 1906. Intent on becoming a teacher, she enrolled at the Wisconsin State Normal School in 1916 but never finished her degree. That same year she became an active member in the Zionist labor movement where she met Morris Meyerson, whom she married in 1917.

Golda Meyerson and her husband immigrated to Palestine in 1921. They worked on a kibbutz, and Golda became active in the Histadrut, Israel's labor movement. She joined its executive community in 1934, became the head of its political department in 1940, and helped raise funds for Jewish settlement in Palestine.

Shortly before the 1948–1949 Israeli War of Independence, Meyerson twice met secretly with Jordan's King Abdullah. While she was unsuccessful in averting a Jordanian invasion of the Jewish state, these secret contacts proved useful in limiting Jordanian participation in the war. Such secret meetings became the norm in Israeli-Jordanian relations. During the war Meyerson traveled to the United States, where she raised $50 million for Israel from private citizens. Following the war, Israel's first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, sent her to Moscow as Israel's ambassador. On his urging, she adopted the Hebrew surname Meir, which means "to burn brightly."

Elected to the Knesset (Israeli parliament) in 1949 as a member of Mapai (the Israel Workers Party), Meir was immediately appointed minister of labor by Ben-Gurion. Her greatest task was the resettlement of hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees who immigrated to Israel during these years. The new arrivals, 685,000 of whom arrived in her first two years in office, lived in large tent cities, while Meir marshaled the new state's scant resources to construct housing for them, instruct them in Hebrew, and integrate them into Israeli society. Over the next six years, she gained a reputation as an aggressive politician, a powerful speaker, and a decisive manager.

Ben-Gurion forced moderate Moshe Sharett to resign as foreign minister on June 18, 1956, and appointed Meir in his place. She held that post until 1965, gaining international fame as one of the few women to hold a prominent position in international affairs. Ben-Gurion, who expected Sharett to oppose war, believed that Meir would support his decision to go to war with Egypt in collusion with France and Britain in 1956, and this proved correct. While uninvolved in planning the war, Meir supported Ben-Gurion's decision to take military action to break Egypt's blockade of Eilat, Israel's Red Sea port.

As foreign minister, Meir worked to strengthen Israel's relationship with the new nations of Africa, to which she dispatched a series of aid missions. This was possible only because Israel's victory in the 1956 Sinai Campaign had secured Israel's right of transit through the Red Sea. Meir hoped to build bridges between Israel and other developing nations and share Israel's practical experience in agriculture and land reclamation. As with many Israeli leaders, she believed that trade with Africa would prove vital to Israel and help offset the Arab economic embargo. She

Golda Meir was a prominent Israeli political leader and the first woman to hold the office of prime minister of Israel (1969–1974). She was forced to resign in the aftermath of the 1973 Yom Kippur War, which had caught Israeli leaders by surprise. (Library of Congress)

was also acutely conscious of Israel's need for friendly nations that would support its policies.

Meir also worked to improve U.S.-Israeli relations damaged by the Sinai Campaign, but she met a generally cold reception from President Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration. President John F. Kennedy's administration proved different, and Meir developed a particularly good relationship with Kennedy. In a conversation with Meir in December 1962, Kennedy first referred to a "special relationship" between Israel and the United States that resembled the relationship between the United States and Great Britain.

Along with Israeli ambassador Abba Eban, Meir convinced Kennedy to sell sophisticated Hawk antiaircraft missiles to Israel. This sale ended the U.S. embargo on arms sales to Israel and opened the door to further arms transfers. Presidents Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon both increased arms sales to Israel, and after the 1967 Six-Day War and a French embargo on arms to the Jewish state, the United States replaced France as Israel's primary arms supplier.

Due to worsening health, Meir resigned as foreign minister in 1965 but continued to serve in the Knesset, and the members of Mapai elected her the party's secretary-general. In that capacity she helped orchestrate the merger of Mapai with several smaller parties that created the new Labor Party, which dominated Israeli politics for the next decade as Mapai had for the previous two decades.

On February 26, 1969, the ruling Labor Party elected Meir prime minister following the death of Levi Eshkol. Meir, the fourth prime minister in Israel's brief history, faced daunting challenges, including Israeli national security imperatives and Middle Eastern instability. Her efforts to trade recently conquered land for peace with Egypt, Syria, and Jordan failed, and terrorist attacks and cross-border raids into Israel increased.

Skirmishing with Egypt escalated into the War of Attrition, which lasted through August 1970 and caused the deaths of 700 Israelis. Meir insisted on Israeli retaliation for any attacks and apparently hoped that increasingly successful Israeli commando raids and air strikes would force Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser into either peace negotiations or resignation. Meir insisted that peace precede withdrawal. Nasser, who had arranged the Arab League's September 1967 resolution that stated there would be no peace, no recognition, and no territorial negotiations with Israel, remained intransigent and insisted on the return of all occupied territory as a prelude to any peace negotiations. A U.S.-brokered cease-fire ended the skirmishing in August 1970, but tensions hardly lessened, and Soviet arms shipments to Egypt increased. The following month, Syria invaded Jordan to support a Palestinian rebellion but withdrew its forces after Meir, encouraged by the United States, threatened an attack on Syria.

Meir increasingly coordinated Israel's foreign policy with the United States, and during her tenure as prime minister the special relationship between Israel and the United States blossomed. U.S. arms sales to Israel increased, while Israel shared important intelligence information with the United States and allowed U.S. technicians to examine sophisticated Soviet weapons systems captured by the Israeli Army during the War of Attrition. Meir developed a close relationship with President Nixon and Henry Kissinger, Nixon's key foreign policy adviser. Mired in Vietnam, Nixon and Kissinger both came to see Israel as a vital ally in the Cold War. Despite this increasingly close relationship with the United States, Meir managed to convince the Soviet Union to allow some Russian Jews to immigrate to Israel.

Anwar Sadat, who assumed power following Nasser's death on September 28, 1970, offered to reduce Egyptian troop strength west of the Suez Canal if Israel withdrew its forces 24 miles from the canal. This came on the heels of the War of Attrition, and few of Meir's advisers trusted the Egyptian proposal, which would allow Egypt to reopen the canal but give nothing except promises to Israel. Despite protests led by opposition leader Menachem Begin, Meir indicated her interest in returning most of the territory occupied by Israel in the 1967 war in exchange for peace and limited the establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories to a mere handful. The main stumbling block remained her refusal to withdraw from occupied territory as a prelude to negotiating a peace settlement, although other factors, including the rivalry of Egypt's and Israel's superpower patrons, also hindered the negotiations, which ended without result.

Tensions with Egypt and Syria increased steadily until the morning of October 6, 1973, when Israel's director of intelligence warned of an imminent attack. Concerned about Israel's international reputation, Meir rejected proposals to launch a preemptive attack, as Israel had done in 1967. That afternoon, as Meir met with her cabinet, Egyptian and Syrian forces invaded Sinai and the Golan Heights, driving back the surprised and outnumbered Israeli Army units. While some leaders recommended deep retreats on both fronts, Meir overruled them. The Israeli Army held fast, retreating only when forced back by the furious Egyptian and Syrian assaults. The Soviet Union airlifted and shipped arms to sustain the Arab offensive, and the United States countered with an airlift that supplied vital equipment to Israel. Following a series of early defeats, Israeli counteroffensives finally contained both Arab forces and left Israel in possession of additional Arab territory on the Syrian front and in Egypt. Israeli forces crossed the canal and had almost cut off two Egyptian divisions east of the canal from their bases. Neither the Soviet Union nor the United States wished to see Egypt completely defeated, and under their pressure a cease-fire went into effect on October 24.

Although the war was won, the early setbacks, surprise of the invasion, heavy casualties, and rumors that Meir had considered using nuclear weapons during the first days of the war tarnished her administration. A special investigating committee cleared Meir of responsibility for the near disaster, blaming the head of military intelligence and the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) chief of staff, but she remained under constant attack from opposition politicians, particularly Likud leader Menachem Begin. Despite this, Meir led her party to another victory in the December 1973 elections and

established a ruling coalition despite Labor's loss of six seats in the Knesset and the growing strength of the Likud Party.

In the following months, thanks to Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy, Meir negotiated cease-fire and disengagement agreements with Egypt and Syria. The complicated negotiations to extricate the trapped Egyptian Army paved the way for future negotiations that finally produced a lasting peace between Israel and Egypt. Meir resigned on June 3, 1974, and returned to private life, dying of leukemia in Jerusalem on December 8, 1978.

Stephen K. Stein

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Begin, Menachem; Kennedy, John Fitzgerald; Kissinger, Henry Alfred; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Sadat, Muhammad Anwar; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Mesopotamia

Middle Eastern region corresponding to the lands bordered by the Euphrates River to the west and the Tigris River to the east, in what is now Iraq. "Mesopotamia" is a Greek term meaning "lands between the two rivers" and was generally used as a reference to the actual region and at times as a generic term for various civilizations that arose from or controlled that region. Both rivers originate in eastern Turkey and flow through Iraq; the Euphrates also runs through eastern Syria. Although parts of Turkey and Syria have also been historically associated with Mesopotamia, the term has primarily focused on the territory running about 200 to 250 miles northwest of Baghdad and southward to where the Tigris and Euphrates merge at the Shatt al-Arab (River of the Arabs), about 100 miles north of the Persian Gulf in far southeastern Iraq.

Physically, Mesopotamia is in general divided into two regions: lands north of Baghdad, referred to as Assyria, and those to the south, known as Babylonia or Sumer. With only minor exceptions, most of Mesopotamia ranges in elevation from 0 to 1,500 feet in Iraq, with the highest area approximately 4,000 feet. Although some variations of climate exist between the north and the south, generally Mesopotamia's average temperatures, depending on the season, range from 68 to 95 degrees; however, during the hottest months (summer), temperatures can reach more than 120 degrees. Rainfall in northern Mesopotamia averages between 15.75 and 31.5 inches per year, while the south averages about 7.78 inches or less, primarily between December and February.

Mesopotamian land use in the northern area is somewhat varied, with arable land in the northeast, irrigated farming along the rivers and canals, and lands for grazing and pasturage. Although some wastelands, marshes, and swamps were in the southern region, irrigation allows areas along the rivers to be used for cultivation. Many of the marshes in the south were drained by order of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein during the early 1990s. Major crops include dates, cotton, barley, and rice. Although petroleum is a major natural resource in Mesopotamia, its importance was of limited value until the mid-1900s. In addition to being an important region on various trade routes for goods from Africa, Europe, and Asia, cities in Mesopotamia often served as important trading centers.

Mesopotamia demographics vary according to the particular era and/or particular area of Mesopotamia being discussed. Ethnically, several different groups have been represented in the region throughout history, including various Semitic groups, such as the Assyrians and Arabs; Aryan groups, such as the Kurds and Persians; and unknown ethnic groups, such as the Sumerians and Turks during the Ottoman era. Prior to the Persian Empire's conquest of Mesopotamia during the mid-sixth century CE, the vast majority of civilizations and empires practiced either polytheism or pantheism. The Persians and their successors, the Parthians and the Sassanians, all established Zoroastrianism as their empires' official religion, although other religions were tolerated. Although the exile of Jews after the Assyrian and Babylonian conquests of the Kingdom of Israel and Kingdom of Judah respectively introduced Judaism into parts of Mesopotamia, it was practiced exclusively by Jewish exiles.

Following the conquest of the region by the Arabs during the middle to late seventh century, Islam has been and remains the dominant religion in Mesopotamia. Although the majority of practitioners are Shia, a significant number of Sunnis are also in the region. Furthermore, a small remnant of Jewish practitioners remains in Mesopotamia, as well as a small Assyrian population in the north that practices Christianity.

The region may be broken into three major chronological divisions: ancient, Islamic, and modern. Although Mesopotamia has long been considered the "cradle of civilization," other cultures predating ancient Mesopotamia existed elsewhere. Permanent civilizations in Mesopotamia arose circa 3500 BCE. Irrigation techniques developed by inhabitants in the region were responsible for the creation of agricultural surpluses, which led to the development of urban centers referred to as city-states. Kings with religious support or priest-kings ruled the various city-states. Urban development had a significant impact on a number of areas. The Sumerians created cuneiform, the world's first writing system, as a means to maintain written records; it would also be used by a number of Mesopotamian civilizations even after Sumer no longer existed. The world's first major piece of literature, the *Epic of Gilgamesh,* was also written during the period of Sumer's prominence. Laws were codified for the first time in Mesopotamia. Hammurabi, an Amorite ruler, promulgated the most well-known early law code, Hammurabi's Code.

Sargon the Great, generally recognized as the first emperor in the world, ruled the Akkaddian Empire, which ran from the Persian Gulf through Mesopotamia and onward to the Mediterranean

Sea and the Taurus Mountains in Turkey. His grandson Naram-Sim also extended the empire. After the downfall of Akkad, the city-state Ur arose to prominence in the region, leading to the Ur III dynastic state, which established control over the region of Sumer. Amorites, a nomadic group, eventually conquered the region, leading to the establishment of several Amorite kingdoms, the most famous being the Amorite kingdom of Babylon, ruled by Hammurabi. The Amorite Kingdom, also known as the Old Babylonian Kingdom, lasted for slightly over 100 years, before the Hittite Empire defeated Babylonia. However, the Kassites occupied Babylonia for approximately 400 years, and other parts of Mesopotamia retained their independence.

In 934 BCE, the Neo-Assyrians, commonly referred to as Assyrians, began to arise as a major power in Mesopotamia. During the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III, the Assyrians began to conquer large parts of Mesopotamia, areas south of Babylon, parts of the Kingdom of Israel, Turkey, and the Caucasus regions. Assyria's empire was further expanded by the Sargonid dynasty, which included Sargon II, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal. By 627 BCE Assyria's control over Mesopotamia and other regions began to decline. The Neo-Babylonians, also known as Babylonians or Chaldeans, joined with the Medes to overthrow the Assyrian empire and reestablish control over Mesopotamia. Among them, Nabopolassar and his successor Nebuchadnezzar are the most well known. Both the Assyrians and the Chaldeans were responsible for deporting Jews from their homeland to Mesopotamia.

The Medes and Persians would dominate Mesopotamia for approximately 300 years. Cyrus the Great and his successors established and maintained the Persian Empire, which included Mesopotamia from 550 BCE through 330 BCE and was conquered by Alexander the Great's Macedonian armies. Seleucid rule in the region ran from 330 BCE to 238 BCE, followed by Parthian control from 238 BCE to 264 CE. Mesopotamia was then ruled by the Sassanid Empire from 265 CE to 651 CE when Arab armies under Khalid ibn al-Walid conquered Mesopotamia between April 633 and January 634. The region would thereafter remain as part of various Islamic empires, including the Umayyad and the Abbasid. Eventually, the Ottoman Empire, during the reigns of Selim I and Suleiman the Magnificent, conquered the region between 1512 and 1566. Mesopotamia was then divided into three provinces: Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra. Following World War I (1914–1918), Great Britain received the region as a League of Nations mandate. Eventually, the three provinces were merged into Mesopotamia, which eventually became the present-day nation of Iraq on October 3, 1932.

Some of the most important historical cities in or near the Mesopotamian region included Nineveh, Babylon, and Baghdad. The first was destroyed by the Babylonians and their allies in 612 BCE; the second was destroyed by Sennacherib in 689 BCE, rebuilt, and finally fell after 275 BCE when the people were deported from the city. Baghdad was destroyed by the Mongols in the Battle of Baghdad January 29–February 10, 1258 CE. Baghdad was rebuilt, only to be partially destroyed by Tamerlane in 1401, and then rebuilt

Iraqi police and Anbar Awakening militia members establish a position on the historical site of Ctesiphon, the capital of the Sassanid Empire, January 22, 2008. (AP/Wide World Photos)

to serve as a capital during the Ottoman Empire. Other cities of importance established during the Islamic period in the region include Nasiriyah, Najaf, Kut, Ar Ramadi, Karbala, Samarra, and Mosul. All were targeted during either the Persian Gulf War (1991) and/or Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

Because of Mesopotamia's physical location between Asia and the West, along with the relatively flat terrain, it has often been the target of invasions from multiple civilizations. Persians, Macedonians, Arabs, Mongols, and the Ottomans are only some of the empires that have invaded the region over the centuries. In more recent times, Mesopotamia was invaded by the British in 1917, underwent missile attacks from Iran in 1987, during the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), and was attacked, invaded, and/or occupied in the 1990s and again after 2003 by U.S.-led coalition forces.

WYNDHAM WHYNOT

See also

Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Ottoman Empire

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Middle East, Climate of

The climate of the Middle East is surprisingly variable. This runs contrary to the popular misperception abroad that the region is a uniformly hot and dry desert environment. The Middle East is a region of great temperature extremes and considerable variances in precipitation. Nevertheless, a good deal of the Middle East is known for its blazing hot summers and great dust storms that can reduce visibility to less than one-quarter of a mile, making land travel difficult at best and air travel impossible. Except in mountainous regions and on high plains, the region's winters range from cool and rainy to mild and relatively dry.

Syria's climate is mostly characterized as that of a desert. There are three principal climate zones in Syria, however. They include a somewhat humid Mediterranean-style climate in the west, a semiarid central steppe, and a torrid desert environment in the east and southeast. The coastal climate experiences mild rainy winters from December to February and hot relatively dry summers. Because of the elevation, the highlands experience cold winters punctuated by occasional snow. Sometimes this weather affects areas as far south and west as Damascus. The eastern deserts receive 10 inches or less of rainfall a year and are characterized by hot summers with temperatures as high as 120 degrees. High winds blowing from the south (from Arabia) can create dust storms, particularly in the desert.

Lebanon, with a long coastline along the Mediterranean Sea, enjoys a fairly typical Mediterranean climate, characterized by hot sunny summers and mild wet winters. Along the coast, which is warm and humid, there is rain but not snow. Heavy snow falls in Lebanon's mountain areas in the winter. Lebanon's climate may be the most moderate of the Middle East countries owing to its small size and proximity to the coast. Rainfall is greatest from December to April.

The climate of Israel is moderately temperate. It features very hot and dry summers in the southern and western deserts. Elsewhere the climate is similar to that of Lebanon, with long and dry hot summers and short and rainy cool winters. Some 70 percent of the nation's rain occurs from November to April, with rainfall slackening the farther south one goes. Only about one-third of the small country is capable of agricultural pursuits that do not require heavy irrigation. In the winter, light snow is not uncommon at higher elevations.

The climate of Jordan, like that of Syria, is largely desert. In the west, a rainy season from November to April brings most of an entire year's rainfall. Aside from that, the area is very dry. Jordan's summers are quite hot, with average high temperatures over 100 degrees and higher still in the desert. The winters are moderately cool with snow occasionally at higher elevations. In the late spring and early autumn, the country is subject to periodic hot dry winds from the south-southeast, which can drive relative humidity to 10 percent or less. These winds sometimes produce dust storms and sandstorms that can greatly impede transportation, pose health dangers, and force vehicles to halt.

The Egyptian climate is characteristic of a true desert environment. There are two seasons: a hot dry summer from May to October and a moderate winter from December to March. Most of the country's rain falls along and close to the northern coast, and owing to the moderating influence of the Mediterranean Sea, the northern part of Egypt is slightly cooler. For this reason, Alexandria on the Mediterranean coast used to be a popular tourist destination particularly in the summer months, although Egyptians now prefer instead to visit areas farther to the west on the north coast. There are, however, some weather variations. In the Delta and North Nile Valley, occasional winter cold snaps can bring light frosts. In the south, near Aswan, there are great temperature fluctuations in the summer. High temperatures can be as high as 126 degrees or more during the day and then dip as low as 48–50 degrees at night. From mid-March through May, howling dust storms sometimes occur, precipitated by southerly winds that can reach 90 miles per hour. These dust storms are known as the sirocco by Europeans and the khamsin by the Egyptians.

Saudi Arabia has a dry, hot, harsh climate characterized by great temperature extremes. Except for the Asir Province, which

A forest creek in northern Iran. (Oxine/Dreamstime.com)

is subject to monsoons from the Indian Ocean region and is more temperate, and the sometimes humid conditions of the coast of the Hejaz, the nation's climate is all desert. The desert areas experience dry cloudless summers with high temperatures of 120 degrees and higher. Temperatures of 125–130 degrees are not uncommon. During times of drought, which are not that infrequent, the southern two-thirds of Saudi Arabia can go for two years or more without measurable rainfall. In the late spring and summer, strong winds often create choking sandstorms and dust storms.

The climate of Iraq is similar to that of the southwestern United States. Iraq is mostly a semiarid desert that experiences hot dry summers and mild to cool winters with periodic rainfall. The mountainous regions along the Iranian and Turkish borders have cold winters with periodic heavy snowfalls. The great majority of Iraq's precipitation comes in the winter (December to April), while the northern areas receive more rainfall over a slightly longer time span. From June to September, winds from the north and northwest can whip up heavy dust storms (called *shamal* by Iraqis) that cause plummeting humidity and decreased visibilities. As in the American Southwest, the southern two-thirds of Iraq is prone to flash flooding.

Iran's climate may be the most varied of all the major nations in the Middle East. It has arid and semiarid climate zones and even a subtropical climate along the coast of the Caspian Sea. In the northwest, summers are hot and dry, the autumn and spring are mild, and the winters are cold and frequently snowy. Most of the country's rainfall occurs from October to April, with the most falling near the coast. In the south, particularly near the Persian Gulf, average high temperatures in the summer are 112 degrees. Tehran, shielded by the Alborz Mountains, is more temperate, with average high temperatures in the summer of 96 degrees.

The climate of Afghanistan, which borders Iran to the east, is also highly varied. Afghanistan's rugged mountains, which cover a significant portion of the country, offer great extremes in terms of both temperature and precipitation. The highlands and mountains of Afghanistan share a climate quite similar to that of the southern Himalayas. Winters are harsh, cold, and punctuated by frequent snows. At higher elevations, snow may be present all year long. Huge temperature variations can occur within hours, however, ranging from well below freezing to well above freezing. In the north of the country winters are uniformly cold and snowy, with snow covering the ground for two to three months per year.

Average Temperature and Rainfall in Selected Middle Eastern and Southwest Asian Cities

Location	*Average Temperature, January*	*Average Temperature, July*	*Average Rainfall, January*	*Average Rainfall, July*
Baghdad, Iraq	48.9°	94.3°	1.1"	0.0"
Beirut, Lebanon	55.4°	77.4°	7.4"	0.0"
Damascus, Syria	43.9°	80.1°	1.5"	0.0"
Jerusalem, Israel	47.1°	73.9°	5.5"	0.0"
Kabul, Afghanistan	28.8°	77.2°	1.3"	0.2"
Riyadh, Saudi Arabia	57.7°	94.3°	0.5"	0.0"
Tehran, Iran	37.9°	85.1°	1.7"	0.1"

Summers, except in the highlands and mountains, can be brutally hot and dry. At Jalalabad, in the far eastern portion of Afghanistan, the climate is similar to that of India. Around Kandahar in the south, summers are usually torrid and dry with frequent dust storms. Although the nation is relatively sunny and rain-free the year round, some monsoonal moisture makes its way into the eastern half of Afghanistan, bringing much-needed rainfall.

Despite the many variations in the region's climate, almost all of the Middle East nations feature extremely hot summers, dust storms, and sandstorms. From a military perspective, the region can be daunting for troops as well as equipment. The searing heat of the summers is dangerous for troops, who can quickly succumb to heat exhaustion, heat stroke, and dehydration. For this reason, military action in the dead of summer is avoided, particularly on the Arabian Peninsula. The heat can also take a heavy toll on equipment, especially trucks, armored personnel carriers, and tanks.

Another perilous weather phenomenon is the region's frequent dust storms and sandstorms. These storms can reduce visibility to a quarter of a mile or less, thus grounding aircraft. Moving a large number of troops in the midst of one of these storms is ill-advised. Airborne sand and dust can also foul the engines of ground vehicles as well as aircraft. The difficulties of operating in such conditions were graphically illustrated in April 1980 when President Jimmy Carter's administration attempted to mount a clandestine rescue of American embassy workers being held hostage in Tehran, Iran. On their way toward Tehran, two of eight RH-53 U.S. helicopters broke down in a sandstorm. A third was damaged on landing, but when it attempted to take off after surveying the damage to the downed choppers, it clipped a U.S. Air Force C-130 transport airplane. The helicopter went down, resulting in the deaths of eight U.S. servicemen. The debacle was a major embarrassment for Carter.

The failed hostage mission serves as a stark example of the inherent dangers of military operations in the often inhospitable climate of the Middle East. And the lack of rainfall throughout much of the region may well serve as the flash point for a future Middle East conflict as nations there scramble for increasingly precious water supplies.

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See also

Carter, James Earl, Jr.; EAGLE CLAW, Operation

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Middle East, History of, 1918–1945

The history of the Middle East for four centuries prior to 1918 was greatly influenced by the fortunes of the Ottoman Empire, which controlled most of the Arab lands via a decentralized political system. Outside of Ottoman control lay Persia, the Arabian peninsula, and the interior of many provinces ostensibly under Ottoman control or by 1914 subject to European control. In November 1914, Ottoman leaders took their state into World War I on the side of the Central Powers against the Allied (Entente) Powers. This decision was of immense import for the course of the war. It not only opened a new front but it had profound impact on the Middle East and on Russia.

In 1915 the British and French attempted to drive the Ottoman Empire from the war and establish a southern supply route to Russia. The subsequent naval (Dardanelles) and land (Gallipoli) campaigns were failures. In June 1916, however, with British assistance, Sharif Hussein of Mecca led a revolt by Arab forces against Ottoman rule. Based on his negotiations with the British, Hussein was convinced that an Allied victory in the war would bring independence for much of the Middle East, to include the area occupied by present-day Israel, Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and the Arabian Peninsula. However, British and French leaders secretly contravened the agreement with Hussein in the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement, whereby they effectively divided control of the Middle East between their two countries. Britain and France also undertook to compensate both Russia and Italy. The British complicated matters in the Balfour Declaration, issued by Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Arthur James Balfour on November 12, 1917. Intended to mobilize Jewish support behind the Allied war effort, it promised the creation of a Jewish "homeland" in Palestine following an Allied victory. Reconciling these various promises and claims would be virtually impossible. In any case, the Allies were victorious in the Middle East. Ottoman forces in

Population Growth in Selected Middle Eastern and Southwest Asian Countries, 1925–2005

Country	*1925*	*1935*	*1945*	*1955*	*1965*	*1975*	*1985*	*1995*	*2005*
Afghanistan	5,735,000	6,855,000	8,194,000	12,652,000	15,051,000	16,665,000	14,650,000	23,481,000	30,977,000
Iran	11,780,000	13,520,000	15,660,000	18,325,000	24,813,000	33,343,000	44,212,000	64,120,000	75,126,000
Iraq	3,111,000	3,560,500	4,611,400	5,961,000	8,047,000	11,124,000	15,319,000	20,097,000	28,422,000
Israel	805,000	963,000	1,834,900	1,748,000	2,563,000	3,455,000	4,296,000	5,521,000	6,465,000
Jordan	746,000	914,000	1,118,000	1,437,000	1,909,000	2,702,000	3,512,000	4,291,000	5,946,000
Lebanon	924,000	862,600	1,320,000	1,613,000	2,151,000	2,799,000	2,668,000	4,005,000	4,630,000
Pakistan	21,678,000	25,203,000	32,741,000	44,194,000	57,145,000	74,734,000	96,180,000	129,905,000	167,121,000
Saudi Arabia	2,194,000	2,552,000	2,968,000	4,305,000	5,405,000	7,180,000	11,595,000	18,979,000	25,812,000
Syria	1,828,000	2,035,400	2,926,000	3,967,000	5,325,000	7,380,000	10,267,000	14,153,000	19,948,000
Yemen	3,184,000	3,591,000	4,058,000	4,495,000	5,735,000	6,972,000	10,041,000	15,272,000	20,088,000

Jerusalem surrendered to British lieutenant general Sir Edmund Allenby in December 1917, and Allied troops occupied all Palestine in September 1918. The war ended two months later.

The disposition of territory belonging to the now defunct Ottoman Empire became a primary topic of discussion at the Paris Peace Conference following the war. Clearly, both Arabs and Jews expected to be rewarded for their support of the Allies in the war, yet the final postwar settlement saw the British and French controlling much of the modern Middle East under the oversight of the new League of Nations. The British dominated Iraq and Palestine, while the French controlled Syria and Lebanon. Supposedly French and British authorities were to oversee these "Mandates" until such time as the states could become fully independent. The Middle East did not long remain quiescent.

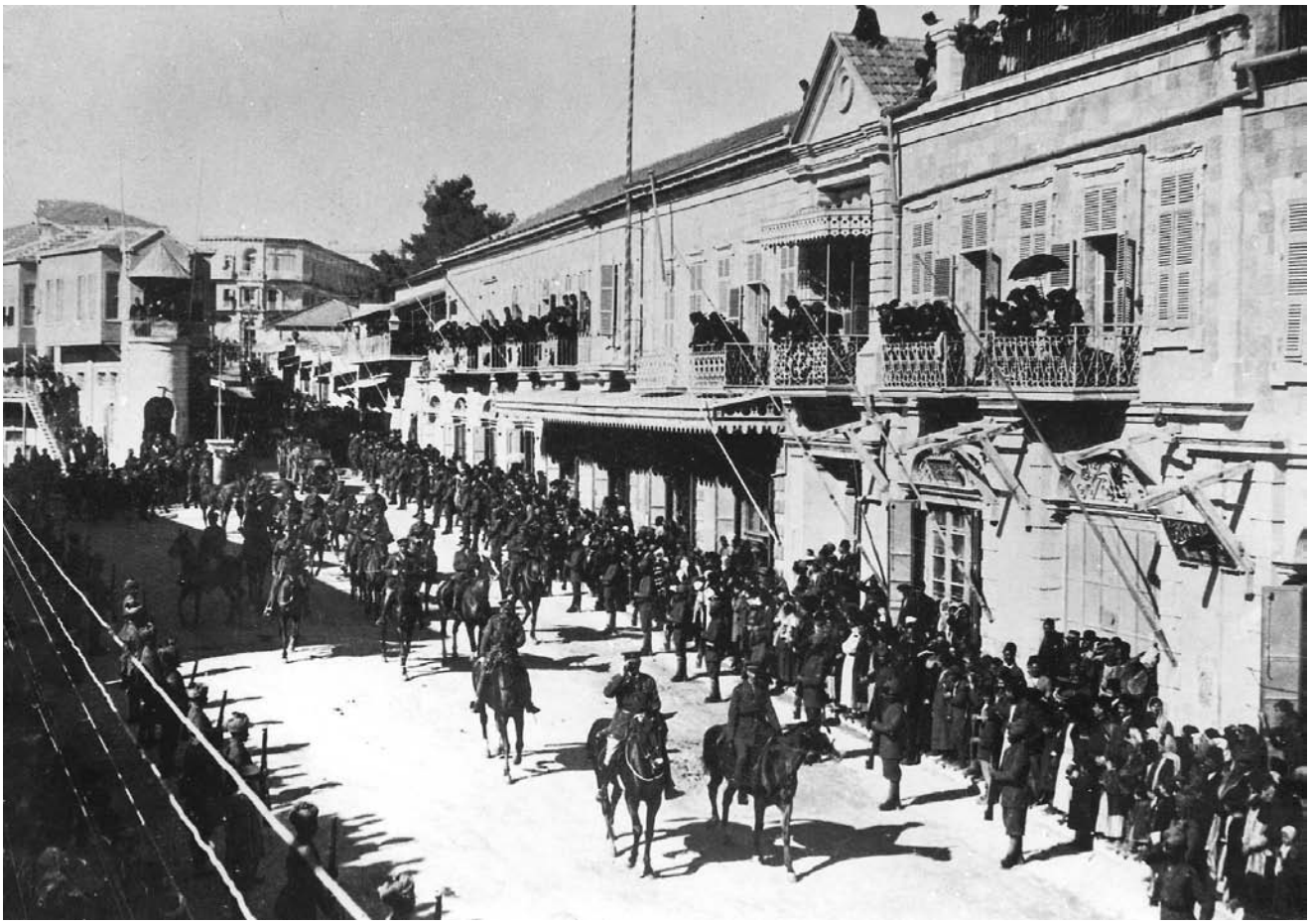
Following the armistice signed on October 30, 1918, at Mudros that ended fighting between the empire and the Entente (the United States never declared war on the Ottoman Empire), Allied troops occupied much of Ottoman territory. The empire ended on November 15 when Sultan Mehmed VI, who had succeeded to the throne in October on the death of Mehmed V, established a new government under the control of British and Greek troops. The punitive Allied peace terms of the Paris Peace Conference, whereby the Allies divided much of the territory of the former Ottoman Empire among themselves, spurred Turkish nationalism and led to a revolution under Mustafa Kemal. Under the terms of the punitive Treaty of Sèvres in 1920, Turkey was largely restricted to Anatolia and its economy was controlled by the Entente powers. There was widespread opposition in Turkey to this and, on August 10, 1920, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, a former Ottoman Army officer who had distinguished himself in the war, led what came to be known in Turkey as the War of Liberation to reclaim lands ceded by the sultan. Ataturk and his followers forced the Greeks from western Anatolia and formally abolished the sultanate on November 1, 1922, ending forever the Ottoman Empire as a political entity and Islamic religious authority.

The Republic of Turkey was created on October 29, 1923. Ataturk won unanimous election as the first president of Turkey, and on March 3, 1924, he abolished the Islamic Caliphate held by the Ottomans since 1517. The Caliphate was the only unified legal, governmental, and clerical structure recognized by classical Islam. Its end eventually splintered Islam into over 50 constituent nations divided by race, language, geography, ethnicity, politics, understandings of the Qur'an, acceptance of different rightful successors to Muhammad, and divergent local histories. Ataturk also abolished the strict observance of Sharia and created new secularized educational and judicial systems. Turkey officially replaced religious law with secular law on February 17, 1926, making Turkey the most secular nation with a majority Muslim population in the Middle East.

In Egypt, anti-British riots erupted. In response to these, in February 1922 the British formally ended the protectorate that had been in effect since 1882 and declared Egypt a sovereign, independent kingdom. This was only rhetorical, however, for British authorities continued to exercise real authority and had military forces in the country to defend the Suez Canal, now Britain's lifeline to India.

British concerns over Italy's invasion of Ethiopia (Abyssinia) in September 1935 led to new British concessions in Egypt and a new treaty between London and Cairo in August 1936. Britain pledged to defend Egypt against external attack, while Egypt promised to place its facilities at Britain's disposal in case of war. Egypt also formally agreed to fixed numbers of British forces in the Canal Zone, but Britain agreed to evacuate all other bases, save the naval base at Alexandria, which it would have for eight additional years. The Egyptian military was also bound closely to Britain. Britain agreed to work for the removal of the capitulations, and its high commissioner was replaced by an ambassador. The treaty was to be of indefinite duration but with negotiations for any changes permitted after 20 years. The future of the Sudan was unresolved. Both the Egyptian government and Britain worked to break the power of the nationalist Wafd Party, which had been founded in 1919 and had dominated the parliament and was hostile to the Egyptian monarchy.

During World War II, there was some pro-Axis sentiment in Egypt, but the British did secure the cooperation of the Egyptian government in the war against the Axis powers. More than a half million British Empire troops were stationed in Egypt, which became the principal British and Allied base in the Middle East.



Allied forces under British lieutenant general Edmund Allenby enter Jerusalem on December 12, 1917. (Israeli Government Press Office)

Syrian nationalists declared their country an independent nation in 1920, but the French military intervened and crushed the nationalists in the Battle of Maysalun on July 23, 1920. On September 1, 1920, the French created out of what had been known as Greater Syria the state of Greater Lebanon, a largely Christian (mainly Maronite) enclave that nevertheless included many Muslims and Druze. The enclave proved unworkable, leading the French to create a smaller Christian enclave/protectorate in the coastal areas in 1923 and the Lebanese Republic on September 1, 1926, thereafter independent of Syria but nonetheless administrated under the French Mandate of Syria.

During World War II, the Vichy France government allowed the Germans to transit Syria in order to supply forces in Iraq against the British. The British, accompanied by Australian and some Free French forces, as well as the Transjordan Arab Legion, responded by invading Syria and Lebanon, where they defeated the Vichy French forces and secured control. Under considerable political pressure both from within Lebanon and from the Allied powers, on November 16, 1941, the government of Free France headed by Charles de Gaulle declared Lebanon independent under the Free French government. Formation of a workable government proved difficult. Elections were held in 1943, and on November 8 the new government unilaterally declared the mandate at an end. Later that month, after first arresting the members of the new government, the French acceded to Lebanese independence. The 1943 National Pact distributed seats in the legislature of Lebanon according to population figures and required the president to be a Christian and the prime minister to be a Muslim, but an independent government was not created until January 1, 1944. French troops were not withdrawn until 1946.

Meanwhile, Syria remained under French rule. Following the 1941 British-led invasion of Syria and Lebanon, Syria was turned over to the Free French authorities. Although the French recognized Syrian independence, they continued to occupy the country and declared martial law, imposed strict press censorship, and arrested a number of individuals. In July 1943, under Allied pressure, the Free French authorities agreed to new elections. A nationalist government came to power that August under President Shukri al-Quwatli. France formally granted Syria independence on January 1, 1944, but the country remained under Allied occupation for the remainder of the war. In February 1945, Syria declared war on the Axis.

In early May 1945 anti-French demonstrations erupted throughout Syria, whereupon French forces bombarded Damascus. Some 400 people died before the British intervened. A United Nations (UN) resolution in February 1946 called on France to

evacuate the country, and by mid-April all French and British forces had departed. Evacuation Day, April 17, is still celebrated in Syria as a national holiday.

World War I saw Great Britain as master of the former Ottoman provinces of Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul, which constitute modern Iraq. The first two were joined into a single country in 1921, while the third was added in 1926. Iraq was, however, sharply divided between Sunni and Shia, Arab and Kurd, urban and rural. In 1921, the British installed as a figurehead king of Iraq the Hashemite Faisal, whom the French had forced out of Syria. The British then established a temporary government for Iraq in October 1920 and made Prince Faisal king in 1921. Britain continued its mandatory governance of Iraq until 1932 when, on Faisal's urging, they granted what turned out to be only nominal independence. The British retained military bases and transit rights. Faisal died in 1933 and was succeeded by Ghazi I, who was followed in 1933 by King Faisal II. The Hashemite monarchy, which was overthrown in 1958, never was able to serve as a unifying force in Iraq. A succession of coups and coup attempts, meanwhile, kept Iraq in near constant turmoil.

Iraq was a major oil producer, and during World War II the British government feared that, if that nation were to side with Germany, its location on the Persian Gulf might enable the Germans to threaten Britain's lifeline with India. In April 1941, nationalist Rashid Ali al-Gaylani led a coup by the Iraqi military and became prime minister. Encouraged by the Axis powers, the new government refused Britain the rights of transit guaranteed under the earlier treaty and threatened British bases. The British responded with force and, despite Axis military aid channeled through Syria, crushed the nationalists and forced their leaders to flee. Nuri al-Said then again became prime minister with a pro-British administration, which in 1943 declared war on the Axis powers.

Palestine proved an intractable problem. Under agreements reached at the San Remo Conference in April 1920, Palestine became a British mandate. It proved impossible for Britain to honor the pledges it had made during the war to both the Jews (a homeland for Jews) and Arabs (an Arab state). With some 85–90 percent of the total population, the Arabs were unwilling to compromise on the issue of emigration and land sales to Jews. Increasingly they took out their anger against both the British administration and the Jews. In 1920 and 1921, there was widespread violence against Jews. In 1921, the Jewish community responded by forming the Haganah, a self-defense force that was the precursor to the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF).

Efforts by the British to establish a legislative council involving both groups failed on Arab opposition. Violence throughout 1929 led the British to halt Jewish settlement in Palestine, but they soon reversed this policy. By 1936 the Jewish population of Palestine numbered some 400,000 people, or 30 percent of the population. That same year, a full-fledged Arab revolt or rebellion began. Lasting until 1939, it obliged the British government to dispatch 20,000 troops to Palestine. By its end some 5,000 Arabs had been killed and thousands more were wounded.

At first the British government recommended partition of Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish states, but then it decided this was not feasible. In 1939, with a new war in Europe looming, the British government sought to shore up its position in the Middle East by favoring the Arabs. It severely limited future Jewish immigration and restricted land sales to Jews. In consequence, some Jews took up arms against the British.

The World War II Holocaust—the death of some 6 million Jews by the Germans—led to demands for resettlement of Jews in Palestine and establishment of a Jewish state. Jews worldwide believed that only a sovereign state could really protect them. Britain's rejection of such a course of action brought heightened Jewish terrorism and guerrilla warfare and was a major factor in Britain's decision to relinquish control of Palestine in 1948.

Palestine east of the Jordan River, known as Transjordan (today Jordan), was part of Britain's League of Nations mandate. In 1921, Abdullah ibn Hussein, a member of the Hashemite dynasty, became the de facto ruler of Transjordan, and in 1928 it became a constitutional monarchy under Abdullah, although it was still considered part of the British Mandate. Transjordan received its independence in 1946. On May 25, the parliament proclaimed Abdullah to be King Abdullah I. The same body also changed the name of the country to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Ibn Saud ruled central Arabia. He had conquered various parts of the Saudi peninsula with his Ikhwan warriors early in the 20th century. When the Hashemites were forced out of the Hijaz, he was able to extend his control over this area. After World War I he consolidated his control, becoming king in 1925. Overcoming a revolt against his rule during 1927–1929 by the fundamentalist Wahhabi Ikhwan warriors who had fought for him for years, he exiled them to the oases of Burayda and areas of Najd. In 1932, the kingdom formally became Saudi Arabia.

Saudi Arabia's fortunes took a dramatic turn with the discovery of vast reserves of oil in the 1930s. American oil companies played the leading role in its exploitation—exploring, extracting, and shipping the oil. The importance of oil during World War II enhanced the Saudi-American relationship, leading to the formation in 1944 of ARAMCO, the Arab-American Oil Corporation.

In Persia on February 21, 1921, army officer Reza Khan overthrew the Qajar dynasty. He appointed himself shah (king), attempted to centralize authority, and changed the name of the state to Iran in 1935. He Persianized Iran and moved against the traditional clergy, seeking to modernize the country. During August–September 1941, Soviet and British forces occupied northern and southern Iran, respectively, to ensure the flow of Lend-Lease supplies to the Soviet Union. Shah Pahlavi abdicated to his son Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi on September 16, 1941. At the end of World War II, securing the removal of foreign forces was a major preoccupation of the government and, in the case of Soviet troops, became a test for the new UN.

The period 1918–1945 saw many changes in the Middle East, including the transition to independent states. It also witnessed

U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt and King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud discuss Saudi-U.S. relations aboard the U.S. Navy cruiser *Quincy* on the Great Bitter Lake north of Suez, Egypt, February 14, 1945. (AP/Wide World Photos)

the beginnings of what would erupt after World War II in armed confrontation between Jews and Arabs over the new state of Israel. Unfortunately for the region, considerable violence lay ahead.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Egypt; Iran; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Jordan; Lebanon; Kuwait; Ottoman Empire; Saudi Arabia; Sudan; Syria; Turkey, Role in Persian Gulf and Afghanistan Wars; United Arab Emirates; Yemen

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Middle East, History of, 1945–Present

The Middle East assumed increased importance with the end of World War II, and for a variety of reasons. The Suez Canal continued to be one of the world's most important strategic waterways, the West increasingly relied on the region's vast supplies of oil (estimated at two-thirds of the world's proven reserves), and the status of Palestine was unresolved but threatened full-scale regional war. The 65 years following World War II in the region have seen a rising tide of Arab nationalism; continuing Arab-Israeli confrontation that is frequently marked by terrorism; Arab oil as a global economic weapon wielded by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC); and national rivalries leading to wars, in part because of the lack of clear geographical boundaries in the region and the arbitrary nature of how the national borders were drawn by the former colonial powers. The Middle East also became a central focal point of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union (1945–1992), as

both the American and Soviet blocs sought to gain the upper hand in the region. That in turn led to significant arms transfers to powers in the region by both the United States and Soviet Union, which affected the regional balance of power.

The period is dominated by three major wars between Israel and the Arab states, which led to the threat of foreign intervention and confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States. There were also Israeli invasions of Lebanon and other sporadic military clashes between the Jewish state and its individual neighbors. Iran and Iraq fought a protracted eight-year war (1980–1988), which may have claimed 1 million casualties, and the Soviet Union waged an even longer, although less bloody, unsuccessful struggle to maintain communism in Afghanistan (1979–1988). There have also been two wars between United States–led coalitions and Iraq, in 1991 and in 2003 (with insurgent actions in Iraq continuing to the present), not to mention an ongoing war in Afghanistan with Taliban and Al Qaeda insurgents since 2001. In addition, there have been numerous civil wars, such as in Yemen and Lebanon; coups d'état; and untold acts of terrorism. The Middle East continues to live up to its reputation as one of the most violent and volatile regions on earth.

Although some scholars identify the Middle East in cultural terms to include those countries embracing Islam, the region is more often delineated by geography, to consist of those countries of southwest Asia west of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Under this definition, the term Middle East embraces Turkey, Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Yemen, and Egypt.

The region was of immense importance to the Allies during World War II. In order to secure the Suez Canal—Britain's imperial lifeline to Asia—the British maintained in Egypt their largest overseas base. Persian Gulf oil was also of immense strategic importance to the Allied war effort, and Iran also became an important supply corridor for U.S. Lend-Lease aid shipped to the Soviet Union.

World War II brought a repudiation of colonialism driven by the United States and Soviet Union. The British and French, who had largely controlled the region since the end of World War I, now were forced to quit it. Economic factors as well as U.S. and Soviet pressure also played a role in their decisions. This did not come all at once (for example, it was only in 1956 that Britain surrendered its remaining military bases in Egypt). Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq all achieved independence in the years immediately after World War II. In some parts of their empires there was considerable bloodshed. In North Africa, for example, France fought a prolonged struggle in Algeria during 1954–1962, which affected the Middle East and resulted in Algeria securing full independence.

Frustrated in its efforts to keep Jewish refugees out of Palestine and in its inability to secure Jewish and Arab agreement on a partition plan for Palestine—and finding itself at war with both—the British government unilaterally (and precipitously) terminated its Palestinian mandate, departing in 1948. This brought the Jewish proclamation of the State of Israel and immediate war between it and the neighboring Arab states. There was strong support for Israel from the United States, which has the world's largest Jewish population, but also from Western Europe. There was great sympathy for the Jews as a result of the death of some 6 million Jews in the Nazi-inspired Holocaust, as well as support for the Zionist position that only a Jewish national state could protect the Jewish people. Such a step was anathema to most Arabs. In large part because of the Cold War, the Soviet Union shifted from strong support of Israel (it had been the second state after the United States to recognize the Jewish state) to siding with the Arabs and becoming a major arms supplier to them. The United States and France assumed the same role for Israel.

At the same time, however, the United States and other Western powers sought to maintain close ties with the oil-producing Persian Gulf states. Despite being strongly anti-Israel, these states were tied to the United States financially through their exploitation of their oil riches. Influential Islamic clergy in these states also found Soviet policies toward religion distasteful.

The Soviets hoped to supplant British influence in the region. They had long sought to secure a port on the Mediterranean, and in the years immediately after World War II brought immense pressure on Turkey in an effort to control the straits connecting the Black Sea with the Mediterranean. They also sought to secure

Two members of the Palmach, the Jewish fighting force, take up position at a wall during training for city fighting, Jerusalem, March 1948. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Middle East, 1990

the province of Azerbaijan in northern Iran, which they had occupied during the war.

The United States sought to counter Soviet pressure in the region. When Britain announced in 1947 that it could no longer support the Greek government in its war with communist insurgents, the United States took up that role. In the 1947 Truman Doctrine, President Harry S. Truman proclaimed U.S. aid for both Greece and Turkey and pledged U.S. support for any nation fighting communist insurgents and outside pressures. The United States also maintained a strong naval presence in the region through its Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.

The Israeli declaration of independence was, in any case, immediately followed by the first Arab-Israeli War of 1948–1949. Although vastly outnumbered, the Israelis were much better disciplined and organized. They ultimately prevailed over their divided opponents, who in any case had conflicting war aims. At the end of the war, Israeli forces succeeded in driving back the armies of Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, and Syria. In the process, many tens of thousands of Palestinians fled, precipitating a massive refugee crisis, and the Israelis forced others to leave.

A revolution in Egypt in 1953 and the rise of Gamal Abdel Nasser dramatically changed the Middle East. Nasser was a committed Arab nationalist with Pan-Arab aspirations. His goals greatly alarmed Israeli leaders, for the security of the Israeli state rested in large part on Arab division. Among his accomplishments, Nasser secured a final British departure from Egypt. He also gained a pledge of U.S. financial support for construction of an immense dam on the Nile at Aswan. But when the West rejected Nasser's requests for modern weaponry, the Egyptian leader turned to the Soviet bloc for assistance. The United States feared this would upset the arms balance in the Middle East to the detriment of Israel, and Nasser's subsequent conclusion of an arms deal with Czechoslovakia led to the withdrawal of U.S. assistance for the Aswan Dam project. The Soviets stepped in to provide technical assistance, but to pay for the dam project Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956, which had been owned by a private company, in which the British government was the largest stockholder.

Nasser's decision to nationalize the canal had immense repercussions, ultimately bringing the British government into a secret arrangement developed by the French and Israeli governments to topple Nasser from power. The Israelis were convinced that as soon as Nasser had integrated modern Soviet weapons into its armed forces, Egyptian forces would invade Israel. Indeed, Nasser had already sponsored terrorist raids across the border into Israel, and he had closed the Strait of Tiran to Israeli shipping. The secret plan developed by the three powers called for Israel to invade Egypt and threaten the canal and also advance into the Sinai peninsula. The British and French would then demand that both sides pull back and allow their forces to occupy the canal zone. If, as expected, Egypt refused, British and French forces would invade.

The 1956 Suez Crisis was one of the major international events of the Cold War. Although Egypt did indeed reject the Franco-British ultimatum and British and French troops attacked Egypt, the three invading powers were soon forced to withdraw under heavy U.S. pressure and Soviet threats. An angry President Dwight D. Eisenhower, caught by surprise by the allied move, insisted on a unilateral withdrawal. Far from toppling Nasser, the Suez Crisis strengthened his position both in Egypt and throughout the Middle East. Indeed, in 1958 Egypt and Syria came together in the United Arab Republic, which however broke apart in 1961 following Egyptian domination of the new state. Britain emerged as the biggest loser in the Suez Crisis. Soviet prestige soared and the United States also gained credibility, although it continued to be hampered by its unqualified support of Israel, which was another winner, for the United Nations (UN) established observers along the Israeli-Egyptian border, and the blockade of the Strait of Tiran came to an end.

The Soviet Union, meanwhile, had now allied itself closely with Arab nationalism against the West and Israel. Thanks to expanded Soviet military assistance, by 1966 the Egyptian armed forces appeared to be sufficiently strong to threaten Israel. This fact, the signing of a defense pact between Egypt and Syria in 1966, and increasing Palestinian attacks on Israel from the neighboring Arab states all greatly alarmed Tel Aviv. Then in mid-May 1967 Nasser ordered Egyptian troops into the Sinai peninsula and demanded the concentration of UN observers there, leading to their withdrawal. Convinced that the Egyptians would soon attack, Israel struck first.

Securing the approval of the Lyndon Johnson administration in the United States, the Israelis launched a devastatingly effective air strike on June 5, 1967. It was carefully timed so as to destroy the bulk of the Egyptian Air Force on the ground. The Israelis also moved against the Syrians and reluctantly against Jordan, for King Hussein had decided to enter the war at the last moment. The resulting Six-Day War changed the map of the Middle East. Israel took the Sinai peninsula from Egypt, the Golan Heights from Syria, and the territory of the West Bank of the Jordan River and East Jerusalem from Jordan.

The Soviets threatened intervention, but in the end they did nothing, which greatly diminished their prestige in the Arab world. French president Charles de Gaulle, angered over the preemptive Israeli strike, ended French military assistance to Israel. The United States, which had done little to assist Israel in the war, nonetheless positioned the Sixth Fleet in the eastern Mediterranean as a warning to the Soviets, and shortly after the war, it substantially increased its military and economic assistance to Israel. The Soviets, meanwhile, made good the military losses sustained by the Arab states.

In 1964, meanwhile, Palestinian nationalist Yasser Arafat had formed the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as an umbrella organization for disparate Palestinian groups fighting Israel. It began launching terrorist raids of its own with the aim of eliminating the Jewish state. The bulk of the PLO attacks came from Jordan, and soon the PLO there was virtually a state within a state. In September 1970, King Hussein moved to expel the PLO,

prompting military intervention on the part of Syria, a staunch PLO supporter. Jordan secured pledges of support from Britain and the United States but was able both to expel the PLO and to hold off the Syrians without outside assistance.

Nasser died in September 1970 and was followed as president of Egypt by Anwar Sadat, who concluded that the United States was the only country capable of forcing Israel into a negotiated settlement. He therefore ordered Soviet military advisers to leave Egypt and Soviet bases there closed. When these moves failed to win concessions from the United States or Israel, Sadat concluded that only a renewal of the fighting could force a settlement. To enhance the possibility of success, Sadat concluded a secret understanding with Syria for a joint surprise attack on Israel.

As Sadat hoped, the Egyptian attack caught the Israelis completely by surprise. Their strike of October 6, 1973, occurred at the start of Yom Kippur. Elaborate deceptions masked the Egyptian preparations. What became known as the Yom Kippur War, the Ramadan War, or the War of Atonement began with an Egyptian crossing of the Suez Canal. The Egyptians then set up defensive positions. Their surface-to-air (SAM) missile sites on the other side of the canal devastated reacting Israeli aircraft and their new, handheld Soviet antitank missiles took a heavy toll of responding Israeli armor. In the north along the Golan Heights, Syrian forces almost overran severely outnumbered Israeli defenders. Israeli forces rallied on both fronts and by the time a cease-fire was declared, they had driven the Syrians back and penetrated Syria itself almost to Damascus. On the southern front against Egypt, Israeli forces crossed the Suez Canal and were threatening to sever the supply lines to the Egyptian Third Army. A complete victory by either side was not acceptable to the United States or Soviet Union, and under their joint pressure a cease-fire came into effect, followed by a military withdrawal.

One important side effect of the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War was the Arab oil embargo of 1973–1974. The major Arab oil-producing states sided with Egypt and Syria, and cut off oil shipments to nations supporting Israel, including the United States. This action exposed the dependence of the Western nations, especially western Europe and Japan, on Arab oil and greatly strengthened the influence of OPEC over both the supply and pricing of petroleum. Huge increases in oil and energy prices, combined with shortages of each, badly crippled the West's already fragile economy, and not until the early 1980s would Western economies recover fully from the oil shocks of the 1970s. At the same time, increases in the price of oil gave the oil-producing states of the Persian Gulf vastly increased wealth as well as expanded influence. These states contributed considerable sums to support the Palestinians and also directly or indirectly supported Palestinian terrorist attacks on Israel. The oil embargo also increased the world influence of the Soviet Union, the world's largest oil-producing nation.

In November 1977, Anwar Sadat took a major step toward reaching a settlement with Tel Aviv by visiting Israel, the first Arab head of state to officially visit the nation. His initiative ultimately resulted in the 1978 Camp David Accords, which were followed the next year by a comprehensive Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty. The administration of President Jimmy Carter in the United States hoped that the Egyptian-Israeli treaty would lead to one between Israel and Jordan, but the ensuing widespread condemnation of Sadat in the Arab world and his assassination in 1981 largely prevented this. At the same time, increasing Palestinian terrorist attacks from Lebanon led Israel to invade southern Lebanon and to establish a defensive zone there. Syria, meanwhile, sent its forces into Lebanon at different points during the civil war there. The Syrians subsequently exerted extensive control over Lebanese politics and the economy. In effect they took control of that country, which was now sharply divided between Muslim and Christian populations.

The oil-producing states, although they provided financial support to the Palestinians and states opposing Israel, took no military action of their own. This enabled them to maintain friendly relations with the West, especially the United States. This situation was particularly true with Iran, ruled by pro-Western Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. Soviet pressure on Iran following World War II and a close alliance between the Soviet Union and Iraq, Iran's regional rival, also served to cement a bond with the United States. Iran and Iraq were at loggerheads over the Shatt al-Arab waterway, which separated the two nations. The shah, however, was increasingly unpopular and out of touch with the aspirations of his people. Opposition to the shah was centered among Islamic fundamentalists opposed to his close ties with the United States and westernization efforts. In January 1979, the shah was forced to flee Iran, and the next month the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini returned from exile to establish an Islamic fundamentalist state. The new regime was strongly anti-American. In November 1979, Iranian militants overran the U.S. embassy in Tehran and seized 160 Americans as hostages, precipitating a crisis that probably cost Carter reelection as president in 1980. The hostages would not be released until January 1981, at the precise moment that Carter's rival, Republican president Ronald Reagan, took the oath of office.

In late December 1979, Soviet forces invaded neighboring Afghanistan, in keeping with the doctrine of Leonid Brezhnev stipulating that the Soviet Union would ensure the continuation of communism where it was already established. It turned out to be a nightmare for the Soviets as mujahideen ("holy warriors," freedom fighters) took up arms against the occupiers and fought a nine-year struggle that saw the Soviets and their allied Afghan Army controlling the population centers while the mujahideen controlled much of the rural areas of Afghanistan.

The war attracted Muslim fundamentalists from around the Arab world who saw it as a new jihad (holy war). Afghanistan turned out to be a training ground for insurgent fighters elsewhere, particularly in the largely fundamentalist tribal regions of neighboring northwestern Pakistan. In the end, the Soviets were worn down, their technological edge in armed and armored helicopters offset by Western technology in the form of small but lethal U.S. Stinger and British Blowpipe surface-to-air missiles,

American drivers wait in line to purchase gasoline for their cars during the 1970s energy crisis. (Library of Congress)

which had been furnished to the mujahideen by the United States. The Soviets quit Afghanistan in 1988, with their last forces leaving in February 1989. Soon, Afghanistan descended into a virtual civil war and political chaos, allowing the Muslim fundamentalist group known as the Taliban to seize control there. The Soviets, meanwhile, had been practically bankrupted by their war, and less than three years after their troops quit Afghanistan, the Soviet Union broke apart peacefully, marking the end of the Cold War.

In 1980 Iraq invaded Iran, beginning an eight-year (1980–1988) immensely costly, and yet inconclusive conflict for regional dominance. The war was in many ways a continuation of the ancient Persian-Arab rivalry, fueled by border disputes, waterway rights, and competition for hegemony in the Persian Gulf and Middle East regions. The long-standing rivalry was also abetted by religion, a collision between the Pan-Islamism and revolutionary Shia Islamism of Iran and the Pan-Arab Sunni nationalism of Iraq.

The border between the two states had been contested for some time, and in 1969 Iran abrogated its treaty with Iraq on the navigation of the Shatt al-Arab waterway, Iraq's only outlet to the Persian Gulf. Two years later, Iran seized islands in the Gulf, and border clashes occurred. The rivalry was also complicated by minorities issues, as both states had large Kurdish populations in their northern regions, while an Arab minority inhabited the oil-rich Iranian province of Khuzestan.

Given the long-standing rivalry, thorny border and diplomatic issues, and personal ambitions, it was quite natural that the leaders of both states should seek to exploit any perceived weakness in the other. Thus Iraqi president Saddam Hussein sought to take advantage of the upheaval following the fall of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi and the establishment of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's Islamic fundamentalist regime in 1979, during the Iranian Revolution. Iraq attacked Iran on September 22, 1980, beginning the war.

Although Iraq registered early gains, it was unable to capitalize on them and overcome the Iranian advantage in manpower and religious fanaticism. Stalemate eventually ensued. In many respects, the war came to resemble the position warfare of World War I. Attacks on cities by both sides failed to end the stalemate. War weariness finally led to a cease-fire in August 1988. The conflict may have claimed 1 million casualties, and it left both sides financially prostrate. Not until 1990, following two years of negotiations, was there a peace agreement that provided for the exchange of prisoners, the status quo antebellum, and the division of sovereignty over the Shatt al-Arab. The war helped unite the Iranian people behind the regime. Iran, meanwhile, remained the most diehard opponent of Israel and was committed to the spread of Islamic fundamentalism. It continued to stoke the fires of the region in Iraq, in Lebanon, and among the Palestinians.

Hussein emerged from the war with the strongest military in the Middle East, second only to Israel, but this came at great cost to his people. His power unchallenged in Iraq, he trumpeted a great national victory. The war had put Iraq deeply in debt to its Persian Gulf Arab neighbors, and this played a major role in the coming of the Persian Gulf War (the $14 billion debt owed to Kuwait was a key factor in Iraq's decision to invade that nation in 1990).

In December 1988, meanwhile, the PLO publicly accepted the existence of Israel, increasing pressure on both sides for a resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which remains elusive. Meanwhile the Muslim Brotherhood organization in Gaza and other elements created the Hamas movement, which participated in the Palestinian Intifada, an uprising which lasted until the Oslo Accords of 1993. Hamas refused to treat with Israel and was responsible for a new wave of suicide attacks against Jews in Israel. In 2006, Hamas won the Palestinian elections in the Gaza Strip and subsequently took control of that area from the PLO, which however retained control over the more populous West Bank.

In August 1990, believing that the United States would not intervene, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein sent his forces into Kuwait and took over that state. Iraq had long claimed Kuwait as a province, and Hussein was angered over Kuwait's slant-drilling into a large Iraqi field, as well as over excessive Kuwaiti oil production, which tended to drive down the price of oil. Iraq wanted the price of oil as high as possible in order to pay off its massive debts from the Iran-Iraq War. U.S. president George H. W. Bush was convinced that Iraq would next pressure Saudi Arabia, and so he put together a broad international coalition of regional and global powers that ultimately drove Iraq from Kuwait. The ground phase of the Persian Gulf War lasted only 100 hours, ending in February 1991. Having expelled the Iraqis from Kuwait at little human cost, Bush was anxious to avoid further bloodshed on both sides and was reluctant to intervene in Iraq for fear that it might then break apart (the country was sharply divided between the ruling Sunnis, the more populous Shiites, and the Kurds) and thus serve to benefit Iran. Bush ended the war early, with the result that Hussein remained in power. From 1991 to 2001, the U.S. and global policy toward Iraq would be one of containment, attained through periodic low-scale military operations and economic sanctions. The 1991 Persian Gulf War was made possible, in large part, by the melting away of the Cold War, as the Soviets neither participated in nor strongly objected to the conflict.

Israel and Jordan finally reached a peace settlement in July 1994. A peace deal with Syria remains elusive, although there were hints at the end of 2008 that some sort of arrangement might be in the offing. This would have to include the return of the Golan Heights to Syria and agreement on the thorny issues of security and water rights.

The presence of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia angered Saudi extremist Osama bin Laden, who had formed the Al Qaeda terrorist organization to wage jihad against the West and especially the United States. Expelled from Saudi Arabia and then Sudan, he settled in Afghanistan, where he established a partnership with the Taliban and from which he launched terrorist attacks, by far the most damaging of which occurred on September 11, 2001, when members of Al Qaeda seized control of four airliners in the United States and flew two of them into the twin towers of the World Trade Center and one of them into the Pentagon.

After the attacks, which completely destroyed the twin towers, killed more than 2,900 people, and injured 6,300 others, the United States demanded that the Taliban surrender bin Laden and, when it refused, undertook military action (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM) in October 2001 in concert with its North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies in support of the forces of the Northern Alliance, which were then waging war against the Taliban. While the Taliban was quickly driven from power, the Afghanistan War continues, fueled by Islamic fundamentalism, especially from across the border in northwestern Pakistan.

Meanwhile, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein, anxious to reassert his position in the Middle East, continued to defy the United Nations regarding provisions of the cease-fire agreement that had ended the Persian Gulf War, particularly those that concerned disarmament and the eradication of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). Again, the United States took the lead. President George W. Bush and his neoconservative advisers believed that they saw an opportunity to transform the Middle East. Hussein would be toppled from power and Iraq made into a democracy. Its example would then force change elsewhere in the region. Operating on inadequate and incorrect intelligence information, Bush claimed that Iraq possessed WMDs. The fact that Hussein had repeatedly blocked UN inspections and defied the United States served to lend credence to Bush's claims of the need to destroy Iraqi WMDs. After securing approval from Congress in October 2002 (many members later claimed they had voted for the resolution in the belief that this would be used to bluff Hussein to back down), the Bush administration went to war in March 2003. This occurred in the teeth of opposition from the United Nations and without the support of traditional U.S. allies, with the notable exception of Great Britain. Although Hussein's regime was easily overthrown, the United States and its allies found themselves with a ground force inadequate to effectively occupy the country and deal with a growing insurgency. The decision to dissolve the Iraqi Army also proved unfortunate, as many of its former members joined the resistance against coalition forces.

Faced with a growing insurgency, mounting American casualties, high military spending, and considerable political pressure, even from his own party, in January 2007 Bush implemented a troop surge strategy, inserting as many as 30,000 more troops in Iraq by mid-2007. This squared with advice that had been ignored by the White House in 2003, which had called for far more troops to be deployed during and after an invasion of Iraq. By the end of 2007, the troop surge appeared to be paying dividends, as violence in Iraq began to fall off markedly. Still, however, the United States maintained as many as 150,000 military personnel in Iraq in early 2008, and the long-term results of the troop surge remained unclear.

Soldiers with the latest Stryker brigade to arrive in Iraq as part of the troop "surge" on patrol in Taji, May 15, 2007. (U.S. Department of Defense)

As of this writing, the war continues, although new U.S. President Barack Obama, who made as the centerpiece of his campaign a timetable for U.S. withdrawal from Iraq, was determined to bring U.S. involvement to a speedy end and shift resources to Afghanistan, where the lack of resources to fight had contributed to a growing insurgency there.

Intractable problems remain. As 2009 began, Israel responded to Hamas rockets being fired into its territory from the Gaza Strip by launching punishing air attacks on the Gaza Strip. Iran continued its defiance of the United Nations and bulk of world opinion as it strove to develop an atomic bomb. Russia, emboldened by a flow of petrodollars, once more pushed for involvement in the Middle East to include the sale of offensive weaponry to Lebanon, where Iran also sought to protect its own interests by developing nuclear weapons. It was also accused of supplying arms (to include missiles) to Hezbollah over a period of many years.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Afghanistan; Algerian War; Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arab Nationalism; DESERT STORM, Operation; Egypt; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; France, Middle East Policy; Germany, Federal Republic of, Middle East Policy; Global War on Terror; Hamas; Hezbollah; Hussein, Saddam; Iran; Iran-Iraq War; Iranian Revolution; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Jordan; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Kuwait; Lebanon; Libya; Middle East Regional Defense Organizations; Morocco; Mubarak, Hosni; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Oil; Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries; Reza Pahlavi, Mohammad; Russia, Middle East Policy, 1991–Present; Sadat, Muhammad Anwar; Saudi Arabia; September 11 Attacks; September 11 Attacks, International Reactions to; Soviet-Afghanistan War; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; Suez Crisis; Syria; Terrorism; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; United States, Middle East Policy, 1917–1945; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Middle East Regional Defense Organizations

When the Clement Attlee government came to power in Great Britain in July 1945, British foreign minister Ernest Bevin moved to end British colonial rule in much of the Middle East. To that end, he hoped to replace older British protectorate agreements with Iraq, Jordan, and Egypt with bilateral treaties that would reduce British commitments without giving up influence in the region. Talks for new agreements were frustrating, however. The Iraqis backed out at the last minute and did not sign the 1947 Portsmouth Agreement. The Egyptians were also not ready to accept Britain's new terms and demanded the removal of British troops. While the Iraqi rejection did not pose any immediate difficulties for the British, Egypt's demand jeopardized Britain's main stronghold in the Middle East.

Great Britain's inability to reach a bilateral defense agreement with Egypt led Britain and the United States to promulgate regional defense organizations instead. The latter included the Middle East Command (MEC) in October 1951 and the Middle East Defense Organization (MEDO) in 1953. It was believed that the organizations would commit Egypt to regional defense without subjecting it to British dominance. Nevertheless, the Egyptian monarchy and successive revolutionary regimes rejected any formal military link with the West.

Efforts to create a regional defense structure with Egypt at its core ended in May 1953, following a visit by U.S. secretary of state John Foster Dulles to the Middle East. Discussions with regional leaders—mainly with Egyptian officials—convinced Dulles that there was no chance of including Egypt in a regional defense organization. He suggested that a different country should be the linchpin of the organization, and Iraq seemed a viable alternative.

At the time, Turkey and Iraq were negotiating a mutual defense agreement. Cultural ties between Iraq and Turkey made such a pact a natural union. With tacit encouragement from Washington and with the understanding that the parties to a regional defense organization would be rewarded with military aid, the two governments agreed to expand the treaty and to use it as a platform from which to launch a regional defense organization that would include Turkey, Pakistan, and Iraq. Turkey and Pakistan had signed a defense agreement earlier, so the proposed regional defense organization was a logical extension.

In February 1955 Iraq signed a defense agreement with Turkey, the initial step toward the establishment of what became known as the 1955 Baghdad Pact, which included Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and Great Britain. Washington thereupon announced that it would strengthen the Iraqi Army, which stood on the front line against the Soviet Union.

Iraq took a leading role in the initiative, and not simply from fear of the Soviets. It agreed to take part in a Western-oriented regional defense agreement so as to claim regional dominance over Egypt. At the time, Iraq was the only rival to Egypt's leadership in the Arab world. Indeed, the Iraqis deeply resented the establishment of the Arab League under Cairo's auspices and saw an Iraqi-based defense organization, the headquarters of which was to be located in Baghdad, as an effective counterbalance to Egypt's push for regional hegemony.

Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser did perceive the pact as a challenge to Egypt's position in the Arab world and was still reeling from criticism over the "humiliating clause" in the October 1954 Anglo-Egyptian agreement that would allow British troops access to Egyptian bases in case of war. Thus, the Egyptian leader fought back by suppressing opponents and adopting a strong Pan-Arab line. He devoted considerable energy to preventing any expansion of the Baghdad Pact. Waving the banner of Pan-Arab nationalism and resorting to manipulation and even violence, Nasser spared no effort to ensure that other Arab states did not come under the Iraqi sphere of influence.

Nasser's struggle against the Baghdad Pact stirred trouble for the pro-Western Jordanian and Lebanese regimes. His agitation reached its zenith in July 1958 when the Iraqi regime was toppled by anti-Western elements, and the Jordanian and Lebanese regimes faced a similar danger. The United States and Britain were determined to prevent Jordan and Lebanon from falling under Nasser's influence, and American and British forces were sent to Beirut and Amman, respectively, in July 1958 to prop up the pro-Western governments. In March 1959 the new Iraqi republic withdrew from the Baghdad Pact, which then became known as the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). In the end, however, Nasser had his way, as the Baghdad Pact lost its main pillar, Iraq, and never expanded in the way that the United States and Great Britain had envisioned.

David Tal

See also
Arab Nationalism; Baghdad Pact; Egypt; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Middle East, History of, 1945–Present; Nasser, Gamal Abdel

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Middle East Treaty Organization

See Baghdad Pact

Midhat Pasha, Ahmad

Birth Date: October 1822
Death Date: May 8, 1884

Key Ottoman reformer and statesman considered the force who centralized Iraq as a modern nation. Ahmet (Ahmad) Midhat was born at Istanbul, the son of a *qadi* (civil judge) in October 1822. Midhat spent his early years in religious schools, and his father trained him for a career in the Ottoman civil service. At 22 years old, Midhat became the secretary of Faiq Effendi and accompanied him to Syria for three years. In 1858, Midhat spent six months visiting several European capitals.

Upon his return to Istanbul, Midhat was appointed chief director of confidential reports and, after a new mission in Syria, became second secretary of the Grand Council. His enemies, however, succeeded in ousting him from this post. Soon thereafter, he was given the seemingly impossible task of settling the widespread revolt and violence in Rumelia (present-day Balkans). His drastic measures were successful in curtailing the violence there, and the Ottoman government restored him to a place on the Grand Council.

In a similar fashion Midhat helped restore order in Bulgaria in 1857. In 1860 he was made vizier, or minister, received the title of pasha, and made governor of Nis (present-day Serbia). As a result of his reforms at Nis, Sultan Abd al-Majid I charged him, along with Fuad Pasha, the Ottoman minister of foreign affairs, and Ali Pasha, the grand vizier, or prime minister, with adapting these reforms to the whole of the empire. The result of their efforts was the Law of the Vilayets, which the sultan proclaimed in 1864. The law provided for the popular election of some local officials in the *vilayets* (provinces) of the Ottoman Empire in an attempt to eliminate corruption and favoritism in local government.

Following further administrative work, in 1866 the new sultan, Abd al-Aziz, ordered Midhat to organize the Council of State, and he served as its president from 1868 to 1869. He was then made governor of Baghdad, and also commander of the VI Corps of the Ottoman Army. In Iraq, he had great success in implementing reforms. He improved transportation by promoting steam vessels on the Tigris and the establishment of a state steamship company. He also organized shipping lines that linked Basra with Istanbul and London following the opening of the Suez Canal, and he expanded shipping further up the Tigris to Mosul and to Aleppo on the Euphrates. Under Midhat Pasha, the extraction of oil was begun; he built a refinery at Baquba, which, although it later closed, attracted the attention of Calouste Gulbenkian, the Armenian businessman who played a major role in making Middle East oil available for Western development. Midhat Pasha also promoted the Euphrates railway and carried out agricultural improvements.

Midhat Pasha applied the Vilayet Law in Iraq, creating new schools, municipal councils, and courts. He set about trying to eradicate tribal and feudal linkages in Iraq by expanding the central government and establishing national military conscription. He taxed the Arab tribes, forced them to send recruits to his army, and put down their uprising in 1869. However, as force was insufficient to win over the tribes, he instituted a new settlement policy and began selling state land usage rights at a low price to the tribal sheikhs. Midhat Pasha also seized Kuwait and Hasa in 1871, including them in an administrative unit governed from Iraq. Under Midhat Pasha, however, Arabs were not politically empowered; Turks held the higher positions in government.

In 1871, the sultan appointed Midhat Pasha as grand vizier to replace the antireformist Mahmud Nedim Pasha. However, Midhat was in this position for only three months as he proved too independent-minded. He stayed out of government affairs, except for a short tenure as the governor of Salonica, until 1875.

Beginning in 1875, Midhat's career took a series of strange twists. While he sympathized with the ideas and aims of the Young Ottomans, a secret Turkish nationalist society formed in 1865 that wanted to reform the empire, Midhat also wanted to restrain their impatience. The obstinacy of Abd al-Aziz in preventing governmental reforms led to a coalition between the grand vizier, the war minister, and Midhat Pasha, which deposed the sultan in May 1876. The sultan was murdered the following month. His nephew Murad V became sultan, but he was deposed in August and replaced by his brother, Abd al-Hamid II.

The new sultan appointed Midhat Pasha grand vizier, and the new government promised significant reforms, including an Ottoman parliament. Midhat and other reformers drafted the Ottoman Empire's first constitution, proclaimed in December 1876 by Abd al-Hamid II after he had made numerous changes that watered down its provisions. In February 1877, the sultan dismissed Midhat and banished him for alleged complicity in the murder of Abd al-Aziz. Midhat then toured several European capitals and remained for some time in London, where he carefully studied parliamentary procedures in the House of Commons.

In 1878, Sultan Abd al-Hamid II recalled Midhat to government service and appointed him governor of Syria. In August, he exchanged offices with the governor of Smyrna. However, in May 1879, the sultan had him rearrested. Midhat first managed to escape, but then surrendered himself after a promise of a fair

trial. The three-day trial took place in the Yildiz Palace in Istanbul in June 1881. Midhat and the others were sentenced to death. Because the trial was generally regarded as a mockery, the sultan commuted the sentence to banishment upon the intercession of the British government.

Midhat spent the remaining three years of his life in exile at Taif on the Red Sea coast of Arabia, where he died on May 8, 1884. Various sources claim he was murdered at the orders of Sultan Abd al-Hamid or starved to death.

Robert B. Kane and Sherifa Zuhur

See also
Ottoman Empire

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Mihdhar, Khalid al-
Birth Date: May 16, 1975
Death Date: September 11, 2001

One of the hijackers of American Airlines Flight 77, which crashed into the Pentagon on September 11, 2001. Born on May 16, 1975, in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, little is known about Khalid al-Mihdhar's background. He traveled to Afghanistan in 1993 and then to Bosnia, where he and his friend Nawaf al-Hazmi joined Muslim fighters in fighting against the Serbs there. In 1996 Mihdhar moved back to Afghanistan with Hazmi and Hazmi's brother in time to fight with the Taliban against the Afghan Northern Alliance. In 1997, he joined the Chechen rebels in Chechnya in their fight against the Russian Army.

By 1998, Mihdhar had become a part of the terrorist group Al Qaeda. He then returned to Afghanistan for training at a special Al Qaeda training camp at Mes Aynak. In early 1999 he traveled to Saudi Arabia, and on April 7, 1999, he obtained a U.S. visa through the U.S. Consulate in Jeddah.

In late 1999 the Saudi government placed Mihdhar on a Saudi terror watch list, and then-Saudi intelligence minister Prince Turki al Faisal warned the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) about both Mihdhar and Hazmi. By that time, both were living in San Diego, California, where they had arrived in November 1999.

Sometime in early 1999, Mihdhar was recruited to join the September 11 plot by Muhammad Atta. On January 5, 2000, Mihdhar attended the three-day conference of Al Qaeda supporters in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, where the outline of the September 11 plot was discussed. He and Hazmi returned to the United States on January 15, 2000, arriving in Los Angeles, where they met Omar al-Bayoumi, a Saudi who directed them to the large Muslim community in San Diego, California. Bayoumi found them an apartment and helped them settle in. Because neither Mihdhar nor Hazmi spoke English, they made no attempt to make contact with anyone outside the Muslim community. Later, they moved to another apartment, in the home of a retired literature professor, Abdussattar Shaykh, who, unbeknownst to them, was an informer for the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Mihdhar's role was to learn to become a pilot, and he tried to learn to fly small aircraft at San Diego's Montgomery Field. But both Mihdhar and Hazmi proved such poor students that their instructor told them to go to college and learn English. This meant that the organizers of the plot had to train other pilots. Mihdhar instead became the recruiter for the muscle part of the operation.

In June 2000, Mihdhar headed back to the Middle East for an extended stay. On June 10, 2001, he traveled to Saudi Arabia, where he finalized plans for the emigration of the final 12 members of the plot. To do this, he traveled extensively throughout the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and Afghanistan. Despite his suspicious activity, Mihdhar was able to return to the United States on July 4, 2001, on the Visa Express Program. That August he moved to Laurel, Maryland.

On September 10, 2001, Mihdhar and 2 associates traveled to Herndon, Virginia, where they stayed at a Marriott Residence Inn, preparing for the suicide mission the next day. Early on the morning of September 11, Mihdhar and 4 others boarded American Airlines Flight 77 at Washington-Dulles International Airport. Mihdhar provided much of the protection for the hijacking team's pilot until the airliner crashed into the west wing of the Pentagon at 9:37 a.m. Mihdhar and the 4 other hijackers were killed, as were all 64 passengers and crew. Another 125 people died on the ground.

Stephen A. Atkins

See also
Al Qaeda; Atta, Muhammad; Hazmi, Nawaf al-; September 11 Attacks

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Military Sealift Command

The U.S. Navy component of the United States Transportation Command (USTRANSCOM), responsible for the oceanic transport of supplies, equipment, and fuel to all branches of the U.S. armed forces. Initially formed in 1949 as the Military Sea Transportation Service (MSTS), the Military Sealift Command (MSC) has varied missions. Using a combination of civilian mariners, U.S. Navy personnel, and contractors, the MSC is organized around four

programs. The first is the Naval Fleet Auxiliary Force (NFAF), which includes ships charged with delivering fuel, ammunition, and supplies to U.S. Navy forces at sea. This program began in 1973. The second is the Special Mission Ships, which is tasked with performing oceanographic research, missile tracking, submarine support, and other specialized missions. The third program, known as Prepositioning, involves the stocking of prepositioned fuel, ammunition, and equipment in dedicated vessels for U.S. military forces around the world. This program began in 1980. The fourth and final program is Sealift; this provides ocean transportation to the Department of Defense. The last two programs proved critical to U.S. military operations against Iraq in 1991 and 2003.

During the 1980s, the rising geostrategic importance of the Middle East and the U.S. loss of access to many land bases in the area led the United States to establish a force of prepositioning ships in various locations to partially mitigate the huge distances and times required to move supplies by sea from the United States to areas of conflict. Troops could then be flown to the area of operations and utilize this prepositioned equipment and supplies. The first test of the prepositioning ships in particular, and the modern MSC force as a whole in a major conflict, came in 1990, when Iraq invaded Kuwait and threatened to move into Saudi Arabia. At this time, the United States had no ground forces and little infrastructure in the area. Prepositioned equipment was hardly sufficient; in planning the defense of Saudi Arabia and the liberation of Kuwait, it became obvious that several hundred thousand troops would be required. More than 90 percent of their equipment, fuel, and supplies would have to be transported by sea.

The United States eventually deployed more than 500,000 troops to the Middle East in Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. Almost 200 MSC ships, prepositioned ships near the crisis area and sealift vessels coming from the continental United States, carried out the fastest, largest, and most distant sealift in the history of war in support of this force. Cargo moved by sea included more than 2,000 tanks, 2,200 other armored vehicles, 1,000 helicopters, 7 billion pounds of fuel, and 2.2 billion pounds of assorted cargo. The devastating air campaign and lightning ground actions that subsequently ejected Iraqi forces from Kuwait in early 1991 would not have been possible without the MSC's Herculean efforts.

Drawing on the lessons of this conflict, MSC continued to invest in new and improved cargo vessels in the 1990s. Most significant was the addition of a new class of 17 large roll on/roll off cargo ships specifically designed to carry large numbers of wheeled and tracked vehicles.

In the buildup to Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in late 2002 and early 2003, these ships were among 50 MSC vessels that once again proved critical to the logistics effort required to support over 100,000 U.S. troops in Iraq. Since 2003, MSC ships have continued to support troop rotations in and out of the theater.

The ships of MSC, particularly the prepositioning and fast sealift vessels, give the United States military a unique global power projection capability. In any future crisis in the Middle East or elsewhere, these assets will be indispensable to mission accomplishment.

ROBERT M. BROWN

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Planning for; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Logistics, Persian Gulf War

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Military Strategic Tactical Relay Satellite Communications System

Joint service satellite communications system that provides secure, jam-resistant, worldwide communications to meet essential wartime needs for high-priority military users. The multisatellite constellation links command authorities with combat operations centers, ships, submarines, aircraft, and ground stations.

The operational Military Strategic Tactical Relay (MILSTAR) satellite communications system constellation consists of five satellites placed in geosynchronous orbits around the earth. Each satellite weighs approximately 10,000 pounds and has a design life of 10 years. Each MILSTAR satellite serves as a space-based "switchboard" by directing traffic from terminal to terminal anywhere on the earth. The need for ground-controlled switching is thus significantly reduced because MILSTAR satellites actually process the communications signal and can link with each other through crosslinks. MILSTAR terminals provide encrypted voice, data, teletype, or facsimile communications and interoperable communications among the users of U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force MILSTAR terminals. Geographically dispersed mobile and fixed control stations provide survivable and enduring operational command and control for the MILSTAR constellation.

The first MILSTAR satellite was launched on February 7, 1994, by a Titan IV expendable launch vehicle. The second was launched on November 5, 1995. The third launch, on April 30, 1999, placed the satellite into an unusable orbit. The fourth, fifth, and sixth satellites have a greatly increased capacity because of an additional medium data rate payload and were launched on February 27, 2001; January 15, 2002; and April 8, 2003.

The MILSTAR system is composed of three segments: space (the satellites), terminal (the users), and mission control. The Air Force Space Command's Space and Missile Systems Center (SMC),

Los Angeles Air Force Base, California, developed the space and mission control segments. The Electronics Systems Center, Hanscom Air Force Base, Massachusetts, developed the air force portion of the terminal segment. The 4th Space Operations Squadron, Schriever Air Force Base, Colorado, is the front-line organization providing real-time satellite platform control and communications payload management.

During Operation ALLIED FORCE, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) bombing campaign against Yugoslavia, two first-generation MILSTAR satellites provided low data rate, extremely high frequency (EHF) communications support. Because of their onboard processing and crosslink capabilities, they served as a global space network without the need for ground relay stations. The U.S. Navy especially used MILSTAR's capabilities to link command authorities, ground stations, aircraft, and ships for the majority of its communications needs during this operation, including the transmission of air tasking orders and other tactical requirements. Unfortunately, a launch failure on April 9, 1999, left a damaged MILSTAR satellite in a useless orbit and limited MILSTAR support.

MILSTAR and Defense Satellite Communications System (DSCS) satellites continued to anchor the U.S. military's satellite communications network after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. In October 2001, anti-Taliban forces of the Northern Alliance, supported by U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOF), launched Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (OEF) to oust the Taliban, which had supported Islamic terrorists and protected Al Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan. Because of the primitive nature of the in-theater communications system and the mountainous terrain of Afghanistan, satellite communications were the most viable means by which commanders, operations centers, strike aircraft, SOF ground controllers, and Northern Alliance forces could communicate among each other.

The successful launch of a second MILSTAR Block II satellite on January 5, 2002, allowed the four-satellite constellation to operate as a fully cross-linked network. The deployment of large numbers of EHF terminals provided badly needed capability for rising satellite communications (SATCOM) capability to support requirements, especially for precision-guided munitions strikes and mobile user communications. Unfortunately, Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) could not link to either MILSTAR or DSCS satellites. As a result, military planners had to turn to civil and commercial satellite providers to supplement MILSAR and DSCS satellites for satellite communications.

Because of the limitations encountered in the first year of OEF combat operations, the Joint Staff appointed a team of experts to examine the OEF experience and propose options for increasing SATCOM capability for a possible conflict with Iraq. In the spring of 2003, war fighters had access to newer DSCS and MILSTAR satellites in orbit. As a result, when coalition forces invaded Iraq in March 2003, the MILSTAR constellation handled secure communications, UAV surveillance video feeds, and reach-back intelligence routed from the United States to the Iraq theater. MILSTAR, acting as a spaced-based switchboard, served to enhance network-centric warfare by providing mobile forces with essential video, facsimile, and data messages. Additionally, the Combined Air Operations Center stayed informed of evolving combat conditions and provided airborne strike aircraft with up-to-date target coordinates. The U.S. Navy used MILSTAR to send current targeting coordinates to ships in the Persian Gulf region, which, in turn, updated Tomahawk attacks.

ROBERT B. KANE

See also

Defense Satellite Communications System; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Network-Centric Warfare; Satellites, Use of by Coalition Forces; Unmanned Aerial Vehicles

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Miller, Geoffrey D.
Birth Date: 1949

U.S. Army general and commander of U.S. detention facilities at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba; and in Iraq. Born in Gallipolis, Ohio, Geoffrey D. Miller graduated from Ohio State University in 1971 with a BA degree in history.

Miller was commissioned in the army as a second lieutenant of field artillery through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) upon graduation at Ohio State. Miller went on to earn an MS degree in education from the University of Southern California. His military education included the army's Command and General Staff College and the National War College. He served tours in Germany and then, beginning in 1980, in Korea. He served with the 7th Infantry Division and the 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault) and was ultimately deputy commanding general of the Eighth U.S. Army in Korea. He was then assigned to the Pentagon as deputy chief of staff for personnel and installation management.

In November 2002, Miller, now a major general, assumed command of Joint Task Force Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, which ran the detention facilities for enemy combatants consisting of camps X-Ray, Delta, and Echo. Miller later claimed that two-thirds of the 600 prisoners held at these three facilities had confessed to terrorist activities and that they had provided U.S. authorities with "actionable intelligence." Nonetheless, there were charges that under Miller's administration flagrant violations of prisoner rights occurred, including beatings, sleep deprivation, solitary confinement, and threatening the prisoners by means of attack dogs. Also,

on September 22, 2003, Miller ordered the arrest of army captain James Yee, who was serving as a chaplain for the prisoners on the base. Miller accused Yee of having stolen documents and of espionage, but these charges were subsequently dropped and it is believed that they were never substantiated.

Miller was, meanwhile, ordered to Iraq to command the detention facilities there, including Abu Ghraib prison, Camp Cropper, and Camp Bucca, reportedly having been charged to secure more information from the prisoners. Miller recommended that "Gitmo" (Guantánamo Bay) techniques be introduced at Abu Ghraib, in which the detention and interrogation units would be combined into the Theater Joint Interrogation and Detention Center. Miller specifically urged that the guards employ techniques that would prepare the prisoners for interrogation. Although Miller denied that he ordered the guards to employ anything that would humiliate or physically abuse the prisoners prior to their interrogation, Major General Antonio Taguba, who headed the army's subsequent investigation into the Abu Ghraib scandal, concluded otherwise and noted that using military police in intelligence interrogations constituted a major policy breach.

When the Abu Ghraib prisoner abuse scandal broke in March 2004, Brigadier General Janis Karpinski, who commanded Abu Ghraib, was suspended from her command and later reduced in rank to colonel. Karpinski has blamed Miller, charging that he told her to treat the prisoners "like dogs." Colonel Thomas Pappas, who headed the interrogation unit at Abu Ghraib, has made similar charges against Miller and said that the policy had been approved by Lieutenant General Ricardo S. Sanchez, then senior U.S. military official in Iraq. Miller has denied all these allegations and any wrongdoing.

Miller was then appointed the deputy commanding general for detainee operations for the Multi-National Force in Iraq. He soon announced his intention to reduce the number of prisoners at Abu Ghraib, to abide by the Geneva Convention regarding the treatment of prisoners, to improve conditions for the prisoners, and to end the practice of hooding prisoners during transfers. Miller was reassigned in November 2004.

Miller testified at the court martial proceedings of soldiers tried in the Abu Ghraib scandal during which he said dogs were to be used for guard purposes only and that his instructions had been misunderstood. Although investigators twice cleared Miller of any wrongdoing, he sought to retire in February 2006. Discrepancies between his testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee in May 2004 and sworn statements made several months later led to his retirement being held up until July 31, 2006. He was allowed to leave the army only when he pledged in writing that he would appear before Congress and testify truthfully if called upon to do so. On his retirement, Miller was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal and praised as an "innovator."

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Abu Ghraib; Karpinski, Janis; Sanchez, Ricardo S.

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Mine Resistant Ambush Protected Vehicles

The mine resistant ambush protected (MRAP) vehicle is an armored truck developed by the U.S. military Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in Iraq and Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan to protect troops from improvised explosive devices (IEDs). IEDs are field-expedient explosives developed by insurgents or guerrillas from whatever material is available. (A better name might be "homemade bombs.") They can be simple artillery rounds rigged to a detonator that is set off remotely or by physical contact with vehicles or people, preferably enemies of those setting the mines. They can also be very sophisticated devices, with explosives designed to pierce armored vehicles. IEDs have been the cause of almost half the fatalities suffered by U.S. forces in Iraq, while about half the fatalities in Afghanistan have been from IEDs.

While IEDs can sometimes be effective against the Abrams tank and the Bradley Fighting Vehicle, they are very highly effective against unarmored transport vehicles. These include the High Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicle (Humvee), the modern equivalent of the World War II–era Jeep, and the 2.5- and 5-ton trucks and tanker trucks used to move personnel, ammunition, provisions, and fuel over the extensive roadways of Afghanistan and Iraq. These vehicles were not designed as armored combat vehicles; rather, they were specially designed and reinforced versions of commercial transports for military logistics purposes.

The threat from IEDs led to a program to armor Humvees and other transport vehicles, a program that continues. The basic problem of refitting such vehicles is how to cope with the added weight of the armor without making major modifications to engine power, transmissions, engine cooling, and suspension systems. This has to be balanced with the differences between up-armoring vehicles in the theater of war versus the extended choices of doing so at depots in the United States.

A parallel approach to retrofitting existing vehicles has been the development and fielding of MRAPs to provide better protection for vehicles and crews. MRAPs are wheeled vehicles with a "V" shaped hull and armored plating designed to deflect the impact of IEDs. They were used in small numbers in Iraq and Afghanistan in

A U.S. Marine Corps mine resistant ambush protected (MRAP) vehicle in Afghanistan, 2009. (U.S. Department of Defense)

2003 for route clearance and explosive ordnance disposal (EOD). The protection they provided led to the U.S. Department of Defense decision in 2007 to make deployment of MRAPs a high priority.

The resulting program involves three categories of MRAPs based on size and mission. Category I MRAPs are 7 to 15 tons, carrying a crew of two plus four passengers, mainly for urban transportation. Category II vehicles weigh between 15 and 25 tons, carry a crew of two and eight passengers, and are designed for road escort, ambulance, and EOD missions. Category III vehicles weigh 25 tons or more, carry a crew of two plus four passengers, and are designed for EOD missions that require more equipment than can be carried in Category II vehicles. The dimensions and missions have already changed, and will likely be further refined as testing and fielding proceeds.

Several companies, both domestic and foreign, have had various types of vehicles under development or in production, and as the U.S. military began to invest in armored vehicles, many companies competed for the new market, potentially worth several billion dollars. The vehicles are called Cougar, Buffalo, MaxxPro, Caiman, and Alpha. The Defense Department continues to prefer referencing the vehicles as Category I, II, and III MRAPs, but the commercial names have also remained, leading to some confusion, as the Cougar and Caiman come in both 4X4 and 6X6 versions. Domestic production companies have included Force Protection Industries, BAE Systems of North America, Navistar subsidiary International Military and Government LLC, Armor Holdings LLC, Oshkosh Truck, General Dynamics, Textron, and Protected Vehicles. Companies in Canada, Germany, Israel, and South Africa have also been involved because they have also been developing new, armored wheeled vehicles.

The designs of the vehicles vary. Some have a one-piece hull and chassis. Others have the hull bolted to the chassis. Some have the "V" shaped armor covering the entire vehicle, while others have that protection only for the crew and passengers. There are variations in mobility both on and off the road, engine size, and dimensions. All have been through extensive tests at Aberdeen Proving Ground and elsewhere, and are being evaluated by in-field performance in Iraq and Afghanistan.

By the end of 2007, the Defense Department had placed orders for 7,774 MRAPs and projected a total requirement of 23,000 if troop levels remained steady in Iraq. By April 2008 there were about 5,000 MRAPs in Iraq, with projections of having about 6,000 by December 2008. Costs through fiscal year 2009 are estimated at $25 billion. Costs are based on the actual cost of the various vehicles, which vary widely even within category, and mode of shipment. The military prefers air transport to bring the vehicles into the war zone, but doing so costs $135,000 for each vehicle, compared with just $18,000 by ship.

Although several vehicle models are in Iraq and Afghanistan, there are three that represent the categories well. Their characteristics demonstrate the flux in the scope of the Defense Department categories in a very short time. For Category I, the Navistar MaxxPro, a model that dominates that category with $3.5 billion in orders, has an 8.7-liter six-cylinder diesel engine that produces 330 horsepower. It is 21 feet long, 8.5 feet wide, and 10 feet high. It weighs 40,000 pounds, has a ground clearance of 11 inches, and carries a 2-man crew and up to 10 passengers. The cost is $549,000.

For Category II, the Force Protection Cougar 6X6 has a 7.2 liter diesel engine that produces 330 horsepower. It is 23 feet long, 8.5 feet wide, and 8.8 feet high. Weighing in at 39,000 pounds, it has a 15-inch ground clearance. It carries a crew of two and eight passengers. Unit cost is $649,000.

The Force Protection Buffalo represents Category III. Its 12-liter six-cylinder diesel engine produces 400 horsepower. It is 27 feet long, 8.25 feet wide, and 13 feet high. The weight is 45,320 pounds, ground clearance is 16 inches, and it has a crew of two plus four passengers. The $855,000 cost includes a remote-controlled external arm to help with EOD. Its large size allows more EOD equipment.

The armored Humvee has a 6.5-liter diesel V-8 engine producing 190 horsepower. It is 16 feet long, 7.5 feet wide, and 6.25 feet high. It weighs 12,000 pounds and has a ground clearance of 16.8 inches. Carrying four people, its unit cost is $150,000.

It is impossible to determine what the U.S. military, both army and marines, will eventually choose for transport vehicles, both wheeled and tracked, armored or not. It is clear that the decisions will be based not only on testing in the United States but also on performance of the many versions of transport vehicles. They will be expected to perform in the varied terrain presented by Iraq and Afghanistan, which ranges from desert to densely populated urban areas and from sea level to mountain ranges higher than any in the continental United States, with climates of intense heat to below-zero temperatures and widely different challenges posed by rain, snow, drought, and blinding sandstorms. Ground clearance will be a critical factor for off-road travel. Size will be important not only for maneuverability in crowed urban areas but for transport to the field of battle, especially by air. The height of the vehicles will be important as bigger targets are more vulnerable to attack from armor-piercing rounds from rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs) and other weapons. If applied with thought, the lessons learned from actual combat in Iraq and Afghanistan should lead to a U.S. military equipped with the best possible range of transport vehicles for future challenges.

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See also

BMP-1 Series Infantry Fighting Vehicles; Bradley Fighting Vehicle; High Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicle; Improvised Explosive Devices; M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks; Rocket-Propelled Grenade; Vehicles, Unarmored

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Mines, Sea, Clearing Operations, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars

From its occupation of Kuwait in August 1990 to the January 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM), Iraq laid more then 1,200 Soviet-manufactured mines off the Iraqi and Kuwaiti coasts. These mines provided a cheap deterrent to coalition naval forces, limited movement by sea, and required time and specially equipped units to remove them. In January 1991, the U.S. military confirmed the presence of Iraqi mines and announced that recently planted mines had broken their moorings and drifted with the Persian Gulf current. By January 20, 1991, 29 mines had been destroyed in the northern Persian Gulf, and by March 1991, 250 additional mines had been destroyed by coalition forces.

Countermine warfare requires specialized ships that can detect and render mines inert. The U.S. Navy deployed four mine countermeasure ships to the Persian Gulf during the Gulf War. The MCM-1 *Avenger,* MSO-509 *Adroit,* MSO-449 *Impervious* and MOS-490 *Leader* were deployed along with the LPH-10 *Tripoli,* which was deployed to the Gulf to coordinate mine countermeasures. The *Tripoli* carried six MH-53 Sea Dragon helicopters that could participate in mine countermeasure work. The British Navy also provided mine countermeasure ships in the *Atherstone, Cattistock* and *Hurworth;* the *Herald* acted as a supply ship. This Royal Navy contingent was later reenforced by HMS *Ledbury* and *Dulverton.* The Belgians also contributed three mine countermeasure ships, while the Saudi Arabian Navy contributed four.

Two U.S. Navy vessels were damaged by mines in the course of operations in the Persian Gulf in 1991. The *Tripoli* was struck by a moored contact mine on February 18, 1991, in the northern Persian Gulf. The mine, packed with 300 pounds of explosives, blew a 16x20-foot hole 10 feet below the waterline on the ship's forward starboard side. Four crew members were injured in the blast, but none were killed. The *Tripoli* was repaired and eventually returned to countermine duties in the Persian Gulf. The second ship struck by mines in the Persian Gulf was the CG-59 *Princeton.* It was hit by two mines three hours after the *Tripoli* had been struck. The first mine exploded near the stern of the ship and lifted it 10 feet out of the water. The second mine exploded 300 yards off the starboard bow. Three crew members were injured in these blasts, and the *Princeton* was out of service for the remainder of the war. It eventually returned to duty after extensive repairs.

K-Dog, a bottlenose dolphin, leaps out of the water while training near USS *Gunston Hall* in the Persian Gulf on March 18, 2003. The specially trained dolphins are fitted with underwater cameras to locate mines. (U.S. Department of Defense)

During the 2003 invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), U.S. and coalition navies provided aggressive mine countermeasure support and applied the valuable lessons of the 1991 Persian Gulf War to operations in Iraq. For mine countermeasures operations during the 2003 invasion of Iraq, coalition forces relied on Task Force 55 to clear mines from the northern Persian Gulf to allow humanitarian aid and military equipment to enter Iraq by sea.

U.S. countermine operations were coordinated from the landing transport dock ship *Ponce* (LPD-15), and the U.S. Navy countermine contingent included the *Ardent* (MCM-12), *Cardinal* (MCH-60), *Dexterous* (MCM-13) and *Raven* (MHC-61). Along with ships, countermine forces relied on specialized helicopters, such as the MH-53 *Sea Dragon,* which towed sleds with detection gear. The U.S. Navy's Marine Mammal System (MMS) was also used in detecting mines. The MMS utilizes specially trained bottlenose dolphins fitted with underwater cameras to locate mines. To date the coalition has not lost a single ship to Iraqi mines in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

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See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; Iraq, Navy; United States Navy, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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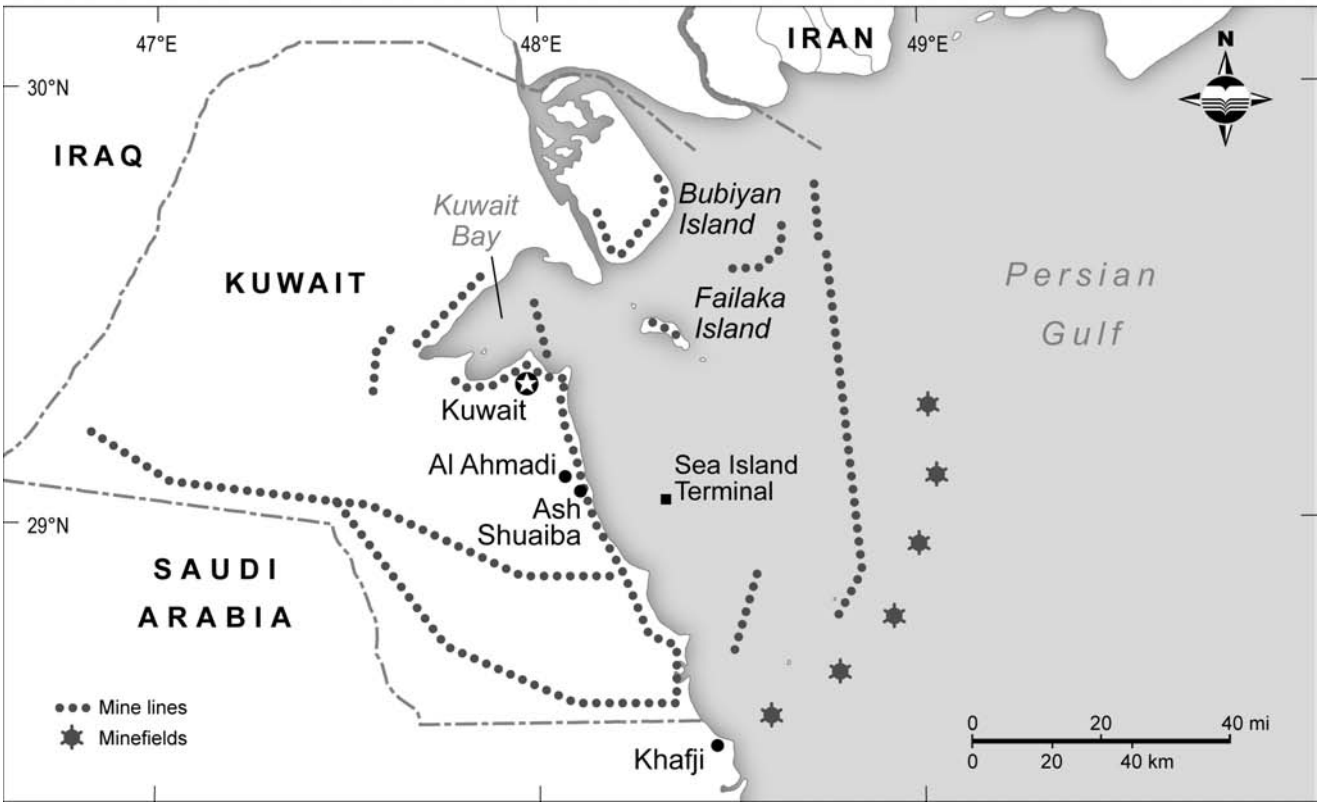
Mines, Sea, and Naval Mine Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars

Sea mines are marine explosive devices designed to detonate underwater and sink or damage an enemy ship. Mines are exploded through direct contact or by means of various proximity-detecting triggering mechanisms. Long considered the most cost-effective means of inflicting great losses on an opponent's maritime forces, the sea mine—whether laid by ships, submarines, or aircraft—is a truly stealthy naval weapon, needing no tracking, supervision, or reloading, and maintaining its potential lethality for decades. An important book on the subject calls mines the "weapons that wait." Mine warfare encompasses the development and strategic placement of these weapons, and the corresponding need to develop countermeasures against them when they are employed by an opposing force.

The laying of mines in the Persian Gulf by Iran during the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War created a regional navigational peril, beginning with a spate of some 18 mine strikes on commercial ships from 15 countries passing through the Red Sea and Gulf of Suez in the summer of 1984 alone, and during the "Tanker War" in the Persian Gulf, most notably when the reflagged Kuwaiti tanker *Bridgeton* was damaged in July 1987, and the U.S. Navy frigate *Samuel B. Roberts* (FFG-58) nearly sank in April 1988, both as a consequence of Iranian mines. The 1991 Persian Gulf War and the Iraq War that began in 2003 saw renewed naval mine warfare in the region, engaging U.S. and coalition mine countermeasures (MCM) vessels and aircraft once again in hazardous detection and elimination duties.

Coalition minesweepers and mine hunters have had to contend with two basic types of mines in the period since early 1991: contact mines and influence mines. The contact mine has its roots in the late 18th century. American David Bushnell endeavored to sink British ships with primitive contact mines set adrift in the Delaware River during the American Revolutionary War. These contact mines were kegs of powder triggered by a flintlock arrangement inside the keg. The hammer was released by the shock of the mine striking an object, which in turn set off the mine. Contact mines were employed by the Russians in the Crimean War (1853–1856) and by the Confederates with considerable effect in the American Civil War (1861–1865). Both sides made extensive use of mines

Iraqi Land and Sea Minefields, January 1991



in World Wars I and II. Such mines consist of explosive charge encased in a metal sphere that is either moored by a tether to an anchor on the seabed or placed on the bottom in shallow water. The contact mine's positioning below the surface renders it invisible to oncoming shipping. Its protruding "Hertz horns" activate the sensitive triggers that release the mine's explosive power against any vessel that runs into it. To counter the effects of a suspected field of moored contact mines, a formation of minesweeping ships would stream a wide array of cables and floats equipped with powerful cutting devices to sever the mines from their moorings and bring them to the surface, where divers could then disarm them, or they could be destroyed at safe distance by gunfire.

While operating as a "mother ship" for coalition minesweepers and base for minesweeping helicopters during Operation DESERT STORM, in February 1991, the amphibious assault ship *Tripoli* (LPH-10) struck a moored contact mine, part of an undetected Iraqi minefield in the northern Persian Gulf. The *Tripoli* sustained severe damage.

A further danger from contact mines occurs when they break free of their anchor cables. They might then drift into shipping lanes. It is believed that some of the drifting mines culled by coalition forces during and after the Persian Gulf War had been deliberately and randomly released without anchors by Iraqi minelayers to confound their naval foes in the northern Gulf.

Influence mines, developed in the years between the two world wars, are magnetic, acoustic, and pressure mines, plus those mines that are triggered by combinations of these influences. Moored in deeper water, burrowed into or positioned on the sea floor, and not needing contact with a vessel to damage or destroy them, these mines—once identified and understood—brought about sweeping changes in MCM in all navies during World War II and in the years since.

The magnetic mine detects a significant change in the magnetic field around it, which usually signifies a steel-hulled ship passing overhead or nearby. The mine then reacts by detonating. The wooden or glass-reinforced plastic (GRP) hulls of many MCM vessels in service since the 1940s effectively "blind" a magnetic mine to their presence, and by trailing two long electrically charged cables and sending powerful jolts of current into the water from their large generators, MCM ships could mimic a significant magnetic anomaly and detonate magnetic mines far behind them. To defeat this sweep technique, those developing new mines created devices called ship-counters that could trigger mines to detonate only after a given number of ships (or minesweepers' electrical cables) had passed. This introduced a challenging element of randomness that thereafter required minesweepers to undertake repetitious but necessary "check sweeps" of previously swept channels.

The acoustic mine operates on the same principle as the magnetic mine, but instead "listens" for the appropriate constant intensity of sound generated by the cavitation of a ship's propellers and the frequency signature of its engines, and explodes when the noise peaks. To simulate the approach of a ship, devices such as the acoustic hammer box—a blunt, bomb-shaped noisemaker—were towed far behind a minesweeper, creating a varied intensity of shiplike sounds that would set off nearby acoustic mines. Soon thereafter, acoustic mines, like magnetic mines, came to be fitted with ship-counters, causing MCM experts, in turn, to introduce timing devices to acoustic hammer boxes and other sound-generating countermeasures, thereby fabricating imaginary distances between the equally imaginary ships these measures created.

Pressure mines, first encountered by Allied minesweepers during the 1944 Normandy campaign, are triggered by the sustained water pressure anomalies caused by passing ships, and have proven very vexing to counter effectively except by a "hunt to kill" approach, first used by divers in the Korean War (1950–1953) and continued up to the present day by mine-hunting forces in many navies. Most effective is the combination of sonar, closed-circuit television in remotely controlled robotic vehicles, and divers: the mine-hunter ship proceeds slowly over the seabed as it plots likely mine positions with its sonar, after which divers—or trained dolphins and sea lions, in some cases—carefully seek out the mines and attach remotely controlled charges that are detonated after their safe return to the ship. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the U.S. Navy cruiser *Princeton* (CG-59) was seriously damaged by two combination acoustic-magnetic Manta influence mines. The Italian-made Mantas had been purchased earlier on the international weapons market by Iraq, and were part of an extensive mine-laying effort in late 1990 around the approaches to Kuwait, undertaken by Iraq during the protracted period in which the U.S. and coalition forces were assembling in Operation DESERT SHIELD.

During the Persian Gulf War proper, minesweepers and mine hunters from the navies of the United States and the United Kingdom were active in MCM patrolling in the northern Gulf, as were six U.S. Navy Sikorsky MH-53 Sea Stallion MCM helicopters equipped with towed minesweeping arrays. After hostilities ended, a considerable but imperfectly coordinated multinational force coalesced, comprising additional ships and teams from Australia, Italy, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, and, eventually, Japan. This was the Japanese Navy's first combat zone deployment since assisting with minesweeping during the Korean War. Despite initial procedural uncertainties, effective clearance operations ensued, with two-dozen MCM vessels netting some 1,300 Iraqi mines. The German Navy's sophisticated use of remotely operated vehicles in performing sweeps for influence mines set a new standard for effectiveness and cooperative training among the participants, spurring the U.S. Navy once again to address deficiencies in its mine warfare capabilities and readiness, as it had in the 1950s as a result of Korean War experiences.

Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM have involved the navies of the United States and some coalition nations, although with somewhat reduced MCM activities. Their refusal to support the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 caused a number of North American Treaty Organization (NATO) allies to withhold MCM and other naval assets from deployment in the region, but a combined U.S., Australian, and British mine warfare force was able to locate and eradicate nearly 70 Iraqi mines in coastal waters of the northern Persian Gulf, and Australian warships prevented the mine-laying mission of an intercepted Iraqi ship carrying a large cargo of influence and contact mines.

In the years after Operation DESERT STORM, many advances and refinements in MCM were incorporated into coalition efforts, and their application during the initial phase of IRAQI FREEDOM proved the effectiveness of such new systems as autonomous underwater vehicles (AUV), unmanned underwater vehicles (UUV), and the Sea Fox, a German-developed "expendable destructor" that is essentially an exploding UUV that is remotely guided to a mine, much like a smart bomb. As Operation IRAQI FREEDOM continues, the U.S. Navy and its coalition partners maintain a regional MCM force in the region bolstered by technical and tactical developments from European military, industrial, and technological sources.

GORDON E. HOGG

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; Minesweepers and Mine Hunters; United States Navy, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Mines and Mine Warfare, Land

Land mines are stationary explosive weapons planted in the path of an enemy to hinder his movement or to deny him access to certain territory. Mines may be considered both offensive and defensive weapons. Mines are generally concealed and rigged so that they will be initiated by the presence of either enemy troops or vehicles, save in instances where they are exploded by remote control. Land mines produce casualties by direct explosive force, fragmentation, shaped-charge effect, or the release of harassing agents or lethal gas. Land mines include improvised explosive devices (known today as IEDs).

There are two main types of land mines: antitank (AT) and antipersonnel (AP). Antitank mines are large and heavy. They are triggered when vehicles such as tanks drive over or near them. These mines contain sufficient explosives to destroy or damage the vehicle that runs over them. They also frequently kill people in or near the vehicle. Antitank mines are laid in locations where enemy vehicles are expected to travel: on roads, bridges, and tracks.

Antipersonnel mines are triggered much more easily and are designed to kill or wound people. They may be laid anywhere and can be triggered by stepping on them, pulling on a wire, or simply shaking them. Antipersonnel mines may also be rigged as booby traps to explode when an object placed over them is removed. Generally speaking, AP mines contain small amounts of explosives. They are therefore smaller and lighter than antitank mines. They may be as small as a pack of cigarettes. Antipersonnel mines come in all shapes and colors and are made from a variety of materials.

Mines are normally laid in groups to form minefields. There are several types of these fields. Defensively, the hasty protective minefield provides local, close-in security protection for small units. This minefield employs no standard pattern in laying the mines. An example of a hasty protective minefield would be placing mines to cover a likely avenue of approach by an enemy force. A second type is the point minefield. It is utilized primarily to reinforce other obstacles, such as road craters, abatis, or wire obstacles not associated with hasty protective minefields. A third type is the tactical minefield. Its primary use is to arrest, delay, and disrupt an enemy attack. The field may be employed to strengthen defensive positions and protect their flanks. A fourth type is the interdiction minefield. It is utilized to trap or harass an enemy deep in his own territory, assembly areas, or defensive positions. Artillery- or air-delivered scatterable mines are ideal for this type of minefield.

Modern land mines may be said to date from the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, but World War I witnessed continuous use of land mines to protect trench lines. Land mines continued to play an important role during World War II. Two important developments took place in land-mine warfare during that conflict: the appearance of the antitank mine; and the introduction of antipersonnel mines employed against infantry and to protect antitank mines from detection and removal.

Many current antitank mines are derived from those of World War II. For example, the TMM1, produced in the former Yugoslavia, and the PT Mi-Ba, produced by the Czech Republic and Slovakia, are descendants of the German antitank Tellermine 43 and 42. The American designs are the M-15 and M-21 series; the Russians produce a similar mine, the TM-46, the Italians the M-80, and the Chinese the Type 72. These are canister-shaped mines that are buried using tilt rod fusing and pressure fusing. They range from 10 to 30 inches in diameter and 3 to 7 inches in height. They contain between 7 and 15 pounds of high explosives. Another popular design is the square AT mine, such as the American M-19, Italian VS-HCT2, or Belgian PRB-ATK M3. The square mine is approximately 10 inches square and 4 to 5 inches high with 5 to 25 pounds of explosives. Many of these are magnetic-influence mines with pressure as a backup fusing system.

Antipersonnel mine models introduced during World War II are still in service with only minor modifications. Examples are the Russian antipersonnel mine POMZ (and the later model POMZ-2M, a stake mine consisting of a wooden stake with a cast-iron fragmentation body). The Russian PDM-6 APM is basically the wooden-cased mine used during the Russo-Finnish War of 1939–1940. Its successors, the PDM-7, PDM-7ts, and PDM-57, are employed worldwide. There are also bouncing mines similar to the U.S. M16 series or the Russian OMZ (fragmentation obstacle APM or "Bouncing Betty")—canister mines topped with a pressure fuse. Such mines stand five to seven inches tall (including the fuse) and are three to four inches in diameter, with approximately one pound of explosive. The improvised version of these APMs consists of an artillery shell or a mortar bomb buried nose down in the ground. It is similar to IEDs used in both the Vietnam and Iraq wars.

After World War II, the trend in land mines has been toward miniaturization and substitution of plastic parts for metal ones. For example, the American M14 series, first used in Vietnam, and the Russian APM PFM-1 and PFM-1S, first used during the Israeli-Syrian conflict of October 1973 and massively by Soviet troops in Afghanistan, are small air-delivered plastic weapons with a low metallic signature. Other common APMs with low metallic content are the Type-72 series (People's Republic of China), encountered throughout Southeast Asia; and the PMN (Russia) present in Asia (Afghanistan, China, Iraq, Vietnam) and in southern Africa, where it is known as the "Black Widow." These are all small canister-type mines 2.5 to 4 inches in diameter and 1.5 to 4.5 inches in height. They all use pressure fusing. They carry one to four ounces of explosive.

The Korean War (1950–1953) saw widespread use of mines, particularly in the intense, largely static warfare of the second half of the war following the entry of the PRC in the fighting. The demilitarized zone across Korea remains one of the most heavily mined areas in the world. The Vietnam War of the 1960s and 1970s saw an increase in the use of APMs offensively as part of ambushes, with the American M18 Claymore as well as its copies in the Soviet MON 50 and Chinese Type 66. These mines are generally command-detonated. All are of curved rectangular shape. The Claymore was about 1 inch thick, 3.5 inches tall, and 8 to 12 inches long, filled with 1.5 pounds of explosive with a layer of metal balls (similar to 00-Buck shotgun pellets) faced toward the target area. These mines are never buried but are positioned on bipod legs that allow aiming. These mines were employed in Vietnam offensively but were also defensively employed around fire bases (U.S. and allied forces) and sanctuaries (for communist forces).

The United Nations (UN) estimates that 24,000 people are killed and at least 10,000 are maimed each year as a result of active and inactive minefields. A high percentage of these casualties are children. The present method for clearing mines involves painstaking detection and careful destruction of the devices. In 2004 the UN listed 35 countries with minefields of more than 1,000 mines.

A soldier from the U.S. Army 41st Engineer Battalion uses a metal detector to mark land mines and unexploded ordnance near Bagram Air Base in Afghanistan, 2004. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Egypt leads the list with 23 million mines planted, followed by Iran with 16 million; Angola with 15 million; and Afghanistan, the PRC, and Iraq with an estimated 10 million each. It can take one person 80 days to clear 2.5 acres.

Those who clear the mines, known as de-miners, are at great risk of becoming victims themselves. More than 80 de-miners died in mine-clearing operations in Kuwait following the 1991 Gulf War. French de-miners still clear mines and unexploded artillery shells from World War I and as far back as the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871. It is estimated that worldwide up to 85 million antipersonnel mines await clearance. In 2004 the UN estimated the cost of laying a single mine at less than $10 but its removal at $1,800.

In 1991, nongovernmental organizations and individuals began discussions regarding a ban on antipersonnel land mines. In October 1992 the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) was formed by founding organizations Handicap International, Human Rights Watch, Medico International, Mines Advisory Group, Physicians for Human Rights, and Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation. The ICBL called for an international ban on the production, stockpiling, transfer, and use of antipersonnel land mines, and for increased international resources for mine clearance and mine victim assistance programs.

An international treaty often referred to as the Ottawa Mine Ban Treaty was negotiated in 1997. It is formally named "The Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of AntiPersonnel Mines and On Their Destruction." Among the first governments ratifying the treaty were Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. The treaty went into effect in March 1999. In recognition of its achievements, the campaign was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1997. Signatories to the treaty include all Western Hemisphere nations except the United States and Cuba, all NATO states except the United States and Turkey, all of the European Union except Finland, 42 African countries, and 17 nations in the Asia-Pacific region, including Japan. Important military powers not ratifying the treaty include the United States, Russia, China, India, Pakistan, and North and South Korea.

The treaty binds states to destroy their stockpiled antipersonnel mines within 4 years and those already in the ground must be removed within 10 years. In addition to comprehensively banning antipersonnel mines, the treaty requires signatories to perform mine clearance and urges mine victim assistance programs. Despite the treaty, mines continued to be laid in such nations as Angola, Cambodia, Senegal, and Sudan.

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See also

Artillery; Mines, Sea, Clearing Operations, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Mines, Sea, and Naval Mine Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars

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Minesweepers and Mine Hunters

Ships dedicated to mine countermeasures (MCM), specifically equipped to enter waters likely to have been sown with mines in order to clear them by means of various towed cable arrays, or to locate and eliminate mines with sonar, divers, or unmanned underwater vehicles (UUV).

Minesweepers as a ship type date to the early 20th century, particularly the World War I era, when the Allies and the Central Powers developed similar small vessels (displacing from 450 to 950 tons) to open channels through the minefields that menaced navies on both sides. Since late in World War II, minesweeper hulls have been constructed of wood, demagnetized steel, and composites such as glass-reinforced plastic (GRP) to allow safer navigation when sweeping or neutralizing magnetic mines. While moored contact mines were snagged and cut from their anchors by gear streamed astern from a minesweeper, mines sensitive to magnetic or acoustic influences required more specialized measures. Trailing electrically charged cables far behind the minesweeper mimicked the magnetic field of a large steel hull, detonating magnetic mines at a harmless distance. Acoustic mines, which responded to the sound signatures of an approaching ship's engines and propellers, exploding when the volume reached its apex, could be foiled by a minesweeper towing (again, at a safe distance) noise-generating devices that convincingly re-created the sounds of a large vessel nearby, causing the acoustic mine to detonate.

The greatest challenge was posed by the development of the pressure mine, first encountered by the Allies during the 1944 Normandy campaign. Sensitive to the low-water-pressure field caused by a passing ship, and difficult to distract or deceive plausibly by existing minesweeping technology, pressure mines—and newer mines that responded to combinations of influences such as magnetic-acoustic, pressure-magnetic, etc.—led directly to the new practice of mine hunting, pioneered during the Korean War (1950–1953).

As patrolling aircraft came to identify and dispatch moored mines in Korean waters, less visible bottom-placed mines of various types were increasingly detected by those U.S. Navy minesweepers mounting sonar. Divers trained in demolition then located the mines and attached remotely actuated charges to detonate them from a safe distance. This search-and-destroy model became increasingly sophisticated over the ensuing decades, and while the U.S. Navy's dedication to mine warfare ebbed and flowed, other, smaller navies—those of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries, especially—actively fostered improvements and innovations in the field, making use of transferred U.S. minesweepers, but also designing and building new minesweepers and mine hunters in their own shipyards. Some of the advanced features in recent mine-hunter construction include: very quiet engines made of nonmagnetic alloys, automatic radar navigation, auxiliary "hovering" and side-thrusting motors to maintain a position or to allow precise maneuvering at very slow speeds, and disposable remotely operated vehicles (ROV) that seek out and destroy bottom mines such as underwater smart bombs.

NATO and other affiliate navies provided the minesweepers and mine hunters that formed the core of the coalition mine warfare force during and after Operation DESERT STORM, and to a lesser extent during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. During DESERT STORM, active MCM operations in the conflict zone were carried out by units of the U.S. Navy and the Royal Navy; other coalition members joined in postwar mine clearance.

In August 1990, the U.S. Navy contracted with the Netherlands to transport four of its MCM vessels from Norfolk Naval Station to the Persian Gulf aboard the semisubmersible heavy-lift ship *Super Servant 3: Avenger* (MCM-1), the navy's newest MCM ship, and the veteran ocean minesweepers *Impervious* (MSO-449), *Leader* (MSO-490), and *Adroit* (MSO-509). With the amphibious assault ship *Tripoli* (LPH-10) in the role of MCM support ship and platform for six minesweeping MH-53E helicopters, the U.S. ships joined with the Royal Navy's mine hunters *Atherstone* (M-38), *Cattistock* (M-31), *Hurworth* (M-39) and support ship *Herald* (A-138) as Operation DESERT STORM commenced. During the war phase, the force was augmented by the British mine hunters *Ledbury* (M-30) and *Dulverton* (M-35). In the early postwar period, three more British mine hunters arrived in the Persian Gulf: the *Brecon* (M-29), *Brocklesby* (M-33), and *Bicester* (M-36), followed in May 1991 by the U.S. MCM ship *Guardian* (MCM-5), which made a solo Atlantic crossing to relieve the *Avenger.* The combined effort of Royal Navy and U.S. MCM operations yielded the location and destruction of 107 bottom mines and 231 moored mines.

During DESERT STORM, a small Belgian force operated in the Gulf of Oman: the Tripartite (a joint Belgian-Dutch-French MCM design) mine hunters *Dianthus* (M-918), *Iris* (M-920), and *Myosotis* (M-922), with the support ship *Zinnia* (A-961). Credited with finding 64 bottom mines and 211 moored mines, the Belgian group departed the theater in July 1991. France contributed the Tripartite mine hunters *Orion* (M-645) and *Sagittaire* (M-650), along with the support ship *Loire* (A-615), which cleared 68 bottom mines and 134 moored mines.

Germany operated the mine hunters *Göttingen* (M-1070), *Koblenz* (M-1071), *Schleswig* (M-1073), *Paderborn* (M-1076), and *Marburg* (M-1080), accompanied by the depot ship *Donau* (A-69)

The U.S. Navy ocean minesweeper *Impervious* is moved to the pier after being unloaded from the Dutch heavy lift ship *Super Servant 4*. (U.S. Department of Defense)

and support ship *Freiburg* (M-1413). They were credited with dispatching 28 bottom mines and 64 moored mines. The *Schleswig* and *Paderborn* employed the German-developed Troika remote sweep unit. Italy employed the Lerici class of mine hunters: *Lerici* (M-5550), *Sapri* (M-5551), *Milazzo* (M-5552), and *Vieste* (M-5553). They contributed to the postwar mine clearance of the northern Persian Gulf. Accompanied by the support ship *Tremiti* (A-5348), the Italian mine hunters, each equipped with variable depth sonar (VDS), three station-holding thrusters, and the wire-guided Pluto mine destruction system, collectively accounted for 11 bottom mines and 60 moored mines.

Following intensive legislative debate on the constitutionality of Japanese participation in clearing a (postconflict) war zone of mines, the Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF) received approval to dispatch the mine hunters/minesweepers *Yurishima* (MSC-668), *Hikoshima* (MSC-669), *Awashima* (MSC-670), and *Sakushima* (MSC-671) to the Persian Gulf, accompanied by the support ship *Hayase* (MST-462) and replenishment oiler *Tokiwa* (AOE-423). The Japanese MCM force was responsible for finding and eliminating 21 bottom mines and 10 moored mines. The Netherlands deployed the Tripartite mine hunters *Haarlem* (M-853), *Haarlingen* (M-854), and *Zierikzee* (M-862), which cleared 3 bottom mines and 35 moored mines in minefields off the Kuwaiti coast. A Saudi Arabian MCM force in early February 1991 was directed to patrol the northern Saudi waters for mines. The U.S.-built coastal mine hunters/minesweepers *Addriyah* (MSC-412), *Al Quysumah* (MSC-414), *Al Wadeeah* (M-416), and *Safwa* (M-418), judged unsuited for open sea operations, were confined to coastal operations.

Under the weight of sanctions since the 1991 war, and stymied by U.S. naval units operating in the Persian Gulf on the eve of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, Iraq was unable to carry out any large-scale minelaying by the time IRAQI FREEDOM was under way. Disapproval of the U.S.-led 2003 invasion of Iraq by many of its allies resulted in a situation in which a smaller coalition of the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia carried out initial MCM operations in the Persian Gulf. NATO did agree to dispatch an MCM task group to assist the United States. NATO MCM ships did patrol the approaches to the Suez Canal and other vital regional transit points during the war, but with the understanding that this deployment was in support of the still-acceptable Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. In their combined operations as the Iraq War got under way, the U.S.-British-Australian MCM force found and dispatched more than 68 mines, and Australian warships captured an Iraqi minelaying vessel laden with a variety of contact and influence mines; other smaller minelayers were prevented from deploying their cargo.

A number of MCM systems developed since the 1991 Persian Gulf War were employed in the combat zone to good effect,

including new unmanned underwater vehicles (UUV), autonomous underwater vehicles (AUV), and the expendable UUV Sea Fox system. In addition to the U.S. and British MCM ships, a team of Australian underwater warfare experts joined with U.S. Navy and Royal Navy EOD (explosive ordnance disposal) divers to clear the important harbor of Umm Qasr.

The U.S. MCM vessels active in the Persian Gulf at the outset of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM were the *Ardent* (MCM-12), *Dextrous* (MCM-13), *Cardinal* (MHC-60), and *Raven* (MHC-61), all based in Bahrain. The Royal Navy MCM group consisted of the *Ledbury* (M-30), *Brocklesby* (M-33), *Sandown* (M-101), *Grimsby* (M-108), *Bangor* (M-109), *Blyth* (M-111), and their support ship *Sir Bedivere* (L-3004).

In the years since the cessation of major military operations in the Iraq War, units of the U.S. Navy and Royal Navy MCM force in the region have been relieved on a regular basis by counterparts from both navies, while NATO minesweepers and mine hunters of the Mediterranean-based Mine Counter Measures Group 2 (SNMCMG2) have also operated in the Middle East theater. Since May 2008, MCM vessels of the Royal Navy have joined with the U.S. Navy in an effort to locate and eliminate all remaining mines and other unexploded ordnance from both the 1991 and 2003 wars in the shallower waters off the Iraqi and Kuwaiti coasts. Newly developed MCM systems now allow these further investigations, which have as their goal the eventual safe access for all shipping, large and small, to commercial ports in the northern Persian Gulf.

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See also

DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; Mines, Sea, and Naval Mine Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; United Kingdom, Navy, Persian Gulf War; United States Navy, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Missiles, Air-to-Ground

Air-to-ground missiles (AGMs) have been employed more often and in greater numbers in the Middle East than in all the world's other post-1945 conflicts combined. AGMs trace their origins back to World War I, during which the British tested a simple wire-guided rocket near the end of the conflict, but World War II saw the first introduction of AGMs in combat. The Germans developed them to enable aircraft to attack ships without facing the increasingly deadly fire of radar-guided antiaircraft guns firing shells with proximity (radio-activated) fuses. Both the United States and the Soviet Union captured the technology involved, but the weapons' progress languished in the first postwar decade as all the major powers pursued supersonic aircraft. However, the Korean War (1950–1953) demonstrated the deadliness of radar-directed air defenses and the relative fragility of jet aircraft. That and the introduction of surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) drove the world's air forces to develop guided AGMs so that their pilots would not have to enter the SAMs' range to attack their targets.

The early systems were too large to be carried on the tactical fighter aircraft employed in the Middle East's first post–World War II wars, but the lessons learned from those conflicts led the major powers to seek ever-lighter AGMs. None were in service during the first three Arab-Israeli conflicts, but the French decision to stop supplying Israel with arms forced Israel to shift its arms purchasing to the United States. That transition began in 1968, enabling Israel to enter the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War with a stable of U.S.-supplied AGM systems.

The United States developed the first tactical AGM in 1959. Known as the Bullpup, it was initially designated the ASM-N-7 by its sponsoring service, the U.S. Navy, and became the AGM-12 under U.S. secretary of defense Robert McNamara's joint weapons designation system in 1962. Weighing in at just under 1,000 pounds, the Bullpup could be carried by the A-4 Skyhawks and F-4 Phantoms that entered Israeli service in late 1969. Designed to enable the attacking aircraft to make a precision attack from outside antiaircraft artillery range, the early Bullpup had a 250-pound warhead and was powered by a small solid-fuel rocket engine. The A-4 pilot or the F-4 weapons operator visually guided the missile to the target via a joystick control, not unlike that used by the German Fritz X guided bomb of World War II. As with the German weapon, the Bullpup had a burning tracer in the tail fin that enabled the operator to track the missile as it flew to the target. The Bullpup also came in a larger version with a 1,000-pound warhead and a more powerful rocket engine to increase its range and speed. Nevertheless, it lacked the range to conduct a standoff attack from beyond the reach of the SA-2 and SA-6 SAM systems then used by Egyptian and Syrian forces.

To deal with the SA-2 threat, the United States developed the AGM-45 Shrike antiradiation missile. Essentially an AIM-7 Sparrow air-to-air missile with its seeker modified to home in on missile fire-control and acquisition radars, the Shrike weighed less than 200 pounds and was carried by A-4 and F-4 aircraft. Although its range of 10–12 nautical miles placed the launch aircraft within the SA-2's maximum range, the Shrike's 44-pound warhead shredded the SAM's fire-control radar. More importantly, it was easy to modify in response to newly emerging threats. For example, the United States developed and supplied an improved version capable of engaging the Soviet-supplied SA-6 within two weeks of the SAM's initial employment in the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War. Arab radar operators often shut down their systems if

they thought they were facing a Shrike attack, effectively ending the SAM threat to incoming Israeli aircraft without a missile being fired. Phased out in the early 1990s, the Shrike has been replaced by the Harpy Drone–based SAM suppression system.

Israel acquired the AGM-114 Hellfire missile from the United States in the early 1990s. Fired from the AH-64 Apache attack helicopter, the 100-pound missile has a maximum range of 5 miles and an 18-pound warhead. The Israelis have used the Hellfire primarily for precision strikes against Palestinian and Hezbollah leaders and strong points. Most often employed against Hamas and Islamic Jihad leaders in Gaza, the Hellfire also saw extensive employment during Israel's 2006 conflict with Hezbollah in southern Lebanon.

Israel has also developed AGMs of its own. The 3,000-pound Popeye I Have Nap missile first entered service in 1985. Propelled by a solid-fuel rocket engine, it has a range of more than 45 nautical miles. Early Popeye I missiles used inertial guidance, but later variants employ either a new closed-loop imaging infrared and television guidance for the weapons officer to guide it into the target or other form of terminal or precision guidance. The later and lighter Popeye II Have Lite missile incorporates those improvements and has a greater range of 90 nautical miles. Both variants are carried by Israel's F-4 Phantom and F-15E Strike Fighter aircraft and were used against Hezbollah targets in Lebanon during the July–August 2006 Lebanon invasion.

The Soviet Union, the only major arms supplier to provide AGMs to the Arab countries, was slower than the United States in developing them. Instead, the Soviets had focused on developing heavy long-range strategic air-to-surface missiles (ASMs). These are basically aircraft-launched ICBMs, and because of the relatively small area of the Middle East they are largely unnecessary for regional conflicts.

The Soviet Union did not introduce its first tactical ASM, the AS-7 Kerry (NATO designation), until 1968 and did not supply them to its Arab clients—Egypt, Libya, Iraq, and Syria—until the mid-1980s. Carried on the MiG-23 and Su-24 aircraft, the AS-7 was a beam-riding missile. That is, the missile's guidance system was designed to keep the missile within the guidance beam, which the pilot or weapons operator kept centered on the target via a visual sighting system in the cockpit. The AS-7 had a range of 6.5 nautical miles and a 222-pound warhead. Iraq employed the AS-7 against Iranian targets during the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War.

Although Israel has the longest history of using AGMs in the region's conflicts, the United States holds the record for employing the largest variety and number of AGMs there. The first U.S. use of AGMs in the Middle East came in 1986, when U.S. forces conducted Operation EL DORADO CANYON, during which U.S. Navy and U.S. Air Force aircraft conducted retaliatory strikes against Libya for its support of terrorism. AGMs have figured prominently in all U.S. air strikes and campaigns conducted ever since. They not only ensured a high success rate, but their accuracy and reliability ensured that American and later allied aircraft losses were the lowest of any major conflict of the last 60 years.

Operation EL DORADO CANYON saw the first employment of the AGM-88 high-speed antiradiation missile (HARM). Fully replacing the Shrike by 1988, the supersonic HARM has more than four times the range (57 nautical miles) and double the warhead of the Shrike (68 pounds versus only 28). Carried by both U.S. Navy (A-6, A-7, EA-6B, and F/A-18) and U.S. Air Force (F-4G and EF-111) aircraft, the HARM saw extensive use in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the Iraq War, and in several retaliatory strikes conducted between those conflicts. The most commonly used American AGM in the wars with Iraq was the AGM-65 Maverick missile, a short-range (15 nautical miles) infrared electro-optical or laser-guided antitank/antivehicle/antibunker missile carried by both helicopters (AH-1 Cobra and AH-64 Apache) and fixed-wing aircraft (A-6, A-7, AV-8, A-10, F-4, F-15E, F-16, and F/A-18). American forces employed hundreds of AGM-65 Maverick missiles against Iraqi tanks in each of the conflicts with Iraq. The newer AGM-114 Hellfire was also employed in large numbers in those wars. Carried by AH-64 helicopters in both the Persian Gulf War and the Iraq War, by 2002 it was also fired from Predator unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) against terrorist targets in Yemen and Iraq. The Hellfire has a 5-mile range and an 18-pound warhead.

The oldest AGM used in the Persian Gulf wars was the AGM-62 Walleye. A 2,000-pound TV-guided glide bomb directed against hardened targets such as bunkers and heavy bridges, it was carried by U.S. Navy A-6, A-7, and F/A-18 aircraft. The U.S. Air Force's AGM-86C was the longest-range weapon of the Persian Gulf wars. A cruise missile launched from B-52Gs, the turbojet-powered air-launched cruise missile (ALCM) carried a 2,000-pound conventional warhead 640 nautical miles at low altitude to within one-tenth of a mile of the aim point. It incorporates a Global Positioning System (GPS) capability into its navigation system that makes it one of the most accurate missiles in the world. A deep-penetrating variant with a 3,000-pound warhead was introduced in 1998. In addition to their use in Operation DESERT STORM in 1991, the AGM-86C saw service in the 1996 and 1998 coalition strikes against Iraq for attacking the Kurds in northern Iraq and in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in 2003.

Both the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Air Force employed kits that converted unguided bombs into rocket-propelled guided missiles. The navy was the first to develop such systems when it introduced the AGM-123 Skipper into service in 1982. Essentially a Mark 83 1,000-pound bomb with a rocket engine and laser-guidance system mounted on it, the AGM-123 has a range of about 15.5 nautical miles. First employed against Libya in 1986, it also saw extensive service against Iraq. It is carried by A-7E, A-6E, AV-8, and F/A-18 aircraft. The air force's AGM-130 is based on the same principle. Essentially a rocket-powered GBU-15 guided bomb, it uses a GPS-assisted inertial navigation system to deliver a 1,000-pound Mark 84 or 500-pound BLU-109 warhead within 5.5 yards of the aim point from a maximum range of 40 nautical miles. First

deployed with the F-111 in 1994, today it is carried on the F-15E Strike Eagle aircraft.

The 1990s saw the United States aggressively pursuing newer and more flexible and accurate weapons based on the lessons learned from DESERT STORM. The only AGM to arise successfully from that effort so far was the AGM-154, a joint U.S. Navy–U.S. Air Force project. Entering production in 1999, it uses a GPS-assisted inertial guidance system with an infrared terminal seeker to provide a maximum miss distance of 1 yard from a range of up to 200 nautical miles. The first variant was intended as a combined effects weapon, delivering 100 guided bomblets into the target area, each equipped with a shaped charge to penetrate armor and utilizing zirconium ringlets for incendiary effect and a fragmentation casing for antipersonnel effect. The B-variant carried 6 BLU-108 infrared-guided antitank systems with four submunitions each, while the C-variant employs a 1,000-pound unitary warhead intended for taking out point targets. First employed against Yugoslavia in 1999, the AGM-154 was carried by the A-6E, F/A-18, F/A-14C, F-16, and F-15 aircraft and has been used in every bombing campaign conducted since.

Once considered too heavy for tactical aircraft, AGMs are now considered essential to any successful aerial campaign. Their precision has ensured the success of the aerial campaigns of the United States and its allies over the last decade, all but guaranteeing the destruction of military targets while minimizing—but not eliminating—loss of innocent lives. Equally important, by enabling pilots to conduct their attacks from outside the range of enemy air defenses, AGMs are responsible for the United States and its coalition partners enjoying the lowest aircraft loss rate of any sustained aerial bombing campaign since airpower was born.

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See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Hamas; Hezbollah; Iran-Iraq War; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Lebanon; Libya; Missiles, Cruise; Missiles, Surface-to-Air

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Missiles, Cruise

One of the most effective long-range weapons of modern warfare, cruise missiles essentially are unmanned aircraft that cruise at various altitudes until they dive or crash into their targets. Cruise missiles have also figured prominently in warfare in the Middle East wars. Conceptually, all cruise missiles trace their roots to the German World War II V-1 buzz bomb. The only real differences between today's cruise missiles and the V-1 are the improved propulsion and guidance systems, increased range, far better accuracy, and a much more powerful warhead. The V-1's pulse jet engine and simple gyro-timing guidance system have given way to highly efficient turbofans and a variety of guidance systems tailored to the missile's specific mission or target. With those improvements has come a significant increase in price ($5,000 for a V-1 and $500,000 for a modern U.S. Tomahawk) as well as in capabilities. Today's cruise missiles can fly a terrain-hugging deceptive flight route to a target 1,000 miles distant and have a 70 percent probability of a direct hit (99 percent chance of hitting within 30 feet).

The United States and the Soviet Union both exploited the German V-1 in trying to develop their own cruise missiles after World War II. By 1950, both countries had working prototypes of turbojet-powered flying bombs under development. The best known of the American cruise missile models were the U.S. Navy's Regulus and the U.S. Air Force's Hound Dog. Like the V-1, these missiles were seen as area attack weapons, but the American missiles carried nuclear instead of conventional warheads. The Regulus had a range of 600 miles and was designed to be launched from submarines, while the similarly ranged Hound Dog was air-launched from Boeing B-47 Stratojet and Boeing B-52 Stratofortress bombers. Neither American missile was particularly accurate, and both left service by the mid-1960s.

With more accurate and more powerful submarine-launched ballistic missiles entering service, the major Western naval powers dropped their cruise missile programs. Moreover, their possession of aircraft carriers obviated the need for their surface ships to have a long-range strike capability. However, the carrier-shy Soviet Union lacked the resources and experience to build aircraft carriers and therefore pursued a different path, developing in 1958 the SS-N-1, a cruise missile intended to attack ships. It was followed two years later by the SS-N-2. These missiles differed from their American counterparts primarily in having a radar-based terminal guidance system that took them into the targeted ship. France was the only country to see any value in developing its own antiship missiles, but the program enjoyed only a low priority.

All this changed with Egypt's sinking of the Israeli destroyer *Eilat* in 1967 with an SS-N-2 Styx ship-to-ship missile. Suddenly, all navies saw antiship cruise missiles (ASCMs) as the poor man's naval strike weapon. They also recognized the value of such weapons in situations where increasingly expensive aircraft carriers were not available. That led the United States and other powers to initiate accelerated cruise missile programs. ASCMs, such as

the French Exocet and the American Harpoon and Tomahawk, were the first to enter service, but their relative light weight and expense, compared to that of an aircraft carrier and its air wing, led some to examine their use in the land-attack role. Meanwhile, the Soviets developed their own family of long-range ASCMs: the SS-N-3, SS-N-12, SS-N-19 and SS-N-22.

The Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War in October 1973 saw the first naval engagements fought entirely between ASCM-equipped patrol boats. Having been stung by these weapons in the 1967 Six-Day War, Israel had developed its own ASCM, the Gabriel missile, and installed it on a new class of small patrol boats and corvettes. More importantly, Israel had developed tactics and electronic countermeasures to defeat the Soviet-built ASCMs supplied to Egypt and Syria. The October 7, 1973, Battle of Latakia saw six Israeli patrol boats sink five Syrian naval units. During October 12–13, the Israelis sank three more Egyptian missile patrol boats in the Battle of Baltim. Superior electronic countermeasures and tactics enabled the Israelis to win those battles without suffering any losses or damage. The Syrian fleet and Egypt's Mediterranean-based fleets remained in port for the rest of the war. Unfortunately for Israel, it had not deployed missile patrol boats to its Red Sea port, Eilat, and Egypt's Red Sea blockade remained unbroken.

By the early 1980s, advances in microminiaturization, avionics, and navigation systems brought land-attack cruises back into vogue for both conventional and nuclear missions. The U.S. Land-Attack Tomahawk cruise missile initially was equipped with a Terrain Contour Matching guidance system, which enabled it to navigate over land by matching its onboard radar's picture of the terrain below against a computer-developed map of its flight route to the target. By the late 1990s, this system was replaced by a module that guided the missile by using the Global Positioning System (GPS), making the missile accurate to within three to six feet. Finally, a Digital Scene Matching Area (DSMA) correlation feature was added to ensure that the missile would select the right target as it entered the target area by matching a digital image of the target scene (radar, optical, or infrared, or a combination of them) against an onboard image database. DSMA is particularly useful against mobile targets.

By the end of the Cold War, treaties and other considerations had driven all of the nuclear cruise missiles out of service. Conventional cruise missiles were now so accurate that Western political and military leaders had come to see them as politically safe precision weapons that could be employed in an infinite variety of situations.

ASCMs figured prominently in the 1982 Falklands War, with Argentine naval air force units sinking two British warships and damaging four others with their French-supplied AM-39 Exocet missiles. Iraq employed the same weapon in larger numbers against Iranian shipping during the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War. Although the missiles failed to sink any tankers or merchant ships, they damaged more than 200, driving up insurance rates and forcing the United States to escort tankers through the Persian Gulf during the war's final year. More ominously, on March 17, 1987, the Iraqis hit the U.S. Navy frigate *Stark* (FFG-31) with two Exocets, killing 37 crew members and injuring 21 (the total casualties representing more than a third of the crew). The crew saved the ship, but it took more than 18 months to repair the damage and return it to service.

The 1991 Persian Gulf War saw the first major employment of land-attack cruise missiles. The anti-Iraq coalition opened Operation DESERT STORM by launching 122 of the U.S. Navy's Tomahawk land-attack missiles (TLAMs) against key Iraqi air defense posts, radar systems, and communications facilities. The TLAMs were employed almost entirely against targets considered too dangerous or risky for attack by aircraft. Typically, they preceded an air strike, taking out a key facility that was critical to the Iraqis' local or area air defense. The United States fired nearly 300 TLAMs during the war at a total cost of approximately $360 million.

The TLAMs then became the weapon of choice for U.S. retaliation against terrorist attacks, used to strike Al Qaeda and related camps in Afghanistan and the Sudan in the late 1990s. More than 250 were fired during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in 2003, and America's 2001 invasion of Afghanistan was also preceded by a series of TLAM strikes against Taliban-related targets.

Cruise missiles are a relatively inexpensive, expendable alternative to expensive aircraft and ballistic missiles. Unlike bomber

The USS *Bunker Hill* fires the first Tomahawk missile to be launched at an Iraqi target, 5:25 a.m. on March 20, 2003, at the beginning of the Iraq War. (U.S. Department of Defense)

aircraft, they do not put crew members in harm's way. For nations not concerned with accuracy, cruise missiles remain a cheap solution to their long-range strike problem. However, for militaries seeking precision, for both antiship and land-attack missions, cruise missiles have become the complex weapons of choice for retaliatory strikes and the initial military operations conducted during a war. The newest have incorporated stealth technologies to make them more difficult to detect and engage. Others rely on supersonic dash speeds to defeat air defenses. In any case, cruise missiles are used to take out key enemy command centers, air defense sites, and airfields before manned aircraft are committed to the fight. In peacetime, cruise missiles are used for situations where a rapid and precise attack is required and the political-military leadership doesn't want to risk pilot losses.

China, France, India, Israel, Russia, Taiwan, and the United States produce ASCMs, but only two countries—the United States and Russia—manufacture land-attack cruise missiles. China, India, and Pakistan are developing indigenous cruise missiles that are expected to enter operational service. Undoubtedly, the 21st century will see a proliferation of cruise missiles. In combination with unmanned aerial vehicles, they will become an increasingly prominent element of modern warfare.

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See also

Al Qaeda; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, U.S. Air Campaign; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Air Campaign; Taliban

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Missiles, Intermediate-Range Ballistic

Ballistic missiles with a range of approximately 1,500–4,000 statute miles and capable of delivering conventional, biological, chemical, or nuclear payloads. The development of intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs) began in the early 1950s. They were derived from the successful German V-2 rockets of World War II. Both Cold War superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, initiated development of such missile systems in an effort to gain strategic advantage. For the Soviet Union, IRBMs offered a cheaper alternative to long-range bombers in order to attack America's forward-based strategic airpower. For the United States, IRBMs offered the ability to respond quickly to a Soviet attack. Moreover, IRBMs were simpler and easier to develop than longer-ranged intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs).

By 1956, both the United States and the Soviet Union had significant IRBM programs under way. The resulting missiles figured prominently in the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 and the nuclear disarmament talks of the late 1980s. More recently, IRBMs have figured prominently in Asia and the Middle East, where several countries have developed or are developing nuclear-capable types. These nations include the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea), India, Pakistan, Israel, and Iran.

In the United States, the U.S. Air Force had responsibility for the country's land-based IRBMs, while the U.S. Navy acquired control over sea-based missiles. The air force focused on liquid-fueled rockets because of the greater power they provided. The navy pursued such solid-fueled missiles as the Polaris and the Poseidon, which could be stored safely on submarines. The air force IRBM programs, which were conducted in collaboration with Britain's Royal Air Force, were designated Jupiter and Thor. President Dwight D. Eisenhower accorded the program the same high priority as the Atlas and Titan ICBM programs. The first four U.S. Thor IRBM squadrons deployed to England in late 1957, followed by two more to Italy the next year. They were operational two years after deployment. By 1959, however, the Atlas ICBM program's steady progress made many question the value of the IRBM and call for their decommissioning as the Atlas squadrons came on line. Nevertheless, by 1960 Jupiter squadrons were being deployed to Turkey, and the U.S. Air Force retained its IRBMs in service despite President John F. Kennedy's order to remove them shortly after he took office in January 1961.

In the Soviet Union, the Ministry of Armaments directed all strategic rocket research. As a result, all Soviet sea-based missiles were derived from land-based variants and were therefore liquid-fueled. As with their American counterparts, all Soviet ballistic missiles were derived from the initial work done by sequestered German engineers. The first Soviet IRBM to enter service, the R-12 (NATO designation SS-4) was based on the initial designs provided by the German engineers held on Gorodomlya Island during 1946–1950. Under development since 1953, the R-12 first entered testing in 1957. Unlike the American IRBMs, the R-12 and all later Soviet IRBMs were designed to be fired from mobile truck-drawn launchers. However, the R-12 was later modified for silo-based firing. The early model R-12s had a range of only 1,200 miles, and the first operational systems were deployed in late 1960. However, the R-12 is most famous for its September 1962 deployment in Cuba, which triggered the Cuban Missile Crisis. The withdrawal of the R-12s from Cuba, and the American agreement to pull its IRBMs from Turkey, effectively ended the crisis.

France was the only other country to build IRBMs during the Cold War. Its program began in the late 1960s as the third leg of France's nuclear deterrent force, which President Charles de Gaulle had decided to develop in 1958, separately from the United States. The S-2 IRBM was first test-fired in 1968 and entered service in 1971. France built a longer-ranged S-3D that entered service in 1980. Both were silo-based missiles that carried a single 120-kiloton nuclear warhead, but the S-3D had a range of 1,800 miles versus only 1,200 for the S-2. France maintained a force of 18 silo-based IRBMs as the missile element of its nuclear deterrent force until 1996.

The escalating presence of IRBMs in Europe during the early 1980s led to the first international agreement that eliminated a nuclear weapons system, the Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) Treaty of 1989. That treaty called for the destruction of all U.S. and Soviet IRBMs. Missiles covered by the agreement included the Soviet SS-4 and SS-20 and the U.S. Pershing IIa and ground-launched cruise missile (GLCM) systems. France subsequently decommissioned and destroyed its IRBM force in 1996.

Since that time, however, several nations have initiated IRBM programs, including the People's Republic of China (PRC), India, Iran, Israel, North Korea, and Pakistan. Israel's nuclear-capable IRBM Jericho II was the first to enter service in 1984. Iraq pursued IRBM development, but its defeat in the Persian Gulf War of 1991 prevented the program from reaching fruition. However, Iraq's successful use of modified Scud missiles as medium-range ballistic missiles led Iran to develop its own IRBMs. Nearby Pakistan and India had nuclear-capable IRBMs programs well under way at the beginning of the 21st century. Iran's Shahab 3 and Pakistan's Gauri IRBMs are based on North Korea's No Dong missile, while India's Agni-III is a totally indigenous missile design that traces its initial development back to 1979. These nuclear-capable systems are the easiest and cheapest long-range missiles to build and, when equipped with a nuclear, biological, or chemical warhead, enable a country to threaten any potential opponent within a range of 2,000 to 3,000 nautical miles. As such, these weapons are considered to be the most threatening weapons in existence today. Except for Iraq's limited employment of Scud missiles during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, no IRBMs have been employed in the Middle East wars.

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See also

Biological Weapons and Warfare; Chemical Weapons and Warfare

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Missiles, Surface-to-Air

Although ballistic-missile defense was the only significant role played by coalition air defense missiles, Iraq's surface-to-air missile (SAM) systems constituted the most significant component of that country's integrated air defense system during and after Operation DESERT STORM. Iraq used radar-guided SAMs for medium-to-high altitudes and area air defense, and man-portable infrared-guided SAMs for tactical air defense and to complement its antiaircraft artillery systems. Because the most common tactic to evade radar-guided SAMs involved a high-speed roll and dive to lower altitudes, the integration of guns, missiles, and fighter aircraft into a layered defense in depth theoretically provided an almost impenetrable barrier to air attack. Aircraft that successfully avoided radar-guided SAMs found themselves flying through a gauntlet of intense antiaircraft fire supplemented by infrared-guided SAMs, the intensity of which increased as the plane approached its target. Those that made it past the target pulled up into the sights of waiting fighter aircraft.

Fighters escorting the attack aircraft had to penetrate the same gauntlet to engage enemy interceptors. Although it did not lead to high scores among the defending pilots, it was a system that had inflicted heavy losses on American aircraft during the Vietnam War. Unfortunately for Iraq, the United States and its allies had learned from that conflict and had the electronic warfare equipment and weapons to defeat the Iraqi air defense system. The coalition's air defense problem was much simpler. Iraq neither challenged allied air supremacy nor conducted offensive air operations, which limited its aerial bombardment during Operation DESERT STORM to sporadic short-range ballistic missile strikes. Thus, most coalition air defense systems saw little action in that conflict or in the later Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

As a result, the American-built Raytheon MIM-104 Patriot missile was the only coalition air defense missile system that saw combat. Iraq's ballistic missile force and air force were all but destroyed in Operation DESERT STORM and were therefore nearly nonexistent by Operation IRAQI FREEDOM's launch. Development of the Patriot began in 1961, when the U.S. Army initiated a program to replace the MIM-23 Hawk SAM. The Hawk was an outstanding mobile tactical SAM, but army planners believed it would be obsolete against the Soviet fighters expected to enter service after 1970. Electronic-warfare vulnerability and counter-countermeasures figured prominently in the new design. The resulting Patriot missile entered service in 1984. Its 90–nautical mile range and 79,000-foot engagement ceiling marked a major improvement over the earlier Hawk. Using the AN/MPQ-53 phased array radar for tracking and guidance, the Patriot has a track-via-missile system to reduce vulnerability to jamming and chaff, but more importantly its fire-control system includes features that give the Patriot an antiballistic missile capability. Like its predecessor, the Patriot is propelled by a single-stage, solid-fuel rocket engine, but it is launched from canisters instead of being loaded directly onto a launcher. Canisters can be loaded more quickly and protect the

A MIM-104 Patriot antiaircraft missile is fired during a training exercise in 1990. (U.S. Department of Defense)

missiles from environmental and handling damage. The result is a more robust system with a faster firing and reload rate.

The U.S. Army deployed Patriot battalions to Saudi Arabia and Israel during Operation DESERT STORM, and they engaged 40 Iraqi-launched "Al Hussein" Scud SRBMs (short-range ballistic missiles), usually firing 2–3 Patriots at each SRBM. However, the actual success-downing rate remains controversial, with some evidence indicating that few or no SRBMs were actually hit. Although it is clear that the majority of the SRBMs were destroyed en route to their targets, there is as much evidence to suggest that missile design failures were involved as much as Patriot-inflicted damage. Based on lessons learned from DESERT STORM, the Patriot underwent extensive improvements in the 1990s and reportedly destroyed eight Iraqi SRBMs during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in March 2003.

Other allied air defense missile systems included the British Rapier, French Crotale and Roland, and man-portable air defense (MANPAD) systems (e.g., RBS-70 and Stinger). Rapier and Roland were deployed for airfield defense in Saudi Arabia during DESERT STORM, while Saudi army forces used vehicle-mounted Crotale for tactical air defense. Of these, the British Aircraft Company–built Rapier was the oldest, having entered service in 1971.

Originally introduced with an optical-guidance system in which the gunner controlled the missile with a joystick, the Rapier (range of 4.1 nautical miles) also used a "Blindfire" tracking radar for all-weather guidance and infrared terminal guidance to increase effectiveness by 1991. The Euromissile-produced Roland (range of 3 nautical miles) entered service in 1977 and served both French and Iraqi forces during DESERT STORM. Like the Rapier, it used optical guidance. Saudi Arabia acquired its vehicle-mounted Crotale system in 1980. A radar-commanded guided missile with a maximum range of 3 nautical miles, Saudi Crotale units never engaged Iraqi aircraft, but they did accompany Saudi armored units into Kuwait, becoming some of the first units to enter that nation's capital in February 1991. The United Arab Emirates (UAE) used the laser-guided Bofors RBS-70 MANPAD for airfield defense. The tripod-mounted RBS-70 had a maximum range of 5.5 nautical miles. The Raytheon FIM-92 Stinger is a handheld infrared-guided MANPAD that entered service in 1984. It can intercept both incoming and outgoing targets. It has a maximum range of 3 nautical miles. As with most other coalition SAM systems, Stingers never had the opportunity to engage Iraqi aircraft.

On the other hand, Iraqi SAM systems saw extensive action and suffered accordingly. Most Iraqi air defense missiles were Soviet-built, with the venerable SA-2 Guideline and its supporting Fan Song radar being the oldest and longest-ranged weapon in service. Developed in the 1950s, the SA-2 (range of 27 nautical miles) had enjoyed great success during the Vietnam War but was at best obsolete by 1990. It could engage aircraft operating at altitudes of up to 89,000 feet, but its radar was easily defeated and only a highly trained crew could employ its electro-optical guidance and electronic counter-countermeasures features effectively. Also, its minimum range of 4–5 nautical miles and minimum 3,280-foot altitude made it all but useless against low-flying targets. The SA-3 Goa was newer and longer ranged. Brought into Soviet service in 1963, Goa (range of 22 nautical miles) used the Flat Face radar for guidance. It had an operational engagement ceiling of 59,000 feet and enjoyed better tactical mobility than the SA-2. The SA-2 and SA-3 were deployed around major cities.

Iraq also deployed a wide range of Soviet mobile SAM systems, including the SA-6 Gainful, SA-9 Gaskin, and SA-12. Of these, the Gainful was the best known, having inflicted heavy losses on the Israeli Air Force when first employed during the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War. Mounted on a tracked chassis, the Gainful was a medium-ranged SAM supported by a robust Straight Flush fire-control radar that was difficult but not impossible to deceive. Introduced into Soviet service in 1970, the SA-6 deployed in four transporter-erector-launcher (TEL) batteries supported by a single fire-control radar. The missile has a maximum range of 13.2 nautical miles and operational engagement ceiling of 39,000 feet.

The SA-9 Gaskin was a much shorter-ranged SAM mounted on a wheeled vehicle that carried two pairs of ready-to-fire missiles. The Gaskin was infrared guided, but unlike most infrared-guided missiles, it could engage an incoming target, provided that the aircraft was not obscured by the sun. Normally deployed in proximity to the ZSU-23/4 mobile antiaircraft gun, the SA-9 dated from 1966 and had a maximum range of 4.4 nautical miles and ceiling of 20,000 ft. The SA-9 did not have a significant impact on allied air operations in either of the Persian Gulf conflicts.

Destroyed Iraqi SA-6 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) atop a Soviet ZIL-131 6 × 6 truck after coalition forces had attacked the area during Operation DESERT STORM, 1991. (U.S. Department of Defense)

The newest mobile SAM in the Iraqi inventory was the short-ranged radar-guided SA-8 Gecko. Carried in six-missile canisters mounted atop a wheeled Transporter-Erector-Launcher-and-Radar (TELAR), the SA-8 was employed with Iraqi Army units in the field. Its six-wheeled TELAR was amphibious and equipped with a frequency agile fire-control radar and alternate electro-optical guidance that made it particularly difficult to defeat electronically. Its normal engagement range was 1.1 to 5 nautical miles against targets flying between 80 and 1,650 feet. The most common tactics employed against the SA-8 were to use antiradiation missiles against its radar or fly above its engagement envelope.

The remaining SAMs in Iraqi service were man-portable. Of these, the Soviet-built infrared-guided SA-7 Grail, SA-14 Gremlin, SA-16 Gimlet, and SA-18 Grouse were the most numerous. The SA-7 was the shortest ranged, reaching out only about 9,800 feet, and only effective against slow-moving targets flying away at altitudes below 4,000 feet. The SA-14 was an improvement on the SA-7, providing greater range (6 kilometers) and a limited capability for head-on engagements. The SA-16 incorporated an identification-friend-or-foe feature and more effective infrared-guided counter-countermeasures capability. The SA-18 was a simplified and more reliable improvement of the SA-16. The Gimlet and Grouse can engage a target from any aspect, and have a maximum range of 3.1 miles and a ceiling of 15,700 feet. Their performance is comparable to the U.S. FIM-92A Stinger.

The last SAM in Iraqi service was the French-built Roland. The Iraqis used the Roland for airfield defense. The radar-guided Roland had a maximum operational range of 5 miles and an engagement ceiling of 17,100 feet. Its rapid acceleration and high speed make it an ideal air defense weapon. However, in the hands of inexperienced or poorly trained operators, it proved vulnerable to jamming and other electronic countermeasures. Also, the missile crews had to operate the system from exposed positions, making them vulnerable to bomb fragmentation and direct enemy attack, a factor that inhibited the weapon's employment and effectiveness.

Coalition numerical and electronic superiority and superior tactics all but negated Iraq's integrated air defense system. Its SAMs achieved only limited success in the few opportunities the air campaign presented to them. Allied air defense suppression systems, antiradiation missiles, and well-orchestrated electronic countermeasure operations blinded Iraqi radars, destroyed their command and control systems and communications networks, and inflicted heavy losses on any SAM battery that remained active long enough to attempt an engagement. Although Iraq nominally possessed a modern, integrated air defense system, its weapons, sensors, and communications networks were outdated and its

operators poorly trained and ill prepared for war against a well-trained opponent equipped with third- and fourth-generation aircraft and precision-guided weapons.

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See also

Air Defenses in Iraq, Iraq War; Air Defenses in Iraq, Persian Gulf War; Aircraft, Attack; Aircraft, Electronic Warfare; Aircraft, Suppression of Enemy Air Defense; Antiaircraft Guns; Antiradiation Missiles, Coalition; Bombs, Precision-Guided

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Missile Systems, Iraqi

Among weapons in the Iraqi missile arsenal, one system stood out: the Soviet-designed Scud B missile and its variants. Scud missiles were very much in the news during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. The Scud B carries a 1,000-pound warhead and has a range of 175 miles. Modified Iraqi models developed during the war against Iran (1980–1988), like the al-Hussein and al-Abbas missile, could strike up to 375 and 575 miles, respectively. The most modern of the Scud variants was the al-Hijarah, with a range of 466 miles. To obtain this longer range, Iraqi scientists had to reduce the missile's payload. The modified Scuds lacked a sophisticated guidance system, and an al-Abbas missile fired to maximum range could hit anywhere within about a 3-mile radius. The Iraqi leadership apparently chose not to use the al-Hussein and al-Abbas missiles during Operation DESERT STORM.

Before DESERT STORM began, U.S. intelligence had identified 64 fixed Scud missile sites in western Iraq, all aimed at Israel. Twenty-eight of those sites were complete, with the balance nearing completion. The fixed sites were easy targets to attack with the precision weapons systems available to the U.S. military at the time. Iraq also had an unknown number of mobile Scud launchers placed on Soviet-made tractors or locally manufactured tractors and trailers. Intelligence estimates held that Iraq possessed 48 such mobile launchers, but this was not certain.

Because of their potential to deliver chemical weapons and indiscriminately strike both civilian and military targets, the Scuds received the most attention of any Iraqi weapons during the Persian Gulf War. The threat posed by Iraq's surface-to-surface ballistic missiles greatly worried coalition military and political leaders. If Iraqi missiles were used to attack Israel, it seemed likely that Israel would retaliate and that this would cause the allied coalition, which included a number of Arab nations, to break apart.

During the Persian Gulf War, Iraq fired 91 Scuds. About half of them were directed at Saudi Arabia and 3 at Bahrain; the balance struck Israel. Although the missile strikes against Israel caused some public panic and caused 4 people to die from heart attacks, the missiles directly killed only 2 people while wounding another 200 Israelis.

The political impact of the missile attacks against Israel was nonetheless considerable. As expected, the Israeli public and some political leaders demanded retaliation. In response, the George H. W. Bush administration rushed Patriot antimissile missiles to Israel. Their presence helped calm the Israeli public and end the likelihood that Israel would enter the war.

Simultaneously, the United States devoted enormous effort to locating and destroying mobile Scud launchers. This proved to be the most difficult problem of the war. The Scud crew loaded and prepared the launcher in a hidden position, and then drove the vehicle to a separate launch site that the crew had already surveyed. Set up and launch occurred quickly. Essentially, the mobile launchers could fire from almost anywhere inside Iraq.

From January 18 to February 6, 1991, the Iraqis fired 29 Scuds from their western desert. Thereafter, the effect of the intense coalition anti-Scud efforts reduced the rate of fire. Iraqi launch teams had to fire blindly, making the already inaccurate Scud even less likely to hit its target. For three weeks following February 6, Iraq launched only 11 missiles, 2 of which fell harmlessly in the desert.

Iraq protected its forward troops in Kuwait from coalition air attack with a mixture of missiles and guns. The missile systems included short-range SA-9s and SA-13s as well as shoulder-fired SA-14s and SA-16s. Behind the front lines, the older SA-2 and SA-3 formed the backbone of the Iraqi air defense system. The SA-2 has a range of 31 miles. The SA-3, which has a range of 14 miles, was specifically designed to destroy aircraft flying at low and medium altitudes. The Iraqis positioned SA-6s in fixed sites to defend airfields, command and control centers, and important logistical centers. They composed the centerpiece of the Baghdad air defense system. A few SA-8s also were used to defend other strategically important areas.

At the time of the Persian Gulf War, most of the ships in the Iraqi Navy were obsolete. However, Iraq did possess 13 missile boats armed with the French-built Exocet but principally with the Soviet-designed Styx antiship missile. The Exocet had a range of more than 100 miles and warhead of 75 pounds. The larger Styx had a range of 16 to 45 miles and carried a far larger 1,100-pound

warhead. The Persian Gulf War showed that coalition warships, with their overwhelming numerical and technological superiority, had little to fear from Iraqi naval missiles, however.

The Iraqi Air Force presented a potentially more serious threat to coalition forces. During the Persian Gulf War, the Iraqi Air Force possessed a small number of sophisticated missiles for attacks against land or sea targets. Iraq had purchased most of these missiles from France. In addition, Iraqi development programs had produced the Faw family of air-to-surface cruise missiles derived from the Soviet Styx. The threat posed by Iraqi air-launched missiles was demonstrated well prior to the Persian Gulf War. On March 17, 1987, the Iraqis mistakenly hit the U.S. Navy frigate *Stark* (FFG-31), which was operating in the Persian Gulf, with 2 air-launched AM-39 Exocet antiship missiles. The attack badly damaged the frigate and killed 37 crewmen. Nevertheless, during the Persian Gulf War the Iraqis achieved no hits with air-launched missiles.

Iraq also possessed about 50 land-based antiship missiles called Silkworms, derived from the Chinese design. The Silkworms had a range of about 70 miles. On February 25, 1991, the Iraqis fired two Silkworms at the U.S. battleship *Missouri.* A U.S. Navy radar warning system detected 1 incoming missile. The British destroyer *Gloucester* then destroyed this Silkworm. The second Silkworm fell harmlessly into the Persian Gulf. A coalition air strike then destroyed the Iraqi missile site.

The Iraqi missile arsenal also included the Soviet-designed FROG-7 (Free Rocket Over Ground). The Frog-7 was able to deliver chemical and possibly nuclear weapons. The FROG-7 could propel a 990-pound chemical warhead about 37 miles from a mobile launcher. Because it was obsolete by 1991, its major threat was as a potential terror weapon. The Iraqi leadership apparently chose not to utilize this weapon during the Persian Gulf War.

The number of missiles Iraq retained after the Persian Gulf War was unclear. However, Iraq did still possess significant stocks of modern air-to-air missiles. Consequently, the Iraqi air defense system was considered to be among the world's most formidable. The Iraqi air defense arsenal included a heavy surface-to-air arsenal with an estimated 130 to 180 SA-2s, 100 to 125 SA-3 launchers, 100 to 125 SA-6s, 20 to 35 SA-8s, 30 to 45 SA-9s, some SA-13s, and about 30 Roland VII and 5 Crotale surface-to-air missiles. Republican Guard air defense units used the proven SA-6 mobile surface-to-air missile to protect high-value strategic targets. The Iraqi command also positioned SA-7 and SA-10 antiaircraft missiles near key buildings to provide a last line of defense. In addition,

An Iraqi FROG artillery rocket system captured during Operation DESERT STORM in February 1991. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Iraqi ground units carried an estimated 2,000 man-portable SA-7s and SA-14 antiaircraft missiles along with a handful of SA-16s.

Under the allied aerial onslaught beginning during the Persian Gulf War, the Iraqis learned to rapidly move their missile and radar units to avoid allied retaliation. In addition, the Iraqis skillfully employed decoys. However, overall the Iraqi air defense system was completely overshadowed by the sophisticated, state-of-the-art, allied aerial attacks. During tens of thousands of allied aerial sorties over Iraqi territory between 1991 and 2003, the Iraqis never managed to shoot down an allied manned aircraft. This trend continued through the 2003 Iraq War. The Iraqis were unable to effectively engage high-altitude coalition aircraft. Although they tried to defend major strategic targets including the command posts of senior Iraqi leaders, they failed.

The Iraqi missile arsenal on the eve of the Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM) included French-designed Matra 530, Matra 550, and Matra Super 530 air-to-air missiles. The only major improvement the Iraqi Air Force made between the Persian Gulf War and the Iraq War was the installation of French-designed Matra Magic 2 air-to-air missiles on the Dassault Mirage F-1, a French-built fighter/attack aircraft. This missile gave the Mirages a useful "dogfight" missile. However, the Iraqi Air Force never flew during IRAQI FREEDOM.

Iraq also retained a variety of air-to-surface missiles, such as the AM-39 Exocet and some surface-to-surface, long-range missiles including the Al-Samoud 2 and Ababil-100 missiles and an estimated 12 to 25 surviving Scuds dating from the early 1990s. However, these missiles lacked the range, accuracy, and destructive capacity to be a serious threat to allied aircraft.

On March 20, 2003, Iraq launched its first theater ballistic missile against Kuwait. Subsequently, Iraq fired such additional theater ballistic missiles as the Ababil-100 and such cruise missiles as the CSS-C-3 Seersucker. A typical Iraqi missile operation occurred on March 20–21, when the Iraqis fired seven missiles at Kuwait, four of which were intercepted by Patriot batteries and three of which were allowed to strike unpopulated areas.

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See also

Antiaircraft Missiles, Iraqi; DESERT STORM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Missiles, Air-to-Ground; Missiles, Cruise; Missiles, Intermediate-Range Ballistic; Patriot Missile System; Scud Missiles, U.S. Search for during the Persian Gulf War

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Mitchell, George John

Birth Date: August 20, 1933

Attorney, Democratic politician, U.S. senator (1980–1995), and special peace envoy for the William J. Clinton and Barack H. Obama administrations. George John Mitchell was born to a family of humble origins in Waterville, Maine, on August 20, 1933; his mother was an immigrant from Lebanon. Mitchell graduated from Bowdoin College in 1954 and earned a law degree from Georgetown University in 1961. He thereafter worked in the U.S. Department of Justice, was an aide to Senator Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine) from 1962 to 1965, was in private law practice in Portland, Maine, from 1965 to 1977, and served as assistant county attorney in Maine in 1971.

In 1974, Mitchell ran unsuccessfully for the governorship of Maine; three years later, President Jimmy Carter appointed him U.S. attorney for the U.S. District Court, District of Maine. In 1979, he became a federal judge for the district, a post he held until 1980, when he was appointed a U.S. senator from Maine to replace Edmund Muskie, who had been tapped to be Carter's secretary of state.

Mitchell served in the Senate from 1980 until his retirement in January 1994. He was considered a loyal Democrat capable of reaching bipartisan consensus when necessary. His calm, amiable demeanor and ability to see both sides of an issue earned him a reputation as a Senate diplomat, and he played a prominent role in the 1987 Iran-Contra hearings. From 1989 to 1995, Mitchell served as Senate minority leader, another sign that he enjoyed broad-based respect among his peers. In 1994, President Clinton reportedly offered Mitchell a seat on the U.S. Supreme Court, but Mitchell demurred, instead choosing to focus on his legislative agenda.

After leaving the Senate in January 1995, Mitchell joined a prominent law firm based in Washington, D.C. That same year, President Clinton named him as a special envoy to Northern Ireland. Mitchell worked diligently and garnered much admiration for his ability to bring the long-standing violence and enmity in the region to an end. His work helped bring about the Belfast Peace Agreement (Good Friday Agreement) of 1998. He remained special envoy until 2000 and was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom (1999) for his efforts.

During 2000–2001, Mitchell participated in the Sharm al-Sheikh Fact-Finding Committee in the Middle East. During his sojourn to the Middle East, Mitchell highlighted the problems caused by Israel's settlements in the West Bank, and the Palestinians' inability to foil terrorist activity launched from their areas of control.

During 2006–2007, Mitchell served as head of an investigative committee that sought to evaluate the past and present use of performance-enhancing drugs by Major League Baseball (MLB) players. He had been handpicked by MLB commissioner Bud Selig. Mitchell conducted a methodical investigation that captured

national headlines. The committee's December 2007 report, known as the Mitchell Report, named 89 players—both past and current MLB members—who were believed to have used steroids and other illegal drugs while they played. In the meantime, Mitchell served on numerous boards of directors and was named chief executive officer of the Walt Disney Company in 2004.

In January 2009, President Obama named Mitchell as his special envoy to the Middle East. He was charged with restarting the Israeli-Palestinian peace process and evaluating the results of Israel's incursion into Gaza, which had begun in December 2008. He reported directly to Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton. Mitchell seemed well placed for the difficult task that lay ahead of him, given his past track record as an impartial arbiter and peacemaker. Indeed, his past criticisms of both Israel and the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) lent credence to the claim that he would bring a fresh and unbiased approach to the Middle East peace process.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Clinton, Hillary Rodham; Iran-Contra Affair; Obama, Barack Hussein, II

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Mitchell, George, with William S. Cohen. *Men of Zeal: A Candid Inside Story of the Iran Contra Hearings.* New York: Viking, 1988.

Mitterrand, François

Birth Date: October 26, 1916
Death Date: January 8, 1996

French political leader and president of France (1981–1995). Born in the town of Jarnac near Cognac (Charente), France, on October 26, 1916, François Mitterrand studied at the Sorbonne and the École Libre des Sciences Politiques in Paris, earning degrees in law and political science. Mitterrand began his military service in 1938 and was a sergeant when World War II began. Wounded in May 1940 during the Campaign for France, he was taken prisoner by the Germans, but after several attempts escaped at the end of 1941. He then made his way to Vichy, where he found a position on the Commission for War Prisoners. In 1943 he joined the Resistance, claiming that Vichy's anti-Semitism left him no choice. Under the nom de guerre of Morland, Mitterrand became a Resistance leader.

After the war Mitterrand founded and headed an organization of former prisoners and deportees. He also took up journalism and politics, joining the small centrist Democratic and Socialist Union of the Resistance (UDSR). Although he lost his first election attempt in 1946, shortly thereafter he won election to the Chamber of Deputies from Nièvre in Burgundy, holding that seat until 1958. In 1947 he became the youngest cabinet minister in a century as minister of veterans' affairs. He went on to serve in 11 different governments during the Fourth Republic as minister of overseas territories (1950–1951), of the interior (1954–1955), and of justice (1956–1957). After 1953 he also headed the UDSR.

Mitterrand's service in so many different cabinets earned him the reputation of a political opportunist, but he opposed the return to power of Charles de Gaulle in 1958. Mitterrand failed to win election in 1958, but the next year he was elected both to the Senate and as mayor of Château-Chinon in Burgundy. He won election to the National Assembly in 1962 and thereafter until 1981.

Mitterrand ran unsuccessfully for the French presidency in 1965 as the candidate of the moderate Left and secured communist support in the second round of balloting. He then capitalized on his strong election showing to organize the Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left (FGDS) for the 1967 legislative elections. The FGDS included his new party, the Convention of Republican Institutions (CIR), which won 192 seats, reducing the Gaullist majority to 6 seats. However, the FGDS disintegrated in the Gaullist June 1968 landslide that followed the events of May 1968, and Mitterrand did not run for the presidency in 1969.

Mitterrand then merged his own CRI with the Socialist Party (PS) and, despite his own lack of socialist credentials, assumed the leadership of the PS in 1971. He again ran for the presidency in 1974 but lost by a single percentage point to Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. Meanwhile, in 1977 the socialists broke with the communists, enhancing Mitterrand's position as a moderate.

Mitterrand won the French presidential election of May 1981, ending 23 years of conservative rule. He then called a general election in which the PS won an absolute majority in the new assembly. As president, Mitterrand carried out a sweeping legislative agenda. He nationalized major industries and financial institutions; raised worker benefits and reduced the workweek to 36 hours; increased the minimum wage and benefits for single mothers, retirees, and the handicapped; established a ministry of women's rights; liberalized abortion rights; and abolished the death penalty. He also increased defense spending with the creation of a rapid reaction force and the modernization of the nation's nuclear strike force. France also continued nuclear testing. Sharply increased government spending, however, created great budget deficits and an economic turndown, forcing Mitterrand into an austerity program in 1982 and decreased social spending.

In foreign affairs, Mitterrand fully supported European integration. He also backed Britain in the 1982 Falklands War, and he established a close working relationship with U.S. president Ronald Reagan, despite Reagan's conservative agenda. Mitterrand's state visit to Israel in 1981 was the first by a French president.

The 1986 legislative elections produced a Gaullist majority and forced Mitterrand to name rightist Jacques Chirac as premier. The resulting cohabitation, as it came to be known for a socialist president and a Gaullist premier, worked surprisingly well and pleased the French electorate. Mitterrand concentrated on international affairs, only occasionally intervening in domestic issues. He defeated Chirac in the 1988 presidential elections, winning 54 percent of the vote.

Mitterrand concentrated on foreign policy issues, including the Maastricht Treaty, construction of the cross-channel tunnel with Britain, and full support for both the 1991 Persian Gulf War, in which French military forces participated, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) intervention in Bosnia. His second presidential term also brought scandal, including fresh controversies over his wartime record and revelations of a daughter by a longtime mistress. Consumed by cancer, Mitterrand resigned the presidency in May 1995. He died in Paris on January 8, 1996.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Chirac, Jacques René; France, Middle East Policy; France, Role in Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Reagan, Ronald Wilson

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Mohammed, Khalid Sheikh

Birth Date: March 1, 1964, or April 14, 1965

Al Qaeda terrorist and operative who played a major role in the planning and execution of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States. Khalid Sheikh Mohammed was born either on March 1, 1964, or April 14, 1965, to a religious family in Kuwait, although he traces his ethnic origins to the Baluchistan region of Pakistan. He studied mechanical engineering in the United States at North Carolina Agricultural and Technological State University, from which he graduated in 1986. The next year, Mohammed joined his brother Zahid in Peshawar, Pakistan, where he took an assignment performing administrative tasks for Abdullah Azzam, the leader of the Maktab al-Khidimat (Jihad Service Bureau). There he became acquainted with Ayman al-Zawahiri and Azzam's protégé, Osama bin Laden, who financed the bureau's operations in Afghanistan.

Following the final Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989, Mohammed's terrorist activities were limited until he learned of his nephew Ramzi Ahmed Yousef's plans to attack the United States. In the early 1990s Omar Abdel Rahman, known as the "blind Sheikh" and as a spiritual guide to the Islamic Jihad movement, settled in Brooklyn, New York, and became imam of three mosques in the New York City area. A follower of Rahman, Yousef was involved in the bombing of the World Trade Center in February 1993. Mohammed wired Yousef $600 for his role in the attack.

Following the 1993 bombing, Mohammed and Yousef traveled to the Philippines to collaborate on the so-called Bojinka Plot, in which Mohammed proposed hijacking twelve U.S. airliners and destroying them over the Pacific Ocean during a two-day period. Both Mohammed and Yousef secured and prepared the explosives to destroy the aircraft, and succeeded in blowing up a Philippine Airlines aircraft flying between Manila and Tokyo. Yousef was arrested by Pakistani authorities in an Al Qaeda safe house after Philippine military officials discovered his bomb-making facilities. Mohammed, however, eluded capture and fled to Afghanistan while Yousef was extradited to the United States. In 1997 Yousef was convicted for his role in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing and the Bojinka Plot.

In Afghanistan Mohammed met with bin Laden and outlined his plans for multiple terror attacks against the United States. According to Mohammed's testimony, bin Laden was initially unconvinced that such a plot would succeed. Following the 1998 attacks on the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, Mohammed, bin Laden, and bin Laden's confidant Muhammad Atef began planning the September 11 attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C. Initially, Mohammed's plan called for attacks on both the Eastern and Western seaboards of the United States. He later stated, however, that he wanted to strike at the economic and political centers of the United States: New York and Washington. On September 11, 2001, 19 members of Al Qaeda hijacked four U.S. airliners and crashed two of them into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York; a third crashed into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, while the fourth aircraft, the target of which was presumably either the White House or the Capitol building in Washington, D.C., crashed into a field in western Pennsylvania. In response, the United States went to war in October 2001 against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, which had harbored bin Laden and Al Qaeda. Mohammed, like the other Al Qaeda principals, initially eluded capture by the United States.

On March 1, 2003, Mohammed was arrested in Pakistan and placed in the custody of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) until his transfer to Camp Justice at Guantamano Bay, Cuba, in September 2006. According to the U.S. Department of Defense, he confessed to masterminding the September 11 attacks in addition to other activities during his Combatant Status Review Tribunal in March 2007. During the proceedings, he also admitted to having beheaded *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl in Karachi, Pakistan, with "his own right hand." It seems that Mohammed admitted to more many actions than he could have committed, however. It is also unclear to what degree his admissions were compromised by torture. The March tribunal revealed that Mohammed had been subjected to enhanced interrogation techniques, including "waterboarding," a total of 183 times.

On June 5, 2008, Mohammed faced Colonel Ralph Kohlmann, the chief judge of the military tribunals at Guantánamo Bay during the initial tribunal proceedings and rejected his military- and civilian-appointed attorneys. He informed Kohlmann that he wished to represent himself during the war crimes trial. According to the Associated Press, the judge warned Mohammed that he faced execution if convicted, to which he responded that he wanted to "die as a martyr." The Military Commissions Act of 2006 requires

that in order to be convicted and given a death sentence, a panel of at least 12 officers of the U.S. Armed Forces must unanimously concur on the death sentence and that the president of the United States must ultimately authorize it.

Ojan Aryanfard

See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Coercive Interrogation; Dar es Salaam, Bombing of U.S. Embassy; Nairobi, Kenya, Bombing of U.S. Embassy; September 11 Attacks; September 11 Commission and Report; Terrorism

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Moldova, Role in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

Former Soviet republic, independent since 1991, and now known as the Republic of Moldova. With a 2008 population of 4.342 million, Moldova covers 13,100 square miles and lies between Ukraine to the east and Romania to the west. Moldova's government is a parliamentary democracy with a president as head of state and a prime minister as head of government. The president is chosen by the legislature, and it is he who selects the prime minister, who in turn forms an executive cabinet. In recent years, two political entities have held sway in Moldova: the Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova, by far the largest, and the Party Alliance–Our Moldova, a liberal political grouping.

Although closely tied to Russia in the postindependence era, Moldovan political leaders did endeavor to increase economic and security ties with the West, particularly the United States. Moldova also initiated steps to increase cooperation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), including joining the alliance's Partnership-for-Peace program in 1994 and launching a partnership action plan to better ensure interoperability between Moldovan forces and their NATO counterparts. One of the key components of the action plan has been increased training to develop a Moldovan battalion that could be used for international peacekeeping operations. In response, NATO and the United States have supported Moldovan efforts at a diplomatic solution that would lead to the withdrawal of Russian troops from the disputed Transdniestria region, where Russian forces have been stationed since a 1992 cease-fire agreement between that breakaway province and Moldova was brokered.

Moldova sharply condemned the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States and supported United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolutions that called for member states to increase their counterterrorism efforts. Moldova's government offered the U.S.-led coalition use of the country's airspace and Chisinau Airport to conduct Operation enduring freedom. Moldova also increased intelligence cooperation with NATO and the U.S.-led coalition.

Moldova also supported the U.S. effort to assemble an international coalition to overthrow the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein. At the beginning of September 2003, some six months after Operation iraqi freedom began, the Moldovan parliament approved the deployment of troops to support the U.S.-led forces in Iraq. The first Moldovan forces arrived in Iraq on September 8. The initial force included elements of an infantry platoon as well as medical and engineering personnel. Moldova maintained a small deployment of about 40 soldiers throughout its involvement in Iraq. The Moldovan troops were initially stationed with U.S. troops near Samarra, north of Baghdad. Later, units were stationed near Mosul. Moldovan soldiers typically served six-month deployments, and several units undertook multiple tours in Iraq.

Moldovan troops were sent first to Kuwait, where they underwent training and were acclimated to the conditions in the region. Subsequent deployments included ordnance disposal units and a staff contingent that was stationed in Baghdad as part of the headquarters unit of the Multi-National Force in Iraq. In addition, a Moldovan staff officer was stationed with U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) to coordinate troop rotations and deployments with the coalition. The Moldovan ordnance disposal units were highly experienced as a result of domestic operations to remove land mines and destroy ordnance left over from the 1992 Transdniestria conflict. During one six-month tour in 2005, a Moldovan unit destroyed or otherwise disposed of more than 182,000 unexploded bombs, mines, and improvised explosive devices (IEDs). In total, and including joint operations with U.S. forces, the Moldovans disposed of more than 520,000 explosives.

Moldova's final rotation of troops began in August 2008. Instead of the full six-month deployment, however, in December 2008 the government announced that it would withdraw the forces because of the improving security conditions in Iraq. No Moldovan soldiers were killed during the country's five-year involvement in Iraq.

Tom Lansford

See also

iraqi freedom, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Mongolia, Role in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

Central Asian nation covering 604,207 square miles. With a 2008 population of 2.996 million people, Mongolia is bordered by Russia to the north and the People's Republic of China to the south. Long a bastion of one-party communist rule, in 1990 an indigenous pro-democracy movement broke the back of the long-reigning Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), paving the way for a multiparty democracy. Mongolia's government is a parliamentary system in which the head of government is the prime minister. The presidency is largely symbolic, but the president does have the right to veto parliamentary legislation, which can then be overridden by a two-thirds majority in parliament. In recent years, the Mongolian political landscape has been dominated by the MPRP (socialist), the Democratic Party (social democratic), the Republican Party (centrist), and the Motherland Party (democratic-socialist).

Mongolia was able to successfully use participation in Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM to obtain security and economic assistance from the United States. The United States formally recognized Mongolia in 1987 and provided a variety of economic aid through the 1990s. When the invasion of Afghanistan (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM) began in 2001, Mongolia became a member of the U.S.-led coalition in Afghanistan. After the fall of the Taliban in December 2001, Mongolia agreed to help train the new Afghan National Army. In October 2003, a 12-member Mongolian artillery crew and its support staff were dispatched to Afghanistan. The Mongolian forces had extensive experience with the Soviet-era military equipment used by the Afghan military. Mongolia has maintained 20 to 25 troops in Afghanistan, and the soldiers serve six-month deployments.

The Mongolian government also joined the U.S.-led coalition during the Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). In April 2003, Mongolia agreed to deploy forces to Iraq, and the first contingent arrived there in August in the military's first foreign mission since 1921. Mongolia initially dispatched 170 soldiers, including infantry and engineering units. The troops were part of the Polish-led Multi-National Force and were stationed in Al Hillah, in Babil Province, at one of the coalition's largest supply bases. The troops undertook general force protection missions as well as humanitarian and reconstruction projects. Subsequent deployments were mainly infantry troops that undertook security missions. In February 2004, Mongolian sergeant Garbold Azzaya intercepted and killed a suicide bomber who was attempting to drive a vehicle, laden with explosives, onto the coalition base.

Beginning in 2006, Mongolian forces were garrisoned in Diwaniya, in Qadisiya Province. Mongolia's peak deployment was about 180 soldiers. The Mongolian troops were withdrawn in September 2008. More than 990 Mongolians served in Iraq during the country's involvement in the coalition; none suffered serious injuries or wounds.

Participation in Afghanistan and Iraq was popular among the Mongolian population and the country's political leadership. Following elections in 2006, which were won by the opposition MPRP, the new government maintained the country's commitment to the U.S.-led coalitions. In return for its alliance with the United States, Mongolia received a variety of direct and indirect benefits. For instance, prior to their deployment, some Mongolian units participated in military maneuvers and training exercises in the United States. Furthermore, during their service in Iraq, Mongolian troops were provided new military equipment by the United States, including uniforms, weaponry, and communications equipment. Mongolia also received $14.5 million from the United States to upgrade and modernize its small, 15,000-member military establishment. In addition, in 2007, under the Millennium Challenge Compact, the United States pledged $285 million in new economic assistance over a five-year period. Significantly, many of the units that were deployed in Iraq subsequently joined United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations in Kosovo, Sierra Leone, and the Western Sahara. The UN also converted a former military base in Mongolia into a training center for multilateral peacekeeping missions in Asia.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Keegan, John. *The Iraq War: The Military Offensive, from Victory in 21 Days to the Insurgent Aftermath.* New York: Vintage, 2005.

Monsoor, Michael Anthony

Birth Date: April 5, 1981
Death Date: September 29, 2006

U.S. Navy SEAL and posthumous Medal of Honor recipient. Born in Long Beach, California, on April 5, 1981, Michael Anthony Monsoor graduated from Garden Grove High School, in Garden Grove, California, in 1999. Enlisting in the U.S. Navy in March 2001, Monsoor attended Basic Training at the Recruit Training Command, Great Lakes, Illinois. Forced to drop out of Basic Underwater Demolition/SEAL (BUD/S) training because of an injury, Monsoor reentered that program and in September 2004 graduated as one of the top members of his class. He then completed the Basic Airborne School; cold weather training in Kodiak, Alaska; and, in March 2004, SEAL Qualification Training at Coronado, California. Master-at-Arms Monsoor was then assigned to SEAL Team 3.

Seal Team 3 arrived in Ramadi, Iraq, in April 2006. There, Monsoor was regularly on patrol and involved in frequent clashes with Iraqi insurgents. Monsoor was awarded a Silver Star for an action on May 9, 2006, in which he braved insurgent fire to rescue a wounded comrade.

On September 29 Monsoor was manning a machine gun with three SEAL and several Iraqi Army snipers assigned to a rooftop sniper detail when they became engaged in a firefight with insurgents, killing several. Fighting continued, and the sniper element came under insurgent small-arms and rocket-propelled grenade attack. An insurgent from an unseen location then hurled a grenade on the roof. It bounced off Monsoor's body. As the only member of the detail to have easy access to an escape route, he might have saved himself but instead yelled "Grenade!" and covered the explosive device with his own body. Monsoor was badly wounded in the blast seconds later; although soon evacuated, he died 30 minutes later.

On March 31, 2008, Master-at-Arms Second Class Michael Monsoor was awarded the Medal of Honor for his selfless action in saving the lives of several of his colleagues. President George W. Bush presented the award to his family at the White House on April 8. Monsoor was the first navy recipient of the Medal of Honor for the Iraq War and the third member of the U.S. armed forces to receive the medal for Iraq. In October the Navy Department announced that the DDG-1001, the second ship in the Zumwalt-class of destroyers, would be named in Monsoor's honor.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also
Bush, George Walker

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Monti, Jared Christopher
Birth Date: September 20, 1975
Death Date: June 21, 2006

U.S. soldier and posthumous recipient of the Medal of Honor. Born in Abington, Massachusetts, on September 20, 1975, Jared Christopher Monti grew up in Raynham, Massachusetts. He enlisted in the army in March 1993 and graduated from Bridgewater-Raynham High School in 1994. Monti attended both basic and advanced training at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. He also received artillery observer training and earned the Parachutist Badge and Air Assault Badge. Monti saw overseas service in the Republic of Korea and in Kosovo. In February 2006, Monti was assigned to Afghanistan as a targeting noncommissioned officer in the 3rd Squadron, 71st Cavalry Regiment, 3rd Brigade Combat Team of the 10th Mountain Division (Light Infantry) stationed at Fort Drum, New York. On June 21, 2006, Staff Sergeant Monti was the assistant leader of a 16-man reconnaissance force that came under fire in the mountainous area near Gowardesh, Nuristan Province. In the ensuing firefight, two of the members of Monti's unit were separated from the rest, and both were wounded. Monti dragged one to safety under fire. He returned to assist the other wounded soldier but was killed by a rocket-propelled grenade. Monti was posthumously promoted to sergeant first class.

Monti was the second U.S. service member to be awarded the Medal of Honor for actions in Afghanistan, and Monti's medal is the sixth for service in either Iraq or Afghanistan. All six Medals of Honor have been posthumous awards.

President Barack Obama signed the award in July 2009 and presented the Medal of Honor to Monti's parents in a White House ceremony on September 17, 2009.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also
Obama, Barack Hussein, II

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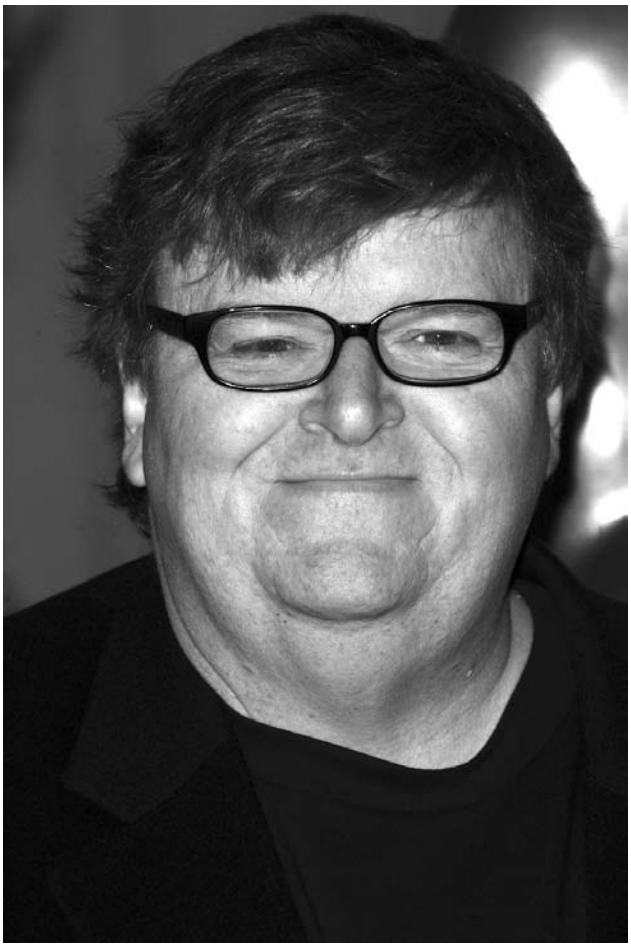
Moore, Michael
Birth Date: April 23, 1954

Controversial American author, film director, and outspoken opponent of the Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). Born in Flint, Michigan, into a working-class family on April 23, 1954, Michael Moore briefly attended the University of Michigan–Flint. Moore founded the *Flint Voice,* a liberal weekly magazine, in 1976.

In 1986, Moore moved to California and became the editor of *Mother Jones,* a liberal political magazine with more than 250,000 paid subscribers. More worked for *Mother Jones* for just a few months. His personality and tactics clashed with many members of the magazine's staff, and he was fired in the autumn of 1986. Moore later sued the magazine for wrongful dismissal. He accepted a settlement of $58,000, which helped fund his first film, *Roger & Me* (1989). This film, which is critical of the neoliberal economic model of development, examines the impact of General Motors' decision to close its Flint, Michigan, plant, where many of Moore's family members had worked, and move its operations to Mexico. "Roger" was Roger Smith, chief operating officer of General Motors.

Moore also directed *Bowling for Columbine* (2002), which explores the culture of guns and violence in the United States, especially in the public school system. He is, however, best known for *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004), a film that is sharply critical of the George W. Bush administration's war on terrorism and U.S. involvement in the Middle East, especially the March 2003 invasion of Iraq.

The film's title alludes to *Fahrenheit 451,* a science-fiction book by author Ray Bradbury, who objected to the hijacking of his book's title. The analogy between 451°F, the temperature at which paper



American filmmaker Michael Moore. An outspoken liberal political activist, Moore produced *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004), a film that is sharply critical of the George W. Bush administration's war on terrorism and U.S. involvement in the Middle East. (Shutterstock)

combusts, and "Fahrenheit 9/11," the "temperature" at which, according to Moore, "freedom burns," is endemic of Moore's wit. For the first time since 1956, a documentary film, *Fahrenheit 9/11,* won the Palme d'Or, the main prize at the Cannes Film Festival in France. Moore had hoped that the release of the film prior to the 2004 presidential election would dissuade voters from reelecting President Bush to a second term in office. Although the film was much talked about and grossed more money than any other documentary in history, Moore failed in his aim of preventing Bush's reelection.

Moore's documentary style, which follows an involved, essayed format and frequently employs tinges of humor, often reveals as much about Moore and his opinions as about the subject of his film. Although many film critics have praised Moore's approach, traditional documentary directors, who prefer a more observational style of filmmaking, have criticized it. Perhaps most controversial is Moore's commentary on U.S. involvement in Iraq. In books, interviews, and films, he characterized Iraqi militant opponents of the U.S. military occupation as "freedom fighters" and predicted that they would eventually be successful. Whether one agrees with Moore or not, there can be little doubt that his *Fahrenheit 9/11* documentary provoked much debate over decision-making that some would have preferred to keep under wraps.

In 2007, Moore continued his documentary-film career by producing *Sicko,* a film about the poor state of the American health care industry. Released at the Cannes Film Festival in May 2007, *Sicko* offered a stinging indictment of the U.S. pharmaceutical industry and managed care system, claiming that their quest for profits and political clout has made them unresponsive to the very public whom they are charged to serve. Moore later came under fire when it was discovered that a portion of the film had been shot in Cuba, which might have violated the long-standing trade embargo against that island nation.

Michael R. Hall

See also

Bush, George Walker; *Fahrenheit 9/11*; Iraqi Freedom, Operation; September 11 Attacks

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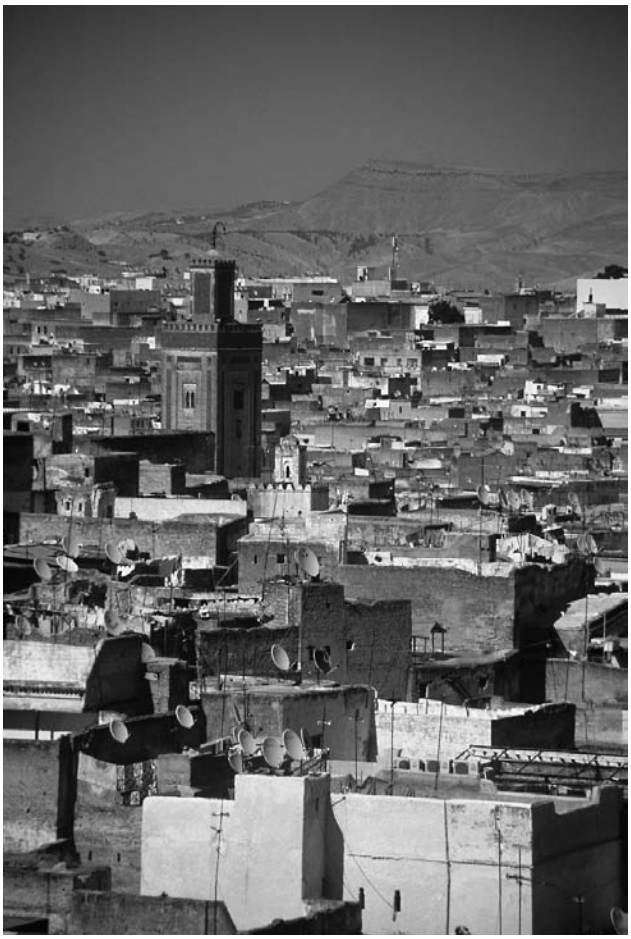
Morocco

Northwest African nation. The Kingdom of Morocco borders on the Mediterranean Sea to the north, the Atlantic Ocean to the west, Western Sahara to the south, and Algeria to the east. Morocco has an area of 172,414 square miles, slightly larger than the U.S. state of California. The nation's current population is approximately 33 million people.

Morocco has been influenced by European, African, and Arab-Islamic influences in combination with its native Berber and Arab population. From 1912 to 1956, Morocco was both a French and Spanish protectorate. France granted independence to Morocco in 1956, although Spain continued to control the Western Sahara region until the mid-1970s and still retains the small enclaves of Cuenta and Melilla along the Mediterranean coast.

When the State of Israel was founded in May 1948, Morocco, like other countries in the Maghreb, was confronted with the considerable problem of Jewish emigration, which was to continue for the next several decades. From 1947 to 1960, approximately 50,000 Jews, or 25 percent of the Jewish population of Morocco, left the country, most to settle in Israel but some in Europe and the United States. Although most émigrés were poor or middle-class, Jews were an important part of the country's economy. Unlike many other Arab nations, the Moroccan government has maintained relatively amiable contacts with Israel since the early 1950s, although the Moroccan population is deeply opposed to Israeli policies. Neither the king, Mohammed V, nor the ruling Istiqlal Party were anti-Jewish, and many members of the country's elite were Jewish, including judges, government ministers, and university



View of Fez (Fes), the third-largest city in Morocco, 2009. (Stephan Scherhag/Dreamstime.com)

administrators. While Morocco attempted to limit Jewish emigration in opposition to the desires of the United Nations (UN) and the United States, this process nevertheless continued, frequently with the covert involvement of Israeli military forces. In 2006 the Jewish population in Morocco was estimated to be only 5,000 people.

In March 1961, Crown Prince Moulay Hassan succeeded his father, Mohammed V, as King Hassan II. He ruled for the next four decades until his death in July 1999. The king was both the nation's spiritual leader, as a direct descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, and its political head of government. Hassan, while lacking the charisma and unifying ability of his father, was nonetheless an effective leader, able to balance relations with the West, whose economic and political aid helped modernize his country, and the Middle East, whose Islamic heritage was his basis for power.

Morocco was essentially kept isolated from the June 1967 Six-Day War, although the relationship between Israel and Morocco was tested when Morocco provided military support to Syria during the October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War. In October 1976 Morocco hosted a meeting with Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin. The following year Morocco hosted another meeting between Israeli foreign minister Moshe Dayan and Egyptian deputy prime minister Hasan Tuhami. To strengthen his position in the wake of political and military opponents of his centralized authority, Hassan embarked on an effort to secure the Western Sahara, which he claimed had historically been part of Morocco, after its abandonment by Spain in 1975. To allay widespread international criticism, Moroccan officials and a delegation of Moroccan Jews visited the United States in 1978 to win support for the movement among allies of Israel in the U.S. Congress.

Domestically, efforts were made to improve the social and economic disparity between urban and rural populations, education, health care, and communications. Under Hassan's rule, however, the Moroccan countryside grew ever poorer and was depopulated of men who immigrated to Spain, Italy, and elsewhere. Extreme disparities in income and literacy remain.

In the 1980s Hassan worked to secure Arab recognition of Israel and an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict. In November 1981 and again in September 1982 he hosted an Arab summit to address conflicts in the region through a Saudi-sponsored peace plan. The plan called for the Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories and the establishment of a Palestinian state. In July 1986 he held two days of talks on continued Palestinian issues with Israeli prime minister Shimon Peres. Hassan also sought to improve relationships among other Arab states. In 1984 he organized the Islamic Congress of Casablanca and created the Arabic-African Union with Libya. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Morocco aligned itself squarely with the United States and sent troops to defend Saudi Arabia.

Morocco expressed agreement with the principles of the 1993 Oslo Accords and received Israeli prime minister Rabin and Foreign Minister Peres in Casablanca following the signing ceremony in Washington, D.C. On September 1, 1994, Morocco and Israel established semiofficial diplomatic relations with the opening of liaison offices in Jerusalem and Rabat. These offices served to promote tourism and trade between the two countries, an issue of great economic importance to Morocco. They remained open for eight years but closed following the Palestinian uprising in 2002.

Rising extremist Islamist and salafist groups posed difficult challenges for Morocco in the late 1980s and early 1990s and continue under the leadership of Hassan's son and successor, King Mohammed VI. Severe government countermeasures including torture have not seriously weakened these movements, and indeed have spurred them to revenge. Mohammed VI voiced his firm support of the War on Terror following the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States, and in 2004 his government signed free-trade pacts with both the European Union and the United States. On May 16, 2003, 12 suicide bombers of Salafiyya Jihadiyya, an offshoot of the Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group and similar to the Al Qaeda organization, killed 45 people in Casablanca in five separate bombings. Although the attack on the Jewish Sabbath ultimately killed no Jews, the targets included a Jewish social club and restaurant, a Jewish cemetery, and a Jewish-owned Italian restaurant. The Moroccan government subsequently passed a stringent antiterrorism law that saw the arrests of hundreds of suspected

terrorists during 2004 and 2005. Some human rights groups have criticized the crackdown, however, as they point to human rights abuses and the problem of further radicalizing the movement.

For the immediate future, it appears that domestic issues, rather than foreign policy, will continue to be the focus of the Moroccan monarchy. Other challenges facing the nation include continued fighting in Western Sahara, reducing constraints on private activity and foreign trade, increasing democracy, and achieving sustainable economic growth. Recently, the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C., lauded Morocco's efforts to undertake important political and economic reforms, citing it as an example that other Middle Eastern nations should emulate.

MARK SANDERS

See also

Al Qaeda; Global War on Terror; Islamic Radicalism; Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty

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Moseley, Teed Michael
Birth Date: 1949

U.S. Air Force officer and chief of staff of the U.S. Air Force (2005–2008). Teed Michael Moseley (known as T. Michael Moseley) was born in 1949 in Grand Prairie, Texas. He graduated from Texas A&M University in 1971. He joined the air force that same year, and the following year earned a master's degree in political science, also from Texas A&M.

From 1973 to 1977, Moseley was stationed at Webb Air Force Base, Texas. From 1977 to 1979, he was an instructor for the McDonnell Douglas/Boeing F-15 Eagle. He accrued over 2,800 flight hours as a command pilot. Moseley subsequently held a series of command posts, including the 33rd Operations Group and the 57th Wing, the largest in the U.S. Air Force; and commander of the Ninth Air Force and then the U.S. Central Command Air Forces (the latter from November 2001 to August 2003).

Moseley's staff assignments included operational, joint, and personnel positions. Among them was service in Washington, D.C., as director for legislative liaison for the secretary of the air force; deputy director for politico-military affairs for Asia/Pacific and Middle East, in the office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; chief of the Air Force General Officer Matters Office; chair and professor of joint and combined warfare at the National War College; chief of the tactical fighter branch, tactical forces division; and directorate of plans, Headquarters U.S. Air Force.

Moseley was promoted to brigadier general on December 1, 1996, and to major general on February 1, 2000. On November 7, 2001, he was promoted to lieutenant general. He was promoted to general (four stars) on October 1, 2003.

Beginning in August 2003, Moseley served as vice chief of staff of the air force. Two years later, in September 2005, he moved up to the position of chief of staff. Moseley's tenure as chief of staff engendered much controversy, which ultimately led to his resignation in July 2008.

Two incidents concerning the mishandling of nuclear weapons, which occurred on his watch, were the most serious issues. The first involved the mistaken shipment of nuclear warhead fuses to Taiwan in 2006. The mistake was never caught by the air force; instead, Taipei brought it to the U.S. government's attention and shipped the fuses back in early 2008. The revelation was a major embarrassment to the United States and caused consternation in Beijing.

In August 2007, six nuclear-tipped cruise missiles were unwittingly loaded onto a Boeing B-52 Stratofortress in North Dakota. The bomber was then flown across much of the continent to Barksdale Air Force Base, Louisiana. Compounding the miscue was the fact that the six nuclear missiles were not reported missing for almost 36 hours and remained mounted under the wing of the aircraft. The mistake raised serious issues of control of U.S. nuclear weapons, and while it was unlikely that the bombs would have detonated, the incident egregiously broke air force regulations, which forbid the overflight of the United States with any aircraft equipped with nuclear devices. A wide-ranging investigation followed, and Moseley was compelled to resign because the security breaches had occurred during his command tenure. The U.S. media reported that the August 2007 incident was among the worst breaches of security involving nuclear weapons in the 60-year history of the air force. Moseley retired from the air force on July 11, 2008.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

United States Air Force, Iraq War; United States Central Command

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Mosul

Iraq's third largest city, Mosul is located on the west bank of the Tigris River, some 250 miles north of Baghdad. Mosul's 2008 population was estimated at about 1.8 million; only Baghdad and Basra are larger. The city was the site of the Battle of Mosul (November 8–16, 2004). Muslin, a finely woven cotton fabric, was once produced in the city in great quantities, and it may have been named for Mawsil, the French version of the town's Arabic name.

This predominantly Kurdish city is the hub of both Iraq's oil and domestic electricity production and was the scene of ongoing

Soldiers of the U.S. Army's 1st Battalion of the 24th Infantry Division on patrol in Mosul, Iraq, January 15, 2005. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Arabization efforts by Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's Baath Party. Mosul's Kurdish majority proved to be the stumbling block in the U.S. and Turkish negotiations prior to the March 2003 invasion of Iraq. The Battle of Mosul in 2004 was one of the last steps in the Anglo-American–led fight for control of Iraq during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

Mosul is built on a site rich in Assyrian history. The city is located where, in 850 BCE, King Assurnasirpal II of Assyria chose to build Nineveh where the city of Nimrud had been located. Later, in 700 BCE, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, made Nineveh the capital of Assyria. After changing hands a number of times over the next few hundred years, the city remained a critical trade center because of its position on key trade routes. Mosul would remain a critical part of the trade route until the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The discovery of oil and the construction of the Qyurrah refinery in the 1920s led to Mosul's return to strategic and economic importance.

In 1958 Abd al-Karim Qasim, as a part of his plan to integrate non-Arab ethnic groups into Iraqi cities, began encouraging Kurds to relocate to Mosul. Hussein and his Baath Party undertook an aggressive plan to Arabize Mosul, however, and many of those Kurds who had survived the Arabization returned to traditionally Kurdish regions either by choice or by force. After the overthrow of Hussein in March 2003, some Iraqi Kurds have called for Mosul to be included in the Kurdish regional government. These displays of Kurdish nationalism have angered Sunni Arabs and certainly soured U.S.-Turkish relations.

In 2003 the United States had planned to launch an arm of its invasion into Iraq from bases in Turkey, with the goal of quickly securing the oil fields at Mosul. Because of questions about the disposition of the Kurds, however, the Turks refused to allow the Americans to stage any part of the invasion from Turkish soil. Therefore, instead of being secured in the initial hours of the war, Mosul was not taken until April 11, 2003, two days after the fall of Baghdad, when Kurdish fighters assumed control after Hussein's forces abandoned the town. After days of looting and fighting between Kurds and Arabs, the Kurds relinquished control of the city to U.S. troops.

Mosul was also the scene of the shoot-out between Hussein's sons Uday and Qusay and coalition troops on July 22, 2003, in which both men were killed. In November 2004, after insurgents conducted coordinated attacks on Iraqi police installations, the Mosul police fled the city. This precipitated the Battle of Mosul, in which U.S. and Iraqi forces together with Kurdish fighters retook the city on November 16.

Since the Battle of Mosul, the city has been plagued by violence and disorder. In December 2004 a suicide bomber killed scores of people, including 14 U.S. soldiers and 4 Halliburton employees.

In 2005 an Iraqi government official was assassinated in the city. Ethnic and sectarian violence in Mosul increased sharply between 2005 and 2007, and the city's buildings and infrastructure have been in increasingly poor repair. In January 2008 another suicide bombing leveled an apartment building in Mosul, killing 36 people; the following day, the city's police chief was assassinated. The continuing unrest has coincided with a large exodus of middle-class and professionals from the city, only complicating the situation in Mosul. In May 2008 the Iraqi army, with U.S. support, launched a major campaign to bring law and order back to Mosul. A 2009 investigation concluded that more than 2,500 Kurds had been killed in the city since 2003.

B. Keith Murphy

See also

Baath Party; Hussein, Qusay; Hussein, Saddam; Hussein, Uday; Iraqi Freedom, Operation; Kurds; Mosul, Battle of; Qasim, Abd al-Karim; Turkey, Role in Persian Gulf and Afghanistan Wars

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Mosul, Battle of

Start Date: November 8, 2004
End Date: November 16, 2004

Pitched battle fought in the city of Mosul, located in northern Iraq some 250 miles northwest of Baghdad, during November 8–16, 2004. The battle involved the United States Army 1st Battalion, 24th Infantry Regiment, Iraqi Security Forces (Iraqi police, Iraqi Army, Iraqi National Guard, and Iraqi Border Patrol), and Kurdish Peshmerga fighting Iraqi insurgents (former Baath Party members, fundamentalist factions with ties to the Al Qaeda in Iraq organization, and fighters from other "extremist" groups). The Battle of Mosul was brought on as much by political expediency as it was by the need to protect civilians from harassment by the insurgents. It ended in a clear-cut victory for coalition forces.

The Battle of Mosul occurred simultaneously with another furious battle between coalition forces and insurgents in Fallujah. The Second Battle of Fallujah (November 7–23, 2004) drew insurgents and foreign fighters in droves. The coalition responded to the insurgent attacks with overwhelming force, which included recalling Lieutenant General David Petraeus and the 101st Airborne Division to Fallujah. The 101st had been maintaining a peaceful occupation of the primarily Sunni Mosul for the preceding year. Coalition troops took little time to rout the insurgency, and the surviving insurgents fled Fallujah. A number of them then went to Mosul.

The 25th Infantry Division was deployed to Mosul in mid-October 2004 to replace the 101st Airborne. This was approximately the same time that displaced insurgents began arriving from Fallujah. The insurgents announced their arrival with an enormous wave of kidnappings and beheadings that left more than 200 of Mosul's residents dead in the streets for resisting the insurgents.

On November 8, 2004, Iraqi insurgents began to carry out coordinated attacks within Mosul. It was on this day also that the 1st Battalion, 24th Infantry Regiment reported the first major engagement of what would become the Battle of Mosul, near the Yarmuk traffic circle in the western part of the city. Soldiers of the regiment were pinned down by coordinated mortar fire from the north and were being pounded from the other three directions by rocket-propelled grenades (RPG) and machine gun fire in a daylong firefight.

The insurgents also used this opening day of the battle to overrun two Iraqi police stations. The insurgents then cleaned out the station armories, taking weapons and flak jackets, and killed a dozen Iraqi policemen. The western media reported that the majority of the policemen had deserted their posts after reporting attacks by "hundreds" of insurgents against their stations. However, when the Americans retook the stations, they estimated that only 20–30 insurgents had taken each station.

On November 9, insurgents successfully attacked a Forward Operating Base in Mosul, killing two American army officers. By November 10, Iraqi insurgents were openly taking to the streets in defiance of coalition forces, and by November 11 they had taken another Iraqi police station and destroyed two others. The time had come for a coalition counteroffensive.

Members of the U.S. 24th Infantry Regiment were sent out in an effort to crush the insurgents between two companies. The blow was aimed, again, at the strategically critical Yarmuk traffic circle. The 24th encountered fierce resistance as it pushed from house to house in close-quarter urban fighting. Yet with air support, the 24th was able to regain control of four of the five bridges over the Tigris River.

In the meantime, the insurgents sacked nine more police stations, destroying eight and occupying the ninth. On November 12, additional insurgent reinforcements arrived and, despite U.S. Air Force bombing, by November 13 insurgent forces held as much as 70 percent of Mosul. The insurgents became so secure in their military superiority that they began seeking out members of the Iraqi Security Forces to behead.

Coalition reinforcements began to arrive by November 13, including a battalion of the U.S. 25th Infantry Regiment, a group of Kurdish Peshmerga fighters, and elements of the Iraqi Special Forces and National Guard. On November 16 U.S. forces retook the fifth insurgent-held bridge over the Tigris and began to sweep through all of Mosul except for the western sector. The Americans met little resistance, but the insurgents burned many of the police stations they had occupied. By November 16, the major fighting was over. The western sector of Mosul, however, would remain in insurgent hands until another coalition surge involving an influx of 12,000 troops arrived in December and January 2005. This was timed to secure Mosul for Iraq's first democratic elections in January.

The coalition official casualty report for the Battle of Mosul was 4 U.S. soldiers killed, 9 Peshmerga fighters killed, and 116 Iraqi Security Forces killed (as many as 5,000 are believed to have deserted). Total losses for insurgents are unknown, although 71 were confirmed killed. Also, 5 civilians were reported killed, as were 2 contractors (1 British and 1 Turkish). Precise casualty figures, including the number of wounded, remain unknown, and some estimates claim much higher death tolls for both the civilians and insurgents.

The importance of the battle could be measured by the fact that, although there were mass desertions of Iraqi police and security forces targeted by insurgents, a sense of esprit de corps and pride among Iraqi forces developed, which had been sorely lacking before the event. In turn, the police and the security forces became better equipped to handle the insurgency, and the Iraqi citizenry gained trust in them, which led to the citizenry providing more information to coalition forces regarding insurgent activity. The terrorist tactics employed by the insurgents in the battle backfired. However, Mosul remained one of the most violent places in Iraq as of the spring of 2009.

B. Keith Murphy

See also

Fallujah; Fallujah, Second Battle of; Iraqi Insurgency; Mosul; Petraeus, David Howell

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"Mother of All Battles"

Expression employed by Iraqi president Saddam Hussein to describe the impending 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM). As early as September 1990, just weeks after he sent his forces into Kuwait, Hussein began preparing his people for potential war with the United States, exhorting them that "this battle will become the mother of all battles." On January 17, 1991, as U.S. bombers were about to begin the air campaign against Iraq, Hussein calmly informed his people that the "mother of all battles has begun."

In resorting to such terminology, Hussein was simply using the forms of rhetoric important in Iraqi Arabic and that had been his stock and trade throughout his career. The Arabic expression *umm al-ma'arik* ("mother of all battles") is a metaphoric reference to the 636 CE Battle of al-Qadisiyyah (in present-day Iraq) in which Islamic Arabs united to win their first decisive battle against the Sassanian (Persian) Army. The phrase figuratively means "major" or "best." It is also important to note that the Qur'an is known as *umm al Kitab,* or "the mother of all books." Here, "mother" metaphorically means "origin."

Thus, Hussein's rallying cry called up powerful images from both religious and cultural history for the Iraqis. The term was quickly spread by the Iraqi government as a catchphrase in a grand propaganda scheme, which renamed the governmental-run radio station "the Mother of All Battles Radio."

After the rapid disintegration of the Iraqi military in February 1991, the United States was quick to turn the Iraqi ideological archetype into a symbol that served to reinforce the image of the overwhelming military might of the U.S.-led military coalition. In February 1991 Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney was quoted as saying, "It looks like what's happened is that the mother of all battles has turned into the mother of all retreats." The catchphrase entered American popular culture as well. U.S. general H. Norman Schwarzkopf's press conferences were known as "the mother of all press conferences," a 1991 war game based on the Persian Gulf War was titled "The Mother of All Battles," and in 2003, a three-quarter-ton bomb tested for the U.S. Air Force was nicknamed the "Mother of All Bombs," just in time for the Anglo-American–led war against Iraq.

Yet for Iraqis, the phrase continues to have meaning. In 2001, before his capture, Hussein unveiled the "Mother of All Battles" Mosque just outside Baghdad, which featured a Qur'an supposedly written with Hussein's own blood. *Umm al-ma'arik* is also said to be a battle cry among the Iraqi insurgents who continue to oppose the U.S. forces there. For some, the "mother of all battles" still rages.

B. Keith Murphy

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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MOUNTAIN THRUST, Operation
Start Date: June 14, 2006
End Date: July 31, 2006

A multinational, U.S.-led coalition campaign against the Taliban and Al Qaeda in southern Afghanistan from June 14 to July 31, 2006. By the spring of 2006, the Taliban and allied foreign fighters had dramatically increased attacks against Afghan national targets and coalition forces in southern Afghanistan. Coalition military leaders thus decided to undertake a large offensive against the rebels to destroy their growing network of compounds and to

disrupt supply routes from Pakistan. Operation MOUNTAIN THRUST was the largest coalition campaign in Afghanistan since the initial 2001 invasion and was centered on the provinces of Helmand and Uruzgan. The principal objective of MOUNTAIN THRUST was to pacify the provinces so that they might be turned over to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)–led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) to begin major reconstruction efforts.

Coalition forces included some 11,500 troops from the United States, Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, Romania, the United Kingdom, and the Afghan National Army. The largest contributors were the Afghans, with 3,500 troops; followed by the British, with 3,300; the United States, with 2,300; and Canada, with 2,200. Coalition forces ranged from special operations forces to mechanized units to infantry. The forces were initially brought into the country through Bagram Air Base and Kandahar and then moved south. Coordinating the movement was a monumental task as logistics planners had to integrate transport from several different nations. U.S. logistics transported food, medicine, and other supplies to allow individual national assets to concentrate on the supply of ammunition and troops. Opposing the coalition were an estimated 2,500 chiefly Taliban insurgents who had spent the previous winter and spring rearming and preparing defensive encampments.

Operation MOUNTAIN THRUST began on June 14 with the insertion of special operations forces and targeted air strikes. Ground operations on June 15 resulted in 40 Taliban killed and 12 captured. Three days later U.S. forces were inserted in the Baghran Valley in Helmand Province to disrupt a major Taliban supply route. The U.S. outpost faced a series of Taliban attacks but was able to repel the insurgents through concentrated fire and air support. Throughout the campaign, the Taliban repeatedly launched aggressive attacks and counterattacks on coalition forces. They also frequently conducted mortar and rocket attacks on coalition forces under the cover of darkness and began to use improvised explosive devices and land mines extensively on roadways and trails. In a major counterattack toward the end of the operation in July, Taliban forces were able to seize two towns in Helmand from Afghan forces. Both were subsequently recaptured by coalition forces.

During the operation, more than 1,100 insurgents were killed and 387 others captured. Coalition forces destroyed dozens of compounds and seized a range of weaponry. Among those killed on the allied side were 24 U.S. troops, 4 Canadians, and 107 soldiers of the Afghan National Army. Following MOUNTAIN THRUST, which officially ended on July 31, the United States transferred control of Helmand Province to the ISAF. However, the Taliban regrouped and launched a new round of attacks the following year.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; Al Qaeda; International Security Assistance Force; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan; Taliban; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

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Moussaoui, Zacarias
Birth Date: May 30, 1968

One of several individuals accused of being the "twentieth member" of the suicide hijacking mission of September 11, 2001, Zacarias Moussaoui (Zakariyya Musawwi) was born on May 30, 1968, in St. Jean-de-Luz, near Narbonne, France, to Moroccan parents. During Moussaoui's youth, his family moved around France before finally settling down in Narbonne. Moussaoui spent a year in an orphanage and had frequent and furious arguments with his mother, forcing him to leave home in 1986. A good student, he easily passed his vocational baccalaureate. After passing entrance exams, he opted to study mechanical and electrical engineering at a school in Perpignon. Moussaoui transferred to the University of Montpellier's Economic and Social Administration program, but he had begun to tire of school when the Persian Gulf War began in January 1991.

The plight of Iraqi civilians and Palestinians concerned Moussaoui, and he became increasingly politicized. He had experienced racism in France, and his sympathy for Muslim causes increased. While at the University of Montpellier, he came into contact with Muslim students advocating extremist Islamist views. He made a six-month visit to London in 1992, but his stay in England proved disillusioning when he claimed he found British society intolerant and class-ridden. This experience did not prevent him from returning to England, where he stayed for the next three years. He attended the South Bank University in London, studying international business. Moussaoui earned his degree in 1995 and moved back to Montpellier.

Some time during his stay in England, he was attracted to the salafi jihadist cause, perhaps by the militant Islamic teacher Abu Qatada in London. His behavior during visits to France and Morocco alarmed his family. Apparently Al Qaeda recruiters convinced him to join the terrorist group.

Between 1995 and 2001 Moussaoui's association with Al Qaeda became even closer. He received training in Afghanistan at Al Qaeda's Khaldan camp in 1998, at the same time as Muhammad Atta. Moussaoui's trainers found him enthusiastic but questioned his stability. He was finally recruited for a future suicide mission, but little evidence exists to show that it was the September 11, 2001, plot. The Al Qaeda leadership had other plans for him, and he

wanted to work on a Boeing 747 simulator, unlike the hijackers of the September 11 bombings, who trained exclusively on 757 and 767 simulators.

In the hope of becoming a pilot Moussaoui entered the United States, arriving at Chicago's O'Hare Airport on February 23, 2001, with a 90-day visa. Within days of his arrival, he began learning to fly small aircraft at the Airman Flight School in Norman, Oklahoma, but he became frustrated by his lack of progress after failing the written examination. After looking at other pilot schools, Moussaoui contacted the Pan Am International Flight Academy in Eagan, Minnesota, near Minneapolis, hoping to learn how to fly the huge Boeing 747-400. After only a few days of training in mid-August, the school's instructors became suspicious of Moussaoui, who showed more interest in flying than in either taking off or landing. He also inquired about the protocols used for communicating with flight towers and asked about cockpit doors. After a meeting of Mousaaoui's instructors, one volunteered to contact a friend in the Minneapolis Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) field office. Instead, the call went to FBI Special Agent Harry Samit, a U.S. Navy aviation veteran and small-engine pilot who was immediately suspicious of Moussaoui.

The Minneapolis FBI field office was part of the Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) system, and a brief investigation showed that Moussaoui's visa had expired on May 22, 2001. This led the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agent in the JTTF to authorize the arrest of Moussaoui on August 16, 2001. Moussaoui refused to allow the FBI agents to search his belongings but agreed to allow them to be taken to the local INS building. Because of Moussaoui's French citizenship, the FBI requested information concerning him from French authorities, who deemed Moussaoui dangerous and conveyed this to the FBI office in Minneapolis.

The Minneapolis FBI agents sought a search warrant to examine Moussaoui's belongings—in particular, his laptop computer—but ran into difficulties at FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C. FBI headquarters found insufficient cause for a criminal warrant. The agents' request for a court-issued warrant was denied because Moussaoui was not affiliated with a recognized terrorist group, even though Moussaoui had contacts with Chechen rebels and close ties to Al Qaeda.

After the September 11 attacks, the political climate changed, and Moussaoui became a key target for retribution. U.S. federal prosecutors charged Moussaoui with capital crimes, accusing him of six acts: preparing acts of terrorism, conspiracy to hijack an aircraft, destruction of an aircraft, use of weapons of mass destruction, murder of American officials, and destruction of property, even though Moussaoui had been in jail for twenty-five days when the events of September 11 occurred. Moreover, doubt still lingered about Moussaoui's role in the September 11 plot. The FBI had difficulty in proving that had Moussaoui cooperated with authorities, the September 11 attacks could have been prevented.

Nevertheless, U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft insisted that the Justice Department seek the death penalty. Opposition to this position arose within the Justice Department, because a death sentence would make plea-bargaining impossible. Although Moussaoui had information about Al Qaeda, no attempt was made to extract it from him.

Moussaoui's 2006 trial was a national event, and his irrational behavior and sudden guilty plea created even more controversy. It became apparent that Moussaoui *sought* martyrdom. During the sentencing, prosecutors argued for the death sentence, but in May 2006 a dubious jury handed him a life sentence without chance of parole instead, reflecting Moussaoui's alleged role as an Al Qaeda operative who intended to commit acts of terror rather than any action he might have taken. Moussaoui is now serving his sentence at a federal maximum-security prison.

Stephen A. Atkins

See also

Al Qaeda; September 11 Attacks

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Mubarak, Hosni

Birth Date: May 4, 1928

Egyptian Air Force air marshal and since 1981 president of Egypt. Muhammad Hosni Said Mubarak was born on May 4, 1928, in Kafr al-Musayliha, a town in the Nile River delta Egyptian governorate of Minufiyyah, where his father was an inspector in the Ministry of Justice. Mubarak graduated from the Egyptian Military Academy in 1949 and the Egyptian Air Force Academy at Bilbeis in 1950, from which he earned a degree in aviation sciences. He briefly was a fighter pilot before teaching at the Air Force Academy during 1952–1959. He continued his military training at the Soviet General Staff Academy in Moscow during 1964–1965, followed by advanced flight training at the Soviet air base at Frunze Bishkek in what was then Soviet Kyrgyzstan.

Mubarak advanced steadily in the Egyptian Air Force from pilot to instructor, squadron leader, base commander (Western Air Force Base, Cairo West Airfield), head of the Egyptian Military Delegation to the Soviet Union (1964), commandant of the Egyptian Air Force Academy (1967–1969), chief of staff of the Egyptian Air Force (1969–1972) during the War of Attrition (1967–1970), and then deputy minister of war (1972–1975). The early success

of the Egyptian Air Force in the October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War with Israel was attributed in large part to Mubarak's leadership and led to his promotion to air marshal in 1974.

In April 1975 Egyptian president Anwar Sadat appointed Mubarak as vice president. Three years later Mubarak was chosen to serve as the vice chairman of the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP). In October 1981 Sadat was assassinated by Muslim extremists. Mubarak was injured, although not seriously, in the attack. He then succeeded Sadat as president and became the chairman of the NDP.

Since the Sadat assassination, Mubarak has been elected to four additional six-year terms as Egyptian president, 1987, 1993, 1999, and 2005. Only in the 2005 elections were any other candidates allowed to run for president, and they were severely hampered by election rules. As president, Mubarak has mediated the dispute among Morocco, Algeria, and Mauritania concerning the future of Western (Spanish) Sahara, and he has maintained sufficient neutrality in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to mediate some of the elementary disputes of the Second Intifada that began in 2000. He also played a role in the bilateral agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1993 that emerged from the Oslo Accords.

Although Mubarak supports Egypt's 1979 peace treaty with Israel under the Camp David Accords, Egypt's relations with other Arab countries nevertheless improved during his presidency. These ties had been badly strained by the 1979 peace accord. In 1989 Egypt was readmitted to the Arab League after being expelled for making peace with the Israelis. Its headquarters, originally in Cairo and then moved, were also relocated to the Egyptian capital. A nongovernmental boycott of cultural, educational, and political relations with Israel continued during his presidency.

Mubarak also played a key role in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. On August 2, 1990, Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein sent his forces into Kuwait. The tiny nation was quickly overrun and occupied. After the 1990-imposed United Nations (UN) sanctions against Iraq—supported by Mubarak—failed to dislodge Iraq from Kuwait, Mubarak organized the Arab League's opposition to the invasion of Kuwait. Based largely on the Saudis' decision to allow the U.S.-led international military coalition to use their nation as a staging area, Mubarak decided to contribute approximately 38,500 troops to the coalition. Indeed, Egyptian infantry soldiers were among the first of the coalition to enter Kuwait. Mubarak certainly had no use for Hussein, whom he viewed as a threat and a potential source of regional destabilization, but he was also attracted to the Kuwaiti cause by Western incentives to join the fight. The West—with the United States in the lead—promised many coalition nations, including Egypt, significant economic assistance and debt forgiveness in return for their support and involvement in the war. After the war, Mubarak continued to support sanctions against the Hussein regime to force it to comply with UN mandates, including those relating to disarmament and weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

Egyptian president Muhammad Hosni Said Mubarak arrives in the United States at Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland, January 27, 1983. (U.S. Department of Defense)

But Mubarak dispatched no troops to the Anglo-American–led ouster of Hussein in the Iraq War that began in March 2003. Indeed, he spoke out against the war, arguing that it would complicate the War on Terror and create a "hundred Osamas." He held that resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict should take precedence over the unseating of Hussein. Be that as it may, the United States continues to be Egypt's chief source of military equipment, also granting the country a smaller amount of economic aid. Since 2003, Egypt's relations with Russia have been strengthened, although Mubarak continues to forge a careful course of neutrality when dealing with the Americans and Russians.

Mubarak used the enormous power given to him under Egypt's 1971 constitution to continue the sweeping program of economic recovery instituted by Sadat and to implement privatization and rationalization policies pressed upon Egypt by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. But the large public sector is far from being dismantled. Mubarak's other major tasks have been to limit terrorism and control nonviolent opponents. In the late 1990s his government more directly confronted Islamic radicals, such as the Islamic Group and the Gamaat Islamiya. The latter was responsible for the killing of 60 foreign tourists at

Luxor in 1997. The more moderate Islamist group, the Muslim Brotherhood, along with many small secular parties, also oppose Mubarak and the present Egyptian state. Mubarak was unharmed in an assassination attempt by five assailants in June 1995 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and was slightly wounded in a second assassination attempt in Port Said on September 6, 1999.

Mubarak's government has encouraged joint ventures and is generally supportive of big business, so much so that workers and segments of the military have periodically rioted and demonstrated their displeasure. In the 1980s and 1990s the Egyptian economy suffered from debt, lack of savings, a trade imbalance, and blows to the tourist industry. The government could not abandon the subsidies it provides to its large population with a very low per capita income, and unemployment only increased. Nonetheless, the economy offered a favorable opportunity for investors, especially in the construction sector. During 2004–2006 terrorist attacks again threatened the tourist industry. Since December 2006, labor protests, sit-ins, and strikes have occurred around the country, including a strike of 10,000 workers in the textile industry. Unemployment persists at high levels.

Mubarak has twice served as chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), during 1989–1990 and again during 1993–1994. Although he remains dedicated to Arab unity, the peaceful resolution of Middle East conflicts, positive neutrality, Egyptian economic growth, and a secular non-Islamic Egyptian state, opposition to his rule in Egypt appears to be growing.

Much of the opposition stems from the almost complete power vested in the Egyptian executive branch, the lack of a pluralistic political process, and the repeated extensions of the Emergency Laws. In addition there is a great deal of opposition to the prospect of Mubarak's son Gamal succeeding him, yet Mubarak has never named a vice president. The Egyptian parliament is largely a pro forma body that merely rubber-stamps the wishes of the ruling party. Until 2005, presidential elections were seen as a sham. Vote rigging and election fraud was endemic until the judiciary was told to oversee the elections. When it did so and raised questions of fraud, some leading figures were punished. Corruption in general has been on the rise.

Until very recently, the media in Egypt has been one-dimensional and controlled by the state, which has further entrenched the political system. Although the state still controls the major networks and newspapers, a few independent media outlets have surfaced to offer mild criticism of the Mubarak government.

Mubarak has been able to retain a tight grip on power thanks to a large and loyal military and security establishment, which has responded to repeated assassination attempts against him, foiled coups, and faced a new set of Islamist radicals since 2003. In the past several years Mubarak has come under increasing international pressure to democratize Egypt. He made small steps in that direction and then reformed the constitution in the opposite direction. He jailed the leader of the tiny al-Ghad Party, Ayman Nur, for years, as well as the sociologist Sa'd Eddin Ibrahim. He has also repeatedly arrested Muslim Brotherhood leaders prior to every election, and the police and security services have routinely employed torture or excessive force against demonstrators and prisoners.

Egypt lacks a pluralist system and, given Mubarak's long tenure, many Egyptians have known no other political leader. Egyptians do not therefore know what to expect, if he indeed steps down in 2011 as he has earlier stated to be his intention.

Richard Edwards, Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr., and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arab League; Camp David Accords; desert storm, Operation; Egypt; Egypt, Armed Forces; Islamic Radicalism; Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty; Muslim Brotherhood; Sadat, Muhammad Anwar

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Muhammad, Prophet of Islam

Birth Date: ca. 569
Death Date: 632

Prophet of Islam who established the first community of Muslims in the Arabian Peninsula in the seventh century. Muhammad ibn Abdullah ibn Abd al-Mutallib, born in 569 or 570 CE and always referred to by Muslims as the Prophet Muhammad, was at once a military, political, and religious leader who effectively united the disparate tribes of the region into a single empire. As a prophet of Allah (God), he received a series of orally transmitted revelations that were eventually transcribed as the Qur'an; therefore, the Qur'an is referred to as the Message, and he, the Messenger. The Prophet Muhammad is called the Seal of Prophecy, which means that he, following the earlier prophets of the Bible and Jesus, was the last and final prophet. Unlike Jesus, the Prophet Muhammad is not considered to be a divine figure, but he is revered by Muslims as the Beautiful Model because his Sunna, or Way, provided the example for future generations of Muslims.

Muhammad was born into a branch of an important clan, the Banu Hashim of the Quraysh tribe, in Mecca, located in the western Arabian Peninsula area of the Hejaz. Prior to his birth, his father died. Thus Muhammad was, in the status of that era, an orphan. As an infant, he was sent, as was the custom, to a wet nurse, Halima, a tribal woman. While in her care there were signs and portents of his future greatness. Muhammad's mother died when he was six years old, and his grandfather, Abd al-Mutallib, died just two years later. Muhammad then passed under the

guardianship of his uncle, Abu Talib, who was an influential merchant. Muhammad soon began accompanying his uncle on trading journeys during the pilgrimage season. On one journey to Bosra, Syria, he was greeted by a monk named Buhaira, who hailed Muhammad as a future prophet.

As an adult, Muhammad entered the employ of Khadija (555–619), a wealthy 40-year-old widow, and managed her caravans, earning a reputation for honesty such that he was known as al-Amin ("the faithful one"). Khadija subsequently proposed to him. The two married in 595, and Muhammad remained devoted to her until her death in 619. The number of children born to the marriage remains in dispute. The pair had four daughters—Zaynab, Ruqayya, Umm Kulthum, and Fatima—and one or two sons who died. Only Fatima was still living after her father's death. Muhammad married other women after Khadija's death, and he had a son by one of these wives who also died before the son was 2 years old. Of Muhammad's other wives, Aisha was said to be his favorite.

According to Muslim tradition, Muhammad received his first revelation in the year 610 while fasting in the cave of Hira, near Mecca during the month of Ramadan. He heard the voice of the archangel Gabriel, who commanded him to recite verses of scripture, which Gabriel spoke to Muhammad. At first Muhammad did not know how to respond to his experience, but Khadija regarded his words as proof of a new revelation and thus became the first formal convert to Islam. For the remainder of his life, Muhammad continued to receive revelations. Within a few years of his initial revelations, he began to preach to any who would listen to his message about the One God, Creator and Judge of the World. As the Meccans then worshiped a pantheon of gods and goddesses, they were not very impressed with his message and later became increasingly hostile toward him.

As Muhammad's group of followers grew, the leadership of Mecca, including Muhammad's own tribe, perceived them as a threat. Some of the early converts to Islam came from the disaffected and disadvantaged segments of society. Most important, the Muslims' new set of beliefs implicitly challenged the Meccans' and the Quraysh tribe's guardianship over the Kaaba, the holy site dedicated to the gods and goddesses of the area, which hosted an annual pilgrimage. The city's leading merchants attempted to persuade Muhammad to cease his preaching, but he refused. In response, the city leadership persecuted Muhammad's followers, and many fled the city. One group of his followers immigrated to Abyssinia. In 619 Muhammad endured the loss of both Khadija and Abu Talib, while the mistreatment of his followers increased.

The following year Muhammad undertook two miraculous journeys with the archangel Gabriel. The first, called the Isra, took Muhammad from Mecca to Jerusalem, where he ascended to the site of today's Dome of the Rock in the al-Aqsa Compound in Jerusalem. The second, called the Miraj, included a visit to heaven and hell. During the Miraj, Muhammad also spoke with earlier monotheistic prophets, including Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, and saw Allah, "the Soul of Souls, the Face of Him who made the universe." Muhammad asked Allah for forgiveness for his ummah, the Muslim community, and Allah accepted his intercession (*shafa'*). Allah assigned Muhammad with the task of 50 daily prayers for Muslims, and Moses advised Muhammad to return to Allah and request the number of prayers be reduced to 5, which he did. The Isra and Miraj were accomplished in a single night. Scholars have presented the travels as both a spiritual vision and an actual physical experience.

In 622 Muhammad decided to leave the city of his birth at the invitation of groups residing in the city of Yathrib. Yathrib was located at a major oasis, and there Muhammad hoped to firmly establish a new community of Muslims free from the persecution of the Meccans. The immigration to Yathrib, called the Hijra, marks the beginning of the Muslim calendar. When Muhammad arrived in Yathrib he found a city divided by competing tribes, the Aws and the Khazraj. Both soon converted to Islam, uniting under Muhammad after a century of fighting. Yathrib later took the name of Madinat al-Nabi, or City of the Prophet. With the exception of a sizable Jewish community divided into three clans, the city of Medina was entirely under Muhammad's control by 624. At Medina, the rituals of Islam were established.

After Muhammad and most of his followers departed Mecca for Yathrib, the Meccans confiscated all Muslim property that had been left behind. In 624 Muhammad led an abortive raid on a Meccan caravan. In retaliation, 1,000 Meccan warriors marched on Medina. Not content to await the attack, Muhammad led a force of approximately 300 warriors to meet the invading army. At Badr the armies collided, and Muhammad's followers achieved a decisive victory, inflicting more than 100 casualties at a cost of only 14 Muslims and driving off the Meccan army.

In 625 a Meccan army of 3,000 returned to menace Medina. Emboldened by the victory at Badr, Muhammad marched his army out of the city to face the enemy. At the Battle of Uhud the Muslims were defeated, but the Meccan leader, Abu Sufyan, chose to withdraw his army rather than raze Medina. Two years later Abu Sufyan again attacked Medina but failed to destroy Muhammad's army at the Battle of the Trench. In 628 Muhammad led a band of 1,400 followers to Mecca, ostensibly as a pilgrimage, or *hajj*. They were refused entry to the city, although the differences between the Meccans and the Muslims were formally abolished in the Treaty of Hudhaybiyya. The truce lasted only two years. Renewed skirmishing led Muhammad to attack Mecca directly.

Eight years of converting other client tribes on the Arabian Peninsula provided Muhammad with an army of more than 10,000 followers, far too numerous for the Meccans to withstand. The polytheistic statues at the Kaaba in Mecca were destroyed, and the majority of the populace converted to Islam. Following the conquest, Mecca became the heart of the Muslim empire, which rapidly unified the competing tribes of the region.

Muhammad did not live long after consolidating his power. In 632 he fell ill in Medina, and after several days of pain and weakness he died. He was buried in a plot adjacent to his house. His followers quickly moved to expand his legacy, moving out of

the Arabian Peninsula to challenge the Sassanians and the client tribes of the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire. Eventually they conquered lands stretching from Central Asia to the Iberian Peninsula. However, political divisions coupled with external threats created competing dynasties rather than a united Muslim empire and also led to the growth of religious sects and varying intellectual trends within the religion and Muslim culture.

In nearly all these sects the Prophet Muhammad is honored to this day. His birthday is celebrated, and he has been a favorite subject of Muslim poets. The stories of his deeds and words, collected into the Hadith, remain an important source of religious law and history.

Modern Islam is one of the largest religions in the world, with approximately 1.3 billion adherents spanning the globe.

Paul J. Springer and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Allah; Jihad; Qur'an; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam

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Muhammarah, Treaty of

Treaty signed on May 5, 1922, at Muhammarah (present-day Khorramshahr in southeastern Iran) that attempted to prevent war between Great Britain and the Kingdom of Najd (present-day Saudi Arabia) on the Arabian Peninsula and to establish arbitrary and informal boundaries between that kingdom and British-held Iraq. The Treaty of Muhammarah was quickly superseded by the Protocol (Treaty) of Uqair, signed in December 1922.

Prior to World War I, British Middle East foreign policy and military strategy focused on keeping their land and sea lines of communication open through Mesopotamia and the Suez Canal. In December 1915 Britain and Abdul Aziz ibn Abdul Rahman ibn Saud, of the Kingdom of Najd, signed a treaty of friendship, in which Britain recognized the independence of the Najd.

On May 16, 1916, without Arab knowledge, the British and French secretly concluded the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which divided the Ottoman Empire between them. This agreement conflicted with pledges given by the British government to Hussein Ibn Ali, leader of the Hashemite Kingdom and Sharif of Mecca. Because the Ottomans had sided with the Germans in World War I, the British induced Hussein, with promises of independence and land grants, to lead the Arabs of the Hijaz against the Turks. This Arab Revolt began on June 5, 1916. In anticipation of independence, Hussein proclaimed himself King of the Arabs in November 1916. Britain and France recognized only his suzerainty over the Hijaz, however.

Ottoman rule over Muslim lands ended with the signing of the Mudros Armistice at the end of the war on October 30, 1918. Problems involving tribal and ethnic boundaries and migratory routes now came to the fore. Arab nationalists wanted one nation, and they requested Sir Percy Cox, the first British High Commissioner under the League of Nations Mandate, to legislate this Arab state into existence. Ibn Saud wanted a boundary reflecting tribal areas, but Cox demurred.

On April 24, 1920, the San Remo Conference formally designated Britain as exercising a mandate for Iraq, and on May 3, 1920, the British government formally accepted. Arab unrest over the solution was quickly suppressed, but Amir Faisal El-Hashemi was put forward as king of Iraq and was formally crowned on August 23, 1921.

Faisal immediately had to deal with the matter of boundaries, for there was no formal delineation between Mesopotamia, the Najd, and the Hijaz. Ibn Saud now sought to consolidate his own power by seizing and occupying lands in the Hijaz. His presumed intent included securing Mesopotamia as a step toward creating a unified Arab nation. The Treaty of Muhammarah of the spring of 1922 was an effort to frustrate his objectives. The treaty did not stipulate a boundary between Iraq and the Najd, but both sides agreed in principle to implement measures to prevent tribes from seizing and occupying Mesopotamian lands. Ibn Saud refused to ratify the treaty, however, over concerns involving both grazing rights and certain tribal allegiances.

The Treaty of Muhammarah never came into force. It was superseded by the Treaty of Uqair of December 2, 1922, which created the Iraqi–Kuwait Neutral Zone—the first such demarcation in the Middle East. Tribes could cross back and forth, but no military forces or fortifications could be built near any wells or oases.

The resulting boundary was 426 miles long. Surveys to demarcate the boundary on the ground have never been undertaken. One of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's justifications for his August 1990 invasion of Kuwait was that Kuwait was historically part of Iraq. His assertion echoed the argument made by Iraqi nationalists from the mid-1920s: namely, that both Iraq and Kuwait were within the same administrative unit of the Ottoman Empire. Iraq has no legitimate claim to Kuwait, however, because the two nations officially and legally accepted the Iraq-Kuwait border when they signed the "Agreed Minutes between the State of Kuwait and the Republic of Iraq Regarding the Restoration of Friendly Relations, Recognition, and Related Matters" in 1932. In 1993 the United Nations (UN) Security Council unanimously approved a demarcation of an Iraq-Kuwait boundary. Saudi Arabia registered this boundary with the UN in 1995, even though Iraq refused to accept it.

Currently there are no active disputes between Saudi Arabia and Iraq over this boundary. Iraq's historical animosity toward

Kuwait over this matter and other border issues, as well as over certain access rights, could continue until a formal Iraq-Kuwait border is set by an actual survey on the ground.

Donald R. Dunne

See also

Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Kuwait; Saudi Arabia; Uqair, Treaty of

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Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War

Afghan resistance fighters who fought against the Soviet-backed Kabul government and Soviet troops during the Soviet War in Afghanistan (1979–1989) were collectively known as the mujahideen. They were an alliance of seven Sunni political factions and eight Shiite organizations, as well as Muslim volunteers from various North African and Middle Eastern countries. Initially trained and funded by Pakistan's intelligence service, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), and then later by the United States, the United Kingdom, Saudi Arabia, Iran, the People's Republic of China (PRC) as well as other Sunni Muslim nations, the mujahideen fought the Soviet Union to a bloody stalemate, forcing it to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan in 1989.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan on December 27, 1979, and subsequent intervention in Afghan domestic politics in support of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) had the unintended consequence of galvanizing a disparate Islamic opposition into a grassroots resistance movement. Indeed, the Soviet invasion triggered a backlash among Afghans that crossed kinship, tribal, ethnic, and geographic lines. It gave the conflict an ideological dimension by linking the Islamic insurgency with the goal of national liberation when mullahs issued declarations of jihad against the Soviet invaders. Islam and nationalism became interwoven as an Islamist ideology replaced tribal affiliations.

At the onset of the Soviet War in Afghanistan, the mujahideen were divided along regional, ethnic, tribal, and sectarian lines. Mobilization was linked to allegiances of the tribal *lashkar* (fighting force), as the mujahideen were loosely organized tribal militias under the command of traditional leaders at the local level. Membership was fluid, fluctuating by the season and family commitments, with no coordinated central command structure.

An Afghan mujahideen ("one engaged in struggle" jihad), demonstrates the firing technique for a surface-to-air Stinger missile in 1988, when the United States supported the mujahideen against Soviet forces in Afghanistan. The Soviets withdrew the next year. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Mujahideen commanders owed their position to social standing, education, leadership ability, and commitment to Islam.

Seven major Sunni mujahideen factions based in neighboring Peshawar, Pakistan, came to dominate the political and military landscape. These were Islamic Unity for the Liberation of Afghanistan (IULI), Hezb-i-Islami Afghanistan (HIA), Jamiat-i-Islami (IA), Hezb-i-Islami (HI), Harakat-i-Inquilabi Islami (IRM), Mahaz-ye Nijate Milli Afghanistan (NIFA), and the Jabhe-ye Nijate Milli Afghanistan (NLF). In addition to the Sunni mujahideen factions, there were Shia mujahideen organizations as well. These were Shura, Nasr, Harlat-eIslami, the Revolutionary Guards, and Hezbollah. The other organizations were either splinter factions or groups that joined larger movements. In March 1980 the Sunni mujahideen factions created an umbrella organization known as Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan to lobby for international recognition and support.

In the early days of the occupation, the Soviets waged classic large-scale armored warfare in Afghanistan. The mujahideen responded with traditional mass tribal charges. Disorganized, having limited military equipment and training, and facing overwhelming military superiority, the mujahideen were easily defeated in early skirmishes with the Soviet army in 1980 and 1981. As desertions and defections of Afghan army units began to increase, however, the mujahideen military capacity increased.

By 1982 the mujahideen began to counter Soviet offensives with a change in tactics and increased firepower. Unable to pacify the countryside, Soviet troops deployed in strategic areas, occupying cities and garrison towns and controlling supply routes. This allowed the mujahideen to roam freely throughout the countryside, launching raids and ambushes at will. Having an insufficient number of troops to pursue the mujahideen, the Soviets attempted to deprive them of their base support by depopulating the countryside. Villages, crops, and irrigation systems were destroyed, while fields and pastures were mined. Undeterred by the loss of their support, the mujahideen continued to sabotage power lines, pipelines, and government installations as well as knocking out bridges, assaulting supply convoys, disrupting the power supply and industrial production, and attacking Soviet military bases throughout 1982 and 1983.

As the war broadened, the mujahideen appealed for arms and ammunition to counter the overwhelming Soviet military superiority. In 1983 the United States, the United Kingdom, Saudi Arabia, and the PRC became major contributors to the mujahideen cause. Money and weapons were funneled through Pakistan for distribution to the various Sunni *mujahideen* factions. The mujahideen were now able to counter the Soviet military superiority with increased firepower.

The year 1985 proved an important one for the mujahideen. The mujahideen withstood the massive deployment of Soviet forces designed to impose a favorable outcome within a Moscow-set timeframe, and the seven Sunni mujahideen factions formed the Seven Party Mujahideen Alliance to coordinate their military operations against the Soviet Army. By late 1985 the mujahideen had closed in on Kabul, conducting operations against the Moscow-backed Kabul government.

In the spring of 1986, a combined Soviet-Afghan force captured a major mujahideen base in Zhawar, Pakistan, inflicting heavy losses. It was also about this time that the mujahideen acquired antiaircraft missiles as well as ground-to-ground rockets (the U.S. Stinger and the British Blowpipe) that altered the course of the war. The mujahideen were now able to take down Soviet helicopters, especially the heavily armored Mi-24 Hind attack helicopter, and airplanes. By the time Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev decided to withdraw Soviet forces from Afghanistan in the spring of 1989, the mujahideen were content to allow them an orderly retreat as they themselves readied to attack Kabul and replace the Soviet-backed government there. Many historians today credit the mujahideen, at least in part, for the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. The war cost the Soviet state billions of dollars it did not have, and called into question the wisdom of the government.

KEITH A. LEITICH

See also

Afghanistan; Aircraft, Helicopters, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy

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Mulholland, John

Birth Date: September 1, 1957

U.S. Army officer who was particularly instrumental in combat operations during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM and the fall of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan in late 2001. John F. Mulholland was born on September 1, 1957, in Clovis, New Mexico, but spent his formative years in Bethesda, Maryland. He graduated from Furman University in South Carolina with a bachelor's degree in history in 1978, and received a commission in the U.S. Army as a second lieutenant in the infantry through its Reserve Officers' Training Program (ROTC).

Mulholland served at U.S. bases in the Panama Canal Zone during 1979–1982. He then entered the Special Forces. Upon graduation from the Qualification Course in 1983, he was assigned to the 5th Special Forces Group (Airborne) stationed at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, from 1983 to 1986. While with the group, he served as an Operational Detachment-A commander as a captain. He also served as a Special Forces company commander. In 1987 Mulholland returned to Panama attached to U.S. Southern Command. He returned to the United States in 1989.

Mulholland then attended both the Defense Language Institute and the Army Command and General Staff College (CGSC). While at the CGSC, he earned a master's degree in military arts and science.

In 1991 Mulholland was assigned to the 1st Battalion, 7th Special Forces Group (Airborne) as operations officer and later as executive officer. Following this tour of duty, in 1993 Mulholland was transferred to a staff position in the headquarters company of the U.S. Army Special Operations Command until 1996.

That same year, Mulholland was promoted to lieutenant colonel and given command of the 1st Battalion, 1st Special Forces Group (Airborne) stationed in Tori Station, Japan. He held that post during 1996–1998, then transferred to Washington, D.C., where he worked in the Office of Military Support until 2000. He attended the National War College and earned a Master of Science degree in national security strategy in 2001. In September 2001 he was promoted to colonel and assumed command of the 5th Special Forces Group (Airborne) at Fort Campbell, Kentucky.

In retaliation for the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks the United States and its allies undertook Operation ENDURING FREEDOM against the Al Qaeda terrorist organization and the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. Unlike many previous combat operations, ENDURING FREEDOM was at first the domain of Special Forces. Fighting began on October 7, 2001. Members of 5th Special Forces Group worked closely with Northern Alliance Forces of Afghans already locked in combat against the Taliban.

After helping to equip and train Northern Alliance fighters, Special Forces operators began a ground offensive. The offensive involved the use of U.S. and allied air power to destroy enemy positions and indigenous forces to capture Taliban-held positions and towns. This pattern continued throughout the country, with the fall of Kabul, the Afghan capital, on November 12, 2001. Further actions continued as the allies attempted to capture Taliban and Al Qaeda leadership. Throughout these operations, Mulholland had command of the 5th Special Forces Group (Airborne) and all United States commando forces in theater.

In early 2003 Mulholland was named chief of the Office of Military Cooperation in Kuwait, as a brigadier general. In 2005, now a major general, Mulholland assumed command of Special Operations Command Central at MacDill Air Force Base, Florida. In November 2008 he was promoted to lieutenant general and became commander of the U.S. Army Special Operations Command.

SHAWN LIVINGSTON

See also

ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation

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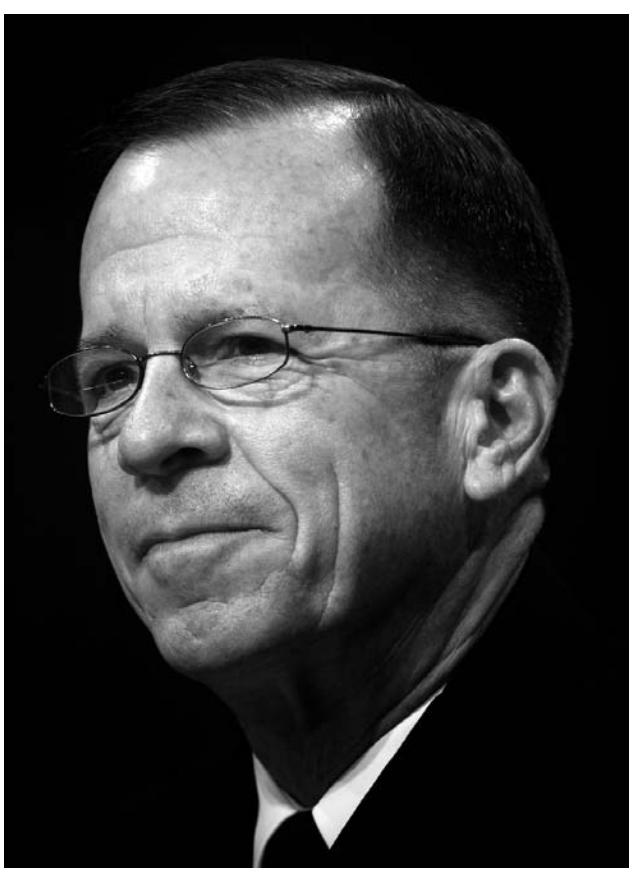
Mullen, Michael Glenn

Birth Date: October 4, 1946

U.S. Navy admiral and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff since 2007, Michael Glenn Mullen was born in Los Angeles, California, on October 4, 1946. After graduation from the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, he was commissioned in the navy in 1968. He first served in the waters off Vietnam in a variety of surface warfare positions. Additional deployments and exercises took him to the



Admiral Michael Mullen was chief of U.S. Naval Operations during 2005–2007. He assumed the position of chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) in 2007. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Caribbean and the Mediterranean. In 1973 Mullen assumed command of his first ship, the gasoline tanker *Noxubee.*

Mullen next reported to the U.S. Naval Academy, where he served as a company tactical officer and later as executive assistant to the commandant of midshipmen. He then returned to sea duty, gaining further experience aboard the guided missile cruisers *Fox* and *Sterett.* These ships featured increasingly advanced naval weapons systems with vastly improved capabilities that transformed naval operations during the 1980s. Mullen gained operational experience in the Western Pacific, Indian Ocean, and Red Sea.

In 1985 Mullen graduated from the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterrey, California with a master's degree in operations research. He then assumed command of the guided missile destroyer *Goldsborough.* Deploying to the Persian Gulf, he participated in the maritime escort of Kuwaiti oil tankers during the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War.

Following command of the *Goldsborough,* Mullen served as director of the division officer course at the Navy Surface Warfare Officer School and, following promotion to captain on September 1, 1989, became a staff officer in the office of the Secretary of Defense for the director, Operational Test and Evaluation Force. He then assumed command of the Ticonderoga-class cruiser *Yorktown,* conducting a broad range of missions, from support of the United Nations (UN) embargo of Haiti to counter-drug operations and joint and multinational exercises in the North Atlantic. Mullen was then assigned to the Bureau of Naval Personnel, where he served as the director, Surface Officer Distribution; and later as director, Surface Warfare Plans, Programs and Requirements Division. Still later, following his promotion to rear admiral on April 1, 1996, he became the bureau's deputy director, affording him invaluable experience in manpower and resource management.

Later in 1996 Mullen was named commander of Cruiser-Destroyer Group 2, in command of the ships, submarines, and aircraft of the *George Washington* Battle Group. The battle group deployed to the Mediterranean, where it participated in peacekeeping operations. The following year, it served as the cornerstone of the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf, compelling Iraq to comply with UN disarmament inspections, as well as enforcing the no-fly zone over southern Iraq. Following promotion to rear admiral on October 1, 1998, Mullen was chosen to serve as the director, Surface Warfare Division, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations. Responsible for the direction of acquisition plans and programs for the navy surface force, Mullen gained vital understanding of resource management, planning, programming, and budgeting.

On November 1, 2000, Mullen was promoted to vice admiral and was named the combined commander, U.S. Second Fleet and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Striking Fleet Atlantic. Mullen soon found himself back in Washington, D.C., however, assuming responsibility for the direction and management of all navy acquisition programs as the deputy chief of Naval Operations for Resources, Requirements and Assessments. He guided the navy's resource decisions during critical reevaluations in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, directing such key programs as the Next Generation Destroyer, Littoral Combat Ship, and Theater Ballistic Missile Defense. After two years as the navy resource director, Mullen was promoted to full admiral on August 28, 2003, and named the 32nd vice chief of naval operations. He had served as vice chief for just over a year when he was reassigned as the commander of the NATO Allied Joint Force Command Naples and simultaneously commander of U.S. Naval Forces Europe. Mullen immediately established clear priorities for these separate but closely connected commands, but as quickly as they were on course, Mullen was recalled to Washington.

On July 22, 2005, Mullen became the 28th chief of naval operations. He assumed command of a service facing issues of relevance, an apparent loss of operational significance, and the profound cost of continuing war in the Middle East. In response, Mullen committed the navy to easing the strain on the nation's land forces by assigning naval personnel to serve in an unusually broad range of supporting roles. Faced with a tight fiscal environment, Mullen ensured that the navy's budget priorities were clearly aligned with the realities of the strategic environment. In regard to the navy crisis of mission, Mullen immediately directed that a new maritime strategy be developed to guide the efforts of the nation's maritime services. After nearly two years of study and collaboration, "Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower" was released. It was the nation's first maritime strategy document developed collaboratively and signed by all three of the nation's maritime services, the navy, marines, and coast guard.

On October 1, 2007, Admiral Mullen was appointed the 17th chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He assumed the post amid the most divisive and politically charged environment since the Vietnam War era. Almost immediately, he demonstrated a pragmatic, long-term view of U.S. military requirements by voicing concern over the broader effects of continuing U.S. military commitments in Afghanistan and Iraq, and campaigned for a broad, strategic reassessment.

Mullen explained that a rebalancing of global strategic risks was needed, and that a comprehensive, sustainable long-term Middle East security strategy was a vital priority. He also asserted the requirement for a more balanced, flexible, and ready force. Describing a future characterized by persistent conflict and irregular warfare, but simultaneously uncertain and unpredictable, Mullen argued that U.S. forces must not only possess the ability to conduct counterinsurgency operations but also remain unmatched in their ability to fight a conventional war. Mullen helped secure legislation passed by Congress to increase military strength by 100,000 personnel. He also instituted efforts to ease the tempo of operational deployments and began a measured troop redeployment from Iraq.

KENNETH A. SZMED JR.

See also

United States Navy, Afghanistan War; United States Navy, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Multi-National Force–Iraq

U.S.-led military command of coalition forces in Iraq, established on May 15, 2004. The Multi-National Force–Iraq (MNF-I) was created ostensibly to combat the growing Iraqi insurgency, which began in earnest in late 2003 and early 2004; it replaced Combined Joint Task Force 7, which had been in operation from June 2003 to May 2004.

Commanders of the MNF-I have included lieutenant generals Ricardo Sanchez (May–June 2004), George W. Casey (June 2004–January 2007), David Petraeus (January 2007–September 2008), and Raymond Odierno (September 2008–). The MNF-I was tasked with bringing the growing Iraqi insurgency to an end but was largely unsuccessful in that effort until the George W. Bush administration placed General Petraeus in command and implemented a troop surge that placed as many as 30,000 additional U.S. troops on the ground in Iraq. The strategy seemed to have worked, for violence had fallen off markedly beginning by late 2007; Petraeus was given much of the credit for this development. At the same time, the so-called Anbar Awakening groups in Iraq also helped to curb sectarian and insurgent violence. The current MNF-I commander, General Odierno, while acknowledging that the surge has provided strengthened security forces, credits a change in counterinsurgency strategy more than the surge itself in reducing the level of violence. Referring to it as an "Anaconda strategy," Odierno has explained the strategy as a comprehensive approach that has shown success in, among other areas, cutting off insurgents from their support within the Iraqi population.

Since its inception, the MNF-I has overwhelmingly comprised U.S. troops; the second-largest deployment is from Great Britain. The size of the MNF-I has been fluid, but on average it has contained around 150,000 combat-ready personnel, the vast majority of whom have been American. The troop surge brought the total closer to 180,000, but that number has dwindled as troop withdrawals began in 2008. Working with the MNF-I, but not falling under its direct command, are the United Nations (UN) Assistance Mission–Iraq, which provides humanitarian aid and observation, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Training Mission–Iraq, whose goal is to train Iraqi security, police, and military personnel. The major component parts of the MNF-I are Multi-National Security Transition Command; Gulf Region Division, U.S. Corps of Engineers; Joint Base Balad; Multi-National Corps–Iraq; Multi-National Division–Baghdad; Multi-National Division–North; Multi-National Force–West; Multi-National Division Center; Multi-National Division–Southeast.

Peak Troop Deployment of Former Members of the Multi-National Force–Iraq as of May 2009

Country	*Peak Troop Strength*	*Withdrawal Date*
Albania	240	December 2008
Armenia	46	October 2008
Azerbaijan	250	December 2008
Bosnia and Herzegovina	85	November 2008
Bulgaria	485	December 2008
Czech Republic	300	December 2008
Denmark	545	December 2008
Dominican Republic	302	May 2004
El Salvador	380	January 2009
Estonia	40	January 2009
Georgia	2,000	August 2008
Honduras	368	May 2004
Hungary	300	March 2005
Iceland	2	Date unknown
Italy	3,200	November 2006
Japan	600	December 2008
Kazakhstan	29	October 2008
Latvia	136	November 2008
Lithuania	120	August 2007
Macedonia	77	November 2008
Moldova	24	December 2008
Mongolia	180	September 2008
Netherlands	1,345	March 2005
New Zealand	61	September 2004
Nicaragua	230	February 2004
Norway	150	August 2006
Philippines	51	July 2004
Poland	2,500	October 2008
Portugal	128	February 2005
Singapore	175	December 2008
Slovakia	110	December 2007
South Korea	3,600	December 2008
Spain	1,300	April 2004
Thailand	423	August 2004
Tonga	55	December 2008
Ukraine	1,650	December 2008
Total	21,487	

In addition to battling the Iraqi insurgency and other indigenous violence, other goals of the MNF-I include support and aid to the Iraqi government, reconstruction efforts, specialized training of Iraqi military personnel, intelligence-gathering, and border patrols. When the MNF-I is withdrawn in its entirety, it is expected that Iraq will have been pacified; will have a stable, representative democratic government; and will be able to protect itself from internal pressures and foreign intrusions. The December 2008 Status of Forces Agreement between the U.S. and Iraqi governments stipulates that all U.S. troops be withdrawn by December 31, 2011. Under the terms of this arrangement, U.S. troops vacated Iraqi cities by July 31, 2009. The Iraqis concluded similar agreements with other coalition forces that still maintained a presence in Iraq.

Numerous nations supplied troops to the MNF-I, many of which were withdrawn by the end of December 2008. The participating members, along with the size of their deployments include: United States (145,000 troops as of December 2008), Great Britain

(4,000 as of December 2008), Romania (500 as of December 2008), Australia (350 as of December 2008), El Salvador (300 as of December 2008), and Estonia (40 as of December 2008).

Those nations that participated but were withdrawn by December 31, 2008, include (figures in parentheses represent peak deployments): South Korea (3,600), Italy (3,200), Poland (2,500), Georgia (2,000), Ukraine (1,650), Netherlands (1,345), Spain (1,300), Japan (600), Denmark (545), Bulgaria (458), Thailand (423), Honduras (368), Dominican Republic (302), Czech Republic (300), Hungary (300), Azerbaijan (250), Albania (240), Nicaragua (230), Mongolia (180), Singapore (175), Norway (150), Latvia (136), Portugal (128), Lithuania (120), Slovakia (110), Bosnia-Herzegovina (85), Macedonia (77), New Zealand (61), Tonga (55), Philippines (51), Armenia (46), Kazakhstan (29), Moldova (24), and Iceland (2).

To entice potential coalition partners to join the MNF-I effort, the U.S. government offered a plethora of financial aid and other incentives. Because the invasion of Iraq had not been sanctioned by the UN, the United States found it more difficult to convince other nations to become involved in the postwar stabilization effort in Iraq. Some nations, and previously close allies, however, refused to take part in the mission, despite U.S. promises of financial and other rewards. The United States reportedly offered Turkey up to $8.5 billion in loans if the country sent peacekeeping troops to Iraq; Turkey, which had forbade the use of its bases during the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, demurred. France and Germany refused any participation in Iraq. Some countries, such as Great Britain and Australia, were offered lucrative private-contractor business that would help fuel their economies. The Bush administration, however, refused to acknowledge that there were any quid pro quo arrangements in the assembling of international forces in Iraq.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Casey, George William, Jr.; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Iraqi Insurgency; Odierno, Raymond; Petraeus, David Howell; Sanchez, Ricardo S.; Surge, U.S. Troop Deployment, Iraq War

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Multiple Launch Rocket Systems

A mobile, automatic rocket system designed to extend the range of coverage of conventional cannon field artillery. Multiple launch rocket systems (MLRS) deliver high volumes of fire and employ a variety of warheads. Mobile rocket systems' firing of rockets that have a short burn time gives the target little warning, thus limiting the ability of the target to evade or seek shelter. The rocket's short range also precludes engagement by contemporary missile defense systems. This makes them ideal weapon systems for fire support missions on the battlefield. Typical multiple launch rocket systems include the Brazilian Astros, Soviet/Russian Smerch, and the U.S. Multiple Launch Rocket System.

During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the U.S. version of the MLRS was a highly accurate, multiple rocket launcher carried on a stretched M2 Bradley Fighting Vehicle chassis. The rocket launcher itself was an automated system capable of firing either surface-to-surface rockets or the U.S. Army's tactical missile system (ATACMS). The United States, United Kingdom, Germany, and France jointly developed the MLRS. The first model entered service in the U.S. Army in 1983.

The self-propelled launcher is 22-and-one-half feet long and 9-and-three-quarters feet wide, and weighs 55,000 pounds. The MLRS was readily transported to areas of operations because it could be carried by the Lockheed C-5 Galaxy transport aircraft or by ship. After it is unloaded, it has excellent cross-country mobility, with a road speed of about 36 miles per hour (mph). The vehicle has a range of 300 miles. The three-man crew includes a driver, gunner, and section chief.

The MLRS has an automated self-loading and self-aiming system. It contains a fire-control computer that integrates the vehicle and rocket-launching operations.

The MLRS launcher unit comprises a launcher with two weapons pods. Each pod, or canister, carries either 6 rockets or one Army Tactical Missile (ATACMS). The rockets can be fired individually or in ripples of 2 to 12. Without leaving the cab, the crew can fire up to 12 rockets in less than 60 seconds. The system is so automated that a reduced crew, even a single crew member, could load and unload the launcher. Accuracy is maintained in all firing modes because the computer reaims the launcher between rounds. The launcher's very precise positioning system allows the rockets to travel over 30 miles (or the ATACMS to travel over 60 miles) before releasing their submunitions directly above the designated target.

In 1991, the MLRS was considered a new artillery technology. In times past, conventional artillery fired shells at a target. Typically, the shells arrived one after another over a period of time. The MLRS permitted the crew to fire all 12 rockets at nearly the same time. In contrast to conventional artillery fire, the simultaneous arrival of a rocket salvo on its target did not give an enemy time to seek cover. Consequently, in theory, accurate multiple rocket fire was both more deadly and more demoralizing to an enemy.

The Persian Gulf War marked the first time the MLRS was used in combat. Coalition forces had 140 MLRS available for that conflict. The United States fought the Persian Gulf War according to a war-fighting doctrine known as AirLand Battle. Formally introduced in 1982, AirLand Battle emphasizes four basic principles: initiative, depth, agility, and synchronization. As applied to Operation DESERT STORM, the AirLand Battle doctrine called for engaging the enemy at long range with all available weapons including air strikes, conventional artillery fire, and the MLRS. American

An artillery battery of the U.S. Army's 4th Infantry Division launches a multiple launch rocket system (MLRS) rocket from Forward Operating Base Q-West, Qayyarah Airfield West in Ninawa Province, Iraq, against Iraqi insurgents, January 2006. (U.S. Department of Defense)

planners intended this long-range bombardment to shatter Iraqi military organization. The bombardment would split large Iraqi units into small, uncoordinated subunits. Ground forces would then advance to engage and easily defeat these vulnerable subunits. The AirLand Battle required all weapon systems to work as a team to complement each other. For example, the MLRS targeted Iraqi air defenses to allow Fairchild-Republic A-10 Thunderbolt II aircraft to fly over enemy lines and attack without having to worry about Iraqi antiaircraft fire.

The MLRS first entered combat on the evening of February 13, 1991, somewhere near the Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait triborder area. The U.S. Army's Alpha Battery, 21st Field Artillery acted as a single firing unit, with all 10 of its MLRS launchers deployed along a two-mile line. In less than one minute, Alpha Battery fired more than 100 rockets.

During DESERT STORM, the MLRS fired two types of weapons. The most common was the M-26 tactical rocket. The warhead of each rocket containS 644 M77 dual-purpose improved conventional munitions, submunitions, or bomblets. The flashlight-battery-sized submunitions are effective against personnel or lightly armored targets. The rocket released the bomblets when it was still in the air. A drag ribbon stabilized the bomblet so that it descended nose first. The bomblet exploded when it made contact with something hard, such as the ground, and the M77 could penetrate up to four inches of armor. Its steel case fragmented and produced antipersonnel effects within a radius of about four yards.

Prewar tests showed that a dozen rockets fired from a single launcher could kill or injure over half the troops in an area measuring about 100 yards by 700 yards. During the Persian Gulf War, the allies fired more than 17,000 M-26 rockets against Iraqi artillery and antiaircraft positions; troop and vehicle concentrations; headquarters and communications centers; and logistics facilities. The British were particularly pleased with the performance of the rockets.

The MLRS also fired Army Tactical Missile Systems (ATACMS). With a range of about 60 miles (exact range is classified), these missiles had three times the range of the M-26 rocket. They carried a much larger payload of 950 M-74 baseball-sized bomblets. The M-74 bomblets function in a similar manner as the M-77 bomblets

delivered by the M-26 rocket. On January 18, 1991, the 1st Battalion, 27th Field Artillery fired the first precision tactical missile strike in history. Its target was an Iraqi surface-to-air missile site inside Kuwait. Two minutes after launch, the missile released its bomblets and destroyed its target. During the Gulf War, the MLRS fired 32 ATACMS.

The Iraqis learned to fear the rockets and missiles fired by the MLRS. When the first bomblet detonated, surviving Iraqi soldiers knew that they had only a few seconds to find protection before being torn to pieces. The Iraqis called the bomblets "steel rain." The allies used the MLRS at all hours in both daylight and at night to keep the Iraqis off balance. In addition, allied propaganda helped spread the word about this fearsome weapon among Iraqi soldiers. Consequently, many Iraqi soldiers, particularly those serving with artillery units that were the special target for the MLRS, chose to stay in the fortified bunkers rather than man their guns. This made it easy for allied ground forces to capture their positions and force the Iraqis to surrender. Other Iraqis abandoned their weapons and fled rather than face death from the "steel rain." The best Iraqi forces tried to fight artillery duels with the coalition, but the allies' bomblets wiped them out.

Long-range bombardment by the MLRS proved extremely successful during the Persian Gulf War. It contributed enormously to the Iraqi impression that they were badly outgunned by allied forces and helped precipitate widespread Iraqi demoralization.

By the time of the 2003 Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), the MLRS had gained widespread acceptance in the armies of both the United States and its allies, and the system continued to evolve. New and improved munitions were added to the inventory available for use by the MLRS. Another important change was a transition from unguided rockets to guided missiles. The use of guided missiles allowed the MLRS to fire with unprecedented accuracy.

For example, in September 2005 an MLRS fired at specific buildings in Tal Afar, west of the Iraqi city of Mosul. The missiles sped some 30 miles from the launch site to strike—without warning—two fortified complexes known to house enemy insurgents. The rockets destroyed their targets without harming nearby buildings, thus avoiding so-called collateral damage. The U.S. Army claimed that 48 insurgents died in the rocket attacks. As had been the case in the Persian Gulf War, the ability of the MLRS to strike without warning had valuable physical and psychological benefits.

The MLRS ended production in 2003, but upgrade work on existing models continued. The major updating effort sought to arm the system with guided munitions. Instead of releasing a bundle of unguided, or dumb, bomblets that drop to the ground, the more advanced rockets release guided bomblets. In 2007, the British government sent an MLRS unit to Afghanistan to support ground operations in that country. The British unit employed newly developed, guided munitions. That was the first time the system was deployed in that theater.

During DESERT STORM, Iraqi forces possessed multiple rocket launcher systems purchased from the Soviet Union, Egypt, and Brazil as well as locally manufactured variants of these systems. They included the 550-millimeter (mm) Laith 90 Artillery Rocket System based on the Soviet-designed Frog-7a and a 107-mm portable rocket launcher system mounted on a Soviet-designed GAZ-66 four-by-four truck. The Brazilian system was known as the Artillery Saturation Rocket System (ASTRO). During the 1980s, Brazil sold an estimated 66 ASTROs to Iraq. In addition, Iraq, acting under license from Brazil, manufactured its own variant of this system.

None of these systems could come close to matching the accuracy of the MLRS used by the allies. Iraqi systems lacked precise target-finding devices and sophisticated weather stations and computerized fire control. The warheads used on their MLRS were also less sophisticated.

Iraq apparently neither expanded nor improved its multiple rocket launcher capabilities after the Persian Gulf War. By 2003, its arsenal included some 200 multiple rocket launchers. Most of them were the nearly obsolete 122-mm and 127-mm systems, but some were the longer-range 400-mm Ababil-100 systems.

JAMES ARNOLD

See also

AirLand Battle Doctrine; Artillery; DESERT STORM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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Murphy, Michael Patrick

Birth Date: May 7, 1976
Death Date: June 28, 2005

U.S. Navy SEAL lieutenant and posthumous recipient of the Medal of Honor. Born in Smithtown, New York, on May 7, 1976, Michael Patrick Murphy grew up on Long Island. He graduated from Pennsylvania State University in 1998 with bachelor degrees in political science and psychology.

Although accepted to law schools, Murphy decided to enter the navy, and in December 2000 he graduated from the U.S. Navy's Officer Candidate School in Pensacola, Florida, and was commissioned an ensign. Following his graduation from Basic Underwater

Demolition/SEAL (BUD/S) training at Coronado, California, Murphy underwent further training at the U.S. Army Airborne School, SEAL Qualification Training, and SEAL Delivery Vehicle (SDV) School. He then served in Hawaii, Florida, Qatar, and Djibouti.

In early 2006 Murphy was assigned to Afghanistan as a member of SDV Team 1. On June 27, 2005, Murphy took part in Operation RED WING, leading a four-man reconnaissance unit that was inserted by helicopter east of Asadabad, in Kunar Province near the border with Pakistan, in an attempt to capture a top Taliban leader. Murphy and his men were discovered by Afghans cooperating with the insurgents, and on June 28 the reconnaissance unit was surrounded and came under attack by 30–40 insurgents. In the ensuing firefight, Murphy's team inflicted numerous casualties on the attackers, but all of his team were wounded. Disregarding his own wounds, Murphy knowingly left his relatively secure position and moved to an exposed area in order to get a clear signal to notify headquarters of events. He calmly continued to report his position while under fire and request assistance, then returned to his original position and continued to fight until mortally wounded. A helicopter dispatched to the scene with reinforcements was shot down with the loss of all 16 aboard. Two other members of Murphy's team, Gunner's Mate Second Class Danny Dietz and Sonar Technician (Surface) 2nd Class Matthew Axelson, also perished in the firefight. Only Hospital Corpsman First Class Marcus Luttrell survived. All members of the team were awarded the Navy Cross for their actions that day.

Murphy's actions were subsequently recognized by the award of the Medal of Honor. He was the first U.S. serviceman to be so honored in the Afghanistan War and the first member of the U.S. Navy to receive the award since the Vietnam War. On October 22, 2007, President George W. Bush presented the award to Murphy's family at the White House. On May 7, 2008, the Navy Department announced that DDG-112, the last planned ship in the Arleigh Burke-class of destroyers, would be named in Murphy's honor.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also
Bush, George Walker

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Murphy, Robert Daniel
Birth Date: October 28, 1894
Death Date: January 9, 1978

U.S. diplomat and State Department official. Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on October 28, 1894, Robert Daniel Murphy attended Marquette University and George Washington University, where he earned a law degree in 1917. He joined the foreign service that same year, and his first postings were as a consul in various European cities. Beginning in 1930 he served in various capacities in Paris, leaving there as chargé d'affaires in 1941.

Murphy's hitherto typical career took a dramatic turn when he was asked by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to be his representative to French North Africa, with the purpose of obtaining the defection of French forces from the collaborationist Vichy regime. Following this mission, Murphy was involved in the planning for the Allied invasion of North Africa in 1942. Following the German defeat of May 1945, he became a political adviser in Germany and later director of the Office for German and Austrian Affairs.

During 1949–1952 Murphy served as U.S. ambassador to Belgium and then, in 1953, as ambassador to Japan. In 1953 Eisenhower sent Murphy to Seoul, in the Republic of Korea (ROK, South Korea), to convince President Syngman Rhee to sign the armistice ending the Korean War. The following year Murphy traveled to Belgrade, in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to encourage Marshal Josip Broz Tito to reach an agreement with Italy over the territory of Trieste. During the 1956 Suez Crisis Murphy was dispatched to London to evaluate the position of the British government. He completed his government service as deputy undersecretary of state during 1954–1959. President Dwight D. Eisenhower called Murphy out of retirement in 1960 to assess the turbulent situation in the newly independent Congo, and during the Eisenhower era Murphy became a top diplomatic troubleshooter for the U.S. government.

Perhaps most significant, during the U.S. intervention in Lebanon in 1958, Murphy acted as a personal representative of the president. He established communications with all of the opposing factions in Lebanon, helped to ensure the safety of the 14,000 U.S. marines in Beirut, and promoted a peaceful handover of power from Lebanese president Camille Chamoun to end the crisis. Before returning to the United States, Murphy visited Baghdad and Cairo in an effort to calm the tensions that had erupted in the Middle East during the tumultuous summer of 1958.

Following his retirement from government, Murphy served as the director of several companies, including Morgan Guaranty Trust Company and Corning Glass Works. He died in New York City on January 9, 1978.

BRENT M. GEARY

See also
Chamoun, Camille Nimr; Lebanon; Lebanon, U.S. Intervention in (1958); United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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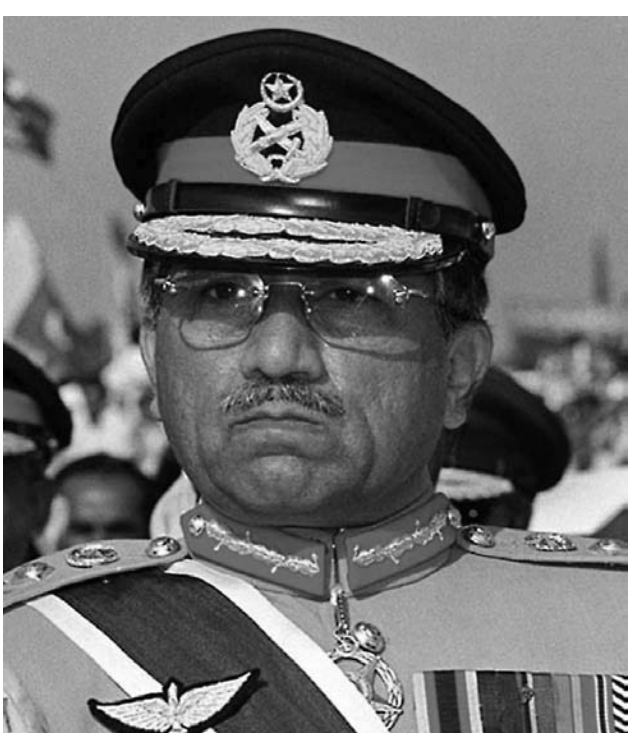
Murphy, Robert D. *Diplomat among Warriors.* New York: Doubleday, 1964.

Musharraf, Pervez
Birth Date: August 11, 1943

Pakistani military officer and president of Pakistan from 1999 to 2008. Pervez Musharraf was born in Delhi, India, on August 11, 1943. Following the division of the Empire of India into separate Indian and Pakistan states in 1947, Musharraf moved with his family to Karachi, Pakistan. In 1961 he entered the Pakistan Military Academy at Kakul, graduating in 1964. He then attended the Command and Staff College at Queta and the National Defense College. In 1971 Musharraf commanded a company in the Indo-Pakistani War of that year. In 1987 Musharraf was based in Kashmir in command of a mountain warfare unit at Khapalu. He was promoted to major general in 1991.

Musharraf achieved the rank of lieutenant general in 1995 and took command of a corps. He became Pakistan Army chief of staff in 1998 and organized the Pakistani military strategy in the Kargil War against India. The success of this operation was limited, and Musharraf came under criticism for his failure to achieve any substantial gains, while at the same time antagonizing India. During the war, Musharraf encouraged what were essentially terrorist actions in Indian-held Kashmir, and the Pakistani Army consequently became closely linked with these activities.

In early 1999 Musharraf clashed with the civilian government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif over two main issues: relations with India and the high level of corruption within the government. In October 1999 Sharif sought to remove Musharraf as head of the army while he was out of the country. When Musharraf attempted to return to the country via a commercial jetliner, officials loyal to Sharif refused to allow the plane to land. Army officers supporting Musharraf then took over key government installations, including the airport, and Musharraf's plane landed.



Pakistani general Pervez Musharraf overthrew the democratically elected government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on October 12, 1999. Musharraf claimed he staged the coup only to prevent the country's economic and political demise. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Musharraf assumed control of the country, and Sharif was exiled. The October 12, 1999, coup had been a bloodless affair. Although many groups in Pakistan pressed for new elections, Musharraf refused to yield to the demands. President Rafiq Tarar remained as titular head of Pakistan, but Musharraf assumed this post as well on June 20, 2001.

Following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, Musharraf allowed U.S. forces access to three Pakistani airbases to prosecute Operation ENDURING FREEDOM against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. In public, Musharraf expressed support for and unity with the George W. Bush administration's Global War on Terror. There is evidence, however, that the Bush administration strong-armed Musharraf into supporting the U.S. action.

Following a terrorist attack against India's parliament building in December 2001 carried out by Pakistani militants, Musharraf distanced himself from Kashmiri separatists, who had previously enjoyed the support of the Pakistani government. He also launched an antiterrorist operation in the Wana region of Pakistan. On January 12, 2002, Musharraf made a pivotal speech in which he sharply criticized all acts of terrorism and explicitly withdrew support for any form of terrorist activity against India.

During the October 2002 Pakistani elections, Musharraf mobilized sufficient support to remain in power. Although he promised to relinquish his command of the army, this did not occur until November 2007. His position was legitimized by a bill passed by the Pakistani parliament in January 2004.

Musharraf remained a less than enthusiastic ally of the United States, in part because of threats against his own government from Pakistani Islamic militants based primarily in the tribal regions of the northwest. He refused to commit troops to the Anglo-American war in Iraq and stated that he would not do so unless there was a resolution from the United Nations (UN). In 2004 Musharraf began a series of talks with India to reduce tensions between the two states and to resolve the ongoing problem of Kashmir. This tension has been heightened by the development of nuclear weapons by both nations. Musharraf's government came in for considerable criticism from its citizens regarding its handling of relief operations following a large earthquake in northern Pakistan in October 2005.

In March 2007 Musharraf precipitated a major crisis when he suspended from office Pakistan's chief justice of the Supreme Court, Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry. Fearful that the court was going to successfully challenge his bid for reelection in the fall, Musharraf claimed that the suspension was in response to Chaudhry's "abuse of power." The action led to major demonstrations and a boycott

by many of Pakistan's attorneys. Chaudhry was reinstated in July. In October the Pakistani legislature elected Musharraf to another term as president, even though 85 legislators had resigned in protest. The Supreme Court ruled that the results of the election could not be validated until it ruled on the legality of the election itself.

On November 3, 2007, Musharraf declared a state of emergency and fired Chaudhry. Under much domestic and international pressure to restore constitutional rule, Musharraf lifted the declaration on December 15 but had clearly been wounded politically. In the meantime, his political opponents were allowed to return to Pakistan, including former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, who would be running in the 2008 legislative elections, to which Musharraf was forced to accede. On November 28, 2007, he finally stepped down as chief of army staff and was replaced by General Ashfaq Kayani.

When Bhutto was assassinated on December 27, 2007, many blamed Musharraf for her murder; he has denied any involvement in the killing, however. The general elections were finally held on February 28, 2008, and the Pakistan People's Party won the majority of the votes. The party then formed a coalition with the Pakistan Muslim League. In spite of his efforts to cling to power, Musharraf resigned in August 2008, and was succeeded as Pakistani president by Asif Ali Zardari.

Ralph Baker

See also

Afghanistan; Bhutto, Benazir; enduring freedom, Operation; Pakistan; Pakistan, Armed Forces; Taliban

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Music, Middle East

The position of the Middle East at the crossroads of Africa, Europe, and Asia contributed to its unique cultural and musical makeup. Its musical production can be divided into art music, produced for the royal courts and the elites, such as classical Persian and Ottoman or Arabo-Ottoman music, some of which is still taught and performed today; folk or popular music; and modern musical forms that may combine indigenous and Western harmonies, instrumentation, or rhythms. Middle Eastern music has some overall unifying characteristics such as its instruments, which include the lute family, the *ud, saz, buzuq, nashat kar, tar, tanbura,* and *sarinda* from Afghanistan; the lyre family, the Sinai and Nile *tanbura* and the *simsimiyya;* the bowed instruments, the *kamanja, rebab,* and *sarang;* the horn and reed instruments, the *zurna, mijwiz,* and *mizmar;* the reed flute, or *nay;* the zither family, including the *qanun* and *santur;* and the percussion family, clay and metal hand drums, larger drums (*tabl*) and tambourines with or without cymbals, finger cymbals, and spoons. Even the Arabic coffee grinder (a mortar and pestle) is used as an instrument in some folk music. These have been supplemented with such Western instruments as the violin, called *kamanja,* the same name as its Middle Eastern bowed predecessor; viola, cello, and bass; the electronic keyboard or piano; concert flute and brass; and the accordion. The most important and valued instrument is, however, the human voice. Other similarities are the avoidance of polyphony (one melodic line, no harmony); the use of microtones (usually quarter tones); melodic structures known as *maqam* (*maqamat*), which are modes rather than scales; the use of improvisation on the *maqamat,* which, when instrumental, is called *taqasim;* the use of ornamentation and call-and-response; the valuing of *tarab,* or emotional artistry rather than mere technique; and the dominance of percussion in many folk genres.

An early-20th-century ensemble performing classical or art music might have consisted of an *ud,* a *qanun,* a violin, a *nay* (reed flute), and the cymbaled tambourine (*riqq*) and was called a *takht* (meaning stage or platform). A pop musical group, or *firqa,* might consist of musicians playing the electronic keyboard, *tabla* or *darbakka* (the vase-shaped hand drum), and either violin, accordion, or possibly electrified bass. Musical performances are more interactive than in the West. If the music is considered excellent, the audience reacts emotionally and vocally.

Some religious music, such as the *sama'iat* (a composition in a 10/8 rhythm) of the Sufi orders, may be close to art music or played in a simpler style. Other Sufi celebrations feature *inshad,* or Sufi poetry sung with a full band playing a synthesis of Arab pop and folk melodies. Songs for the hajj and the *mulids* (days commemorating holy men and women) are also popular. The Coptic Church, like the Syriac and other Arab churches, has its own liturgy and sung music, but religion does not dominate the music of the region.

The great popularity of music and the oral tradition in the region benefited from nationally subsidized radio from the 1930s to the 1950s, when such singers or instrumentalists as Munira al-Mahdiyya, Umm Kulthum, Muhammad abd al-Wahhab, Asmahan, Farid al-Atrash, and others began their careers. Radio al-Quds, broadcast from Jerusalem, played a very important role in elevating music and musical figures as did radio stations in Lebanon, where the singer Fairuz began her career, and in Afghanistan, where Ferida Mahwash worked. Her career began in the 1960s, and she was given the title "Ustadha" to signify a master musician by the Afghan government in 1976. Sadly, the reclamation of music by women from respected families, such as Mahwash, from its dubious past associations was lost when the Taliban later banned music and musical recordings.

Musical plays, called *masrahiyyat,* also became popular, such as the extravaganzas performed and recorded by the Rahbani Brothers of Lebanon with the singer Fairuz. Nearly all countries

of the region established national folk ensembles to preserve their local musical and dance traditions. Cinema was also a very important vehicle for music, and many musical stars made films. In the 1960s few were as popular as the Egyptian singer Abd al-Halim Hafiz. Television and most recently music videos allowed audiences to experience established and newer performers as well as Western performance styles and musical content.

Egyptian artist Umm Kulthum (1904–1975), known as Kawkab al-Sharq (Star of the East) or by Egyptians as simply al-Sitt (the Lady), began her career as a child singing in religious celebrations and weddings. Family members performed with her, and she wore a male head-covering to indicate her modesty. After reinventing herself as a modern singer in Cairo and hiring modern composers and lyricists, she became the most celebrated singer of the Arab world. At the height of her career, she gave Thursday evening concerts that were broadcast throughout the Arab world, typically featuring one lengthy composition displaying her vocal power, improvisational skill, and emotional interpretation. Like other singers, she sang such nationalist compositions as the anti-British "University Song" and supported the Arab and Palestinian cause in 1948. After the Arab defeat in the 1967 Six-Day War, she staged a series of concerts and donated $2 million for reconstruction projects.

Other examples of political music and music related to war could include male singer and *udist* Farid al-Atrash and his song celebrating the union of Egypt and Syria in 1958, the popular Lebanese performer Marcel Khalifa, and the Palestinian group Sabrin.

The cause of Iraq has also been memorialized in music in different ways. The maqam tradition in Iraq, a special type of music, instrumentation, and singing typified by the singer Salima Murad, nearly died out, but some of its musicians continue recording in Europe, like Farida Ali. Better known in the Arab world was the great *udist* (lutist), the late Munir Bachir. Nasir al-Shamma continues the renowned Iraqi tradition of the *ud* he performs and records in Cairo. He is best known for his song "It Happened at al-Amiriyya," in reference to the bombing of civilians during the Persian Gulf War.

Another Iraqi, Kadhim al-Sahir, has achieved pop-star status, having sold 30 million records. Part of his appeal is his Iraqi musical style. In his song "Beauty and His Love," a man's girlfriend fears he has a new flame, which turns out to be the city of Baghdad.

Popular music in Israel was largely state-controlled through media and cultural policies until the 1970s, when the Israel Defense Forces' (IDF) entertainment ensembles (known as the *lehakot tsva*) performed songs that combined indigenous elements with international popular influences. After the 1970s popular music became ethnic markers of different groups in Israel, such as the eastern Jewish communities whose members had emigrated from Arab countries. They consciously incorporated Arab and Yemenite musical characteristics, like the elongated melismatic embellishments or quarter tones, to signify their eastern Mediterranean style while voicing the political struggles of their particular group. A contemporary example of this is Ofra Haza and Dana International. Israeli and Palestinian songs allude frequently to the land itself and sometimes to various stages of their struggles with each other.

Palestinian musical performance suffered from the dispersion and refugee status of the population, as well as from Israeli censorship. The Israeli government created a radio orchestra for Arab music. The performers were from the Egyptian, Iraqi, and Syrian Jewish communities, however, and the orchestra's musical repertoire and apolitical content differed from the Palestinian music produced for such private settings as weddings. Traditional weddings featured a *zaffa,* a musical procession, and songs accompanied by the *dabka,* a line dance also found in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. Today, families bring in DJs and recorded music instead of musical ensembles. The Islamist movement has on the one hand discouraged music in some weddings, while on the other promoted songs with jihadist lyrics.

An exception to other Palestinian musicians of his time was Hikmat Shahin. He taught the traditional repertoire at the Arab conservatory at Haifa and led the Arabic Music Ensemble of Tarshiha, which reorganized after his death as the Tarshiha Ensemble. There is also the Sabrin ensemble in the West Bank that blends more contemporary elements into its music. The music conservatories at Ramallah and Amman are quite active in trying to preserve Arabic music, as are those in Cairo and Beirut.

Western classical music is also important in many countries of the Middle East. Some Israeli, Arab, and Turkish composers have experimented with Middle Eastern themes or inspirations that either juxtapose Middle Eastern and Western music or combine the two. Examples are the Egyptian composers Abu Bakr Khayrat, founder of the Cairo Conservatory; Jamal (Gamal) abd al-Rahim; Aziz al-Shawan, composer of the first Egyptian opera; and Sharif Muhiddin.

Many Palestinians migrated into surrounding countries and to the West, and they sometimes perform music with political themes—although in family and wedding settings more than commercial ones. Certain songs were composed and performed as a nationalist repertoire.

Fairuz (b. 1935) became known as the "Voice of Lebanon," although there were other singers, such as Sabah, who also popularized folk melodies. Fairuz produced an album, *Jerusalem in My Heart,* in 1966 that featured songs devoted to particular Palestinian sites, along with vocals by Joseph Azar and a chorus.

Afghanistan's music is a mix of traditional, folk, and beginning in the 1950s, modern-style popular music. Its music scene was influenced by the music of neighboring Pakistan, and also of India. Afghanistan's classical music genre, known as *klasik,* includes both vocal and instrumental music and borrows elements from Indian Hindu music. In the 1960s and 1970s some performers from aristocratic families, like Ahmad Zahir from the Mohammadzai family, gave such music more respectability. A singer, Zahir played the organ, along with other Western instruments. When the Taliban came to power in the mid-1990s, it banned

Afghan men play folk music and dance during a wedding party in Kabul, Afghanistan, on October 21, 2003. (AP/Wide World Photos)

virtually all public music and only now is Afghanistan beginning to redevelop its music industry.

The unique music of the Persian Gulf and North Africa is found in two forms, a folk format and more polished and larger orchestral arrangements with a greater number of non–folk instruments. Saudi performer Muhammad Abduh's songs were learned by other Arab performers, and today many from the Levant and North Africa include one or two Gulf-style compositions in their recordings. In North Africa a very specific classical tradition has been preserved. There is also lighter popular music. Rai music is a synthesis of Algerian folk tunes and irreverent, often countercultural, lyrics with Western-style accordion and guitar accompaniment. Some rai performers, such as Shab (Cheb) Khalid, became more widely known in Europe. Rai performers were attacked by radical Islamists during the civil war in Algeria. Middle Eastern music has also synthesized in the Jewish Diaspora, where musicians of various national origins learn the tastes of their local audiences. Music remains a vital connection, shaping the cultural, societal, and national identity of members living abroad.

Carolyn Ramzy and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Afghanistan; Arab Nationalism; Casualties, Operation DESERT STORM; Egypt; Israel, Armed Forces; Taliban

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Muslim Brotherhood

Muslim fundamentalist (Islamist) organization founded in Egypt in 1928 that promotes the Islamic way of life and has been active in the political arena for many years. With separate and autonomous branches in many other countries, the Muslim Brotherhood (Jama'at al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin, or Society of Muslim Brothers) provides education, social services, and fellowship for religiously active Muslims. The secret military wing of the organization was involved in assassinations or attempted assassinations after being outlawed by the Egyptian government in the late 1940s and was also involved in an alleged assassination attempt on President Gamal

A member of the Muslim Brotherhood shouts antigovernment slogans during a demonstration in Cairo, Egypt, on March 27, 2005. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Abdel Nasser in 1954. The Muslim Brotherhood opposed the formation of Israel and the Israeli seizure of Palestinian lands. It is impossible to speak of the Muslim Brotherhood as a unified body, because its policies have necessarily varied in its various locations.

The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in March 1928 in Ismailiyya, Egypt, by Hassan al-Banna, a 22-year-old elementary school Arabic teacher and former leader of the Society for Moral Behavior and secretary to the Hasafiyya Sufi order. Banna was deeply troubled by the British presence in the Suez Canal Zone and the gap between the Egyptian wealthy and the poor. He adopted some of the ideas of Egyptian-Syrian salafism, which called for a reform of Islamic society through education. He also believed that communities and youths needed an Islamic organization. Soon he had established branches in Port Said and Suez City and contacts elsewhere in Egypt. The organization's motto was "Islam is the solution." Banna and his brother established the first Ikhwan branch in Cairo in 1932, and the organization expanded significantly in size over the next two decades, at least in part because of its nationalist stance and because the Wafd Party was somewhat discredited by its enforced cooperation with the British.

The Ikhwan established its own companies, schools, and hospitals and set up a secret military apparatus in the 1940s. It also carried out actions against British and Jewish interests in Egypt in the late 1940s.

Some members of the Muslim Brotherhood traveled to Syria in the 1930s, and Sudanese, Syrian, and Palestinian individuals either met with the Ikhwan in Egypt or became familiar with Banna's ideas. These individuals then formed their own associations. One example is Mustafa al-Siba'i, the Syrian Ikhwan's first general guide. A women's organization was established under Zaynab al-Ghazali and promoted political and charitable work as well as the wearing of the hijab, or Islamic dress. The Muslim Brotherhood, then as now, promoted *dawa* (its mission) and reform and later emphasized a shift to Islamic law.

On December 28, 1948, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood assassinated Egyptian prime minister Mahmud Fahmi Nuqrashi. Banna was assassinated in February 1949, most likely by the Egyptian security forces. The next leader of the organization, Hasan al-Hudhaybi, hoped for a better relationship with the new revolutionary government, since the Muslim Brotherhood supported the Free Officers Revolution in 1952. Anwar Sadat had been a liaison between the Free Officers and the Ikhwan, followed by Abd al-Munim Abd al-Rauf, a Brother and a Free Officer. General Muhammad Naguib was also linked to the Ikhwan. When Gamal Abdel Nasser succeeded Naguib and reined in political dissent, matters worsened for the Ikhwan. On October 26, 1954, an Ikhwan member attempted to assassinate Nasser, who responded by outlawing the Muslim Brotherhood, executing a few of its members, and imprisoning more than 4,000 of its members, some for as long as 17 years. Other members fled abroad. This confrontation led to the radicalism expressed by an Ikhwan member, Sayyid Qutb, and a bitterness on the part of the Ikhwan toward Nasser and his regime. Qutb had previously promoted societal change through education and reform, but he wrote of the necessity of jihad and martyrdom in his final book, *Ma'alim fi-l-Tariq* (*Milestones*) that was banned and for which he was executed in prison.

The first Jordanian branch of the Ikhwan was founded in Salt in 1946. Other centers formed and were led by a cleric, Haj Abd al-Latif al-Qurah. The group received informal approval from King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia to operate as a religious and not a political organization, and the organization grew in the West Bank and Jordan. In 1957 King Hussein of Jordan rescinded all political parties except for the Muslim Brotherhood. The group formed an Islamic Charitable Society by 1964. The Muslim Brotherhood supported the king to some degree against Palestinian guerrilla fights, but in the 1980s it openly criticized corruption and immorality in Jordan, and King Hussein moved against it. In 1989 the first Jordanian elections in 22 years were held; the Muslim Brotherhood won 22 of 80 seats, and its other Islamist allies won 12 additional seats.

In Syria a small society in Aleppo transferred to Damascus and became the Muslim Brotherhood in 1944. It soon grew in Syria's urban Sunni-dominated centers. Those in Hama and Aleppo opposed the Baathist Alawite regime of Hafiz al-Asad, but the Damascus wing supported it until a controversy over the secular

character of the constitution occurred in 1973. The Muslim Brotherhood assassinated some Baath officials and attacked buildings associated with the Baath Party and the army. The organization killed 83 Alawi cadets in 1979 and mounted large-scale demonstrations in 1980, when the government outlawed the Muslim Brotherhood. It then joined the Syrian Islamic Front. In a showdown between the Syrian military and the Syrian Islamic Front in the city of Hama, somewhere between 10,000 and 30,000 inhabitants were killed. Some of the leadership went into exile, and others went underground. However, the Muslim Brotherhood has revived in Syria in recent years.

Contacts began with Sudan in the 1940s, and the Sudanese Muslim Brotherhood was formed in 1954. There, the organization advocated independence from Egypt. In 1964 Hasan al-Turabi became a leader of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Islamic Charter Front and much later in the National Islamic Front, founded in 1985. The National Islamic Front was associated with the military coup of 1989, and the succeeding regime implemented stricter Islamization practices.

Sadat, who became president of Egypt in September 1970 following Nasser's sudden death, released members of the Muslim Brotherhood from prison but refused to allow the organization to operate as a political party. He also encouraged Islamic student organizations. The Muslim Brotherhood operated within the regime's rules and argued for gradual change, in contrast with other extremist groups that emerged in the 1970s whose ideas were more similar to the later, more extreme ideas of Qutb. The Muslim Brotherhood attempted to forge an alliance with several of the small opposition parties, with the Wafd Party, and then with the Socialist Labor and the Liberal Party to promote itself in parliament. A younger segment of its leadership also split off from the Ikhwan to become the Wasit Party. Electoral rules and corruption prevented the Muslim Brotherhood from achieving larger political gains than it might have made, but the party is today larger and more popular than ever in Egypt.

The Muslim Brotherhood also had a following in Gaza, and Sheikh Ahmed Yassin ran a welfare and educational organization for Palestinian Muslims in the 1970s. He gave his approval when physician Abdel al-Aziz al-Rantissi, Salah Shihada, and Yahya al-Sinuwwar formed Hamas (Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya) in 1987. Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman al-Khalifa of the Muslim Brotherhood of Jordan also gave his assent to the formation of the West Bank branch of Hamas the following year. The Muslim Brotherhood has additionally had a strong influence in Kuwait and has or had members in other countries, such as Iraq. This is in line with the Muslim Brotherhood's stance that it is a universal Islamic assembly and not a movement restricted to Arabs or to one country.

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See also

Asad, Hafiz al-; Egypt; Hamas; Hussein ibn Talal, King of Jordan; Jihad; Jordan; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Sadat, Muhammad Anwar; Sudan; Syria

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Mutla Ridge

Mutla Ridge is the highest point in Kuwait, located just north and west of the city of Kuwait. In February 1991, during Operation DESERT STORM, U.S. forces managed to capture Mutla Ridge in a lopsided battle and cut off Iraqi forces fleeing to Iraq. A massive convoy of Iraqi vehicles was trapped on the highway leading to Mutla Ridge and was devastated by coalition aircraft, as well as by U.S. ground forces. The scene of the destruction became known as the "Highway of Death."

The Jahrah Road crosses Mutla Ridge and is the major multilane highway from the city of Kuwait and southern Kuwait to the north. Steep ditches and slopes make the crossing at Mutla Ridge a natural choke point, where only a few vehicles at a time can pass. The sixth highway of the belt of roads circling the city of Kuwait also runs along the ridge and intersects the Jahrah Road near the Mutla police station.

Mutla Ridge caught the attention of war planners while they were deciding how to liberate Kuwait. They realized that if they could seize the ridge, they could trap Iraqi forces in southern Kuwait. The 2nd Marine Division was assigned Mutla Ridge as an objective in the campaign. To help them deal with the Iraqi armor they might encounter, the marines were supplemented with the Tiger Brigade from the U.S. Army's 2nd Armored Division.

The ground campaign began on February 24. The marines quickly breached the Iraqi defenses on the Kuwaiti–Saudi Arabian border and moved north. They captured an entire Iraqi tank battalion, along with more than 5,000 prisoners. By the end of the first day, the 2nd Marine Division was 20 miles into Kuwait. An Iraqi counterattack the next morning was quickly defeated, and the division continued to move north.

That night, marine aircraft reported a large convoy of vehicles leaving Kuwait on the Jahrah Road. The same situation was reported by air-ground radar from the Joint Surveillance and Target Reader System (JSTARS) aircraft that kept watch over the area. A flight of 12 Boeing F-15 Eagle attack aircraft was immediately dispatched to attack the convoy as it crossed Mutla Ridge. The aircraft managed to destroy the leading vehicles, using cluster bombs. Airdropped mines were also used to seal off the road, to prevent the following vehicles from continuing around the destroyed leaders. Other vehicles were destroyed at the rear of the convoy to bottle up the Iraqis. U.S. Navy and other air force planes

continued to pound the Iraqis during the night. It was estimated that 1,400 to 1,500 vehicles were trapped there.

On the morning of February 26, the marines and the Tiger Brigade continued to advance toward Mutla Ridge. The area was defended by a minefield, through which the Americans had to clear lanes for their vehicles. They then encountered a number of Iraqi bunkers, which had to be cleared and destroyed. Dug-in Iraqi tanks were also defending the slopes of Mutla Ridge. Almost all of these were older T-55 models. During a three-hour battle, the Tiger Brigade destroyed 20 Iraqi tanks, and took several hundred prisoners.

When the Americans finally reached the crossroads on Mutla Ridge, the tankers saw 18 Iraqi tanks trying to pass through. They opened fire and destroyed 3, and the crews of the other 15 tanks quickly surrendered. The U.S. armored infantry then dismounted and began to clear the Mutla police station nearby. Fighting was fierce, as the Iraqis had to be cleared from each room. Forty Iraqis were killed. One American died when he was wounded and bled to death before he could be evacuated.

With the capture of Mutla Ridge, the Iraqi vehicles were completely trapped between the 2nd Marine Division and the 1st Marine Division approaching from the south. Coalition aircraft had bombed the convoy all day, and now marine and army tanks began to fire on the vehicles below. Witnesses said the vehicles completely filled all six lanes of the highway for more than two miles, as well as the available shoulders for several hundred yards on either side of the road. Most vehicles were civilian types taken from Kuwaiti citizens and were filled with goods stolen from Kuwaiti stores and homes. Most of the Iraqis now realized they would not be able to drive away, so they abandoned their cars and trucks, walking across the desert for home.

Television crews soon arrived on Mutla Ridge, and the images they took were flashed around the world. The stretch of highway below Mutla Ridge became known as the "Highway of Death." The carnage was more apparent than real, however. Tiger Brigade officers who were the first U.S. personnel on the scene said their troops found 200 Iraqi bodies among the vehicle wreckage while capturing 2,000 live Iraqis hiding nearby in the desert; but the burned-out and bombed vehicles, along with some charred bodies, made a gruesome spectacle. In Washington, D.C., President George W. Bush and his advisers feared that U.S. and world opinion would turn against the coalition forces, for it was patently obvious that the Iraqis had been defeated. The images from Mutla Ridge helped convinced the president to order a cease-fire after only four days of ground operations.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Bombs, Cluster; DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; Kuwait; T-54/55 Series Main Battle Tank

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Myatt, James Michael

Birth Date: 1941

A U.S. Marine Corps general who commanded the 1st Marine Division during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, James Michael (Mike) Myatt was born in 1941 in San Francisco, California. He enrolled at Sam Houston State University in the autumn of 1959 before enlisting in the Marine Corps Reserve in 1960. Upon graduation in 1963 with a degree in physics, Myatt was commissioned a second lieutenant. Myatt served two combat tours in Vietnam and had much experience in unconventional warfare.

Myatt rose steadily through the ranks and held posts of increasing responsibility. He attended the Naval Postgraduate School and earned a master's degree in engineering electronics. Other postings included a tour as a professor at the U.S. Naval Academy, service as operations officer for the 4th Marine Amphibious Brigade, and commanding a Marine Expeditionary Unit in the Mediterranean. In 1987 Myatt was promoted to brigadier general. His next posting was as director of Manpower Plans and Policy in Washington, D.C.

At the beginning of August 1990, Myatt was assigned to command the 1st Marine Division at Camp Pendleton, California. Within days, the division was alerted for deployment to Saudi Arabia as part of Operation DESERT SHIELD to protect that country from a potential Iraqi invasion. The division consisted of three infantry regiments, an artillery regiment, a light armored infantry battalion, and two tank battalions. Upon arrival, Myatt organized his division into five different task forces tailored to specific tasks, and organized his men more like army brigades than traditional marine units. One contingent was organized around lightly armored vehicles and assigned to screen the border. Two others were reinforced with M-60 tanks, while the remaining two were normal light infantry. Myatt continued to use this organizational structure for his division throughout the Persian Gulf War.

As more U.S. and coalition troops arrived in Saudi Arabia, the 1st Marine Division occupied the part of the border close to the Persian Gulf. On January 29, 1991, Iraqi forces crossed the border to attack the Saudi town of Khafji. Marine light armor, infantry, and attack helicopters from the 1st Division helped stop them. Two marine reconnaissance teams were trapped in Khafji, but they were relieved by Arab military forces supported by marine artillery and aircraft.

The Battle of Khafji convinced marine commanders that most Iraqis would not fight if pushed. The ground offensive plan was then modified, with the 1st and 2nd Marine Divisions assigned to breach the Iraqi defenses side-by-side. Their assignment was to divert Iraqi attention to southern Kuwait, so the main effort

farther west could advance more easily. On February 22 Myatt ordered Task Forces Grizzly and Taro of two battalions each to cross into Kuwait and begin clearing lanes through the Iraqi minefields. When the main ground offensive began on February 24, lanes were quickly available for the mechanized forces to advance. They passed quickly through the Burgan Oil Field and bypassed the Ahmed Al Jaber Air Base. Follow-up infantry cleared the airfield, making it available for use by marine helicopters. By the end of February 24, the 1st Marine Division had taken thousands of Iraqi prisoners and advanced 20 miles into Kuwait. The advance was so successful that General H. Norman Schwarzkopf ordered the main attack in the west to begin earlier than scheduled.

The next morning, an Iraqi armored counterattack surprised the marines and came close to Myatt's forward command post. The marines drove back the Iraqis after a three-hour battle and destroyed some 30 tanks. They then advanced to within 10 miles of the city of Kuwait. On February 26 the marines attacked the Kuwait International Airport, supported by the 16-inch guns of the battleship USS *Wisconsin.* The defenders included 300 Iraqi tanks and armored personnel carriers. Fighting continued late into the night, but the marines destroyed most of the opposing Iraqi armor and secured the airport early on February 27. Later that day, the marines allowed Arab forces to pass through their lines and liberate the city of Kuwait.

Myatt returned with the 1st Marine Division to California after the war. He remained in command until the summer of 1992 and then served in South Korea until 1994, when he became director of Expeditionary Warfare at the Pentagon. In 1995 Myatt retired from the marines, at the rank of major general, and took a position with Bechtel Corporation. In 2001 he took a leave from Bechtel to serve as president of the Marines' Memorial Association, a position he continues to hold.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Khafji, Battle of; United States Marine Corps, Persian Gulf War

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Myers, Richard Bowman

Birth Date: March 1, 1942

A U.S. Air Force general and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) from 2001 to 2005, Richard Bowman Myers was born in Kansas City, Missouri, on March 1, 1942. He graduated from Kansas State University in 1965 and entered the air force through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) program. He served as a fighter pilot during the Vietnam War, accumulating 600 combat flying hours. In 1977 he earned a master's degree in business administration from Auburn University.

Myers was promoted to brigadier general in April 1990 and was assigned as director of Fighter, Command and Control and Weapons Programs in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Acquisition in Washington, D.C. In September 1992 he was promoted to major general, and in November 1993 he was promoted to lieutenant general. From July 1996 to July 1997 he was the assistant to the chairman of the JCS. He then commanded the Pacific Air Forces at Hickham Air Force Base, Hawaii, during July 1997 to July 1998. He was promoted to full general in September 1997.

From August 1998 to February 2000 Myers headed the North American Aerospace Defense Command and U.S. Space Command. He also commanded the Air Force Space Command and was the Department of Defense manager of the space transportation system contingency support at Peterson Air Force Base, Colorado.

Myers was vice chairman of the JCS from March 2000 to September 2001. As vice chairman, he served as chairman of the Joint Requirements Oversight Council, as vice chairman of the Defense Acquisition Board, and as a member of the National Security Council (NSC) Deputies Committee and the Nuclear Weapons

U.S. Air Force general Richard Myers was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) during 2001–2005. He has been criticized for underestimating the number of ground troops required in the invasion of Iraq in 2003 and ignoring the possibility of an Iraqi insurgency. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Council. In addition, Myers acted for the JCS chairman in most aspects of the planning, programming, and budgeting system, including participation in the Defense Resources Board.

In August 2001 President George W. Bush nominated Myers as chairman of the JCS. Myers thus had held his new position for only a few weeks—and had not yet been confirmed by the U.S. Senate—when the terrorist attacks of September 11 took place. After the second plane hit the World Trade Center during the attacks, Myers called the Pentagon's command center and ordered the military's alert status to defense condition (DEFCON) 3, the highest state of military readiness since the October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War. Myers was confirmed to the chairman's position by the Senate and was sworn in on October 1, 2001.

Myers closely analyzed the status of both Afghanistan and Iraq prior to U.S. military involvement in those two countries in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM beginning in 2001 and Operation IRAQI FREEDOM beginning in 2003, respectively. While much of the blame for the debacle of the war in Iraq fell on Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Myers has also been sharply criticized. Many argue that, among others things, he underestimated the potential likelihood of a postinvasion insurgency and failed to provide enough troops to secure the country from the very beginning.

Myers retired on September 30, 2005. Two months later he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom. The following year he was named Foundation Professor of Military History at Kansas State University. Myers has also served on several boards, including those of Northrop Grumman and United Technologies Corporation. He holds the Colin L. Powell Chair for National Security, Leadership, Character and Ethics at the National Defense University, and in 2009 he published his memoirs, *Eyes on the Horizon.*

CHARLENE T. OVERTURF

See also

Bush, George Walker; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; Nuclear Weapons, Iraq's Potential for Building; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

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N

Nahyan, Zayid bin Sultan al-
Birth Date: 1922
Death Date: November 2, 2004

President of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) from 1971 to 2004, and emir of Abu Dhabi from 1966 to 2004. Sheikh Zayid bin Sultan al-Nahyan (al-Nuhayyan) was born in 1922 (exact date unknown) in the Ain region of Abu Dhabi. He spent his youth as a desert nomad and received no formal education. Under his brother's rule, Sheikh Zayid served as governor of Abu Dhabi's agricultural Eastern Province from 1946 to 1966. In 1966 he deposed his brother, Sheikh Shakbut al-Nahyan, to become emir of Abu Dhabi.

As emir, Sheikh Zayid was the principal architect behind the formation of the Trucial States, a group of Arab states or sheikhdoms that included Abu Dhabi. In December 1971 Sheikh Zayid became president of the Trucial States (soon renamed the United Arab Emirates). In 1973 he reorganized the UAE's political structure, bringing most of Abu Dhabi's ministries under central control. Under the direction of Sheikh Zayid, the UAE's provisional constitution (a document that essentially defined the federation of the seven states) was ratified on July 18, 1971, although the document did not become permanent until 1996.

In Sheikh Zayid's second term as president of the UAE, which began in 1976, he promulgated more political reforms, including the centralization of the government, integration of defense forces, and increased financial contributions from member states. One of his primary goals as emir of Abu Dhabi and president of the UAE was to use oil revenues to raise the standard of living in the region. To meet this goal, he shared Abu Dhabi's oil wealth with the poorer sheikhdoms, thereby reflecting his traditional tribal values. As such, it was no surprise that Sheikh Zayid was reelected president of the UAE in 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, and 2001. Under his rule, the country became a prosperous nation and a leading financial center, and it adopted measures to advance women's rights.

Sheikh Zayid is also credited for his involvement in the creation of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (also known as the Gulf Cooperation Council, or GCC). In terms of foreign relations, particularly with the West, Sheikh Zayid proved an able diplomat. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the UAE joined the United Nations (UN) coalition to force Iraq out of Kuwait. Furthermore, in 1992 heightened tensions with Iran induced the emir to expand the UAE's military cooperation with the United States. In June 2001, after facing increased international criticism of the UAE's poor record on human rights, Sheikh Zayid ordered the release of more than 6,000 prisoners on humanitarian grounds.

Sheikh Zayid supported the 2001 invasion of Afghanistan to topple the Taliban regime and also supported the 2003 Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq. Indeed, U.S. and allied forces have used UAE facilities as staging areas for these conflicts. Sheikh Zayid died on November 2, 2004, in Abu Dhabi. His son, Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayid al-Nahyan, who had played an increasing role in government affairs since the 1990s, succeeded his father as emir.

KIRSTY MONTGOMERY

See also

Gulf Cooperation Council; United Arab Emirates

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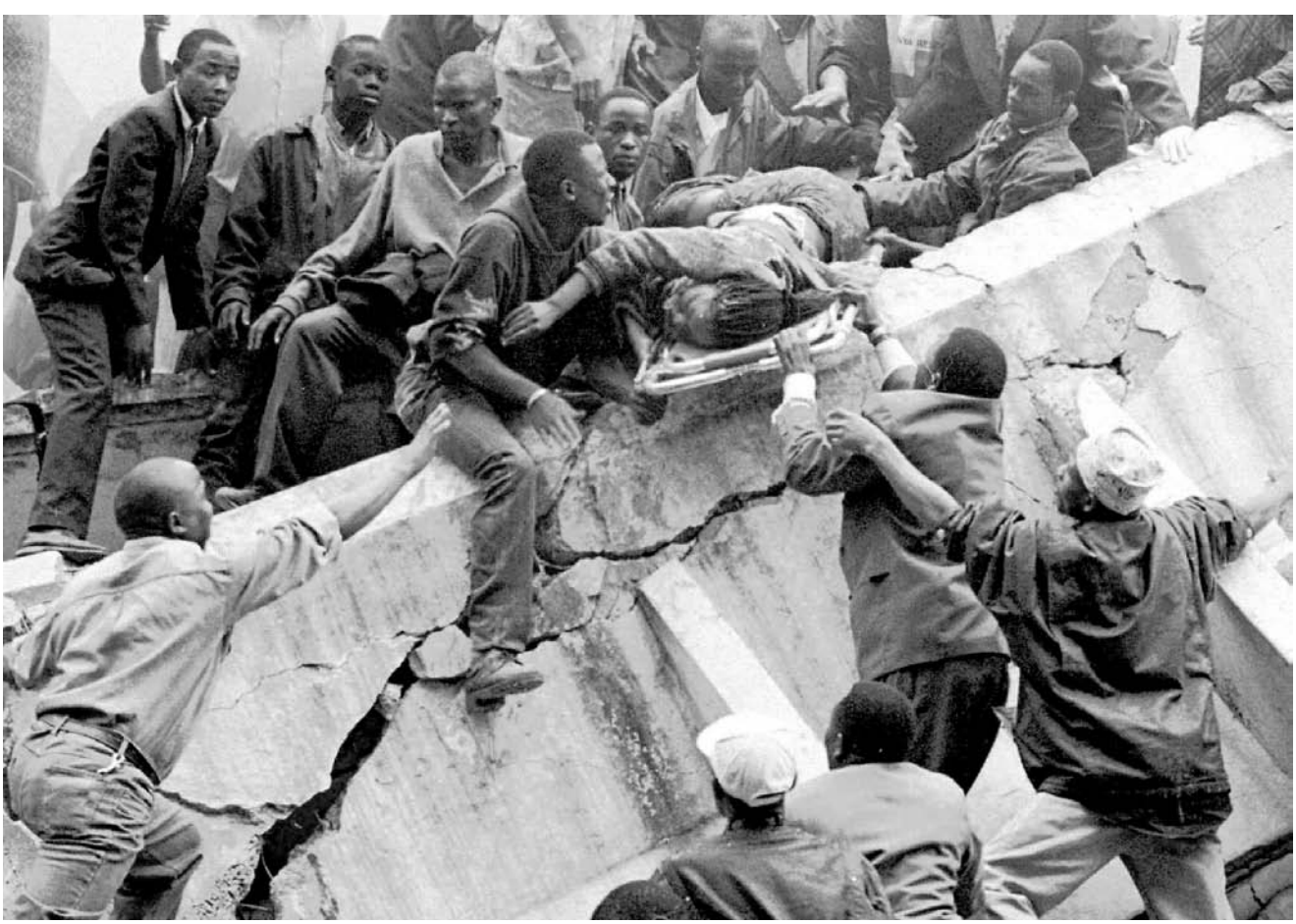
Nairobi, Kenya, Bombing of U.S. Embassy
Event Date: August 7, 1998

Bombing of the U.S. embassy compound in Nairobi, Kenya, on August 7, 1998, by Al Qaeda terrorists. The bombing occurred almost simultaneously with an Al Qaeda terrorist bombing of the U.S. embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The two bombings were among the largest terrorist attacks on U.S. interests to date, and precipitated a military response by the United States in the form of Operation INFINITE REACH, which took place on August 20, 1998. The retaliatory action featured cruise missile strikes on terrorist camps in Afghanistan and an attack on the El Shifa pharmaceutical factory in Khartoum, Sudan. In retrospect, the embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania were part of an escalating spiral of violence involving Al Qaeda terrorists. After President Bill Clinton's administration struck Sudan and Afghanistan with Tomahawk cruise missiles, Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden vowed revenge in the way of a spectacular attack on American interests. This came about on U.S. soil during the September 11, 2001, attacks that destroyed the World Trade Center in New York, damaged the Pentagon in Virginia, and forced the crash of another jetliner in rural Pennsylvania.

The destruction of the embassy in Nairobi was precipitated by a well-placed truck bomb and—it is believed—at least two determined suicide bombers. Timing their mission with the one occurring in Dar es Salaam, the suicide bombers struck at about 10:30 a.m. local time, or 3:30 a.m. Washington, D.C., time. The truck was apparently driven up to the rear entrance of the building. The detonation severely damaged the structure, which had to be torn down and rebuilt.

The death toll, which was staggering, included 200 Kenyans and 12 Americans. More than 4,000 people were injured, including 10 Americans and 12 foreign service nationals. The death toll was much higher in Nairobi than in Dar es Salaam for two principal reasons. First, the truck carrying the explosives to the Nairobi embassy was able to gain access to the inner embassy compound, which was



Rescue workers carry a woman pulled from the wreckage of the U.S. embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, on August 7, 1998, when a terrorist bomb killed more than 200 people. (AP/Wide World Photos)

not the case in Dar al-Salaam. Second, the Nairobi embassy was in a densely populated area close to the center of the city, so when the bomb detonated, there were far more collateral casualties.

The resultant investigation of the bombings, which included the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), concluded that bin Laden had approved the attacks. The U.S. government subsequently issued indictments against him and offered a $5 million reward for his capture. For the first time he was also placed on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" list. In 2001 four men were convicted in a U.S. federal court in New York City, which heard impassioned testimony from the families of the victims. Two of the men, Khalfan Khamis Muhammad of Tanzania and Muhammad Rashid Daud al-Awhali of Saudi Arabia, had some direct role in the bombings and could have received the death penalty, but the jury could not reach a unanimous decision. The two others convicted were Muhammad Sadiq 'Awdeh, allegedly the adviser to the bombers, and Wadih al-Hage, an American who was convicted of being Al Qaeda's leader in Nairobi. Their pleas for reduced sentences were rejected. All four were ordered to pay $7 million to the victims and $26 million to the U.S. government.

In October 2008 charges were brought against a Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, detainee, Tanzanian Ahmad Khaffan Gailani, to be tried in a special military tribunal for his role in the attack in Dar es Salaam. Rashid Swailah Hemed was acquitted in 2004 after a several years' trial in Tanzania.

In response to the bombings, President Clinton pledged to wage a war on terrorism. On August 20, 1998, the United States launched cruise missiles (Operation INFINITE REACH) against terrorist camps in Afghanistan, where bin Laden was believed to reside, and the El Shifa pharmaceutical factory. The factory was a target because of allegations that bin Laden had some connection to it, which proved false, and because of allegations that the facility might have been producing nerve gas that was being shipped to Iraq. This latter claim was based on a soil sample; however pesticide decomposition can also produce the same trace chemical that was suspected.

The attacks in Afghanistan killed at least 20 people but failed to kill bin Laden. The attack on the plant in Sudan was severely criticized because it killed at least 20 people and because it had been producing pharmaceuticals necessary for Sudan to fight malaria and tuberculosis, among other diseases. These retaliatory U.S. strikes precipitated massive protests around the world, mostly in Muslim nations.

The U.S. State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research had questioned the intelligence that linked El Shifa to bin Ladin in a report to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright prior to the attack, but it was disregarded. Some of Clinton's detractors charged that he ordered the strikes to take the public's attention off the Monica Lewinsky scandal. Just three days prior to the cruise missile strikes, Clinton had been forced to admit that he had had an affair with Lewinsky, a former White House intern.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Clinton, William Jefferson; Dar es Salaam, Bombing of U.S. Embassy; INFINITE REACH, Operation; September 11 Attacks; Terrorism

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Najaf, First Battle of

Start Date: August 5, 2004
End Date: August 27, 2004

Iraq War battle between U.S. forces and the Islamist Mahdi Army militia, controlled by Muqtada al-Sadr, during August 5–27, 2004. The Iraqi city of Najaf is located about 100 miles south of Baghdad and had a prewar population estimated at 585,000 people. Najaf is one of the holy cities of Shia Islam and a major center for Shia religious pilgrimages, education, and political power.

In March 1991, following the Persian Gulf War, the residents of Najaf rebelled against the regime of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein as part of a larger Shiite uprising against the government. Hussein's forces suppressed the uprising in the city with great brutality. Early in the Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), following two days of heavy fighting, Najaf was assaulted and then captured on April 1, 2003, by units of the U.S. 101st Airborne (Air Assault) Division, commanded by Major General David Petraeus.

Following the overthrow of Hussein's regime later that same month, Najaf witnessed the gradual emergence of the powerful cleric Muqtada al-Sadr, whose Mahdi Army militia was based in the city, as were the Badr Brigades. In April and May 2004 Sadr's militia led an uprising in Najaf that largely usurped control of the city from U.S. forces. Sadr's militia also took on U.S. and coalition military forces across the Shia-controlled areas of southern Iraq. On May 27 Sadr reached a deal with the Americans by which both sides agreed to withdraw their forces from Najaf. The Mahdi militia soon began rebuilding their forces in the city, however.

On July 31, 2004, the 11th Marine Expeditionary Unit, commanded by Colonel Anthony Haslam, took up positions around Najaf, relieving the army's Task Force Dragon. The marines first clashed with the Mahdi militia on August 2, when a marine patrol approached a house believed to be occupied by Sadr. Major fighting erupted on August 5 when the Mahdi militia attacked an Iraqi government police station and the marines responded in force. On August 9 three additional battalions of troops from the 1st Cavalry Division were sent from Baghdad to Najaf to reinforce the marines. Combat took the form of street fighting with the Mahdi militia employing rocket-propelled grenades, mortars, and automatic

rifles against U.S. Abrams tanks, Bradley Fighting Vehicles, attack helicopters, and infantry. A number of Abrams tanks and Bradley Fighting Vehicles were knocked out or heavily damaged by rocket-propelled grenades, and one U.S. helicopter was shot down.

After a few days, the scene of the fighting had approached the Imam Ali Mosque and a huge adjacent cemetery known as the Wadi of Peace. Because the mosque and cemetery represent some of the holiest sites in Shiite Islam, concerns were expressed throughout the Arab world for their safety, but the heavy fighting continued.

The turning point in the battle came on August 26, when two F-16s dropped four 2,000-pound Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM) bombs on hotels near the Imam Ali Mosque, then occupied by the Mahdi militia. The air strike prompted Sadr to negotiate a truce the next day. The Mahdi militia agreed to turn in its weapons and leave Najaf. In return, U.S. forces also left Najaf, and security was turned over to the Iraqi police. The Imam Ali Mosque did not suffer any significant damage during the Battle of Najaf.

Casualty figures remain in dispute. The Americans claim that several hundred members of the Madhi Army were killed in the fight, but militia spokesmen claim the toll was fewer than 30 dead. Eight U.S. service personnel were killed and 30 more were wounded. The Battle of Najaf showcased not only the rise to prominence of such radical extremists as Sadr but also the general elevation of tensions between Shia, Sunnis, and Kurds in Iraq. By the end of 2004 U.S. and coalition forces found themselves locked in a deadly struggle with all the signs of a civil war, despite protestations to the contrary by both U.S. president George W. Bush and British prime minister Tony Blair. Indeed, the situation in Iraq continued to deteriorate until the summer of 2008, when some signs indicated that the Iraq insurgency violence had subsided a bit, a development the British and Americans said was the result of the troop surge, implemented in 2007.

Paul W. Doerr

See also

ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iraqi Insurgency; Mahdi Army; Petraeus, David Howell; Sadr, Muqtada al-; Shia Islam

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Najaf, Second Battle of
Event Date: January 28, 2007

Fierce battle between the Iraqi army and police, heavily aided by U.S. and British military units and air power, and hundreds of well-armed followers of Ahmad al-Hassan al-Basri. The battle occurred on January 28, 2007, in Zarqa, a town located 10 miles from the southern Iraqi Shia shrine city of Najaf. Details about Basri, his messianic religious movement known as the Soldiers of Heaven (Jund al-Samaa), and the battle itself are hotly debated.

According to some accounts, based on interviews with captured members of the group, Basri was the deputy to Dhia Abd al-Zahra Khadhim al-Krimawi (who died in 2007), a shadowy Iraqi Shia leader who claimed to be Imam Mahdi, the 12th in a line of religious and political leaders who Shias believe will return at a time decided by God to usher in a period of absolute justice that will precede the Day of Judgment. The fate of Basri remains unknown, with some sources in the Shia religious establishment in southern Iraq claiming that he survived the battle and is living in seclusion, possibly in the southern shrine city of Karbala.

Following the suppression of the group, the Iraqi government and military spokespeople claimed that Basri, Krimawi, and their followers were really Sunnis and not Shias, although evidence of this is sketchy at best. The Iranian government, Al Qaeda, and remnants of the Iraqi Baath Party have all been accused of supporting the group. Initial Iraqi government reports claimed that foreign Sunnis from countries as far as Pakistan and Afghanistan were killed or captured fighting against Iraqi security forces. These reports were challenged, however, when dead and captured Jund fighters were identified as Iraqis instead of foreigners.

Anonymous sources in the Hawza Ilmiyya, the Shia seminary system in Najaf, have stated that Basri was a former student who left because of disagreements over religious theology with the seminary's religious scholars. Shia clerics loyal to Mahmoud Sarkhi al-Hassani, who heads another Shia messianic party in southern Iraq, denied that Basri and Krimawi were associated with their group. Hassani is a former student of Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq al-Sadr, the father of Muqtada al-Sadr, and claims to be the representative of Imam Mahdi. His group broke with the larger Sadr Movement (Tayyar al-Sadr) over theological and political disputes, including a disagreement about who should assume command of the movement, Muqtada or Hassani. The latter has a relatively small but devoted following in southern Iraq. According to other sources, Basri was also a former student of the late Sadiq al-Sadr, a popular Shia religious opposition leader who was assassinated with two of his sons in 1999, probably by Baath Party operatives. These sources claim that the two had a falling out when the Iraqi Baathists attempted to split Sadiq al-Sadr's increasingly powerful sociopolitical network by sponsoring a rival splinter group, the Mehwadiya led by Basri.

Fighting began on January 28, 2007, when Iraqi police and a battalion of soldiers from the Iraqi 8th Army Division attempted to carry out a morning raid on an alleged safe house used by the Jund. They were acting on information that the group planned to assassinate Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Husayn al-Sistani, Iraq's senior resident Shia religious authority, and other grand ayatollahs and senior religious leaders in Najaf. The assassinations allegedly were to be carried out during Ashura, the Shia period of mourning

Iraqi soldiers take up positions at Zarqa, some 12 miles northeast of Najaf, Iraq, January 28, 2007. (AP/Wide World Photos)

in commemoration for the martyrdom of Imam Hussein bin Ali and dozens of his companions and family members at Karbala in 680 by soldiers sent by the Umayyad caliph Yazid I. The Jund were reportedly acting on the orders of Basri to prepare for the return of Imam Mahdi and the establishment of a religious state governed with absolute justice, as foretold in Shia religious sources and traditions. Reportedly, group members planned to hide their weapons and use the sheer number of people, millions of Iraqis and foreign Shia, who flood into the southern Iraqi shrine cities of Najaf, Karbala, and Kufa during Ashura, to their advantage, hiding in the crowds to get close to the grand ayatollahs' residences.

The Iraqi soldiers and police were soon overwhelmed by hundreds of armed Jund fighters and became pinned down by heavy gunfire, forcing them to call for U.S. and British air support, which came in the form of air strikes by Lockheed Martin F-16 Fighting Falcons and Hughes/McDonnell Douglas AH-64 Apache helicopter gunships along with a small contingent of British fighter jets. The aircraft dropped 500-pound bombs on Jund positions, including significant numbers of fighters in a grove of trees in Zarqa. In the early afternoon, the U.S. 25th Infantry Division and other units were sent from bases near Baghdad to aid the besieged Iraqi units.

During the 15 hours of fighting, one U.S. Apache helicopter was shot down, killing its 2 crew members, and 25 Iraqi soldiers and police were also killed. Iraqi government and U.S. military estimates place the number of Jund casualties at somewhere between 250 and 400, although the number was probably closer to 250–263, among them Krimawi. More than 450 Jund fighters were captured alive and later tried by Iraqi courts. Millions of dollars and a large cache of weapons, including antiaircraft guns, rockets, and automatic rifles, were seized from the Jund's well-equipped compound.

In September 2007 an Iraqi court sentenced 10 Jund leaders to death and 384 fighters to prison terms ranging from 15 years to life. It freed 54. Despite the trial and the apparent decimation of the Jund, the group is but one of several messianic Mahdist Shia groups active in post-Hussein Iraq. The largest is the party led by Mahmoud al-Hassani, who claims the rank of grand ayatollah despite the fact that his religious scholarly credentials do not support his claims and he is not recognized as such by Iraq's Shia religious establishment, the *marjaiyya.* Hassani's popularity is reportedly growing in southern Iraq as a greater number of the country's Shias become disenchanted with the *marjaiyya* traditionalists and the ruling Shia political parties such as the Islamic Dawa Party, the Sadr Movement, and the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council.

Christopher Anzalone

See also
Islamic Dawa Party; Najaf, First Battle of; Sadr, Muqtada al-; Sistani, Sayyid Ali Husayn al-

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Najibullah, Mohammed
Birth Date: February 1947
Death Date: September 28, 1996

Afghan politician and last president of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Mohammad Najibullah was born in Gardiz, Afghanistan, in February 1947 to parents of the Ahmadzai clan of the Ghilzai Pashtun tribe. In 1964 he undertook the study of medicine at Kabul University, finally earning a degree in 1975, although he never became a practicing physician.

In 1965 Najibullah began his political career by joining the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), a communist organization supported by the Soviet government. He was jailed briefly on two separate occasions for his political activities, but by 1977 had become a member of his party's Central Committee. The following year the PDPA seized power in Afghanistan, and Najibullah became a member of the Revolutionary Council.

Soon after the PDPA took power, however, the Khalq faction of the party seized the majority of the power, pushing Najibullah's Parcham faction aside. For a very brief time Najibullah was the Afghan ambassador to Iran, but in a matter of months he had been dismissed from his post and was living in exile in Eastern Europe. After the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Parcham faction was placed in power and Najibullah was named the head of the secret police in 1980, with the rank of major general. This made him one of the most powerful and feared men in Afghanistan, and also gave him direct access to Kremlin policymakers.

Najibullah proved to be utterly ruthless while running the secret police, reportedly ordering the arrest, torture, and execution of tens of thousands of Afghan citizens. Soviet leaders were pleased with his performance during the early years of the Soviet occupation, which helped keep radicals and other troublemakers in check. Indeed, for his efficient bloodletting he became a member of the Afghan Politburo. As the Soviet War in Afghanistan continued and mujahideen fighters began to gain the upper hand, Moscow forced Afghan president Babrak Karmal to resign in 1986, replacing him with the loyal Najibullah.

As president, Najibullah presided over the writing of a new constitution that gave Afghans more rights and more access to the political system, but he remained very much in charge and used his extensive police and military establishments to keep the country under his control. By 1987, however, the mujahideen were scoring victories. Despite an offer of reconciliation by Najibullah, they continued their struggle against the Soviet and Afghan government forces. Also by 1987, the Kremlin, beset by financial woes and a crumbling political structure, announced that it would withdraw its troops from Afghanistan by 1989. Najibullah was thus left alone to deal with the potent insurgency, which would stop at nothing less than the overthrow of his regime.

It soon became clear that Najibullah was waging a futile struggle, and in 1990 he narrowly averted a coup d'état fomented by his own defense minister. In the meantime, his government engaged in United Nations (UN)–sponsored talks with the warring parties, but the negotiations quickly broke down. In March 1992, with his government on the verge of collapse and the capital city of Kabul drastically short of food and fuel supplies, Najibullah agreed to resign. The next month, he was ousted from his own political party. On April 17, 1992, fearing for his life, he took refuge in a UN compound in Kabul. He remained in the compound as a virtual prisoner until September 28, 1996, when he and his brother, having been captured, were hanged and their bodies mutilated by Taliban fighters. The following day, his bodyguards and personal secretary were also hanged.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also
Afghanistan; Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Soviet-Afghanistan War; Taliban

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Napalm

Although popular misconception has applied the term "napalm" to any fire-producing materials, strictly speaking it is an incendiary material made from thickened gasoline. Gasoline had been employed as an incendiary for some time, as in the case of flamethrowers in World War I. The brown, syrupy napalm mixture was far more effective than gasoline as an incendiary, as it stuck to the

target area. Developed by American scientists at Harvard University early in World War II, napalm was available as a weapon in late 1942.

The name "napalm" comes from naphthene and palmitate, which when combined with gasoline create a gel-like mixture. Napalm is not only sticky but possesses improved burning characteristics compared to gasoline. Napalm is also relatively safe to handle.

Napalm was employed both in bombs and in flamethrowers. It was initially used in the U.S. 100-pound M47 chemical weapons bomb. The United States employed napalm bomb in its extensive fire-bombing campaign against Japanese cities at the close of World War II. The initial B-29 Pathfinder aircraft dropped the M47 to mark the targets, while following bombers dropped 6.2-pound M69 incendiary bombs with delayed-action fuses to allow the bombs to penetrate buildings before ignition. Napalm was also employed extensively in the Korean War and the Vietnam War. Often auxiliary fuel tanks were filled with the napalm mix and equipped with an igniter, and they were then dropped in areas where enemy forces were thought to be located.

Improved napalm, developed after the Korean War, was known as super napalm or napalm B. It employed benzene (21 percent), polystrene (46 percent), and gasoline (33 percent). Its great advantage was that it was less flammable, and thus less hazardous, than the original napalm. Normally, thermite is the igniter.

In the Middle East, Israel used napalm during the 1967 Six-Day War and in the 1980s in Lebanon. Egypt employed it in the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War. Coalition forces also used napalm during the Persian Gulf War in 1991, delivered primarily from U.S. Marine Corps McDonnell Douglas AV-8 Harriers to ignite the oil-filled fire trenches that formed part of the Iraqi barrier in southern Kuwait. The Saddam Hussein regime also subsequently employed napalm and chemical attacks against the Kurdish population in northern Iraq. The U.S. Department of Defense denied the use of napalm during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM; however, incendiary weapons were apparently used against Iraqi troops in the course of the drive north to Baghdad, although these consisted primarily of kerosene-based jet fuel (which has a smaller concentration of benzene) rather than the traditional mixture of gasoline and benzene used for napalm.

Napalm is particularly effective against troops caught in the open, who have little defense against it. Death results not only from the burning but also from asphyxiation. Only those on the perimeter of the strike zone usually survive a napalm attack, although they may suffer severe burns.

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See also

Aircraft, Attack; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign

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Narcoterrorism

Term used to describe terrorist-like tactics employed by narcotic traffickers to intimidate local populations and exert influence on governmental antidrug policies. The term "narcoterrorism" is credited to Fernando Belaúnde Terry, former president of Peru, who used it in a speech in 1983. He employed the descriptive when referring to the aggressive tactics used by his nation's drug traffickers and the rebel group Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) against Peruvian antinarcotic police squads. In its original connotation, narcoterrorism referred to the tactics used by drug traffickers and dealers that oftentimes resembled terrorism.

Narcoterrorism was designed to keep local populations in fear, thus reducing the chances that they will cooperate with police, and to influence government policy that might be detrimental to the drug trade. Perhaps the most infamous of all narcoterrorists was the late Pablo Escobar, leader of the Medellin drug cartel in Colombia and considered one of the most ruthless outlaws of modern times. His narcoterrorism included the murder of at least 30 judges, more than 450 policemen, and as many as 500 other people. In more recent years narcoterrorism has also been used to describe more traditional terror organizations that rely upon drug trafficking to fund their activities and recruit new members. Some of these include the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC), and the National Liberation Army of Colombia (ELN).

The U.S. government's War on Drugs, which has been ongoing for several decades, was given a large boost in 1988 with the formation of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, the director of which is commonly referred to as the U.S. drug czar. Through this office, the U.S. government has centralized its antidrug efforts, including those in the United States and abroad. Although little is said about such programs, the United States routinely cooperates with other nations in drug interdiction efforts, and some even include the limited use of U.S. military troops and specially trained antidrug units.

In 1998 the United States became involved in major paramilitary efforts in Colombia (referred to as Plan Colombia) to destroy drug crops there and to detain and arrest drug traffickers who were aiding rebel and terrorist groups within Colombia. Since the September 11, 2001, terror attacks in the United States, the federal government has stepped up its antidrug efforts overseas, fearing that terrorist groups of all stripes might be using the lucrative drug trafficking business to fund their activities and recruit members.

The opium trade in Afghanistan helped fuel rebel groups there well before the September 11 attacks, and as Afghanistan has grown more unstable in the years after the overthrow of the Taliban, opium production is again on the rise. The George W. Bush administration actually decreased its efforts to dissuade opium production. The crop is undoubtedly being exploited by elements in the Afghan government and also being employed by Afghan insurgents to secure funds with which to purchase arms and supplies, so the nation is becoming a part of narcoterrorism.

Drug trafficking certainly funds some Taliban activities. In addition, both the radical Hamas and Hezbollah organizations have been identified with drug smuggling activities. Programs aimed at curbing the international drug trade have become an integral part of the Global War on Terror.

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See also
Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; Global War on Terror; Karzai, Hamid

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Nasar, Mustafa Sittmariam

See Suri, Abu Musab al-

Nasiriyah, Battle of

Start Date: March 23, 2003
End Date: March 29, 2003

The Shiite-dominated town of Nasiriyah occupies an important location in southern Iraq. Situated some 225 miles southeast of the capital of Baghdad, Nasiriyah is the fourth most populous city of Iraq after Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul. In 2003 Nasiriyah had a population of some 560,000 people. It is also an important transportation hub, with key bridges spanning the Euphrates River on either side of the city. Located close to Tallil Airfield and the headquarters of the Iraqi Army III Corps of three divisions, Nasiriyah was thus a key objective in the first phases of the Iraq War. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Nasiriyah had been the most northerly point in Iraq for U.S. forces, with the 82nd Airborne having reached the city's outskirts.

In 2003 the task of taking Nasiriyah and the bridges over the Euphrates fell to U.S. Marine Corps Task Force Tarawa (TF Tarawa), commanded by Brigadier General Richard Natonski. TF Tarawa was the code name for the 2nd Marine Expeditionary Brigade, centered on the 2nd Marine Regiment, Marine Aircraft Group 29, Company A of the 8th Tank Battalion (with M-1 Abrams tanks), and Combat Service Support Battalion 22. TF Tarawa was the vanguard of the I Marine Expeditionary Force (I MEF), commanded by Lieutenant General James Conway, that was centered on the 1st Marine Division led by Major General James Mattis.

TF Tarawa's assignments were to first secure Jalibah Air Base and then secure the bridges across the Euphrates and the Saddam Canal. Taking and holding these crossing points were essential for enabling the 1st Marine Division to continue its drive northward on Highway 7 toward Kut. With this accomplished, TF Tarawa was to keep open the supply corridor that would enable the 1st Marine Division to continue north and engage and defeat the Republican Guard divisions defending the southern approaches to Baghdad.

In its drive north into Iraq from Kuwait, TF Tawara was obliged to move through the desert to get to Jalibah Air Base because the supply vehicles of the U.S. Army's 3rd Infantry Division, which had movement priority, occupied the roads. Meanwhile, the 3rd Infantry Division also advanced toward Baghdad, taking a crossing over the Euphrates west of Nasiriyah. As the 3rd Infantry Division defeated Iraqi forces in and around Tallil Airfield and bypassed Nasiriyah to the west, TF Tarawa moved on that city.

TF Tarawa departed Jalibah Air Base for Nasiriyah early on March 23, but taking the city did not go according to plan. Natonski had planned for the 1st Battalion, 2nd Marine Regiment, to move through the eastern part of Nasiriyah and seize one of the northern bridges, after which another battalion was to secure the city, thereby allowing the three regimental combat teams of the I MEF to continue the drive north on Route 7.

The marines had anticipated fighting at Nasiriyah but not the level of resistance encountered. One thing did go according to plan: much of the Iraqi 11th Division simply deserted. What the marines had also expected did not occur, however: an uprising by the population of Nasiriyah against the regime. The inhabitants had done so in 1991, and many had been massacred by the Saddam Hussein regime. The survivors had learned their lesson. Indeed, they now prepared to defend the city. The composition of those fighting is still disputed, with some of the fighters certainly being members of the Fedayeen Saddam who began arriving in the city on March 22 in private vehicles and commandeered buses. Although poorly trained, they were fanatical fighters and willing to die in a jihad. Under the command of ruthless Iraqi general Al Hassan al-Majid, a relative of Hussein who had charge of the south, the defenders of Nasiriyah prepared to do battle with the marines.

Fighting began as soon as the leading marine element, the 1st Battalion, 2nd Marine Regiment, supported by some armor, arrived at the city outskirts. The marines quickly destroyed nine stationary T-72 tanks—a number of them bereft of engines—that had been dug in to defend a railroad bridge south of the river.

At about 7:30 a.m., marines of A Company were startled to make contact with an American military truck belonging to the army's 507th Maintenance Company. The men in it informed the marines that their 18 trucks had been part of a 3rd Infantry Division supply column. The 507th Maintenance Company, which included female soldiers Jessica Lynch and Lori Piestewa, had taken a wrong turn on Route 7 and proceeded into Nasiriyah, where it had been ambushed. In the ensuing fighting, 11 American soldiers had been killed and 6 others, including Lynch and Piestewa, were taken prisoner. Piestewa died of her wounds shortly after capture, while the remaining 5 prisoners, including Lynch, were later rescued. Piestewa was a member of the Hopi tribe and is thus believed to

A U.S. marine assists displaced Iraqi civilians caught in a firefight north of Nasiriyah, Iraq, on March 26, 2003. (U.S. Department of Defense)

have been the first Native American woman killed in combat in a foreign war. On learning of the plight of the 507th Maintenance Company, the marines immediately headed north and rescued a dozen wounded members of that unit.

Unfortunately for the marines, the appearance of the 507th Maintenance Company trucks had alerted the defenders of Nasiriyah to the imminent arrival of other American forces. The ensuing firefight and the desperate effort of the members of the maintenance company to escape also served to give the defenders a false sense of their ability to stop the Americans.

After a pause to refuel, the marines then drove to the Euphrates. The Iraqis had not blown the bridge, but a major firefight soon erupted. One company took a wrong approach to another bridge over the Saddam Canal, and a number of its vehicles became bogged down in soft sand. The marines resumed their advance to the canal down the city's main road, which they soon dubbed "Ambush Alley."

Supported by tank fire, the marines succeeded in getting across the canal, but one of their amphibious assault vehicles (AAV) took a hit from a rocket-propelled grenade (RPG) on the bridge. Four marines were wounded, and the AAV barely made it across the span. Worse, a Fairchild-Republic A-10 Warthog aircraft, supporting the marines, attacked marines on the north side of the bridge, mistaking them for Iraqis and killing six. Two other marine vehicles sent south of the river back down Ambush Alley as part of a convoy to remove wounded were struck and destroyed by RPG and small-arms fire that killed most of those inside. Heavy fighting for the bridgehead raged during the night, with the marines supported by Bell AH-1S Cobra attack helicopters. By the morning of March 24 the marines had control of both bridges and had suppressed some of the resistance along Ambush Alley. Determined to press on as quickly as possible in order to threaten Kut and thereby present the Iraqis with two threats to Baghdad, Conway, Mattis, and Natonski decided to push the 1st Marnie Regiment up Ambush Alley through Nasiriyah and up Highway 7. At the same time, the 5th and 7th Marine regiments were able to secure the bridge outside the urban area and reach Highway 1.

The 5th and 7th Marine regiments had a relatively easy time of it, but it was a different story for the members of the 1st Marine Regiment, pushing up Highway 8 on the evening of March 24. They came under heavy small-arms fire including RPGs and mortar fire. Sustaining relatively few casualties, however, the lst Marine Regiment passed through the city on the night of March 24–25 and was soon on its way to Kut.

TF Tarawa now was faced with the difficult task of clearing Nasiriyah in order to protect the marine supply line north to Routes

1 and 7. These efforts were severely impacted by the arrival of a *shamal.* This fierce sandstorm lasted several days and not only reduced air support available to the marines but also made the efforts to clear out snipers and fighters more difficult, complicating fighting conditions. Artillery proved to be the only all-weather continuous fire support asset for TF Tarawa. On March 26 high-explosive (HE) rounds with concrete-piercing fuses were fired against a hospital that was serving as a paramilitary strong point and that was then seized by the marines. A concentrated artillery fire mission against an estimated 2,000 fedayeen at a railroad station in the southern part of the city reported to be preparing to launch a counterattack not only ended that threat but also killed some 200 of the fedayeen.

A number of marine vehicles were lost to RPGs, but the situation was eased by a cordon around the city that cut off resupply to the Iraqi fighters. With the end of the *shamal* and the arrival of unmanned aerial vehicles over Nasiriyah, more accurate targeting information was soon available. Marine aircraft also took part. Also, some residents began to come forward to identify Iraqi sniper nests and command centers, and Special Forces units also assisted in the targeting.

Intelligence provided by friendly Iraqis also enabled a team of marines, navy SEALs, and army Rangers to rescue Private Lynch and the other Americans who had been captured earlier. The fighting was largely over by March 29, but it was not until early April that Nasiriyah was completely secure. The fighting for the city had claimed 18 marines killed and more than 150 wounded.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

"Ambush Alley"; Conway, James Terry; Fedayeen; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Ground Campaign; Lynch, Jessica; Majid al Tikriti, Ali Hassan al-; *Shamal;* Tallil Airfield

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Nasser, Gamal Abdel

Birth Date: January 16, 1918
Death Date: September 28, 1970

Egyptian nationalist leader, vice president (1953–1954), premier (1954–1956), and president (1956–1970). Born in Bani Mur, Egypt, on January 16, 1918, Gamal Abdel Nasser at an early age developed great antipathy toward Britain's rule over Egypt, setting the stage for his later championing of Arab nationalism and unity. Embarking on a military career, he graduated from the Egyptian Royal Military Academy in 1936. While stationed in the Sudan, he met and became friends with future Egyptian president Anwar Sadat.

In 1947 Nasser organized a secret nationalist and antigovernment organization among fellow officers, known as the Free Officers Association. Its members were primarily of lower- and lower-middle-class backgrounds unlike most Egyptian politicians of the time, who were from the upper classes. The officers sought to end both British influence in Egypt and the reign of King Farouk.

After months of painstaking planning, the organization staged a bloodless coup against Farouk's government on July 23, 1952. Three days later the king abdicated and fled abroad. Meanwhile, a Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) of 13 Free Officers assumed authority over Egypt. Major General Muhammad Naguib served as the spokesperson for the younger, junior, and more radical officers. He became commander of the Egyptian armed forces, while Ali Maher Pasha was made premier.

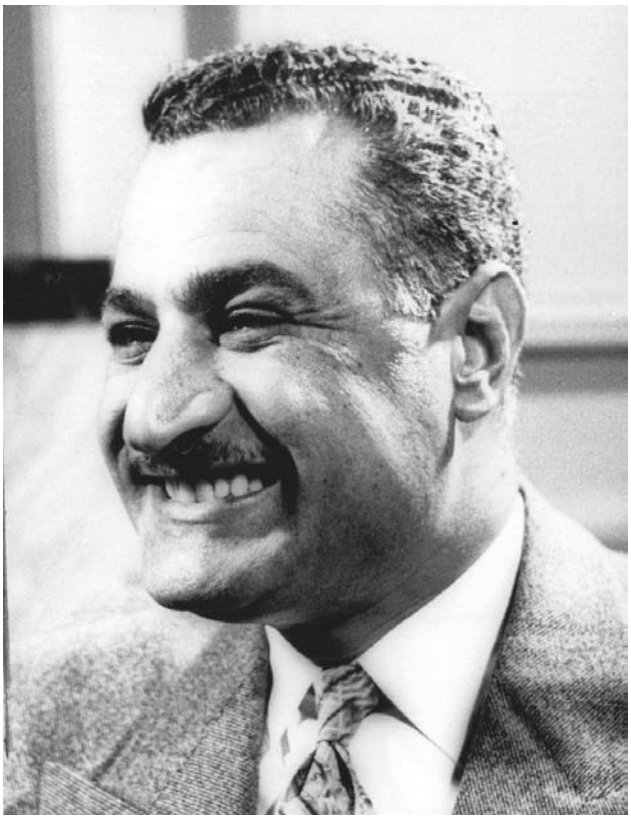
When the council declared Egypt a republic in June 1953, Naguib became its first president, and Nasser became vice president. Beginning in February 1954, a political power struggle ensued between Nasser and his faction of the RCC and Naguib's faction. By May, Nasser had taken de facto control as president of the RCC and premier of Egypt. Naguib was allowed to continue as president although as little more than a figurehead.

Nasser and his faction consolidated their hold on power, and after an October 1954 attempt on Nasser's life, in November he ordered Naguib arrested. Using the assassination attempt to solidify his power base, Nasser became premier of Egypt on February 25, 1955. Seven months later he also took the title of provisional president.

Nasser quickly moved to centralize his authority. The 1952 revolution was popular with the Egyptian public, but the power elite around Nasser contained opponents, first in the labor movement and communists and then in the Muslim Brotherhood. In June 1956 a national election occurred in which Nasser was the sole candidate for the presidency. Thus, he officially became Egypt's second president.

When the military junta came to power it decreed a series of reforms, including the abolition of honorary and hereditary titles as a means of addressing the feudal power system in Egypt where urban and rural *bashawat* (pashas) in effect controlled their poor subjects. Prior to the revolution, rural poverty and violence were rampant, with a small number of people owning much of the rural land. This situation had encouraged proposals for land reform in the Egyptian parliament, and discussion of the issue continued in the RCC. In 1952 Naguib then announced the first Agrarian Reform Law, which sparked many panicked land sales. Under the terms of the legislation, individual rural landholdings could be no more than 200 feddans (about 208 acres).

Nasser became even more popular when he nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956. He weathered the Suez War, which to



As premier (1954–1956) and then president (1956–1970) of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser was a staunch nationalist and champion of Arab unity who led Egypt until his death. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Egyptians simply proved the enmity of the former colonial powers and Israel. In the wake of the Suez War, many minority groups left voluntarily or were forced out of Egypt.

Nasser's effort to join Egypt with Syria in the United Arab Republic (UAR) in 1958 ended unsuccessfully in 1961. In its wake, Nasser put more effort into social and economic reform, including an additional land reform measure that was supposed to limit individual holdings to no more than 100 feddans (about 104 acres) and provide for the distribution of the surplus land to needy peasants. However, this measure was never fully implemented.

The RCC government aimed to weaken the social class that had most benefitted under the previous regime by both land reform and the sequestration of foreign-owned or large businesses and property. In addition, Nasser announced plans to increase agricultural production by the reclamation of lands in the delta area and construction of a new high dam on the Nile south of Aswan.

Following an assassination attempt on him, Nasser outlawed the Muslim Brotherhood, arresting and imprisoning many of its members. He then banned the organization outright. The universities were purged of elements that supported the previous regime and those urging a return to parliamentary and constitutional life.

In foreign affairs, Nasser achieved several successes. On February 12, 1953, Egypt and Britain signed a treaty providing for the future of the Sudan. Over a three-year period the Sudan would develop self-governing institutions, after which the Anglo-Egyptian occupation would end and a Sudanese Constituent Assembly would choose its future course. Egyptian leaders agreed to this because by November 1952 they had acknowledged the right of Sudanese self-determination themselves. Sudan's independence was announced in February 1955.

Egyptian nationalists had long worked for British withdrawal from the Suez Canal. On October 19, 1954, Nasser's government reached agreement with the British on the abrogation of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, the evacuation of all British troops from the Canal Zone within 20 months (the last troops departed in June 1956), maintenance of the canal base by British civilian technicians under the sovereign control of Egypt, and Britain's right to reenter Egyptian territory to protect the canal in the event of an attack "by an outside power on Egypt."

Nasser stated early that he was basically inclined toward the West, but he did not wish to see Egypt manipulated by outside powers, as had been the case in so much of the past. He made it clear that communism could not take root in Egypt. At the same time, he warned the Western powers to postpone implementing any security pacts in the Middle East. Washington rejected this call, and by the end of 1954 relations between the Western powers and Egypt had badly deteriorated over the impending conclusion of the Baghdad Pact. Nasser strongly criticized the pro-British Iraqi prime minister over the new Egyptian radio station, Voice of the Arabs, in an effort to discourage other Arab signatories to the treaty.

Nasser was one of the leaders of the neutralist bloc at the Bandung Conference in April 1955, thereby angering the United States, which viewed neutralism as a cover for pro-Soviet attitudes. Nasser's increasing opposition to Western security arrangements led him in October 1955 to conclude military agreements with Saudi Arabia and Syria. The leaders of both states agreed to a joint command arrangement headed by Egyptian generals.

Following a strong Israeli military strike into Gaza in February 1955, Nasser increasingly devoted attention to Egyptian military preparedness. To improve his armed forces, he approached the United States and Britain about purchasing arms, but after the failure of the Baghdad Pact, Washington refused. Nasser then turned to the communist bloc. In September 1955, with Soviet encouragement, he reached a barter arrangement with Czechoslovakia for substantial quantities of weapons, including jet aircraft and tanks, in return for Egyptian cotton.

The arms deal infuriated the United States and directly impacted the Aswan Dam construction project, which was the centerpiece of Nasser's plans to improve the quality of life for Egyptians. Nasser had sought Western financing, and in December 1955 Washington declared its willingness to lend $56 million for financing the Aswan Dam. Britain pledged $14 million, while the World Bank agreed to $200 million. The condition to the aid was that Egypt provide matching funds and that it not accept Soviet assistance.

Nasser was unhappy with the attached strings and in any case expected a Soviet offer of assistance. The tightly controlled

Egyptian press then launched an all-out propaganda offensive against the West, especially the United States. However, when no Soviet offer was forthcoming, Nasser finally accepted the Western aid package on July 17, 1956. Much to his chagrin, two days later the American government announced that the offer had been withdrawn. The official U.S. reasons were that Egypt had failed to reach agreement with the Sudan over the dam and that Egyptian financing for the project had become uncertain. The real reasons were objections from some U.S. congressmen, especially Southerners fearful of competition from Egyptian cotton, and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles's desire to teach Nasser and other neutralists a lesson. Dulles was especially upset over Egypt's recent recognition of the People's Republic of China (PRC).

A furious Nasser took immediate action. On July 26 he nationalized the Suez Canal Company, claiming that this revenue would pay for the construction of the cherished dam project. Seeing an opportunity to gain additional influence with the Egyptians and the Arab world in general, Moscow quickly offered to assist Nasser with the dam.

Nasser's action of nationalizing the canal and the failure of the United States and the United Nations (UN) to take a strong stand on the matter led to secret talks among the governments of France, Britain, and Israel. The leaders of these countries had the common aim of overthrowing Nasser. Their secret agreement culminated in the Suez Crisis, one of the major events of the Cold War.

On October 29, 1956, acting in accordance with a secret treaty with Britain and France, Israeli forces struck deep into Egyptian territory in the Sinai. The French and British governments then announced the existence of a threat to the security of the canal and demanded that both sides cease hostilities and withdraw from the canal area. When Egypt refused, French and British forces launched air attacks on Egypt on October 3. On November 5 French and British airborne forces landed in Egypt, and the next day they came ashore in an amphibious assault, the British at Port Said and the French at Port Fuad.

The United States, not privy to the secret discussions among France, Britain, and Israel, was taken by surprise and applied heavy pressure on the invaders, especially Britain. London caved under this pressure, and France and Israel were then forced to follow suit. The Soviet Union, distracted by the concurrent Hungarian Revolution, threatened intervention on the Egyptian side, but it was U.S. pressure that proved decisive in the outcome.

Far from being defeated, Nasser appeared vindicated by the Suez Crisis despite the fact that he had to surrender to Israeli navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba. The event elicited great sympathy in the Arab world for Egypt, from the masses if not the leaders, and Nasser shrewdly used this so-called victory to further consolidate his rule at home and to promote Pan-Arabism throughout the Middle East. Photographs of him could be seen in every small storefront in the region. Indeed, the Suez Crisis turned Nasser into the chief spokesperson for Arab nationalism and Arab unity.

Nasser relentlessly pursued his dream of Arab unity on a variety of fronts, employing diplomacy, oratory, and subversion. In January 1958 Shukri al-Qawatli, a Syrian nationalist leader who hoped to forestall a communist victory in Syria, pressured Nasser to join Egypt into a formal union with that country. Nasser agreed to the creation of the UAR and became its president. In early March, Yemen joined Egypt and Syria in a federal union, forming the United Arab States that existed alongside the unitary state of the UAR. Nasser traveled by train through Syria and was hailed by large crowds as the hero of Arabism.

The UAR did not last. The struggle between Syrian factions that had predated the union intensified during this period. The Syrian middle class had not been subjected to authoritarian rule as had the Egyptians, and insufficient attention had been given to the structures needed to share power. Moreover, the head of Syrian military intelligence, who was loyal to Nasser, was very unpopular in Syria. The UAR fell apart when Syria withdrew on September 28, 1961. Nevertheless, Nasser continued to promote Arab nationalism and his vision of Arab states joining together in political action, although the breakup of the UAR did cause him to place more emphasis on Arab socialism. These views and his attempts to topple the monarchies in the conservative Arab states, coupled with Western policies, brought about an Arab cold war.

Relations with the Soviet Union remained reasonably close, cemented by anti-imperialist rhetoric, Soviet support for the Arab position against Israel, and arms deals. The bulk of the Egyptian population disliked the presence of many Soviet advisers in the country. At the same time, however, Nasser was uncompromising in his repression of communism within Egypt. Under Nasser, relations with the United States fluctuated from good to poor.

Nationalizations that went beyond seizing properties belonging to the British and French went into effect after 1961 and included banks, insurance companies, and large enterprises. Businesses employing more than 4,000 people were taken over by the state, although some of these were later returned. These policies were not unpopular except among those directly affected. There were many economic problems, abetted by unrealistic state planning, poor management of industry, and the siphoning off of government revenues on defense spending. Nasser's government was state-capitalist in nature rather than truly socialist.

Nasser's nationalization program was unpopular in the West, but his attacks on the small rural and political elite who had run the country gained him the loyalty of the workers and peasants. Also, although the regime was quite repressive, it did produce a sense of pride in Egypt and things Egyptian that had not existed up to that time.

In September 1962 a military coup toppled the monarchy in Yemen. A civil war then ensued between supporters of the monarchy and the new republican government. The republican side sought help from Egypt, and Nasser eagerly responded, anxious to fulfill his commitment to Arab republicanism. Egypt supplied

equipment and increasing numbers of men. The Saudis meanwhile provided aid to the monarchist side. Yemen became a quagmire for Nasser who, by the mid-1960s, had committed some 80,000 men there. The war dragged on until 1967, and it might have continued far longer without Israel's defeat of Egypt that same year.

In 1966 Nasser signed a defense pact with Syria, and in early 1967 he began provoking the Israelis by a number of different actions, including insisting on the departure of UN peacekeepers from the Egyptian-Israeli border, where they had been in place since the 1956 Suez Crisis. He also ordered a blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba and moved Egyptian troops into the Sinai.

In retaliation for these actions, on June 5, 1967, the Israelis launched a surprise attack, first on Egypt, then on Syria, and, when it entered the war, on Jordan. In a matter of a few hours, the Israelis all but eliminated their opponents' air forces. The resulting Six-Day War proved to be a humiliating defeat for Nasser in which the Israelis conquered the entire Sinai peninsula and entrenched themselves on the eastern bank of the Suez Canal. Nasser's belief that he could bluff his way through the crisis without fighting had cost 12,000 Egyptian dead and the loss of three-quarters of his air force. He took the blame himself and resigned, but mass public demonstrations in his support brought him back to power. He then blamed the army.

The cease-fire that halted the fighting steadily deteriorated into almost continuous firing across the canal and retaliatory Israeli air strikes deep into Egypt. Finally, in July 1970 Nasser agreed to a cease-fire arrangement put forward by U.S. secretary of state William Rogers, ending the so-called War of Attrition. Nasser's health may have deteriorated as a result of his efforts in 1970 to negotiate the crisis involving the Jordanian Army and the Jordanian regime on the one hand and the Palestinian militants known as Black September on the other. Now in deteriorating health, Nasser died of a heart attack in Cairo on September 28, 1970.

Dallace W. Unger Jr., Spencer C. Tucker, and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arab Nationalism; Dulles, John Foster; Egypt; Muslim Brotherhood; Suez Crisis

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National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993

Comprehensive legislation consisting of 35 titled provisions authorizing appropriations for Department of Defense operations and certain U.S. strategic initiatives during fiscal years 1992 and 1993. The act was sponsored by Representative Les Aspin (D-Wis.) and was passed by Congress on November 22, 1991. President George H. W. Bush signed the act into law on December 5, 1991.

Appropriations legislation for Department of Defense operations for each governmental fiscal year necessarily mirrors the nuts-and-bolts needs of the department and the required funding for certain U.S. strategic initiatives evident at the time of approval. The National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal years 1992 and 1993 was no exception. Congress dealt with a vast array of programs and contractual arrangements to support Department of Defense operations across all of the military services as well as initiatives such as the strategic missile defense system. But coming on the heels of the Persian Gulf War, the act also addressed several unique issues stemming from both the troop buildup and combat phases of the conflict (Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM). These included health concerns related to oil well fires set by Iraqi forces, the service of women during the war, and the relatively large complement of reservists and National Guard personnel called to active duty.

Concerns over the health effects of thick smoke from the more than 750 oil well fires set by Iraqi military personnel in Kuwait had steadily mounted since the cease-fire. Responding quickly, the Department of Veterans Affairs initially established its own registry list of concerned veterans in April 1991 and offered basic clinical examinations. Congress expanded this effort by mandating in the act the establishment of a Department of Defense registry to list all members of the armed services exposed to the fumes of burning oil wells. A pulmonary function examination and chest X-ray were also to be given to any registry member upon request. Congress went even further by mandating annual reports from the Department of Defense detailing the progress of studies related to the short-term and long-term effects of such exposure. A thorough review of the military medical system was also directed. Coupled with the Department of Defense Veterans Affairs' initial stopgap measure, the act's Department of Defense registry provision served as a foundation for subsequent congressional actions.

Increasing health concerns over biological and chemical warfare vaccinations and other petroleum-based emissions from daily operations in the war zone resulted in expansion of the Department of Defense registry to cover all Persian Gulf War veterans. This occurred with the establishment of the 1992 Persian Gulf War Veterans Health Registry.

The service in the war of a higher percentage of women (7 percent) as compared to previous conflicts prompted Congress to also establish in the act the Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces. A year-long mandate, the commission was tasked with exploring various matters relating to the military service of women, including the implications of appointing women to combat positions and requiring women to register for a future draft. Furthermore, in consultation with the commission, the secretary of defense was authorized in the interim to promote a

pilot program to test the feasibility of assigning women to combat positions. Acknowledging the effectiveness of women pilots who had flown noncombat aircraft, Congress also repealed U.S. Air Force, U.S. Navy, and U.S. Marine Corps prohibitions on assigning women to combat aircraft positions.

Finally, Congress addressed the potential of a rapidly mobilized reservist complement once again serving on active duty in wartime. The Persian Gulf War witnessed the activation of a reserve and National Guard force comprised of 17 percent of the total force. To ensure a constant combat readiness of these components, the act increased the number of army officers assigned for full-time support of National Guard units, authorized a pilot program to provide active army advisers to reserve units with a high probability of deployment, and maintained the number of reserve and National Guard personnel in accordance with fiscal year 1991 levels. In concert with the health registry and women combatant provisions, the reserve support provisions foreshadowed far-reaching effects of the act on the U.S. military well beyond fiscal years 1992 and 1993.

MARK F. LEEP

See also

Gulf War Syndrome; Oil Well Fires, Persian Gulf War; Persian Gulf Conflict Supplemental Authorization and Personnel Benefits Act of 1991; Persian Gulf War Veterans Health Registry

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National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency

The primary U.S. government agency responsible for mapmaking, imagery analysis, and geographic intelligence. The National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (NGA), established in 2004, is the product of more than two centuries of U.S. government involvement in geography and cartography that may be said to have begun with the U.S. Army's Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1803.

In the 1800s the U.S. Army developed some of the country's first mapmaking capabilities, producing both large-scale and small-scale maps. The U.S. Navy developed a similar tradition for producing naval charts. Throughout the 1800s, maps and charts remained the principal focus of specialty units within these branches of the service, although some functions were gradually passed to civilian agencies, such as the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS), which was established in 1879.

The focus on maps and charts broadened during World War I, when the development of aerial photography led to the establishment of specialized photo interpretation units. During World War II the armed forces expanded production of maps and charts, refined techniques for converting aerial photographs to tactical maps, and developed increasingly sophisticated capabilities in imagery intelligence.

The onset of the Cold War ensured continued developments in these fields. Aerial photography advanced significantly with the development of the Lockheed U-2 and Lockheed SR-71 reconnaissance aircraft as well as better cameras and film. Likewise, the Corona Program inaugurated the modern era of satellite imagery. In one of the last official acts of his administration, President Dwight Eisenhower approved the formation of the National Photographic Interpretation Center (NPIC), which provided a joint structure for imagery intelligence units drawn from the U.S. Army, the U.S. Navy, the U.S. Air Force, and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). A decade later, military units responsible for producing maps and charts were also consolidated with the 1972 establishment of the Defense Mapping Agency (DMA).

During Operation DESERT STORM, the DMA produced more than 60 million maps. Although some were out of date and distribution problems arose, this marked a significant step forward. Likewise, imagery analysts processed unprecedented numbers of images, although delays in transmitting intelligence information to tactical units posed a problem. The development of smaller and lighter Global Positioning Systems (GPS) allowed troops to more accurately determine their locations. Cartographers developed sophisticated digital elevation models (DEMs), computer-generated 3-D terrain maps based on latitude, longitude, and elevation, that are critically important to the guidance systems of smart weapons such as the Tomahawk cruise missile. These geospatial developments enabled the U.S. Navy to fire cruise missiles from the Persian Gulf and hit specific windows in targeted buildings in Baghdad. In the years following DESERT STORM, the DMA systematically updated its regional maps for the Middle East and helped improve the distribution system, while other agencies refined the distribution process for imagery intelligence.

By the mid-1990s, the rapid pace of advances in technology was steadily eroding the distinction between mapmaking and imagery intelligence. Consequently, the two functions were merged in 1996 with the creation of the National Imagery and Mapping Agency (NIMA), which absorbed the DMA and related organizations. Within the NIMA, geographers, cartographers, imagery analysts, computer experts, and others continued working toward ever greater capabilities in geospatial intelligence (GEOINT). In 2004 the NIMA officially became the National Geospatial Intelligence Agency (NGA). Unlike the consolidation of agencies in 1996 resulting in the creation of the NIMA, this was essentially a name change only, albeit one that provided a title that more accurately reflects the expanding scope of its activities.

The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks and subsequent combat in Afghanistan and Iraq provided the catalyst for further developments. The NGA continues to refine the technology that guided cruise missiles to Baghdad in 1991, making it increasingly available for frontline ground units. For instance, many units can now view DEMs of urban neighborhoods as they prepare and conduct combat operations. NGA personnel developed the Gridlock system to link intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance information to geospatial reference points, thus adding the capacity to provide tactical units with information that they can exploit on short notice. The NGA also assists in the development of precision-guided minimunitions. A 500-pound bomb may be appropriate for bunkers and armored vehicles but is not appropriate against a pickup truck driven by a terrorist, especially when civilians are in the vicinity. The development of minimunitions allows troops to destroy hostile targets while reducing the likelihood of killing innocent civilians. This reduces the number of people likely to join the insurgents in pursuit of revenge.

The National Security Agency (NSA), which engages in signals intelligence (SIGINT), describes itself as the "ears of the nation." Likewise, the NGA sees itself as the "eyes of the nation." Geography is a holistic discipline, so it is not surprising that NGA personnel actively promote interagency cooperation, perhaps realizing that eyes and ears work better when they work together.

Chuck Fahrer

See also

Aircraft, Reconnaissance; Bombs, Precision-Guided; Central Intelligence Agency; Defense Meteorological Satellite Program; Joint Surveillance and Target Radar System Aircraft; Land Remote-Sensing Satellite; National Reconnaissance Office; Navigation Satellite Timing and Ranging Global Positioning System; Reconnaissance Satellites

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National Intelligence Council

The center for midterm and long-term intelligence planning within the U.S. intelligence community. The National Intelligence Council (NIC) officially began operating in 1979. Its origins date back to 1947, when the U.S. government reorganized the nation's intelligence services via the National Security Act and created the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The director of central intelligence (DCI) had the responsibility of ensuring that all intelligence data was properly evaluated and shared among appropriate U.S. government organizations. Toward that end, Congress gave the DCI a permanent staff. However, intelligence estimates continued to be flawed. Consequently, acting in his capacity as DCI, in 1950 General Walter Bedell Smith created the Board of National Estimates. It was charged with preparing and disseminating assessments of both international trends and foreign threats to American interests. The Board of National Estimates operated as a council composed of experts in the various fields of intelligence and oversaw the production of National Intelligence Estimates.

In 1973 DCI William J. Colby reformed the way in which the board produced the National Intelligence Estimates. Colby was persuaded that the board had become too insular and out of touch. He thus eliminated the Board of National Estimates, replacing its council of experts with regional and functional specialists called national intelligence officers. These officers had the responsibility of drafting the National Intelligence Estimates. The CIA's Directorate of Intelligence and the analytical branches of the national intelligence community provided the national intelligence officers with staff and research support. In 1979 the national intelligence officers became the National Intelligence Council (NIC), with the mission of reporting directly to the DCI.

The NIC's mission is to serve as the intelligence community's center for midterm and long-term strategic thinking. The NIC's overall mission is to manage the intelligence community's estimative process, incorporating the best available expertise from inside and outside the government. It speaks authoritatively on substantive issues for the entire intelligence community. The NIC is charged with five formal functions: supporting the director of national intelligence in his role as head of the intelligence community, acting as a focal point for receiving and responding to queries from policy makers, broadening the intelligence community's perspective by reaching outside of the intelligence community to engage experts in academia and the private sector, assisting the intelligence community in responding to the changing requirements from policy makers, and leading the intelligence community in the production of National Intelligence Estimates and related products.

The NIC's National Intelligence Estimates are considered the most authoritative written judgments concerning national security issues. They contain comprehensive judgments regarding the likely course of future events of the entire intelligence community, an entity that after 2004 consists of the CIA; the Defense Intelligence Agency; the National Security Agency; the National Geospatial Intelligence Agency; the National Reconnaissance Office; the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research; Air Force, Army, Coast Guard, Marine Corps and Navy Intelligence; the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI); the Department of Homeland Security; the Department of Energy; and the Treasury Department. The NIC's stated goal is "to provide policymakers with the best, unvarnished, and unbiased information—regardless of whether analytic judgments conform to U.S. policy."

The formal structure of the NIC has a chairman, a vice chairman, a counselor, and a director of strategic plans and outreach. There are seven national intelligence officers assigned to geographic regions: Africa, East Asia, Europe, the Near East, Russia and Eurasia, South Asia, and the Western Hemisphere. Six national intelligence officers deal with specific areas of concern: economics and global issues, military issues, science and technology, transnational threats, warnings, and weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and proliferation. By the terms of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, the NIC reports directly to the director of national intelligence (DNI) and represents the coordinated views of the entire intelligence community.

Throughout its history, the NIC's process of creating National Intelligence Estimates has been fraught with uncertainty and subject to controversy. By definition, estimates are speculative. Estimates were performed when analysts often did not know something with precision or confidence. Effective estimates rely upon sound data—a problematic foundation given the active efforts of other nations to conceal their plans—and careful analysis. Because the estimates are used by the executive branch to craft policy and by political parties to evaluate presidential choices, the analysts who craft the National Intelligence Estimates have frequently been subject to political pressures.

In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks followed by the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan and the U.S. invasion of Iraq, two NIC publications represented the council's efforts to provide U.S. policy makers with an assessment of how the world would evolve and to identify opportunities and negative developments that might require policy actions. "Mapping the Global Future 2020" sought to depict what the world would look like in 2020. "Global Trends 2025: A World Transformed" sought to provide a fresh examination of how global trends would unfold. The NIC, like other organizations within the intelligence community, came under scrutiny for its perceived failings in providing actionable information that may have prevented the September 11 attacks. But in fairness, the failings pervaded the entire intelligence apparatus as well as the FBI. The NIC again came under scrutiny after it became apparent that prewar intelligence concerning Iraq's WMDs was either faulty or misrepresented. No WMDs were found after the 2003 invasion of Iraq, even after a 16-month search.

James Arnold

See also

Central Intelligence Agency; Defense Intelligence Agency; September 11 Attacks; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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National Liberation Front in Algeria

The primary insurgent movement opposing French colonial rule during the Algerian War of Independence (1954–1962) and the predominant political force in Algeria since 1962. The Front de Libération Nationale (FLN, National Liberation Front) has largely dominated the Algerian government since the end of the war.

In 1830 French troops landed at Algiers and then gradually expanded their holdings to create what would become the modern state of Algeria. The French ended up dominating the economic life of Algeria, and tens of thousands of French, Italian, and Spanish settlers (colons) came to Algeria to engage in agriculture and commerce there. Unlike Morocco and Tunisia, Algeria, which was divided into three departments, was considered to be an integral part of France. The reality was quite different, for the political structure, as with the economy, was rigged in favor of the Europeans. Moderate Arabs such as Ferhat Abbas, who spoke French and admired French institutions, found to their dismay that despite repeated promises, France was not willing to extend equal rights to the Muslim population, which came to outnumber the Europeans in Algeria about nine to one. The failure of the French government to understand the need for meaningful reform led to Muslim riots at the end of World War II and the growth of radical nationalism. Algerian nationalists formed the Comité Révolutionnaire d'Unité et d'Action (Revolutionary Committee of Unity and Action, CRUA), which became the FLN in 1954. Its military wing, the Armée de Libération Nationale (National Liberation Army, ALN), commenced guerrilla operations on November 1, 1954. This began the Algerian War of Independence.

During the Algerian War of Independence, French forces consistently defeated ALN insurgents in pitched battle, and French counterinsurgency efforts included construction of the 200-mile Morice Line of barbed wire, electric fences, sensors, minefields, and spotlights along the Tunisian border. The Pedron Line, along the Moroccan border, served the same purpose to the west. Nonetheless, the insurgency continued as more and more Muslim Algerians became radicalized. The war's costs and mounting French casualties also had their effect in metropolitan France.

Failure in rural operations prompted the FLN to launch major operation in Algiers, culminating in what became known as the Battle of Algiers in 1957. FLN terrorist tactics ultimately failed because of aggressive French search and interrogation techniques led by French brigadier general Jacques Massu. It was those very techniques, however, that alienated many citizens in France itself. Documented reports of atrocities perpetrated by French forces created outrage in France. Nonetheless, word that the French government was considering peace talks with the FLN led to rioting among the Europeans in Algeria, and the French Army stepped in. A threatened military takeover in May 1958 was averted only by the return to power of General Charles de Gaulle, who pledged to maintain French control over Algeria. De Gaulle attempted reform in Algeria, including the promise of a vast economic program known as the Constantine Plan, but it came too late. In April 1961 a group of disaffected

French generals in Algiers who opposed secret French government negotiations with the FLN attempted and failed to topple the government of President Charles de Gaulle. Having exhausted all other options, de Gaulle opened peace talks with the rebels in Evian, France, that finally led to Algerian independence on July 5, 1962, the 132nd anniversary of the French invasion of Algiers.

Soon after independence, fighting erupted among rival FLN factions. Eventually Ahmed Ben Bella displaced enough rivals to gain control of the country. In 1965 his continued efforts to outmaneuver rivals provoked a military coup d'état led by Houari Boumédienne, who ruled Algeria until his death in 1978.

Under Boumédienne, the FLN focused on expanding the capital-intensive oil industry but neglected the labor-intensive agricultural sector. The FLN also had to recruit foreign Arabic-speaking teachers for a school system in which French had been the language of instruction. Many of these teachers were Egyptian Islamists fleeing their government's crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood. Their efforts to reintroduce Arabic ultimately produced a new generation of Algerian Islamists who spoke Arabic in preference to French.

Chadli Benjedid, another Algerian Army officer, assumed the presidency in 1979. Although he worked hard to improve the agricultural sector, high population growth, unemployment, and a growing rich-poor gap made food subsidies essential for many Algerians. In the early 1980s, however, high oil prices provided sufficient revenue to fund such subsidies. That changed when oil prices plunged in 1986. In 1988 the FLN announced austerity measures to a public already angry with food prices, unemployment, housing shortages, and corruption. The reaction on the street was swift and violent. Hundreds died in riots that even the army failed to quell. Although the riots took everyone by surprise, Islamists seized the opportunity to express the rage on the street within an Islamic context. As the protests grew, Benjedid capitulated and announced the advent of multiparty politics. Islamists formed the Front Islamique du Salut (Islamic Salvation Front, FIS), which scored major victories in December 1991 elections, with the FLN finishing third behind Berber nationalists. In January 1992, however, military officers quietly ordered President Benjedid to dissolve the legislature and then resign. Having created a power vacuum, the officers stepped forward to announce the formation of the Haut Conseil d'État (High Council of State, HCÉ), which seized power, nullified the elections, and began arresting Islamist leaders.

The move sparked an insurgency. FIS members joined other Islamists to form the Armée Islamique du Salut (Islamic Salvation Army, AIS). The Groupe Islamique Armeé (Armed Islamic Group, GIA), an extremist group formed from Algerian veterans of the anti-Soviet jihad in Afghanistan, also began attacks throughout Algeria. Atrocities committed by the GIA were so horrific that the populace resumed support for the FLN despite its many shortcomings. Ultimately, the conflict claimed more than 150,000 lives.

The terrorist threat in Algeria has subsided but not disappeared. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, who has ruled Algeria since 1999, granted amnesty to thousands of insurgents, but many reportedly rejoined militant groups, such as Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. Although the FLN now shares power, many smaller parties are dominated by former FLN members, with moderate Islamists playing a diminished role.

Chuck Fahrer

See also

Al Qaeda; Algerian War; Terrorism

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National Media Pool

Revolving pool of U.S. print and broadcast reporters chosen by the U.S. Department of Defense to cover U.S. military operations. The National Media Pool (NMP) was an attempt to ensure the American media's access to military operations while simultaneously controlling media coverage of certain events and providing for the safety of battlefield reporters. The NMP was first activated on July 19, 1987, a reaction to the media's vociferous complaints about the Defense Department's mishandling of reporters during the 1983 invasion of Grenada (Operation URGENT FURY). On July 19, 1987, 10 reporters were flown—in secrecy—to the Persian Gulf to report on the reflagging of Kuwaiti oil tankers by the U.S. government, a by-product of the ongoing Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988).

The NMP was comprised of reporters representing news wire services, television, magazines, newspapers, and radio. Membership in the NMP was rotated every three months by way of a lottery system. Normally, there were 16 media representatives in each rotation and a staff of 3 military escorts. At least one of the escorts had to be a lieutenant colonel, colonel, or equivalent rank (0-5 or 0-6).

The NMP was not designed to endure for the entirety of a military operation or campaign. Rather, media coverage was supposed to become more or less open once the Defense Department determined that the situation would be amenable to a larger media presence. The Defense Department, however, made this decision unilaterally and thus in theory could maintain an NMP for as long as it wished.

The Defense Department also determined the particular units in which reporters were placed (sometimes referred to as embedding reporters), and news reports had to be read and authorized by the top-ranking media escort before any information could be released to the public. It was understood that the NMP reporters would

share their information and reporting with other news outlets. Typically, the Defense Department created an NMP for the beginning stages of an operation or conflict and then phased it out once battle lines had stabilized. In-theater commanders were sometimes able to requisition a particular reporter or group of reporters from the NMP to cover a specific military mission or situation.

The NMP was activated several times between 1987 and the 1991 Persian Gulf War, and in general reporters believed that they had been treated fairly and had not been subjected to undue or unnecessary censorship. Indeed, because many of the NMP members were serving alongside U.S. and coalition troops, they realized full well that some information could not be released for fear of compromising an operation or aiding the enemy. The NMP was activated on August 12, 1990, just 10 days after Iraqi forces invaded Kuwait. On August 26 it was disbanded when the Saudi government announced that it would allow international media reporters to cover the action from Saudi Arabia.

The NMP was activated a few more times in the 1990s, largely to cover military events in the Balkans. After the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States, however, the Pentagon began to reconsider the use of the pool. Fearful that any media coverage might compromise the clandestine operations in Afghanistan (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM), in October 2001 the Defense Department chose not to activate the NMP, with one official stating that Afghanistan was not amenable to reporters. Furthermore, the irregular operations and remote battlegrounds made the conflict difficult to cover. The NMP was resurrected during the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq in March–April 2003 (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). Pool reporters were once more embedded with U.S. and coalition units, but some reporters complained that military press officials pressured soldiers into remaining silent.

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See also

Media and Operation DESERT STORM; Television, Middle Eastern

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National Reconnaissance Office

U.S. intelligence agency responsible for oversight of building, launching, and monitoring the nation's reconnaissance satellites. Established on the recommendation of two presidential scientific advisers, James Killian and Edwin Land, by President Dwight D. Eisenhower on August 25, 1960, the National Reconnaissance Office (NRO) was conceived as a centralized agency that would coordinate and manage U.S. orbital missions and aerial reconnaissance. The NRO is part of the Department of Defense. One of 16 U.S. intelligence agencies, its mission is to secure the information superiority by means of satellites for the U.S. government and military.

The NRO director is appointed by the secretary of defense with the concurrence of the director of national intelligence but without congressional confirmation. The NRO's staff is comprised of both CIA and Defense Department personnel. The NRO is headquartered in Chantilly, Virginia.

In July 1961 Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara finalized the formation of the NRO. Its existence was kept secret for more than 30 years. Not until September 1992 did a Defense Department directive finally declassify the existence of the NRO.

The primary focus of the NRO has always been developing reconnaissance satellites for the U.S. government and military. Its Corona satellite project during 1960–1972 took more than 800,000 photographic reconnaissance images. At the conclusion of the Cold War in 1991, the NRO reoriented its mission to better meet the current demands of the U.S. government and military. The focus of the NRO shifted to gathering intelligence for regional conflicts instead of Cold War–era global war.

Information supplied by the NRO during Operation DESERT STORM (January–February 1991) proved immensely important in the war. Satellite imagery provided by the NRO provided targeting information and poststrike damage assessments. The conflict was proof positive of the value of satellite reconnaissance in war. NRO intelligence made possible the full exploitation of precision-guided weapons (smart bombs). However, one lesson learned from DESERT STORM was the need to improve the flow of information directly to the war fighters.

In response to DESERT STORM experiences, the NRO developed a new generation of satellites for collecting intelligence for the U.S. military and other intelligence agencies. In September 1995 an article in the *Washington Post* reported that the NRO had hoarded between $1 billion and $1.7 billion in unspent funds. In recent years, the NRO has played a significant role in the Global War of Terror. In both Operation ENDURING FREEDOM and Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, commanders relied daily on NRO-supplied intelligence. NRO personnel were deployed to the theaters of war to aid in providing new or updated NRO-developed equipment, systems, and applications. The improved real-time dimension provided by space satellites has contributed significantly to the success registered by coalition forces.

NRO systems also provide for global communications, precise navigation, early warning of missile launches, signals intelligence, and real-time imagery to U.S. forces no matter their deployment location. Satellite surveillance also contributes to planning programs for precision-guided weapons and identifying friendly troop locations. All information and intelligence collected receives careful evaluation, analysis, and interpretation of material collected through space surveillance. The NRO boasts the ability to

gather intelligence from any location at any time of the day regardless of the weather.

To aid in its mission, the NRO operates ground stations located around the globe that collect and distribute reconnaissance information. The NRO also works closely with the National Intelligence Agency, the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency, the Defense Intelligence Agency, and other government entities. NRO operations remain cloaked in secrecy for national security reasons.

Tara K. Simpson

See also

Bombs, Precision-Guided; Central Intelligence Agency; Defense Intelligence Agency; National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency; Reconnaissance Satellites

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National Security Agency

U.S. intelligence-gathering agency. Headquartered at Fort Meade, Maryland, the National Security Agency (NSA) is the component of the U.S. intelligence community that specializes in activities related to cryptography and signals intelligence (SIGINT). Established on November 4, 1952, by President Harry S. Truman in the wake of a series of intelligence failures regarding the Korean War, the NSA has served as the U.S. government's primary technical intelligence-collection organization since that time.

The United States was renowned for its success in the realm of SIGINT (the gathering and analysis of intercepted voice communications intelligence, or COMINT) and electromagnetic radiation (electronic intelligence, or ELINT) during World War II. Yet Americans entered the early years of the Cold War with a disorganized SIGINT apparatus loosely coordinated among the independent and oftentimes redundant cryptologic agencies of the U.S. Army, the U.S. Navy, and the U.S. Air Force. In line with the centralizing theme of the 1947 National Security Act, Secretary of Defense Louis A. Johnson established the Armed Forces Security Agency (AFSA) in 1949 to streamline SIGINT collection. Plagued by the weaknesses of limited jurisdiction and ill-defined authority, however, deficiencies in AFSA's relationship with the service agencies were made readily apparent prior to and during the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950.

At the urging of President Truman, Secretary of State Dean Acheson appointed New York attorney George Abbott Brownell to head a probe investigating AFSA's failings. The resultant "Brownell Committee Report" advocated replacing AFSA with a centralized national agency capable of unifying all U.S. SIGINT efforts. Fully agreeing with this recommendation, within months President Truman had dissolved AFSA and quietly signed into law the NSA.

Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s the NSA established itself as a key intelligence player in virtually all major Cold War political and military conflicts. In 1953 the NSA began overflights of Soviet airspace using converted B-47 Stratojets equipped with various receivers capable of intercepting Soviet air defense radar signals. By intentionally triggering the activation of the Soviet air defense radar system, the B-47s could pinpoint and map the locations of Soviet systems on the ground, providing crucial information for U.S. pilots. By the late 1950s the Stratojets had been replaced by the high-flying U-2 reconnaissance jet, and overflights to collect Soviet SIGINT data continued, focusing on radar emissions and telemetry information related to intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) launches. The overflight program ended suddenly amid an international crisis. On May 1, 1960, U-2 pilot Francis Gary Powers was shot down over the central Soviet city of Sverdlovsk. Initially disavowing any knowledge of the overflight program, the Eisenhower administration, when faced with irrefutable evidence presented by Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev, was forced to concede that it had ordered the flights.

Although direct flights over Soviet airspace were terminated in the wake of the Powers controversy, the NSA maintained a robust collection effort utilizing ground, air, sea, and space-based antennas and sensors to monitor the transmissions of the Eastern bloc as well as nonaligned and allied nations. In an often contentious relationship with the U.S. Navy, NSA listening posts were established on both adapted warships such as USS *Liberty* and on smaller dedicated collection platforms such as USS *Pueblo* to loiter in international waters collecting transmissions, while NSA-directed submarines tapped into undersea communication cables. Ground stations concentrating on intercepting shortwave and very high frequency (VHF) emissions were established in strategically important

Directors of the National Security Agency, 1988–Present

Name	*Rank*	*Branch*	*Dates of Service*
William O. Studeman	Vice admiral	U.S. Navy	August 1988–May 1992
John M. McConnell	Vice admiral	U.S. Navy	May 1992–February 1996
Kenneth A. Minihan	Lieutenant general	U.S. Air Force	February 1996–March 1999
Michael V. Hayden	Lieutenant general	U.S. Air Force	March 1999–April 2005
Keith B. Alexander	Lieutenant general	U.S. Army	April 2005–present

locations around the globe, including Ellesmere Island in the upper reaches of the Arctic Circle, Ayios Nikolaos in Cyprus, Field Station Berlin in West Berlin, and Misawa Air Force Base in Japan. After the undisclosed launch of the first SIGINT satellite in June 1960, the NSA also began to establish an array of ground-based relay centers in remote locations on the periphery of the Soviet Union.

By the late 1970s the NSA was enjoying great success in decoding the encrypted Soviet messages that had previously eluded the U.S. intelligence community. As the NSA's mission grew, its budget increased exponentially. Exact budgetary figures from the Cold War period continue to be withheld as classified information as is the current budget, but during that time the NSA established itself as the largest U.S. intelligence agency in terms of both manpower and financial resources.

The proliferation of consumer-oriented electronic communication devices that began in the 1980s proved a boon to the NSA. With the advent of fax machines, cell phones, personal computers, and handheld computers, the NSA has greatly increased its ability to monitor transmissions of all kinds and from all around the world. Because of this, the NSA has been central in U.S. antiterrorism efforts. It is believed that the NSA has the capability of intercepting and monitoring transmissions of most of the planet's electronic devices. This ability has come in handy since the Global War on Terror began in 2001, but it has also caused much consternation among those who fear further encroachments on privacy and civil liberties. In December 2005 the NSA came under great scrutiny when the *New York Times* published a story about the George W. Bush administration's order to tap telephone conversations of select Americans placing calls out of the country. The operation was carried out largely by the NSA and without the requisite court warrants. There have also been concerns that the NSA, working with Internet service providers, may be monitoring customers' Internet communications even between Americans, a situation with serious implications regarding U.S. civil liberties.

Robert G. Berschinski

See also

Central Intelligence Agency; Global War on Terror; National Intelligence Council

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National Security Council

U.S. agency utilized by the president of the United States and his chief military and political advisers to analyze and determine foreign (sometimes domestic) and military policy that will best protect the national security of the United States. The National Security Council (NSC) was established in 1947 under the auspices of the National Security Act of that year, which established the NSC as the central organization for coordinating foreign policy that would bring together all key national security policy makers. The act called for a small NSC staff and an executive secretary who would supervise the council's workings, resulting in a membership that was much smaller than today's NSC staff.

With the end of World War II, the United States became a global superpower. As the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union intensified into the Cold War, it was clear that a more centralized structure was necessary in order to discuss national security decisions. The resulting NSC has steadily grown in power since it was first convened by President Harry S. Truman, and today it is comparable to that of a cabinet-level agency.

The NSC is composed of the president (chair), vice president, secretary of state, secretary of the treasury, secretary of defense, and the national security adviser (assistant to the president for national security affairs). Serving as the military adviser to the NSC is the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). The director of national intelligence (a position established only in 2005) serves as the NSC's intelligence adviser. Other regular but nonpermanent attendees include the chief of staff to the president, the counsel to the president, the assistant to the president for economic policy, the U.S. attorney general, and the director of the Office of Management and Budget. Other officials and representatives are invited to attend meetings as required.

Since the NSC was established, it has continued to change and evolve with each presidential administration. Different events and situations have called for different processes and policies emanating from the NSC. Today the national security adviser is much more than an executive secretary who controls the flow of information. Instead, the national security adviser is a powerful adviser to the president. This has been accompanied by an exponential growth in the NSC staff. The NSC has also lost much of its earlier formality, and weekly meetings have not been common since the 1950s. More informal episodic meetings are the norm.

Despite the significant changes in the structure and operations of the NSC throughout the decades, its fundamental mission has not changed. The NSC continues to be used as a forum for discussion and debate before the president makes a final decision on matters relating to foreign, military, or national security policy. Since 1986, each president has been required to submit a National Security Strategy (NSS) annually. The NSS is a document that outlines the current threats to the national security of the United States and how the presidential administration plans to deal with these. Each administration chooses how best to use the NSC to create the NSS, but the process usually involves different committees, each drafting an NSS.

Since the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the NSC has been deeply involved in conflicts in the Middle East. President George H. W. Bush used the NSC to good effect before and during the Persian

Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM). Brent Scowcroft, a former U.S. Air Force general, was perhaps one of the most effective NSC advisers in history, serving the George H. W. Bush administration from 1989 to 1993. Scowcroft's tenure was marked by unusually cordial relations with Secretary of State James A. Baker III, and the NSC dealt successfully with the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union, rocky relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC), the unification of Germany, and the invasion of Panama as well as DESERT STORM and its aftermath.

When President William J. Clinton took office in 1993, he greatly expanded NSC membership. Clinton used the NSC mainly to focus on using American power to create a safer world through humanitarian intervention, free trade, and the spread of democracy. His administration did, however, engage in military operations, with input from the NSC, including the bombardment of Iraq to punish it for failing to abide by United Nations (UN) sanctions, the bombing of suspected terrorist sites in Afghanistan and Sudan in retaliation for the U.S. embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) bombing campaign against Serbia in 1999, designed to end the Kosovo War.

After President George W. Bush came into office in 2001, the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, greatly impacted the sessions of the NSC, which was headed by Condoleezza Rice until January 2005 and Stephen Hadley from January 2005 to January 2009. The president's 2002 NSS argued that while deterrence was a workable solution for the Cold War, such a policy could not effectively combat terrorism. This marked the implementation of the Bush Doctrine, which was shaped by Rice and other neoconservatives in the White House and argued for the use of preemptory force to foil terrorist acts before they could be perpetrated. This thinking led to the March 2003 invasion of Iraq. Rice went on to become secretary of state in Bush's second term, although she since seemed to moderate her position on the use of force. The Department of Homeland Security, created in 2002, also interacts with great frequency and on many issues with the NSC.

Following the election of President Barack Obama, in January 2009 retired U.S. Marine Corps general James L. Jones became national security adviser.

ARTHUR M. HOLST

See also

Baker, James Addison, III; Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Bush Doctrine; Clinton, William Jefferson; Neoconservatism; Rice, Condoleezza; Scowcroft, Brent; United States Department of Homeland Security

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Navigation Satellite Timing and Ranging Global Positioning System

A constellation of 31 orbiting satellites, 6 in each of four orbital planes, that produce an extremely precise timing signal for use in determining accurate position information in three dimensions in all weather conditions on a receiver located on the earth's surface. A Global Positioning System (GPS) receiver picks up the signals from the 4 satellites with the strongest signal and then calculates its position by carefully timing the signals sent by the GPS satellites and using the arrival time of each message to measure the distance to each satellite. Using geometric and trigonometric calculations, it then determines the position (coordinates) of the receiver and converts them to longitude and latitude within yards of its real position relative to the satellites. Additionally, the GPS signal can provide velocity within 0.45 miles per hour, or better than 1 foot per second, and correct time to within 1 millionth of a second.

The U.S. Department of Defense initiated the Navigation Satellite Timing and Ranging (NAVSTAR) GPS in 1973 to reduce the proliferation of navigational aids and launched its first satellite in February 1978. After Soviet aircraft shot down Korean Air Lines Flight 007 in September 1983, the U.S. Air Force made the system available for civilian use at no charge. As the air force launched more satellites to provide the minimum number of satellites for the timing signals, the GPS quickly proved itself in providing positioning coordinates for typical navigation applications and fostered many new applications in mapmaking, land surveying, commerce, scientific uses, and hobbies. GPS also provides a precise time reference used in many applications, including scientific study of earthquakes and synchronization of telecommunications networks. The U.S. Air Force Space Command declared the GPS satellite system fully operational in April 1995.

The GPS signal is available in two basic forms: Standard Positioning Service (SPS) for general public users and Precise Positioning Service (PPS) for U.S. military and allied military users. The SPS provides a horizontal position that is accurate to 109 yards (100 meters), and the PPS horizontal accuracy is 22 yards (20 meters). The latter also provides greater resistance to jamming and greater immunity to deceptive signals.

The GPS includes a feature called Selective Availability (SA) that can introduce intentional, slowly changing random errors of up to 328 feet (100 meters) into the publicly available navigation signals to confound the use of the more accurate GPS signal by adversaries. When enabled during crises or war, the U.S. military forces, its allies, and other government users can access the more accurate signal in an encrypted form. However, even those who managed to acquire military GPS receivers would still need to obtain the daily key, the dissemination of which is tightly controlled by the U.S. government.

Delta rockets launch GPS satellites from Cape Canaveral, Florida, placing them in circular orbits 12,600 miles above the earth. The satellites continually orientate themselves to point their solar panels toward the sun and the antennas toward the earth. Each

Illustration of the NAVSTAR satellite. (U.S. Department of Defense)

satellite contains four atomic clocks that provide the highly accurate timing signals. The U.S. Air Force has several replenishment satellites ready for launch and has awarded contracts to provide satellites well into the 21st century.

The U.S. Air Force tracks the flight paths of the satellites via monitoring stations in Hawaii, Kwajalein Atoll in the Pacific, Ascension Island, Diego Garcia, and Colorado Springs, Colorado. The 50th Space Wing, Schriever Air Force Base, Colorado, controls the movement of the orbiting satellites and provides regular navigational updates, using the ground antennas at Ascension Island, Diego Garcia, Kwajalein, and Colorado Springs to synchronize the atomic clocks on board each satellite.

The user segment consists of vehicle-mounted and handheld military and commercial procured receivers. Millions of people worldwide have purchased relatively inexpensive small GPS receivers for accurate position information and travel directions. Surveyors use GPS receivers to accurately determine boundary lines in remote locations. Emerging GPS technologies include the determination of the attitude of a vehicle as well as its position.

In the lead-up to and during the Persian Gulf War, coalition military forces made the first extensive combat use of the GPS system. The U.S. Air Force moved several GPS satellites into orbits to give coalition forces in the Persian Gulf access to signals from four satellites. Forces could observe voice and radar radio silence during a rendezvous, and aircraft could link up for midair refueling without communications. Combat aircraft used the GPS signals to attack specified targets with bombs and guided weapons more accurately. The U.S. Navy employed GPS to provide position data for its cruise missiles to attack heavily defended high-priority targets, map minefields, and direct the rendezvous of supply ships. U.S. Army Apache helicopters, M60 tanks, and ground troops all used GPS receivers to maneuver across the featureless Saudi Arabian and Kuwait deserts. Forward air controllers, working with ground forces, used GPS receivers to direct artillery fire on Iraqi positions.

During the short conflict, the NAVSTAR GPS made the various night maneuvers possible. In the past, ground forces would have required numerous scouts and guides along the routes of advance. GPS allowed attacking coalition forces to shift their attack plans

back and forth virtually up to the moment of attack because forces using GPS had no need for fixed markers on the ground. Additionally, in response to fresh intelligence, coalition forces could accurately maneuver in response to the movement of Iraqi forces. The drivers of meal trucks also used GPS receivers to find and feed widely dispersed frontline units.

During Operation RESTORE HOPE in Somalia in 1992–1993, U.S. Air Force and civilian cargo aircraft used GPS receivers to approach and land at makeshift airfields without the electronic aids found at larger airports. All military services employed GPS receivers during Operations ALLIED FORCE (1991) and DENY FLIGHT (1994–1995) in the Balkans. GPS receivers have also been extensively used in the fighting in Afghanistan since 2001 and during and after the invasion of Iraq since March 2003.

After the Persian Gulf War, U.S. Air Force chief of staff General Merrill A. McPeak directed the Air Force Materiel Command to develop a low-cost, highly accurate, all-weather air-to-ground weapon that would overcome the limitations of the laser-guided bombs used in the Vietnam War and the Persian Gulf War. By 1995 the air force had produced the Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM), a gravity bomb with a tail kit that picks up the GPS signal and uses that signal, along with the Inertial Navigation System (INS), to direct the weapon to within 10 feet of its target. During Operation ALLIED FORCE in 1999, the JDAM, carried by the B-2 Spirit bomber, proved highly successful in destroying discrete targets in Serbia.

Following the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, the United States initiated the Global War on Terror. During Operations ENDURING FREEDOM, which began in October 2001, and IRAQI FREEDOM, which commenced in March 2003, the JDAM has become the air-delivered weapon of choice for coalition air forces to attack enemy forces in close proximity to allied ground forces or near groups of noncombatants or sensitive structures, such as mosques or apartment buildings. The JDAM, using GPS technology, permits accurate bombing while reducing the likelihood of collateral damage and civilian casualties. By 2006, the U.S. Air Force had developed the Small Diameter Bomb (SDB), a 250-pound version of the JDAM that produces a smaller blast and fragmentation pattern than the JDAM. The SDB also uses the GPS signal and INS for precision targeting.

ROBERT B. KANE

See also

Bombs, Gravity; Bombs, Precision-Guided; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Joint Direct Attack Munition and Small Diameter Bomb; Somalia, International Intervention in

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Negroponte, John Dimitri

Birth Date: July 21, 1939

U.S. diplomat and the first director of national intelligence (2005–2007). John Dimitri Negroponte was born in London, England, on July 21, 1939. His father, Dimitri, was a Greek shipping tycoon. Negroponte attended elite schools in the United States, including Phillips Exeter Academy and Yale University from which he earned an undergraduate degree in 1960. Attending Harvard University Law School for only a brief time, he joined the Foreign Service in 1960 and stayed with the State Department until 1997. During his long career, Negroponte served in eight overseas posts, including those in Asia, Latin America, and Europe. He also held a series of increasingly important positions with the State Department in Washington, D.C. In 1981 he was appointed to his first ambassadorship, that to Honduras, a post he held until 1985. He subsequently served as ambassador to Mexico (1989–1993) and the Philippines (1993–1996). From 1987 to 1989 Negroponte was deputy assistant to the director of national security affairs in the Ronald Reagan administration.

Negroponte retired from the Foreign Service in 1997 and joined the publishing firm of McGraw-Hill as a senior executive. In 2001 President George W. Bush tapped him to become the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations (UN), a post he held until 2004. Negroponte worked at the UN to secure support for U.S. policies in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks and vowed not to bend to international pressure in the ensuing Global War on Terror. This stance did not always make him popular among his UN colleagues. In the run-up to the 2003 Iraq invasion, Negroponte was the Bush administration's reliable point man in dealing with the sometimes intransigent UN.

In April 2004 Negroponte was named ambassador to Iraq. He assumed his duties on June 30, when Anglo-American occupation forces turned sovereignty of Iraq over to the provisional government. Negroponte, who replaced L. Paul Bremer, was immediately faced with a rapidly expanding insurgency and the problems of stabilizing and rebuilding a war-torn nation.

A year later, in February 2005, President Bush named Negroponte as the first director of national intelligence, a new cabinet-level position. Negroponte was charged with coordinating the work of all of the nation's intelligence-gathering services. As such, he was largely responsible for establishing the budgetary requirements of the new intelligence apparatus, which approached $40

John Negroponte, national intelligence director during 2005–2007, shown here testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee on February 28, 2006. Negroponte introduced much-needed reforms in the U.S. intelligence community. (AP/Wide World Photos)

billion by 2006. Negroponte's appointment was lauded by many who saw in him the required steadiness of a diplomat combined with the ability to organize and lead. Having worked under both Democratic and Republican administrations, he was seen as a relatively bipartisan public servant who could be counted on to do the right thing in the face of considerable political pressures.

Negroponte wasted no time in instituting needed reforms in the intelligence community and reorganizing the intelligence-gathering apparatus to make it far more efficient and less vulnerable to leaks and political infighting. Indeed, his policies earned high praise from both executive-branch and congressional officials. In January 2007 Negroponte left his post to become deputy secretary of state, a position that he had long coveted and held until January 2009.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bremer, Jerry; Bush, George Walker; Central Intelligence Agency; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; United Nations

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Neoconservatism

A form of conservative political thought and also a political movement that had its genesis in the 1964 presidential campaign of Republican candidate Barry Goldwater. Neoconservatism is most prevalent among rightist Republicans and has steadily gained followers over the years. It was said to be the prevailing mind-set in the foreign policy of President George W. Bush and many of his senior officials, including Vice President Richard (Dick) Cheney, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz. Irving Kristol, William Kristol, Charles Krauthammer, Richard Perle, Robert Kagan, and William Bennett are also identified as prominent neoconservatives (neocons). The term "neoconservative" can be controversial, however, because it is said to be pejorative or a code word used by those espousing anti-Semitic and/

or anti-Israeli views. Many neoconservatives are either Jewish or strong supporters of Israel.

Neoconservatism rose to maturity in the 1970s as a reaction to the policies of détente pursued by presidents Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Jimmy Carter in dealing with the Soviet Union. Some disenchanted liberals and conservatives favored confronting the Soviet Union rather than tolerating or seeking to accommodate its allegedly aggressive policies. The foreign policy of the Ronald Reagan administration largely embraced neoconservative principles, the first administration to do so. Reagan placed renewed emphasis on military force and deterrence and promoting democracy by supporting what he called "freedom fighters" battling communist regimes or insurgencies. Reagan's staunch anticommunism and controversial 1983 speech denouncing the Soviet Union as "an evil empire" and blaming it for the arms race was vintage neoconservative thought, even if the term itself was not yet in vogue. In the same speech, Reagan characterized the Cold War as a struggle between "right and wrong, good and evil," just as George W. Bush labeled Iraq, Iran, and North Korea an "axis of evil" and the Global War on Terror as a war of moral righteousness against the forces of evil and tyranny. Part of neoconservative rhetoric—if not philosophy—tends to view the world in stark contrasts of black and white, leaving few gray areas that might yield to diplomacy rather than force.

One of the earliest neoconservative statements by George W. Bush came in a speech he delivered at the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, on June 1, 2002. In this speech, formalized in a document three months later titled "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America," Bush indicated that the Cold War–era doctrines of deterrence and containment were now less relevant because the new threats posed by Al Qaeda and other nonstate terrorist groups required new thinking. According to Bush, deterrence could not succeed against terrorist groups because, unlike governments, they do not have a nation or citizens to defend. Containment could not work with dictators, he claimed, who could deliver weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) or secretly provide them to their terrorist allies.

Thus, Bush built the case for preemptive action to defend the United States. No longer would the United States wait for threats to materialize fully before taking action. Indeed, a central premise of the so-called Bush Doctrine and neoconservative thought is that the United States must take advantage of its military superiority and neutralize threats before they are capable of threatening American interests, even if this means acting unilaterally without the support of the international community. President Bush justified the invasion and overthrow of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's regime in March 2003 by arguing that Hussein posed a growing threat to both American security and the stability of the Middle East. Therefore, Bush undertook military action before Hussein had rearmed with WMDs.

Another important neoconservative theme is the so-called democratic peace theory: that the United States should promote democracy and freedom around the world because, as Democratic president Woodrow Wilson believed, democracies do not wage war with each other. This line of reasoning holds that it is dictatorships that are responsible for causing wars and threatening peace.

Critics of the Bush Doctrine and neoconservatism in general object to its alleged aggressiveness and militarism and its deemphasis on diplomacy and international law to promote peace. Instead, critics find the ever-present willingness to use force as a threat to peace and stability, which can lead to wars such as the one in Iraq, predicated on faulty intelligence that was never questioned by civilian leaders until it was too late.

In more recent years, neoconservatism has lost some of its former luster. The apparent lack of WMDs in Iraq, which had been a primary motivation for the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, led many to question the use of preemptive force in the absence of reliable intelligence. The Iraq insurgency, which has been raging since 2004, also gave pause to those who had previously believed that invading Iraq was a prudent course of action. Finally, the November 2006 midterm elections sent a powerful signal to the Bush administration and neoconservatives. The electorate apparently had not bought the precepts of the neocons, and this likely was a major factor in the Republicans losing control of both houses of Congress in the November 2006 congressional elections. Rumsfeld was forced out within days of the election, and others of like mind also left the administration. Vice President Cheney, perhaps the most militant of the neocons, kept an exceedingly low profile after the 2006 elections and was rarely in the public eye until after he left office in January 2009.

Stefan M. Brooks

See also

Al Qaeda; Bush, George Walker; Bush Doctrine; Carter, James Earl, Jr.; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Hussein, Saddam; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Reagan Administration, Middle East Policy; Rice, Condoleezza; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Weapons of Mass Destruction; Wolfowitz, Paul Dundes

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Netanyahu, Benjamin
Birth Date: October 21, 1949

Israeli soldier, diplomat, politician, and prime minister (1996–1999 and March 2009–). Born in Tel Aviv, Israel, on October 21, 1949, Benjamin (Binyamin) "Bibi" Netanyahu moved with his

Benjamin Netanyahu was prime minister of Israel during 1996–1999. Seen as a hardliner regarding peace with the Palestinians, Netanyahu again became prime minister in 2009. (Israeli Government Press Office)

family from Jerusalem to Philadelphia, where his father, Benzion Netanyahu, taught history at the University of Pennsylvania. The younger Netanyahu returned to Israel in 1967 and entered the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) to serve as a soldier and officer in the antiterrorist Sayeret Matkal unit during 1967–1972. Netanyahu participated in the IDF's Operation GIFT during December 28–29, 1968, at Beirut Airport and was wounded during the rescue, led by Ehud Barak, of hijacked Sabena Airlines hostages at Ben-Gurion Airport on May 8, 1972.

Netanyahu's studies for a degree in architecture from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) were interrupted by his service as a captain in the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War of October 1973, but he returned to receive his bachelor's degree in 1974. He then earned a master's of science degree in management studies from MIT in 1976 and pursued studies in political science both at MIT and Harvard University. He joined the international business consulting firm of Boston Consulting Group in 1976, but in 1978 he accepted a position in senior management at Rim Industries in Jerusalem.

Netanyahu created the Jonathan Institute, dedicated to the study of terrorism, in Jerusalem. The institute was named in memory of his brother, who was the commander and the only IDF fatality of the successful raid to free the Jewish passengers and crew of an Air France commercial flight held captive at the airport in Entebbe, Uganda, in 1976. The institute sponsors international conferences and seminars on terrorism.

As the deputy chief of mission at the Israeli embassy in Washington during 1982–1984, Netanyahu participated in initial discussions on strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel. As Israeli ambassador to the United Nations (UN) during 1984–1988, he was instrumental in opening the UN Nazi War Crimes Archives in 1987. A member of the conservative Likud Party, he won election in 1988 to the Knesset (Israeli parliament) and served as deputy foreign minister during 1988–1991, as a coalition deputy minister to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin during 1991–1992, and as the Israeli spokesman during the Persian Gulf War (1991). Netanyahu also participated in the Madrid Peace Conference of October 1991 that saw the first direct negotiations among Israel, Syria, Lebanon, and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

Following Likud's defeat in the 1992 elections, Yitzhak Shamir stepped down as party leader. Netanyahu won election as party leader in 1993, in part because of his opposition to the 1993 peace accords between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) that led to Israeli withdrawals from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

In the May 1996 national elections, for the first time Israelis elected their prime minister directly. Netanyahu hired an American campaign adviser and narrowly defeated Shimon Peres of the Labor Party, who had succeeded as prime minister after the 1995 assassination of Yitzhak Rabin. The election took place following a wave of Muslim suicide bombings that killed 32 Israeli citizens and that Peres seemed powerless to halt. Netanyahu took office in June 1996, the youngest prime minister in Israeli history. He was also the first Israeli prime minister to be born after the establishment of Israel.

Netanyahu's tenure as prime minister was marked by worsening relations with Syria that led to the occupation of Lebanon by the posting of Syrian troops in Lebanon; the troops were not withdrawn until 2005. Relations with the Palestinians also deteriorated when Netanyahu and Jerusalem mayor Ehud Olmert in September 1996 opened ancient tunnels under the Western (Wailing) Wall and the al-Aqsa Mosque complex. Netanyahu's position weakened within Likud when he ceased to oppose the Oslo Peace Accords of 1993 and withdrew troops from Hebron in the West Bank in 1997. His attempt to restore that support by increasing Israeli settlements in the West Bank, promoting Jewish housing in predominantly Arab East Jerusalem in March 1997, and decreasing the amount of land to be ceded to the Palestinians only served to provoke Palestinian violence and impede the peace process.

Netanyahu again angered the conservative wing of Likud when he agreed in the 1998 Wye River Accords to relinquish control of as much as 40 percent of the West Bank to the Palestinians. He again reversed himself and suspended the accords in December

1999. He resigned from the Knesset and the chairmanship of Likud after he was defeated by Barak in his bid for reelection in May 1999, stepping down as prime minister that July.

Netanyahu accepted the position of minister of foreign affairs in November 2002, and after the 2003 elections he became the finance minister under Prime Minister Ariel Sharon until August 2005. Netanyahu resigned to protest the Israeli pullout from the Gaza Strip. Following Sharon's departure from the Likud Party, Netanyahu was one of several candidates to replace him. In December 2005 Netanyahu retook the leadership of Likud. He has written or edited a number of books, among them *International Terrorism: Challenge and Response* (1979), *Place among Nations: Israel and the World* (1992), *Fighting Terrorism: How Democracies Can Defeat Domestic and International Terrorists* (1995), and *A Durable Peace: Israel and Its Place among the Nations* (2000). Despite the fact that Netanyahu and his wife have been the subject of criminal investigations, he continued to lead Likud and again became Israeli prime minister on March 31, 2009. This followed an election in which his party had actually failed to win a majority, technically lost, but the opposing Labor Party was unable to build a coalition. The coalition that Netanyahu was able to form included Avigdor Lieberman in the government as foreign minister.

RICHARD EDWARDS

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Israel; Palestine Liberation Organization; Rabin, Yitzhak; Sharon, Ariel

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Network-Centric Warfare

A technological theory of warfare developed by the U.S. Department of Defense in the late 1990s that has matured during the Global War on Terror, which commenced in 2001. Network-centric warfare seeks to translate an information advantage, enabled in part by information technology, into a competitive war-fighting advantage through the robust networking of well-informed geographically dispersed forces. It is most widely embraced by the U.S. Air Force.

Throughout the history of warfare, most changes in the tactical level of warfare occurred through advancing weapons technology. For example, the development of gunpowder weapons brought about revolutionary changes in the organization of military forces and battlefield tactics and eventually affected Western governments, economies, and social organizations. Since the late 1980s, technological changes in the acquisition of information about an adversary's infrastructure and military forces and the ways in which this information is processed, disseminated, and utilized by the combatants have been changing the way the U.S. Air Force conducts air warfare. Instead of changes in weapons technology, these current leaps in tactical warfare are being built upon a growing combination of sophisticated manned and unmanned aircraft, airborne sensors, data links, satellites, computers, and other elements through which information passes and is processed and forwarded to the war fighters for their utilization.

By the late 1990s the U.S. military began to realize a growing importance of command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (C4ISR) through interoperability and systems integration. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Operation ALLIED FORCE against Serbia in 1999 provided the first signs of selective tactical uses of data links and collaborative analysis that provided a rough network between the Combined Air Operations Center (CAOC) in Italy and airborne command and control (C2) and strike aircraft over the Balkans. Later, Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in late 2001 brought together many new systems in joint operations and more extensive use of airborne networks to distribute sensor information, share tactical messages, and exert increased C2 over combat

U.S. Air Force 46th Expeditionary Aerial Reconnaissance Squadron Predator pilot Captain John Songer operates an individual Predator unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) using a remote control system at Balad Air Base, Iraq, in 2004. (U.S. Department of Defense)

forces. For example, after the first three weeks of ENDURING FREEDOM, coalition strike aircraft over Afghanistan ran out of preplanned targets, and ground controllers soon began talking directly to pilots above, a process dubbed immediate airborne close air support (XCAS), to request air strikes with precision-guided munitions against enemy targets in close proximity to coalition ground forces. Long-range bombers and carrier-based aircraft, tasked to strike preplanned targets in Afghanistan, began receiving updated targeting information through data links after they were en route and then reprogrammed their NAVSTAR Global Positioning System–guided weapons to strike new targets.

Additionally, digital networks, designed, developed, and tested in the years before ENDURING FREEDOM began, linked aircraft and ground forces with operations centers thousands of miles away. For example, U.S. Central Command's (CENTCOM) headquarters at MacDill Air Force Base, Florida, was successfully networked with the forward headquarters in Kuwait and a headquarters in Uzbekistan through satellites and related technologies to a degree not previously achieved. The growing use of surveillance unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) increased the quantity of battlefield surveillance and intelligence that was then passed to both ground forces and theater commanders, providing them with near–real-time and real-time battlefield situational awareness. For example, ground controllers and pilots above them could simultaneously view video streamed from a Predator UAV at a higher altitude through a satellite to the controller's computer and the pilot's cockpit and then talk to each other, using satellite communications, to identify in several minutes a prospective target from the video. Through networked communications, the CENTCOM commander directed the battle from his MacDill Air Force Base headquarters at an unprecedented level, especially compared to Operation DESERT STORM in 1991.

After the first stage of combat operations in Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM) ended in May 2003, U.S. Air Force chief of staff General John P. Jumper learned the value of networking. Although the experiences in the early phase of IRAQI FREEDOM were a good start, it was a patchwork approach. The ability to stream Predator video to orbiting AC-130 gunships and ground controllers with laptops putting coordinates up in the Boeing B-52 Stratofortresses to drop Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAMs) demonstrated networks with a limited number of platforms. Yet fresh intelligence-surveillance-reconnaissance (ISR) data or updated CAOC communications and tracking had multiplied the power of all major strike aircraft. About half of all 2006 air strikes in Iraq utilized equipment and nodes that allowed ground controllers and pilots to view Predator videos for real-time target identification.

The U.S. Air Force envisioned platforms and network elements that would be capable of transforming the tactics of aerial warfare. New aircraft, such as the Lockheed Martin/Boeing F/A-22 Raptor stealth fighter and the Lockheed Martin F-35 Lightening II strike fighter, and major upgrades on existing aircraft would lead the way. Lieutenant General William T. Hobbins has stated that the F/A-22, with its computing power, data links, and sensor fusion, "will be the best sensor on the battlefield for net-centric operations." The F-35 will also have the capability to form its own networks once it is fielded in quantity after 2010. Both aircraft have advanced sensors that enhance the quality of targeting information through improved ranges and resolution. At the same time, with these advanced sensors these aircraft can survey and reconnoiter the battle space at great depth, allowing them to take on the role of highly survivable forward nodes of an airborne network.

Network-centric warfare is still very much theory in progress and far from the magic bullet that its proponents claim for it. Exercise Millennium Challenge 2002 was a $250 million Department of Defense exercise that was supposed to showcase the new way of war fighting. But retired U.S. Marine Corps lieutenant general Paul Van Riper, acting as the commander of the Red Force, completely crippled the high-tech Blue Force by employing low-tech methods, such as motorcycle couriers and small reconnaissance boats that neutralized almost all of the technological overmatch of the Blue Force. The exercise was such a complete disaster that Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld peremptorily ordered it suspended. With the rules rewritten, the exercise was restarted, and the Red Force was ordered to stick to the script. Refusing to participate in the sham, Van Riper resigned in protest, but he had very dramatically managed to demonstrate the sort of threats that U.S. forces would face in both Iraq and Afghanistan in the coming years.

So far, network-centric warfare has failed to live up to the promises of its advocates in the insurgency warfare environments of both Iraq and Afghanistan. The entire concept has lost much of its former luster in recent years. There is no doubt that there is an upward and continuous technological trend in warfare, but the history of warfare is littered with high-tech innovations that have been neutralized or defeated by low-tech countermeasures. Improvised explosive devices (IEDs) are only the latest case in point. All the computers and communications connectivity in the world are not going to help a soldier caught in a kill zone when an IED goes off, nor will PowerPoint superiority or complete dominance of the air defeat determined insurgents.

ROBERT B. KANE

See also

Bombs, Precision-Guided; Joint Direct Attack Munition and Small Diameter Bomb; Navigation Satellite Timing and Ranging Global Positioning System; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Satellites, Use of by Coalition Forces; Unmanned Aerial Vehicles

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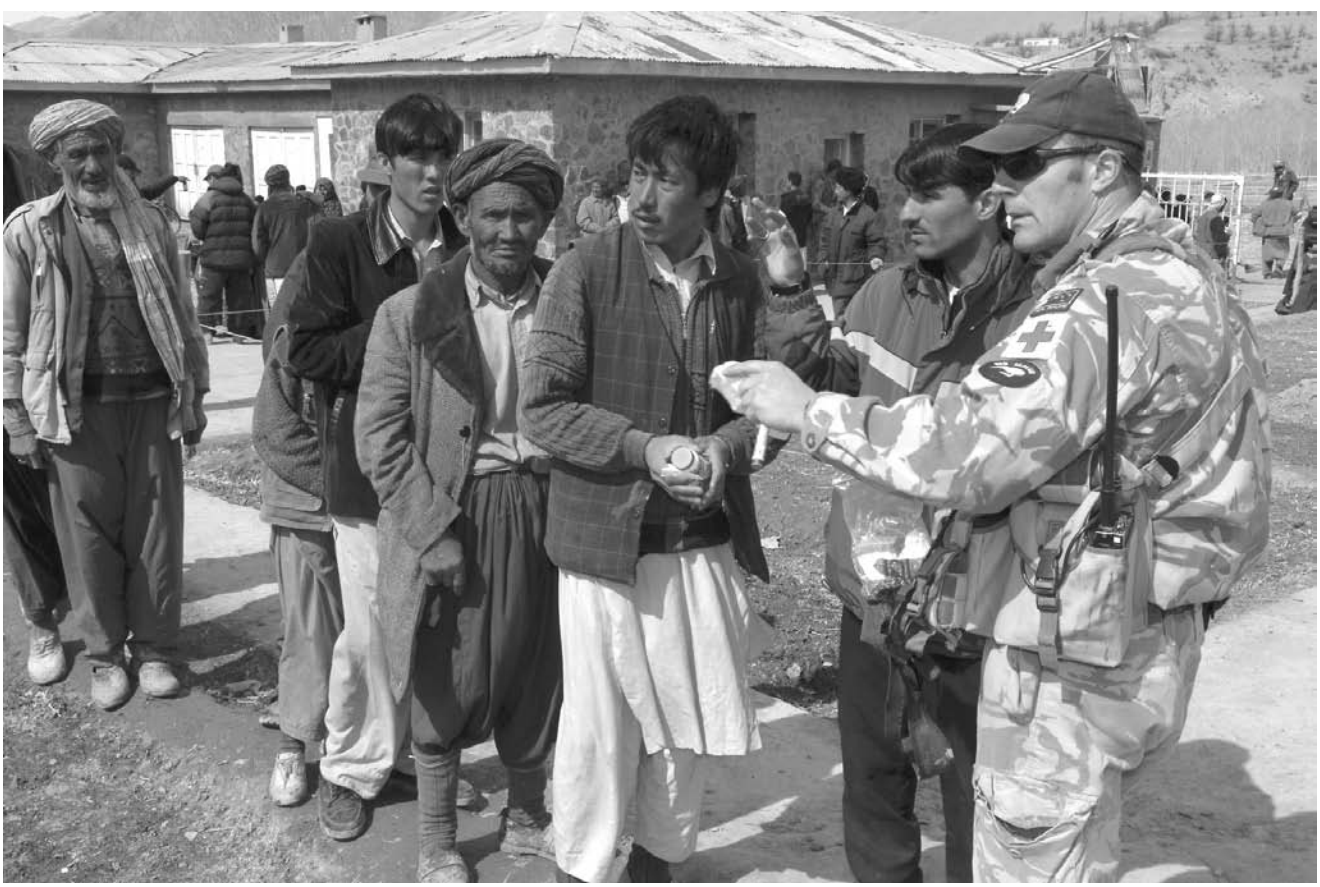
New Zealand, Role in Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Wars

Island nation located in the South Pacific Ocean about 1,000 miles to the southeast of Australia. New Zealand's landmass covers 104,454 square miles; its 2008 population was some 4.173 million people. New Zealand is a parliamentary democracy that still retains allegiance to the United Kingdom's Queen Elizabeth II, who is the titular head of state. She appoints a governor-general, who is chosen upon consultation with the prime minister, to represent her. The prime minister is the head of government. Modern New Zealand politics have been dominated by the National Party (center-right), the Labour Party (center-left), and the Green Party, which often form coalition governments with each other and other smaller political parties. Since 1990, New Zealand has had five prime ministers: Michael Moore, James Bolger, Jennifer Mary Shipley, Helen Clark, and, since November 2008, John Key.

New Zealand has participated as an ally of the United States in conflicts in the Middle East and Asia and has provided forces as part of United Nations (UN) peacekeeping missions. The United States and New Zealand have a long history of military cooperation and collaboration dating back to World War I. During the Cold War, the United States, New Zealand, and Australia signed a collective defense agreement, the Australia–New Zealand–United States (ANZUS) Treaty. ANZUS remained the cornerstone of the U.S.–New Zealand alliance through the superpower struggle, including the Vietnam War in which New Zealand contributed troops to support the U.S. operations in South Vietnam. In 1984 tensions emerged between the two countries when New Zealand banned warships with nuclear weapons from its waters. Because U.S. policy is not to declare which of its warships are carrying nuclear weapons, this effectively barred U.S. Navy ships from New Zealand territorial waters. In response, the United States suspended its obligations under the ANZUS accord. This eliminated most combined training exercises and undermined the ability of the two nations' militaries to work together. Meanwhile, a succession of New Zealander governments increasingly shifted the nation's security focus to the regional defense of its home territory and that of key allies such as Singapore. Overseas deployments were limited mainly to peacekeeping operations.

Through the 1980s and 1990s, New Zealand participated in a range of UN and other multilateral peacekeeping missions in the Middle East. Troops from New Zealand have been serving as part



A New Zealand Army medic gives directions to a clinic for Afghan men, Nayak, Afghanistan, March 2, 2006. (U.S. Department of Defense)

of the ongoing UN peacekeeping and observation mission in the Sinai since 1982. New Zealand has also deployed troops and military observers as part of the UN operations in Israel, Lebanon, and Syria. In addition, New Zealand contributed troops to the humanitarian mission in Somalia from 1992 to 1994 and to the UN mission in Sudan. When the Iran-Iraq War disrupted shipping in the Persian Gulf during the late 1980s, New Zealand dispatched two frigates as part of the multilateral coalition of forces that monitored the sea-lanes and escorted merchant ships and tankers. The ships then served in the British-led naval task force that helped enforce UN economic sanctions against Iraq following that country's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990.

During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, New Zealand supported the diplomatic efforts of U.S. president George H. W. Bush to develop an international coalition of countries to oppose the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. New Zealand maintained its naval deployment during the conflict and also made a minor contribution to the military coalition that liberated Kuwait in the form of a 50-member medical unit and three transport aircraft. The New Zealand forces served in a support capacity rather than in a direct combat role. After the Persian Gulf War, New Zealand continued to deploy warships in support of Operation SOUTHERN WATCH, the UN-authorized operation to oversee the southern no-fly zone in Iraq, and to enforce international sanctions against Saddam Hussein's regime.

In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, Australia and New Zealand invoked the collective defense clause of the ANZUS Treaty, and both Canberra and Auckland offered military, intelligence, and diplomatic support to the George W. Bush administration. In October the New Zealand Parliament voted overwhelmingly to authorize the deployment of air, naval, and ground units to participate in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, the U.S.-led campaign against the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan. New Zealand's participation in ENDURING FREEDOM was dubbed Operation ARIKI by the Defense Ministry. New Zealand dispatched an officer contingent for planning purposes within the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) in Tampa, Florida.

In November 2001 New Zealand sent one of its three operational frigates and an aerial surveillance aircraft to participate in the naval operations of ENDURING FREEDOM. New Zealand also stationed personnel at Bagram Air Base, Afghanistan, to coordinate air operations. In addition, New Zealand deployed 50 Special Air Service (SAS) troops to participate in ENDURING FREEDOM combat operations. They joined other coalition forces in Operation ANACONDA (March 2002), the assault on Al Qaeda and Taliban fighters in the Shahi-Kot Valley and Arma Mountains in southeastern Afghanistan. SAS forces remained in Afghanistan for subsequent missions through December 31, 2005. A member of the SAS became the first recipient of the New Zealand Victoria Cross since World War II for bravery in action on June 17, 2004. There were no deaths among New Zealand personnel during the deployment.

In addition to its presence as part of ENDURING FREEDOM, New Zealand also contributed forces to the International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF), the multilateral operation led by the UN and later the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in support of the Afghan national government. In 2002 New Zealand became the first non-European country to contribute troops to ISAF. Its initial deployment of 25 soldiers and a transport aircraft supported the UN's World Food Program. In August 2003 New Zealand agreed to lead one of the ISAF-sponsored provincial reconstruction teams (PRTs). New Zealand's PRT was stationed in Bamyan Province, about 200 miles to the northwest of Kabul. The Taliban and other insurgents had only a minimal presence in the area, making it one of the more secure regions of Afghanistan. The PRT included soldiers and police officers from New Zealand as well as development officials from both New Zealand and the United States. At the core of the PRT were 120–130 military personnel, including infantry, as well as engineers, medics, and logistics personnel. In 2004 the PRT was reinforced to provide additional security for the presidential and legislative elections and provided $1 million in assistance for the balloting. The PRT was divided into five smaller teams, one for each of Bamyan's five regions. These groups were deployed to conduct specific missions, including school and clinic construction, road building and maintenance, and the delivery of medical aid and humanitarian supplies. PRT personnel serve six-month rotations, and the mission has been repeatedly reauthorized. As of the end of 2009, New Zealand maintained 220 military personnel in Afghanistan.

While New Zealand remained integrated into the ISAF mission in Afghanistan, differences quickly emerged between Auckland and Washington over the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. New Zealand announced that it would supply noncombat military forces to support the U.S.-led coalition if the UN authorized military action. Meanwhile, New Zealand contributed inspectors to the UN weapons inspections effort prior to the war. When the Bush administration was unable to secure an explicit UN authorization for the invasion, New Zealand's government declined to provide personnel to the coalition during the major combat phases of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. However, after the end of major combat operations on May 1, 2003, New Zealand contributed 60 military engineers to support the reconstruction of Iraq. The New Zealanders conducted minesweeping operations and undertook reconstruction projects and were part of the Multi-National Force, stationed in the southern areas of Iraq. New Zealand also provided humanitarian and reconstruction aid to the Iraqi government.

The decision to deploy the forces to Iraq reflected diplomatic pressure from the Bush administration. The decision also followed a 2003 incident in which New Zealand prime minister Helen Clark publicly declared that if Bush had lost the 2000 presidential election, the war would not have occurred. Clark later apologized for the remark, but the Bush administration threatened to block New Zealand's participation in trade talks and enact other tacit sanctions against the country. The Iraq mission proved highly unpopular among New Zealanders, however, and the government faced mounting pressure to withdraw the unit. Subsequently, New

Zealand withdrew its troops in September 2004. Some support for the U.S.-led effort continued. For example, Air New Zealand, the government-controlled national air carrier, flew some 600 Australian troops to Iraq.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; DESERT STORM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan; United States

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Niger, Role in Origins of the Iraq War

A landlocked West African country with a population estimated at 13.2 million. About 80 percent of Niger lies in the Sahara desert. Niger's economy is based on subsistence agriculture and exports of uranium. In 2002 during the lead-up to the Iraq War, the George W. Bush administration alleged that Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein had attempted to secure supplies of uranium oxide (yellowcake uranium) from Niger as part of a program to build a nuclear bomb. Disputes concerning the accuracy of Bush's allegations and U.S. intelligence flared into a major postwar controversy over whether or not the administration had misrepresented intelligence to gain support for the war.

On January 28, 2003, President Bush, in his State of the Union address, alleged that Iraq had built mobile biological weapons laboratories and amassed 25,000 liters of anthrax and 38,000 liters of botulinum toxin along with stockpiles of Sarin gas and nerve agents. He also claimed that the British government had learned that Iraq had obtained significant quantities of uranium from an unspecified country in Africa. Although Bush was not specific in his speech, the African country in question was Niger. Uranium oxide, a slightly processed form of uranium, is an essential ingredient in the uranium-enrichment process necessary to produce nuclear weapons.

Behind the scenes, U.S. government agencies had been debating the validity of the allegation for some time. A draft version of a speech given by Bush in Cincinnati on October 7, 2002, had said that Iraq had been caught attempting to procure up to 500 tons of uranium in Africa. However, the wording had been dropped at the urging of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) director George Tenet and Deputy National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley. The CIA believed that the story was unsubstantiated.

Joseph C. Wilson IV, a former U.S. ambassador to the African state of Gabon, which also exported uranium, had traveled to Niger in February 2002, interviewed numerous officials there, and concluded that the allegation was unfounded. He had been dispatched by the CIA.

The yellowcake story had also been considered for inclusion in Secretary of State Colin L. Powell's dramatic PowerPoint presentation to the United Nations (UN) Security Council on February 5, 2003, a presentation that outlined the administration's case against Iraq. Objections from advisers in the State Department persuaded Powell to drop the allegation from his speech.

The issue next surfaced sometime after the March 2003 invasion of Iraq. In June 2003 reports appeared in the press casting doubt on the yellowcake allegation made by Bush. On June 8 National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice appeared on *Meet the Press* to deny that anyone in her department knew that the uranium story was bogus.

On July 6 Wilson published an article in the *New York Times* providing details of his trip to Niger. He wrote that he had been asked to go to Niger by the CIA and officials in the office of Vice President Dick Cheney. Wilson was instructed to discover if there was any truth to reports that Iraq had purchased uranium oxide from Niger in the late 1990s. Wilson had been stationed in Niamey, Niger's capital, as a diplomat in the mid-1970s.

Wilson first met with the American ambassador to Niger, Barbro Owens-Kirkpatrick, who was fully aware of rumors that Niger had sold uranium oxide to Iraq. Wilson pointed out that the American embassy in Niger kept close tabs on Niger's uranium exports. Owens-Kirkpatrick told Wilson that she thought she had discredited the rumors in her reports to Washington.

Wilson spent eight days in Niamey interviewing government officials, former government officials, and businesspeople involved in Niger's uranium trade. He concluded that Niger had not sold uranium oxide to Iraq. Strict monitoring of Niger's exports by the International Atomic Energy Agency effectively made such a sale impossible.

Wilson revealed that the basis for the rumor about the uranium oxide sale was a memorandum of agreement that purportedly documented the sale to Iraq, a memorandum that he never saw. Other reporters, he noted, had shown the document to be a probable forgery because it contained numerous errors and was signed by individuals who were not in Niger's government at the time. The CIA later discovered that the document had been forged by a con man who passed it on to Italian journalists who, in turn, passed it on to a wider audience.

Wilson said that he returned to the United States and provided briefings to the CIA and the State Department's Africa Bureau. He was thus surprised when the allegation surfaced in the president's

State of the Union address, citing British sources. Because Niger had not been specifically mentioned in the president's speech, he assumed that the African uranium must be coming from Gabon or possibly Namibia or South Africa. However, the State Department had already issued a fact sheet naming Niger, despite what Wilson had said in his briefing. Wilson claimed that the administration had deliberately distorted the intelligence picture in order to drum up support for the war.

Following the publication of Wilson's incendiary article, a round of recriminations erupted in the government over who was responsible for allowing the now-discredited allegation to appear in Bush's State of the Union address, especially when it had been dropped from the Cincinnati speech in October 2002 and Powell's address to the UN in February 2003. Eventually, Tenet took responsibility for not properly vetting the president's speech. Hadley went before the press and admitted that he had simply forgotten that the story had been discredited. Critics of the administration claimed that Tenet was a scapegoat, while others thought that Hadley was protecting Cheney. The vice president had been the one administration official who had been the most insistent that Iraq was producing a nuclear weapon.

In 2004 Wilson published a book, *The Politics of Truth,* providing further details of his trip to Niger. He noted that in his initial meeting with Ambassador Owens-Kirkpatrick she had informed him that four-star U.S. Marine Corps general Carlton W. Fulford Jr., who supervised American military relations with African states, had already visited Niger. General Fulford had interviewed government officials and business contacts, concluded that the allegations were untrue, and sent his report to Washington. In 2006 a report in the *New York Times* revealed that a State Department memorandum written in late February 2002 had rejected claims that Niger had sold uranium to Hussein.

Bush's reference to Iraq's alleged uranium purchase accounted for only 16 words in his State of the Union address. He did not name Niger specifically and attributed the story to British, not American, sources. However, the 16 words became highly symbolic for critics of the war who argued that Bush had relied on selective and distorted intelligence to justify the invasion.

The Niger allegations had one last major repercussion. On July 14, 2003, eight days after the appearance of Wilson's article, syndicated columnist Robert Novak published an article claiming that two senior administration officials had told him that Wilson's wife, Valerie Plame, was a CIA expert on weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and that she had used her influence to send her husband on a trip to Niger. Novak's article triggered a Justice Department criminal investigation into who was responsible for leaking Plame's identity as a CIA officer to Novak. Such a deliberate leak is unlawful. Eventually, I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby, Cheney's chief of staff, was indicted and convicted on charges of perjury, obstruction of justice, and making false statements for his part in the leak. Libby was convicted, sentenced to 30 months in jail, and ordered to pay a $250,000 fine. President Bush soon commuted his jail sentence, saying that the punishment was excessive. However, the bogus Iraq-Niger connection proved to be a major embarrassment to the Bush administration and showcased the poor intelligence and judgments surrounding the decision to go to war in 2003.

Paul W. Doerr

See also

Bush, George Walker; Central Intelligence Agency; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Libby, I. Lewis; Powell, Colin Luther; Rice, Condoleezza; Tenet, George John; Wilson, Joseph Carter, IV; Wilson, Valerie Plame

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Night-Vision Imaging Systems

Night-vision technology utilizes image intensification and infrared thermal imaging to provide soldiers the ability to engage in their mission in the darkness of night and at other times of restricted light and reduced visibility.

At present, engineers and scientists of the United States Army Research, Development and Engineering Command (RDECOM) at the Night Vision and Electronic Sensors Directorate (NVSED) are developing the military's night-vision devices (NVDs) in their directive to "Own the Night." NVDs intensify existing light, capturing ambient light from the moon, stars, and man-made sources. NVDs are sensitive to a broad segment of the spectrum of light, and therefore they intensify lights that are both visible and invisible to the human eye.

Light, a form of electromagnetic radiation, consists of extremely fast oscillations creating frequencies that define in which part of the spectrum individual types of light are found. The spectrum from the highest to lowest frequencies is defined as X-rays, ultraviolet, visible light (violet to red), infrared, and radio waves. NVDs collect light from the visible and infrared sections of the spectrum to form images.

Light enters the NVD through a lens and strikes a high-powered photo cathode located within a vacuum tube that emits free electrons when struck by light. These electrons then strike a phosphor screen, where the image is focused. A soldier views this picture through an eyepiece that also magnifies it.

U.S. marines employ night-vision scopes to help them see in low-light situations while clearing and assessing objectives during training at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, September 14, 2009. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Engineers designed the screen to display the image in green because the human eye can differentiate more shades of green than any other color produced by phosphor when chemically activated. In this way, NVDs enable soldiers to accomplish their objectives without activating their own light source, which could compromise mission stealth and expose troop positions and maneuvers.

Night-vision imaging systems had their genesis during World War II when the United States, Great Britain, and Germany experimented with development of the technology. Improving the German cascade image tube became the goal of night-vision engineers during the 1950s. About this time, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers produced an infrared sniper scope, but the equipment required to use the scope proved too bulky and required infrared searchlights that gave away troop positions to anyone who also had an infrared detecting scope. Additionally, the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) developed a near-infrared two-stage cascade image tube that used a multialkali photocathode to intensify ambient light. However, this technology had its limitations: the output was inverted and provided minimal gain in imaging. RCA solved this problem by adding a third stage, which corrected the inversion and increased the image gain but also made the tube too large for military use.

NVSED continued its development of NVDs and in the 1960s manufactured the first personal devices for troops as part of the First Generation Image Intensifier Program. The primary first-generation NVD was a small starlight scope that could be mounted as a rifle sight or used as a handheld viewer. The Vietnam War marked the first war in which U.S. troops used NVDs when the U.S. Army issued soldiers the small starlight scope in 1964. These first-generation image intensifiers lasted about 2,000 operating hours and could amplify light only 1,000 times.

The second generation of image intensifiers came into production during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Engineers were able to compact more electron gains into a smaller tubes. Second-generation NVDs increased operating time from 2,500 to 4,000 hours. Equally important, these additions enhanced the amplification ability of these devices 20,000 times.

The development of linear scanning imagers in the 1970s offered a high-quality image by using multiple-element detector arrays and allowed for the creation of Forward Looking Infrared (FLIR) systems. FLIR provides an advantage over image intensification because it layers infrared scans to provide the final image. This enables FLIR to work in total darkness and produce images despite fog, smoke, dust storms, and other masking agents that would obscure image-intensification NVDs.

FLIR systems saw first combat use in Kuwait and Iraq in 1991 during Operation DESERT STORM and proved invaluable to American

soldiers. Night-vision imaging systems using image intensification and FLIR were fitted on M-1A1 and M-1A2 Abrams and M-60 Patton tanks, helicopters, airplanes, and tube-launched optically tracked wire-guided (TOW I and TOW II) antitank missile systems. Additionally, ground troops received individual NVDs and outfitted Bradley infantry fighting vehicles (IFVs) with night-vision capabilities to aid in safely transporting infantrymen and firing TOW missiles to knock out Iraqi tanks. Targeting systems utilizing FLIR technology aided troops in hitting Iraqi armored vehicles and other targets through intense smoke, dust, fog, and haze.

Lockheed F117A Nighthawks, known as stealth fighters, also utilized night-vision imaging systems in their support of ground troops. The AH-64 Apache helicopter was created as an all-weather day-night military attack helicopter in large part because of the Target Acquisition and Designation System, Pilot Night Vision System (TADS/PNVS), which combines night-vision sensors and the targeting unit to enhance the ability of the pilot and the copilot/gunner to accurately engage enemy contacts. However, Operation DESERT STORM also revealed flaws in the individual systems and led to the integration of image intensification and FLIR technologies.

The third generation of image intensifiers combined light amplification technology with FLIR. These intensifiers multiply the light-gathering power up to 30,000 to 50,000 times. Additionally, these NVDs boost the tube life expectancy up to 10,000 hours, greatly improving their cost-effectiveness.

The third-generation NVDs were developed in time for use in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (2001–) in Afghanistan and Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (2003–). These imaging systems, along with first- and second-generation NVDs, fulfilled the same role in Afghanistan and Iraq as they had in Kuwait a decade earlier. Third-generation devices provided upgrades to the troops' helmet units with the development of the AN/PVS-14 Monocular Night-Vision Device (MNVD), a lighter-weight and enhanced viewing piece. The AN/PVS-10 Night-Vision Sniper Night Sight connected to the M24 sniper rifle system for both day and night optical improvements. The night channel incorporates a third-generation image intensifier that aided snipers in both Iraq and Afghanistan after its implementation in 2002.

Fairchild Republic A10 Thunderbolt IIs, known as Warthogs, were workhorses for the U.S. Air Force in Kuwait and received NVDs shortly after Operation DESERT STORM to increase their support ability. The U.S. Army added second-generation FLIRs to the Abrams tanks' System Enhancement Package (SEP) tanks, Bradley A3 IFVs, LRAS3 Scout Humvees, and Stryker reconnaissance vehicle systems to increase their combat effectiveness prior to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. These enhancements not only increased the weapons capabilities of these vehicles but also improved survivability of troops.

By 2008, scientists had developed a new technology that could replace image-intensifier tubes in NVDs. The suggested alteration would replace image intensifiers with liquid crystal (LC) materials. Despite the combination of infrared sensors, FLIR, and image intensification in third-generation NVDs, these night-vision imaging systems are still affected by visible light, which can obscure images. Placing LC materials that are spectrally tunable with a semiconductor can produce an NVD that is unaffected by visible light and allows users the ability to see through other objects. Proponents claim that LC technology should revolutionize night-vision imaging systems because of its high sensitivity, spatial resolution, and contrast. Additionally, LC affords the possibility of much cheaper NVDs by cutting the expensive optics and high-voltage components.

ADAM P. WILSON

See also

Bradley Fighting Vehicle; M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks

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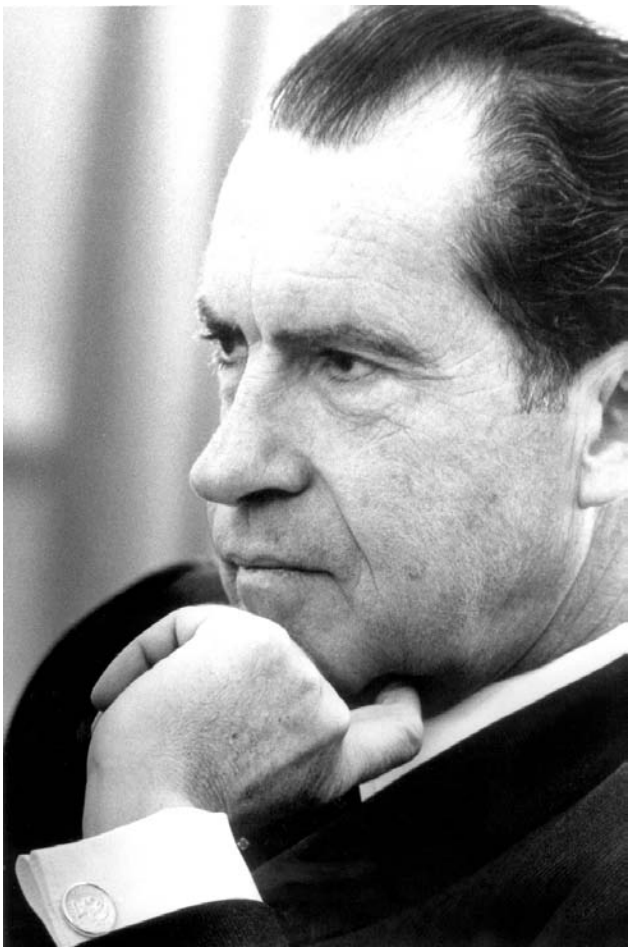
Nixon, Richard Milhous

Birth Date: January 9, 1913
Death Date: April 22, 1994

American politician and president of the United States (1969–1974). Richard Milhous Nixon was born on January 9, 1913, in Yorba Linda, California, the son of a modest grocer. Nixon graduated from Whittier College in 1934 and received his law degree in 1937 from Duke University Law School. That same year he passed the California bar exam, and he practiced law in Whittier until 1942. Following a brief stint in the Office of Price Administration, he spent four years in the U.S. Navy during World War II. In 1946 he was elected to Congress from California as a Republican, and in 1950 he won election to the Senate. Both races were notable for his use of anticommunist smear tactics.

In the 1952 presidential campaign, former U.S. Army general Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Republican nominee, selected Nixon as his running mate. With an election victory that November, Nixon spent eight years as vice president, demonstrating particular interest in foreign affairs. In 1960 he narrowly lost a presidential race to John F. Kennedy, and in 1962 Nixon was defeated in the California gubernatorial race. In a bitter and close election race in 1968, however, he was elected president on the Republican ticket and won a second term with a landslide victory in 1972.

In 1968 the inability of the United States to achieve victory in the Vietnam War dominated the political agenda. Nixon had won the presidency in part by giving the impression that he had a secret plan to end the war expeditiously. Instead, he fell back on the policies of President Lyndon Johnson's administration while embracing Vietnamization, or the gradual withdrawal of



Richard M. Nixon realized his dream of becoming president of the United States in 1969. A strong proponent of opening relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC) and of détente with the Soviet Union, Nixon was forced to resign the office in August 1974 as a result of the Watergate Scandal. (National Archives)

American troops from Vietnam and their replacement by units of the South Vietnamese military. In August 1969 Henry Kissinger, Nixon's national security adviser, embarked on protracted negotiations with the North Vietnamese that ultimately resulted in the accord signed in Paris in December 1972. After the South Vietnamese government balked at the terms and North Vietnam made them public, Nixon launched a renewed U.S. bombing campaign against North Vietnamese targets in December 1972, and the peace accords were finally signed in January 1973. The Vietnam War continued without the Americans, however, and in April 1975 North Vietnamese forces triumphed.

American withdrawal from Vietnam was only part of the broader strategic realignment that Nixon and Kissinger (secretary of state from 1973) envisaged, terming it the Grand Design. The Nixon (Guam) Doctrine, announced in July 1969, called upon American allies to bear the primary burden of their own defense. Meanwhile, new worldwide economic realities and a deteriorating U.S. economy led Nixon in 1971 to eliminate the direct American dollar convertibility to gold.

Conscious that growing economic difficulties mandated cuts in defense budgets, Nixon and Kissinger hoped to negotiate arms limitations agreements with the Soviet Union rather than unilaterally cutting U.S. military spending. To pressure the Soviets, Nixon began the process of reopening U.S. relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC). In 1972 he visited Beijing, where he had extended talks with Chinese officials. These tactics alarmed Soviet leaders, who facilitated a relaxation of Soviet-U.S. tensions, broadly termed détente, that led to the conclusion of a major nuclear arms control agreement.

Upon winning reelection in 1972, Nixon hoped to move toward full recognition of China and further arms control agreements. The outbreak of the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War in October 1973, however, diverted his administration's attention from these plans, as it precipitated an Arab oil embargo that contributed to fuel shortages, an international spiral of inflation, and high unemployment. From then on, the U.S. economy would bedevil three U.S. presidents: Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Jimmy Carter.

Initially, Nixon and Kissinger had let Secretary of State William P. Rogers handle Middle Eastern policy. Seeking to resolve outstanding issues from the 1967 Six-Day War, in 1969 Rogers and Joseph Sisco, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, developed an Arab-Israeli peace plan envisaging Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories in return for a brokered peace settlement guaranteed by both the superpowers. Kissinger privately informed the Soviets that the White House had no interest in this scheme, effectively sabotaging the Rogers Plan, which the Soviet Union rejected in October 1969.

U.S. Middle Eastern policy thereafter remained largely static, utilizing what was known as Kissinger's Pillars Doctrine, the pillars of U.S. foreign policy resting on the shah of Iran, Israel, and to some degree Saudi Arabia until the October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, when Egypt and Syria launched a surprise attack on Israel to regain the territories they had lost in the previous 1967 war. When the Israelis rallied and then counterattacked, threatening to wipe out the Egyptian Third Army, President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, who had tilted toward the United States the previous year in the hope that this would enable Egypt to regain the Sinai, appealed for aid to the Soviet Union. To prevent Soviet intervention, Nixon ordered military forces to a DEFCON 3 military alert, two levels below outright war, while successfully pressuring the Israelis not to destroy the Egyptian Third Army.

The oil-producing Arab states reacted to events by imposing an oil embargo on the United States and other Western powers that had supported Israel. This greatly enhanced the international clout of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in a quadrupling of oil prices. The European powers quickly responded by adopting more pro-Arab policies, a shift that Nixon and Kissinger strongly resented. Kissinger embarked on several months of high-profile shuttle diplomacy with Israel, Syria, and Egypt, eventually brokering an armistice. Under both Nixon and President Ford, for the next two years Kissinger continued to

mediate among the contending Middle Eastern powers, eventually negotiating the Sinai Accords of September 1975 whereby Israel returned part of the Sinai to Egypt, a settlement that probably contributed to the more extensive Camp David Accords that President Carter negotiated in 1978.

His superpower juggling apart, Nixon's record in foreign affairs was decidedly mixed. Relations with European nations were somewhat strained, as leading allies resented the secrecy that characterized Nixon-Kissinger diplomacy. Japan particularly resented being left ignorant of U.S. intentions to reopen relations with China, an initiative that also horrified Jiang Jieshi's Guomindang regime in Taiwan. In 1973 the Nixon administration also sanctioned Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) involvement in a military coup against left-wing Chilean president Salvador Allende, in the course of which Allende died. Critics charged that Nixon and Kissinger showed little understanding of or empathy toward developing nations and were overly eager to support authoritarian regimes. Critics also attacked U.S. diplomacy for its insensitivity to human rights.

The Watergate political scandal, which embroiled the president and his closest advisers in a web of lies and cover-ups, not only led to Nixon's resignation in disgrace in August 1974 but also finally aborted all his ambitions for further progress in overseas affairs. After his resignation, Nixon devoted his final two decades to writing his memoirs and numerous other publications on international affairs, part of a broader and ultimately successful attempt to engineer his personal rehabilitation and win respect from contemporaries, not to mention a place in history. Nixon died from complications of a massive stroke in New York City on April 22, 1994.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Camp David Accords; Egypt; Israel; Kissinger, Henry Alfred; Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries; Sadat, Muhammad Anwar; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; Syria; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Nixon Doctrine

Cold War foreign policy doctrine of President Richard M. Nixon first put forward in a press conference on Guam on July 25, 1969, and formally enunciated in an address to the nation on November 3. The Nixon Doctrine called for the United States to continue to meet all its current treaty commitments and to provide a nuclear shield for vital allies. But the doctrine backed away from the open-ended commitment that the United States had made to contain communism via the 1947 Truman Doctrine. As such, the United States promised only economic aid and military weaponry to allies in the developing world threatened by communist aggression, with the stipulation that such nations must enlist their own manpower to confront armed challenges to their security. In the wake of the politically unpopular deployment of hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops to Korea and then Vietnam, the Nixon Doctrine warned that the United States would no longer bear the burden of directly confronting communist threats in the developing world.

Criticized as a foreign policy retrenchment, the Nixon Doctrine grew out of a rapidly changing international strategic and economic environment. The doctrine signaled an end to the postwar bipolar era in which a nearly omnipotent United States rose to counter every perceived Soviet challenge. Nixon saw the world of the late 1960s as multipolar, a pentagonal world in which the United States, Western Europe, Japan, the Soviet bloc, and the People's Republic of China (PRC) all exerted powerful military and/or geopolitical influence. The Sino-Soviet rift, France's 1967 withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military command, Britain's retreat from the Persian Gulf region, and the rise of the developing world all marked this sea change. The Nixon Doctrine also took into account the relative U.S. economic decline as Western Europe and Japan forged competitive economies. Indeed, rising budget deficits, increasing inflation, and slow economic growth were already plaguing the American economy by 1970. The high costs of the Vietnam War, in conjunction with other U.S. commitments, had clearly influenced Nixon's posture.

Nixon and his national security adviser, Henry Kissinger, realized that domestic resistance would preclude direct U.S. intervention in another bloody brushfire war like Vietnam. Indeed, Nixon alluded to his new strategic initiative on July 25, 1969, the very day he announced the first U.S. troop withdrawals from the Republic of Vietnam (ROV, South Vietnam). South Vietnam would serve as the first model for the Nixon Doctrine. Nixon's implementation of Vietnamization, the gradual replacement of U.S. troops with South Vietnamese forces, shaped U.S. policy in the later years of the war, although greater economic assistance and military equipment transfers to South Vietnam accompanied Vietnamization.

The United States employed the Nixon Doctrine in other key areas of the globe in the early to mid-1970s. Increasingly, the doctrine relied upon regional strong men assigned by Washington to guard U.S. interests. These U.S.-backed "deputy sheriffs" included Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran, Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, Filipino president Ferdinand Marcos, Nicaragua's Anastasio Somoza, Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, and King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, among others. All were to safeguard U.S. interests in their

respective regions while the United States provided them with aid and arms. In the Middle East, Iran became the chief beneficiary of U.S. weaponry and military aid, as that nation became the linchpin of U.S. policy in the region.

Relying on the despotic rule of many of these so-called deputy sheriffs elicited sharp criticism, however. Opponents viewed the Nixon Doctrine as a stratagem for U.S. hegemony on the cheap. Indeed, when many of the rulers fell in the late 1970s and 1980s, there were costly negative consequences to U.S. strategic interests. The 1979 collapse of the shah's regime in Iran offered a prime example of the Nixon Doctrine's distinct limitations.

The Nixon Doctrine prompted the 1980 Carter Doctrine, promulgated by President Jimmy Carter, that was actually a turn away from the Nixon Doctrine's more hands-off approach to U.S. security in the Middle East. Carter promised direct military intervention in the region to protect vital U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf, namely oil supplies and shipping lanes. This set the stage for a much stronger U.S. presence in the Middle East, which would ultimately serve as a catalyst for American involvement in the 1991 Persian Gulf War and the 2003 Iraq War.

The Nixon Doctrine was born of the recognition that U.S. power had limits following the Vietnam War debacle. No longer could the nation afford to "pay any price" or "bear any burden," as President John F. Kennedy had promised in his 1961 inaugural address. The world had changed drastically since then. Nixon and Kissinger attempted to manage the U.S. retreat as cost-effectively as possible without undue loss of U.S. power and influence. In the economically troubled 1970s, the use of U.S. proxies and arms transfers, together with rapprochement with the PRC and détente with the Soviet Union, seemed the best solution to maintaining U.S. hegemony in a multipolar world. The Reagan administration's use of U.S. troops in Lebanon (1982–1984) and Grenada (1983) effectively ended the Nixon Doctrine for good, signaling the return of U.S. unilateralism and direct U.S. military interventions overseas, including the Middle East.

MICHAEL E. DONOGHUE

See also

Carter Doctrine; Containment Policy; Iran; Iranian Revolution; Kennedy, John Fitzgerald; Kissinger, Henry Alfred; Lebanon, U.S. Intervention in (1982–1984); Nixon, Richard Milhous; Reza Pahlavi, Mohammad; Truman, Harry S.; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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No-Fly Zones

Restrictions imposed on the flight of Iraqi military aircraft following the 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM). As part of the March 3, 1991, cease-fire agreement ending the war, coalition forces insisted on a no-fly zone in the northern part of Iraq. Extending north from 36 degrees north latitude, it was designed to protect the Kurds from Iraqi government aircraft. In discussions with the Iraqis over the cease-fire agreement, coalition military commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf allowed the Iraqis to continue to fly armed helicopters. Not until April 10 did the United States order Iraq to cease all military action in the northern zone.

No prohibition was imposed on the flight of military aviation in the southern part of the country. During the Persian Gulf War the Shiites in the south had answered the call of the George H. W. Bush administration to rebel, and after the war they had been abandoned by the United States. Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein ordered a bloody repression in which as many as 50,000 Shiites died. Not until a year and a half later, on August 2, 1992, did the Bush administration proclaim a no-fly zone in the south that covered Iraqi territory south of the 32nd Parallel. On September 3, 1993, the William J. Clinton administration extended the southern no-fly zone north to reach to the 33rd Parallel and the suburbs of Baghdad. The northern and southern no-fly zones were designed to protect civilians in these areas from air attack and to demonstrate to the Iraqi people that their government would not have full sovereignty over these regions until Hussein was driven from power. In effect the

The U.S. Navy aircraft carrier *Nimitz* and the command ship *La Salle* patrol the Arabian Gulf on March 1, 1993, during Operation SOUTHERN WATCH. The operation served to enforce the no-fly zone in southern Iraq and lasted for more than a decade. (U.S. Navy)

no-fly zones led to a continuation of warfare, albeit at a low level, between the United States and Britain on the one hand and Iraq on the other extending from Operation DESERT STORM to the March 2003 invasion of Iraq in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

Initially American, British, and French pilots conducted the no-fly patrols, but the French withdrew from participation in 1996. Most patrols were fairly routine, but on December 29, 1992, a U.S. plane shot down an Iraqi MiG-25 when it entered the southern no-fly zone. To circumvent the southern no-fly ban, the Iraqi government used its ground forces to begin a program of draining the Euphrates River marshes inhabited by the rebellious Shiite Marsh Arabs.

The air patrols and air strikes against ground targets were controversial. The United States and Britain alone among United Nations (UN) Security Council members justified the no-fly zones as being in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 688. This resolution of April 5, 1991, condemned the repression of the civilian population in many parts of Iraq but made no mention of no-fly zones. Other Security Council members, most notably the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Russia, sharply criticized the British and U.S. air actions.

In the last weeks of the Bush administration, Iraqi air defenses fired on British and U.S. aircraft patrolling the no-fly zones. In response, on January 13, 1993, the Bush administration ordered air attacks against Iraqi air defense sites. More than 100 sorties were flown against Iraqi radar and missile air defense sites near Nasiriyah, Samawah, Najaf, and Amarah. Then, in response to Hussein's noncompliance with UN inspectors searching for weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), on January 17, 1993, the Americans attacked the Zafraniyah nuclear weapons program factory on the outskirts of Baghdad. Fearful of the possible loss of pilots in the downing of aircraft, the Bush administration decided to carry out this attack with 42 Tomahawk cruise missiles alone.

President Clinton continued the retaliatory air strikes of his predecessor. These met increasing opposition from the governments of France, Russia, and Turkey. Tragedy struck in the northern no-fly zone in April 1994 when two U.S. F-15Cs mistakenly shot down two U.S. Army helicopters carrying allied officers to meet with Kurdish officials in northern Iraq.

The undeclared air war continued. Iraqi forces used their radar sites to target British and U.S. aircraft and occasionally to fire missiles at them. Under the rules of engagement, pilots were authorized to attack the ground targets in the event of a radar lock-on, which would be preparatory to a missile launch. In December 1998 in Operation DESERT FOX, U.S. and British aircraft carried out an extensive bombing campaign to destroy suspected Iraqi WMDs programs. By 1999 the United States maintained at considerable expense some 200 aircraft, 19 naval ships, and 22,000 American military personnel to enforce the no-fly zones.

The no-fly zones and the low-level warfare that ensued there reflected, at least as far as the United States and Great Britain were concerned, the lack of a satisfactory end to DESERT STORM in 1991. At the time, Bush administration officials assumed that Hussein would soon be driven from power, but that proved incorrect. At least the northern no-fly zone provided de facto autonomy for a large portion of the Kurdish population. The no-fly zones ceased to exist with the beginning of the Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM) on March 19, 2003.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; DESERT FOX, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Marsh Arabs; Persian Gulf War, Cease-Fire Agreement

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Norfolk, Battle of

Start Date: February 26, 1991
End Date: February 27, 1991

One of four engagements during the 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM) fought by Lieutenant General Frederick M. Franks Jr.'s VII U.S. Corps against the Tawakalna Mechanized Division in southeast Iraq. These included the 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment's engagement with the Iraqi division during the Battle of 73 Easting; the 3rd Brigade of the U.S. 1st Armored Division's envelopment of the northern portion of the Tawakalna's line; the 3rd Armored Division's attack toward Objective Dorset in the center; and Major General Thomas G. Rhame's 1st Infantry Division (Mechanized) seizure of Objective Norfolk.

The Iraqi 18th Mechanized Brigade and the 37th Armored Brigade from the Iraqi 12th Armored Division defended this area, which was the southern portion of the Tawakalna's defensive line. These Iraqi forces defended a large collection of supply dumps and logistics areas that branched off from a high-speed road that ran along the Iraqi-Saudi Arabia strategic pipeline (IPSA) west of the Kuwait border. These forces had the role of blocking the coalition attack from the west, allowing units in Kuwait to withdraw to Iraq.

At 2:00 p.m. on February 26, General Rhame ordered Lieutenant Colonel Robert Wilson's 1st Squadron, 4th Cavalry, to contact the 2nd Cavalry's staff and coordinate the 1st Infantry Division's forward passage through its units engaging the Iraqi units. Moving with two brigades forward and one trailing, the division arrived behind the cavalry shortly before 10:00 p.m. Soon after, the lead brigades passed through the passage lanes and into the battle. In the distance, AH-64 Apache attack helicopters attacked the Iraqi

brigade's second tactical echelon. The helicopter attack continued the pressure on the Iraqi commander and his artillery, preventing him from interfering with the 1st Infantry Division's approach.

At 10:30 p.m. Colonel Lon E. Maggart's 1st Brigade attacked in the north through a single passage lane. The lead battalion ran into elements of the Iraqi 18th Mechanized Brigade. Iraqi gunners destroyed two Bradley M3 Cavalry Scout vehicles silhouetted against the fires of burning Iraqi vehicles. The commander immediately pulled his scouts back and moved his tank companies forward. Unlike the division's experience in the first battle of the war along the border, these Iraqis intended to fight. Two company teams of the 2nd Battalion of the 34th Armor Regiment strayed off their axis and began moving north rather than east. Lieutenant Colonel Gregory Fontenot, commander of the 2nd Battalion, realized the error and soon had them heading in the right direction.

At the same time, Colonel David Weisman's 3rd Brigade in the southern portion of the sector moved immediately into battle with his three battalions abreast, running into an Iraqi tank battalion equipped with T-55s. Although the American assault caught many Iraqi tank crews on the ground in their shelters taking cover from the air attack, their scattered deployments made the night battle difficult. All night, bypassed Iraqi infantry squads and tanks tried to engage the American vehicles as they crossed their sector. In one instance, an M1 Abrams tank platoon passed by several Iraqi positions that appeared to contain only burning or destroyed vehicles. Hidden in this array were at least five operational T-55 tanks behind revetments and masked from the American's thermal sights. Iraqi infantry units, ranging in size from platoons to companies, also hid among the tanks. A slightly disoriented Bradley fighting vehicle platoon, attempting to follow the M1 tanks, moved across the front of these Iraqi positions, illuminated by burning vehicles behind them. The Iraqis took advantage of this and opened fire from three directions. The initial volley hit a Bradley, killing three American soldiers.

An American tank company trailing the lead units saw the engagement to their front and joined the melee, quickly destroying three T-55s before they could get off another shot. At the same time, several antitank missiles hit the Bradley platoon. From the perspective of the tank gunners looking through the thermal sights of the approaching M1 tanks, these Bradleys appeared to be T-55 tanks shooting at them. The young and exhausted American gunners, convinced that they were fighting against a determined enemy, opened fire, hitting three more American vehicles. When the confusion in the 3rd Brigade's sector was over, 1st Infantry Division crews had destroyed five of their own tanks and four infantry fighting vehicles. Six American soldiers perished in these attacks, and 30 others were wounded.

By 12:30 a.m. on February 27, nine American battalions were on line and began methodically crossing the remaining six miles of Objective Norfolk. As they advanced, M1A1 Abrams tank commanders acquired the thermal images of the Iraqi tanks or infantry fighting vehicles long before they were themselves spotted. Platoon leaders, team commanders, and even battalion commanders issued unit-wide fire commands. Before the defending Iraqis had any idea of what was happening, their entire line of vehicles exploded.

In the north of the 1st Infantry Division's sector, Colonel Wilson's 1st Squadron, 4th Cavalry, screened the division's flank with the 3rd Armored Division and bumped into an Iraqi unit. With a mixture of both T-55 and T-72 tanks as well as many dismounted infantry, it was probably not an organized battalion. After the initial engagement, Wilson pulled his screen line back and consolidated his force. Attacking at 6:15 a.m., the squadron destroyed another 11 tanks, many infantry vehicles, artillery batteries, and logistics bunkers.

By dawn on February 27 the 1st Infantry Division controlled Objective Norfolk. The attack of the division and the 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment killed approximately 5,000 Iraqi soldiers and destroyed two brigades of armored equipment. American casualties were 6 killed and fewer than 70 wounded. The way was now set for the 1st Infantry Division to clear northern Kuwait of Iraqi troops.

STEPHEN A. BOURQUE

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; 73 Easting, Battle of

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North Atlantic Treaty Organization

International organization created by 12 Western nations in April in 1949 to provide for their collective security against an attack by the Soviet Union or its client states. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was born amid the fears of the early Cold War. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union in December 1991, NATO's focus shifted from the Soviet threat to broader regional and international threats, including terrorism. NATO headquarters is located in Brussels, Belgium. NATO currently

Headquarters of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Brussels, Belgium. (NATO)

has 28 member states, representing North America, Western and Eastern Europe, and the Middle East (Turkey).

NATO's primary 21st-century mission is to safeguard the freedom and security of its member countries by political and, if necessary, military means. This is to be achieved chiefly through Article V of the NATO Treaty, which stipulates that an armed attack against any one member shall be considered an attack against them all. As a collective security organization, NATO therefore obligates each member to come to the aid and defense of a fellow member that has been attacked to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area. Article V was invoked for the first time in NATO's history in response to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the United States.

Invoking Article V less than 24 hours after the September 11 attacks, NATO embarked on Operation EAGLE ASSIST on October 9, 2001. It numbered 830 personnel from 13 NATO states. They assisted with the air defense and patrol of U.S. airspace with NATO Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) airplanes. This operation ended on May 16, 2002, after it had flown 360 sorties for a total of 4,300 hours.

On October 26, 2001, elements of NATO's naval forces were deployed to patrol the eastern Mediterranean Sea to monitor and protect shipping against terrorism there. On March 10, 2003, the operation was expanded to include escorting civilian shipping through the Strait of Gibraltar.

Since the September 11, 2001, attacks, Afghanistan has been the scene of NATO's greatest involvement in the Global War on Terror. Since August 2003 NATO has been directing the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), defending the government of Afghanistan and seeking to secure that nation against terrorism. This occurred after the United States in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM had overthrown the Taliban regime in 2001. A number of NATO countries, especially Great Britain and Canada, maintain sizable forces in Afghanistan to carry out military operations against terrorists in Afghanistan.

Beginning in the summer of 2006, there was a sharp escalation in attacks in Afghanistan against NATO forces and the civilian population by remnants of the Taliban and the terrorist organization Al Qaeda. Most of the attacks were in the south and east, areas of the country that are still problematic. On October 5, 2006, NATO assumed full command of all ISAF forces, including 12,000 U.S. troops deployed in eastern Afghanistan. This brought the total of NATO-led forces in Afghanistan to 30,000 personnel from 37 countries, including Great Britain, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Iceland, Italy, Portugal, Poland, and Spain. By February 2010 this number had increased to 82,897 personnel, 47,085 from

the United States. From 2001 through the end of 2009, 621 NATO and coalition personnel had been killed in Afghanistan, excluding 946 U.S. troops.

As violence has escalated especially in southern Afghanistan, there has been some concern that NATO nations are not providing adequate troop numbers to counter the insurgents. In many member nations, national legislatures and politicians have placed restrictions on the numbers of troops that can be sent to Afghanistan. However, in late 2007 France deployed a squadron of Mirage 2000 fighter-attack aircraft to Kandahar and its environs to cope with rising insurgent violence in that region. In addition to its mandate to stabilize Afghanistan and rid it of insurgents, NATO troops are also training the Afghan National Army.

Stefan M. Brooks

See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; enduring freedom, Operation; Taliban; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

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North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

As of February 2010, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) had 82,897 troops (47,085 from the United States) in Afghanistan, operating under the International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF). NATO troops are assisting that country's government in providing security and stability, training the Afghan Army and police, reconstructing the economy, and promoting effective governance. NATO was established in 1949 chiefly to protect Western Europe from the Soviet Union, but after the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, for the first time in its history NATO undertook an operation outside the European theater to prevent Afghanistan from being used again as a sanctuary and base for Islamic terrorists. Indeed, immediately after the attacks NATO, for the first time in its existence, invoked Article 5, the collective security clause in its charter, as a show of solidarity in the Global War on Terror.

The NATO-led ISAF operates under a United Nations (UN) mandate and at the request of the government of Afghanistan. In 2003 NATO took formal command of the ISAF, a multinational force comprising troops from 40 countries, including all NATO member states. ISAF's ultimate goal is to enable Afghanistan to provide for its own security and stability. Helping Afghanistan recover from decades of civil war, the brutally repressive rule of the Taliban, and the aftermath of the U.S. war that overthrew the Taliban government in 2001 are difficult and long-term challenges for NATO, particularly because combat operations against the Taliban and Al Qaeda insurgents are ongoing, and since 2007 the country has witnessed a rise in violence and terrorist-related activities against ISAF troops.

ISAF security and stabilization operations are conducted in cooperation with Afghan security forces, and as these forces increase in strength and combat capacity, they will be able to assume primary responsibility for the country's security. In 2004 the Afghan National Army (ANA) barely existed, but by April 2008 it numbered at least 50,000 troops.

The ANA currently numbers about 100,000, and the United States aims to increase its size to 134,000. Major problems continue to plague American and allied efforts to train the ANA to assume primary responsibility for security so as to allow U.S. and allied forces to begin withdrawing from Afghanistan. Illiteracy among Afghans is the biggest problem in training Afghan soldiers, as only about 14 percent of army recruits are able to read and write. The United States is also committed to building an ethnically diverse Afghan Army, but the senior officer corps is still primarily drawn from the northern minority Tajiks, many of whom fought against the Taliban during the late 1990s. Furthermore, the Taliban pays Afghans about the same as the prevailing wage of joining the ANA. Until most Afghans trust their government and regard it as competent and effective, the ANA will struggle to be a self-sufficient and independent force.

The reason for the resurgence of the Taliban and Al Qaeda insurgency is disputed. Some proffered reasons include frustration with and opposition to the Afghan government of President Hamid Karzai, which is seen as corrupt and ineffective; a lack of progress in improving living standards and economic development; the Taliban's adaptation of tactics from the Iraqi insurgency, including suicide and roadside bombings; the reticence of some NATO countries to confront the insurgents in battle; Pakistan's failure to prevent insurgent infiltration into Afghanistan; and, owing to the Iraq War, the Americans' dilution of their war effort in Afghanistan. Regardless of the reasons, there is no disputing that the security situation in Afghanistan has deteriorated rapidly since 2007, a situation that the new Barack Obama administration faced in January 2009.

The largest troop deployments for the ISAF come from the United States, followed by Great Britain, Germany, France, Canada, Italy, the Netherlands, and Poland. Non-NATO troop contributors to the ISAF include those from NATO's Partnership for Peace: Albania, Austria, Azerbaijan, Croatia, Finland, Georgia, Ireland, Sweden, Macedonia, and Ukraine. Countries with no association with NATO but that have also contributed forces include Jordan, Australia, New Zealand, and Singapore. Since 2001, there have been

U.S. soldiers of the International Security Assistance Force, the NATO-led security and development force in Afghanistan, conduct a combined foot patrol with Afghan National Army soldiers at the bazaar in the Shajoy District of Zabul Province, November 20, 2009. (U.S. Department of Defense)

12 NATO commanders of the ISAF: General John McColl of the United Kingdom, Major General Hilmi Zorlu of Turkey, Lieutenant General Norbert Van Heyst of Holland, Lieutenant General Goetz Gliemeroth of Germany, Lieutenant General Rick Hillier of Canada, General Jean-Louis Py of France, General Ethem Erdagi of Turkey, General Mauro del Vecchio of Italy, General David Richards of the United Kingdom, General Dan K. McNeill of the U.S. Army, and from June 2, 2008, General David McKiernan of the U.S. Army. On June 15, 2009, General Stanley A. McChrystal assumed command.

NATO and the ISAF face many formidable challenges in Afghanistan, including supporting and strengthening a weak government; promoting security and stability in a country with rugged inhospitable terrain, including many mountains, against a determined and well-organized insurgency; and rebuilding a country devastated by war with a history of a strong narcotic (opium, heroin) trade estimated at $4 billion per year. The UN has reported that Taliban and Al Qaeda forces could make as much as $500 million in 2008 alone from the sale of opium. The corruption of the Afghan government under Karzai and its inability to improve living standards have led to a rise in international criticism and a decline in domestic political support. In addition, turmoil in neighboring Pakistan and the use of that country as a sanctuary for the Taliban and Al Qaeda have added to NATO's challenges.

Further complicating NATO-ISAF operations in Afghanistan are disagreements among its members on how to accomplish the ISAF's objectives given that many countries are unwilling or reluctant to authorize their forces to engage the Taliban and Al Qaeda in counterinsurgency combat operations. The United States, the primary contributor of troops in Afghanistan, has expressed displeasure with what it views as the weak and limited political and military support from many countries. Some NATO members have in turn questioned U.S. leadership, namely its alleged preoccupation with military and combat operations while ignoring or undervaluing economic and political objectives. An additional complication is that in Europe the overwhelming unpopularity of the Iraq War has led to a steep decline in American prestige and support for American leadership, and opposition to the Iraq War has spilled over into declining support for the ISAF. For all of these reasons, the most optimistic estimates are that it will take at least several more years for the ISAF to achieve its objectives. A successful exit strategy will require a combination of economic, military, and political successes; simply defeating the insurgents, while crucial, will not by itself bring security and stability to Afghanistan.

Currently, three-fifths of Afghanistan is considered relatively stable and secure: the north and west of Afghanistan along with the capital, Kabul. But the Taliban and Al Qaeda are very active

in the eastern part of the country and in the southern provinces of Helmand, Uruzgan, and Kandahar. According to NATO, from October 2006 to the end of 2007, 70 percent of terrorist incidents occurred in 10 percent of Afghanistan's 398 districts, where less than 6 percent of the Afghan people live.

As an indication of the security challenges still facing NATO-ISAF, in 2009 coalition forces, including the United States, suffered 520 fatalities, nearly double those of 2008 (295). Through the end of 2009, excluding U.S. troops, 621 international troops have died in Afghanistan. As ISAF casualties mount, so do insurgent deaths (53 died on November 29, 2008, alone, including a Taliban commander disguised as a woman). Deaths among Afghan forces have also been on the rise. Because of the rise in insurgent attacks and violence in Afghanistan, in September 2008 President George W. Bush announced the deployment of an additional 4,500 U.S. troops to Afghanistan; that same month, Germany boosted its troop presence by 1,000 to 4,500 men. President Barack Obama had also pledged to wind down the U.S. troops strength in Iraq, refocus America's attention on Afghanistan, and deploy additional troops there. On February 17, 2009, he announced plans to increase U.S. forces in Afghanistan by 17,000 troops, and on December 1, 2009, he announced that he would add an additional 30,000 U.S. troops.

In November 2008 Taliban insurgents rejected an offer for peace talks from President Karzai, refusing to negotiate until all foreign troops leave Afghanistan. As Taliban attacks increase, so too have the number of civilian deaths, including allegedly several dozen following an August 22, 2008, raid by U.S. forces in Herat Province, prompting Karzai to publically demand that NATO end civilian deaths by air strikes and raids. Increasingly frustrated with the rising level of violence, facing growing domestic opposition, and gearing up for reelection in 2009, on November 26, 2008, Karzai publicly complained that NATO and the United States are not succeeding in his nation. Indeed, he went so far as ask NATO to set a time line for withdrawal. In response, U.S. secretary of state Condoleezza Rice noted that the Taliban not only lives and hides among civilians but launches attacks in civilian areas, making it difficult for ISAF forces to avoid killing civilians. Karzai also complained that NATO had not dealt with what he has termed the "sanctuaries and training centers" of the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Pakistan. However, in the last part of 2008, the United States stepped up attacks against insurgents in Pakistan, prompting the Pakistanis to protest what they call violations of their sovereignty. In May 2009 following a Taliban land grab in Pakistan, new U.S. president Barak Obama met with Karzai and Pakistan president Asif Ali Zadari, and the three pledged a cooperative effort against Al Qaeda and the Taliban in both Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Prompted by a deteriorating security situation in Afghanistan and the resurgence of the Taliban and Al Qaeda, on December 1, 2009, President Obama announced the deployment of an additional 30,000 U.S. troops to Afghanistan during the course of the next six months, with the United States to begin handing over security arrangements to the Afghan government by the middle of 2011 to allow the beginning of a drawdown in U.S. forces. The cost of this deployment is projected to be $30 billion for the first year. In 2009 the Afghanistan War cost $51 billion, and President Obama has requested $95 billion for 2010. According to the Congressional Budget Office, since 2001 the United States has spent approximately $345 billion on the war in Afghanistan. Obama announced that these additional 30,000 troops would be deployed in areas that have witnessed the greatest violence by a resurgent Taliban and Al Qaeda: southern and southeastern Afghanistan, particularly Kunduz and Helmand provinces and also Kandahar Province, the birthplace of the Taliban. As of April 2010 about half of these additional 30,000 troops had arrived in Afghanistan, and the remaining troops would arrive by late spring. This marks the second time in Obama's presidency that he has increased troop levels in Afghanistan. On February 17, 2009, he announced the deployment of an additional 17,000 troops to "stabilize a deteriorating security situation." On June 15, 2009, he also replaced the commander of U.S. forces in Afghanistan, General David McKiernan, with General Stanley McChrystal, a former Special Forces commander.

When Obama first became president on January 20, 2009, the number of American forces in Afghanistan stood at 34,000; 11 months later the number had grown to 70,000. With his December 1, 2009, announcement, the total number of U.S. troops in Afghanistan will grow to about 100,000. Obama's December 1, 2009, announcement came after a three-month review of the deteriorating situation in Afghanistan and the request by General McChrystal for an additional 40,000 troops to stem the gains made by the Taliban and Al Qaeda. The deployment of these additional troops has since become known as the surge. By the summer of 2010, the number of U.S. troops being deployed to Afghanistan is expected to eclipse the number of U.S. troops in Iraq. Reflective of the deteriorating situation in Afghanistan and the resurgence of the Taliban and Al Qaeda, the number of U.S. casualties has also increased steadily since 2007, from 117 deaths that year to 155 in 2008, 316 in 2009, and 97 in the first four months of 2010, bringing to 1,020 the number of U.S. combat deaths in Afghanistan. The number of U.S. troops killed in the first three months of 2010 has been approximately double the same number of deaths in the same period in 2009, and almost 700 allied troops have died in Afghanistan since 2001, including 281 from Britain, 141 from Canada, 31 from Denmark, 41 from France, 36 from Germany, and 21 from the Netherlands.

The biggest challenge that U.S., NATO, and Afghan forces face is not securing territory and denying the Taliban and Al Qaeda sanctuary but building an effective local Afghan government that can not only win over the loyalty and support of the people but also protect them and deliver local services. This, however, has proven exceedingly difficult to accomplish owing to the weak, corrupt, and unpopular Afghan government of President Karzai. In addition to a resilient and now resurgent Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan, complicating American efforts in Afghanistan is

the fact that 90 percent of the world's opium supply—the raw ingredient in heroin—comes from that country, and the booming opium drug trade is said to finance the Taliban insurgency, netting it more than $100 million annually.

STEFAN M. BROOKS

See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; International Security Assistance Force; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Taliban; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

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North Yemen Civil War

See Yemen, Civil War in

Northern Alliance

League established by several predominantly non-Pashtun nationalities in northern Afghanistan to oppose the Pashtun-dominated Taliban movement in the mid-1990s. Also known as the United Islamic and National Front for the Salvation of Afghanistan (United Front), the Northern Alliance fought in tandem with U.S. and allied troops against the Taliban regime in the autumn of 2001, during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM.

Afghanistan is a multiethnic country. Pashtuns account for approximately 42 percent of the population and have traditionally held political power. Other groups include the Tajiks (25 percent), Hazaras (10 percent), Uzbeks (8 percent), and numerous smaller groups.

Four coups d'état and widespread unrest in the 1970s set the stage for the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and a decade of subsequent resistance by mujahideen (warriors of God) groups. After a disastrous 10-year occupation, the Soviets departed in 1989 and Afghan communists were defeated in 1992. Instead of another Pashtun government, however, it was the Tajiks, commanded by Ahmed Shah Massoud, and the Uzbeks, led by Abdurrashid Dostum, who seized control of Kabul and established a government with Burhanuddin Rabbani, a Tajik Islamist, as president.

Fighting between Pashtuns and non-Pashtuns had begun before the communist defeat and escalated into a civil war in 1992, but Pashtuns under Gulbuddin Hekmatyar failed to capture Kabul. Hekmatyar was only one of many Pashtun warlords whose followers were too divided to succeed. Consequently, Massoud and other leaders were able to keep Pashtun forces at bay.

Leaders in neighboring Pakistan, however, distrusted the non-Pashtun government. They wanted a Pashtun-dominated group to control the country and provide stability along lucrative trade routes emerging between Pakistan and Central Asia. Consequently, they supported the Taliban (Islamic students) when they emerged in 1994. These students were Afghan and Pakistani Pashtuns from madrasahs (Islamic schools) in Pakistan. Led by Mullah Mohammed Omar, they sought to establish strict Islamic rule throughout Afghanistan. Many Pashtuns accepted the Taliban's harsh version of Islamic law, but that changed as the Taliban moved against non-Pashtun groups in the north. The Taliban were also offering aid and safe haven to terrorist groups, such as Al Qaeda.

The Northern Alliance evolved in the mid-1990s from the Tajik Islamist Rabbani-led government. Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Shia Hazaras provided more than 90 percent of the alliance's fighters. Although the Northern Alliance scored a number of early victories, ethnic diversity and rivalries worked to the advantage of the Taliban, which gradually seized control of most of central and northern Afghanistan. India, Iran, Russia, and the Central Asian

Northern Alliance fighters in Afghanistan listen to their commander, unseen, at the front-line position at a former Soviet Army Air Force base at Bagram, some 18 miles north of Kabul, the nation's capital, on September 25, 2001. (AP/Wide World Photos)

states provided assistance to the Northern Alliance, but Pakistan and Saudi Arabia matched that with support for the Taliban. Furthermore, the Taliban benefitted from a continuing supply of new recruits from the madrasahs and refugee camps located in Pakistan.

Although the international community continued to recognize the Rabbani government, by 2000 the Northern Alliance controlled less than 10 percent of the country. The Northern Alliance suffered one of its last setbacks on the eve of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States when two Al Qaeda suicide bombers posing as Belgian journalists assassinated Ahmed Shah Massoud.

The September 11 attacks changed everything, however, preventing the Taliban from capitalizing on Massoud's death. The United States quickly sent supplies and advisers to the Northern Alliance in preparation for its successful offensive against the Taliban and Al Qaeda during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, which began on October 7, 2001. Members of the Northern Alliance, along with anti-Taliban Pashtuns, subsequently formed a transitional government in Afghanistan, although threats from the Taliban persist, and are growing stronger. ENDURING FREEDOM is still in progress, and U.S. and coalition/North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces have stepped up their efforts to keep radical elements, particularly the Taliban, at bay in Afghanistan.

CHUCK FAHRER

See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Islamic Radicalism; Madrasahs; Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Omar, Mohammed; Pakistan; Soviet-Afghan War; Taliban; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

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NORTHERN WATCH, Operation

Start Date: January 1, 1997
End Date: May 1, 2003

Surveillance and air-policing operation of the U.S. European Command (EUCOM) that enforced the United Nations (UN) mandated no-fly zone above the 36th Parallel to prevent Iraqi attacks on the Kurds in northern Iraq and to enforce Iraqi compliance with UN Security Council resolutions. Operation NORTHERN WATCH, carried out by the United States, Great Britain, and Turkey, began on January 1, 1997, and ended unofficially on March 17, 2003, and officially on May 1, 2003.

With the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the United States encouraged the Kurds in northern Iraq to revolt against the regime of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. However, Hussein ordered devastating military attacks on the Kurds, and more than 1 million Kurds, remembering the Iraqi gas attacks on their settlements in 1988, fled northward toward Turkey. Turkey, which already had a substantial problem with its existing Kurdish population, would not allow the Iraqi Kurds to cross the border. As a result, the Kurds were left stranded in the mountains, starving, ill prepared for severe weather winter, and at the mercy of Iraqi forces.

Thus, on April 6, 1991, U.S. president George H. W. Bush directed EUCOM to form a joint task force to protect the Kurds of northern Iraq. For this mission, called Operation PROVIDE COMFORT, coalition air forces flew more than 40,000 sorties, relocated more than 700,000 refugees, rebuilt more than 70 percent of the Kurdish villages destroyed in northern Iraq, delivered more than 17,000 tons of supplies, and prevented new Iraqi attacks on the Kurds. U.S. Air Force fighters from Incirlik Air Base, Turkey, patrolled the northern no-fly zone until PROVIDE COMFORT officially ended on December 31, 1996.

To continue policing the northern no-fly zone and to ensure Iraqi compliance with UN resolutions calling for UN inspection of Iraqi nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons facilities, EUCOM began Operation NORTHERN WATCH on January 1, 1997. The three coalition partners for this mission collectively provided approximately 45 aircraft and more than 1,400 personnel. Headquartered at Incirlik Air Base, the joint U.S. force numbered some 1,100 personnel from the air force, army, navy, and marines. The air force contingent consisted of active-duty, air force reserve and air national-guard airmen on 14- to 180-day duty, depending on their status. With a 700 percent annual turnover rate in personnel, more than 9,000 personnel rotated through NORTHERN WATCH annually.

The Turkish government, which was opposed to a permanent U.S. military operation based in its territory, originally permitted operations for six months and subsequently approved additional extensions at six-month intervals. Turkish prime minister Bulent Ecevit, who was critical of American policy in Iraq, placed major operational restrictions on the activities of NORTHERN WATCH forces, including the size of the operation, hours of flight operations, the types of aircraft deployed, and the types of munitions used. As a result, U.S. forces had to closely link U.S. responses to Iraqi provocations, and the Turkish military monitored American operations to ensure that they adhered to restrictions. Turkish authorities also refused to allow coalition aircrews based at Incirlik Air Base to participate in Operation DESERT STRIKE in 1996 and in Operation DESERT FOX in 1998, effectively grounding NORTHERN WATCH aircraft during those operations.

The coalition used a variety of fighters, tankers, and intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance aircraft working together to enforce the no-fly zone. Typical missions required a mix of aircraft. Among the aircraft used—at one time or another—were the Grumman EA-6B Prowler; Boeing E-3 Sentry AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System), McDonnell Douglas F-15 Eagle, Lockheed F-16 Fighting Falcon, Sikorsky HH-60 Jayhawk,

Armed with AIM-9 Sidewinder missiles, iron bombs, and air-to-air missiles, a U.S. Air Force F-16CJ Fighting Falcon fighter of the Ohio Air National Guard flies over northern Iraq during Operation NORTHERN WATCH, 2002. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Lockheed HC-130 Hercules, Boeing KC-135 Stratotanker, Sikorsky UH-60 Black Hawk, EP-3 Aries, Beechcraft C-12 Huron, Sepecat GR-3 Jaguar, Hawker Siddeley Nimrod, and Vickers VC10 tanker.

British and U.S. aircraft flew patrol missions over Iraq an average of 18 days per month. In 2000 they flew 164 days; in 2001, 146 days; and by late November 2002, 106 days. For the first year of the operation, northern Iraq was quiet, with no incidents between coalition aircraft and Iraqi forces. However, Iraqi ground-based antiaircraft defenses engaged patrolling coalition aircraft during every subsequent mission.

Despite the coalition's enforcement of the no-fly zone for almost two years, Iraq continued to avoid compliance with UN resolutions, especially Security Council Resolution 687, requiring Iraq to dispose of its weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), ballistic missiles with a range of more than 93 miles, and related production facilities and equipment. Iraq greatly interfered with the activities of the UN arms inspectors on three separate occasions. On November 13, 1997, Iraq expelled UN arms inspectors, who returned one week later. On January 13, 1998, Iraq banned UN arms inspectors, led by an American, and expelled the inspectors three days later. Finally on October 31, 1998, Iraq stopped cooperating with UN inspectors, who were forced to withdraw on November 7, 1998.

These actions resulted in a flurry of diplomatic action by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and a buildup of coalition military forces. The U.S. military then prepared units in the United States for deployment under operations DESERT THUNDER I and II. However, Annan managed to convince Hussein to accept a tentative agreement that would allow UN arms inspectors full access to suspected Iraqi weapons sites. One month later, however, a report that summarized Iraq's continued history of uncooperative actions and violations of the WMD disposal requirements resulted in Operation DESERT FOX. During this operation (December 16–19, 1998) NORTHERN WATCH aircraft ceased operations for four days to allow aircraft designated for the contingency to reach their targets.

Shortly after DESERT FOX ended, Iraq announced that it would no longer recognize the northern and southern no-fly zones. When NORTHERN WATCH resumed, Iraqi air defenses shot at coalition aircraft with surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) on December 28, 1998. Up until March 1999 Iraqi SAM sites and antiaircraft guns, the most

common threat, fired on U.S. and British aircraft over northern Iraq almost daily. Coalition forces retaliated by attacking Iraqi air defense systems, the first such action in northern Iraq since August 1993. Coalition aircraft used 485 weapons, including laser-guided bombs, the AGM-88 High-Speed Anti-Radiation Missile (HARM), and the AGM-130 long-range air-to-surface missiles, against 225 targets. NORTHERN WATCH saw the first combat use of the AGM-130.

From June 1998 to June 1999, coalition aircraft flew patrols an average of 18 days per month, accumulating more than 5,000 combat/combat-support sorties. These coalition air attacks severely degraded Iraq's integrated air defense systems without any loss of coalition aircraft, despite a $14,000 bounty Hussein promised to anyone who downed a coalition aircraft. During early 1999, coalition air activity over northern Iraq came to a temporary halt as aircraft transferred to Italy for Operation ALLIED FORCE.

The air policing and surveillance of northern Iraq had a number of critics. Some believed that coalition aircraft deliberately provoked Iraqi antiaircraft defenses to turn on their radars and/or fire SAMs or antiaircraft guns to draw a coalition attack. As this type of criticism mounted, Brigadier General Robert DuLaney, the American commander of Operation NORTHERN WATCH after October 1999, ordered coalition aircraft to be less confrontational and avoid known Iraqi air defense sites. Also, coalition planes stopped dropping cement-filled laser-guided bombs that had been used to attack SAM and radar sites located near sensitive buildings, such as mosques. Because of the length of the operation and the rules of engagement, some military strategists and even pilots who had flown missions for NORTHERN WATCH no longer saw any military objective in the ongoing operation.

The last flight for Operation NORTHERN WATCH occurred on March 17, 2003, two days before the start of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. NORTHERN WATCH officially ended on May 1, 2003. Since its inception in 1997, more than 40,000 troops had rotated through Incirlik Air Base to support the mission, and assigned aircraft flew more than 36,000 sorties.

ROBERT B. KANE

See also

Annan, Kofi; DESERT FOX, Operation; DESERT THUNDER I, Operation; DESERT THUNDER II, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Kurds; No-Fly Zones; PROVIDE COMFORT, Operation; SOUTHERN WATCH, Operation; United Nations Special Commission; United Nations Weapons Inspectors

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Norway, Role in Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Wars

Norway is a Scandinavian nation located on the western part of the Scandinavian Peninsula. The Kingdom of Norway borders the Norwegian Sea to the west, the North Sea to the south, Sweden to the east, and Finland and Russia to the north. With an estimated 2008 population of 4.644 million, the nation covers 125,181 square miles. A founding member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Norway is a constitutional, parliamentary monarchy. Olav V reigned until January 17, 1991; since then, Harald V, Olav V's son, has reigned as Norwegian king. The monarchy is a chiefly ceremonial institution. Modern Norwegian politics have been dominated by a series of center, center-left, and center-right coalition governments. Since 1990 Norway has had seven different governments and five prime ministers.

Norway supported the U.S.-led military coalitions in the 1991 Persian Gulf War and the conflict in Afghanistan (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM), and it contributed troops to the postwar occupation of Iraq following the 2003 Iraq War. Norway has traditionally supported peaceful resolutions to conflicts and sought to advance diplomatic solutions to disputes in the Middle East. Norway has participated in a range of United Nations (UN) peacekeeping missions in the region, including those in Egypt, Lebanon, Somalia, and Yemen. During the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), Norway called for a peacekeeping mission to supervise a withdrawal of the forces of both countries, a suggestion rejected by Iran. After the end of that war, Norwegian troops took part in the UN monitoring mission between the two opponents.

In 1985 the Norwegian Parliament decreed that women should be allowed to undertake combat operations. Norway subsequently led the successful effort to ensure that women service personnel were permitted to participate in UN peacekeeping operations.

Norway has contributed significant monetary aid to the Middle East. The Palestinian National Authority (PNA) receives about $75 million in aid annually from Oslo and is the third largest recipient of Norwegian foreign assistance. Norway also has a history of making significant contributions directly to UN agencies and nongovernmental organizations that provide aid in the Middle East.

Norway strongly backed U.S. efforts to assemble an international military coalition to oppose Iraq in the run-up to the Persian Gulf War. During that conflict, Norway deployed approximately 350 military personnel, including a field hospital unit and the coast guard ship *Andenes,* which functioned as a support ship for the Danish corvette *Olfert Fischer* in the maritime mission to enforce the economic sanctions imposed on Iraq after its invasion of Kuwait. The 50-bed medical unit was attached to British forces, and it remained in Saudi Arabia, where it treated mainly wounded Iraqi prisoners of war. During the war, Norway also provided medical equipment and assistance to NATO ally Turkey. Also, 25 Norwegian merchant vessels were chartered by the government or coalition partners for service during Operations DESERT SHIELD and

A Norwegian M-113 armored personnel carrier, equipped with a mine roller in front, drives along the runway at Kandahar International Airport, Kandahar, Afghanistan, during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in 2002. (U.S. Department of Defense)

DESERT STORM. These included container vessels, tankers, and roll-on/roll-off vessels. Oslo also gave funds to assist Kuwaiti and Iraqi refugees displaced by the war, and it provided a Lockheed C-130 Hercules aircraft to transport humanitarian assistance. After the end of the conflict in February 1991, 169 Norwegian troops remained in the theater as part of the UN Iraq-Kuwait Monitoring Mission (UNIKOM) from 1991 until 1994.

In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, Al Qaeda terrorist attacks on the United States, Norway, along with several other NATO countries, initially opposed the invocation of Article Five of the Washington Treaty, the alliance's collective defense clause. The Norwegian government had reservations over NATO assuming a counterterrorism role. Oslo did, however, join other NATO states in invoking Article Five in October 2001, after the United States pledged that military action would only be one component of a larger campaign that would also include intelligence and law-enforcement cooperation, as well as efforts to address the root causes of terrorism. Norway subsequently joined other NATO allies in offering the United States troops for military action in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, the military campaign waged against the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan.

Norway contributed one frigate to a NATO task force that was stationed in the eastern Mediterranean to support Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. Simultaneously, Oslo also assumed command of the NATO-led Kosovo peacekeeping mission and deployed an additional 200 troops in order to free up U.S. personnel. It participated in the deployment of NATO Boeing E-3 Sentry AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System) aircraft to the United States, which allowed U.S. planes to be sent to Afghanistan.

Norway also provided a range of conventional ground troops, support units, and special operations forces for Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. Norwegian troops were valued by ENDURING FREEDOM commanders because of their training in mountainous terrain and cold climates. Oslo also deployed four Lockheed Martin F-16 Fighting Falcon fighters and several helicopters to support the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF). When the F-16s provided close air support for ENDURING FREEDOM ground units in 2002, it marked the first time that the Royal Norwegian Air Force had seen combat since World War II.

The country's contributions to ENDURING FREEDOM were especially noteworthy because Norway was in the midst of a decade-long series of defense reorganizations and military downsizing. By the early 2000s, Norway had reduced conscription so that it only affected about one-third of eligible youths and reduced its peacetime military to 21,000 troops and its home guard from 83,000 to 50,000. In addition, the country had consolidated its military

facilities, eliminating one-third of them, including one of its two major headquarters, and eliminating some weapons programs.

Norwegian special operations forces known as the *Forsvarets Spesialkommando,* or FSK, took part in Operation ANACONDA in March 2002. The U.S.-led campaign targeted Al Qaeda and Taliban forces in the Shahi-Kot Valley and Arma Mountains. The valley was surrounded by the Turgal Gar Mountains, with peaks as high as 11,000 feet. The insurgents controlled some 100 caves along the eastern ridge of the slopes, and the mountainous conditions prevented the detection of the enemy sites by aerial reconnaissance. Consequently, coalition forces had to identify the Taliban caves by searching the slopes. The operation killed about 500 insurgents and dislodged their forces, but the majority of the Taliban and Al Qaeda forces were able to escape.

Since 2001 Norway has maintained between 450 and 700 troops in Afghanistan. The majority is attached to ISAF. Through 2008 three Norwegian soldiers had been killed in action in Afghanistan. Norway also leads a Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in Meymaneh in Faryab Province, in the northwest of the country. The PRT contains both military personnel and civilians. The nonmilitary personnel include police trainers and political advisers for the local and regional government. Norway assumed command of the PRT from the British in 2005. In 2006 the PRT's headquarters was attacked. Although there were no fatalities, a number of Norwegian troops were injured and a new, more secure facility was constructed.

Norwegian forces also form part of the PRT under Swedish command in Mazar-e Sharif, where they operate a field hospital and are responsible for training Afghan security forces. There is also a Norwegian quick reaction force stationed at Mazar-e Sharif. Norway has continued to deploy FSK units for specific missions on short rotations. It has also deployed detachments to train Afghan security forces and undertaken de-mining operations. Furthermore, Oslo has supplied arms and military equipment for the new Afghan national army and has helped in the construction of new bases and police facilities. The government provides about $40 million per year in humanitarian and reconstruction assistance to Kabul.

Both the Norwegian government and public opposed the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003 (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). Kjell Magne Bondevik, the Norwegian prime minister at the time, strongly argued that UN weapons inspectors should be allowed to undertake a thorough investigation of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) programs before any military action was initiated. However, after the fall of the Saddam Hussein regime in April 2003, Norway offered to provide humanitarian and reconstruction assistance to the U.S.-led coalition, after the UN designated the coalition as the official occupying power. Norway also agreed to accept a substantial number of Iraqi refugees; at their peak in 2004, they numbered more than 13,300. In 2004 Norway sent a military engineer unit to Iraq with 150 personnel. The unit was withdrawn in 2005, but 10–15 soldiers remained in Iraq as part of the NATO mission to train Iraqi security forces. They were withdrawn in 2006. Oslo also conducted advanced training courses for Iraqi security officials at the NATO Joint Warfare Center in Stavanger, Norway, beginning in 2004. Norway further pledged to support the political process in Iraq and donated more than $75 million to support elections and political reconciliation between 2003 and 2006.

The original deployment of engineers to Iraq was authorized by a center-right coalition government, led by the Christian People's Party, the Conservative Party, and the Liberal Party, but elections in 2005 brought a new coalition government to power. The resulting center-left government included the Labor Party, the Socialist Left Party, and the Center Party, all of which were opposed to Norway's participation in Iraq. Meanwhile, public and political support for Norway's participation in the Afghan War was mixed. The original deployment was authorized by the center-right government in 2001, but the deployment caused rifts in the center-left government because it was strongly opposed by the Socialist Left Party. However, the other two parties of the coalition have supported Norwegian participation in Afghanistan as part of the nation's commitment to NATO.

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See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Nuclear Weapons, Iraq's Potential for Building

From 1968 to 1991, Iraq sought to obtain uranium and create an industrial base for uranium enrichment and nuclear weapons production. Operation DESERT STORM and the resulting United Nations (UN) sanctions assured the destruction of Iraq's nuclear infrastructure in 1991. From 1991 to 2003, Iraq attempted to preserve the scientific talent needed to restart its nuclear program. American suspicions, based on faulty intelligence, that Iraq was secretly reconstituting its nuclear program, and Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's recalcitrance in cooperating with UN inspectors greatly influenced the George W. Bush administration's decision to invade Iraq in March 2003.

From 1968 to 1990 the Iraqis sought and received foreign assistance for nuclear weapons programs. In the late 1970s the French built a light water reactor at the Al Tuwaitha Nuclear Center, located some 11 miles southeast of Baghdad. This type of reactor was known as Osiris; the French named it Osiraq, for the reactor and Iraq. The Iraqis called it the *Tammuz I* for the month in the Babylonian calendar when the Baath party took power in Iraq in 1968. In June 1981, during Operation OPERA, Israeli aircraft largely destroyed Osiraq; it was entirely destroyed in the Persian Gulf War in 1991.

Thereafter, the United States claimed that Iraq pursued clandestine uranium enrichment. With German assistance, by 1990 Iraq was operating industrial-scale electromagnetic isotope separation facilities and had built prototype centrifuges. Iraq constructed a facility able to make 1,000 to 4,000 centrifuges annually (1,500 centrifuges can enrich sufficient uranium for one nuclear weapon a year). Iraq also began designing a first-generation nuclear weapon and a ballistic missile delivery vehicle. In 1992 some experts estimated that Iraq was six months to three years from completing a nuclear bomb in January 1991. However, the Persian Gulf War crippled Iraq's nuclear infrastructure, and it never recovered.

In April 1991 UN Security Council Resolution 687 required Iraq to abstain from the acquisition, research, development, and manufacture of nuclear weapons. To ensure compliance, the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) conducted inspections in Iraq from 1991 to 1998. UNSCOM discovered and destroyed many Iraqi nuclear-related capabilities and facilities, despite determined Iraqi efforts to frustrate the inspectors. It was alleged that Hussein hoped to conceal key elements of his nuclear program and preserve its scientific potential until UN sanctions on Iraq were lifted. However, Hussein might also have been trying to demonstrate his sovereign rights, since it seemed to many in Iraq that the United States and some European nations were pressuring the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) process. In 1995 General Hussein Kamil al-Majid, Hussein's son-in-law, defected from Iraq along with his brother. Majid subsequently revealed that he personally had ordered the destruction of all stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) in Iraq. He also divulged extensive information on Iraqi weapons programs and facilities, which greatly assisted UNSCOM. Majid and his brother and their wives, Hussein's daughters, were then tricked into returning to Iraq, where the two men were killed three days after they arrived.

In 1998 Hussein ended cooperation with UNSCOM and the IAEA. Britain and the United States launched a punitive air strike, and Iraq responded by renouncing compliance with all UN resolutions. From then on, many in the American intelligence community believed that Iraq had begun to reconstitute its nuclear program. To support this view, intelligence assessments cited Iraq's efforts to obtain equipment necessary for uranium enrichment, to enhance its cadre of weapons personnel, and to acquire yellow-cake uranium from Africa.

In 2001 U.S. intelligence learned that Iraq was trying to obtain high-strength, high-specification aluminum tubes. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) believed that Iraq would use these tubes for uranium-enrichment centrifuges. The Department of Energy, however, claimed that the tubes were unsuitable for centrifuge production and were probably intended for conventional 81-mm rocket production. Investigations conducted after the 2003 overthrow of Hussein showed that the latter assessment was correct.

U.S. intelligence also detected Iraqi efforts to obtain carbon filament winding machines, flow-forming machinery, magnets, and other "dual use" machine tools. Such machinery could support both nuclear research and nonnuclear programs. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) assumed the former, but postwar investigations revealed that the machinery actually supported conventional military programs.

U.S. intelligence discovered Hussein's direct personal interest in the Iraqi Atomic Energy Commission (IAEC) after 1999, when he provided IAEC scientists with increased security and funding. The CIA believed that this development indicated his intent to restart nuclear work immediately. In fact, Hussein did not order IAEC scientists to conduct nuclear work. Rather, he wanted to sustain their morale, keep Iraq's scientific base intact, and have them conduct nonnuclear research.

British and U.S. intelligence also learned that Iraqi officials had visited Niger in 1999, and they assumed that Iraq had sought to purchase yellow-cake uranium for a reconstituted nuclear program. Whether the Iraqis actually obtained an agreement was uncertain, and in 2002 the CIA sent Ambassador Joseph C. Wilson to Niger to investigate. He reported that Niger's government denied any deal with Iraq and that a forged document had been the evidence. The CIA leadership in Washington did not believe this denial, and did not change its assessment that Iraq had sought to purchase uranium from Africa. Indeed, this assessment was a major part of President Bush's justification for war. Yet the post-invasion investigations revealed that Iraq indeed did not seek any foreign uranium after 1991.

The final National Intelligence Estimate, published in October 2002, noted Iraq's efforts to acquire aluminum tubes. The estimate concluded that Iraq could make a nuclear weapon within a year if foreign states provided fissile material, but otherwise would not be able to make a weapon "until the last half of the decade." In order to justify U.S. military action against Iraq, President George W. Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell issued public warnings that Iraq could soon make nuclear weapons. Following the U.S.-led invasion, former UNSCOM inspector Charles Duelfer led the Iraq Survey Group, a 1,400-member team that comprehensively studied Iraq's weapons programs. Duelfer determined that prewar warnings about Iraq's weapons were based on incorrect intelligence. In fact, Iraq had made no concerted effort to restart its nuclear program after 1991, and never intended to do so while UN sanctions were in force.

JAMES D. PERRY

See also

Bush, George Walker; DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; International Atomic Energy Agency; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Powell, Colin Luther; United Nations Security Council Resolution 687; United Nations Special Commission; Wilson, Joseph Carter, IV

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Nuri al-Said

Birth Date: 1888
Death Date: July 15, 1958

Prominent pro-British Iraqi politician who served as prime minister of Iraq 14 times between 1930 and 1958. Born in Baghdad in 1888, Nuri al-Said was the son of a minor Ottoman government official. Trained at the Staff College in Constantinople as an officer in the Ottoman Army, he was converted to the Arab nationalist cause and fought with British major T. E. Lawrence in the Arab Revolt (1916–1918) as an adviser to Emir Faisal of Hejaz, who would later reign briefly as the king of Syria before becoming King Faisal I of Iraq. In 1918 Nuri commanded the Arab troops who took Damascus for Faisal, and he accompanied Faisal to the Paris Peace Conference following World War I.

Nuri secured his first cabinet position, as director-general of the police in Iraq, in 1922. He used this post to staff the police with his own followers, a tactic he would repeat again and again. In 1924 he became deputy commander of the Iraqi Army, and in 1930 he became prime minister for the first time, signing the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty. The treaty provided for Iraqi independence in 1932 but was unpopular because it also provided for a 25-year alliance between Britain and Iraq that included the leasing of bases to Britain. Nuri held numerous cabinet positions and served many times as prime minister.

Although he was dismissed from office in 1932, Nuri, a trusted ally of the British, was never far from the seat of power. In early 1941 he denounced Prime Minister Rashid Ali al-Gaylani's anti-British, pro-German policies, which were strongly influenced by Haj Amin al-Husseini, the mufti of Jerusalem. At the end of January 1941, Gaylani fled into exile, only to return to power in April. It was then Nuri's turn to flee, to Jordan. When Gaylani attempted to restrict British troop movements in Iraq, British forces, supported by Jordan's Arab Legion, deposed Gaylani and installed Nuri as the new Iraqi prime minister. This time he held office until June 1944.

Nuri was prime minister for the 9th through 14th times during the periods November 1946–March 1947, January–December 1949, September 1950–July 1952, August 1954–June 1957, and March–May 1958. In February 1954 he signed the Baghdad Pact with Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, and the United Kingdom. This treaty was intended to serve as a buffer against Soviet encroachments in the region.

Nuri's pro-Western position brought him into conflict with Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser, who opposed Western influence in the region. Nasser launched a media campaign that challenged the legitimacy of the Iraqi monarchy and called on the Iraqi military to overthrow it. In response to the Egyptian-Syrian union known as the United Arab Republic, on February 12, 1958, the Hashemite monarchies of Jordan and Iraq declared an Iraqi-Jordanian union known as the Arab Federation. In May 1958 Nuri resigned to become the first prime minister of the short-lived Arab Federation.

Nuri's pro-Western policies and his increasingly heavy-handed methods, from crushing a miners' strike in November 1946 to putting down demonstrations against the Baghdad Pact, made him very unpopular in Iraq. On July 14, 1958, a military coup led by Abd al-Karim Qasim ended the Arab Federation and the Iraqi monarchy. King Faisal II and other members of the royal family were executed. Nuri, disguised as a veiled woman, eluded capture for a day but was caught on July 15 and promptly put to death. His body was buried but then dug up and reportedly tied to the back of a car and paraded through the streets of Baghdad until nothing remained but a portion of one leg.

MICHAEL R. HALL

See also

Anglo-Iraqi Treaty; Baghdad Pact; Faisal II, King of Iraq; Iraq, History of 1990; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; United Arab Republic

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Obaidullah, Akhund

Birth Date: ca. 1965
Death Date: Unknown

Former Taliban minister of defense and a leader in the neo-Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan since 2002. Believed to have been born in Kandahar, Afghanistan, perhaps in 1965, Mullah Akhund Obaidullah (also spelled Ubaidullah and Ubaydullah) emerged as the third most senior leader of the Taliban and a confidant to its spiritual leader, Mullah Mohammed Omar.

Having been educated in a Pakistani madrasah in the border town of Quetta, Obaidullah was a mujahideen fighter during the Soviet invasion and occupation (1979–1988). In 1996 Obaidullah was named minister of defense for the Taliban regime. He participated in the 1998 capture of Mazar-e Sharif and the subsequent massacre that followed. In addition to his ministerial position, Obaidullah acted as liaison with Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence Agency (ISI) and with Al Qaeda and its leader, Osama bin Laden.

The Taliban's refusal to surrender bin Laden in the wake of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States resulted in an invasion of Afghanistan by the United States and its allies in October 2001. By November 2001, with the fall of Kandahar inevitable, Mullah Mohammed Omar abandoned the capital and turned conduct of the war over to a council comprising senior Taliban leaders, led by Mullah Obaidullah. On December 6, 2001, Obaidullah agreed to transfer the leadership of Afghanistan to a Western-supported tribal council under the leadership of Hamid Karzai. Taliban fighters were subsequently ordered to cease combat and surrender their weapons. Karzai, on December 22, issued a general amnesty to Taliban fighters, including Taliban leaders captured during the fall of Kandahar. Obaidullah and other senior Taliban leaders, including former Minster of Justice Mullah Nuruddin Turabi, were then released from captivity.

Following his release, Obaidullah emerged as a leader among the numerous insurgencies that were developing in Afghanistan and the border areas in Pakistan. Unlike others, however, Obaidullah never wavered from his support of the Taliban and Mullah Omar. As one of the few with direct access to Mullah Omar, Obaidullah acted as a conduit, transferring orders from Omar to the Taliban insurgents in the field. In March 2002 he issued a call to arms against Western forces and for the establishment of support areas in the northwestern frontier between Pakistan and Afghanistan. In 2003 Mullah Omar appointed Obaidullah to the newly created Rahhari Shura (Leadership Council), which was responsible for furthering the jihad against the United States and its allies. During this time, Obaidullah traveled unimpeded between Pakistan and Afghanistan, and he is rumored to have traveled even further abroad to purchase antiaircraft weapons.

In March 2004 Mullah Omar issued orders for Obaidullah to organize former mujahideen fighters to continue the fight against both the Karzai government and the United States. Rather than remaining focused on regaining control of Afghanistan, this new organization was designed to carry the fight beyond Afghan borders. Obaidullah, Mullah Omar, and their followers now had adopted a more universalist Islamic outlook similar to that espoused by Al Qaeda. The use of suicide bombers was also adopted. In March 2005 Obaidullah personally ordered the killing of foreign aid workers in Kabul. He later led about 400 troops against North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces in the Penjwayi district of Kandahar in 2006. As late as December 2006, Obaidullah bragged in interviews of the growing power of the Taliban insurgency and its increased use of suicide attacks.

Under increased pressure from the U.S. government and acting on a tip from American intelligence, Pakistani officials succeeded in capturing Obaidullah and a number of Taliban leaders during a raid in Quetta in March 2007. Rumors emerged that Obaidullah was among 50 Taliban leaders released in exchange for the Pakistani ambassador to Afghanistan, Tariq Azizuddin, who had been held hostage for three months. Pakistani officials denied this. His current whereabouts are unknown, but there are some reports that he was killed on May 11, 2007, in a shoot-out with Afghan/NATO forces in Helmand Province.

ROBERT W. MALICK

See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Karzai, Hamid; Omar, Mohammed; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

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Obama, Barack Hussein, II

Birth Date: August 4, 1961

Attorney, Democratic Party politician, U.S. senator from Illinois (2005–2008), and president of the United States (2009–). Barack Hussein Obama II was born on August 4, 1961, in Honolulu, Hawaii, the son of a white American woman and an African from Kenya. Obama's parents separated when he was just two years old, and they divorced in 1964. Obama's father returned to Kenya and had limited contact with his son after that time; Obama saw his father, who died in a car accident in 1982, only once after he left for Kenya. Obama's maternal grandparents were a major force in his life, and in many ways served as his surrogate parents.

Obama's mother subsequently married a man from Indonesia, and Obama moved to Jakarta, Indonesia, where he attended several schools until he returned to live with his grandparents in Hawaii in 1971. In 1979 Obama entered Occidental College before transferring to Columbia University, from which he graduated in 1983. From 1985 to 1988 he worked as a community organizer on the South Side of Chicago; his experiences there led to his adoption of Chicago as his home city.

In 1988 Obama entered Harvard Law School, where his keen intellect and engaging personality earned him the presidency of the *Harvard Law Review;* he was the first African American ever to hold the position. In 1991 he secured his law degree and returned to Chicago; the following year he led a successful voter-registration drive in Illinois that registered as many as 150,000 previously unregistered African American voters. In 1992 Obama joined the faculty of the University of Chicago School of Law, serving in various teaching capacities until 2004. From 1993 to 2004 Obama was also a member of a small Chicago law firm that specialized in civil rights issues and local economic development. In 1997 Obama became an Illinois state senator, a post he held until 2004. As a state senator, Obama garnered much praise for his grasp of important issues and his ability to sponsor and guide bipartisan-backed legislation through the senate.

In 2004 Obama, a gifted orator, made a run for the U.S. Senate, winning by the largest landslide in Illinois electoral history. He campaigned on a platform that was sharply critical of the Iraq War and that promised to reorder America's social and economic priorities. He also vowed to help unite Americans and heal racial, social, and economic divisions.

In July 2004 Obama delivered the keynote address at the Democratic National Convention, as a result of which he became a national phenomenon. His electrifying speech caught the attention of many and helped prepare the way for his run for the White House in 2008. Obama was sworn in as a U.S. senator in January 2005. He worked closely with Republican senator Richard Lugar, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; the two visited nuclear missile launch sites in Russia in an effort to ensure the safety of the armaments. Obama also continued his criticism of the Iraq War, arguing that it had been an unnecessary operation and badly managed by the George W. Bush administration.

In February 2007 Obama announced his intention to run for the U.S. presidency on the Democratic ticket in 2008. At the time many dismissed his intentions, pointing to his relative inexperience and the likely candidacies of such heavy-hitters as senators Hillary Clinton, Joseph Biden, Christopher Dodd, and John Edwards, among others. But Obama ran an impressively earnest and well-executed primary campaign, and by the mid-winter of 2008 his many rivals had all dropped out of the race, except for Senator Clinton. Meanwhile, the Obama campaign's brilliant use of the Internet to raise money and get out his message began to tell, and in early June 2008 Obama became the presumptive Democratic nominee when Clinton conceded the race. From then on, Obama, who eschewed public funding of his campaign, continued to raise massive sums of money and garnered an impressive list of endorsements from both Democrats and Republicans, including former secretary of state and Republican Party stalwart Colin L. Powell. By the early fall, Obama had raised more money by far than any other presidential candidate in history.

In the general election Obama faced off against Republican senator John S. McCain, a war hero and prisoner of war during the Vietnam War, and the son and grandson of U.S. Navy admirals. Until September the tenor of the race focused chiefly on Obama's insistence that U.S. troops be withdrawn from Iraq as

Democrat Barack Obama became president of the United States in 2009. The first African American to hold that position, he promised a new era of engaging foreign governments and of multinationalism in U.S. foreign policy. (U.S. Department of Defense)

expeditiously as possible, his calls for energy independence, his desire to implement universal and affordable health care for all, and his hope to lessen the power of Washington lobbyists and special interests. He traveled to the Middle East and several European nations in July 2008 amidst much fanfare, in an attempt to bolster his foreign policy bona fides. The McCain camp sought to portray Obama as too inexperienced and naive to be president, and McCain argued that the troop surge in Iraq, begun in early 2007, had made a quantifiable difference in the course of the conflict. He suggested that Obama's plan for a specific timetable for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq represented a "cut and run" mentality that would play into the hands of the insurgents. Obama's suggested timetable ended up being embraced by the Iraqi government and became the basis for the U.S.-Iraq Status of Forces Agreement, finalized in late 2008.

Obama continued to argue that the Iraq War had been unnecessary from the start and based on flimsy intelligence and poor judgment on the part of the Bush administration. He also asserted that the conflict had caused the United States to dilute its efforts in the Afghanistan War, resulting in the increasingly deadly Taliban insurgency there. Obama promised to redouble U.S. efforts in Afghanistan and to dispatch significantly more troops there.

In August, Obama named Senator Joseph Biden, from Delaware, to be his vice presidential running mate. Biden added his years of governmental experience to the ticket, and the choice was generally hailed as a wise move. Just a few days later, McCain revealed his choice for a running mate: Governor Sarah Palin of Alaska, a 44-year-old with no experience in national politics. She had been governor for only 20 months and before that had been the mayor of a small town in Alaska. The choice proved controversial, although it energized media coverage of the McCain campaign that, until then, had largely been dominated by Obama. Meanwhile, Obama continued to run a highly disciplined campaign, which portrayed McCain as another version of George W. Bush, who by the autumn of 2008 had the lowest approval ratings in modern presidential history. McCain's not infrequent gaffes, mixed debate performances, and unfocused messages began to work against him, while Obama's tactics and campaign strategy aided his own campaign.

In September the focus of the campaign shifted dramatically as the U.S. economy plunged into a downward spiral. By mid-month, the Iraq War had taken a distant second place to the struggling economy. Each day brought more bad news: the financial system was paralyzed by a series of spectacular bank and investment house failures; the stock market gyrated wildly but in a persistently downward trajectory; unemployment rose dramatically; and the housing market was in full-fledged crisis. Obama made the most of the situation, asserting that a vote for McCain would be a vote for more economic chaos. By Election Day, Obama enjoyed a comfortable lead over McCain, and he went on to win the presidency, winning 52.9 percent of the popular vote and 365 electoral votes.

Obama's transition to power went smoothly, although Republicans, in the now well-established pattern of U.S. partisan politics, consistently challenged both his appointees and statements. His nomination of former rival Senator Hillary Clinton for secretary of state proved an adroit move, and she won easy confirmation in the Senate. Choosing stability over change, Obama chose to keep Robert M. Gates, a holdover from the Bush administration, in the key post of secretary of defense.

Obama's early efforts to solve the financial crisis through massive government bailouts to the financial and auto industries generated some opposition, but nothing like the opposition to his health care plan, which passed in March 2010 amid much acrimony among the Republicans, who rejected it en masse. Obama's public approval ratings began to sag late in 2009 and continued to fall into 2010. Internationally, Obama's taking over the reins of the U.S. government was generally well received, particularly his apparent willingness to reach out to European and other allies, "reset" deteriorating relations with Russia, and undertake new diplomatic initiatives and approaches to the Muslim world. In December 2009 after much study and internal debate, the Obama administration announced a troop surge in Afghanistan. The surge would deploy as many as 30,000 additional troops to deal with the worsening Taliban insurgency and would occur over a 6-month

period, from January to June 2010. Obama, however, stipulated that troop withdrawals from Afghanistan would begin 18 months after the surge ended in June 2010. Obama's strategy met some opposition. Many Democrats disagreed with the surge, and many Republicans found a mandated timetable for troop withdrawals ill-advised.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Biden, Joseph Robinette, Jr.; Bush, George Walker; Clinton, Hillary Rodham; Gates, Robert Michael; McCain, John Sidney, III

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Odierno, Raymond

Birth Date: September 8, 1954

U.S. Army general appointed commander of Multi-National Forces-Iraq (MNF-I) on September 16, 2008. Born in Rockaway, New Jersey, on September 8, 1954, Raymond Odierno graduated from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1976 and was commissioned in the field artillery. During his career, he earned a master's degree in nuclear effects engineering from North Carolina State University and another in national security and strategy from the Naval War College.

Odierno's initial tours of duty took him to the Federal Republic of Germany, where he served as platoon leader and survey officer of the 1st Battalion, 41st Field Artillery, 56th Field Artillery Brigade, as well as aide-de-camp to the brigade's commanding general. Following completion of the Field Artillery Officer Advanced Course at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, Odierno was assigned to the XVIII Airborne Corps Artillery at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, where he commanded a battery and served as S3 in the 1st Battalion, 73rd Field Artillery. Additionally, upon completion of his master's degree in nuclear effects engineering, he served as arms control officer for the Office of the Secretary of Defense. During operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, Odierno was the executive officer of the 2nd Battalion, 3rd Field Artillery, and then held the same position in the Division Artillery of the 3rd Armored Division.

Following DESERT STORM, Odierno went on to command 2nd Battalion, 8th Field Artillery, 7th Infantry Division, during 1992–1994. After attending the Army War College and being promoted to colonel, he commanded the Division Artillery, 1st Cavalry Division, during 1995–1997. Following an assignment at the Army War College in Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, he served as chief of staff, V Corps, U.S. Army Europe, and assistant division commander (support) of the 1st Armored Division, during which time he acted as deputy commanding general of Task Force Hawk, Albania. Upon promotion to brigadier general in July 1999, he became director of Force Management in the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans in the Pentagon.

From October 2001 to June 2004, Odierno commanded the 4th Infantry Division (Mechanized) at Fort Hood, Texas. Promoted to major general in November 2002, he deployed with his division to participate in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM from March 2003 to April 2004. Originally, the division planned to enter Iraq from the north through Turkey; however, the Turkish government refused permission to move the unit through its territory, and the division deployed into Iraq through Kuwait. Subsequently, the 4th Infantry Division acted as a follow-on force and conducted operations in the Sunni Triangle north of Baghdad.

In December 2003 Odierno's troops captured deposed Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein. Despite this success, Odierno's area of responsibility, which centered on Tikrit and Mosul, experienced ever-increasing insurgent violence. Subsequently, some critics characterized as overly heavy-handed Odierno's attempts to suppress the growing insurgency through confrontational armed measures, thereby driving some Iraqis into the insurgent fold. He has since argued that these measures were justified, as similar tactics had been successfully employed to suppress radical insurgents, notably Al Qaeda in Iraq, in 2007.

Upon his return to the United States in August 2004, Odierno served briefly as special assistant to the vice chief of staff of the army. From October 2004 until May 2006, he was the assistant to the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, serving as military adviser to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. He was promoted to lieutenant general in January 2005.

In May 2006 Odierno took command of III Corps at Fort Hood, Texas, assuming command of Multi-National Corps-Iraq (MNC-I) on December 14, 2006, the second-most senior command position in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM responsible for implementing the campaign plan of the MNF-I commanding general. Shortly thereafter, General David Petraeus assumed command of MNF-I and implemented a thorough revision of strategy emphasizing counterinsurgency operations in conjunction with his rewriting of army doctrine on counterinsurgency.

In February 2007 Odierno launched Operation ENFORCING THE LAW, also known as the Baghdad Security Plan. U.S. and Iraqi troops were dispersed throughout Baghdad and maintained a continual presence to establish security for its inhabitants through a system of joint security stations. His subsequent operations were aimed to deny Al Qaeda in Iraq its operational sanctuaries throughout the various provinces and to deny it an opportunity to regroup. The so-called Awakening Councils in Anbar Province aided these efforts.

Following rotation back to Fort Hood in February 2008, Odierno was selected to succeed Petraeus as commanding general of

MNF-I. He assumed that position on September 16, 2008, with promotion to full general.

KARL RUBIS

See also

Al Qaeda in Iraq; Anbar Awakening; Counterinsurgency; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; Petraeus, David Howell; PHANTOM THUNDER, Operation; Sunni Triangle

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Office of Military Cooperation Afghanistan

Agency formed by the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) in December 2002 to help rebuild the Afghan National Army (ANA) after a year of major fighting in Afghanistan against Al Qaeda and Taliban forces. The main purpose of the Office of Military Cooperation Afghanistan (OMCA) was to develop, train, field, and sustain the Afghan defense establishment from the Ministry of Defense down to combat battalions in the field. The agency consisted of more than 220 people from six coalition nations that oversaw the 1,800-person Coalition-Joint Task Force (JTF) Phoenix, comprising American National Guard units from more than 20 states, U.S. active duty and reserve units, and contingents from seven different countries, in a $7 billion security assistance program to re-create the Afghan military, which would serve the post-Taliban government in Kabul. The first chief of the OMCA was U.S. Army lieutenant general Karl W. Eikenberry, who served in 2002 and 2003. The second head was U.S. Air Force major general Craig P. Weston, who was also U.S. security sector coordinator in Afghanistan from December 2003 to February 2005.

In the first years of its existence, the OMCA completed the training, equipping, and garrison construction for the 10,000-man Central Corps of the ANA in Kabul. The Coalition-JTF Phoenix oversaw the construction of 14 brigade complexes, each costing about $75 million and capable of supporting 3,500 soldiers. Additionally, it oversaw the training of four additional corps in the four regions of the country as well as at field recruiting stations. The OMCA also assisted the Afghan Ministry of Defense in hiring and training more than 1,200 individuals of an eventual 3,000 people. Additionally, troop strength increased from two to five battalions in simultaneous training. The goal was to develop the ANA into a force that could defeat terrorists within Afghanistan by preventing them from threatening the Afghan people or using Afghanistan to launch their attacks.

Since late 2002, the ANA has received billions of U.S. dollars to rebuild and train its forces. The United States provided most of the weapons, which included 2,500 High Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicles (HMMWV, or Humvee), tens of thousands of M-16 assault rifles, body armor, and other types of vehicles and weapons. The aid also helped to construct a national military command center with training compounds in different parts of the country and housing for ANA members. Additionally, part of the aid went to cash incentives and vocational training to encourage Afghanis to join the ANA and to thwart and dissolve former militias or Taliban supporters. On September 18, 2005, the ANA and Afghan National Police ensured the security of the first free election in Afghanistan's history, and on December 19, 2005, the inauguration of the first parliament in Afghanistan in more than 35 years.

On July 12, 2005, the OMCA was redesignated as the Office of Security Cooperation Afghanistan (OSCA). U.S. Air Force major general John T. Brennan, who had been the OMCA's chief since February 2005, continued as the head of the renamed organization. The new organization's responsibilities included both national defense and internal security. In addition to rebuilding Afghanistan's national defense force, OSCA now also assisted German advisers and the Afghan Ministry of the Interior in developing the Afghan National Police. The creation of the OSCA emphasized the commitment of the United States to the continued development of a safe, secure, and prosperous Afghanistan. By this time, the ANA had steadily increased in capability, professionalism, and size, reaching a strength of more than 24,300 trained and equipped soldiers, with another 6,000 in training by the end of 2008. As of October 2008 the Afghan National Army comprised at least 80,000 active troops. The goal in early 2009 was to expand the ANA to about 134,000 troops.

The expanded role of the new OSCA was crucial to the future success of Afghanistan. The Afghanistan reconstruction effort and transfer to democracy was inextricably linked to security. The ability of the OSCA to further develop the ANA's capabilities and to train an effective, reliable police force would have a direct impact on democracy and reconstruction in Afghanistan. By 2006 the OSCA was renamed the Combined Security Transition Command–Afghanistan.

ROBERT B. KANE

See also

Afghan National Army; Combined Security Transition Command–Afghanistan; United States Central Command

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Oil

A strategic, nonrenewable energy resource at the center of debates regarding the U.S. role in international politics and economics, particularly in the Middle East. Oil from the Middle East has long been an essential security priority of the United States and other industrialized nations, and a major source of energy for the world economy. Strategic concerns about access to petroleum reserves played a role in regional Middle East conflicts after World War II, including the Suez Crisis (1956), the Six-Day War (1967), the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War (1973), the Iranian Revolution (1979–1980), the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), the Persian Gulf War (1991), and the Iraq War (2003–).

In Paris, at the end of 1968, the director of the U.S. State Department Office of Fuels and Energy informed delegates of the Oil Committee of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development that American oil production would soon reach capacity. Since then, growing oil demand has caused U.S. economic and military dependence on foreign petroleum production to be an important part of national and international political and economic debates.

The Persian Gulf basin is the source of approximately two-thirds of all known global petroleum reserves. Of the major oil producers, Saudi Arabia has the largest proven reserve, with 264 billion barrels. Iraq has the third largest reserve of conventional oil in the world, with a total of 115 billion barrels; Kuwait has the fifth position at 97 billion barrels. Middle East oil production played a central role in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the War on Terror that began in 2001, and the Iraq War that began in 2003. The geopolitical importance of oil is clear in the international dialogue regarding these conflicts.

After a decade of relative energy stability and steady oil prices, Kuwait increased its oil production in 1988, causing a decrease in world oil prices. This had a negative effect on the Iraqi economy, which relied heavily on income from oil exports. Iraq was also significantly in debt to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, which meant that its ability to repay the loans was being undermined by falling oil prices. Iraqi president Saddam Hussein used the situation as a principal justification for his invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, arguing that the Kuwaiti production increases were tantamount to economic warfare against Iraq.

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait placed a large proportion of Middle Eastern oil supplies under Iraqi control. The invasion also placed the Iraqi army adjacent to the vastly productive Hama oil fields of Saudi Arabia, a source of further international anxiety. Despite some domestic and international protest under the banner "No blood for oil," U.S. president George H. W. Bush invoked the (Jimmy) Carter Doctrine, which had identified the uninterrupted flow of Persian Gulf oil as a vital interest of the United States since 1980, and announced Operation DESERT SHIELD to protect Saudi Arabia from a potential Iraqi attack. As DESERT SHIELD grew, oil supplies to the West remained largely uninterrupted, but speculation in the commodities market and angst over the potential of more Iraqi aggression pushed world oil prices sharply higher. This in turn stoked fears of inflation and other economic difficulties usually associated with the 1970s.

After bringing together an international coalition through the United Nations (UN), the United States justified its support of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait based on the violation of the latter's territorial integrity and the former's geopolitical importance as a key supplier of oil. In early January 1991 the U.S. Congress authorized the use of military force to free Kuwait, and the coalition began Operation DESERT STORM on January 17. On January 23 media sources reported the dumping of more than 400 million gallons

Crude Oil Production in Selected Middle Eastern and North African Countries, 1965–2005 (in barrels per day)

Country	*OPEC Member*	*1965*	*1975*	*1985*	*1995*	*2005*
Algeria	Yes	577,000	1,003,000	1,151,000	1,327,000	2,015,000
Bahrain	No	58,000	60,000	41,000	38,000	188,000
Egypt	No	126,000	228,000	882,000	924,000	696,000
Iran	Yes	1,908,000	5,387,000	2,205,000	3,744,000	4,049,000
Iraq	Yes	1,313,000	2,271,000	1,425,000	530,000	1,820,000
Israel	No	4,000	101,000	Negligible	Negligible	4,000
Kuwait	Yes	2,371,000	2,132,000	1,127,000	2,130,000	2,643,000
Libya	Yes	1,220,000	1,514,000	1,025,000	1,439,000	1,702,000
Oman	No	Unknown	341,000	502,000	858,000	780,000
Qatar	Yes	233,000	437,000	315,000	461,000	1,097,000
Saudi Arabia	Yes	2,219,000	7,216,000	3,601,000	9,127,000	11,035,000
Syria	No	Negligible	192,000	159,000	596,000	459,000
Tunisia	No	Negligible	97,000	114,000	90,000	74,000
United Arab Emirates	Yes	282,000	1,696,000	1,260,000	2,362,000	2,751,000

Negligible = less than 1,000 barrels a day

An Iranian shepherd tends his flock near an oil rig. (Corel)

of crude oil in the Persian Gulf as a purposeful Iraqi tactic to prevent the landing of coalition naval forces in Kuwait. The Iraqi government claimed that the spill, the largest in history to that time, resulted from the coalition bombing campaign, which was untrue.

While retreating from Kuwait in February, the Iraqi army set many Kuwaiti oil fields on fire, causing a significant short-term oil shortage in the world market and a major spike in oil prices. The shortage was quickly remedied by increased production within the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and the utilization of U.S. and International Energy Agency strategic petroleum reserves. Despite these measures, the instability of the global oil supply caused the international price of oil to rise to a record of $40.42 per barrel in late winter of 1991. Following the war, Iraq received heavy economic sanctions but was later permitted by the UN to import certain products under the Oil-for-Food Programme.

Despite the fact that Iraqi oil output had been severely limited, world oil supplies became plentiful by the mid-1990s, and by 1999 an oil glut caused prices to drop to as low as $22 per barrel. In the United States, gasoline was selling in most places for less than 95 cents per gallon.

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the fact that 15 of the 19 Islamist terrorists who hijacked the airliners used to carry out the attacks were Saudis initiated a close examination of the political and economic relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia, the country's largest supplier of foreign oil.

The resultant War on Terror also sharply increased U.S. military involvement in the Middle East. The United States invaded Afghanistan in October 2001 (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM) with a considerable amount of world support. In March 2003 the United States, the United Kingdom, and a small international coalition extended the war by invading Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM) with the stated goal of ending the international threat posed by the regime of Saddam Hussein, which allegedly sponsored international terrorism and possessed weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). The coalition forces quickly defeated the Iraqi army, but they were unable to establish a stable government, and no WMDs were found.

The inability to achieve political stability had a profoundly negative effect on Iraqi oil production. In 2003 Iraqi production ceased, causing a loss of 2 million barrels a day. This affected the global oil market and sent prices higher. In 2006 Iraq's oil production was still down 600,000 barrels per day from prewar production levels. By the end of 2007, however, production had reached prewar levels.

The Iraqi production lapse had a profound impact on the international oil market. The lack of excess production capacity, refinery shortages, and individual production problems in the OPEC

nations only exacerbated the effects of the Iraqi shortage on the global economy. The United States also decided not to tap oil from its strategic petroleum reserve. Because of continuing growth in world demand in a time of relative oil scarcity and instability, petroleum prices increased dramatically, reaching $80–90 per barrel at the beginning of 2007 and $140 per barrel by mid-2008. From that high, however, oil prices dropped substantially by the end of 2008 and early 2009.

The Iraq War effort has faced domestic and international criticism from both popular and official sources. Many of the protests against the war have centered around the themes of U.S. dependency on foreign oil, control of oil production, and rising oil prices. Among other nations, the war enhanced tensions among the United States, Iran, and Venezuela, also major international oil producers.

As early as 2003 international commentators alleged that the Bush administration had used military force in Iraq because the country had the potential to destabilize the international oil market. In 2003 the White House and the Department of Defense denied that oil was part of the motivation for the Iraq War. However, in the summer of 2005 President George W. Bush argued that U.S. troops needed to continue fighting in Iraq to prevent the country's oil fields from coming under the control of terrorist extremists. The Energy Task Force, headed by Vice President Richard Cheney, also noted the fundamental importance of the region, especially considering the dependence of the United States on oil imports. By 2008, thanks to the situation in Iraq, disruptions due to unrest in Nigeria, and growing demand in such nations as China and India, oil prices had reached historic highs, hitting more than $140 per barrel. In the United States, the surging fuel prices spiked inflation to its highest level in 17 years and, along with depreciating home prices, a major slump in homes sales, and the subprime mortgage crisis, threatened to tilt the economy into a full-blown recession. By the summer of 2008, gasoline prices were averaging more than $4 per gallon, drying up demand for large vehicles like sport utility vehicles and light trucks, and hammering the domestic car industry. Skyrocketing gas prices hit all sectors of the economy and reined in consumer spending as a whole. Despite substantially reduced oil prices and a corresponding reduction in gasoline prices in early 2009, U.S. consumer spending remains tentative, hampering recovery from the global economic crisis.

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See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Carter Doctrine; Cheney, Richard Bruce; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Iran-Iraq War; Iranian Revolution; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Kuwait; Oil Well Fires, Persian Gulf War; Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries; Saudi Arabia

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Oil Well Fires, Persian Gulf War

Fires that resulted from the deliberate torching of Kuwaiti oil wells by Iraqi military forces in late February 1991 at the beginning of the coalition's ground offensive (Operation DESERT STORM). On February 24, 1991, General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), launched the U.S.-led coalition ground offensive into western Kuwait to force the withdrawal of the Iraqi army, which had occupied Kuwait since August 2, 1990. At the start of the ground war, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein ordered his troops to set fire to oil wells and oil-related facilities in Kuwait. Iraqi forces set fire to 365 of some 700 wells in Kuwait's most productive oil reservoir, the greater Burgan Oil Field. The fires in this field accounted for the majority of the smoke and the greatest amount of burned oil. High pressures below the surface kept the fires burning despite firefighting efforts. The fires burned at temperatures as high as 2,000 degrees Fahrenheit and produced huge plumes of poisonous smoke that rose as high as 10,000 feet in places. The Burgan Oil Field fires presented the greatest risk to human health because of the field's proximity to Kuwait and to coastal towns where the great majority of Kuwaitis lived. As Hussein had hoped, the thick smoke inhibited coalition air and ground operations, although not decisively. The thick smoke hovering over the region prevented some pilots operating over northern Kuwait from seeing their targets. Other pilots had to deliver their weapons from higher altitudes because they could not get under the low overcast pall of smoke. The smoke from the oilfield fires became so thick that it blotted out the sun, and ground forces had to use flashlights to read maps during the day.

Imagery from the LANDSAT and SPOT satellites helped environmental experts locate the burning wellheads and oil spills and to assess the long-term environmental damage to the Persian Gulf region. A number of the fires burned out of control until November 1991. They caused the loss of about 6 million barrels of oil and 70 to 100 million cubic meters of natural gas per day. For these months, people in the Persian Gulf region had to contend with oil-thickened overcast skies.

The Kuwaiti government, through its Ministry of Oil, contracted with a number of professional oil firefighting companies, such as the Red Adair Company (later purchased by Global Industries of Louisiana), Boots and Coots (now Boots and Coots/IWC), Wild Well Control, Safety Boss, Cudd Well/Pressure Control, Neal Adams Firefighters, and Kuwait Wild Well Killers, to put out the fires. Those battling the blazes faced many of the previous obstacles

Smoke from oil well fires burning in the distance. The fires were intentionally set by Iraqi troops as they withdrew from Kuwait during Operation DESERT STORM in 1991. (U.S. Department of Defense)

in extinguishing and capping the wells. While many firefighting teams had previous experience in responding to accidental blazes, few had dealt with such widespread and deliberate arson. The oil-well firefighters developed a number of unique procedures, such as using large quantities of seawater pumped to the sites through a converted oil pipeline, liquid nitrogen, and dynamite charges.

In addition to the hazards involved in the firefighting effort, other obstacles posed serious challenges for the firefighters. The risks included large amounts of unexploded ordnance left over from the coalition bombing campaign and the ground offensives, and land mines placed around the burning oil wells by the retreating Iraqi soldiers. Before the firefighting teams could begin extinguishing the fires, coalition explosive ordnance disposal teams had to clear such munitions from each new work site or building where the firefighting teams planned to work. By November 1991, when the last of the fires had been extinguished, the total cost to Kuwait of putting out the fires had reached $1.5 billion.

The long-lasting oil fires caused significant widespread air and soil pollution. The smoke from the oil-well blazes adversely affected the weather pattern throughout the Persian Gulf region and beyond for most of 1991. The lower atmospheric wind blew the smoke along the eastern half of the Arabian Peninsula, and the uneven heating of the land and sea created local atmospheric inversions during the summer months that trapped smoke in the lower atmosphere. Sandstorms, abetted by high winds, mixed sand and dust with the smoke. The gases and particulates in the dense black smoke caused respiratory problems for many Kuwaitis. The Kuwait Environment Protection Agency believes that the increasing number of cancer cases since 1991 is directly related to the oil fires. Many cities, such as Dhahran, Riyadh, and Bahrain, experienced many days with smoke-filled skies and carbon fallout. Some scientists have also linked the oil fires with what would later be called Gulf War Syndrome. Whether this amorphous collection of symptoms and illnesses was precipitated by the oil fires, chemical fallout and residue, or other causes has not been fully determined, and the long-term environmental effects of the fires still remain unclear.

The sabotage of the oil wells also impacted the desert environment, which has a limited natural ability to cleanse itself. In some cases, the oil from the wellheads did not ignite, but leaking oil formed some 300 oil lakes, contaminating about 40 million tons of sand and earth. Cleanup efforts led by the Kuwait Institute for Scientific Research and the Arab Oil Company, which have tested a number of technologies, including the use of petroleum-degrading bacteria, produced significant results. By 1995 vegetation in most of the contaminated areas next to the oil lakes began recovering,

but the dry climate has also partially solidified some of the oil lakes. Over time, the oil has continued to sink into the sand, with as yet unknown consequences for Kuwait's precious and scarce groundwater resources.

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See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Land Remote-Sensing Satellite

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Oman, Role in Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars

Arab nation located along the southeastern coast of the Arabian Peninsula. With an estimated population of 3.312 million people, Oman covers 119,498 square miles. It is bordered by Yemen to the west; Saudi Arabia to the north; United Arab Emirates (UAE) to the northeast; the Arabian Sea to the south-southeast; and the Gulf of Oman to the east.

Oman is an absolute, hereditary monarchy governed by Sultan Qaboos bin Said al-Said, who has ruled since 1970. Although the sultan has enacted some political reforms that resulted in universal suffrage in 2003 and the election of an advisory council to the monarch, Said retains much control over the country and has solitary control over the armed forces. There are no political parties and there is no official opposition to the sitting government. Having enjoyed a long period of cordial relations with Great Britain, Oman entered into numerous military defense treaties with that nation. English is Oman's second language. In recent years, Oman has oriented its foreign and economic policies generally toward the West, and it has been a cooperative player with the United States and Britain in Middle East conflicts since 1991. The country enjoys a relatively high standard of living, primarily as a consequence of its petroleum revenues.

Oman's military consists of the Royal Army, Navy, and Air Force. Its military establishment is well equipped with modern hardware and weapons systems purchased chiefly from Great Britain, the United States, and France. The sultan has long worried about potential incursions from rival Arab nations and remains particularly concerned about Iran's foreign and military policies. As such, the nation spends a huge portion of its gross domestic product (GDP) on defense expenditures. These are currently estimated at about $2.1 billion a year, or 11.5 percent of GDP. In 2002, the last year for which reliable information was available, active military personnel numbered 41,750. That same year the army was equipped with more than 100 main battle tanks, and the air force had approximately 40 combat aircraft.

In the years leading up to the Persian Gulf War of 1991, Sultan Said steadily increased the size and effectiveness of Oman's armed forces, especially during the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988). During that conflict, Said deployed an infantry battalion to serve in the Peninsula Shield force, a military arm of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) meant to deter aggression from either Iraq or Iran. Meanwhile, the British air force continued to use an air base on Masirah Island, off Oman's southern coast.

After Iraq invaded and occupied Kuwait in August 1990, Oman became a strong supporter of the international military coalition that would ultimately force Iraq to quit its occupation in 1991. Coalition forces used several of Oman's air bases as key staging areas for the conflict. The country also contributed 6,300 ground troops, who were deployed to Saudi Arabia. On the second day of the ground war in February 1991, Omani troops, along with the Saudi 10th Mechanized Brigade, entered Kuwait, helping to effect its liberation by February 28.

Although Oman's armed forces did not actively participate in the subsequent Afghanistan or Iraq wars, Oman has cooperated with coalition forces by permitting overflights of its air space and allowing some of its bases to be used as staging areas for coalition forces.

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See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; Gulf Cooperation Council; Iran-Iraq War

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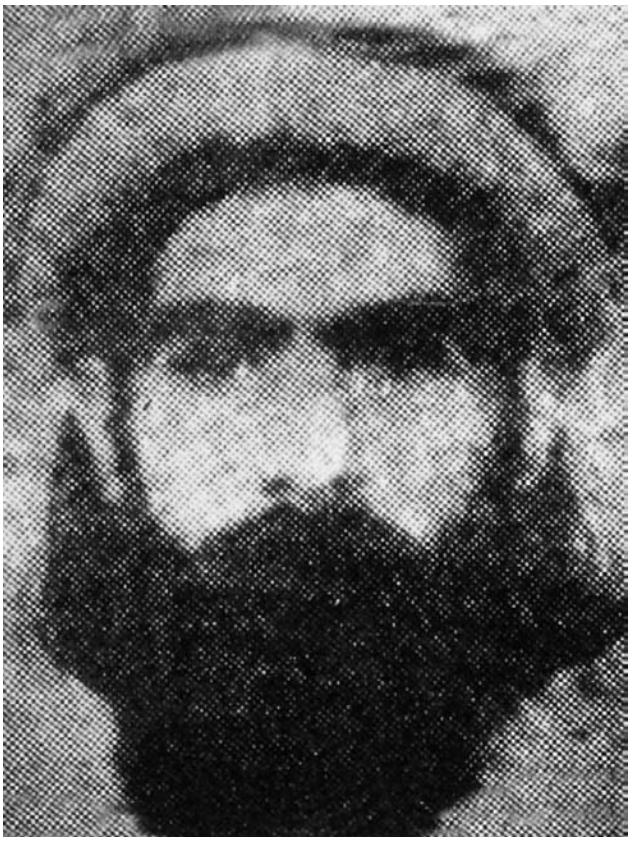
Omar, Mohammed

Birth Date: 1959

Radical Islamic cleric and a leader of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan from 1996 to 2001. Mohammed Omar (Umar), usually known to the West as Mullah Omar and in the region as Mullah Muhammed Omar Mujahid, was born near Kandahar, either just outside of Singesar or in Naduh, in Afghanistan sometime in 1959. He grew up in this impoverished area. His father died when he was young, leaving Omar as the primary breadwinner for his family, although some reports suggest that his mother remarried.

Mohammed Omar is a Pashtun from the Hotak tribe. The Pashtuns make up approximately 40 percent of the Afghan population and are concentrated in the southern portion of the country. Even before the withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1989, the Pashtuns expended considerable energy fighting one another. Eventually



An undated photograph reportedly of Taliban supreme leader Mullah Omar. (AP/Wide World Photos)

they split into pro- and anti-monarchical factions. They also engaged in fighting the northern Tajiks and Uzbeks.

With the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, Omar joined the mujahideen faction Harakat-i Inqilabi-i Islami (the Islamic Liberation Movement), guerrilla fighters opposing the Soviet forces and commanded by Muhammad Nek. The mujahideen received the support of much of the Islamic world and even some elements of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Omar was wounded four times in actions against the Soviets, most famously from shrapnel that damaged his eye. Red Cross doctors surgically removed the eye, although the Taliban claim that Omar himself removed his damaged eye and sewed shut his eyelid.

Omar is a spiritual leader and not simply a commander of the Taliban, as indicated by the term "mullah," meaning a cleric or religious leader in the Dari and Farsi languages. Omar taught in madrasahs outside of Kandahar and in Quetta, was schooled in Arabic, and thought highly of Sheikh Abdullah Azzam, a founder of Al Qaeda. He was observed leading prayers at the Binoori Mosque in Karachi, where he met Osama bin Laden.

With the withdrawal of the Soviets from Afghanistan, the various tribes and factions there continued to be united in their opposition to the Afghan communist government in Kabul. With the collapse of that government in 1992, the country entered a state of civil war. Omar and others were outraged by public figures, including former mujahideen commanders who were sexually victimizing women and children, and otherwise engaged in corruption. Omar began the Taliban movement with about 50 followers from madrasahs and refugee camps. In early 1994 he led a small group of 30 Pashtun followers to rescue 2 kidnapped girls. This success led to more recruitment from Islamic religious schools and refugees in neighboring Pakistan. Omar and his followers considered themselves reformers trying to rid Afghanistan of the evils and corruption of the warlords. With the Taliban's growth through that year, Omar took control of Kandahar Province by September 1994 and Herat the following year.

In 1996 Omar publicly assumed the important title of *emir al-muminin* (commander of the faithful), the title accorded to the Prophet Muhammad and not used since the fourth caliph, indicating his military leadership of Muslims. He appeared wrapped in what was said to be the Prophet Muhammad's own cloak as a sign of that office. That same year the Taliban captured the Afghan capital city of Kabul and declared their intent to transform a secular nation into an Islamic emirate. Omar, however, remained in Kandahar, visiting Kabul in this period. From 1997 to 2001, Omar was recognized internationally as the Head of the Supreme Council of Afghanistan.

The Taliban strenuously enforced Sharia (Islamic law), which promotes moral behavior by heavily restricting the interaction of men and women, and limits all Islamically forbidden substances and actions. World human-rights groups were very critical of the new regime and especially its brutal treatment of women. One reporter sought in vain to persuade Omar against the destruction of the great Buddhas at Bamyan.

Omar had become acquainted with Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden when he was in Pakistan fighting against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The two became close friends and associates and spoke often, perhaps daily, on satellite phones. Some reports claim that Omar married Osama bin Laden's eldest daughter and that one of Omar's daughters is bin Laden's fourth wife, although Taliban spokesmen deny this. Bin Laden was instrumental in financing the Taliban and thus made a significant contribution to its eventual takeover of Afghanistan. In turn, Omar allowed Al Qaeda operatives and terrorist training camps to operate within Taliban territory.

Following the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, Omar defended the Taliban as a moderate regime and argued that bin Laden had played no role in the 9/11 attacks. There is some evidence that a number of Taliban leaders had concerns about the presence of Al Qaeda and were dissatisfied with Omar's decision to allow the group to be located there in the first place. These individuals urged cooperation with the United States, but Omar remained firmly in control and refused to comply with U.S. demands. His refusal to hand bin Laden over to the U.S. government, a demand which would have violated Islamic and Pashtun tribal mores of politics and hospitality, led to the American military intervention Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, which drove the Taliban from power in the late autumn of 2001. In October Omar's home was bombed, killing his stepfather and 10-year-old son.

Since the Taliban's fall from power in Afghanistan in late 2001, Omar has eluded capture, although it is widely assumed that he is hiding in the Pashtun regions of Afghanistan or Pakistan. The U.S. government has offered a $10 million bounty for his capture. Omar retains the loyalty of many Taliban factions within Afghanistan. The Taliban deny that he is in hiding, but say that he is merely moving frequently for his own security. Omar has never met with a Western journalist and typically spoke through a Taliban governmental intermediary in the past. It is claimed that Omar remains active in directing the Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan, and numerous statements in his name have been released urging the Afghani and Iraqi insurgents to fight on in their struggle against "American imperialism." In January 2007 Omar exchanged emails and communications via courier with a journalist. He claimed that the Taliban had religious sanction for the many suicide attacks carried out in Afghanistan that year. He issued another statement via an intermediary in April 2007 encouraging more suicide attacks. On the occasion of Eid al-Fitr, the conclusion of Ramadan, on September 30, 2008, Omar's internationally circulated speech expressed sorrow at the loss of Afghan lives since 2001 and from the U.S. air attacks that season. He decried the corruption of the current Afghan government and American efforts to create *fitna* (division, loss of faith) in the region, setting Afghans against each other, as, according to Omar, U.S. authorities had done in Iraq and Palestine. He also called on the Afghan people not to cooperate with the National Army, Security Services, and police because these were "slave institutions." But he also called for them not to engage in such vicious actions as mosque bombings or summary punishments of brigandry, as had occurred in attacks blamed on the Taliban, which he attributed to the influence of anti-Islamic elements. These public statements rendered dubious a prior claim by Afghan president Hamid Karzai that Omar was in the custody of Pakistan's intelligence services.

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See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Karzai, Hamid; Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Taliban; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

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Operational Art of War

See War, Operational Art of

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

Oil cartel founded on September 14, 1960, during the Baghdad Conference to give oil-exporting countries leverage in negotiations with foreign oil companies that, at the time, controlled production and dictated prices and the share of profits going to producing nations. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Arab member nations of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) enacted embargoes against supporters of Israel during the 1967 Six-Day War and the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War in an effort to influence Middle East policy. Since the 1980s, OPEC has acted largely apolitically, seeking to stabilize oil production and prices to maximize members' profits while guaranteeing a reliable oil supply to the world economy.

As early as 1945, oil-producing nations recognized that a unified stance on pricing and output would improve their effectiveness in bargaining with the major oil companies. In 1959 the U.S. government established a mandatory quota on all imported oil to the United States in an attempt to give preferential treatment to oil producers in Canada and Mexico. In so doing, the world's largest oil consumer effectively imposed a partial boycott on Middle East oil. The net result was depressed prices for Persian Gulf crude. To make matters worse, the oil companies enacted a series of unilateral price cuts in 1959 and 1960 that caused oil prices to fall even lower.

The severe impact that these policies had on Middle East oil provided the impetus for the world's five largest oil exporters—Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, and Venezuela—to band together with the express purpose of reversing these price cuts. During its first two decades of operations, OPEC expanded its membership to include Qatar, Indonesia, Libya, United Arab Emirates (UAE), Algeria, Nigeria, Ecuador, and Gabon. During its first decade of operations, OPEC enjoyed little success. Prices continued to float lower well into 1971. In 1958 oil sold for $10.85 per barrel (in 1990 dollars). In 1971 it sold for just $7.46 per barrel. The cartel doggedly negotiated with oil companies but with little success in eroding the oil companies' power to set prices. Beginning in 1973, however, OPEC finally succeeded in wresting pricing power from the oil companies, which were increasingly vulnerable to political decisions made in the oil-producing states that housed their operations. On October 16, 1973, in reaction to the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, OPEC cut production, which ultimately quadrupled the price of oil and began a series of price hikes that effectively ended the companies' control over all but the technical side of oil production.

As Arab nations' production made up an increasing share of the world oil market, they began to use their power politically, applying oil embargoes against Britain and France during the 1956 Suez Crisis and against the United States, Britain, and West Germany during the 1967 Six-Day War. These embargoes failed, however, in large part because of U.S. willingness to make up the oil shortfalls to its allies. Also, because oil is a worldwide commodity, limited embargoes have little effect, as nations targeted by an embargo will usually find other ways to purchase petroleum.

A flag displaying the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) logo waves from the roof of OPEC headquarters in Vienna, Austria. OPEC regulates petroleum policies and production of member nations to protect their mutual interests. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Arab oil producers' attempts to use the oil weapon to influence the Arab-Israeli conflict enjoyed great success in October 1973 during the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, precipitated by Egypt and Syria's surprise attack on Israel. On October 17, one day after OPEC initiated production cuts that spiked sharp price increases, the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) decreased overall oil production and initiated a five-month oil embargo against the United States and the Netherlands to protest their support for Israel. The oil price shock, together with worldwide production cuts and the embargo, caused severe economic disruptions in much of the world. The impact on the United States was particularly severe. The nation's economy, which was already groaning under inflation, relatively high unemployment, low growth, and budget deficits, tilted into a serious recession. Government efforts to cap prices and control supplies only worsened the situation, as shortages and even limited rationing of gasoline became widespread. From 1973 to 1974, the price of oil catapulted from about $8 per barrel to more than $27 (1990 dollars). The American economy remained in a virtual recession into the mid-1980s.

The Soviet Union, an oil exporter, had little to lose from the Arab states' use of oil as a weapon. As such, it encouraged the oil embargo because it weakened the West economically and resulted in increased oil revenues for itself. At the same time, the Soviets took advantage of decreased Arab production and higher prices, significantly increasing its oil exports to the United States during the embargo, a fact that neither nation publicized at the time.

The oil embargo caught Americans largely unprepared. As a result, the U.S. government instituted gasoline rationing that resulted in long lines at gasoline stations and national anxiety over energy supplies. In response to the price increases and embargo, the United States sought to establish a cartel of oil-consuming nations to confront OPEC directly, but the major importers' diverse oil needs and political positions on the Arab-Israeli conflict stymied this plan. In 1975 the U.S. Congress did pass legislation to establish a Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR) to protect against future supply disruptions. Since then, the government has stored millions of barrels of oil in massive underground salt caverns along the Gulf Coast. The SPR may exist more for psychological reasons than anything else, however. The reserve would run out very quickly in the event of a partial or complete oil-supply shutdown, and there is not enough oil in the caverns to affect the worldwide price of oil.

Although the Arab states ended the oil embargo soon after hostilities ceased and without securing the desired Israeli withdrawal

from territories occupied in 1967, this unprecedented attempt transformed the position of oil-producing states, gave OPEC major clout, and fueled Arab nationalism. Since 1973 both the United States and the Soviet Union devoted increasing attention to the Middle East as a strategic battleground. The Arab world, meanwhile, endeavored to exercise political influence independent of the superpowers.

OPEC's achievement of higher oil prices in 1973 and 1974 ultimately damaged the oil producers' economies by the late 1970s, when the resulting worldwide recession produced inflation and falling demand for oil. Two major crises in the Middle East during 1979–1980 resulted in yet another oil price spike. As a result of the 1979 Iranian Revolution, which saw the ousting of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, the imposition of an anti-Western Islamic fundamentalist government in his stead, and the taking of American embassy personnel by radical Iranian students, oil prices shot up from $24.46 per barrel (1990 dollars) to $49.52 by mid-1980. The effects on the world's economy were stunning. In the United States, inflation peaked at more than 13 percent, while interest rates approached 20 percent. The 1979–1980 oil shock was not part of OPEC's strategy, although it did benefit handsomely from it in the immediate term. Clearly, the markets were reacting to great regional instability in the Middle East, which began with the Iranian Revolution and was exacerbated by the start of the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988).

Since the 1980s OPEC has pursued a policy of relatively prudent price control, ensuring substantial profits without adversely affecting the world economy. Beginning in the mid-1980s, the price of oil dropped and continued to drop until the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 precipitated more jolting price hikes. After mid-1991, however, when an international coalition reversed the Iraqi invasion and soundly defeated Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's army, oil prices fell again. They would continue to drift downward, reaching new inflation-adjusted lows by the late 1990s. Since 2002, however, OPEC again began to reap record revenues, as war and unrest in the Middle East and simple greed drove oil prices to record highs. This situation was reversed at the end of 2008 with the onset of the world economic crisis, when oil plunged to $38 a barrel, more than $100 less than it had been trading six months before.

Today, OPEC has 12 member states; Ecuador and Gabon left OPEC prior to the 1990s. Angola joined in 2007. Iraq remains a member although its oil production has not been a part of any OPEC quota agreements since March 1998. Having become a net importer of oil and unable to meet its production quota, Indonesia resigned at the end of 2008.

Elun Gabriel

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; desert storm, Operation; Iran; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Kuwait; Russia, Middle East Policy, 1991–Present; Saudi Arabia; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Oslo Accords

The agreement commonly called the Oslo Accords and formally known as the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements was signed on September 13, 1993, in Washington, D.C., by Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) chairman Yasser Arafat, and U.S. president Bill Clinton. In the Oslo Accords, the PLO, the Palestinians' major representative party and de facto government-in-exile, formally recognized Israel's right to exist and Israel's sovereignty over 78 percent of historic Palestine and pledged to end military actions against Israel. Israel, while failing to recognize Palestinian statehood, did recognize Palestinian nationhood, including the right of self-determination, and the PLO's role as the Palestinians' legitimate representative body.

The document spelled out ways in which the Palestinians could achieve a degree of autonomy in parts of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, which had been occupied by Israeli forces since the June 1967 Six-Day War. The hope was that by the PLO's demonstration of competent self-governance and control over anti-Israel violence, the Israelis would gain the confidence needed to make a phased withdrawal from the occupied territories and grant the Palestinians an independent state alongside Israel. Similarly, it was hoped that the removal of foreign occupation forces from certain areas, increasing levels of self-government, and the prospects of a viable independent state, would give the Palestinian population the incentive to end the violence against Israelis. The interim peace period was to be completed by 1998, at which time a permanent peace agreement would be signed.

Although the U.S. government became the guarantor of the Oslo Accords, Washington had little to do with the agreement itself. Soon after the election of a more moderate Israeli government in 1992, direct talks began in secret between representatives of Israel and the PLO. They were first facilitated by Norwegian nongovernmental organizations and later with the assistance of the foreign ministry. This apparently took place without the knowledge of American officials, who still took the position that the PLO should not be allowed to take part in the peace process, thereby excluding it from the stalled peace talks then going on in Washington. The secret talks occurred without the knowledge of

such Arab states as Syria, then in negotiations with Israel, or the Palestinians, many of whom supported a comprehensive peace framework as established at the Madrid conference.

As the secret negotiations in Norway progressed during the summer of 1993, the Clinton administration put forward what it called a compromise proposal for Palestinian autonomy. This compromise was actually less favorable to the Palestinians than what was then being put forward by the Israelis.

The U.S. role in the Oslo process began with a historic signing ceremony on the White House lawn on September 13, 1993. The agreement had been finalized in Oslo on August 20. Given the ambiguities in the agreement, both parties agreed that the United States should be its guarantor. Indeed, the Israelis saw the U.S. government as the entity most likely to support its positions on outstanding issues, and the Palestinians saw the U.S. government as the only entity capable of forcing Israel to live up to its commitments and able to move the occupying power to compromise.

Peace talks resumed in Washington in the autumn of 1993 within the Oslo framework. Over the next seven years, the United States brokered a series of Israeli-Palestinian agreements that led to the withdrawal of Israeli forces from most of the Gaza Strip and parts of the West Bank. By the end of the decade, about 40 percent of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, including most of its towns and cities, had been placed under the rule of the new Palestinian National Authority (PNA), headed by Arafat, and divided into dozens of noncontiguous zones wherein the Palestinians could, for the first time, exercise some limited autonomy within their sphere of control.

During this period, the Israeli government severely limited the mobility of Palestinians within and between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, dramatically expanded its expropriation of land in the occupied territories for colonization by Jewish settlers, and refused to withdraw from as much territory as promised in the U.S.-brokered disengagement agreements. In addition, the United States tended to side with the Israelis on most issues during talks regarding the disengagement process, even after a right-wing coalition that had opposed the Oslo Accords came to power in Israel in 1996. This served to alienate many Palestinians who had been initially hopeful about the peace process and hardened anti-Israeli attitudes.

Meanwhile, much of the PNA proved itself to be rather inept, corrupt, and autocratic in its governance of those parts of the occupied territories under its control. The corruption alienated much of the Palestinian population, and the PNA's lack of control made it difficult to suppress the growth of radical Islamic groups. On more than two dozen occasions between 1994 and 2000, Islamic extremists from the occupied Palestinian territories engaged in terrorist attacks inside Israel, killing scores of Israeli civilians and thereby hardening anti-Palestinian attitudes.

The Palestinians had hoped that the United States would broker the negotiations based on international law that forbids the expansion of any country's territory by military force and prohibits occupying powers from transferring their civilian population into occupied land. The Palestinians also hoped that American officials would support a series of specific United Nations (UN) Security Council resolutions demanding that Israel honor these principles. From the Palestinians' perspective—as well as that of the UN, most U.S. allies, and most international legal experts—the onus of the burden was on Israel, as the occupying power, to make most of the compromises for peace. The Clinton administration, however, argued that the UN resolutions were no longer relevant and saw the West Bank and the Gaza Strip simply as disputed territories, thereby requiring both sides to compromise. This gave the Israelis a clear advantage in the peace process.

In signing the Oslo Accords, the Palestinians operated on the assumption that the agreement would result in concrete improvements in the lives of those in the occupied territories. They hoped that the interim period would be no more than five years and that the permanent settlement would be based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which called upon Israel to withdraw from the territories seized in the 1967 war. For their part, the Israelis had hoped that the Oslo Accords would lead to the emergence of a responsible Palestinian leadership and greater security. None of these wishes, however, came to pass, and negotiations continue—fitfully—between Israel and the PNA.

Stephen Zunes

See also

Arafat, Yasser; Clinton, William Jefferson; Palestine Liberation Organization; Rabin, Yitzhak

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Ottoman Empire

The current situation in the Middle East, including the Arab-Israeli conflict since 1948, is a product of the region's centuries of troubled history. That history witnessed the rise and fall of the Ottoman Empire and its partition by the Western powers in the post–World War I period. Until the beginning of the 20th century, the Ottoman Empire was the dominant political, economic, and military force in the Middle East. After centuries of expansion and conquest in the region, however, it underwent a decline during the 18th and 19th centuries and thereby became vulnerable to external pressures from the West. The European powers, taking advantage of the endless wars in the empire's various provinces, were able to penetrate Ottoman territory at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. This culminated in the occupation of much of the empire during World War I.

The Turkmen Oguz nomads from Central Asia invaded the Byzantine Empire from northeastern Anatolia in the 11th century, then occupied Eastern and Central Anatolia a century later. The ancestors of Osman, founder of the dynasty who declared his small principality independent of the Seljuk Turks in 1288, were members of the Kayi tribe, who entered Anatolia along with these nomads. One of the independent Turkic principalities established in Anatolia was that led by Osman. By 1300 Osman ruled an area stretching from Eskisehir to the plains of Iznik. His successor Orhan, by capturing Uskudar in 1338, brought the growing empire to the doorsteps of Constantinople, capital of the once mighty Byzantine Empire. From this point on, the Ottomans entered a long phase of territorial expansion in all directions.

Although it encountered numerous societies with different systems of production and exchange, the Ottoman Empire retained its despotic state structure for more than seven centuries. Interaction between Ottoman and Byzantine society developed after the conquest of Constantinople by Ottoman forces in 1453. This interaction, as well as interactions with other societies following Ottoman expansion into Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries and the institution of the state's land grant system (*timar*), led to the development of feudal forms in Ottoman agriculture and taxation (*iltizam,* or tax farming) whereby, over time, large-scale private property in land (*ciftlik*) acquired increasing importance, transferring a higher proportion of the land to a few owners. This system also consisted of the allocation of parcels of conquered lands to *sipahis* (rural cavalry with military and administrative functions in the provinces) and to the civilian sector of the *devshirmes* (top officials of the central bureaucracy) in the form of fiefs. The *sipahis* and civilian *devshirmes* were given these lands for the purpose of administering them in the name of the state. This system of land allocation was put into effect during the reign of Suleiman I.

The *timar* system remained in effect for quite some time. As the central state began to gradually lose its authority in the countryside, the *sipahis* and other fief holders increasingly evaded their obligations to the state and attempted to take the ownership of state lands. Realizing that the old rural military-administrative system had outlived its usefulness, the state moved against the *sipahis* and displaced them.

This transformation of the agrarian structure took place during the 17th and 18th centuries, and as a result a landed gentry (*ayan*) began to develop. This class displaced the *sipahis* as intermediaries between the state and the producers. Later, at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, the *ayans* became a fully developed feudal landowning class and began to challenge the authority of the central state by equipping their own armies. Although they never became powerful enough to overthrow the political supremacy of the central state, they nonetheless came close to doing so.

In 1839 Mehmet Ali Pasha (Muhammad Ali Pasha), governor of Egypt, defeated the Ottoman armies in Kutahya, near the Ottoman capital of Istanbul. Mehmet Ali's forces were soon driven back, however, by those of Britain and France, who intervened on behalf of the Ottoman state. Ali was only able to obtain recognition as hereditary ruler of Egypt. While the *ayans* were thus defeated in their bid for state power, they nevertheless continued to exercise economic control over vast areas of the empire.

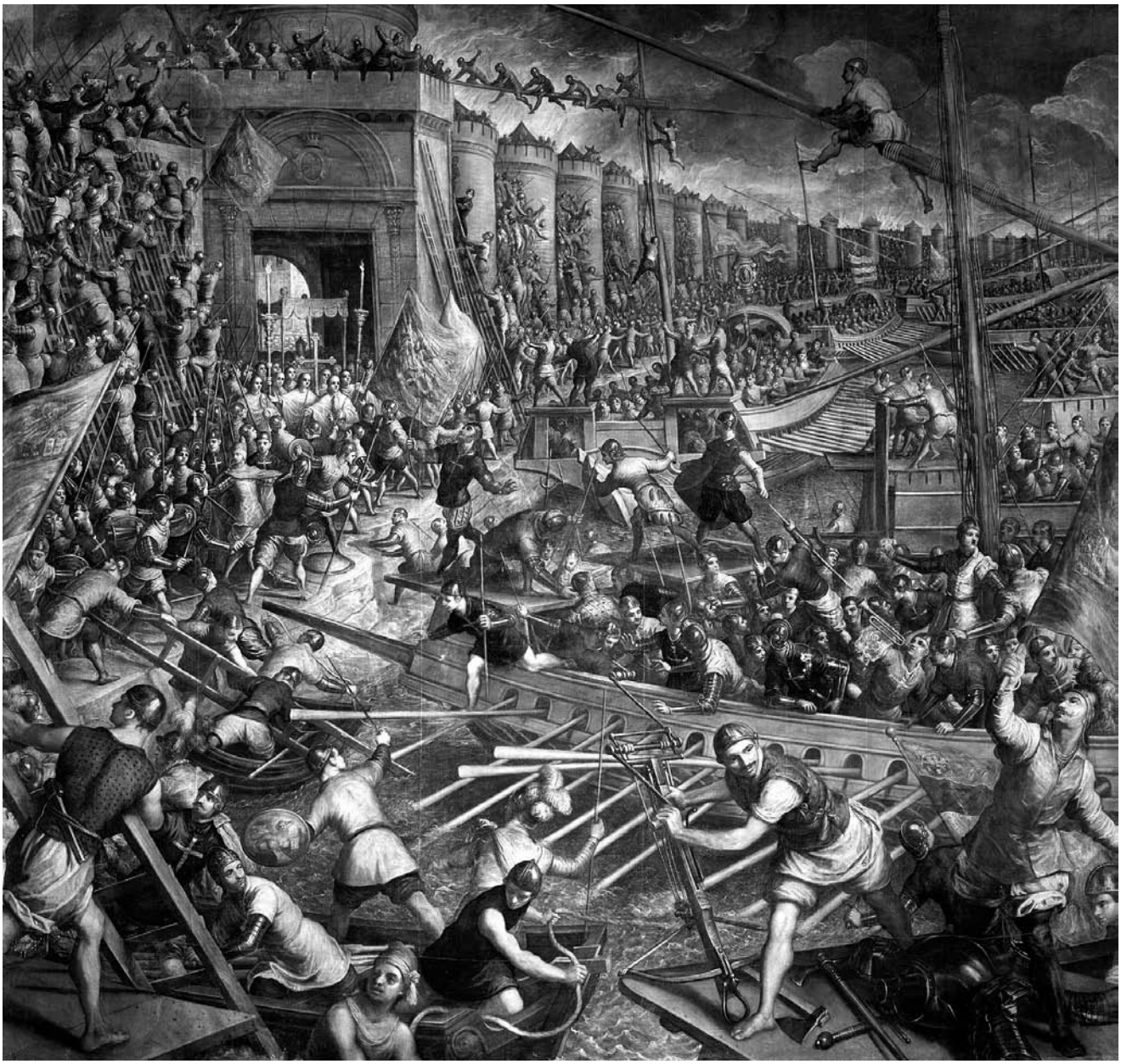
While the position of landlords was strengthened as a result of the introduction of tax farming initiated by the state, interaction with Europe also facilitated the expansion of European commercial capital into the empire, leading to the development of a merchant class tied to European capital. However, the development of feudalism in agriculture and, later, capitalism in commerce and industry all took place within the confines of a society dominated by the despotic state, which permitted the coexistence of these diverse systems until the very end.

While private property in land and feudal relations of production began to develop in the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century and privately held land rapidly surpassed that owned by the state in many parts of the empire by the 18th century, the feudal lords were never able to overthrow the central state. Thus, they continued to coexist with the developing merchant class under the political rule of the Ottoman state. State power remained in the hands of the despotic rulers and the palace bureaucracy until the collapse of the empire.

To gain greater insight into the nature and transformation of Ottoman society in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it is necessary to take into account the structure of social forces dominating the empire's polity and economy during the final phase of its development. Political power in the empire rested in the throne of the central authority, the *padishah* (sultan) and his administrative deputy, called the *sadrazam* (grand vizier). Below this and under the direct control of the sultan there existed the large but carefully organized Ottoman palace bureaucracy. It was largely the corrupt practices of the sultan and the palace bureaucracy in the latter phase of the Ottomans' centuries-long imperial history that transformed the empire into a semicolony of the expanding European powers.

The dominant economic interests in the Ottoman Empire during this period were made up of powerful landowners (the *ayans, derebeys,* and *aghas*) in the countryside and commercial capitalists of mainly minority ethnic origin in major urban centers. In 1913 the top 1 percent of farming families owned 39 percent of the arable land. The traditional landed gentry (the *ayans* and *derebeys*), together with the *aghas,* comprising 5 percent of the farmer families, owned 65 percent of the arable land, while 87 percent of farming families, comprising broad segments of the peasantry, had access to just 35 percent of the arable land. As a result of their vast economic power in the countryside, the big landowners were able to monopolize local political power and, through links with the rural Islamic clergy, impose their social and cultural domination over the peasantry. The subjugation of the peasant masses by the landlord-clergy coalition (the *esraf* or *ashraf*) thus served the double function of exploitation and legitimization.

Largely involved in import-export trade and domestic marketing tied to European imports, the minority commercial



The first Ottoman attack on Constantinople in 1453. Painting by Palma Giovane (1548–1628). (Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY)

interests—comprising Greek, Armenian, and Christian merchants and primarily concentrated in large urban centers—made up the basis of the empire's bourgeoisie, or urban middle class. The role of minority commercial interests was pivotal. Through their key position in the urban economy they were in effect the agency for external economic penetration and control, which contributed to the final demise of the empire's economy. Consequently, while their strategic role in accelerating contact with the West played a progressive role in the limited transformation of the despotic system in an earlier period, the continued existence of the minority commercial interests—as opposed to their transformation into industrial capitalists—perpetuated the backward and dependent structure of Ottoman industry. It also contributed to the further dependence of the Ottoman economy on European capital, which assisted the development of capitalism in Western Europe. It was the antidevelopmental role of Greek, Armenian, and other non-Muslim agents of European capital that in good part gave rise to the nationalist movement of the Society of Union and Progress and to the Kemalist forces in the war of national liberation.

Closely linked with this minority commercial group and the palace bureaucracy was foreign finance capital. The penetration into Ottoman Turkey of foreign capital during this period was based on the empire's role as a raw materials–supplying semicolony of the expanding European economy. Concentrated largely in the raw materials sector, foreign capital was also engaged in the construction of a network of railways in western and central

Anatolia, with the sole purpose of accelerating the process of extracting raw materials in Turkey. Hence, it was in this classic sense—as an exporter of raw materials and importer of finished goods—that the Ottoman Empire became, in essence, a dependent semicolony of Europe.

The dependent structure of the Ottoman economy during the 19th century, coupled with its tributary position in the Mediterranean basin, did not permit the development of large-scale local industry. However, smaller-scale industries, particularly in textiles, had developed in the Levant, Syria, Egypt, and Palestine. While a limited expansion did take place in small-scale manufacturing and processing industries, it was largely the minority urban bourgeoisie that, in addition to its traditional place in commerce, extended into the ownership and control of these industries. Although weak in numbers and economic strength, the political aspirations of Turkish industrialists coincided with and took expression in the leadership of the nationalist forces, as their economic position began to deteriorate with the further expansion into industry of foreign and minority interests. It was this deterioration in the position of the Turkish national bourgeoisie that would drive its members onto the side of the nationalist leadership.

Nor surprisingly, the size of the working class was also small. Moreover, the ethnic composition of the working class was highly fragmented and did not allow for the development of working class unity. This fragmentation within the working-class reached its peak during the liberation struggles, when non-Turkish workers joined the ranks of the forces of their own ethnic groups and fought against Turkish national liberation. Turkish workers were essentially cut off from Anatolia and could not contribute directly to or affect the outcome of the national liberation struggle.

In the countryside, the majority of the population consisted of peasants with small landholdings. Dispersed throughout the Anatolian interior and engaged in subsistence agriculture, the Ottoman peasantry was under the direct control of big landowners, who had connections to the rural Islamic clergy. Despite the enormous control exercised over them by the landlords and the clergy, the peasants took up arms in a number of mass peasant uprisings throughout Ottoman history.

Finally, in addition to the peasantry who had small landholdings, the rural areas of the empire also contained a class of small merchants and local artisans who, together with doctors, lawyers, teachers, and locally based government officials, made up the core of the Anatolian petit bourgeoisie. It was among this group that nationalist forces first found their crucial support. Dominated and controlled by imperialism and the minority urban bourgeoisie and oppressed under the *ayan, derebey,* and *esraf* rule in the countryside, the Ottoman petit bourgeoisie was fragmented, weak, and unorganized.

The centuries-old empire of the Ottomans began to face serious economic and political-military problems during the 18th and 19th centuries. The expanding power of local landowners and merchants, along with peasant uprisings and wars of national liberation, losses of territory, the decline of industry and increasing dependence on the West, and expanding public debt, were all major factors contributing to the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire.

The growth and expansion of tax farming and the development of Ottoman commerce, which acquired an intermediary function between local landowners and European commercial capital, contributed to two destructive trends. First, the authority of the central state in relation to the new propertied and moneyed classes in the countryside declined. Second, the direct economic ties with European capital, which became the basis of the expansion of Western capitalism into the empire's economy, also weakened the centralized state apparatus.

The growing power of local landowners on the one hand and increasing repression by the central state on the other did not go unchallenged. The oppressed peasants and minority nationalities in various parts of the empire soon rose up in arms. The peasant uprisings of the 17th century continued in various forms during the 18th and 19th centuries. Although these revolts did not yield substantial results, they did nevertheless create an unstable situation for both the peasantry's local exploiters and the central state.

National minorities, especially in the Balkans, battled against the repressive Ottoman state to gain their independence. As a result of the prolonged wars with the European powers, which extended from the second siege of Vienna (1683) to the Treaty of Jassy (1792), the Ottoman state became more and more vulnerable, leading to massive territorial losses that included Hungary, Greece, Transylvania, Bukovina, Crimea, the northern coasts of the Black Sea, and other regions. This in turn encouraged more indigenous nationalist forces to rise up and end Ottoman rule over their territories. By the 19th century, the Ottoman state faced serious challenges from every corner of the empire. By the end of the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), the Ottomans had lost almost all of their European possessions to Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Montenegro, and Albania. All in all, by mid-1913 the Ottomans had lost 83 percent of their territory and 69 percent of their population. The successful revolts of the colonized peoples reduced the area of plunder by the central state and the Ottoman lords. This contraction of the empire exacerbated the crises in the Ottoman economy and polity and further contributed to the empire's decline.

While the Ottoman state was becoming rapidly weaker, Europe had completed its transition from feudalism to capitalism. Thus, by the late 18th century Europe's feudal economy had been transformed into an expanding capitalist economy. Growing trade between Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire during this period began to have adverse effects on local Ottoman industry. Faced with rising costs and operating under strict price regulations, the Ottoman guilds were unable to provide goods at prices low enough to compete with the cheap European-manufactured goods. Consequently, traditional Ottoman industry entered a period of rapid decline, and the empire became more and more dependent on European economies.

A photograph of the battlefield during the Siege of Adrianople, November 3, 1912–March 26, 1913, in the Balkan Wars. (Library of Congress)

As European capital began to expand, there was no longer a need to depend on imports of manufactured goods from the East. In fact, the growing capitalist economy in Europe was in a position to bring about a complete reversal in international trade. Whereas Britain was previously an importer of textiles from the East, it now became an exporter of these. The process of European expansion into the Ottoman economy further accelerated following the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Convention of 1838, which extended extraterritorial privileges to all foreign traders and abolished the state's protective tariffs and monopolies. Consequently, whereas the Ottoman Empire had supplied almost all of Britain's cotton fabric imports in 1825, by 1855 this amount had fallen sharply to only a fraction of these imports. British textile exports to Turkey continued to expand in the postconvention period. This reversal in the import-export pattern of the empire led to the destruction of the textile industry in Ottoman Turkey. While the dismantling of native Ottoman industry by the British had begun in the textiles sector, all other branches of Ottoman industry were affected in a few short decades. Indeed, by the late 1800s the whole of Ottoman industry was on the verge of collapse.

These developments marked the end of industrialization through the manufacturing sector in Ottoman Turkey. Instead, the empire was relegated to increased raw materials production. Increases also occurred in such agricultural exports as raisins and dried figs, whose output nearly doubled from 1904 to 1913. Thus, the Ottoman Empire, with its native industry destroyed, was transformed into an agrarian reserve of the expanding European economies.

This process, coupled with continued territorial losses, frustrated the state's efforts to raise revenue for the public treasury. And this, in turn, greatly affected the empire's military power and jeopardized its political and military strength in the region. While increased taxation was seen as a short-term remedy to counteract these tendencies, the only long-term solution to the problem of revenue was seen to be foreign loans.

The first Ottoman foreign loan was in 1854, and by 1877 the nominal public debt was close to £191 million, or more than half the national revenue when interest was counted. Most of this debt was owed to two countries, with France accounting for 40 percent and England for 29 percent of the total in 1881. By 1877 the Ottoman state was no longer able to continue its loan repayments and, consequently, declared bankruptcy. A European-controlled organization, the Ottoman Public Debt Administration (OPDA), was set up in 1881 to collect payments on the loans. The OPDA subsequently acted as an intermediary with European countries seeking investment opportunities in Turkey and in this way was instrumental in facilitating the further penetration of European capital into the Ottoman economy.

By the 19th century, then, Ottoman Turkey had for all practical purposes become a semicolony of the expanding European powers. Widespread revolts throughout its conquered territories further weakened the rule of the sultanate and the palace bureaucracy and led to the emergence of nationalist forces destined to transform the collapsing Ottoman state.

In the early 1900s, a growing number of military students in Istanbul became discontented with the policies of the Ottoman state. Numerous intellectuals and journalists, the most prominent of whom was Namik Kemal, put forward nationalist ideas. Abdul Hamid II, the ruling sultan, tried to suppress the movement but without success. Secret societies were formed in army headquarters throughout the empire and in Paris, Geneva, and Cairo. The most effective of these was known as the Young Turks, which eventually became the Committee of Union and Progress.

Finally, in 1908, there was open discontent within the Third Army Corps in Macedonia. On July 4, 1908, the army, headed by Major Ahmed Niyazi, demanded from Salonika in Macedonia the restoration of the 1876 constitution and marched on Istanbul. The sultan's attempt to suppress the uprising failed, and rebellion spread rapidly. Unable to rely on other troops, Abdul Hamid II announced the restoration of the constitution on July 23. Elections were held, and a constitutional government was established. But in April 1909 the sultan struck back with a counterrevolution, and the army moved up again from Macedonia to depose Abdul Hamid II and install his brother, Mehmed V, as the constitutional monarch.

The Committee of Union and Progress, which led the 1908 Young Turk Revolution, declared itself to be a political party—the Party of Union and Progress (PUP)—in April 1909 and took power through the elections of April 1912. The top leadership of the party was composed mainly of Turkish intellectuals, who were to a great extent influenced by European progressive and nationalist thought. Their nationalist ideology brought them in line with their main class allies, namely the *esnaf* (artisans and self-employed) and the *tujjar* (merchants and commercial interests) of the towns, the sectors out of which the PUP sought to forge a future Turkish national bourgeoisie. Hence, it was in this context—and after the massive territorial losses following the two Balkan Wars and the failure of the ruling PUP clique to safeguard Turkey from the onslaught of foreign occupation forces during World War I—that the stage was set for the final downfall of the Ottoman Empire. By 1918, at the end of World War I, the Ottoman Empire ceased to exist in name as well as fact; most of its former territories in the Middle East were divided between France and Great Britain, to be administered as League of Nation Mandates. Only Turkey would survive, relatively whole and untouched, as a mere shadow of the once expansive Ottoman Empire.

Berch Berberoglu

See also

France, Middle East Policy; Middle East, History of, 1918–1945; Turkey; Role in Persian Gulf and Afghanistan Wars; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; World War I, Impact of

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Özal, Turgut

Birth Date: October 13, 1927
Death Date: April 17, 1993

Influential Turkish politician, premier, and president of the Turkish Republic (1989–1993). Born in Malatya, Turkey, on October 13, 1927, Turgut Özal received his bachelor's and master's degrees in electrical engineering from Istanbul Technical University and went on to study economics in the United States from 1952 to 1953. Upon his return to Turkey, he served as an adviser to the Defense Ministry, the State Planning Organization, the World Bank, and Premier Süleyman Demirel.

Following Turkey's 1980 military coup d'état, Özal was appointed deputy prime minister. He was forced to resign after a banking scandal in 1982, however. In 1983 his center-rightist Motherland Party garnered a majority of the votes in national elections, making him Turkey's prime minister. Although the party lost popular support as a result of its economic austerity program, it maintained its parliamentary majority in the 1987 elections, and Özal secured a second full term as prime minister. Two years later, the Turkish parliament elected him the first civilian president of the republic since 1960.

As premier, Özal implemented extensive economic liberalization reforms, including the lifting of exchange controls and privatization of state economic enterprises. His liberalism did not, however, extend equally to the political sphere. Özal campaigned for the ban on pre-1980 politicians' political rights, favored strict controls over the press, and turned a blind eye toward widespread human rights violations. He was at best a pragmatic democrat. He proposed greater rights for the Kurdish minorities, but mainly to curtail the military conflict in southeastern Anatolia.

In foreign affairs, Özal pursued pro-Western Turkish policies, including integration with the European Union (EU), active involvement in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO),

and political partnership with the United States. He supported the international coalition arrayed against Iraq during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, and he allowed coalition air assets to use Turkish airfields. Prior to that, however, like his predecessors he attempted to maintain working relations with both Iraq and Iran. After the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, he began to establish cultural and economic ties with the new Central Asian republics. Özal died unexpectedly on April 17, 1993, in Ankara, Turkey.

Burcak Keskin-Kozat

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Turkey, Role in Persian Gulf and Afghanistan Wars

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Pace, Peter
Birth Date: November 5, 1945

U.S. Marine Corps general and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 2005 to 2007. Peter Pace was born on November 5, 1945, in Brooklyn, New York, to Italian-American parents, and raised in Teaneck, New Jersey. He graduated from Teaneck High School in 1963. Pace secured an appointment to the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis and graduated in 1967, taking a commission in the Marine Corps. Following officer basic training at Quantico, Virginia, Pace was assigned in the summer of 1968 as a rifle platoon leader in Vietnam. He returned to the United States in March 1969 and subsequently held a series of posts both in the United States and abroad, advancing steadily through the ranks.

Pace received a master's of business administration from George Washington University in 1972 and completed advanced training at the Marine Corps Command and Staff College in Quantico, Virginia, in 1980. In 1986 he graduated from the National War College in Washington, D.C. Pace was promoted to brigadier general on April 6, 1992; major general on June 21, 1994; lieutenant general on August 5, 1996; and full general on September 8, 2000.

Pace served as president of the Marine Corps University during 1992–1994. In 1996, following his promotion to lieutenant general, he was assigned as director of operations, Joint Staff, in Washington, D.C. From 1997 to 2000 he served as commander, U.S. Marine Corps Forces, Atlantic/Europe/South. In 2000 he assumed the position of commander in chief, U.S. Southern Command, before returning to Washington in 2001 to serve as vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He became chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the highest-ranking U.S. military post, on September 30, 2005. He was the first marine officer to hold either the vice chairman or the chairman positions.

As vice chairman and then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Pace was a key player in the planning and implementation of the War on Terror and the March 2003 invasion of Iraq. A loyal soldier to the end, he publicly supported the White House and his direct superiors, especially Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld, as the invasion of Iraq was being formulated. Certainly, Rumsfeld relied heavily on Pace's support during the war planning. As the Iraq War lost public support because of the growing Iraqi insurgency, Pace saw his direct superior, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Richard B. Myers, come under increased pressure to step aside. Upon the end of Myers's term in office, Pace became the 16th chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on September 30, 2005.

In private Pace had questioned the planning, strategy, and implementation of many aspects of the Iraq War, although

Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1989–Present

Name	*Branch*	*Dates of Service*
Colin Powell	U.S. Army	October 1, 1989–September 30, 1993
David Jeremiah (acting)	U.S. Navy	October 1–24, 1993
John Shalikashvili	U.S. Army	October 25, 1993–September 30, 1997
Hugh Shelton	U.S. Army	October 1, 1997–September 30, 2001
Richard Myers	U.S. Air Force	October 1, 2001–September 30, 2005
Peter Pace	U.S. Marine Corps	October 1, 2005–September 30, 2007
Michael Mullen	U.S. Navy	October 1, 2007–present

General Peter Pace, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) during 2005–2007, was the first Marine Corps officer to hold that position. (U.S. Department of Defense)

publicly he always loyally supported his superiors. Pace's position on the war was that U.S. troops were not in Iraq simply to eradicate insurgents and run up body counts. Rather, he was unwavering in his position that the military's job in Iraq was to provide a stable environment within which Iraqis could rebuild their infrastructure and society while humanitarian and development aid could flow into the war-torn nation. Remembering the consequences of the fixation with enemy body counts during the Vietnam War, Pace urged his superiors not to ask for or give these out, but rather to emphasize humanitarian successes and positive developments achieved by the new government in Iraq. His advice was mostly ignored.

Pace's public position against gays in the military and the fact that the American public saw the Iraq War in an increasingly negative light were key factors in the decision of newly appointed Secretary of Defense Robert Gates not to recommend Pace for a second term as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Gates sought thereby to avoid a long, drawn-out confirmation hearing in Congress, now controlled by Democrats. Pace also had largely lost the confidence of many senior military leaders because of his failure to stand up to Rumsfeld's ideas about how wars should be fought. Gates asked Pace to step down, which he did on October 1, 2007, after serving only two years as chairman. Pace was succeeded by chief of naval operations Admiral Michael G. Mullen.

Randy Taylor

See also

Gates, Robert Michael; Mullen, Michael Glenn; Myers, Richard Bowman; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

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Pagonis, William Gus
Birth Date: 1942

U.S. army general who was the chief logistician responsible for the massive Operation DESERT SHIELD military buildup preceding Operation DESERT STORM. William Gus Pagonis was born in 1942 in Charleroi, Pennsylvania, of Greek-American heritage. He graduated from the Pennsylvania State University with a bachelor's degree in transportation and traffic management, and he subsequently earned a master's degree in business administration, also from Penn State. His 29-year U.S. Army career included service in the Vietnam and Persian Gulf wars, and a wide range of command and staff positions at virtually all levels.

Pagonis's most important military service occurred during operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, for which he earned accolades as "the logistical wizard" of the coalition war effort. Indeed, U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf termed the Persian Gulf War "a logistician's war," and pronounced Pagonis, who became his chief logistician, "an Einstein who could make anything happen."

As director of logistics for Lieutenant General John Yeosock's U.S. Army Central Command (ARCENT), the major subordinate command for American ground forces during the Persian Gulf War, then-Major General Pagonis faced the Herculean task of bringing order to the flood of troops, weapons, ammunition, and supplies that began to arrive in Saudi Arabia on August 7, 1990, only days after Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's army occupied neighboring Kuwait. Pagonis, one of the first Americans to arrive in the Kuwaiti theater of operations, immediately set about bringing necessary order to an otherwise chaotic situation, providing the vital key to the American-led coalition's victory in February 1991.

For six months (August 1990–February 1991), Pagonis's 22nd Support Command organized and supervised a methodical buildup of military might that included the gathering of 670,000 troops from 28 nations (500,000 were U.S. personnel), 150,000 wheeled vehicles, 40,000 containers, 2,000 helicopters, and 2,000 tanks into the Kuwaiti theater of operations. By the time the ground war began on February 24, 1991, Pagonis had amassed more than 7 million tons of supplies that arrived from halfway around the world.

Pagonis's prodigious logistical accomplishments did not end with the completion of the troop, equipment, and supply buildup

of Operation DESERT SHIELD. His further efforts largely made possible the phenomenal success of Schwarzkopf's operational plan that won the ground war, Operation DESERT STORM, during the 100-hour ground-launched blitzkrieg. The tactical battle plan, which called for a giant left hook to be delivered against the Iraqi Army by the U.S. VII and XVII Airborne Corps, relied on secretly moving 150,000 American troops 150 miles westward across the desert wasteland. Thanks to an impressive effort led by Pagonis, the combat units' progress was facilitated by prepositioned advanced supply bases placed at key locations along the route of march. Mechanized forces, including swarms of fuel-guzzling tanks and armored fighting vehicles, found much-needed supplies and all necessary logistical support waiting for them when they arrived at Pagonis's desert bases. Pagonis later said, "I got the idea from a fellow Greek—Alexander the Great," citing Donald W. Engel's *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army* (1977) as his "logistical bible." Engel's work describes the sophisticated logistical effort, including the use of advanced logistical bases, that made Alexander's 4,000-mile march of conquest possible.

Equally as impressive as Pagonis's logistical efforts during the war were his no-less prodigious accomplishments in moving the masses of troops and supplies back from the war zone after the fighting had stopped. Perhaps no other major American military expedition has been followed up with the level of accountability (the meticulous tracking and accounting for individual items of equipment) that Pagonis ensured in the wake of DESERT STORM. His Persian Gulf War accomplishments were recognized by his promotion to lieutenant general soon after the war.

Pagonis retired from the army in 1993 and thereafter pursued a highly successful career in the business world and as a guest speaker on leadership and management topics. As executive vice president of logistics for Sears, Roebuck and Company, Pagonis was instrumental in revitalizing the giant retail chain. He retired from Sears in July 2004 and became chairman of the board of RailAmerica, Inc., the world's largest short-line railroad. He was also appointed chairman of the Defense Business Board in 2001 by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, and serves as vice chairman of GENCO Supply Chain Solutions and CombineNet, Inc.

In addition to his successful business and speaking career, Pagonis is an author. His book, *Moving Mountains: Lessons in Leadership and Logistics from the Gulf War,* was published by Harvard Business School Press in 1992.

JERRY D. MORELOCK

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; Yeosock, John J.

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Pakistan

Largely Muslim nation that straddles the West Asian subcontinent and the Middle East. Encompassing some 310,500 square miles, Pakistan borders on Afghanistan and Iran to the west, the People's Republic of China (PRC) and India to the east, and the Arabian Sea to the south. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan's 2008 population was 172.8 million, making it the second most populous nation with a Muslim majority. Currently, it possesses the seventh-largest armed forces in the world. Moreover, as of 1998, Pakistan officially acknowledged being one of seven countries in the world to possess nuclear weapons, alongside its longtime enemy, India.

Pakistan has been occupied by a host of empires since ancient times. Situated along the famous "Silk Road" linking China and the West, it was a strategic crossroads for many peoples. Aryans, Persians, Macedonians, Greeks, Afghans, Arabs, Mongols, and Turkic groups at various stages made the region their home. Its modern history began in the early 17th century with the decline of the Mughal sultanates and the expansion of the British East India Company. In 1858 Pakistan (then part of India) fell under colonial rule as part of the British Raj until the partition and independence of the Indian subcontinent in 1947.

Decolonization, however, was a complicated affair. The population of the subcontinent was not only enormous, but it was also exceptionally diverse and divided by religion, ethnicity, and social caste. The independence movement spearheaded by the Indian National Congress (INC) and unofficially led after World War I by Mohandas Gandhi was a multifaith, multiethnic front, but it could not entirely bridge the gaps between the different groups. Formed in 1906, the All-India Muslim League (AIML) advocated the separation of British India into Muslim and Hindu states, and over the course of the 1930s support for the creation of an Islamic state grew. In March 1940 AIML leaders devised the Lahore Declaration, which called for the division of British India, with the majority Muslim areas of the northwest and northeast becoming independent states. Thereafter, the AIML's forceful leader, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, pushed the British for separate recognition.

Independence finally came on August 15, 1947, when Pakistan was officially created out of British India. Three provinces (the Northwest Frontier Province, West Punjab, and Sind) joined with Baluchistan States Union, an array of princely states, tribal areas, and the Federal Capital Territory around the city of Karachi to form the mainly Urdu-speaking West Pakistan. Separated by nearly 1,000 miles of India, Pakistan also included the province of East Bengal, with a predominantly Bengali-speaking Muslim population. The separation of West and East Pakistan from India ignited massive riots, rampant violence, and the migration of approximately 15 million people in the largest single movement of people in history. Some estimates put the death toll at as many as 1 million people, as both Hindus and Sikhs fled Muslim territories and Muslims evacuated the majority-Hindu India. While some blame Britain for passing the July 1947 Indian Independence Act prematurely, others note that without partition a much bloodier conflict would have ensued.

Indian refugees crowd onto trains following the creation of the two independent states of India and Pakistan. Muslims fled to Pakistan and Hindus fled to India in one of the largest transfers of population in history. This photograph was taken at Amritsar, India, on October 17, 1947. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Along with communal violence, Pakistan and India also confronted an immediate foreign policy crisis. Several princely states, notably Jammu and Kashmir, joined India after partition, angering Pakistan. Muslims comprised the largest single religious group in Jammu-Kashmir.

When local Hindu and Sikh forces clashed with Pakistani-backed Muslim militias, India entered the conflict. During 1948 regular Pakistani forces replaced the militias, and Indian involvement intensified. The First Kashmir War (or Indo-Pakistani War of 1947–1948) resulted in two-thirds of the state falling within Indian control.

Between April and September 1965, Pakistan and India again collided in the Second Kashmir War, with ultimately very little change to this division. However, the international implications of the conflict were considerable. Since partition, the United States had cultivated Pakistan as an ally in the region, drawing it into multilateral pacts like the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954 and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), or Baghdad Pact, in 1955. The United States also supplied substantial military aid to Pakistan. Simultaneously, however, the Americans wanted to cultivate better relations with nonaligned India, which courted both the United States and the Soviet Union for material assistance. The Indians attracted more Western support following the Sino-Indian War (1962), which saw the Chinese invade and occupy their disputed border region. With no resolution to the conflict over Jammu-Kashmir by 1965, the United States feared renewed hostilities between what were ostensibly its two allies. Although the relationship with India improved after 1965, ties to Pakistan were undermined by what leaders there saw as American duplicity in providing aid to their enemy, especially given India's victory in the war. As a consequence, Pakistan pursued ties with China, America's major rival in the region.

Internal politics within Pakistan also significantly shaped its international relations. Between 1947 and 1958, the country had a succession of largely unstable civilian governments. A bloodless coup in 1958 led by General Ayub Khan brought the military to power. Along with Pakistan's strategic defeat in the 1965 war, rampant corruption and heavy-handed rule undermined Ayub Khan's popularity. In 1969 he was replaced by another general, Yahya Khan. When some questioned his ascension to power, Yahya Khan declared martial law and cracked down on all dissenters, including leaders in East Pakistan who pushed for separation. Although more populous than the West, the East received proportionally less of the national wealth, while Bengalis were marginalized in the government and the military. Compounding matters, one of the worst cyclones in history hit East Pakistan in November 1970, killing an estimated 500,000 people.

The response from West Pakistan to the disaster was slow and insufficient, adding to Bengali alienation. In the national elections of December 1970, voters in East Pakistan overwhelmingly supported Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the separatist Awami League, in clear defiance of Yahya Khan. Negotiations between the two Pakistans followed but quickly fell apart. Rahman was arrested for treason and brought to trial in West Pakistan. Protests in East Pakistan were violently suppressed by the military, especially after Bengali officers within its ranks declared independence on behalf of Rahman on March 17, 1971. In fact, some argue that West Pakistan's actions constituted genocide. The number of dead is hotly disputed, with estimates ranging widely from 30,000 to 3 million. However, most experts agree that approximately 1 million Hindus and Muslims died because of West Pakistan's actions.

Ten million refugees now fled to India, which decided to intervene in the civil war in December 1971. The resulting Indo-Pakistani War (December 3–16, 1971) marked the third major war between the two nations since partition, and once again drew in world powers. For its support of Pakistan the United States was widely condemned, even by some of its allies like Britain and France. The war became a Cold War conflict when the Soviet Union and India concluded a series of diplomatic agreements, while Moscow openly supported Bengali independence. Consequently, U.S. president Richard M. Nixon continued to aid Pakistan. Against the U.S. Congress' wishes, he funneled aid via Iran to the Pakistanis, in part hoping to curry favor with China, another supporter of Pakistan with which he was beginning to move toward détente. American prestige in the region was seriously undermined when Pakistani forces surrendered to the Indians after only two weeks of war. India agreed to a cease-fire, thus avoiding a longer and wider conflict. However, the war led to the dissolution of the two Pakistans and the independence of Bangladesh.

The 1971 war also discredited the Pakistani military and Yahya Khan, who was replaced in December by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Bhutto quickly restored civilian rule and shifted the country's foreign policy away from dependence on the Americans. He built up the country's defenses, a decision that included development of nuclear weapons beginning in 1973. Bhutto also presided over the suppression of an independence movement in Baluchistan in 1973, and constitutional changes that made Pakistan an Islamic Republic later that same year. However, personal and political rivalries led to his downfall. He was overthrown in a military coup led by General Mohammed Zia al-Haq in July 1977. Found guilty of the murder of political rivals in what many still see as a political ploy by the military, Bhutto was executed in April 1979.

General Zia presided over considerable change within Pakistan, most notably the increasing Islamization of the country with the implementation in 1978 of Sharia (Islamic law), in which Sharia was intermingled with civil and secular law. He also facilitated an important reconciliation with the Americans predicated on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. Almost immediately, Zia backed factions within the mujahideen, a loose federation of Afghan tribes opposed to the Soviet occupation. Having lost Iran as an ally following the Islamic revolution there earlier in the year, and fearing Soviet expansion in the Middle East, U.S. president Jimmy Carter offered Zia $400 million in aid to help fight in Afghanistan, which the general famously denounced as "peanuts."

It was not until President Ronald W. Reagan took office in January 1981 that the Americans and Pakistanis worked together, largely through their intelligence services, to supply and train mujahideen warriors. Thus, Pakistan once again became a major ally of the United States, in return receiving substantial military aid—approximately $1.36 billion between 1985 and 1991 alone. Worried about the Pakistani military buildup, in 1985 the U.S. Congress passed the Pressler Amendment, requiring the president to certify that Pakistan did not possess nuclear weapons before aid was approved. Zia's hard-line regime gradually became a liability for Washington, especially after the Soviets began withdrawing from Afghanistan in 1987.

Elements within the Pakistani military and particularly the intelligence services were opposed to the Islamization of the country, as were moderate, secular Pakistani politicians. Zia was also hated by the Soviets, while chieftains in Pakistan's tribal areas resented his suppression of their autonomy. Not surprisingly, Zia's days were numbered. In August 1988 he died in a plane crash, widely seen as an assassination carried out by at least one of these disaffected groups.

A caretaker government took control briefly before Benazir Bhutto—the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto—was elected in December 1988 as the first female prime minister of an Islamic country. Almost immediately her government battled charges of corruption, ultimately resulting in its collapse in August 1990. She was replaced by Nawaz Sharif between November 1990 and July 1993, before elections returned Bhutto as prime minister. During Bhutto's second term, Pakistan was once again active in Afghanistan, supporting the Taliban, a Sunni Muslim fundamentalist group formed from segments of the mujahideen. The Taliban came to power in September 1996, shortly before Bhutto's government was again dismissed amidst accusations of corruption. Sharif returned to power, but had a difficult time managing the Pakistani military, especially after yet another border conflict with India between May and July 1999 in the Kargil district of Kashmir.

In May 1998 Pakistan successfully exploded six nuclear weapons. These tests, despite the threat of sanctions by the United States and other Western powers, were in response to nuclear tests conducted by India less than a month before.

Following Pakistan's defeat in the brief fighting with India, Sharif tried to court-marshal senior military officials, but an October 1999 coup led by General Pervez Musharraf ousted him before he could do so. Musharraf's regime, which was widely viewed as oppressive and corrupt, was largely condemned by the Western world. In addition to the coup, he continued to support the fundamentalist Taliban regime in Afghanistan, while some members of

Soldiers of the Pakistani Army shut down state-run television in Islamabad on October 12, 1999. The soldiers were acting in support of dismissed Pakistani Army chief General Pèrvez Musharraf, who overthrew the government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. (AP/Wide World Photos)

the Pakistani intelligence services were rumored to have ties with international terrorist organizations, including Al Qaeda.

Following the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States, carried out by Al Qaeda, Musharraf declared his country an ally of the West in the U.S.-defined Global War on Terror. Given a choice between continuing support for the Taliban and incurring the wrath of the Americans, or facing a possible alliance between the United States and India, Musharraf decided to assist North American Treaty Organization (NATO) forces in their October 2001 invasion of Afghanistan to destroy Al Qaeda bases (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM).

Musharraf also denounced militants in Kashmir whom he had previously supported, and then condemned all forms of Islamic extremism. This provoked public anger within Pakistan, especially in the tribal areas where Al Qaeda and Taliban forces were receiving refuge. Having survived several attempts on his life, Musharraf also faced challenges from within his own government, especially by prodemocracy elements and those who supported a return of Benazir Bhutto. As the War on Terror progressed, Musharraf's commitment to fighting Islamic radicals was called into question by many in Washington. Since 2005 remnants of the Taliban and Al Qaeda operatives have been operating with renewed vigor along the long, desolate, and porous border between Pakistan and Afghanistan, but also within the Punjab. The Musharraf government claimed that it was diligently pursuing these groups, but there was little evidence that its efforts were working. Indeed, by mid-2006 the Taliban was well established in some parts of Afghanistan, which triggered renewed NATO military operations against them beginning in late 2006 and into 2007. Despite Washington's doubts, it continued to court Pakistan as an ally, for to have turned its back on Musharraf would have been tantamount to opening the way for a radical, anti-American government to take hold in Karachi. Since 2001 the United States has relied on Pakistan as its most important regional ally.

As it turned out, Musharraf sewed the seeds of his own downfall. In the autumn of 2007 he precipitated a full-blown political crisis when he sacked most of the Supreme Court, suspended the constitution, ordered the mass arrests of dissidents and regime opponents, and declared a state of emergency on November 3, 2007. His actions provoked mass protests, sporadic violence,

and much criticism from the international community, including the United States. Musharraf lifted the state of emergency on December 15, but Benazir Bhutto had returned to Pakistan. Both she and Nawaz Sharif, who had been disallowed from returning to the country, were outspoken critics of Musharraf. The crisis grew worse when Benazir Bhutto was assassinated on December 27 in Rawalpindi and her supporters alleged some involvement of either the government or Musharraf. After that, Musharraf's hold on power grew ever more tenuous, and he finally resigned in August 2008. He was succeeded by Benazir Bhutto's widower, Asif Ali Zardari, who assumed the presidency in September.

Zardari's government cooperated with the United States, although it protested air strikes against the Taliban and Al Qaeda by unmanned U.S. drones from Afghanistan into northwestern Pakistan. The new Pakistani government faced great challenges at home, not the least of which was Islamic radicalism. Ongoing tensions with India—especially following the December 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai, which were carried out by extremists based in Pakistan—raised for a time the specter of nuclear war in the subcontinent.

Zardari's government also set off alarm bells in Washington when it concluded a truce with the Taliban in northwestern Pakistan that allowed the imposition of Sharia, or law based on the Qur'an, in effect conceding rule of the Swat Valley to the Taliban. However, when Taliban forces broke the truce by also moving into the Buner District only some 60 miles north of the capital of Islamabad, Zardari responded with force. Under heavy pressure from the U.S. government and from moderate elements within Pakistan itself, he sent the army into Buner but also into the Swat Valley in late April 2009, declaring the truce with the Taliban to be at an end. After two weeks of heavy fighting, the government claimed that it had killed some 1,000 Taliban and Al Qaeda extremists, but the fighting also created the greatest refugee crisis in recent years, displacing as many as 1.5 million people.

The United States has promised additional financial and military aid to Pakistan. Zardari has also pledged cooperation with Afghan president Hamid Karzai in fighting the Taliban and Al Qaeda. Nonetheless, with continuing political instability, economic difficulties, and ever-present tensions with its nuclear-armed rival India, Pakistan's future remains clouded at best.

Arne Kislenko

See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; Bhutto, Benazir; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Musharraf, Pervez; Taliban

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Pakistan, Armed Forces

The state of Pakistan, established in 1947, has spent more than half of its existence under military rule, and struggles have taken place during that time between civilian and military leadership. Periods of direct military rule (usually under the presidential title) occurred under General (later Field Marshal) Ayub Khan (1958–1968), General Yahya Khan (1968–1971), General Zia al-Haq (1977–1988), and General (later President) Pervez Musharraf (1999–2008). The army's incessant political intervention—including significant political alliances with Islamist parties—has eroded civilian authority and weakened democratic elements within the state, and thus the armed forces retain extraordinary influence over foreign and national security policy. The military has also directed, with decidedly mixed success, Pakistan's wars and irregular conflicts, and it remains a key decision-maker in Pakistan's recently tested nuclear arsenal. As a result, the Pakistani Army remains the most important institution in Pakistan and is of critical importance to both domestic and international political stability.

On June 3, 1947, the British announced a partition plan for the Indian subcontinent that established the independent states of India and Pakistan, the latter of which incorporated two widely separated entities known as West Pakistan and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). The Indian Army was dissolved, and Indian and Pakistani authorities took operational control of their own national armed forces on August 15, 1947. Military assets were eventually divided in a 64:36 ratio, favoring the much larger Indian state. The Pakistani Army began with just 3 officers with the rank of brigadier or major general and 53 colonels to command a planned force structure of 150,000 men. As a result, British officers continued to play a crucial role in Pakistan until the 1950s, and the first 2 Pakistani Army chiefs of staff were British officers.

Partition led almost immediately to war, as India and Pakistan clashed over the Muslim-majority princely states of Jammu and Kashmir, which lay between the two new nations. Fighting began in October 1947 and was resolved in early 1949 by a United Nations (UN) cease-fire. The full conditions of the cease-fire have never been met, and the province remains divided along what is now referred to as the "Line of Control," with Pakistan governing approximately one-third, and India approximately two-thirds, of the territory in dispute. Kashmir remains a key obstacle to Indo-Pakistani relations and was the cause of later wars in 1965 and 1999.

Pakistan's army was instrumental in consolidating a political alliance with the United States in 1954, which secured both military and economic assistance. Pakistan entered into both the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) and the South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) with the understanding that U.S.-supplied military equipment would be used to contain international

communist aggression, and not to fight neighboring India. Despite this commitment, bitterness remains from the partition, and each country considers the other to be its most serious threat. Pakistan reopened hostilities against India in 1965, infiltrating irregular forces into Kashmir in hopes of stirring up a popular uprising. This engagement escalated into a conventional war in September, when the Pakistani army began Operation GRAND SLAM, aimed at cutting Indian lines of communication to Kashmir. The United States and Britain immediately stopped military shipments to both sides, and after three weeks of indecisive fighting, Pakistan accepted a cease-fire that largely validated the prewar status quo.

In December 1971 Pakistan suffered a crushing military defeat at the hands of India. After elections in which the ethnic Bengali Awami League (based almost entirely in East Pakistan) won a majority of seats in Pakistan's parliament, the Pakistani Army responded by arresting and slaughtering vast numbers of Bengalis and forcing millions of others to flee to India, where the survivors organized a nationalist resistance. By late November 1971 Indian and Pakistani forces were fighting in East Pakistan, and an attempted preemptive strike by the Pakistani Air Force in the west achieved little except to provide India with an excuse to widen the conflict. Within two weeks, East Pakistan had been liberated by Indian forces, and the new state of Bangladesh was born. This defeat cemented in the minds of the military and political elites Pakistan's vulnerability to ethnic division, and proved a crucial motivation for Pakistan's pursuit of nuclear weapons. The Simla Accord that formally ended the conflict stated that India and Pakistan would resolve existing issues bilaterally, which further complicated solutions to Kashmir.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 renewed the U.S.-Pakistan alliance, but also contributed to a marked increase in Indo-Pakistani tensions. From 1986 to 2008, the neighbors had no fewer than five potential nuclear crises involving large mobilizations of conventional forces. Pakistan's nuclear weapons program received significant assistance from the Chinese, and its decision to weaponize its nuclear capability triggered a cutoff of U.S. aid in 1990. India and Pakistan both tested nuclear weapons for the first time in 1998, and Pakistan's infiltration of irregular forces across the Line of Control the following year led to a significant military confrontation and nuclear threats by both sides. A terrorist attack by Pakistan-based militants against the Indian parliament in New Delhi on December 13, 2001, led to a 10-month-long crisis with both sides highly mobilized along their border. Most recently, the brutal November 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai, India, staged by Pakistan-backed militant groups, have again led to fears of war in the region. Both India and Pakistan probably each currently possess several dozen nuclear weapons of Hiroshima size (i.e., a blast equivalent to about 12.5 kilotons of TNT).

Since the mid-1970s the Pakistani Army, through its Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) Directorate, has utilized religiously motivated militant groups as an important element of the nation's foreign, domestic, and national security policies. Many of these groups have emerged from intra-Pakistani divisions over its identity: whether it is merely a nation of Muslims, or an Islamic state. Some in the United States accuse Pakistan of being a state sponsor of terrorism, based on the ISI's relationship with various Taliban groups and the Al Qaeda network; however, this relationship evolved from Pakistan's role in the mujahideen versus Soviet conflict in Afghanistan.

Pakistan also supported groups opposing Indian rule in the states of Jammu and Kashmir (since 1989) and Punjab (late 1980s and early 1990s). Some elements in the ISI have also been charged with having connections to violent extremist groups carrying out actions inside Pakistan itself. The linkages between these groups, Pakistani official policy, and broader transnational movements such as Al Qaeda remain poorly understood by international analysts. Pakistanis point to the government's need for alliances of convenience, the spectrum of political behavior, and the deep poverty in the densely populated country. It is clear, however, that the West, particularly, the U.S. government, considers the Taliban and other extremist Islamist groups to be a threat to Pakistani political stability, and to political authority in peripheral areas along the Afghan border. Pakistan's army has played an important role overseas. It has participated in many different UN peacekeeping operations, including the ill-fated intervention in Somalia in the early 1990s, and deployed roughly 10,000 troops on behalf of UN operations in late 2008. Pakistani forces have provided training and support for the smaller countries on the southern side of the Persian Gulf, and the Pakistani military maintains a close relationship with Saudi Arabia.

Pakistan's army has generally performed well at the tactical level. Its troops are tough and determined, and they earned the respect of their Indian adversaries in 1965 and, more recently, in the Kargil conflict in 1999. The army has performed less effectively at the operational level, although this has not been tested in major combat since 1971. Key weaknesses have been performance at the strategic level and counterinsurgency efforts. At the strategic level, Pakistan's military has shown a consistent preference for risky offensive operations with inadequate logistic support, grossly over-optimistic planning, and a lack of consideration of consequences, branches, and sequels. In each of Pakistan's major wars (1947, 1965, 1971), as well as the Kargil crisis, Pakistan found itself unable to convert initial tactical surprise into significant military success, unable to end the conflict while in a position of tactical advantage, and incapable of securing meaningful international support. These difficulties allowed a numerically superior Indian force to protract the conflict until it could force Pakistan to negotiate from an inferior position.

The U.S. government has provided the Pakistani military with more than $1 billion a year in assistance, but the army had not been able to prevent the Talibanization of parts of Pakistan through counterinsurgency operations. Since 2004 the Pakistani Army had engaged in significant counterinsurgency operations in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), where Al Qaeda,

Taliban, and other extremist terrorists are known to be hiding. In these operations, more than 1,000 members of Pakistan's army and paramilitary forces (primarily the Frontier Corps) have been killed. Press reports note that the operations had been marked by reliance on aerial bombing, helicopter gunships, and artillery fire; this has routinely resulted in massive devastation to local villages and created massive numbers of internal refugees (hundreds of thousands in Waziristan in early 2008). In addition, U.S. attacks on Taliban and Al Qaeda targets by unmanned drone aircraft have been roundly criticized by the Pakistani government, which considers such attacks to be in violation of its national sovereignty.

Counterinsurgency sweep operations have been marked by little provision for long-term security after the operation is complete. There has been some damage to militant forces, particularly during operations in South Waziristan in March 2007 and especially in October 2009, which combined local tribal *lashkars* (militia forces) with army heavy weapons support. Yet the northwestern frontier area remains a long-term problem for Pakistan, as it has been for years.

Today the Pakistani Army is one of the largest professional military forces in the world. It numbers approximately 520,000 active-duty soldiers and 500,000 reservists. The army is organized into 20 infantry division-strength formations (including Force Command Northern Areas); 2 mechanized, 2 artillery, and 2 armored divisions; and an additional 13 independent infantry and armored brigades. Operationally, it is divided into 9 corps, 7 of which directly face India. Two corps (XI Corps in Peshawar and XII Corps in Quetta) garrison western Pakistan but can move east rapidly in a crisis. The army as an institution focuses on the threat of war with India, but also must react to an increasing Islamist militant threat in the western provinces, as well as episodic terrorism in the major cities.

The army fields a mix of Chinese, American, and European equipment. The top-of-the-line main battle tanks are the Al-Khalid—a cooperative venture with Ukraine—and the T-80D. The rest of the tank force is a mixture of Chinese models—T-59s, T-69s, and T-85s. The army also fields 2,000 M-113 derivative armored personnel carriers and a largely American-derived artillery arsenal, including 105-mm and 155-mm towed howitzers and more than 250 M109 self-propelled 155-mm howitzers. The army also possesses 122-mm and 130-mm Chinese howitzers. Helicopters include U.S. Bell AH-1 Cobras and French, Pakistani, and U.S. utility helicopters of varying ages and effectiveness. Pakistan's ordnance factories produce a range of relatively unsophisticated light arms, missiles, and artillery systems, but most major weapons must still be purchased abroad.

The air force also employs a mix of Chinese, U.S., and European equipment, totaling 350–400 combat aircraft. It has roughly 45,000 personnel (less than 10 percent of the size of the army). The most modern aircraft are U.S.-made Lockheed Martin F-16 Fighting Falcons, which have been provided in sporadic fashion and have suffered maintenance problems because of periodic U.S. sanctions, and Chinese-made JF-17s, which have only recently entered the Pakistani inventory. The Pakistani air force also relies heavily on Chinese F-7 and French Dassault Mirage III/V variants for a variety of roles, and it maintains a small force of obsolete Chinese A-5 strike aircraft. Pakistani pilots are well trained, but the air force is increasingly being outpaced by the rapid growth of the Indian Air Force in both quantity and quality of aircraft.

Soldiers of the Pakistani Army outside a cave allegedly used by militants in the Taliban stronghold of Kot Kai in the tribal area of Waziristan along the Afghan border, November 26, 2009. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Pakistan's navy is the smallest and least influential of the armed services. It numbers just 25,000 personnel, including 5,000 reservists and almost 2,500 marines, special forces, and security personnel. This gives it less than 5 percent of the manpower of the army. Despite its small size, the Pakistani Navy has an important role in the region and has twice commanded Combined Task Force 150, a multinational naval coalition that patrols the North Arabian Sea and the Horn of Africa as part of the Global War on Terror. Because of resource limitations, the navy remains small and poorly equipped. However, it possesses small numbers of very effective units, including a squadron of American-supplied Lockheed P-3 Orion reconnaissance/ASW aircraft and 3 French Agosta diesel submarines equipped with an air-independent propulsion system. It possesses 2 other fairly modern submarines.

The surface fleet is essentially obsolete, relying on 6 aging British Amazon-class frigates and several fast-attack craft ships—4 small ships and 8 larger ones, of Pakistani, Chinese, Thai, and Turkish designs. There are also about 11 patrol craft of various sizes. The naval air arm (all shore based) has 52 aircraft and helicopters, and a squadron of PAF Mirage III aircraft is dedicated to the maritime strike role. The Pakistani Navy is upgrading to Chinese F-22 "Sword-class" missile frigates, at least one of which will be assembled at Karachi, but it still pales in comparison to the larger and more robust Indian Navy.

In late April 2009, after the Taliban broke a truce agreement with the Pakistani government that had given them effective control of the Swat Valley by also seizing control of Buner District, only 60 miles north of the capital of Islamabad, the Pakistani government declared the truce at an end and sent in the army. This decision followed heavy pressure from the U.S. government and moderate elements in Pakistan itself. After two weeks of operations, the government announced that its forces had killed some 1,000 Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters. The heavy fighting led to a major refugee crisis, in which as many as 2 million Pakistani citizens fled the region.

Because of its internal militant threats, proximity to Afghanistan, and knowledge of and familiarity with major militant groups in South and Central Asia, Pakistan remains a vital ally in the Global War on Terror, even though doubts exist about its commitment to and wholehearted cooperation with U.S. objectives in the region.

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See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; Global War on Terror; Pakistan; Taliban

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Palestine Liberation Organization

A political and military organization founded in 1964 and dedicated to protecting the human and legal rights of Palestinians and creating an independent state for Palestinian Arabs in Palestine. Since the 1960s, the Munazzamat al-Tahrir al-Filastiniyyah (Palestine Liberation Organization, PLO) has functioned as the official mouthpiece for the Palestinian people. The PLO served as a coordinating council for the military, social, and political groups that were part of the Palestinian movement. In addition to Fatah, which is the largest of the political and military groups in the PLO, were the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), and the Communist Party. Also represented were guerrilla groups (in the past), Palestinian independents, and such "mass organizations" as the General Union of Palestinian Workers (GUPW), the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS), and the General Union of Palestinian Women, as well as social organizations like the Red Crescent.

Various other Palestinian groups have also been a part of the Palestinian liberation movement, including the Palestinian People's Party and umbrella groups such as the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF), or the military group funded by Syria, al-Saiqa. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–General Command (PFLP-GC) was formerly associated with the PLO, but did not accept the Oslo Accords. Hamas, now the largest Palestinian movement, has never been a part of the PLO.

The PLO's military wing was, by 1980, organized in the Palestinian Liberation Army. It also had a police organization, founded in Jordan, the Palestinian Armed Struggle Command, which functioned in Lebanon as a civilian police group.

Comprising centrist-nationalist groups (such as Fatah), leftist groups (including communists), and militant groups and nonmilitant groups, the PLO was intended to be as inclusive as possible; however, beginning in 1988, in contrast to other groups, it supported political negotiations and a two-state solution. The PLO has been enormously successful in attracting funding over the years. Indeed, a 1993 survey estimated the PLO's total assets at between $8 billion and $10 billion and its average yearly income at $1.5 billion to $2 billion.

The PLO was founded in 1964, and many of its leaders were also the founders of Fatah, which took the largest share of its budget. Its first president was Ahmad Shuqairi. The stated purpose of the PLO was the liberation of Palestine, condemnation of Zionist imperialism, and the dissolution of Israel through the use of armed force. From 1969 to 1973, various Palestinian organizations engaged in violent actions against Israel to draw attention to their cause. The extent of coordination between such groups as the Black September Organization (BSO) and Fatah is not clear, but many of the groups within the PLO were also part of its guerrilla wing. The Israelis labeled the PLO a terrorist organization for many years, although Palestinians and many international observers dispute that characterization. In 1988 PLO leader Yasser Arafat—the chairman of the organization since 1969 and then first president of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA)—renounced violence as a means to achieve Palestinian goals. This decision was binding on the member groups in the PLO. However, various intra-Palestinian battles were fought within the PLO, including the Rejection Front's struggle with Fatah. In addition, some other non-PLO groups, such as Islamic Jihad, were not in favor of the

Oslo Accords and continued to support Palestinian resistance in the form of violent jihad. During the Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada, groups that were originally a part of the PLO broke away from their leadership and formed the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades.

Although the PLO has been reorganized many times since its inception, its leading governing bodies have been the Palestinian National Council (PNC), the Central Council, and the Executive Committee. The PNC has 300 members and functions as a nominal legislature. The Executive Committee has 15 members elected by the PNC and holds the PLO's real political and executive power. The Palestinian Revolutionary Forces are the PLO's military arm.

On February 3, 1969, the PNC in Cairo officially appointed Arafat chairman of the PLO. Over the next four years, Arafat became the commander in chief of the PLO's military branch, the Palestinian Revolutionary Forces, and the political leader of the organization.

In 1968 and 1969 part of the PLO functioned as a well-organized unofficial state within Jordan, with its uniformed soldiers acting as a police force and collecting their own taxes. In 1968 King Hussein of Jordan and the PLO signed an agreement by which the PLO agreed that its fighters would stop patrolling in uniform with guns, and stop searching civilian vehicles. The PLO did not comply with this agreement, however, and both attacks on civilians and clashes between Palestinians and Jordanian soldiers increased. By 1970 Hussein decided that the Palestinians threatened national security and ordered his army to evict them. This led to several months of violence, during which Syria aided the Palestinians and the United States aided Jordan. The events of BSO (including an attempt on Hussein's life), several airliner hijackings by the PFLP, and a declaration of martial law in Jordan culminated with the PLO agreeing to a cease-fire on September 24 and promising to leave the country.

The PLO fighters left for refugee camps in southern Lebanon and those in Beirut. However, the PLO continued nonmilitary activities in Jordan, as it did throughout the Palestinian diaspora. The Lebanese government had already struggled with the Palestinian fighters in Lebanon, and it continued to restrict the PLO's movements, which led to tensions. Palestinians nevertheless launched periodic attacks across the Israeli border. Lebanese Muslims and members of Kamal Jumblatt's progressive coalition supported the Palestinian cause, seeing the Palestinians as allies in their struggle against nonprogressive factions who dominated the government and the Lebanese Forces (Maronite militias). The latter were opposed to the PLO presence and wanted to drive the Palestinians out by force.

During the 1970s and 1980s Fatah and the other various groups that comprised the PLO often came into conflict over the proper means of achieving the organization's goals. Fatah agreed on a policy of noninterference in host countries, but other groups like the PFLP did not always accept this. Likewise, the leadership of the PLO, including Arafat, had in the past recognized the need for armed struggle, but now believed that diplomacy and compromise were also key to gaining international support. It seemed, however, apparent that the Arab countries could not defeat Israel militarily.

The commercial airliner hijackings carried out by radical Palestinian groups in the late 1960s and early 1970s in Europe and the Middle East were detrimental to PLO operations. Arafat himself condemned overseas attacks because he believed that they hurt the PLO's international image. When the radical BSO killed several Israeli athletes at the Olympic Games in Munich in 1972, Arafat promptly stated that the PLO was not responsible for the attacks. Arafat closed down the BSO in 1973, and in 1974 he ordered the PLO to restrict its violent attacks to Israel, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank.

In 1974 the Arab Summit recognized the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. Arafat then appeared before the United Nations (UN) that same year as the official representative of the Palestinians. Speaking before the UN General Assembly, he condemned Zionism and said that the PLO would continue to operate as freedom fighters but also said that he wanted peace. This was the first time the international community had heard directly from the PLO, and many international observers praised Arafat and came to support the Palestinian cause. The UN granted the PLO observer status on November 22, 1974.

Also in 1974, the leaders of Fatah created a plan, known as the Ten-Point Program, that set forth the PLO's goals. This program called for a secular state in Israel and Palestine that would welcome both Jews and Arabs and provide all citizens equal rights regardless of religion, race, or gender. It also called for the creation of a Palestinian National Authority (PNA) on free Palestinian territory. Israel rejected the Ten-Point Program. Meanwhile, the radical guerrilla groups PFLP and PFLP-GC, which had earlier split from the PFLP, departed from the PLO in protest of its attempt to negotiate with Israel.

In 1975 the Lebanese Civil War broke out. Israel pursued a strategy of supporting the Lebanese Forces, the Maronite militia that opposed the Palestinians. The PLO and Fatah joined forces with the National Front, a more left-wing coalition of Muslims, Druze, and Christians. On January 12, 1976, the UN Security Council voted to grant the PLO the right to participate in Security Council debates. The PLO became a full member of the Arab League that same year.

During the late 1970s, members of the Palestinian Resistance continued to operate from Lebanon and engaged in attacks on Israel, which in turn attacked them in southern Lebanon. On July 24, 1981, the PLO and Israel agreed to a cease-fire within Lebanon and on the border between Lebanon and Israel. The Israelis violated the cease-fire numerous times, bombing PLO targets in Beirut. That autumn, Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and defense minister Ariel Sharon planned an invasion into Lebanon to occupy southern Lebanon and territory all the way up to Beirut, where it planned to destroy the PLO. Israeli troops invaded, occupied much of southern Lebanon, and rounded up much of the male population of the area. The UN passed one resolution demanding that Israel withdraw its troops, but the United States

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasser Arafat talks with his supporters in Beirut, Lebanon, on July 10, 1982, following a night of fighting between the PLO and Israeli troops. (AP/Wide World Photos)

vetoed another resolution repeating this demand. The United States demanded that the PLO withdraw from Lebanon. Sharon ordered the bombing of West Beirut beginning on June 15. The UN once again demanded that Israel withdraw, but the United States again vetoed the resolution.

On August 12, 1982, the two sides agreed to another cease-fire in which both the PLO and Israel would leave Lebanon. As a result, about 15,000 Palestinian militants left Lebanon by September 1. The Israelis, however, claimed that PLO members were still hiding in Beirut and returned to the city on September 16, killing several hundred Palestinians, none of whom were known to be PLO members. Sharon resigned as defense minister after the Sabra and Shatila massacres, which were carried out by Lebanese Christian militias with Israeli foreknowledge and approval.

Arafat and many surviving PLO members had always regarded Lebanon as a vulnerable location, and the organization was not destroyed by its forced removal because other operations continued outside that country. Arafat spent most of the 1980s in Tunisia. During this time, Iraq and Saudi Arabia donated substantial sums of money to the organization. But the Israeli government was determined to resist negotiations with the PLO, which also operated within the West Bank and Gaza. The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) bombed the PLO headquarters in Tunis in 1985, an attack that killed 73 people.

In December 1987 the First Intifada broke out spontaneously in the West Bank and Gaza, surprising Israelis with its intensity. On November 15, 1988, the PLO officially declared the formation of the State of Palestine. The PLO claimed all of Palestine as defined by the former British Mandate. However, the PLO had decided to seek a two-state solution. That December Arafat spoke before the UN, promising to end terrorism and to recognize Israel in exchange for the Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, according to UN Security Council Resolution 242. This was a distinct change from the PLO's previous position of insisting on the destruction of Israel. The PNC symbolically elected Arafat president of the new Palestinian state on April 2, 1989.

Arafat and the Israelis began conducting peace negotiations at the Madrid Conference in 1991. Although the talks were temporarily set back when Arafat and the PLO supported Iraq in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, over the next two years the two parties held a number of secret discussions. These negotiations led to the 1993 Oslo Accords, in which Israel agreed to Palestinian self-rule in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, and Arafat officially recognized the existence of the State of Israel. Despite the condemnation of many Palestinian nationalists, the peace process appeared to be progressing apace. Israeli troops withdrew from the Gaza Strip and Jericho in May 1994.

In 1994 the PLO established the Negotiations Affairs Department (NAD) in Gaza to implement the Interim Agreement.

Mahmoud Abbas, then secretary-general of the PLO Executive Committee, headed the NAD until April 2003, when the Palestinian Legislative Council chose him as the first prime minister of the PNA. He was quickly replaced by Saeb Erakat. The Gaza office of NAD handled Israeli affairs, agreements between Israel and Palestine, colonization, and refugees. It also kept careful track of Israeli expansion into Palestinian territory. The NAD also opened an office in Ramallah to handle the implementation of the Interim Agreement and prepare the Palestinian position for negotiations toward permanent status. The government of the United Kingdom began assisting the NAD with its preparation for permanent status talks in 1998.

In 1996 the PNC agreed to remove from the PLO charter all language calling for armed violence aimed at destroying Israel, and Arafat sent U.S. president Bill Clinton a letter listing language to be removed. The organization announced that it was waiting for the establishment of the Palestinian state, when it would replace the charter with a constitution.

Arafat was elected leader of the new PNA in January 1996. The peace process began unraveling later that year, however, after rightist hard-liner Benjamin Netanyahu was elected prime minister of Israel. Netanyahu distrusted Arafat and condemned the PLO as a terrorist organization responsible for numerous suicide bombings on Israeli citizens. The accord collapsed completely in 2000 after Arafat and Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak failed to come to an agreement at a Camp David meeting facilitated by Clinton. After that, the Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada began when Palestinians, already experiencing the intractability of the Israeli government, saw Ariel Sharon lead security forces onto the Haram al-Sharif. During that period, suicide bombings increased. These attacks were in some instances claimed by Islamic Jihad of Palestine (PIJ), Hamas sympathizers, and other groups. Arafat and the PLO disavowed any support for such attacks. But whether right or wrong, the Israeli media continued to state or suggest that Arafat clandestinely supported the work of the terrorists.

Arafat died on November 11, 2004. There was much dissension over the succession, but Abbas eventually came to head the PLO's largest faction, Fatah. In December 2004 he called for an end to the violence associated with the Second Intifada that had begun in September 2000. In January 2005 he was elected president of the PNA, but Abbas has struggled to keep the PLO together and Fatah from losing its political and financial clout. In the January 2006 PNA parliamentary elections, Abbas and Fatah were dealt a serious blow when Hamas captured a significant majority of seats. The Israelis adamantly refused to recognize the Hamas government, declaring it an unfit "partner to peace," just as they had previously described Arafat himself. Israel refused to allow PNA funds to be transferred into the territories and cut off vital services as well as shipments of goods. The United States and its European allies also cut off funding to the PNA.

An even greater blow came in June 2007, when Hamas forcibly took control of Gaza. Abbas denounced Hamas and secured the restoration of funding to the Fatah-dominated section of the PNA. The Gazan Palestinians were left without salaries, food, gasoline, medicine, and services. The United States proposed that Israel commence negotiations with Abbas, who, however, did not completely control his part of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA).

The PNA found itself caught in an intractable predicament when Israel launched a major military operation against Hamas in Gaza beginning in December 2008. Although the PLO condemned the Israeli military action, it was forced to remain a bystander in a conflict that killed more than 1,100 Palestinians and inflicted some $2 billion in damage.

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See also

Abbas, Mahmoud; Arafat, Yasser; Fatah; Hamas; Israel; Jordan; Lebanon; Lebanon, Civil War in; Lebanon, Israeli Invasion of; Terrorism

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Pan-Arabism and Pan-Arabist Thought

Philosophical and political movements based on the need to reinvest pride in Arab identity after centuries of dominance by the Ottoman Empire. Beyond this basic "Arabism" were versions of Arab nationalism that called for the solidarity of Arab peoples and movements for Arab unity, implying a political union of Arab governments. Pan-Turkism had arisen at the end of the 19th century and early 20th century, and the revival of Arab identity came in response to it. Other responses to Western encroachments were Pan-Islamist in orientation. Arab nationalism, sometimes with a Pan-Arab program, contrasted with such movements in calling for the appropriate response of Arab nations against increased Western imperial expansion. Pan-Arabism ultimately developed into such political doctrines in the region as Baathism, Nasserism, and more generally, Arab nationalism. The application of these doctrines was to have far-reaching consequences for power relations in the Middle East and beyond.

In the second half of the 19th century, a variety of Middle Eastern intellectuals began to theorize about the future of the Islamic world in relation to the increasingly powerful imperial nations of Europe. One influential movement was that of Pan-Islamism. Led by Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani, early Pan-Islamists were fiercely anti-imperialist and framed their desires for parity with the West along religious lines. Afghani did not believe that the West was superior to the Muslim East. Rather, he believed that over time Middle Eastern governments and religion had become corrupt and lost touch with the true message of Islam.

For Afghani, there were two major Islamic tenets that needed to be revised in order for the Muslim world to become as powerful as the West: unity and action. Unity of the Muslim world was crucial in the eyes of Afghani. He looked back to the early Muslim kingdoms and the success of early Islam as something that could be achieved anew in the Middle East. Muslims need only unify behind a progressive Islam, which would encourage its followers throughout the world to forget their ethnic and national differences and see themselves as part of one supernation of believers. In doing so, Muslims would actively unite against European expansionism and economic exploitation.

One of Afghani's most influential students was Muhammad Abduh, a well-respected theologian who ultimately became the mufti of Egypt in 1899. Abduh formulated one of the most influential modern interpretations of Islam in a book titled *Risalah al-Tawhid* (A Treatise on the Oneness of God), published in 1897. It asserted not only that Islam and modernity were compatible but also that modernity complemented Islam rather than restricted it. Abduh founded the Salafiyya movement, which called for the reintroduction into Sunni Islam of a legal principle of Islamic law allowing for more reinterpretation (*ijtihad*). As Pan-Islamists, both Afghani (who was not an Arab) and Abduh were concerned about Islamic affairs more than Arab affairs; however Abduh was also involved in an Egyptian uprising against the British. Punished for his views, he took up the reform of al-Azhar University, which has also fostered Pan-Islamism.

Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi (1849–1903), a journalist from Aleppo, was of Kurdish descent. He spent the last three years of his life in Cairo and published two key books in which he voices disgust toward the corruption of the Ottoman Empire, which ruled large segments of the Arab world. He blamed the decline of Muslim rule on the fact that non-Arabs had taken control of the Middle East. He looked at Islam as the greatest achievement of the Arabs, and because God had chosen to reveal Islamic teachings to an Arab prophet in Arabic, the Arabs were an ideal people for leadership. He wanted to see the restoration of an Arab caliphate, which, he believed, would hasten a revival in the region as well as in the religion. Kawakibi's ideology gave some Arabs a framework for opposing the Ottomans, which eventually took on nationalist tones.

Arab nationalism also evolved from Syrian nationalism and a movement of revival for the Arabic language called the *nahda,* or renaissance. Many of these Arab nationalists were Christians, including Jurji Zaydan, who wrote histories and novels; Ibrahim al-Yaziji, who established a secret society in 1875 that focused on Arab pride and rejected the Ottoman claim to the caliphate; and Najib Azury, who founded the Ligue de la Patrie Arabe (League of the Arab Fatherland) in 1903 in Cairo and wrote *The Awakening of the Arab Nation* in 1905. By 1913 other secret nationalist societies had formed and survived rounds of suppression from the Ottoman government.

As the Ottoman Empire collapsed at the end of World War I, and Britain and France secured control over much of the Middle East, other Arab intellectuals challenged European expansionism. It is in the ideas of these thinkers that the foundations of Pan-Arabism were laid.

One of the most noted individuals who focused his efforts on Arab nationalism was a Syrian Arab named Sati al-Husri, who had become known during the Ottoman era as a bureaucrat committed to educational reform. After the collapse of Ottoman rule in 1918, Husri introduced Arabist or Arab nationalist values into the Iraqi educational curriculum in the interwar years, when he headed the Ministry of Education in King Faisal I's Iraqi government. In the 1920s and 1930s, Husri wrote a series of pamphlets—*Arabism First, On Arab Nationalism,* and *What Is Nationalism?*—in which he calls for the creation of a single, united, and independent Arab state. He believed that the Arab people constituted one nation and that the Arabic language was the primary marker of that fact, as all who spoke Arabic shared other cultural attributes. Because the Arabic-speakers existed before Islam, both Muslim and Christian Arabs should be united under this nation. Husri hoped that the common language, shared culture, and shared history would inspire Arabs to found a modern nation-state and successfully combat the external, Western forces then dominating the region.

Another pair of influential thinkers who helped to establish the Baath Party along with Zaki al-Arsuzi and others were the Syrian intellectuals Michel Aflaq and Salah al-Din al-Bitar. Both had studied at the Sorbonne in Paris in the 1930s. Like many of their era, they were attracted to socialist ideology, particularly its anti-imperialism and messages of social justice. They called their new movement the Baath (Arabic for "resurrection"). Its principles were socialism, unity, and freedom. They expressed an Arab nationalist agenda in the context of social restructuring to build a powerful and independent Arab society. In part, their movement was a reaction to the pro-French attitudes of other elites, and the identification with a past Phoenician identity by some Lebanese at the time. Members of the Baath movement believed that the Arabs could regain their confidence only with unity. That unity would hearken back to Arab greatness under the conquering caliphs of early Islam and would put the Arab world on par with the West. In that way, Aflaq and Bitar were influenced by Kawakibi. Indeed, the Baath movement, although a secular philosophy inclusive of Muslims and Christians, idealized Islam as a cultural system and a symbol of what the Arab world was capable of producing. The Baaths' inclusive rhetoric also appealed to non-Muslim Arabs who

wished to see their nation resurrected as well. The ideology of the Baath movement was coupled with two other powerful political developments in the Arab world: the dispossession of the Palestinians from their homeland and the emergence of Nasserism in Egypt during the rule of President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Many Pan-Arab thinkers called on Egypt to take the lead in promoting the Arabist cause, and such ideas took hold during the 1930s and 1940s. In 1945 the Arab League was formed in Cairo, in the hopes of forging greater cooperation between Arab nations in the postwar period. The league was a coalition of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Transjordan (later Jordan). The leaders of these states pledged to support one another in building economic, political, and cultural strength and cooperation.

In May 1948, during the Israeli War of Independence, the member nations of the Arab League invaded Palestine to halt the formation of the State of Israel, but they were defeated by the Israelis in December. The defeat of Arab armies was a turning point for the Arab nationalist movement. The loss of Palestine to the Israelis was made more bitter by the humiliating crisis of the Palestinian refugees, who had fled and for several years lived only on Palestinian and Arab aid until the refugee camps were organized. For Arabs throughout the world, the shared rhetoric and considerable efforts taken to restore the Palestinians to their homeland and defeat the Israeli state became a powerful tool of political unification.

Nasser ultimately became the most well-known spokesperson for Arab nationalism. During his period in power (1952–1970), he promoted Arab unity and pride in the Arab nation to rally Egyptian resistance to the Western powers and Israel in the 1956 Suez War, and to oppose what he regarded as British and U.S. plans to divide the region. He convinced Jordan and Syria not to join the British-sponsored Baghdad Pact of 1954, and in 1956 he successfully faced off against the Western powers and nationalized the Suez Canal. Nasser, a brilliant orator, proclaimed the Arab nation to be one nation, and that "the Arab people are one people," in a speech following the failure of the British, French, and Israelis in the Suez Crisis to force a popular coup against his government. Later, he defined Egypt's embrace of Arabism to be a progressive and populist cause, in contrast to the Arabism espoused by traditional monarchies, such as Saudi Arabia.

Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser acknowledges the acclaim of his supporters as he drives through Port Said, Egypt, on his way to the Navy House, where he will hoist the Egyptian flag, June 18, 1956. (AP/Wide World Photos)

As the propaganda war grew between Egypt and Saudi Arabia, because of their conflict in Yemen and efforts to be the dominant influence in the region, Nasser utilized the Voice of Cairo, a powerful radio network broadcast throughout the Arab world and beyond, to spread the doctrines of Arab unity and Arab socialism.

In late 1957 Syrian politicians turned to Nasser and asked him to join a union of the two countries, since they were at that time under threat by a rival faction. In February 1958 the United Arab Republic (UAR), the political unification of Syria and Egypt, was founded. Baath leaders believed that the union would assure their control over Syria, while the Egyptians saw the move as the first of several possible unions. Millions of Arabs saw the unification of Syria and Egypt as a dream combination; they ardently hoped that the UAR was the beginning of a new Arab superstate that could challenge Western hegemony.

It was not to be. It soon became clear that resentment existed among the Syrian bourgeoisie, who could justifiably claim that the administrative arrangements based on Egypt's demographic preponderance did not grant Syria an equal voice. Some of the Egyptian bureaucrats and officials who went to Syria were highly unpopular there. The unification also demonstrated that stated resistance to the programs of land reform and industrialization in Syria were politically destabilizing. The UAR was not a well thought-out formation but rather a hasty attempt by the Syrian opposition to capitalize on Nasser's power in a way that he could not refuse. In September 1961 Syrian military units staged an insurrection against the Egyptian commanders, and the UAR came to an end. Nasser accepted this defeat, but his subsequent statements were bitter and dwelt on the issues of class struggle that led to the union's failure, thus contributing to the discourse on Arab socialism at that time.

The failure of the UAR was followed by a lengthy Egyptian military involvement in Yemen and then in 1967 by the humiliating defeat of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan by the Israelis in the Six-Day War. The war brought great territorial losses for the Arab side and dramatic increases in the number of Palestinian refugees. For the Arab world, it appeared that Arab unity was now more necessary than ever. Yet the governments of the Arab nations were further divided by the 1967 defeat. Moreover, with the 1967 defeat it was clear to Palestinians that their cause could not be left in the hands of the Arab states. Although the Palestinian cause remained a symbol for Arab unity, real action for change was moved away from the Arab League and concentrated in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and other Palestinian movements.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Arab leaders employed the rhetoric of Arab nationalism or Baathism to rally their populations behind a number of issues, particularly the struggle against Israel. Saddam Hussein of Iraq, in particular, used the Arab cause as a rationale for his policies. But in 1990 an event occurred that spelled increasing factionalism in the Arab world. When Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, the Western powers, led by the United States working through the United Nations (UN), convinced a number of other Arab nations to join their alliance against Iraq. Egypt and Syria committed troops to the Persian Gulf War in exchange for debt cancellation and other economic rewards, while Saudi Arabia agreed to host coalition forces. The punishing defeat of Iraq in February 1991 dimmed hopes for a unified approach by Arab nations.

Today, a significant number of people, parties, and governments still employ Arab nationalism and Arab unity as the framework for their policies, even though a larger segment of the population is searching for other alternatives to political, social, and economic problems. Many have turned instead to Islamist or Muslim fundamentalist movements.

NANCY STOCKDALE AND SHERIFA ZUHUR

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arab League; Baath Party; DESERT STORM, Operation; Egypt; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Palestine Liberation Organization; Syria; United Arab Republic

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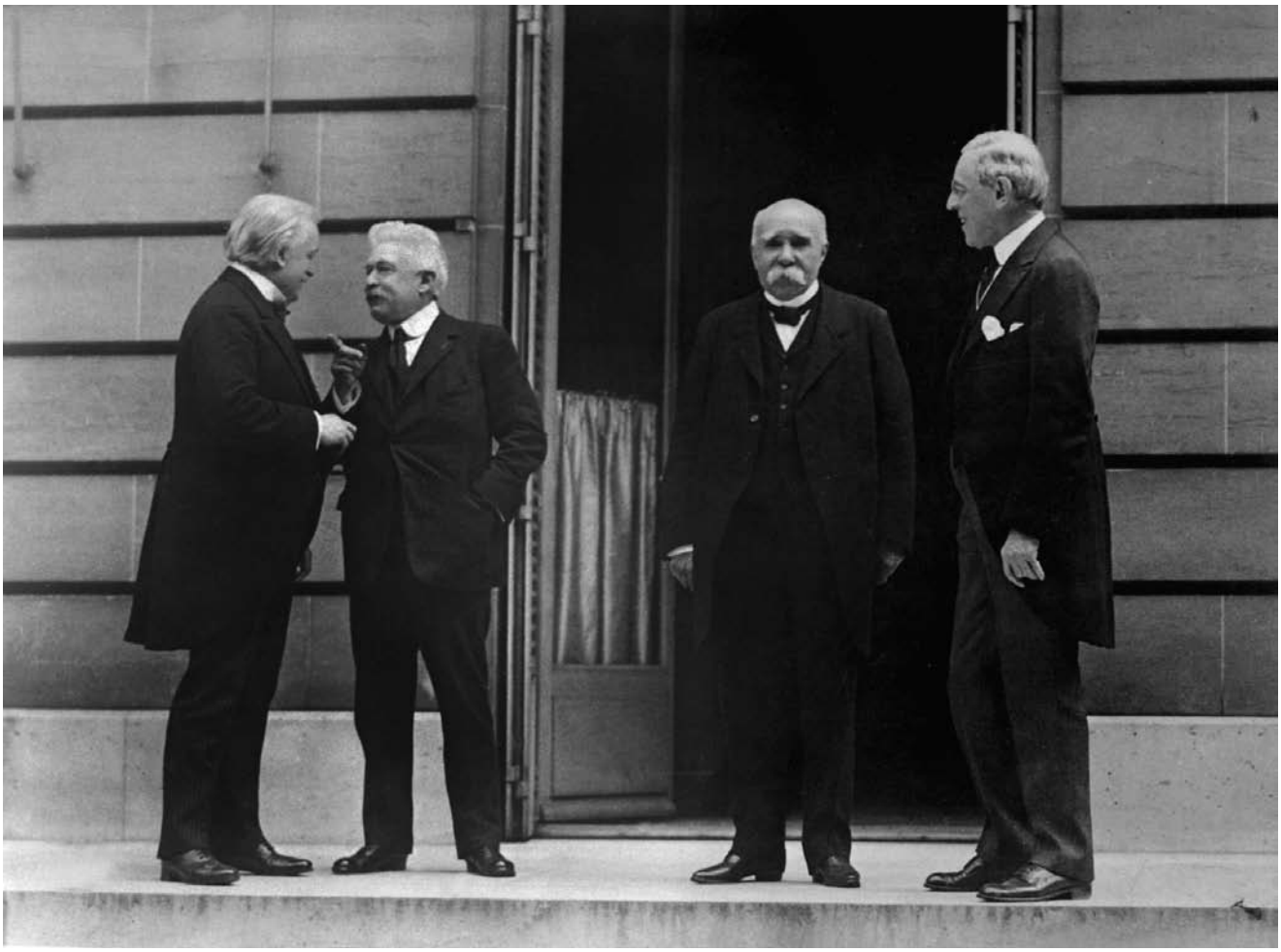
Paris Peace Conference

Start Date: January 12, 1919
End Date: January 20, 1920

Conference convened by the victorious Allies in Paris to negotiate peace terms with the Central Powers at the end of World War I. The main sessions of the Paris Peace Conference debated the terms of peace with Germany between January 19 and June 28, 1919. The conference climaxed in an elaborate signing ceremony of the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919. Lower-level diplomats continued the conference, leading to subsequent treaties with Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire. Although the conference opened with much high-minded idealism, it ended with many dashed hopes and great disillusionment.

The conference brought together official and unofficial representatives from around the world. Thirty-two countries were officially represented. Germany and the other defeated Central powers were not invited to the conference. Russia, then in the midst of civil war, was the most notable absentee among the victorious powers. Initially, the key players were the Big Ten: the chiefs of delegation and the foreign ministers from France, Britain, the United States, Italy, and Japan. Conference deliberations then were dominated by the Big Eight, which devolved into the delegation heads alone, or the Big Four of French premier Georges Clemenceau, British prime minister David Lloyd George, U.S. president Woodrow Wilson, and Italian premier Vittorio Orlando. Orlando's position was



Allied leaders at the Paris Peace Conference on May 27, 1919. Pictured (from left) are British prime minister David Lloyd George, Italian prime minister Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, French premier Georges Clemenceau, and U.S. president Woodrow Wilson. The Paris Peace Conference resulted in treaties that ended World War I and in the formation of the League of Nations. It also made major decisions regarding the Middle East. (National Archives)

by far the weakest, and on April 24 he and the Italian delegation left the negotiations after it became obvious that Italy would not receive the city of Fiume. The Big Four thus became the Big Three.

In many ways, Wilson was the key figure of the conference. His knowledge of Europe was scant. This was also the first time that a sitting U.S. president had traveled to Europe. As the conference got under way, Wilson had tremendous popular support in Europe, but both Lloyd George and Clemenceau viewed him as meddling, naive, and inexperienced in European affairs. Still, Wilson was crucial to the settlement because of the vital contributions of American troops and U.S. finances to the Allied victory and because of the leading role that the United States was expected to play in enforcing the peace settlement and in the postwar world.

All three of the key leaders largely ignored their own staffs and made most of the critical decisions themselves, turning the deliberations into a clash of personalities and wills. This concentration of decision making also rendered almost impossible the resolution of the immensely complicated conference issues. Complicating matters further, the three leaders mistrusted the advice provided by their military advisers and kept them as far from the deliberations as possible. The absence of a military voice at the conference both deprived the politicians of critical advice on security matters and undermined the legitimacy of the peace process, especially among veterans and conservatives.

Rather than confining themselves to the question of Germany, the conferees attempted to remake the entire global security system. For this task they were immensely unqualified. Lurking in the shadows were many non-German issues, such as the secret French and British accord (the Sykes-Picot Agreement) to divide the former Middle Eastern territories of the Ottoman Empire and the conflict between China and Japan over the latter's claim to the Shandong (Shantung) Peninsula. Issues such as these widened the scope of the conference significantly.

The conferees and their staffs had to resolve more than the dislocations of the war. The issues that had caused the conflict long predated the 1914 assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand. The basis for any lasting peace would likewise have to confront three specters of modern European history. The first was unfulfilled nationalism, represented by the Concert of Europe system that had dominated European diplomacy from 1815 to 1870. This

haunted Wilson most of all. He believed that the Concert system had prevented the peoples of Europe from realizing their nationalist sentiments and had led directly to the outbreak of World War I. He argued that the postwar settlement must therefore address the question of unfulfilled national ambitions. Yet Wilson's goal of national self-determination, even restricted as it was to Europe, faced insurmountable problems. National lines were too blurred to permit the establishment of clear-cut borders. Drawing a tidy border between Russia and the new state of Poland, for example, proved impossible. The settlement was therefore bound to disappoint millions no matter what the conferees decided.

The second specter, that of the failed revolutions of 1848, haunted all the Big Three, most especially Lloyd George. Made tangible by the triumph of Bolshevism in Russia, political and social unrest threatened the postwar stability and economic growth of the Western powers. The new leaders of Russia preached international revolution, threatening to engulf Europe in war again. Attempted communist revolutions in Germany and Hungary made this all the more terrifying. The disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the weakening of Germany left a political vacuum in Central Europe. With there thus being no obvious bulwark against Bolshevik expansion, the containment of Bolshevism came to occupy a larger role at the conference than had originally been foreseen.

The final specter, unfulfilled German militarism, particularly haunted Clemenceau. France had been invaded twice by the Germans in his lifetime, and he believed that World War I, which had brought the Germans tantalizingly close to victory, had only increased German acquisitiveness and antipathy toward France. Germany and Austria, he argued, might have been defeated, but they still had 75 million inhabitants compared to 45 million in France and Belgium. The war had been largely fought outside German borders, so Germany's industrial infrastructure remained largely intact. Thanks to the Bolshevik Revolution, Russia no longer served France as an Eastern ally and a counterweight to Germany. Thus, French leaders backed a strong Poland. Clemenceau was intent on using the conference to ensure that Germany could not pose a future threat to France.

The contradictions in the Allied aims created an untenable situation. Every solution posed a new problem: reducing Germany's army would lessen the menace of Prussian militarism but enhance the possibility of a Bolshevik revolution in Germany; separating the Rhineland from Germany would give France and Belgium security but ran the risk of creating an Alsace-Lorraine in reverse; giving Fiume to the Italians would reward them for their wartime sacrifices but it would also weaken the newly created state of Yugoslavia, whose Serbian leadership had also been a member of the alliance; and the creation of independent Arab states would fulfill British promises made during the war to Arab leaders but undermine Lloyd George's own desire for a greater British presence in the Middle East and promises made to Zionists in the Balfour Declaration.

Wilson's January 1918 pronouncement of the Fourteen Points further complicated matters by creating a pathway to peace that was at once unworkable and immensely popular. Several influential participants (and many Germans) quickly recognized the dilemma that the Fourteen Points created for the conference. If the conferees accepted them as the basis for negotiation, this would heighten the sharp points of disagreement among the victorious powers and enact measures antithetical to the interests of Britain and France. Such a peace would probably be more lenient than most French and British citizens found acceptable. If, on the other hand, the peace conference did not follow the spirit of the Fourteen Points, Germany could claim (as did leaders of the Weimar Republic) that it had been unfairly treated.

Despite their tremendous popular appeal, the Fourteen Points did not guide the conference as the U.S. president had anticipated and as the people of the Middle East had hoped. Although the people of Europe may have initially welcomed Wilson and his vision of the postwar world, desires for security soon overrode appeals to idealism. The November 1918 British elections, the first in eight years, returned a majority dedicated to a punitive treatment of Germany.

A similar situation existed in France, where bitter anger over Germany's invasion, wartime atrocities, and scorched-earth policies prevailed. All French parties except the socialists, who were divided on the issue, supported either outright annexation of the Rhineland or its separation from Germany. Clemenceau, for his part, had little sympathy for Wilsonian idealism.

Although many Europeans continued to cling to the idealism that the Fourteen Points represented, resentment toward Germany dominated. Germany's imposition of harsh terms on Russia at Brest Litovsk just two months after the announcement of the Fourteen Points seemed, even to Wilson, to demonstrate that Germany had no right to demand or expect leniency.

Unlike their counterparts at the Congress of Vienna a century earlier, the negotiators at Paris were all responsible to electorates. The conferees therefore worked largely behind closed doors but under tremendous scrutiny from the media and their own constituencies. The back-room bargaining that characterized so much of the conference violated Wilson's first point that "diplomacy shall always proceed frankly and in the public view." The Big Three failed to appreciate fully that a people's war could not be followed by a cabinet peace.

Lloyd George and Clemenceau found themselves in the awkward position of speaking favorably about the Fourteen Points in public while undermining many of Wilson's principles behind closed doors. This contradiction helped to discredit the final settlement in the eyes of those European voters who expected a peace based on the Fourteen Points.

Aware that the conference could not please all parties, the conferees agreed on the necessity of implementing Wilson's idea for the League of Nations. Wilson hoped that it would resolve problems emerging from the dissatisfactions, contradictions, and

unanticipated problems of any treaty the conference produced. Clemenceau viewed the proposed League of Nations as a threat to the peace because it would cause people in the democracies to believe that it would actually resolve major disputes and would thus wean the Western democracies away from military preparedness.

Because of these contradictions, the most important product of the Paris Peace Conference, the Treaty of Versailles with Germany, embodied a series of uncomfortable and untenable compromises that gave all victorious parties only part of what they wanted and thus inevitably also left all parties frustrated. Worse, it did not significantly diminish German power, permitting a German nationalist resurgence a generation later. The other treaties were also inadequate. The settlements were compromises, their continued survival having been heavily dependent on wise, careful, and farsighted postwar diplomacy, which was not forthcoming.

All parties were frustrated by the peace conference's many compromises. Liberals and the Left found the conference's outcome particularly disillusioning, and in their disappointment many turned on Wilson as a failed messiah. In many ways, the conference created fertile ground for a far more deadly global conflagration less than a generation later.

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See also

Balfour Declaration; Ottoman Empire; Sèvres, Treaty of; Sykes-Picot Agreement; World War I, Impact of

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Pasha

A nonhereditary official title conferred upon wealthy landowners, government administrators, and senior military officers in the Ottoman Empire (1299–1918). Pashas (pasas) formed an important part of the Iraqi administrative structure under King Faisal I after 1921. Today, the term "pasha" is a social term of respect or endearment and is no longer applied to a group or class of individuals, but the lineal heirs of the pashas, those not forced out by political changes, remain an integral part of Iraqi society.

Three Ottoman provinces—Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra—constituted the territory that later became Iraq. Because of the many political, legal, religious, and ethnic disputes among the various tribes in the provinces, the sultans in Constantinople sought leaders who could effectively subdue all threats to Ottoman rule. Such leaders were the appointed pashas, who governed by a tribute system of taxation that separated the wealthy urban families from the agrarian tribes. The governing system also pitted competing tribes against each other.

In 1858 Constantinople implemented a new land law. The law increased the power of the Baghdad government and weakened the autonomy of tribal sheikhs by sending them to Constantinople for education. Graduates were offered titles to land, the only source of wealth available to them. Through this method, some sheikhs became pashas and adopted Ottoman social, political, and economic positions as their own. The followers of these sheikhs, many of whom were well-armed, did the same.

Significant reforms in the Ottoman Army also occurred in the second half of the 19th century. Arab subjects were allowed to attend military schools and academies to become commissioned officers. The army became their profession, and some would become pashas with the Ottoman VI Corps and the Ottoman Sixteenth Army in Iraq.

The origins of the Iraqi Army date to 1869, when Ottoman governor Ahmed Midhat Pasha established a military school in Baghdad, providing three years of military instruction to middle-school children. In 1914 two more military schools were opened in Baghdad and one in Sulamaniyah. Middle-school graduates entered the military high school in Baghdad, and the most promising graduates from that school entered the Ottoman Military Academy in Constantinople, which admitted 60–70 Arabs each year. Graduates were commissioned lieutenants in the Ottoman Army, and as such they were afforded opportunities for social and political advancement unavailable to other Arabs.

Many Iraqi officers in the Ottoman Army participated in the Arab Revolt (1916–1918), which had resulted from British promises that an Arab homeland would be created. They fought under Faisal, the sharif of Mecca and later the king of Iraq. They were known as Sharifian officers and formed the core of officers loyal to Faisal. They created a security force that maintained internal order and suppressed any objections to Faisal's rule. To expand this group of loyal officers, military training slots were allocated for sons of tribal chieftains as a means of guaranteeing their loyalty. This was a direct continuance of Ottoman military training policies. It also allowed King Faisal to counter officers less loyal to him.

When the Ottoman Empire fell in the aftermath of World War I, the Sharifians came along with Faisal to Iraq. As they had no local basis of power, the Sharifians sought to expand their status. Just as the tribes had consolidated and expanded their status on behalf of the sultans, King Faisal's Sharifian officers sought to do the same. Soon, the interests of the Sharifians and the sheikhs conjoined in parliament.

Sharifian officers wanted the Iraqi government to adopt conscription, for they had learned how valuable a tool it could be from their European-focused Ottoman military training. They also knew that it would dilute the loyalties of individual tribesmen, who were far better armed than the Iraqi Army. And an Iraqi military education would provide the same opportunities for social and political advancement as an Ottoman military education had done for the

Sharifians and some of the pashas. This new cadre would form a social class whose service was to the nation, not to a tribe. What evolved under the monarchy was an officer corps dominated by a limited number of perhaps 20 to 30 families, primarily Sunni. Most of the Iraqi military leadership in this period came from these families: Askari, Ayubi, Bajaje, Daftari, Gaylani, Hashimi, Jaderji, Saddoun, Sahrurdi, Said, Shabandar, and Suvveidi. These historically military families had originally been the product of Ottoman military training. They later intermarried and promoted their interests within the Iraqi armed forces. In 1958, however, these individuals were eclipsed by the Baathist military officers who came to power in 1958 and ousted King Faisal II. Some of these individuals were murdered by Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, who accused them of being elitists; others died in the wars against Iran, Kuwait, and the United States. But their descendants continue to protect their interests in Iraq today.

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See also

Faisal II, King of Iraq; Iraq, Army; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Midhat Pasha, Ahmad; Ottoman Empire

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Patriot Act

Legislation passed by the U.S. Congress and signed into law by President George W. Bush on October 26, 2001. It was prompted by the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States. The Patriot Act greatly expanded U.S. government intelligence and law enforcement powers, thereby intended to boost the government's ability to combat terrorism. The legislation was renewed on March 9, 2006. Critics of the Patriot Act assert that it threatens and violates civil liberties. Supporters of the bill insist that it is vital to protecting America from terrorism.

The Patriot Act of 2001 amended federal criminal, banking, money-laundering, and immigration laws. For example, it authorizes roving wiretap authorization of a suspect rather than of a particular communication device. Two sections of the law amend immigration laws dealing with excludable aliens from entering the United States and allow the government to deport or detain aliens for associating with terrorists. Section 802 of the act created the new category of the crime of domestic terrorism, while Sections 803 and 805, respectively, punish people who either harbor or provide material support for or conspire with terrorists and terrorist organizations.

Most of the criticism of the Patriot Act has been directed at Section 2 of the law. For example, by authorizing so-called sneak-and-peak warrants without having to immediately notify the suspect that their home or property has been searched, the act is said to violate the Fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which prohibits illegal search and seizure without probable cause. According to the Department of Justice, however, such warrants have been used for decades against organized crime and drug dealers, and the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that in some circumstances the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution does not require immediate notification that a search warrant has been conducted.

Section 215 allows the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to order any person or entity to turn over "any tangible things" for an authorized investigation to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities. Besides allegedly violating the Fourth Amendment, this section is also said to violate freedom of speech, according to the America Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). It is in use now by the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) when passengers, American and non-American, are required to open password-protected computers and surrender them to authorities.

Defenders of the Patriot Act note that Section 215 can only be used with the approval of one of three high-ranking FBI officials to obtain foreign intelligence information "not concerning a United States person" or "to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities." It prohibits investigations based solely on activities protected by the First Amendment and requires the FBI to notify Congress every year of all investigations it has conducted. In addition, those served with a 215 order can challenge its legality.

Critics of the Patriot Act also object to Section 218 because it expands the authority of a secret federal court, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (FISC), to approve searches and wiretaps if foreign intelligence is a "significant purpose" of the investigation. This is counter to the 1978 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) standard of "primary purpose." The ACLU argues that Section 218 violates the Fourth Amendment because it extends the FBI's authority to spy on Americans for "intelligence purposes" without having to prove that a crime has been or will be committed. Because those targeted for surveillance under Section 218 are never notified that they are under investigation and cannot challenge the warrant because the proceedings of the FISC are secret, the ACLU warns that the potential for abuse of power is immense.

Under the FISA, foreign intelligence had to be the primary purpose of wiretaps and searches; the new standard of significant purpose is defended to overcome a wall that prohibited information sharing and cooperation between intelligence and criminal investigations. Because of this wall, in August 2001 the FBI refused

A statue of George Washington on the steps of Federal Hall looms over protesters holding up signs critical of the Patriot Act (2001) during a demonstration near the New York Stock Exchange in New York City on September 9, 2003. The protesters gathered within distant earshot of Attorney General John Ashcroft as he delivered a speech defending the legislation. (AP/Wide World Photos)

to allow criminal investigators to assist an intelligence investigation to locate two terrorists—Khalid al-Mihdhar and Nawaf al-Hazmi—who a month later piloted the plane into the Pentagon on September 11.

For all the claims of alleged abuse and violations to civil liberties by the Patriot Act, *USA Today* reported on March 1, 2006, that according to the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee (and sponsor of the Patriot Act), Representative James Sensenbrenner Jr. (R-Wis.), Congress had found no violations of civil liberties. Yet the ACLU points out that on January 23, 2004, a U.S. federal judge ruled Section 805 of the Patriot Act—which prohibits providing "expert advice or assistance" to designated international terrorist organizations—unconstitutional because it is vague. And on April 9, 2004, another federal judge ruled that Section 505, which allows the FBI to issue a "National Security Letter" demanding information about customers and subscribers from email and Internet service providers without any court review or approval, was also unconstitutional.

On December 16, 2005, the *New York Times* revealed that following the September 11 attacks, President Bush authorized the National Security Agency (NSA) to eavesdrop on international phone calls without a warrant, sparking a heated legal controversy. Bush maintained that his position as commander in chief gave him the authority to protect the U.S. from terrorist threats and that on September 18, 2001, Congress recognized this when it authorized the president to use all necessary means to apprehend terrorists. By not seeking a warrant from the FISC, however, the ACLU maintains that this program is illegal and violates both the Fourth Amendment and the 1978 FISA. The Department of Justice, however, notes that the NSA program is "narrowly focused, aimed only at international calls targeted at Al Qaeda and related groups, and only applies to communications where one party is outside the U.S."

Furthermore, leaders from both parties along with the leaders of the House and Senate Intelligence Committees were briefed about the phone-tapping program a dozen or more times since 2001. Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Michael Hayden stated on December 19, 2005, that this program "has been successful in detecting and preventing attacks inside the U.S." Nevertheless, the battle continues to rage over the extent and appropriateness of the Patriot Act, with many critics arguing that the law violates basic constitutional rights and has the potential to turn the nation into a secretive police state. Supporters, on the other hand, claim that the Patriot Act has made America safer and is a small price to pay to ensure that there is not another September 11.

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See also
Bush, George Walker

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Patriotic Union of Kurdistan

Kurdish nationalist party in northern Iraq founded and led by Jalal Talabani. The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) split from the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) during the early 1960s and existed as a coalition of several Kurdish political groups before it was officially founded in June 1975, following the collapse of the Kurdish revolt against the Iraqi government. Talabani is currently the president of Iraq, having assumed the office on April 7, 2005. The PUK's base of support is principally in southern Kurdistan (i.e., in Sulamaniyah), and since the 1980s it has courted rural Kurds to broaden its appeal. Most of its adherents speak the Sorani dialect and some belong to the Qadiri Sufi order.

Talabani broke with the KDP chiefly over his refusal to serve under Massoud Barzani, son of the founder of the KDP and current head of the party. Talabani tried to consolidate his control of the entire Kurdish movement by marginalizing Barzani. Over the next several decades, the PUK and KDP fought for control of the Kurdish nationalist movement. But they also fought for and against the Iraqi and Iranian governments. The Peshmerga also included other Kurdish nationalist groups, including the KDP.

Because of the KDP's increasing support from Iran, in 1979 Talabani made overtures to Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, indicating that the PUK would cease its antigovernment activity for certain concessions. Hussein, however, was unwilling to meet these, which included giving the PUK control of the Kirkuk oil fields, allowing Kurdish forces to provide local security, and the development of independent financial systems. During the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War, the PUK formed guerrilla units and established links with Iran to obtain financial and military support. During that war, Hussein tried to eradicate the Kurds in the 1986–1988 Anfal Campaign, which involved chemical attacks on Halabja and other Kurdish strongholds. Some 4,000 villages were destroyed and more than 100,000 Kurds were killed. This campaign caused the Kurds to change their strategy prior to Operation DESERT STORM (1991) by temporarily laying aside their differences and uniting in order to resist the Iraqi government.

In 1988, the KDP, PUK, as well as other Kurdish groups formed the Iraqi Kurdistan Front (IKF), combining forces to fight Hussein's government. Once the DESERT STORM air war began in January 1991, 50 percent of the Kurdish soldiers in the Iraqi Army deserted and many of them joined the Peshmerga. After Hussein's defeat in the Persian Gulf War, Kurds of all political stripes joined the IKF. Meanwhile, Barzani and Talabani jointly directed IKF attacks on Iraqi government forces in the immediate aftermath of the war. In so doing, they seized Kirkuk, took 75 percent of Kurdistan, and added more Iraqi deserters to their ranks, thereby obtaining large numbers of weapons. However, the Iraqi Republican Guards destroyed many Kurdish irregular units, stopping the Kurdish rebellion. By March 1991, as many as 1.5 million Kurds had become refugees.

On April 5, 1991, the United Nations (UN) passed Resolution 688, which allowed for the air-dropping of food and medicine to the Kurds. Operation PROVIDE COMFORT, an American humanitarian mission, also began in April. On April 10, 1991, the United States established the northern no-fly zone at the 36th Parallel, and on April 18 the UN created a Kurdish-controlled enclave in northern Iraq. Because there was no widespread political support for a long-term occupation in northern Iraq, the UN withdrew all forces on July 5, 1991.

After that, the KDP and PUK established a de facto autonomous polity by taking control of the former UN zone. In May 1992, the Kurds founded the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), which is composed of, among other groups, the KDP, PUK, and the Iraqi Communist Party. The Kurds held elections and established a joint legislative assembly with a cabinet. However, the KDP and PUK each tried to seize control of the autonomous region, and a civil war ensued. Amnesty International reported that in 1994 and 1995, both groups had committed scores of killings in their efforts to gain power.

In August 1996, 2,000 Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) soldiers entered Iraq and attacked the KDP on behalf of the PUK. Barzani now turned to Hussein for help. Hussein dispatched a force of as many as 60,000 Republican Guards to the autonomous region and drove the PUK from Irbil. The KDP then pushed the remnants of the PUK to the Iranian border.

On February 5, 1999, President Clinton issued Presidential Decision Directive 99-13. It authorized U.S. military assistance through the Iraq Liberation Act (ILA; Public Law 105-338) to both the KDP and PUK. It came as no surprise when the PUK and KDP cooperated with the U.S.-led coalition that drove Hussein from power in 2003. Most recently, the Kurdistan Brigades, led by Dilshad Kalari (Dilshad Garmyani), have begun publicly calling for jihad against the KDP and PUK, because Talabani and Barzani are viewed as apostate politicians because of their cooperation with the Nuri al-Maliki administration.

Many Iraqi Kurds, however, believe that they may be better off building their region and do not support any immediate Kurdish separatism. The Kurds want control of the Kirkuk oil fields, as control over this resource is essential to northern economy. Also the Arabization of Kirkuk under the Baath government was bitterly opposed by the Kurds.

The PUK is expected to continue demanding progress on autonomy for its continued support for all the KRG initiatives. Therefore, the prospect of a truly unified administration within the KRG seems remote.

The PUK is organized into eight bureaus, each designed to administer to a particular need of the party and of Kurds more generally. They include the Bureau of Organization; Bureau of Information; Bureau for Culture and Democratic Organization; Bureau of Finance and Management; Bureau for Human Rights; Bureau for Social Affairs; Bureau for Martyrs and Veterans' Affairs; and the Bureau for International Relations. The party is divided into 36 branches, each with its own head and 2 deputies. Depending on the number of PUK members in each branch, the number of assistant deputies ranges from 4 to 8. There are also 2 party branches that include Peshmerga.

DONALD R. DUNNE

See also

Kurdistan Democratic Party; Kurds; Kurds, Massacres of; Peshmerga; PROVIDE COMFORT, Operation

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Patriot Missile System

Defensive antiaircraft and antiballistic missile system. The U.S. Patriot missile system was untested in combat until the 1991 Persian Gulf War, when it was used to shoot down Iraqi Al Hussein short-range theater ballistic missiles, locally built versions of the Soviet Scud missile. Iraq launched Scud missiles at Israel and Saudi Arabia after the start of the war in January 1991. The Patriot was developed at the Redstone Arsenal in Huntsville, Alabama, in the late 1970s as an antiaircraft weapon and was modified in the 1980s as an antitheater ballistic missile weapon. U.S. Patriot units based in Germany were also deployed to Israel during the 2003 Iraq War. During the summer 2006 Israel-Hezbollah War, three Israel Defense Forces (IDF) Patriot batteries were deployed around Haifa in August 2006 and tasked with intercepting various types of missiles launched at the area from Lebanon by Hezbollah.

The Patriot is a long-range, high-altitude, all-weather missile defense system designed to defeat aircraft, theater ballistic missiles, and cruise missiles. The Patriot's multifunction phased array radar and track-by-missile guidance systems can simultaneously detect and engage multiple targets, despite electronic countermeasures. The Patriot missile is a single-stage, solid-fuel, 7.4-foot-long, 2,200-pound projectile operating at Mach 3 speed with an effective range of 43 miles.

The missile is armed with a proximity-fused 200-pound high-explosive warhead designed to disable or destroy an inbound target by detonating and dispersing fragmentation in a fanlike pattern immediately ahead of the threat. The Patriot is deployed as a Patriot Fire Unit, having 32 missiles loaded (4 each) in 8 M-901 storage and transportation canister launchers. Each launcher is arrayed atop an M-860 semitrailer launch platform. The Patriot Fire Unit also includes a 5-ton M-818 tractor truck variant mounted with a MSQ-104 engagement-control station, which houses the fire-control, radar, and computer engagement systems.

The Patriot is a three-phase intercept system that uses its engagement-control radar to detect an inbound target. The engagement-control computer plots an intercept trajectory and programs the intercept data into the missile's guidance system, elevates and trains the launcher, and then fires the missile. The missile's onboard radar then guides the missile to the optimal intercept point.

The Patriot missile was first launched in combat on January 18, 1991, when it mistakenly fired at a computer glitch misinterpreted as a Scud fired at Saudi Arabia. The Patriot engaged more than 40 theater ballistic missiles during the Persian Gulf War, but its intercept rate was well below the 97 percent claimed by U.S. officials at the time. The U.S. Army eventually claimed a 70 percent effective intercept rate for the Saudi Arabian theater of operations and a 40 percent effective intercept rate in Israel. The IDF, however, estimated the effective intercept rate at 10 percent or less. This substantially lower estimate may have been a function of the IDF's definition of success and effectiveness that counted any ground warhead detonation as a failure regardless of whether the incoming missile had been hit, disabled, or deflected.

Because the Patriot missile systems in both theaters of operation were manned by U.S. Army crews, there was much speculation concerning the higher reported effective intercept rate in Saudi Arabia. One reason may have been that the Saudi government simply lied, because all Saudi press reports on Scud strikes were censored. The Israeli targets were heavily populated areas where any debris or detonation could be reported by the uncensored Israeli press. The Saudi targets, on the other hand, were primarily desert military installations far from Saudi population centers.

Regardless of the reasoning used to explain the theater effective intercept rate differential, the success rate for the Patriot was not what had been anticipated, especially in Israel. One reason may simply have been that Iraqi modifications to the Soviet-built Scud made to increase the range and speed of the Al Hussein variant structurally weakened the missile. Many of the Al Husseins

broke up as they reentered Earth's atmosphere, and those multiple pieces stretched the target so that the Patriot engagement-control radar and onboard missile radar could not differentiate between general debris and the warhead.

The Patriot was originally designed to intercept and destroy or disable aircraft, but when it was modified to defend against theater ballistic missiles, the targeting protocols were not sufficiently modified to compensate for the faster speed of the missile or the detonation point at the target's center of mass. Thus, the Patriot tended to spray its fragmentation at the tail of the Al Hussein, leaving the warhead in the nose intact.

A software error that was subsequently corrected caused a one-third of a second drift in the system's internal clock that translated into a one-third of a mile error in the targeting trajectory. The more time the system remained in use before a shutdown reset the clock, the greater the error. On February 25, 1991, that error caused a Patriot to miss the inbound Scud that hit the billets of the U.S. Army's 14th Quartermaster Detachment in Dharan, Saudi Arabia, killing 28 American soldiers.

The Patriot continues to be used by the United States, the Netherlands, Germany, Japan, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Taiwan, and Greece. The IDF continues joint development with the United States of the Arrow 2 antimissile system that was also deployed by Israel in the 2006 Israel-Lebanon War.

Richard Edwards

See also

Dhahran, Scud Missile Attack on; Hezbollah; Iraq, Air Force; Iraq, Army; Saudi Arabia; Saudi Arabia, Armed Forces

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Pearlman, Adam

See Gadahn, Adam Yahya

Peay, Binford James Henry, III

Birth Date: May 10, 1940

U.S. Army general, commander of the 101st Airborne Division during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, and then vice chief of staff for the U.S. Army and commander of United States Central Command (CENTCOM). Binford James Henry Peay III was born on May 10, 1940, in Richmond, Virginia. He graduated from the Virginia Military Institute (VMI) in 1962 and was commissioned from the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) as a second lieutenant in the artillery. Peay subsequently earned a master's degree from George Washington University.

Peay served two tours in Vietnam, during 1967–1968 and 1971–1972, and rotated through a series of field and staff positions. He was senior aide to the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) and later chief of the Army Initiatives Group in the deputy chief of staff's office for operations and plans.

Peay was assigned to the 101st Airborne Division in July 1987 as a brigadier general and its assistant division commander for maneuver. After a one-year assignment as deputy commandant of the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, Peay returned to the 101st Airborne as its commander in August 1989. The 101st Airborne was one of the army's immediate reaction divisions, intended to respond rapidly to a crisis anywhere in the world.

When Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990, the 101st was alerted for deployment to Saudi Arabia. At the time the division was in the middle of a training cycle, and its three brigades were scattered among Fort Campbell, Kentucky; Honduras; Panama; and West Point, New York. Peay immediately began reassembling the division at Fort Campbell and organizing a task force to fly to Saudi Arabia. Beginning on August 17, 1990, 117 helicopters, 487 vehicles, and 2,742 troops from the 101st Airborne deployed to Saudi Arabia. With elements of the division in place, by September 1 American planners had established a razor-thin screen of security for the Saudi oil fields.

During the course of the next five months, the remainder of Peay's troops and equipment arrived in Saudi Arabia. Planning then changed from defending that country to forcing the Iraqis to leave Kuwait. Peay was a leading advocate of using the division's air mobility capabilities to cut off the Iraqi divisions in Kuwait and destroy them as they retreated. The plan that was developed was anchored firmly in the U.S. Army's AirLand Battle Doctrine. To establish the conditions for success prior to the start of operations on February 24, coalition forces conducted a series of limited objective raids across the border into Iraq and Kuwait. One such raid occurred on February 21 when AH-64 Apache attack helicopters from the 101st Airborne took fire from an Iraqi bunker. Peay ordered an airmobile assault, which quickly overran the Iraqi positions. More than 400 Iraqis surrendered.

On February 24, 1991, coalition ground forces began the ground offensive. Peay's division was airlifted 93 miles into Iraq to establish firebase Cobra. With the base established in one day, Peay prepared to jump units farther forward to cut off Iraqi communications with Baghdad. Ground units soon linked up with the 101st and pushed east to engage Iraqi Republican Guard divisions.

Peay had placed forward units astride Highway 8, the roadway that paralleled the Euphrates River. These included only limited antiarmor units and field artillery and numbered no more than

1,000 troops. A few light Iraqi vehicles were destroyed, but the Iraqis made no serious attempts against Peay's blocking units. Peay realized that Iraqi units from Kuwait could still retreat through Basra and reach the north. He thus proposed to use his helicopters to move three battalions over the Euphrates and place them on the highway running north from Basra. With artillery and Apache gunship support, he believed that the force could prevent the Iraqis from escaping. The plan was not approved, and the war ended before Peay's division could move farther east and north.

Peay was promoted to lieutenant general in June 1991 and assigned as U.S. Army deputy chief of staff for operations and plans. He received his fourth star in March 1993, serving as vice chief of staff for the army. His last assignment was commander of the CENTCOM, with responsibility for the Middle East, South Asia, and Northeast Africa, from August 1994 to his retirement on August 13, 1997. Peay then served on the boards of several defense-related corporations before assuming the position of superintendent (president) of VMI in 2003.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Planning for

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Peel Commission

Start Date: August 1936
End Date: July 7, 1937

Commission tasked with studying the British-held mandate in Palestine. In August 1936 the British government appointed a Royal Commission of Inquiry headed by Lord Robert Peel to examine the effectiveness of the mandate system and to make proposals concerning future British policy in Palestine. Peel was the former secretary of state for British-held India. Members of the Royal Commission arrived in Jerusalem on November 11, 1936. While all of the committee's members were experienced in foreign affairs, none had any particular connection to either the Arab cause or the Jewish cause.

The Peel Commission, as it came to be called, was established at a time of increasing violence in Palestine. Indeed, serious clashes between Arabs and Jews broke out in 1936 and were to last three years. The commission was charged with determining the cause of the unrest and judging the merits of grievances on both sides. Chaim Weizmann gave a memorable speech on behalf of the Zionist cause. However, the mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj Amin al-Husayni, refused to testify in front of the commission. Instead, he demanded complete cessation of Jewish immigration into Palestine. Although the Arabs continued to boycott the commission officially, there was a sense of urgency to respond to Weizmann's speech. The former mayor of Jerusalem, Raghib Bey al-Nashashibi, was thus sent to explain the Arab perspective through unofficial channels.

The commission returned to Britain on January 18, 1937, and published its report on July 7, 1937. The Peel Commission attributed the underlying cause of the Arab Revolt of 1936–1939 to the Arabs' desire for independence and their hatred and fear of the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Therefore, the commission recommended freezing Jewish immigration to Palestine at 12,000 people per year for five years. It also urged that a plan be developed for formal partition of the territory.

With regard to partition, the commission recommended that the mandate be eventually abolished except for a corridor surrounding Jerusalem and stretching to the Mediterranean coast just south of Jaffa and that the land under its authority be apportioned between an Arab state and an Israeli state. The Jewish side was to receive a territorially smaller portion in the midwest and the north, from Mount Carmel to south of Beer Tuvia, as well as the Jezreel Valley and the Galilee, while the Arab state was to receive territory in the south and mideast, which included Judea, Samaria, and the Negev desert.

The Peel Commission recommended that until the establishment of the two states, Jews should be prohibited from purchasing land in the area allocated to the Arab state. To overcome demarcation problems, the commissioners proposed that land exchanges be carried out concurrently with the transfer of population from one area to the other. Demarcation of the precise borders of the two states would be entrusted to a specialized partition committee.

These recommendations marked the beginning of the end of British rule in Palestine. The British government accepted the recommendations of the Peel Commission regarding the partition of Palestine, and Parliament announced its endorsement of the commission's findings. Among Jews, bitter disagreements erupted between supporters and opponents of the partition proposal, while the Arabs rejected it outright. Ultimately the plan was shelved. A new commission, the Woodhead Commission, was subsequently established to determine borders for the proposed states.

MOSHE TERDIMAN

See also

Arab Nationalism; Balfour Declaration; Mandates; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy

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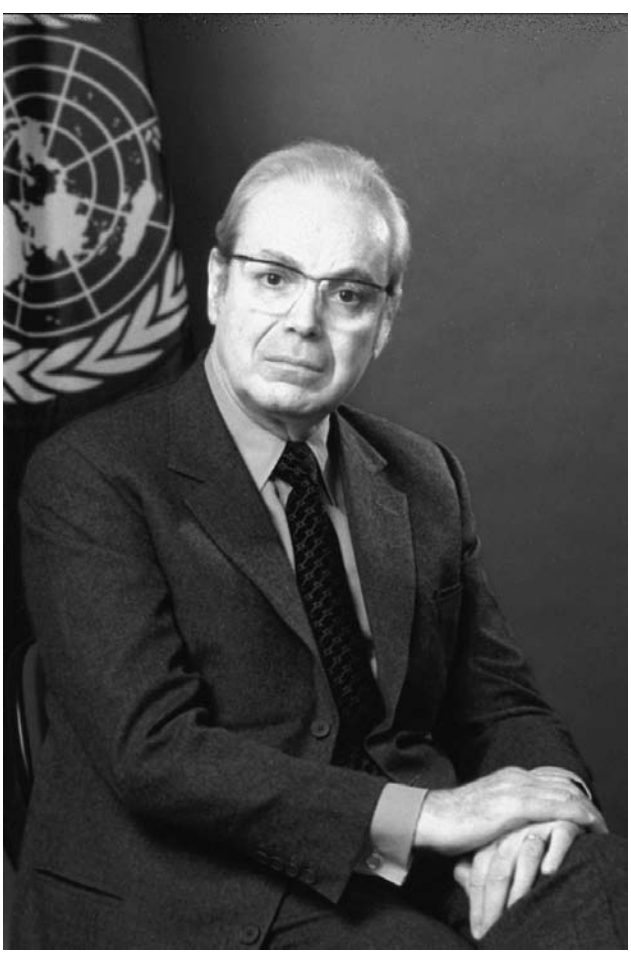
Pérez de Cuéllar, Javier
Birth Date: January 19, 1920

Peruvian diplomat and United Nations (UN) secretary-general (1982–1991). Javier Pérez de Cuéllar was born in Lima, Peru, on January 19, 1920, into a Roman Catholic family of aristocratic Spanish descent. He studied law at Catholic University, Lima, and entered his country's diplomatic service in 1940, serving in France, the United Kingdom, Bolivia, and Brazil and attending the first UN General Assembly session in New York in 1946.

From 1964 to 1966 Pérez de Cuéllar was Peruvian ambassador to Switzerland, and in 1969 he became his country's first ambassador to the Soviet Union. From 1971 to 1977 he was Peru's permanent representative to the UN. He chaired the UN Security Council in 1974, where he helped to mediate the protracted dispute over Cyprus between Greece and Turkey. After two years as ambassador to Venezuela, in 1979 he became UN undersecretary-general for special political affairs. As Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim's special representative, from April 1981 Pérez de Cuéllar attempted to defuse tensions between Afghanistan and Pakistan.



Peruvian diplomat Javier Pérez de Cuéllar was secretary-general of the United Nations (UN) during 1982–1991. He played a significant role during the Persian Gulf crisis of 1990–1991 following Iraq's seizure of Kuwait. (Corel)

Elected secretary-general in December 1981 as a candidate acceptable to both the Western and Soviet blocs, Pérez de Cuéllar served two five-year terms, which coincided neatly with the ending of the Cold War. He encouraged the relaxation of Soviet-American tensions that began once Mikhail Gorbachev became Soviet general secretary in 1985. Pérez de Cuéllar believed that the new international climate gave new scope for the expansion of UN activities, ambitions largely stymied by the determination of the United States, under conservative Republican president Ronald Reagan, to cut rather than expand American contributions and dues to the UN on the grounds that the organization was plagued by waste, inefficiency, and a bloated bureaucracy.

Early in his tenure, Pérez de Cuéllar's efforts to mediate disputes between Argentina and Great Britain failed to prevent the 1982 Falklands (Malvinas) War. A staunch and widely respected advocate of negotiation, conciliation, and peacekeeping, he launched personal and ultimately successful initiatives, which Cold War de-escalation facilitated, to alleviate and end hostilities in Afghanistan, Namibia, and Lebanon and to relieve famine in Ethiopia. He also consistently emphasized refugee resettlement and human rights.

During 1987–1988 Pérez de Cuéllar took the lead in obtaining and implementing UN Resolution 598, which called for the cessation of hostilities in the lengthy and brutal Iran-Iraq War. Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 brought new challenges, and UN Security Council Resolution 678 provided the legal basis for the international coalition that ultimately drove Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's forces from Kuwait in February 1991. Under Pérez de Cuéllar's leadership, the UN condemned Iraq's subsequent spring 1991 attacks on Kurdish rebels in northern Iraq, established a protective no-fly zone in that area, and ultimately took over control of Kurdish refugee camps there. Throughout his tenure as secretary-general, Pérez de Cuéllar displayed deft diplomatic skills and exhibited well-honed leadership in international crises.

Leaving office at the end of 1991, Pérez de Cuéllar accepted a visiting appointment at Yale University, where he wrote his memoirs. Looking ahead to the post–Cold War era, he urged the UN to move beyond international mediation and peacekeeping and focus on addressing social and economic problems and human rights abuses. In 1995 he ran unsuccessfully for president of Peru, losing to Alberto Fujimori. After Fujimori resigned on corruption charges, Pérez de Cuéllar served from November 2000 to July 2001 as foreign minister and president of Peru's Council of Ministers. He then became Peru's ambassador to France, where he remained after his final retirement in September 2004.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Gorbachev, Mikhail; Kurds; Kurds, Massacres of; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Kuwait; Reagan, Ronald Wilson; United Nations

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Perle, Richard

Birth Date: September 16, 1941

Highly influential lobbyist, political adviser and pundit, and vocal leader of the neoconservative movement. Richard Perle was born in New York City on September 16, 1941, but moved to southern California with his family as a youth. He graduated from the University of Southern California in 1964, studied in Copenhagen and at the London School of Economics, and earned a master's degree in political science from Princeton University in 1967. Perle entered the public arena in 1969, when he took a job on Senator Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson's staff. As a Senate staffer from 1969 to 1980, Perle gained considerable political insight and expertise and soon became known as an expert on arms control and national security issues.

Despite his considerable reputation, Perle preferred to work behind the scenes and was not a well-know figure outside the halls of Congress. By the late 1970s he had become an anti-Soviet hardliner and derided the Jimmy Carter administration's attempts to engage in arms control agreements with the Kremlin, which Perle believed were detrimental to U.S. defense and global security. During this time he also forged lucrative contacts with the private sector, which caused some to question his motives.

In 1981 the incoming Ronald Reagan administration named Perle assistant secretary of defense for international security policy, a post he held until 1987. Perle was predictably a champion of Reagan's get-tough approach with the Soviets and endorsed efforts to fight communism in Central America and the arming of the mujahideen in Afghanistan, who were waging an anti-Soviet insurgency. His tenure in office was not without controversy, however. In 1983 he was accused of conflict of interest after recommending that the Pentagon purchase an Israeli-made weapons system. The company that made the system had recently paid Perle a $50,000 consulting fee. Perle pointed out that the payment was for work done prior to his joining the Reagan administration, but his detractors used the incident to tarnish his image.

When not employed in the public sector, Perle busied himself with lucrative consulting jobs, served as an informal political adviser, wrote several books, composed myriad essays and op-ed pieces for foreign and domestic newspapers and magazines, and often appeared on television as a political commentator. He has subscribed to numerous conservative and neoconservative causes and think tanks, including the Jewish Institute for National Jewish Affairs, the Center for Security Policy, the Hudson Institute, and the American Enterprise Institute for Near East Policy, among others. He was one of the signatories to the Project for the New American Century's open letter to President Bill Clinton in 1998 that advocated the overthrow of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein. Perle cultivated close ties to fellow neoconservative Paul Wolfowitz, deputy secretary of defense from 2001 to 2005 and a key architect of the Iraq War, as well as Secretary of State Donald Rumsfeld.

During 2001–2003 Perle was well placed to advocate for his neoconservative outlook as chairman of the Defense Policy Board Advisory Committee, which was charged with advising the Pentagon on matters of defense and national security issues. As such, he was an early and vocal proponent of war with Iraq, and within days of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks was on record as having linked Hussein to Al Qaeda, ties that have never been proven. Perle was also on record as having proposed to invade Iraq with as few as 40,000 ground troops and was dismissive of U.S. Army chief of staff General Eric Shinseki's call for more than 600,000 troops to attack Iraq. Perle envisioned a scenario in Iraq similar to that which had unfolded in Afghanistan during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, which had left most of the ground fighting to indigenous forces.

After leaving the chairmanship of the Defense Policy Board Advisory Committee in 2003, Perle continued writing and consulting. He has served as the chief executive officer of Hollinger International (a newspaper holding corporation) and is the director of the *Jerusalem Post,* a subsidiary of Hollinger. Because of his close ties to Israel (especially the rightist Likud Party, for which he has served as an adviser), Perle's advocacy of the Iraq War had been linked—rightly or wrongly—to his coziness with Israeli leaders. Indeed, in the 1990s he wrote a position paper for Likud that included the overthrow of Hussein as a tenet of Israeli policy. Perle has vigorously denied any connection between his war stance and past dealings with Israel, and in recent years he has downplayed his role in the run-up to the Iraq War, claiming that his influence had been greatly exaggerated. Perle has also attacked the efficacy of the United Nations (UN), arguing that it is essentially an ineffective organization that is incapable of policing the world in any meaningful way.

After the Iraqi insurgency began in earnest in 2004, Perle made a concerted attempt to distance himself from some of the George W. Bush administration's policies in Iraq. While Perle has yet to call his Iraq War advocacy a mistake, he has expressed regret about the way in which the war was waged and blamed "dysfunction" in the Bush administration for the failings of U.S. occupation and pacification policies. David Brooks, a conservative columnist, wrote in the *New York Times* in 2004 that Perle had "no noteworthy meetings with either Bush or [Vice President Dick] Cheney" since 2001 and intimated that Perle's influence over official policy was entirely overblown.

In 2004 Perle and other Hollinger executives were accused of fiduciary manipulation after they allegedly funneled company funds from stockholders' accounts into compensation packages for top company executives. Perle's compensation, at some $5.4 million,

was questioned, but as of this writing, no judgments against Perle have been made in this case. Perle continues to write and consult.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Neoconservatism; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; September 11 Attacks; Shinseki, Eric Ken; Wolfowitz, Paul Dundes

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Perry, William James

Birth Date: October 11, 1927

Engineer, businessman, secretary of defense under President William J. Clinton (1994–1997), and widely recognized authority on military technology and arms control. William James Perry was born October 11, 1927, in Vandergrift, Pennsylvania. After graduating from high school in 1945, he enlisted in the U.S. Army, where he surveyed tracts for the Corps of Engineers as a member of U.S. occupation forces in Japan. In 1948 he joined the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC), and the next year he received his BS degree in mathematics from Stanford University. Perry was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Army Reserve in 1950, the same year he received an MA degree in mathematics from Stanford. From 1951 to 1954 he was a math instructor at Pennsylvania State University and a senior mathematician at the HRB-Singer Company in State College, Pennsylvania.

William J. Perry, U.S. secretary of defense during 1994–1997. (Library of Congress)

In 1954 Perry began his extensive defense industry career when he became laboratory director of GTE Sylvania Company in Mountain View, California. He received a PhD in mathematics from Pennsylvania State University in 1957. He left GTE in 1964 and cofounded Electromagnetic Systems Laboratory (ESL), Inc., in Sunnyvale, California, a military electronics company that made devices for code breaking and surveillance for the Pentagon. He served as the first president of the company.

In 1977 after Perry sold his holdings in ESL, a move that made him a multimillionaire, he was nominated by President Jimmy Carter to the third-highest position in the Pentagon, undersecretary of defense for research and engineering. As undersecretary, Perry advised the secretary of defense on the development of military technology, communications, intelligence, and atomic energy. He was also responsible for procuring new weapons systems and was at the forefront of developing the radar-evading Stealth aircraft and creating laser-guided missiles that later were used in the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

In 1981 after Carter left office, Perry left government service and returned to the private sector, serving as executive vice president of the research department at Hambrecht & Quist, Inc., a San Francisco venture-capital banking firm specializing in high technology. In 1985 Perry founded Technology Strategies and Alliances, an investment and consulting firm in Menlo Park, California; the firm helped large defense firms such as Lockheed, Chrysler, and Boeing secure smaller up-and-coming technology companies.

From 1989 to 1993 Perry directed Stanford University's Center for International Security and Arms Control, a think tank, and in this capacity consulted with East European governments on converting their post–Cold War military industries. On March 5, 1993, Perry was named deputy secretary of defense, and in this position his skills as a manager and technocrat in the private sector proved to be invaluable. As such, he supervised the day-to-day operations of the Pentagon, oversaw the annual weapons budget, and met with foreign dignitaries.

On February 3, 1994, after a unanimous U.S. Senate vote to confirm him, Perry was sworn in as the 19th secretary of defense, replacing the embattled Leslie (Les) Aspin Jr. Perry served the remainder of Clinton's first term but was replaced by Senator William Cohen in January 1997. During Perry's tenure as secretary, he reorganized the department, opposed the Senate's efforts to buy additional Northrop Grumman B-2 Spirit bombers, and supported the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

(NATO). Perhaps his greatest challenge was the U.S. intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which he initially opposed, and the military junta's refusal to reinstate deposed president Jean Bertrand Aristide in Haiti. To boost low morale in the military, Perry sought pay increases and more on-base housing for service personnel. Overall Perry's tenure was a success, and he managed to streamline and strengthen the U.S. armed forces. Citing the increasingly shrill partisan warfare on Capitol Hill, Perry made known to Clinton his desire to resign at the end of the president's first term.

Perry is currently a senior fellow with the Hoover Institution and a professor at Stanford University's School of Engineering and the Institute of International Studies.

GARY KERLEY

See also

Aspin, Leslie, Jr.; Clinton, William Jefferson; Cohen, William Sebastian; United States Department of Defense

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Persian Gulf

Inland sea located in the Middle East, considered by most geographers to be a part of the Indian Ocean. The Persian Gulf, also referred to as the Arabian Gulf by Arab countries, encompasses an area of some 96,525 square miles and connects to the Gulf of Oman and the Arabian Sea via the Strait of Hormuz to the east. To the west, the Persian Gulf is fed by the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers via the Shatt al-Arab waterway.

Nations bordering the Persian Gulf include Iran, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, and Iraq. Iraq's only access to the Gulf is through the Shatt al-Arab waterway, wide in some areas but in other areas a marshy delta that can be easily blocked in time of war. The eastern portion

PERSIAN GULF WAR, THEATER OF OPERATIONS

of the Shatt al-Arab is controlled by Iran, a bitter and longtime rival of Iraq.

The Persian Gulf also contains a number of small islands, mostly all considered offshore or barrier islands. The Gulf is quite shallow, with an average depth of just 160 feet. Its deepest portion is approximately 300 feet deep. Because of the climate of the region, which is hot and very dry, high evaporation rates render the Persian Gulf quite salty; parts of the Gulf contain up to 40 percent salt. The southern coastline is rather flat, while the Iranian coastline is mountainous. Over the past 6,000 years, the size of the Persian Gulf has steadily decreased, and silt and sediment draining from the Shatt al-Arab waterway continue to slowly reduce the amount of water area.

The Persian Gulf is strategically significant not only because of its location and connection to the Arabian Sea but also because of its rich petroleum and natural gas resources. There are many oil fields and wells located in the Gulf including Al-Safaniya, the world's largest-producing oil field. Also, the Gulf is used to transport oil via large oceangoing tankers, and nations such as Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and others operate major oil port facilities and refineries on or near the coast. In addition to petrochemical resources, the Persian Gulf has historically been quite rich in wildlife, including fish and major coral reefs. For many years Persian Gulf pearl-producing oysters were highly prized, but their numbers have been drastically reduced in the last 75 years or so.

The Persian Gulf's natural resources have come under enormous pressure since the discovery of oil in the region in the 1920s and 1930s and with the rapid industrialization of the region. Pollution, overharvesting of fish and other wildlife, and a lack of concern—until fairly recently—about what gets put into the Gulf have all imperiled its delicate ecosystem. The Gulf has been the scene of numerous large oil spills, including one in 1983, several large spills during the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War, and additional large spills in 1991 when the Iraqis dumped as many as 6 million barrels of oil into the water during the Persian Gulf War, precipitating an ecological catastrophe. The results of that conflict are still impacting Gulf waters and beaches.

In the late 1980s the Persian Gulf was also the scene of a series of tanker battles precipitated by Iraq and Iran during their eight-year-long war. The conflict led the United States to implement Operation EARNEST WILL during 1987–1988 in order to protect Kuwaiti and other neutral oil tankers plying the Gulf from attack. It was the largest naval convoy program since World War II.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

EARNEST WILL, Operation; Iran-Iraq War; Shatt al-Arab Waterway

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Persian Gulf Conflict Supplemental Authorization and Personnel Benefits Act of 1991

Comprehensive Persian Gulf War veterans' benefits cost coverage legislation sponsored by Senator George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) and passed by Congress on March 25, 1991. President George H. W. Bush signed the act, popularly known as the Gulf Act, into law on April 6, 1991. The Gulf Act consisted of eight titles authorizing $655 million in appropriations for an increase in selective benefits for veterans of Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM and $15 billion in appropriations to cover costs of the war not met by contributions from allied countries.

Triggered by patriotic fervor throughout the country and the rapid military success in Iraq, the flood of legislative proposals introduced in the 102nd Congress to address benefits for the 697,000 veterans of the Persian Gulf War and their families culminated in the passage of the far-reaching Gulf Act. The Gulf Act first addressed the practical cost concerns of operating military forces on foreign soil. Flexibility was provided to the Department of Defense to transfer funds among appropriate accounts to cover incremental costs associated with Operation DESERT STORM. In addition, military personnel strength limitations authorized by the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1991, enacted before the war, were waived to allow for needed strength upgrades.

The Gulf Act further defined the conflict to ensure the eligibility of veterans of both DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM in receiving general veterans' benefits, such as home loan eligibility, dental benefits, veterans' pensions, and survivors' benefits for veterans' spouses and dependents. This recognition was critical given the composition of the U.S. armed forces participating in the conflict. Reflecting a rapidly emergent national defense need, 17 percent of the troops involved in both operations of the war consisted of reservists and National Guard personnel recently called to active duty. This percentage was comparably higher than in previous American wars. The percentage of women involved in the war (7 percent) also rose comparably. In addition, more than 90 percent of all Persian Gulf War veterans experienced duty in a combat zone for the first time, further requiring the need for immediate benefit coverage expansion.

Beyond basic benefit coverage, the Gulf Act also provided all active duty personnel temporary increases in imminent danger pay, family separation allowances, and death gratuity payments for dependent survivors. A significant provision included the doubling of life insurance coverage from $50,000 to $100,000. Congress also increased monthly educational benefits under the Montgomery GI Bill program and authorized the secretary of education the discretion to waive educational loan repayment requirements if they adversely affected veterans.

The most important provisions, however, reflected Congress's sensitivity to the stresses imposed on a combat force composed of a relatively high proportion of reservists and National Guard

troops. Many of these citizen-soldiers had abruptly left jobs and families when called to active duty. Accordingly, issues such as reemployment subsequent to active duty service and family support highlighted veterans' concerns. Congress addressed these concerns by amending the Veterans' Reemployment Rights Law to require employers to make reasonable accommodations for returning disabled veterans and reasonable efforts to reemploy veterans who could qualify for employment positions occupied prior to active duty service. Families of veterans also were provided relief in the form of appropriations for child care assistance, general education and family support services, education, eligibility to participate in the Food Stamp Program, and variable housing allowance payments to take into account cost-of-housing differences across the country.

Additional benefits included loan relief for farmer reservists activated for duty in the war, basic allowances for quarters for unmarried activated reservists so as to continue loan or rent payments on their civilian residences, special pay allowances for reservist and National Guard health care providers, and health care coverage for reservists transitioning to civilian life upon service deactivation.

MARK F. LEEP

See also

National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993; Veterans Health Care Act of 1992

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Persian Gulf War, Cease-Fire Agreement
Event Date: April 6, 1991

Agreement signed on April 6, 1991, under which U.S.-led coalition forces formally suspended hostilities against Iraq in the Persian Gulf War, terminating Operation DESERT STORM. The ground assault phase of DESERT STORM commenced on February 24, 1991, and quickly routed the Iraqi military. Three days later Iraqi foreign minister Tariq Aziz notified the United Nations (UN) that his country would comply with three of the 12 UN resolutions concerning a cessation of hostilities if the UN Security Council brokered a cease-fire. The council rejected the proposal that same day and asserted that Iraq must unconditionally agree to all 12 resolutions.

Meanwhile, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) General Colin L. Powell briefed President George H. W. Bush that the coalition had liberated Kuwait and eliminated Iraq's ability to threaten its neighbors. This assessment, combined with the desire to avoid the impression that the United States was employing excessive force, prompted Bush to unilaterally announce that the coalition's forces would suspend operations at 8:00 a.m. the following day, February 28, 100 hours after the ground campaign began. Bush stressed that the suspension of hostilities would be temporary unless Iraq met certain conditions, including the release of prisoners of war, the revelation of the location of mines, and compliance with all UN Security Council resolutions.

Isolated fighting occurred during the next two days, but on March 3, 1991, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein dispatched the deputy chief of staff of the Ministry of Defense and the commander of his army's III Corps to discuss terms of a permanent cease-fire. They were to meet with American and coalition military leaders at Safwan Airfield in southern Iraq. U.S. General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, who had been chiefly responsible for prosecuting the war as head of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), represented the coalition and addressed issues such as a prohibition on Iraq's use of fixed-wing aircraft and the return of captured Iraqi territory. Unfortunately, the decision not to include helicopters in the no-fly prohibition allowed Iraq to employ them against the Shia uprising in southern Iraq.

UN Security Council Resolution 686, passed on March 2, created the framework for the subsequent formal cease-fire. Among other provisions, it required Iraq to renounce its claims on Kuwait, return all seized Kuwaiti property, return all prisoners of war, and pay war damages. On April 3 the Security Council passed the most complete list of 34 mandates in Resolution 687. The resolution reiterated earlier provisions and added additional measures, such as requirements that Iraq abandon weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) programs, faithfully pay its international debts, affirm that it would not aid international terrorists, and recognize Kuwaiti sovereignty. The official cease-fire was signed on April 6, 1991.

The cease-fire certainly did not end conflict between Iraq and the international community. In subsequent years, the Hussein regime employed helicopters to punish ethnic groups inside its borders in violation of UN mandates and threatened air patrols over northern and southern Iraq in the no-fly zones. Iraq's eventual refusal to cooperate with weapons inspectors from the United Nations Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM) largely contributed to the American-Anglo decision to invade the country and topple Hussein in March 2003

MATTHEW J. KROGMAN

See also

Aziz, Tariq; Bush, George Herbert Walker; DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; United Nations; United Nations Security Council Resolution 687; United Nations Special Commission; United Nations Weapons Inspectors; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Persian Gulf War Syndrome

See Gulf War Syndrome

Persian Gulf War Veterans Health Registry

A major provision of Title VII of the Veterans Health Care Act of 1992 (P.L. 102-585; 106 Stat. 4943), passed by the U.S. Congress on October 6, 1992, and signed into law by President George H. W. Bush on November 4, 1992. Title VII established a comprehensive clinical health evaluation and registry program within the Department of Veterans Affairs to address the health care concerns and illnesses of veterans of the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

Both the Veterans Health Care Act of 1992 and the Persian Gulf War Veterans Health Registry reflected growing governmental concerns with health issues and health benefit needs of American veterans who served in Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. Initial specific concerns revolved around the environmental and chemical exposure of veterans to the smoke of more than 750 oil well fires set by Iraqi forces in the theater of operations in February 1991 and other petroleum-based emissions from everyday troop operations. Health concerns over the impact of troop chemical and biological warfare vaccinations also arose. In response, the Department of Veterans Affairs quickly established a registry soon after the war's April 1991 cease-fire to begin clinical examinations of Persian Gulf War veterans concerned with war-related illnesses.

The Department of Defense followed in December 1991 with its own registry of troops exposed to oil well fire smoke who desired examinations. During this time and into 1992, however, media outlets began reporting stories of Persian Gulf War veterans experiencing inexplicable symptoms of fatigue, joint pain, skin rashes, headaches, chronic sleeplessness, and cognitive problems. Initial investigations by researchers from the Walter Reed Institute of Research found no specific cause. The media reports, however, raised public concerns and the specter of a mystery illness, commonly labeled "Gulf War Syndrome."

Congress responded to these specific health issues and public concerns with inclusion of the registry under Title VII of the Veterans Health Care Act of 1992. A reinforcement and expansion of the Department of Veterans Affairs' initial 1991 program, Title VII and the registry also increased the outreach of the Defense Department's limited registry beyond veterans affected by oil well fire smoke and established cross-reference procedures between both departmental registries to enhance information sharing. Designed more as a descriptive informational database than a research program, the registry provided for the listing of the names of every Persian Gulf War veteran who either applied for Department of Veterans Affairs services, filed a disability claim associated with military service, requested a Department of Veterans Affairs health examination, or received such an examination from the Defense Department and asked to be included in the registry.

Deceased veterans whose dependents filed certain dependency and indemnity claims could also have their names listed. Title VII also provided for the inclusion of health information for a listed veteran who granted permission for such data to be included in the registry or the health information of a veteran who was deceased at the time his or her name was listed. Aware of veterans' ongoing health concerns, Congress required the Department of Veterans Affairs to periodically contact registry veterans as to the status of health research reviews conducted under other Title VII provisions.

Linked to the registry, other critical provisions under the title included health examinations, consultations, and counseling services requested by veterans and a mandated agreement with the National Academy of Sciences to review medical and scientific information on the health consequences of Persian Gulf War service. Medical information reviewed pursuant to this provision further included the medical records of registry veterans who granted permission for such a review as well as the records of Defense Department registry participants. Finally, as a capstone to the legislation, Title VII authorized the president to transfer government-directed Persian Gulf War health research and provide annual reports to Congress.

The registry's list has now grown to include the names of more than 50,000 veterans. Implementation of the registry and the research review provisions of Title VII also spawned numerous government-funded health studies and additional congressional legislation to enhance research efforts. The Institute of Medicine within the National Academy of Sciences has since explored potential health effects stemming from the use of insecticides, vaccines, nerve agents, depleted uranium, and fuels used or emitted during the war. Although research continues and much has been learned, specific or unusual causes of many veteran symptoms and illnesses have yet to be determined because of the lack of objective and timely predeployment and postdeployment health-screening information and exposure-monitoring measures.

MARK F. LEEP

See also

Gulf War Syndrome; Veterans Health Care Act of 1992

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Peshmerga

Armed Kurdish insurgents operating chiefly in Kurdistan (northern Iraq, Turkey and Iran). Peshmerga (meaning those facing death) are Kurdish irregular fighters whose origins predate the 20th century. Although primarily Kurdish men, their demographic composition has come to include women and non-Kurds. The fighters' chains of command were the successive leaders of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), namely Mullah Mustafa Barzani and, following his death, his successor and son Masoud Barzani, currently the president of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), as well as the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) led by Jalal Talabani. The Peshmerga in Turkey fall under the auspices of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

In Iraq, the KDP and PUK comprise the current government of the KRG, by which the Peshmerga are largely governed. Historically, they have played a pivotal role in shaping Kurdish nationalist aspirations for independence since the early 1920s, particularly as a result of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire after World War I and the quest for a Kurdish homeland.

The historical development of the Peshmerga was concurrent with the rise and fall of various Kurdish rebellions following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Failed promises by the Allied powers after World War I to grant Kurds local autonomy and possible independence as suggested in the Treaty of Sèvres (1920) helped solidify the Kurds' quest for independence thereafter. The 1920s witnessed various Kurdish uprisings led by Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji of Sulamaniyah, all of which were promptly quashed by the Iraqi government and the British Royal Air Force. In 1931 Sheikh Barzinji died in one such uprising. This critical juncture witnessed the rise of Mullah Mustafa Barzani as the leader of the Kurdish movement in Iraq and the first solidification of the Peshmerga as a united force.

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s the Kurdish nationalist movement remained largely dormant, as Barzani was forced into exile first in the Soviet Union, then Iran, and finally Western Europe. However, the ouster of Reza Shah's dictatorship in Iran enabled Kurdish intellectuals along with various Barzani followers to declare an independent Kurdistan in the Mahabad region, in northwestern Iran. This saw the swift dissolution of the Imperial Iranian Army there, which was replaced by the National Army comprised of Peshmerga. However, Mahabad, or the Republic of Kurdistan, succumbed to an Iranian invasion in 1946 during which both external influences and internal divisions, primarily between Iranian

A Peshmerga fighter of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) mans a position near Degala, the KDP's last checkpoint, October 16, 1996. An armored personnel carrier is in the background. (AP/Wide World Photos)

and Iraqi Kurds, shifted the power of the Peshmerga. In exile, Mustafa Barzani, greatly influenced by Marxist-Leninist ideals, solidified the Kurdish movement by the creation of the KDP, the political arm of which provided for the support of the Peshmerga. Instability in Iraq fueled by the decline of the Hashemite monarchy throughout the 1940s and 1950s created an opportunity for the KDP and the Peshmerga to affirm their position as a force to be reckoned with during the 1958 revolution in Iraq.

The 1958 coup witnessed the overthrow of the Iraqi monarchy by General Abd al-Karim Qasim. At the onset, Qasim favored the integration of Barzani and the KDP into the Iraqi political fabric; Qasim also legalized the KDP and the Peshmerga as political entities while recognizing Kurds as distinct but integral people of Iraq under Article 23 of the newly drafted constitution. This ephemeral success was short-lived, however, as Qasim's Pan-Arabist ideology blunted any demands for Kurdish autonomy within Iraq.

Under the leadership of Barzani, the Peshmerga occupied the northern region of Zakho stretching to the Iranian border as a result of the Kurdish revolt of 1962. The revolt had brought an unrelenting bombardment of Kurdish villages and towns across the northeastern frontier. Soon thereafter, Qasim's regime was quickly overthrown by the Baathist rise to power in 1963. The Baathists would prove steadfastly intolerant of Kurdish demands and would quickly increase their military campaign against the Peshmerga and the KDP. The Peshmerga launched counterattacks, which sustained their position and demands for autonomy by controlling much of the northern frontier by 1968.

The growing strength of the KDP and Peshmerga led to the 1970 Manifesto on Kurdish Autonomy, a proposal drafted by the Baath Party to dilute the rise of Kurdish power, particularly in the north. The ultimate futility of the manifesto led to the 1974 uprising headed by Barzani along with an estimated 50,000 trained Peshmerga. Geopolitical events forced Barzani to abandon the struggle and seek refuge in Iran along with thousands of trained fighters and civilians.

The 1988 Iraqi offensive against Kurds in northern Iraq saw the destruction of hundreds of Kurdish and non-Kurdish villages perceived as being in support of Peshmerga. Labeling the Peshmerga as traitors, the Saddam Hussein regime engineered the 1988 chemical weapons offensive against the town of Halabja, a PUK and Peshmerga stronghold. Kurdish leaders, along with thousands of Peshmerga and civilians, sought refuge in nearby countries. Estimates place the total number of militant and civilian deaths at 100,000.

After the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the Peshmerga became an even more vital military force. The creation of the northern no-fly zone by the United Nations (UN) in 1991 provided an opportunity for Kurdish parties to regroup and form the National Front of Kurdistan, which unified the Peshmerga as a force. In doing so, the Peshmerga, aided by Western powers, were able to secure key Iraqi government strongholds, namely Kirkuk, Arbil, and Sulamaniyah, during 1991–1992. Although friction between Kurds and the Iraqi Army continued, the creation of the no-fly zone enabled leaders of the KPD and the PUK to establish the Kurdish National Assembly, which sought to unite the two major factions of the Peshmerga.

Currently, the Peshmerga are part of the official military force of the KRG, established in 2006. Its mandate seeks the implementation of law and order in the KRG and throughout Iraq and has been instrumental in sustaining security both inside and outside Kurdish-controlled territories in coordination with the Iraqi, U.S., and coalition militaries. Since 2003 the two parties comprising the KRG signed the Kurdistan Regional Government Unification Agreement, which oversees the administration of various governmental departments, most specifically the Department of Peshmerga Affairs, all in an effort to bolster Kurdish self-rule. Because of Kurdish unity and the presence of the Peshmerga, northern Iraq has been relatively free of the fighting that has plagued the rest of Iraq since 2004 with the exception of the campaigns against Ansar al-Islam and the Turcomen and Arab conflicts with the Kurds. It should be noted, however, that in the past the Peshmerga have battled each other in tribal and intra-Kurdish conflicts. The classification of the Peshmerga as an irregular force is rather disingenuous, given its current position within the Iraqi Army. The Peshmerga also remains a tenacious force in the geopolitical compositions of northern Iraq as well as neighboring Turkey, Iran, and Syria.

Shamiran Mako

See also

Baath Party; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Kurdistan Democratic Party; Kurdistan Workers' Party; Kurds; Kurds, Massacres of; Patriotic Union of Kurdistan; Qasim, Abd al-Karim

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Petraeus, David Howell

Birth Date: November 7, 1952

U.S. Army officer, commander of the Multi-National Force–Iraq (2007–2008), and commander the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) (2008–). Born on November 7, 1952, David Howell Petraeus

U.S. Army general David Petraeus commanded the Multi-National Force–Iraq during 2007–2008. He then assumed command of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM). (U.S. Army)

grew up and graduated from high school in Cornwall, New York. Petraeus graduated 10th in his class from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1974. Commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry, he graduated from Ranger School and served as a platoon leader in the 1st Battalion, 509th Airborne Infantry, in Italy. As a first lieutenant he served as assistant battalion operations officer, and as captain he served as company commander, battalion operations officer, and then commanding general's aide-de-camp, all in the 24th Infantry Division (Mechanized).

From 1982 to 1995 Petraeus served in a progression of command and staff assignments, with alternating assignments for both professional military and civilian academic education. He graduated from the Army Command and General Staff College in 1983 after which he attended Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public Affairs, where he earned a master's degree in public administration in 1985 and a doctorate in international relations in 1987. His doctoral dissertation dealt with the U.S. Army in Vietnam and the lessons learned there.

Petraeus returned to West Point as an assistant professor of international relations and then was a military fellow at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. In 1995 he was assigned as the chief operations officer of the United Nations (UN) mission during Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY in Haiti.

Petraeus's commanded assignments included the 3rd Battalion, 187th Infantry Regiment, 101st Airborne Division, during 1991–1993 and the 1st Brigade, 82nd Airborne Division, from 1995 to 1997. He was promoted to brigadier general in 1999.

Petraeus's first combat assignment, now at the rank of major general, came as commander of the 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault) in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in March 2003. The division engaged in the Battle of Karbala and the Battle of Najar as well as the feint at Hilla. Petraeus later oversaw the administration and rebuilding of Mosul and Niveveh provinces. Subsequently, Petraeus commanded the Multinational Security Transition Command–Iraq and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Training Mission–Iraq between June 2004 and September 2005. Petraeus's next assignment was as commanding general of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and the U.S. Army Combined Arms Center, where he exercised direct responsibility for the doctrinal changes to prepare the army for its continued efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq. He also coauthored *Field Manual 3-24, Counterinsurgency*.

On January 5, 2007, Petraeus, now a lieutenant general, was selected by President George W. Bush and later unanimously confirmed by the U.S. Senate to command the Multi-National Force–Iraq. Petraeus took formal command on February 10, 2007, replacing Lieutenant General George Casey. The Petraeus appointment was the keystone in Bush's troop surge strategy in Iraq designed to bring an end to the mounting violence there and to bring about peace in Iraq. Many welcomed the change in command but also remained skeptical that Petraeus could reverse the violence in Iraq.

In April 2007 Petraeus was tasked with reporting to Congress the progress of the Bush administration's surge strategy, begun that January, and met stiff and sometimes combative resistance. To his credit, however, Petraeus deftly handled the pressure and stated confidently that the strategy, given time, would show positive results. At the same time, he firmly argued against setting a timetable for the withdrawal of ground troops from Iraq. In July he submitted to Congress his first progress report, which was positive and upbeat. It met with derision, however, because it did not appear that Iraq was any more secure than it had been in January. His September 2007 report cited progress on the military and security fronts but admitted that the political climate in Iraq remained troubled. The September report drew sharp criticism from some Democrats and the antiwar lobby, compelling a bipartisan group of congressional representatives and senators to sponsor resolutions—which eventually passed—that condemned the recent attacks on Petraeus. Petraeus was promoted to four-star rank in December 2007.

By early 2008, defying high odds and most critics of the war, the surge strategy appeared to be paying off, as violence had fallen off markedly in the last quarter of 2007. Talk of troop drawdowns, however, were still subject to interpretation, as the possible numbers being cited would account mainly for the surge, meaning that troop strength in Iraq would remain unchanged from January 2007, even after troop reductions.

Commanding Generals of the Multi-National Force–Iraq, 2003–Present

Name	*Dates of Command*
Ricardo S. Sanchez	June 14, 2003–June 30, 2004
George W. Casey Jr.	July 1, 2004–February 10, 2007
David H. Petraeus	February 10, 2007–September 16, 2008
Raymond T. Odierno	September 16, 2008–present

By the spring of 2008, however, Petraeus could point to a significant reduction in sectarian and insurgency-based violence in Iraq. In addition, the Iraqis themselves seemed increasingly willing and able to take over security and police tasks. As a result, U.S. and coalition troop withdrawals accelerated throughout 2008, and violence in Iraq hit four-year lows. Petraeus was largely hailed in the United States for his efforts at undermining the Iraqi insurgency, and because of this President Bush tapped him to command CENTCOM. Petraeus took command on October 1, 2008; General Raymond Odierno succeeded him as commander of the Multi-National Force–Iraq.

During congressional hearings, Petraeus was careful to point out that talk of victory in Iraq was still premature; instead, he viewed the situation with a great deal of realism, suggesting that an Iraq that is "at peace with itself, at peace with its neighbors, and has a government that is representative of—and responsive to—its citizens" might be considered a victory. As the head of CENTCOM, Petraeus became responsible for U.S. military operations in 20 nations from Egypt to Pakistan as well as the ongoing conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq.

On June 24, 2010, the same day that he removed General Stanley A. McChrystal as commander of U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan, President Barack Obama tapped Petraeus as McChrystal's successor, thereby sending a signal that there was no change in U.S. Afghanistan policy.

MARCEL A. DEROSIER

See also

IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; McChrystal, Stanley A.; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan; Odierno, Raymond; Surge, U.S. Troop Deployment, Iraq War; United States Central Command

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PHANTOM FURY/AL-FAJR, Operation

See Fallujah, Second Battle of

PHANTOM STRIKE, Operation

Event Date: August 13, 2007

A Multi-National Force–Iraqi Army offensive launched on August 13, 2007. The force included 28,000 troops, many of whom were present as a result of the George W. Bush administration's troop surge, which had begun earlier in the year. Following on the heels of recent coalition offensive operations, which began in June 2007, including FARDH AL-QANOON (Baghdad Security Plan) and PHANTOM THUNDER (a nationwide counteroffensive), Operation PHANTOM STRIKE was designed to root out remaining Al Qaeda in Iraq terrorists and Iranian-backed extremist elements (including the Mahdi Army) and to reduce sectarian violence, with the goals of restoring law and order for the Iraqi people. PHANTOM STRIKE was led by U.S. Army lieutenant general Ray Odierno, then commander of the Multi-National Corps–Iraq. It was a joint mission conducted with the Iraqi Security Force. Opposing them were Abu Omar al-Baghdadi and Abu Ayyub al-Masri, leaders of Al Qaeda in Iraq. PHANTOM STRIKE was begun one month before General David Petraeus, commander of all coalition forces in Iraq, was to report to the U.S. Congress on progress in Iraq.

During the operation, coalition and Iraqi security forces went into previously unsecured regions and attempted to eliminate terrorist groups from safe havens in the capital city of Baghdad and the provinces of northern Babil, eastern Anbar, Salahuddin, and Diyala. Considerable emphasis was placed on destroying the terror cells in Baghdad, Diyala, and central and northern Iraq. Largely an intelligence-driven operation, PHANTOM STRIKE had coalition forces move into previous no-go zones and establish local security forces and intelligence networks designed to pinpoint the exact makeup and location of Sunni and Shia extremist groups while also rooting out Al Qaeda operatives in outlying regions of Baghdad and the more violent provinces. Both the Baghdad Security Plan and PHANTOM THUNDER shaped the culminating operations for PHANTOM STRIKE.

Coalition and Iraqi security forces launched dozens of raids in and around Baghdad. These included units of varying sizes and composition. Among those American and Iraqi units participating in the total operation were troops of the 3rd Stryker Brigade Combat Team, the 2nd Infantry Division, the 3rd Brigade Combat Team, the 1st Cavalry Division, the 25th Combat Aviation Brigade, and the 1st and 4th Iraqi Army divisions. Strike forces went into action by land and air. In some of the attacks, it was a matter of getting in and out quickly. In others, the forces remained for an extended period in order to keep the insurgents on the defensive and thus turn former "safe" insurgent areas into places too risky for them to return. Commanders of the surge forces were told only to take territory they could hold. As part of General Petraeus's new counterinsurgency strategy, PHANTOM STRIKE resulted in coalition forces moving out of their bases and into neighborhoods all across Baghdad and other major urban centers in the country in order to establish a security area based on the doctrine of clear, control, and retain (CCR).

PHANTOM STRIKE marked the last military offensive of Operation PHANTOM THUNDER and lasted until January 2008. From June 16 to August 19, 2007, alone, some 1,196 insurgents were killed and 6,702 captured. The precise number of killed or captured during the entire effort is uncertain. Eleven U.S. military personnel died during the operation; the number of Iraqi government casualties is unknown. The operation was termed a success in that insurgent groups were ejected from their strongholds in northern Babil, eastern Anbar, and Diyala provinces and the southern outskirts of Baghdad. Furthermore, the raids conducted during PHANTOM STRIKE gathered valuable information on Al Qaeda and Iranian-backed terror cells countrywide.

CHARLES F. HOWLETT

See also
Odierno, Raymond; Petraeus, David Howell

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PHANTOM THUNDER, Operation
Start Date: June 16, 2007
End Date: August 14, 2007

A corps-size operation carried out by coalition forces in Iraq (American and Iraq Security Forces) that commenced on June 16, 2007, under the command of General David Petraeus (Multi-National Force–Iraq, overall headquarters) and Lieutenant General Raymond Odierno (Multi-National Corps–Iraq, major troop force). Operation PHANTOM THUNDER was part of the U.S. troop surge strategy implemented in January 2007 and was designed to root out extremist groups, including Al Qaeda, from Iraq. PHANTOM THUNDER was comprised of several subordinate operations, including Operations ARROWHEAD RIPPER in Diyala Province, MARNE TORCH and COMMANDO EAGLE in Babil Province, FARDH AL-QANOON in Baghdad, ALLJAH in Anbar Province, and special forces attacks against the Mahdi Army in southern Iraq. In preparation for this campaign against the so-called Baghdad Belt, an additional five American brigades were deployed to Iraq between January and June 2007.

As the buildup began, Operation LAW AND ORDER began on February 14, 2007, in an effort to resecure Baghdad, with estimates running as high as almost 70 percent of the city under insurgent control. It became part of Operation PHANTOM THUNDER when American and Iraqi forces moved to clear Sunni insurgents, Al Qaeda fighters, and Shiite militiamen from Baghdad's northern and southern flanks. The United States wanted to take quick advantage of the arrival of 30,000 additional troops, so the offensive was begun as soon as possible. During LAW AND ORDER, 311 insurgents were killed.

Operation MARNE TORCH began on June 16 in Arab Jabour and Salman Pak, major transit points for insurgent forces in and out of Baghdad. By August 14, some 2,500 allied troops had killed 88 insurgents, captured more than 60 suspected terrorists, destroyed 51 boats, and destroyed 51 weapons caches.

On June 18, Operation ARROWHEAD RIPPER commenced when multinational troops assaulted Al Qaeda forces in the city of Baquba in Diyala Province with nighttime air strikes. As the ground forces moved in, intense street fighting engulfed the center of the city near the main market. By August 19, U.S. and Iraqi forces had killed 227 insurgents.

Multinational forces began Operation COMMANDO EAGLE on June 21 in the Mahmudiyyah region southwest of Baghdad. The area was known as the "Triangle of Death" because three U.S. soldiers had been kidnapped and killed there in mid-May 2007. Employing Humvee-based attacks supported by helicopter gunships, the operation resulted in roughly 100 insurgents killed and more than 50 captured.

Operations FARDH AL-QUANOON and ALLJAH were also conducted by multinational forces, this time west of Baghdad. The primary targets were Fallujah (Alljah), Karma, and Thar Thar. Allied planners developed a concept of attack similar to the one that took Ramadi in 2003. On June 17 a raid near Karma killed a known Libyan Al Qaeda fighter and six of his aides. Four days later, six Al Qaeda leaders were killed and five were captured near Karma. By the end of July, ground commanders reported that Karma and Thar Thar had been secured.

Throughout the summer, U.S. air strikes also proved effective against insurgents in Fallujah. However, on June 22 insurgents retaliated with two suicide bombing attacks on off-duty police officers that left four dead. On June 29 U.S. forces killed Abu Abd al-Rahman al-Masri, a senior Egyptian Al Qaeda leader east of Fallujah. They also captured and killed many others in the ensuing weeks. Fallujah proved hard to secure, and while officials declared it secure in late August, periodic incidents continued to occur well into 2008.

The final part of PHANTOM THUNDER was the action against the Mahdi Army. In June, Iraqi Special Forces, the core of the joint Iraqi-American operation, killed and captured dozens of troops belonging to the Mahdi Army.

Several lesser operations were also conducted against retreating insurgent forces in which an additional 234 were killed by August 14, when the Operation officially came to an end, and Operation PHANTOM STRIKE began. Operation ARROWHEAD RIPPER continued for another five days until street fighting in Baquba ended. This action blended into Operation PHANTOM STRIKE.

Official reports of the action stated that coalition and Iraqi security forces had pushed into areas previously not under their control and had killed or expelled insurgent forces from northern Babil, eastern Anbar, and Diyala provinces as well as from the

southern outskirts of Baghdad. During the operation, Iraqi and coalition forces conducted intelligence raids against Al Qaeda in Iraq and the Iranian-backed cells nationwide.

Iraqi and coalition forces conducted 142 battalion-level joint operations, detaining 6,702 insurgents, killing 1,196, and wounding 419. Of this number, 382 were high-value targets. They captured 1,113 weapons caches and neutralized more than 2,000 improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and vehicle-borne IEDs. Of the approximately 28,000 U.S. and Iraqi military personnel who took part in PHANTOM THUNDER, 140 American soldiers died; the number of wounded has not been determined. Of the Iraqi security forces who fought with the Americans, 220 died; the number of wounded is not known. An additional 20 Iraqis died fighting in U.S.-allied militia units.

WILLIAM P. HEAD

See also

Al Qaeda in Iraq; ARROWHEAD RIPPER, Operation; Baghdad; Iraqi Insurgency; Mahdi Army; PHANTOM STRIKE, Operation; Surge, U.S. Troop Deployment, Iraq War

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Phase Line Bullet, Battle of

Event Date: February 26, 1991

A battle during the 1991 Persian Gulf War that led to the destruction of the 9th Mechanized Brigade of the Iraqi Republican Guard Tawakalna Division. The battle occurred on February 26, 1991, in southern Iraq. The engagement involved units of Major General Paul E. Funk's 3rd Armored Division and the 9th Armored Brigade of the Iraqi Tawakalna Republican Guard Division commanded by General Ayad Futayh al-Rawi. The battle was one of the very few examples during the Persian Gulf War in which entrenched and prepared Iraqi infantry were able to repulse American armor. It was also notable for the adverse weather conditions in which it was fought and for the American friendly fire casualties.

The Iraqi Republican Guard had proven itself during the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War. By early 1991 the Republican Guard numbered eight armored and mechanized divisions. Equipment was Soviet-made, including T-72 tanks and the latest infantry fighting vehicles. While some Republican Guard units remained in Baghdad to protect the regime, most divisions were in Kuwait or southern Iraq to defend against the anticipated coalition ground attack. One of the divisions was the Tawakalna Division (also known as the 3rd Mechanized Division). It had distinguished itself during the war with Iran and was regarded as one of the best units in the Iraqi Army. The division had led the invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 and then assumed a defensive position near the western Kuwaiti border.

The Tawakalna Division included two mechanized brigades and one armored brigade, all organized and equipped according to Soviet doctrine. At the beginning of the war, the division was near full strength and was equipped with 220 T-72 tanks and 278 infantry fighting vehicles. Because the Tawakalna Division had taken up its position before the air campaign began, it was largely intact by the time the ground campaign began on February 24.

The coalition battle plan included a turning movement by forces in western Saudi Arabia. The American XVIII Corps on the far left flank would move north and east through largely unprotected deserts in southern Iraq to cut off escape routes to Baghdad. The American VII Corps to its right under Lieutenant General Frederick Franks Jr. would also move north and then wheel east in a more shallow movement to roll up the Iraqi forces in southern Iraq and Kuwait and destroy them before they could withdraw. Funk's 3rd Armored Division was part of VII Corps.

By February 26 the coalition plan was unfolding as expected, although VII Corps was somewhat behind schedule. Thousands of Iraqi soldiers had surrendered, most without a fight, and many coalition soldiers believed that the rest of the campaign would see little action. That morning, the divisions of the corps turned east and headed toward Kuwait City. As VII Corps moved east, it encountered and defeated Iraqi units, with the 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment destroying two Iraqi armored brigades. The 3rd Armored Division headed for Phase Line Bullet, one of the lines drawn to mark the allied advance. The weather turned poor, with a sandstorm reducing visibility. The smoke from hundreds of oil well fires set by the Iraqis also helped to bring visibility near zero, forcing the advancing U.S. units to employ thermal lights.

Around 3:00 p.m. an advance unit of the 3rd Armored Division encountered heavy Iraqi resistance near Phase Line Bullet, about 80 miles from Kuwait City. This unit was Alpha Troop, 4th Squadron, 7th Cavalry Regiment, commanded by Captain Gerald Davie. It numbered 14 M3 Bradley armored fighting vehicles. Iraqi surprise was nearly complete because the unit had just received word from division headquarters that no Iraqi units remained between it and the Kuwaiti border to the east. The first indication that something was amiss was when the Americans saw a line of Iraqi armored personnel carriers only some 325 yards ahead. As Davie later admitted that was about one-tenth the preferred range. Iraqi small-arms and heavy machine-gun fire, along with rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs) and Sagger antitank missiles, raked the American formation. Fortunately, the accuracy of the Saggers was adversely affected by the weather conditions. Alpha Troop responded with 25-millimeter fire from their turret guns, machine-gun fire, and TOW antitank missiles.

The U.S. fire had little effect, as many of the Iraqis were dug into fighting positions along the line. They were supported by a dozen field artillery batteries to the rear along with mortars in position near the line. The engagement lasted about two hours.

Realizing that his unit was also receiving main gun tank rounds and running out of ammunition, Davie ordered a withdrawal.

Before they were able to withdraw, a majority of the Bradleys had been damaged by Iraqi fire to varying degrees. U.S. M-1 Abrams tanks positioned to the rear fired in support of A Troop and destroyed at least one Iraqi T-72 tank and several armored personnel carriers (APCs), but at least one Abrams mistook the Bradleys for Iraqi vehicles and fired on them. Two Bradleys were hit by Abrams tank fire, with two American soldiers killed.

General Funk recognized that a hasty assault on the entrenched Iraqi position could be costly. He ordered his screening forces to probe the position, identify weak points, and push through if possible. The 1st Brigade, on the right, sent a company from the 3rd Battalion, 5th Cavalry, forward. They were joined by two other companies in Bradleys. Because the visibility was so poor, the battalion was much closer to the Iraqis than normal. The thermal sights used in poor visibility were not working as well as expected because of the weather and the oil smoke. Even so, the battalion was able to call in artillery support as it identified Iraqi tanks and other vehicles. Iraqi field artillery that fired on American forces was quickly silenced. Despite the support, the Americans in this part of the field were unable to advance.

On the left, scouts from the 4th Battalion, 32nd Armor, identified Iraqi T-72 tanks advancing. They managed to destroy the leading tank, but the Americans were unable to advance any farther. The action was confused, and the Americans were unable to break through until early on the morning of February 27.

The Battle of Phase Line Bullet was an unexpected setback for the Americans. Four Bradleys were destroyed, and 10 others were damaged. Two Americans had been killed by friendly fire, and another 12 were wounded by both Iraqi and American fire. More importantly, the 3rd Armored Division's advance was held up by at least 12 hours while attempts were made to wear down the Republican Guard and force a breach in the line. When the American forces moved forward after the battle, they found 6 Iraqi T-72 tanks either destroyed or disabled by their crews. Eighteen Iraqi APCs were also destroyed or abandoned, along with some field artillery and other weapons. An unknown number of Iraqi soldiers died in the fighting.

In the end, the Battle of Phase Line Bullet did not change the course of the Persian Gulf War. It did, however, demonstrate that the Iraqis were capable of putting up a good fight against an American advance when the troops had the equipment and training to do so and when weather and terrain forced the Americans to fight in close proximity to Iraqi forces, thereby negating the overwhelming U.S. advantage in stand-off firepower.

Tim J. Watts

See also

Armored Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Bradley Fighting Vehicle; DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; Franks, Frederick Melvin, Jr.; Funk, Paul Edward; M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks; Republican Guard; T-72 Main Battle Tank

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Piracy

Piracy is the seizure of a ship or property on the high seas in an action without commission from a sovereign nation and under conditions that make it unfair to hold any state responsible. Piracy was endemic in the ancient world and continued to be widespread until the establishment of powerful national navies. From the Middle Ages to the first decades of the 19th century, piracy was concentrated largely in the Mediterranean off North Africa. Indeed, actions by the Barbary pirates (Barbary Wars of 1801–1805 and 1815) prompted the newly established United States to undertake its first military interventions in the region. It has not been unknown in the contemporary world, especially in Southeast Asia, but in recent years piracy has become a major problem in the busy shipping lanes of the Gulf of Aden and off the Horn of Africa.

Following the beginning of civil war in Somalia in the 1990s, acts of piracy increased off the 1,800-mile-long Somali coast. These have become especially pronounced since 2005. In late 2008, moreover, the pirates expanded their zone of operations south to intercept ships bound for Mombasa, Kenya. The incentive in these operations is entirely financial. Although there has been a general arms embargo on Somalia in effect since 1992, small bands of highly organized Somali pirates armed only with automatic weapons and rocket-propelled grenades and traveling in fast motorized skiffs have boarded and seized control of merchant ships plying the busy waterways. The ships and their crews are then held for ransom.

Piracy led to the establishment of Combined Task Force 150, a multinational coalition force that established a Maritime Security Patrol Area (MSPA) in the Gulf of Aden. This did not prevent two of the most brazen acts of piracy from occurring, however. On September 21, 2008, pirates in three speedboats seized an underway Ukrainian container ship off the Somali coast, hijacking it and taking its 19 crew members hostage. The pirates demanded $35 million in ransom. Among the ship's cargo were 35 T-72 tanks, considerable quantities of ammunition, and grenade launchers.

Both the United States and Russia dispatched warships to join a coalition of ships from eight European states. The Indian Navy joined the patrols in October. Yet on November 17 off the coast of Kenya, Somali pirates seized the 1,800-foot-long Saudi Arabian supertanker *Sirius Star* transporting 2 million barrels of oil worth an estimated $100 million.

The difficulty of bringing the pirates to justice can be seen in two examples. On November 18, 2008, the Indian Navy frigate *Tabar* engaged and sank what it claimed at the time to be a pirate

Crew members from the cargo ship Motor Vessel *Polaris* board the U.S. guided-missile cruiser *Vella Gulf* in the Gulf of Aden to identify suspected pirates apprehended by the *Vella Gulf*, on February 11, 2009. The American cruiser was the flagship of Combined Task Force 151, a multinational force conducting counterpiracy operations in and around the Gulf of Aden, Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean, and Red Sea. (U.S. Navy)

mother vessel with two speedboats in tow. The ship in question turned out to be the Thai cargo ship *Ekawat Nava 5,* with a crew of 16, that had put out a distress call when it was in the process of being seized by the pirates. The Thai ship was apparently under pirate control when the captain of the *Tabar* claimed that men on the deck had opened fire on the Indian warship with rocket-propelled grenades. The *Tabar* then returned fire, resulting in explosions about the Thai ship. Only 1 crew member was recovered alive after drifting nearly a week in the Gulf of Aden.

The second encounter occurred on December 25 and involved the German frigate *Karlsruhe.* Responding to a distress call from the Egyptian merchant ship *Wabi Al Arab,* which had come under attack, the *Karlsruhe* dispatched helicopters, causing the pirates to break off their attack. The pirates were subsequently captured and their weapons destroyed, but because the ship that had been the object of the attack was not German, the German government ordered the pirates released.

Although the pirates are totally outgunned by the patrolling warships, the hijackings have continued. In 2008 there were an estimated 124 attempted and actual hijackings of ships by Somali pirates in the Gulf of Aden. Several dozen ships were taken, and at the end of the year pirate groups were holding some 200 crewmen seized with 14 ships. The pirates are difficult to apprehend and can easily flee to land, where it is nearly impossible to catch them. With the rewards high and risks of capture and punishment slim, it is no wonder that the attacks have continued. According to one source, Somali pirates collected some $150 million in ransoms in 2008 alone.

The situation was sufficiently serious for the United Nations (UN) Security Council to unanimously pass a resolution authorizing hot pursuit in the Gulf of Aden. The resolution allows forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Russian and Indian governments involved in antipiracy activities in the Gulf of Aden to pursue attacking pirates onto land.

With its own ships among those being captured and with it now importing 60 percent of its oil from the Middle East, the People's Republic of China (PRC) at the end of December 2008 dispatched a naval task force of two destroyers and a supply ship to the Gulf of Aden. It was the first modern deployment of Chinese warships beyond the Pacific.

The actions by the Somali pirates have driven up the price of food and shipping costs. The piracy has also greatly impacted the shipment of humanitarian aid. For example, some 90 percent of World Food Programme relief shipments to the region are by sea. By 2009 a number of states, including the United States, West European nations, Japan, and the PRC had sent naval units to the region in a cooperative effort to fight against this threat to world trade.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Somalia, International Intervention in

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Plame, Valerie

See Wilson, Valerie Plame

Poland, Forces in Iraq

Poland is a nation of Central Europe bordered on the north by the Baltic Sea, to the northeast by Russia and Lithuania, to the east by Belarus and Ukraine, to the South by the Czech Republic and Slovakia, and to the west by Germany. With a land area of 121,196 square miles, Poland's current population is approximately 38.5 million people. A former communist bloc nation, Poland is a rising regional economic power and had been integrated fully into the Western-capitalist orbit; it has been a member of the North

Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) since 1999. Poland's government is a representative democratic republic, led by a prime minister and a president.

Poland was one of the few nations to assist the United States and Great Britain with troops in the March 2003 invasion of Iraq to overthrow Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein; over the succeeding five years Poland maintained 2,500 troops in Iraq. On March 17, 2003, Polish prime minister Leszek Miller requested that President Aleksander Kwaśniewski authorize the deployment of Polish troops "as part of an international coalition to contribute to enforcing Iraq's compliance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441." Prime Minister Miller's request was approved the next day. In approving the request, President Kwaśniewski noted in a statement "the threat posed by weapons of mass destruction (WMDs)" and that "the Iraqi authorities have never demonstrated a will to disarm." He also linked Hussein with international terrorism, declaring that "we should all take measures against terrorism." Announcing as a "fact" that Hussein possessed WMDs, the Polish president concluded that "Iraq's willingness to disarm will not materialize other than by force." Kwaśniewski concluded by declaring that "we are part of a grand antiterrorist coalition formed in the aftermath of the events of September 11, 2001" and warned against "indifference" in the face of threats to peace, recalling the events of 1939 when, owing to indifference by other countries, Nazi Germany invaded and occupied Poland that year.

During the invasion of Iraq, fearing the deliberate destruction of Iraqi oil wells as had occurred during the 1991 Persian Gulf War and an ensuing environmental catastrophe, some 200 Polish Operational Mobile Reconnaissance Group (GROM) commandos, along with U.S. and British Special Forces, took control of Iraqi oil platforms and oil tanker docking facilities in the Persian Gulf along with the southern Iraqi port city of Umm Qasr. They then participated in operations there. As the only Iraqi port city, Umm Qasr was a strategic military asset, and securing it was crucial to delivering humanitarian supplies to the rest of Iraq. British and U.S. Special Forces were highly complimentary of the skill of Poland's GROM's forces and their operations. Although GROM forces had performed peacekeeping operations in Haiti and the Balkans (including successfully capturing in 1997 Slavko Dokmanovic, "the Butcher of Vukovar," who had been held responsible for the murder of 260 Croats in 1991), this was their first wartime deployment.

After the successful invasion of Iraq, Poland maintained a contingent of 2,500 troops as of August 1, 2003. Polish forces operated out of Camp Echo in Qadisiya Province in south-central Iraq and in August were given command by the United States of a multinational force, which at its peak included troops from more than

Polish soldiers perform a mortar team demonstration for soldiers of the Iraqi 8th Army Division on May 13, 2008, during training at Camp Echo, Iraq. (U.S. Department of Defense)

20 other countries, including a number from Central and Eastern Europe. This Polish-commanded multinational force, initially led by General Andrzej Tyszkiewicz, was responsible for the security of five provinces south of Baghdad totaling approximately 31,000 square miles of land with a population of around 5 million, mostly Shia. The four provinces under Polish control were Qadisiya, Karbala, Babil, and Wasit, which also included the holy Shiite cities of Najaf and Karbala. A total of nine different Polish generals commanded the Polish-led multinational force from 2003 to 2008, no doubt to afford its previously combat-inexperienced officer corps combat experience.

The risks to Polish forces were immediately demonstrated on August 1, 2003—the same day Poland announced that it was expanding its presence in Iraq by deploying 2,500 additional troops to Iraq—when Polish troops already stationed in Iraq were attacked at their base by mortars. Over the next five years, Poland rotated a total of approximately 15,000 troops in and out of Iraq.

After five years of operations in Iraq, Poland's military mission in Iraq was ceremonially ended on October 4, 2008, although it is worth noting that Poland withdrew its forces only after violence in Iraq had declined significantly rather than during the height of the Iraqi insurgency. In the course of its five years of operations in Iraq, Poland lost 25 men killed and some 70 wounded.

Initially, Poland's participation in the Iraq War and subsequent occupation of the country was popular at home, but support began to erode quickly as the insurgency against U.S. and coalition forces developed in the summer and autumn of 2003 and Saddam Hussein's stockpiles of WMDs failed to materialize. In addition, when the expected economic benefits of the country's sacrifice in terms of access to Iraqi oil and lucrative contracts for Polish companies failed to materialize, public support for Poland's military role in Iraq declined further. Poland, heavily dependent on Russia for much of its energy needs, sought access to Iraqi oil to achieve greater energy independence. Indeed, according to the BBC, on July 3, 2003, Polish foreign minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz admitted that "we have never hidden our desire for Polish oil companies to finally have access to sources of commodities," adding that access to Iraq oil was his country's "ultimate objective."

In spite of disappointment among the Polish public regarding their country's participation in Iraq, Polish-U.S. ties increased significantly, so much so that in 2008, over the strenuous objections of Russia, Poland agreed to allow the United States to place a missile defense base on its territory, part of a European missile defense shield against what the United States fears might be possible future missile attacks from rogue states such as Iran. Poland proudly views the defense shield as reflective of its stronger influence and role in NATO and also as a means to ensure its security against a resurgent Russia. Fearing what it sees as Russia's renewed ambitions to dominate Eastern Europe, in addition to economic and energy considerations, Poland almost certainly participated in the Iraq War and subsequent occupation to enhance the military prestige of its untested military and, equally importantly, to earn the goodwill and gratitude of the United States, which Poland sees as indispensable to its security. In so doing, Poland expected that it would be rewarded with stronger ties with the Americans and would gain additional security guarantees because this missile defense shield also has the ability to undermine, if not neutralize, Russia's missile arsenal.

Indeed, commenting on the effect of Poland's participation in Iraq, Stanislaw Koziej, a retired general and former deputy defense minister, acknowledged the increase in military prestige and power that Poland has gained: "the skills that Polish generals and officers, the experience, makes the army far more efficient than before. . . . [U]p until 2003, Poland was treated more like a third- or fourth-tier country [but now] its voice is listened to more seriously" in both NATO and the European Union (EU). There can be no doubt that Poland's military has gained invaluable combat experience that has helped transform its military into a modern professional force that thus serves as a greater asset to NATO, something the U.S. has duly noted.

Although Poland has since withdrawn all of its troops from Iraq, it has sent additional troops to Afghanistan, where it trains Afghan soldiers and provides security along a dangerous 180-mile stretch of road between the capital of Kabul and the Taliban-infested city of Kandahar.

Stefan M. Brooks

See also

IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Umm Qasr, Battle of

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Pollard, Jonathan

Birth Date: August 7, 1954

American spy for Israel and one of the most notorious spies in American history. Born in Galveston, Texas, into an affluent family on August 7, 1954, Jonathan Pollard graduated from Stanford University. He then attended the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in Boston for two years but did not graduate. In 1977 he applied for a position at the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) but apparently failed a polygraph test. Two years later, however, he secured a position with U.S. Naval Intelligence as a research specialist, working in the Field Operational Intelligence Office in

Suitland, Maryland. Unmasked as a spy and arrested in November 1985, he confessed and entered into a plea bargain by which he would agree to be interviewed, submit to polygraph examination, and provide damage assessment information. In return the government extended a plea bargain to Pollard's wife, Anne, and promised Pollard that he would be charged with only one count of conspiracy to deliver national intelligence information to a foreign government, which carried a maximum sentence of life in prison.

In 1986 Pollard was sentenced to life in prison. Before sentencing, U.S. secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger delivered a lengthy classified memorandum to the sentencing judge, the contents of which were not made available to Pollard's attorneys. Jonathan Pollard began his sentence in 1987. Anne Pollard was sentenced to five years in prison but was released after three and a half years for health reasons.

In the years since Pollard's sentencing many books and articles have appeared on the case, a number of them claiming that Pollard is either innocent or that his sentence was unjust, either because Israel is a U.S. ally or because Pollard had entered into a plea bargain agreement (which, however, did not detail sentencing). Because Pollard was never actually brought to trial and because of the classified nature of his crimes, a great many questions about the case remain. Certainly, Pollard's behavior was bizarre and should have alerted his superiors much earlier in his espionage career.

Extraordinarily costly to the United States in terms of sensitive information lost, by his own admission Pollard gathered and transferred to Israeli intelligence an astonishing 1 million pages of classified material occupying about 360 cubic feet. Although the exact information passed to the Israelis by Pollard remains classified, investigative reporters have charged that it included information on the U.S. global electronic surveillance network, the names of American agents in the Soviet Union (information that some say Israel may have traded to the Soviet Union in return for a continued flow of Jewish immigrants to Israel), and U.S. Navy techniques for tracking Soviet submarines.

Pollard first approached four other nations about selling the information to them. Although the Israeli government refused Pollard asylum in 1985, it also initially denied that he had spied for Israel. Nonetheless, the Israeli government continues to make efforts to secure Pollard's release. Not until 1998 did Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu admit that Pollard had spied for the Jewish state. That same year the Israeli government declared Pollard to be an Israeli citizen. Thus far, all appeals for Pollard's release have gone unanswered. The U.S. courts have also repeatedly rejected Pollard's appeals for a new trial on the grounds of ineffective assistance by counsel. In January 2008 while President George W. Bush held talks with Israeli prime minister Ehud Olmert during a state visit to Israel, the issue of Pollard's release was once more a topic of discussion. Bush refused to consider the request.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Israel; Netanyahu, Benjamin; Weinberger, Caspar Willard

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Portugal, Role in Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Wars

Nation located on the western portion of the Iberian Peninsula in Southwestern Europe, bordered to the south and west by the Atlantic Ocean and to the north and east by Spain. Officially known as the Portugal Republic, the country covers 35,645 square miles and is divided into three major landmasses: continental Portugal, the Azores, and the Madeira Islands. Portugal's 2008 population was estimated at 10.667 million people.

Portuguese political systems have varied widely throughout Portugal's existence. Initially a monarchy and under various dynasties, the country has also had several authoritarian and republican governments, although only one republic became a true dictatorship, led by António de Oliveira Salazar from 1933 to 1970. From 1970 to 1974 his successor continued his autocratic regime until a liberal-minded military revolution overthrew the old order and created a liberal-style democracy beginning in 1976. Presently, Portugal is a parliamentary democratic republic led by a prime minister and is a member of multiple international organizations, including the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU), and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). As such, Portugal has strong ties to other Western industrial democracies, including the United States. Portugal's political landscape is dominated by two political groups: the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Party. Both parties have held power in Portugal with considerable frequency since 1990.

Portugal's military forces currently consist of an army, air force, and navy. Additionally, the National Republican Guard is a military police force whose members serve as civil and military police officials in Portugal and are under the authority of the military. In recent years, Portugal has rarely deployed its military forces unilaterally overseas, but it has been willing to actively support NATO- and UN-sanctioned operations. Between 1990 and 2007 Portugal sent troops to internationally sanctioned military operations in Bosnia, Serbia, Lebanon, and throughout Southwest Asia, although its participation in military operations in Southwest Asia has been somewhat limited. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Portugal limited its military participation to the dispatch of one support ship to assist coalition forces.

Portuguese participation in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM occurred after major combat operations had been completed on April 30,

2003. Portugal deployed 128 military police officers to assist in peacekeeping operations who worked alongside those of Italy in the Nasiriyah region in southern Iraq. The last of these troops were removed by February 10, 2005. The NATO Training Implementation Mission–Iraq (NTIM-I) was responsible for training the new Iraqi military and police forces. Portugal provided four officers and two sergeants from the Independent Air Transport Brigade to train Iraqi military forces. Despite fairly strong support from the Portuguese government, a number of antiwar protesters actively opposed Portuguese participation in Iraq and sought to prohibit U.S. forces from using Portuguese facilities, and they also called for Portugal's withdrawal from NATO. Portuguese labor unions and the Portuguese Communist Party have demonstrated their opposition to Portuguese involvement in Iraq.

Portugal has actively supported NATO's International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF). Since the Portuguese began participating in the ISAF in January 2002, their units usually deployed for six months before being replaced by another unit. Portuguese combat units and forces in Afghanistan have primarily been parachute infantry troops, infantry troops, and commandos, which form a rapid reaction force that averages about 150 men. The Portuguese Air Force has provided a 7-man tactical air control party, assigned to Camp Warehouse in Kabul, to provide airport security. Portuguese forces were later deployed to Kandahar Province to provide additional support to ISAF operations. Portugal also sent one Lockheed C-130 Hercules aircraft plus a crew and support staff of 42 persons from the 501st Transportation Squadron in 2002 for three months. Since 2002, the 501st Transportation Squadron has deployed additional times, with a support staff ranging from 37 to 42 personnel. One deployment lasted for approximately a year, from July 2004 through July 2005. Portugal also provided an air force unit responsible for running Kabul International Airport between August and December 2005.

By 2007, ISAF commanders had shifted most Portuguese troops to Kandahar, Farah, and Herat provinces to provide additional combat support. Portugal's rapid reaction forces were used in actual combat operations and to provide support during other operations. Approximately 100 Portuguese commandos from the 2nd Commando Company (Scorpions) participated in Operation HOOVER (May 24–25, 2007) in Kandahar Province. During Operation MEDUSA (September 2–17, 2007) in the same region, Portugal's forces provided security for the regional airport. In addition to the 2nd Commando Company, Portugal's 1st and 2nd Parachute Infantry battalions have both provided companies for operation in Afghanistan.

In 2008 Portugal agreed to provide an operational mentoring and liaison team (OMLT) to help train the Afghan Army. Its OMLT includes members from their various military services, including four members of its naval forces. Although the Portuguese people have generally accepted their nation's participation in the ISAF, a small antiwar movement continues to protest Portugal's involvement in Afghanistan. In August 2008 the Portuguese government announced its plans to cut its contributions to the ISAF by 90 percent, leaving just a CH-130, its crew, and 15 soldiers to continue training the Afghan Army. By the end of 2009 Portugal had 110 troops in Afghanistan.

WYNDHAM WHYNOT

See also

Afghanistan; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; International Security Assistance Force; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

Medical and psychological condition that may be caused by exposure to hostile combat situations and other traumatic events. Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) may be temporary or long lasting. In earlier wars, particularly beginning with the American Civil War, symptoms of combat trauma were not medically recognized. In some instances, soldiers executed for cowardice during the American Civil War may likely have suffered from combat-induced trauma. Prior to the Vietnam War the condition was well known, yet it was not uncommon for military doctors to diagnose PTSD as malingering, since PTSD sufferers typically lack physical wounds. Many officers viewed combat trauma as a threat to discipline and military readiness. The most notorious incident in this regard occurred during World War II in Sicily in 1943 when U.S. Army lieutenant general George S. Patton Jr. slapped two hospitalized soldiers who were likely suffering PTSD. Patton was forced to apologize publicly and was sidelined from high command for some time.

Various characterizations have been used to describe combat trauma over the years, including shell shock, war neurosis, and battle fatigue. "Shell shock" was the most common term during World War I, while the term "battle fatigue" replaced it in World War II (although the term "combat exhaustion" was often preferred in the U.S. Army). Symptoms associated with combat-induced trauma can include involuntary trembling, outbursts of uncontrollable anger, nightmares, flashbacks, restlessness, depression, alcoholism, drug addiction or dependency, and an inability to focus. Such conditions may last for days, months, or even a lifetime.

It was not until the 1980s that the U.S. government recognized psychic injury due to combat as a legitimate service-related disability. At the same time, such medical diagnoses became popularly known as PTSD. The outcome of successful lobbying of Congress

and the Veterans Administration (VA) by veterans' interest groups led to a two-year study (1986–1988), known as the National Vietnam Veterans Readjustment Study. The study examined the psychological effects on veterans who had performed hazardous duty in Southeast Asia. The study revealed that 15.2 percent of all male veterans (497,000 out of 3.14 million who served in Vietnam) and 8.1 percent of women (610 out of 7,200), many nurses, were diagnosed with PTSD. In 2004 VA statistics noted that almost 161,000 Vietnam War veterans were still receiving disability compensation for PTSD. By then, combat trauma was no longer cast in a negative light or lightly dismissed, as in previous conflicts.

Although the short duration of the 1991 Persian Gulf War and lower levels of combat exposure in that conflict meant less psychological trauma, a 1999 study revealed that rates of PTSD among the approximately 697,000 deployed service members had increased significantly over time. A rate of 3 percent for men and 8 percent for women was detected immediately upon returning from the war. This rate rose to 7 percent for men and 16 percent for women within 18 to 24 months.

The Iraq War and the Afghanistan War are ongoing, and the full impact of these conflicts on the mental health of those fighting is not yet known. Certainly, suicide bombers, constant fear of improvised explosive devices (IEDs), multiple redeployments, and extended deployments have increased the risk factors associated with PTSD. A recent study for Afghanistan War veterans shows that 183 veterans out of 45,880 have been diagnosed with PTSD. A 2008 VA study noted that almost 12,500 of nearly 245,000 Iraq War veterans have visited VA counseling centers for readjustment problems related to PTSD symptoms. Almost all have been soldiers and marines because they have withstood the worst of the fighting, as opposed to air force and navy personnel. In addition, 8–10 percent of active-duty women and retired military women who served in Iraq beginning in 2003 suffer from PTSD. The high percentage of women PTSD sufferers clearly reflects the increasing number of females who have participated in combat as part of the All Volunteer Forces.

A 2005 study examining PTSD in one U.S. Marine Corps and three U.S. Army infantry units that fought in Iraq and Afghanistan pointed out the type and percentage of soldiers and marines who were exposed to some type of traumatic combat-related situation: those being attacked or ambushed, 92 percent; those located near dead bodies, 94.5 percent; those being shot at, 95 percent; and those knowing someone seriously wounded or killed, 86.5 percent. Currently, almost 1 in 8 Iraq War and Afghanistan War combat veterans has sought help for PTSD.

Within the psychiatric profession, treatment for combat trauma or PTSD has moved from psychodynamic psychotherapy to biopsychiatric pharmacological application (i.e., the use of drugs). Yet such treatment has not been matched by increased effectiveness capable of reducing the degree and length of time of this disorder. More troubling to the medical profession is the fact that almost 6 in 10 combat veterans remain unlikely to seek treatment out of fear that their commanders and fellow soldiers and marines will lose confidence in them.

Charles F. Howlett

See also
Veterans Health Care Act of 1992

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Powell, Colin Luther
Birth Date: April 5, 1937

U.S. Army officer, national security adviser during 1987–1989, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) during 1989–1993, and secretary of state during 2001–2005. Colin Luther Powell was born in New York City on April 5, 1937, the child of Jamaican immigrants. While pursuing a geology degree at the City College of New York, he joined the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) and earned his commission as a second lieutenant in 1958. After paratrooper and Ranger training, Powell was deployed as a military adviser to Vietnam. Even though he was wounded and received a Purple Heart during his first tour, he chose to volunteer for a second tour before earning a master's degree in business administration at George Washington University in 1971. He was a White House fellow in 1972, followed by command assignments at the battalion, brigade, and division levels.

Powell served in executive assistant positions in the Energy Department and the Defense Department during the administration of President Jimmy Carter. Under President Ronald Reagan, Powell quickly moved up the ranks from senior military assistant to Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger, whom Powell assisted during both the 1983 invasion of Grenada and the 1986 air strike on Libya. In 1986 Powell, now a lieutenant general, assumed command of the U.S. Army's V Corps in Germany. The following year he became Reagan's national security adviser. In 1989 Powell was promoted to full general (four stars) and assumed command of Forces Command. Later that year be became the youngest officer and the first African American to serve as chairman of the JCS.

As JCS chairman, Powell was responsible for developing the strategy that would allow a coalition of nations to push Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's invasion force out of Kuwait. Powell's

As chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) during 1989–1993, General Colin Powell played a key role in the Persian Gulf War. As secretary of state during 2001–2005, he opposed an invasion of Iraq but loyally presented the U.S. case for war before the United Nations (UN). (U.S. Department of State)

strategy for dealing with the Iraqi Army was a simple one: "First we're going to cut it off, then we're going to kill it." Decisive force was the central tenet for the coalition strategy: overwhelming force should be brought to bear against the enemy. This approach led to a rapid and decisive victory over Iraqi forces in Operation DESERT STORM. The victory came so quickly that some argued that it left the job unfinished, as Hussein remained in power. However, neither President George H. W. Bush nor Powell was eager to prosecute the war beyond the coalition's mandate or to make it appear as if the West was intent on punishing the Iraqi people.

The use of overwhelming force was one of the three tenets of the Powell Doctrine, which guided U.S. military strategy in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War. The doctrine also held that the United States should use its military only when the country's vital interests were at stake, only when there was a clear goal, and only when there was a clearly defined exit strategy. Unfortunately, as soon as Powell left the JCS in 1993, the Powell Doctrine began to be diluted.

Powell served as secretary of state under President George W. Bush beginning in 2001. It was clear from the start, however, that Powell would play a rather subordinate role to Vice President Richard Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice. Except perhaps for Rice, all were considered neoconservatives, particularly in matters of national security and warfare. Powell, who did not subscribe to the rigid ideology of neoconservativism and was also the only senior civilian member of the administration with any practical experience in fighting wars, found himself in the difficult position of having to rally the international community around the Global War on Terror after the September 11 terrorist attacks. His job was not an easy one, as he walked a diplomatic tightrope between the Bush administration neoconservatives and the exigencies of the post-9/11 environment. Powell traveled less than any secretary of state in 30 years, demonstrating the demands that the Global War on Terror and the Iraq War exacted on his time.

Soon after September 11, 2001, Powell was given the responsibility for building the case for a second invasion of Iraq to topple the Hussein regime and ensure that the nation did not harbor or use weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). Powell was generally opposed to the forcible overthrow of Hussein, arguing that it was better to contain him, which the international community had effectively done since 1991. Nevertheless, Powell agreed to work with the administration if it sought an international coalition to effect regime change in Iraq. Powell did convince Bush to take the case for war before the United Nations (UN); however, Powell had to serve as the point man for these actions.

As the United States moved toward war with Iraq, Powell addressed a plenary session of the UN on February 5, 2003, carefully building a case for international military action. Powell emphatically stated that the Iraqis had biological weapons in hand and that Hussein had many of the key components for the construction of a nuclear weapon. Powell's speech was immediately controversial, as many claimed even then that Powell's statements concerning Iraqi WMDs were unsubstantiated. Powell was himself skeptical about some of the intelligence presented to him but nevertheless presented it as irrefutable. He would later refer to his UN speech as a blot on his record.

Powell must have been disappointed when the Iraq War was waged with insufficient numbers of troops to secure the peace in Iraq (a cardinal violation of the Powell Doctrine). The coalition that did invade Iraq in 2003 was not nearly as large, diverse, or unified as the 1991 coalition, another disappointment for Powell. Once Hussein had been toppled, Powell had the unenviable task of building international support for the rebuilding of Iraq, which was made far more difficult when a nearly two-year search found none of the WMDs that Powell and others had claimed were in Iraq.

As the war in Iraq began to deteriorate, Powell became even more marginalized with the administration. Realizing that his voice had been muted, he announced his intention to resign only days after Bush's November 2004 reelection. Powell left office in January 2005. He has since joined the venture capital firm of Kleiner, Perkins, Caulfield & Byers; embarked on an extended speaking tour; and has stayed active in moderate Republican political circles. In the summer of 2007 Powell revealed that he had spent much time attempting to persuade George W. Bush not to invade Iraq. Powell also stated that he believed that Iraq had descended into a civil war, the outcome of which could not be determined by the United States.

In 2007 Powell made a significant monetary contribution to Republican senator John McCain's presidential bid and has

reportedly advised McCain on both military and foreign policy matters. However, in the run-up to the 2008 election, Powell publicly endorsed the candidacy of McCain's Democratic Party opponent, Barack Obama.

B. Keith Murphy and Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; desert storm, Operation; Global War on Terror; iraqi freedom, Operation; Neoconservatism; Powell Doctrine; Rice, Condoleezza; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Weapons of Mass Destruction; Wolfowitz, Paul Dundes

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Powell Doctrine

A broad statement of the necessary conditions for determining when U.S. armed forces should be used and how military force should be applied, as defined by General Colin L. Powell during his service as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) from October 1, 1989, to September 30, 1993. Powell would later go on to be secretary of state from 2001 to 2005. Powell's concept complemented the six criteria for the use of military power as formulated by Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger in 1984. The two sets of criteria combined are commonly known as the Weinberger-Powell Doctrine, which constitutes a cautious approach to the employment of U.S. military power.

This policy construct reflected concerns with the effects of the Vietnam War and subsequent ineffective uses of American military power as well as the resulting desire to avoid similar circumstances in the future. Weinberger, for whom Powell served as senior military assistant in the 1980s, argued that U.S. armed forces should not be used in combat unless the security situation involved a specific threat to a vital national interest; the government was clearly committed to victory; political and military objectives were clearly defined; adequately sized and composed forces were committed, with the objectives and forces continuously assessed and adjusted; the commitment of forces has some reasonable assurance of support from the American people and from Congress; and force is used only as a last resort.

In Senate committee hearings before and during his confirmation process as JCS chairman, Powell indicated a general agreement with the Weinberger criteria but also noted that national decision makers should not use them as an ironclad checklist. Powell's perspective on the use of force embraced the cautious approach advocated by Weinberger but also emphasized the use of all instruments of national power, especially economic and political capabilities, along with the military. When military force was employed, Powell argued, the nation should use overwhelming force in pursuit of clearly defined political and military objectives. Additionally, military plans should emphasize a quick and decisive victory and, whenever possible, a rapid withdrawal of forces.

As a corollary to his primary concepts, Powell also noted that war was a complex activity that included a high probability of unintended consequences, especially if combat operations continued over an extended period of time. He also warned about overreliance on technology to provide an easy solution to complex problems. His emphasis on the use of overwhelming force was intended to overcome unforeseen difficulties that can emerge in conflict and also to minimize American casualties.

Critics charged that the criteria of both Weinberger and Powell make it extremely difficult for the United States to employ military power and limit the potential deterrent effects of standing military forces. Powell conceded that flexibility was required in the decisions to use force, and he recognized that some security situations would fall outside any rigid structures. Additionally, he noted that in some circumstances it was useful for national leaders to have some ambiguity concerning intentions and courses of action.

Nonetheless, in the response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1991, Powell clearly applied his cautious approach to the use of military force. During Operation desert shield, which provided for the defense of Saudi Arabia and the buildup of forces in the theater, he was an advocate of economic sanctions and political pressure for an extended period of time, using the military first as a complementary deterrent threat and only employing the military option after the other instruments had failed.

Powell also helped shape the plan and force structure for Operation desert storm, emphasizing clear and focused objectives and the use of overwhelming force to achieve a rapid and decisive victory. Although the William J. Clinton administration moved toward a more flexible position on the use of force, the Powell Doctrine continued to have an influence on decisions involving the commitment of U.S. forces overseas.

The U.S.-led invasion of Iraq (Operation iraqi freedom) violated a number of points within the Powell Doctrine while simultaneously showcasing the new Bush Doctrine, which relied on preemptive military force with or without an international mandate. Indeed, the United States did not have broad international support as it did during Operation desert storm. While the assault began with what the Pentagon termed "shock and awe," American troops were too few to bring postwar order to Iraq. Instead, that nation slipped toward civil war and brutal sectarian violence.

In retrospect, the objectives of the war, other than the ouster of the Saddam Hussein regime, were hazy and not well explained. Beginning in 2005 and as casualties in Iraq skyrocketed, public support for the war began to plummet, even among some in the Republican ranks. In the U.S. 2006 national elections the Republicans lost control of Congress, in large part because of the perceived failures in Iraq. Finally, efforts to bring democracy to Iraq were also a blatant violation of the Powell Doctrine, which warns against the vicissitudes of nation building. After the Bush administration's

early 2007 troop deployment surge, violence in Iraq finally began to abate, which may have vindicated the surge strategy but simultaneously indicted the original war strategy that clearly had not provided for adequate troop strength to secure the nation. It is widely believed that Powell resigned as secretary of state because his view of the war did not jibe with the hawkish components in the Bush administration, including Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice.

JEROME V. MARTIN

See also

Bush, George Walker; Bush Doctrine; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Powell, Colin Luther

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PRAYING MANTIS, Operation
Event Date: April 18, 1988

Retaliatory strike against Iranian targets carried out by the U.S. Navy that resulted in a major naval action. On April 14, 1988, the U.S. Navy guided-missile frigate *Samuel B. Roberts* struck a mine in the central Persian Gulf. The warship was involved in Operation EARNEST WILL, the 1987–1988 operation in which U.S. Navy warships provided escorts to tankers in the Persian Gulf during the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War. The *Roberts* was badly damaged in the blast, which blew a 15-foot hole in the ship's hull. Although no crewmen were killed, 10 were badly wounded and had to be medevaced. After a five-hour struggle, the crew of the *Roberts* managed to save its ship.

U.S. Navy divers subsequently recovered other mines in the area. These were identified as having the same identification numbers as Iranian mines seized the previous September from the Iranian Navy minelayer *Iran Ajr.* The United States had previously warned Iran not to lay mines in the Gulf, and four days later the U.S. Navy responded with Operation PRAYING MANTIS.

In the operation, the U.S. Navy committed the aircraft carrier *Enterprise,* one amphibious transport dock ship, one guided

U.S. marines inspect a ZU-23 23-mm antiaircraft gun on the Iranian Sassan oil platform in the Persian Gulf, April 18, 1988. The U.S. Navy attacked the platform as part of Operation PRAYING MANTIS, after Iranian mines were discovered in the Gulf. Earlier, the U.S. guided-missile frigate *Samuel B. Roberts* had been damaged by a similar mine while on patrol. (U.S. Marine Corps)

missile cruiser, four destroyers, and three frigates. The punitive operation was directed at the Sassan and Sirri inoperable oil platforms in the Gulf, which the Iranians had armed. Iranian personnel on the Sassan platform were given the chance to abandon it for a tugboat there, but they chose instead to open fire on the American ships. The destroyer *Merrill* immediately used its own five-inch gun to neutralize the Iranian fire. U.S. marines then went aboard the platform, collected intelligence data, and left explosive charges that damaged it. The American ships then attacked the Sirri platform.

In response, the Iranians sent a half dozen Boghammar speedboats to attack various targets in the Gulf, including an American supply ship and a Panamanian ship. Two U.S. Navy Grumman A-6E Intruder aircraft from the *Enterprise* were then directed to the speedboats and brought them under attack. Employing cluster munitions, the aircraft sank one of the speedboats and damaged several others. The surviving speedboats then fled to Iranian-controlled Abu Musa Island. The *Joshan,* an Iranian Combattante II Kasman-class fast-attack gunboat, then moved against the guided-missile cruiser *Wainwright* and its accompanying frigates *Simpson* and *Bagley,* firing a Harpoon missile at them. The American warships returned fire with Standard and Harpoon missiles, which destroyed the Iranian ship's superstructure but did not sink it; this was subsequently accomplished by naval gunfire. Although two Iranian U.S.-built McDonnell Douglas F-4 Phantom aircraft approached the *Wainwright,* they were driven off.

The Iranian frigate *Sahand* then departed Bundar Abbas in another effort to attack the American ships. It soon came under attack from two A-6Es on combat air patrol that used missiles and laser-guided bombs to set the ship afire. The fire soon reached the ship's magazines, and the resulting explosions sent it to the bottom. A sister ship to the *Sahand,* the *Sabaland,* also sortied. An A-6E dropped a laser-guided bomb on it, severely damaging the frigate and leaving it dead in the water. An Iranian tug appeared and soon took the frigate in tow. Pursuant to orders, the A-6Es did not continue the attack.

The daylong battle was the U.S. Navy's largest engagement involving surface warships since World War II. It also saw the first surface-to-surface missile engagement in the U.S. Navy's history. The battle was entirely one-sided. In it, the U.S. forces had damaged the two Iranian offshore oil platforms, sank one of the Iranian frigates and the gunboat, damaged the other frigate, and sank as many as three of the speedboats. U.S. losses were one helicopter to an accident and its two marine crewmen killed. Iranian personnel losses are unknown.

Shortly after PRAYING MANTIS, the United States extended its naval protection to all non-Iranian shipping in the Persian Gulf. The engagement probably helped push Iran into agreeing to a cease-fire with Iraq to end its eight-year-long war, convincing the Iranian leadership that the United States was now firmly on the side of Iraq in the conflict.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

EARNEST WILL, Operation; Iran-Iraq War; Oil; Persian Gulf

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Prepositioning Program, Military Sealift Command

A major component of the U.S. Navy's Military Sealift Command (MSC), the Prepositioning Program maintains a network of very large, forward-based supply ships providing matériel to ensure the effective and rapid response of U.S. armed forces engaging in combat or disaster relief operations around the world.

Maritime prepositioning ships are deployed in support of the U.S. Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, and the Defense Logistics Agency. The types of ships employed include chartered commercial ships, MSC Ready Reserve Force ships, container ships, vehicle/cargo ships, aviation logistics ships, and large, medium-speed, roll-on/roll-off ships (LMSR). Many of these ships were originally built in specialized non-U.S. shipyards and subsequently modified to U.S. armed forces prepositioning standards.

Their strategic forward positioning in appropriate seaways guarantees that the prepositioning ships can effect the efficient and rapid delivery of combat or humanitarian supplies to an incoming U.S. force that is poised to "marry up" with the necessary vehicles, ordnance, and stores. Operating without the uncertainty of dependence on another country's transportation routes or equipment is a key precept of the Prepositioning Program, and most of the MSC ships assigned to this force are capable of independently off-loading their own cargo onto a pier or onto barges (or lighters) carried specifically for the purpose of cargo delivery from an offshore anchorage. MSC maintains a number of dedicated crane ships to ensure quick deliveries from the more traditionally equipped cargo vessels in the force, as well as an array of tankers furnished with the means of pumping fuel ashore from a distance of eight miles.

The MSC Prepositioning Program serves the U.S. armed forces by means of the following distribution: The U.S. Marine Corps has 15 Maritime Prepositioning Ships (MPS), the U.S. Army possesses 9 Army Prepositioned Stocks, the U.S. Navy has 3 ships (APS-3), and the Defense Logistics Agency and U.S. Air Force have 8 NDAF (Navy, Defense Logistics Agency and Air Force) ships, which also supply the U.S. Army and the U.S. Marine Corps.

MSC Prepositioning ships are distributed geographically into three squadrons: MPS Squadron One in the Eastern Atlantic and

the Mediterranean; MPS Squadron Two in the Indian Ocean at Diego Garcia; and MPS Squadron Three in the Western Pacific at Guam and Saipan. Since supporting Operation DESERT STORM, the three squadrons have also deployed in support of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM and several regional humanitarian initiatives. The ships of each squadron can be mobilized within 24 hours for deployment anywhere around the globe where U.S. forces might be dispatched.

GORDON E. HOGG

See also

Logistics, Persian Gulf War; Military Sealift Command; Support and Supply Ships, Strategic

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Primakov, Yevgeni Maksimovich

Birth Date: October 29, 1929

Soviet/Russian economist, journalist, and politician who served as a special envoy to Iraq for Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev prior to the 1991 Persian Gulf War and as a special representative for Russian president Vladimir V. Putin prior to the 2003 Iraq War. Yevgeni Maksimovich Primakov was born on October 29, 1929, in Kiev, Ukraine, and graduated in 1953 from the Moscow State Institute for Oriental Studies. He also pursued graduate studies at Moscow State University. His first job was as a Middle East correspondent for the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* from 1956 to 1970. During this time, he also participated in intelligence gathering for the Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti (KGB, Committee for State Security). As a journalist, Primakov met the young Saddam Hussein, a member of the Iraqi Baath Party who would later become the president of Iraq. The two men formed a friendship, which later allowed Primakov to speak more freely than most other diplomats to the Iraqi president.

After leaving journalism, Primakov held other jobs, all in academia before he became involved in politics in 1989, when he became chairman of the Union Soviet, one of the two Soviet houses of parliament. In 1990, Gorbachev sent Primakov, now a member of the Presidential Council, to negotiate with Hussein and American officials in the hopes of averting a war in the Persian Gulf. Arriving in Baghdad on October 4, 1990, Primakov urged the Iraqi president to withdraw his forces from Kuwait. On October 18, Primakov met with U.S. president George H. W. Bush to talk about his plan for a conference to resolve the situation peacefully.

At the end of October, Primakov returned to Baghdad, at which time the Iraqi president agreed to withdraw his forces from Kuwait on two conditions: that the United Nations (UN) forces withdraw from the region and that an international coalition be assembled to solve all of the major conflicts in the Middle East at the time, including the intractable Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The United States refused the conditions and thus did not pursue either proposal. Primakov then concluded that both Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Great Britain and President Bush were not interested in further negotiations and were in fact intent on going to war with Iraq.

In 1991, Primakov was named first deputy chairman of the KGB, which became the foreign intelligence service after 1992. He retained this post until 1996. From January 1996 until September 1998, Primakov served as Russian foreign minister under President Boris Yeltsin. A proponent of multilateralism and a wary observer of American hegemony and the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Primakov was primarily responsible for the harder line that the Kremlin took against Washington in the mid- to late 1990s. In September 1998, Yeltsin named Primakov Russian prime minister. After Primikov had implemented a series of needed—but nonetheless unpopular—reforms and taken a

Yevgeni Primakov served as a special Soviet envoy to Iraq prior to the 1991 Persian Gulf War and as a special representative for Russian president Vladimir V. Putin prior to the 2003 Iraq War. (AP/Wide World Photos)

tough stance against NATO's Kosovo air campaign, Yeltsin sacked Primakov in May 1999. After an unsuccessful bid to win a seat in the Duma in 1999, he challenged Vladimir Putin for the presidency but lost. Primakov ultimately became a close adviser to Putin.

In the meantime, tensions continued to mount between Iraq and the West following the Persian Gulf War. In late 2002, Primakov styled Operation DESERT FOX, a 1998 joint British-American bombing campaign in response to Hussein's refusal to comply with UN resolutions regarding disarmament, as "outrageous," especially since the UN Security Council was still discussing the issue when the bombing began. In early 2003, Primakov, acting as Putin's special representative, tried to prevent another war. Primakov believed that the best way to avoid war was for Hussein to hand over all of his weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) to the UN, and he bluntly advised Hussein to do so. Hussein, however, stated that Iraq had destroyed all of its WMDs. Washington refused to accept Hussein's assertion, and once again Primakov's diplomatic attempts to avert war proved unsuccessful. The invasion of Iraq began in March 2003. No WMDs were found in Iraq, even after exhaustive searches.

Although now mostly retired from the political spotlight, Primakov continues to provide informal counsel to Putin and other Russian politicians. He also heads the Russian Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

GREGORY W. MORGAN AND PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

DESERT FOX, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Gorbachev, Mikhail; Hussein, Saddam; Putin, Vladimir Vladimirovich; Russia, Middle East Policy, 1991–Present; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; Yeltsin, Boris Nikolayevich

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PRIME CHANCE, Operation
Start Date: August 1987
End Date: June 1989

An American special forces operation in the Persian Gulf that occurred between August 1987 and June 1989. Operation PRIME CHANCE was intended to prevent Iranian Revolutionary Guards from mining the shipping lanes used by international oil tankers. PRIME CHANCE coincided with Operation EARNEST WILL, an effort by the U.S. Navy to escort unarmed tankers through the Persian Gulf. PRIME CHANCE was the first operation in which helicopter pilots used night-vision goggles and forward-looking infrared vision devices in combat. It was also significant for the high degree of interoperability displayed by the special forces from different services.

Between 1980 and 1988, Iran and Iraq waged a brutal war of attrition. Unable to force a decision on land, the Iranian Revolutionary Guards began to attack international oil tankers carrying oil from Iraq and countries friendly to Iraq (including Kuwait) as they traversed the Persian Gulf. In December 1986, Kuwait requested that 11 of its tankers be reflagged as American ships, so they would receive protection from the U.S. Navy. After President Ronald Reagan approved the request on March 10, 1987, the Navy began preparing for Operation EARNEST WILL. After the tanker *Bridgeton* hit a mine laid by Iranians on July 24, 1987, during the first convoy, a secret operation was put in place to bring a halt to the Iranian mining.

Code-named PRIME CHANCE, the operation included helicopters and pilots from the Army's 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment (Airborne) (SOAR[A]). SOAR pilots were trained to fly and fight at night, when the Iranian minelayers were most active. The operation's forces also included Navy SEALs and Mark III patrol boats. U.S. Marines guarded PRIME CHANCE's floating bases, and Air Force flight controllers monitored airborne operations.

The first PRIME CHANCE components arrived in the Persian Gulf on August 5, 1987. Two detachments of helicopters were formed, each with an MD Helicopters MH-6 Little Bird light transport helicopter and two McDonnell Douglas/Boeing AH-6 Little Bird attack helicopters along with crew and support personnel. The first operations were flown from the decks of navy frigates and the command ship *La Salle.* On August 8, 1987, the detachments flew their first missions escorting convoys and guarding minesweeping detachments. Soon afterward, operations were transferred to two large oil-servicing barges, *Hercules* and *Wimbrown VII,* which were converted into floating mobile sea bases.

The barges allowed PRIME CHANCE to be independent of land bases and released navy ships for other operations. Each barge was converted by erecting hangars for the 3 helicopters of each detachment, 10 small boats, ammunition and fuel, workshops, and accommodations for more than 150 men. The *Hercules* was manned by naval special warfare units from the East Coast of the United States, while the *Wimbrown VII* was manned by units from the West Coast. The mobile sea bases became operational in October 1987.

Typically, missions took place after sunset. The helicopters usually flew only 30 feet above the water, with the pilots relying on night-vision goggles. The MH-6s were used to spot Iranian boats and ships in the shipping lanes. Once they located Iranian targets, the MH-6 crews would call in the AH-6 gunships, which would attack the Iranians. When operating with conventional naval forces, the AH-6s would rely on information from the warships' radar and that of their Sikorsky SH-60 Seahawk helicopters. The patrol boats began operating on September 9, 1987, and were in close contact with the helicopters as well.

On September 21, the special forces enjoyed their first success. One helicopter detachment took off from the frigate *Jairett* and soon spotted the Iranian ship *Iran Ajr.* As the Americans watched, the ship extinguished its lights and began laying mines in the shipping lanes used by tankers. After receiving permission, the helicopters attacked the *Iran Ajr* with miniguns and high-explosive and fletchette anti-personnel rockets. The attack continued until the ship stopped and the crew abandoned it. The next morning, a SEAL team boarded the *Iran Ajr* while two patrol boats stood by. The SEALs found nine mines on board, along with documents showing where the Iranians had dropped other mines and papers implicating Iran in mining international waters. Twenty-three Iranians were rescued and taken prisoner. The *Iran Ajr* was scuttled by American forces on September 26.

The American forces quickly realized that the Iranians spent their daylight hours near the oil and gas separation platforms in Iranian waters, then moved into international waters after dark. The Iranians usually used the Middle Shoals Buoy, a navigation aid used by tankers, as their assembly point before laying mines. On October 8, PRIME CHANCE elements laid an ambush for the Iranians. The attack helicopters found three Iranian boats at the buoy and exchanged fire with them until all three were sunk. Patrol boats picked up five survivors.

Forces from PRIME CHANCE also took part in Operations NIMBLE ARCHER (October 1987) and PRAYING MANTIS (April 1988). In both operations, conventional forces destroyed Iranian oil platforms in response to attacks on American ships. After PRAYING MANTIS, Iranian interference with neutral shipping dropped dramatically. PRIME CHANCE patrols continued after the Iran-Iraqi cease-fire of July 1988. The last forces returned to the United States in June 1989. Between June 1987 and June 1989, 259 ships were escorted in 127 convoys.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

EARNEST WILL, Operation; Iran-Iraq War; PRAYING MANTIS, Operation

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Prince, Eric

Birth Date: June 6, 1969

Wealthy Republican Party operative and chairman and chief executive officer of Blackwater, USA, a private military security company that received large U.S. government contracts for work in Afghanistan, Iraq, and poststorm operations after Hurricane Katrina hit Louisiana and Mississippi in August 2005. Blackwater has engendered much controversy for its role in Iraq, and Prince has been termed by detractors as an opportunistic insider of the George W. Bush administration. Eric Prince was born in Holland, Michigan, on June 6, 1969. Prince's father, Eric Prince Sr., was chairman of the Prince Corporation, a major auto-parts supplier, and a major donor to the Republican Party. When he died suddenly in 1995, his widow sold the company to Johnson Controls, Inc., for a reported $1.3 billion, making the Princes one of the wealthiest families in the United States.

Prince spent three semesters at the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis before finishing his studies at Hillsdale College (Michigan), from which he graduated in 1992. He also served as a White House intern in the last year of the George H. W. Bush administration. Later, he criticized the Bush White House in a local Michigan paper, intimating that its policies were too liberal. From 1993 to 1996, Prince took a commission in the U.S. Navy and served as a Navy SEAL officer, seeing duty in Haiti, the Middle East, the Mediterranean, and in Bosnia. Upon his father's unexpected death, he left the Navy in 1996 and, using some of his share from the sale of his father's company, bought 6,000 acres of land in North Carolina's dismal swamp, where he established a private, paramilitary, special operations school. In 1997, Prince created Blackwater, USA, so-named because of the black swamp waters that surrounded the instruction area. By now he had firmly established his Far Right Republican bona fides, having campaigned for Republican presidential candidate Pat Buchanan and contributed thousands of dollars to Far Right causes and organizations.

Until very recently, Prince kept an exceedingly low profile. Those who worked with him characterized him as intensely private and secretive. He rarely ever granted interviews and even disliked having his picture taken. However, he allegedly used his powerful connections with the George W. Bush administration and Republican Party to land lucrative government contracts to provide private security forces to American-led operations in Afghanistan beginning in 2002 and in Iraq after the fall of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein in March 2003. In the autumn of 2005, Blackwater, USA, garnered more contracts to help deal with the cleanup and restoration of public services after Hurricane Katrina ravaged the Gulf Coast. Prior to 2007, few Americans knew of Blackwater or its involvement in U.S. government and security work. While the company has not been specifically blamed for the inefficient Katrina clean-up operations, in which it is estimated that hundreds of millions of dollars were squandered or misappropriated, some detractors have charged the company with complicity in what had become a classic government boondoggle.

Because of the covert nature of many of Blackwater's enterprises, its operations and employee roster have been shrouded in mystery. Not until the company came under intense congressional scrutiny in the autumn of 2007 was it made known that many of its employees were neither U.S. citizens nor U.S. nationals. This

revelation led some to describe Blackwater as a "mercenary" firm, something that Prince vigorously denied during testimony to Congress in October 2007.

Blackwater was in Iraq under a contract with the U.S. State Department. In September 2007, Blackwater guards in Baghdad tasked with escorting a convoy of State Department officials through the city killed 17 innocent Iraqi civilians. The killings provoked instant outrage, and Iraqi prime minister Nuri al-Maliki demanded that the perpetrators be brought to justice. This was not the first time that Blackwater employees were involved in controversy; numerous incidents of unnecessary violence against civilians had taken place. The U.S. government immediately suspended Blackwater's Iraq contract. Because the Blackwater employees involved were neither Iraqi nor American, they were not subject to immediate arrest, although the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) began an extensive probe into the incident. To make matters worse, just a few days later, federal prosecutors announced that they were investigating allegations that some Blackwater personnel had illegally imported weapons into Iraq that were then being supplied to the Kurdistan Workers' Party, which has been designated by the United States as a terrorist organization.

These incendiary allegations prompted a congressional inquiry, and in October 2007 Prince was compelled to testify in front of the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform. Prince did neither himself nor his company much good when he stonewalled the committee and told them that Blackwater's financial information was beyond the purview of the government. He later retracted this statement, saying such information would be provided upon a "written request." Blackwater now struggles under a pall of suspicion, and multiple investigations are underway involving the incident in Iraq, incidents in Afghanistan, and the allegations of illegal weapons smuggling by company employees. Prince continues to donate large sums of money to the Republican Party and right-wing organizations. In the meantime, Congress is considering legislation that would significantly tighten government control over private contractors, especially those involved in sensitive areas like military security. The Blackwater case has also provoked concerns about the outsourcing of military conflicts in the future.

In February 2009, Blackwater officials announced that the company would operate under the name Xe, which reflected a "change in company focus away from the business of providing private security."

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Blackwater; Bush, George Herbert Walker; Private Security Firms

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Prisoners of War, Persian Gulf War

During their August 1990 invasion of Kuwait, Iraqi forces captured some 22,000 Kuwaitis, and during the 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM), they captured 46 coalition military personnel. In the Persian Gulf War, coalition forces captured 86,743 Iraqis. Of the estimated 22,000 Kuwaiti military personnel and civilians captured or taken hostage during Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait, more than 1,000 were killed during the occupation. Most of the remaining were released or escaped during the Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait in February 1991. At the end of the conflict, Iraq released 5,722 Kuwaiti prisoners of war (POWs) and freed 500 Kuwaitis held by rebels in southern Iraq. Kuwait subsequently claimed that 605 Kuwaitis and foreigners were missing after being taken to Iraq. Some of their bodies were later found in a mass grave near Samawah, Iraq. Most remain unaccounted for, however.

Of the 46 coalition military personnel taken prisoner by the Iraqis during DESERT STORM, 22 were Americans. All of the captured coalition personnel were subsequently repatriated, except for U.S. Navy pilot Captain Michael Scott Speicher, who remains missing. Captured coalition personnel also included 12 British, 2 Italians, 9 Saudis, and 1 Kuwaiti. Most of these POWs were airmen, although 4 survivors of a controversial British Army reconnaissance patrol with radio call sign Bravo Two Zero were also captured.

American POWs were driven to Baghdad and interrogated at an intelligence facility known as the "Bunker." They were then taken to an intelligence headquarters nicknamed the "Biltmore." The prisoners were later transferred to either Abu Ghraib prison or Al-Rashid Military Prison, where they were held until repatriation. All coalition prisoners were subjected to physical abuse and most were tortured, deprived of food, and subjected to cold temperatures. Both American women POWs were sexually abused. Some POWs were forced to make propaganda statements.

Prior to the commencement of DESERT STORM, coalition forces established a three-stage system of POW camps in Saudi Arabia through which war prisoners would be processed. Most prisoners would be sent to forward holding camps administered by the United States, Britain, and France. They were then transferred to U.S.-administered theater level camps and lastly transferred to Saudi camps. POWs captured by coalition Arab states were taken directly to the Saudi camps.

Prisoners of War during the Persian Gulf War

Nationality	*Number of Prisoners*
American	22
British	12
Iraqi	86,743
Italian	2
Kuwaiti (during Iraqi invasion)	22,000
Kuwaiti (during Operation DESERT STORM)	1
Saudi	9

Temporary POW camps included one constructed by U.S. Navy Seabees at Kibrit, which could hold 40,000 prisoners. Similar facilities were established by XVII Airborne Corps and VII Corps, as well as by the British and French. The British camp near Qaysumah, known as "Maryhill," could hold 5,000 prisoners, and the French "Clemence" camp near Rafha could hold 500 POWs.

The four theater-level camps were designed to hold a total of 100,000 prisoners. Two of the camps, collectively known as "Bronx," were constructed to the southwest of Mishab. The other two camps, known as "Brooklyn," were constructed north of King Khalid Military City. The Saudi Arabia National Guard also maintained four camps: No. 1 at Hafr al-Batin, No. 2 near Nuariyah, No. 3 near Artawiyah, and No. 4 near Tabuk. These camps could hold a combined total of 41,000 Iraqis.

POW camps constructed by U.S. forces each covered nearly 1.5 square miles. Materials used to construct and maintain the camps included 35,000 rolls of concertina wire, 450 miles of chain-link fence, 296 guard towers, 10,000 tents, 1,500 latrines, 5,000 wash basins, as well as 100,000 towels, 300,000 meals, and 1.5 million gallons of water per day. A field medical hospital and an interrogation facility were located at each major camp.

During interrogations, American forces determined that 1,492 prisoners appeared to be displaced civilians, some of whom had surrendered seeking food and shelter. To determine their status, 1,196 tribunal hearings were held. Subsequently, 310 people were subsequently classed as enemy POWs, while the rest were classified as displaced civilians—none was found to have been an unlawful combatant. Among the Iraqi POWs were an American citizen and an Iraqi whose mother was an American. Both had been impressed into the Iraqi Army. They were released and allowed to join their families in the United States.

By war's end, coalition forces had captured 86,743 Iraqis: 63,948 were captured by the United States; 5,005 by the British; 869 by the French; and 16,921 by Arab forces. Over 13,000 Iraqis refused repatriation to Iraq and were reclassified as refugees.

Glenn E. Helm

See also

Abu Ghraib; desert storm, Operation; Torture of Prisoners

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Private Security Firms

Legally established for-profit enterprises contracted by government agencies to provide the contracting agency with armed security or to engage in security assistance aid—advisers, training, equipment and weapons procurement, etc.—to foreign military forces. Although broadly falling into the category of "government contractors," private security firms performing protective functions—providing armed guards whose duties may involve the use of deadly force—are set apart from the vast majority of government contractors, who provide only logistical, communications, administrative, and other service support. Indeed, the use of deadly force by some U.S.-contracted private security firms in Afghanistan and Iraq in recent years has generated significant controversy.

The use of private contractors by governments to provide military support dates back to at least the 18th century, when armies hired civilian drivers and teams to move artillery cannon around the battlefield. During the American Civil War (1861–1865), civilian teamsters were hired to drive army supply wagons, and "sutlers" (businessmen selling to soldiers food, drink, and other items not available in the military supply system) contracted with the army for the privilege of accompanying units in the field. During the Vietnam War, U.S. military forces hired commercial firms such as Pacific Architects and Engineers (PA&E) to provide construction and other services that were beyond the military's capability to accomplish. Widespread contracting of services previously performed by military personnel (such as dining hall workers) began in earnest in the U.S. armed forces during the Jimmy Carter administration and has increased since the military drawdown that began with the end of the Cold War (1991). Government contractors were employed during Operations desert shield and desert storm (1990–1991), and private security firms providing military assistance (advising, training, etc.) have been used extensively in support of several Balkan nations since the collapse of Yugoslavia. Since 2001, the Department of Defense has employed private security firms to provide military training assistance and advisers to the Afghan and Iraqi military and security forces.

However, the Defense Department is only one U.S. government agency employing civilian contractors in general, and private security firms providing armed guards in particular are most often contracted by non–Defense Department agencies, such as the State Department. Private armed security guards contracted by the State Department normally work for the Regional Security Officer (a career U.S. Foreign Service Officer) who is responsible for the security of a U.S. mission in a foreign country. Well-established American firms such as Halliburton, Blackwater, DynCorp, Kroll, Triple Canopy, Custer Battles, Military Professional Resources, Inc. (MPRI) have all competed and won U.S. government contracts from various government agencies and for a wide range of services in Iraq and Afghanistan (although most are in Iraq). In Iraq, Blackwater Worldwide Security Consulting provided security guards and helicopters for the now-defunct Coalition Provisional Authority. Similarly, British firms such as ArmorGroup, Global Risk Strategies, and Aegis have also won contracts to operate in these areas. Many private security firms recruit

not only retired military and police personnel from their home country, but also people with similar skills from all over the world. Many of these companies are also currently recruiting Iraqis or joining with upstart security companies in Iraq.

In Afghanistan, the United States employs some 29,000 private contractor employees who provide a variety of services, but only about 1,000 of those likely are security contractors. The largest companies in Afghanistan are either U.S.- or British-based, and include DynCorp, USPI, ArmorGroup, Saladin, and Global Risk Strategies.

Critics of the use of private security firms claim they have eroded national sovereignty by diminishing the nation's monopoly on the use of force and point to alleged instances of abuse of local nationals by private security firm personnel. Proponents of private security firms counter that the firms perform vital functions that would otherwise be difficult to accomplish given scarce personnel resources.

The lack of clarity surrounding the legal status of contractors also poses concerns about their employees' accountability. Unlike military personnel, private security personnel working for the U.S. government are not subject to the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ)—indeed, they are security guards, not soldiers, and most do not even work for the Defense Department—and those who are not nationals of the hiring nation often are not subject to that nation's laws. In Iraq, for example, until the U.S.-Iraq security agreement signed in January 2009 stated that civilian contractors may face criminal charges in Iraqi courts, private security contractors were immune from legal prosecution under Coalition Provisional Authority Order 17, which effectively barred the Iraqi government from prosecuting contractor crimes in its own courts. There also have been several reported incidences in which armed guard security contractors working for the U.S. State Department have killed Iraqi civilians through the apparent use of excessive force. Such overly aggressive behavior is counterproductive as it undermines U.S. efforts at nation-building by alienating the Iraqi population in general. Indeed, the prevailing attitude among most U.S. military personnel toward private security guard contractors is overwhelmingly negative—a reaction that cannot simply be explained away by envy over the fact that private security firm employees may earn up to four times what uniformed military personnel are paid. U.S. military personnel tend to believe that those carrying weapons and authorized to exercise deadly force in the name of the United States should be limited to: uniformed military personnel subject to the UCMJ; sworn and commissioned law enforcement officers; and designated and trained operations officers of official government intelligence agencies.

Yet, despite the problems posed by the increasing use of private security firms, there is no indication that their influence seems likely to decrease. As yet, there has been no public commitment by the Barack Obama administration to change current U.S. policy regarding the use of private security firms.

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See also
Abu Ghraib; Blackwater; Prince, Eric

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Project Babylon
Event Date: 1960s

Iraqi attempt to develop a "supergun" capable of launching a small satellite into Earth's orbit or firing a weapon of mass destruction against Israel. The director of Project Babylon was Dr. Gerald V. Bull, a Canadian aerophysical engineer who believed that specially designed guns could launch small payloads into orbit at a fraction of the cost of missile launches. In the early 1960s Bull was the director of the joint Canadian-American High Altitude Research Project (HARP). Based on the island of Barbados, he and his team managed to fire projectiles from a 7-inch gun to as high as 60 miles. By 1966 the HARP team working in Arizona had fired a 185-pound projectile to an altitude of 108 miles using two welded-together tubes from 16-inch naval guns to form a barrel 30 meters long.

Despite the HARP team's impressive progress, funding for the project was cancelled in 1967. Frustrated at what he regarded as the Canadian-American small-minded bureaucracy, Bull turned his impressive engineering talents to the design of conventional field artillery. In the 1970s he introduced the GC-45 howitzer. One of the most revolutionary artillery designs ever produced, the GC-45 was capable of accurately firing a 155-millimeter (mm) projectile to ranges of some 42,700 yards, almost double the maximum range of the American M-109 howitzer that was the standard of most Western armies of the time.

Reportedly with CIA funding, Bull sold a version of the gun, designated the G-5, to South Africa, which was then involved in a war with Angola. The G-5 vastly outranged and quickly defeated almost all of the Cuban artillery in Angola. By 1980, however, a change in the U.S. administration and increasing world opposition to South Africa's apartheid regime eroded Bull's political

United Nations (UN) weapons inspectors stand at the base of Iraq's "supergun" in 1991. Under the terms ending the Persian Gulf War, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein agreed to allow UN inspection of facilities and the dismantling of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). By 1998, the Iraqi leader had expelled the inspectors. (Corel)

protection. He was convicted of illegal arms sales and imprisoned in America for six months.

Upon his release, Bull established a company in Brussels and began to work with Iran, Chile, the Republic of China (Taiwan), the People's Republic of China, and other countries. In the early 1980s he sold 200 of his GC-45 howitzers to Iraq. Designated the GHN-45 in Iraqi service, the guns quickly gave Iraq a significant tactical advantage in its war with Iran, which was armed primarily with aging American-built guns. Bull also helped modify the warheads of Iraq's Scud missiles to extend their range. Despite his previous conviction for illegal arms sales to South Africa, Bull's work for Iraq had the covert support of many Western governments that saw that nation as a far lesser evil than Iran. Following the Iran-Iraq War, when Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein assumed an increasingly aggressive posture in the region, that support evaporated.

Still trying to revive his old dream of launching satellites from large guns, Bull argued to Saddam that Iraq would never become a major power unless it could launch its own satellites, a capability already possessed by Israel. A supergun would be a relatively inexpensive and fast way for Iraq to achieve this. Such a gun also could be used to launch an antisatellite weapon designed to explode in the proximity of its target, either destroying it or at least neutralizing it. Saddam also might have believed that such a gun could be used to fire chemical or nuclear projectiles against Israel, although it is questionable whether Bull himself was thinking along those lines.

Bull started working on Project Babylon in March 1988. The initial prototype, dubbed Baby Babylon, was completed in May 1989 at Jabal Hamrayn, about 100 miles north of Baghdad. The barrel was 45 meters long with a 350-mm bore. The entire gun weighed close to 110 tons. Not designed to be mobile, it was emplaced on a hillside at a fixed elevation of 45 degrees. That, of course, was too low an elevation to achieve the altitude necessary for an orbital shot, but it was the optimal elevation for maximum horizontal range, which has been estimated at some 450 miles.

Bull contracted with the Iraqis to build two full-size Babylon guns. With a bore of 1000 mm, the barrel would be assembled from 26 sections, each 6 meters in length, for a total barrel length of 156 meters. The completed barrel would weigh 1,655 tons and the entire gun 2,100 tons. With a specially designed propellant charge that weighed almost 10 tons, the gun was designed to fire a 1,320-pound projectile to a range of some 600 miles, or a 4,400-pound rocket-assisted projectile with a 440-pound payload into orbit. The launch cost would be less than $300 per pound.

Neither of the Babylon guns was ever completed. Bull was assassinated in Brussels on March 22, 1990. Although it is widely assumed that he was killed by operatives of the Mossad, the Israeli

agency responsible for intelligence and special operations outside Israel, the Israeli government has neither confirmed nor denied it. If the Mossad did do it, it is far more likely the reason was the work Bull was doing on extending the Iraqi Scuds, rather than Project Babylon. As the Babylon guns were incapable of being elevated or traversed, the Israelis did not see them as a significant military threat. Their immobility also made them very vulnerable to air attack.

Project Babylon effectively died with Bull. In November 1990, British customs agents seized the final eight sections of the Babylon barrel that had been manufactured in the United Kingdom. At the end of the Persian Gulf War of 1991, the Iraqis admitted the existence of Project Babylon. United Nations teams destroyed the 350-mm Baby Babylon, the existing components of the 1000-mm Babylon, and a quantity of supergun propellant. Some of the 1000-mm barrel sections are on display at the Royal Armouries Fort Nelson museum in Portsmouth, England.

DAVID T. ZABECKI

See also

Artillery; Bull, Gerald Vincent; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990

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PROVIDE COMFORT, Operation
Start Date: April 1991
End Date: July 1991

A 1991 humanitarian relief mission carried out in northern Iraq by the United States and several of its military allies. Following the coalition victory over Iraq in Operation DESERT STORM, in March 1991 Kurds living in northern Iraq revolted against the rule of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. The Kurds composed about one-fifth of Iraq's population and had long claimed northern Iraq (Kurdistan) as their ancestral home.

Initially, the rebellion went well, and demoralized Iraqi soldiers fled from Kurdish fighters called Peshmerga ("those who face death"). However, after dealing with a similar Shiite revolt in southern Iraq, Saddam Hussein sent his reconstructed military north to fight the Peshmerga. The lightly armed Kurdish fighters could not contend with Iraqi tanks, artillery, and helicopter gunships. The Iraqis also used chemical weapons against the Kurds. The Iraqis recaptured Kurdish cities one by one until only the city of Zakho, near the Turkish border, remained. On March 31, 1991, an Iraqi offensive against Zakho began. Fearing another chemical attack, most of the city's Kurds fled into the nearby mountains, where they joined a growing stream of Kurdish refugees.

Because of Turkish concerns about absorbing thousands of stateless Kurds, Turkish forces prevented the refugees from entering Turkey. Consequently, Kurdish refugees were caught in a vice between the Iraqi military and the Turkish border. Here the Kurds lived without shelter on cold mountain slopes where they suffered from hunger, exposure, and disease. The international aid group Doctors without Borders reported no health care while diseases like measles, cholera, typhus, and dysentery raged through refugee camps. A humanitarian disaster loomed with an estimated 750,000 people in danger of imminent death. Aid workers reported that about 1,500 Kurds were dying each day.

President George H. W. Bush did not want American forces to become involved in what he viewed as an Iraqi civil war, so he resisted calls for American intervention. However, on April 5, 1991, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 688 condemning the repression of Iraqi Kurds. Resolution 688 provided the legal basis for responding to the crisis.

President Bush then bowed to public pressure as well as requests from the United Kingdom and France and committed American resources to a relief effort. This decision marked the beginning of what became Operation PROVIDE COMFORT. On April 5, 1991, U.S. Air Force major general James L. Jamerson assumed command of a joint task force whose goal was to assist dislocated civilians living in northern Iraq. Jamerson's first task was to organize and manage the delivery of emergency relief. The second objective was to create a sustained relief effort.

Operation PROVIDE COMFORT was a particular challenge for Turkey. That country has had a long and uneasy history with the Kurds, who live along the Iraq-Turkey border. A Kurdish guerrilla group used bases inside Iraq to launch raids against Turkey. Inside Turkey itself, a sizable and restive Kurdish minority presented a challenge to the central government. However, by mid-April 1991, fleeing refugees had overwhelmed Turkey's capacity to provide assistance. Turkish president Turgut Özal accepted a United Nations (UN) plan to move refugees back into northern Iraq. Thereafter, Turkey offered vital logistical support to the mission.

On April 6, 1991, Joint Task Force Provide Comfort deployed to Incirlik Air Base at Adna, Turkey. American fighter aircraft provided aerial security. Two days later, six Lockheed C-130 Hercules cargo aircraft delivered 27 tons of supplies, including dehydrated combat rations, blankets, and water. The next day, a growing international force that included units from Denmark, Spain, Japan, New Zealand, and Australia joined the effort. From start to finish four countries—the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Turkey—were the major contributors to the mission.

On April 16, 1991, President Bush expanded PROVIDE COMFORT to include multinational forces with the additional mission of establishing temporary refugee camps in northern Iraq. This was first labeled "Express Care." On April 17, when it had become apparent that a ground presence in northern Iraq was also necessary, Lieutenant General John M. D. Shalikashvili (who later succeeded General Colin Powell as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff)

The Yekmel refugee camp in northern Iraq, established as part of Operation PROVIDE COMFORT, a coalition effort to aid Kurds fleeing retribution by Iraqi government forces following the Persian Gulf War. (U.S. Department of Defense)

replaced Jamerson as commander. Jamerson served as his deputy commander, and Marine brigadier general Anthony Zinni became chief of staff. Two subordinate joint task forces (JTFs) also formed (Alpha and Bravo).

JTF Alpha entered the mountains of southeast Turkey with the goal of alleviating the dying and suffering while stabilizing the situation. Commanded by Army brigadier general Richard Potter, JTF Alpha was composed primarily of the 10th Special Forces Group (10th SF). A special subunit began organizing to provide the first phase of emergency relief, Express Care. Some 200 U.S. Army Special Forces provided the ground component of Express Care. On April 13, only six days after the decision to commit American resources, the first Special Forces teams entered the refugee camps inside northern Iraq. Their mission was to help organize the camps while receiving and distributing supplies. Initially, planners thought that this first phase would last 10 days.

It soon became clear that relief efforts were inadequate to meet the crisis. Participants in the relief effort found 12 major refugee camps along the Iraq border. Each camp had an estimated 40,000 refugees, all of whom lacked food, clean water, and medical care. The initial phase of emergency aid expanded to first 30 days and then 90 days.

The second component, JTF Bravo, centered on the 24th Marine Expeditionary Unit under Major General Jay Garner. Its mission was to prepare the town of Zakho, in northern Iraq, as a transit point for the Kurdish refugees and to facilitate their eventual return home. An important part of this mission was to transfer responsibility over to nongovernment organizations. Task Force Encourage Hope (later renamed Joint Task Force Bravo) was formed to construct a series of resettlement camps where dislocated civilians could find food and shelter and security.

The formal decision to expand PROVIDE COMFORT's mission from emergency relief to comprehensive sustainment required organization changes. More then just U.S. Army and Marine forces were involved, and 12 countries sent military forces. Thirty-six sent financial assistance or supplies. Thirty-nine civilian relief agencies cooperated in PROVIDE COMFORT. Accordingly, in recognition of the international character of the operation, on April 9, 1991, JTF Provide Comfort became Combined Task Force Provide Comfort.

The emergency phase of Operation PROVIDE COMFORT stabilized the situation. Attention then turned to building temporary camps in the lowlands so refugees could move to a more accessible location. Coalition forces established a demilitarized zone

inside northern Iraq to protect the Kurds. Air units operating from Incirlik enforced a no-fly zone above the 36th Parallel to prevent Iraqi interference. Within this zone, JTF Bravo established transit camps where refugees could live in safety until they returned home. The refugees enjoyed better sanitation facilities at these lowland camps. Here Kurdish officials could also assume administrative tasks. This was in keeping with the operational plan to transition rapidly from military to civilian control.

The city of Dohuk proved a major obstacle to the successful return of Kurdish refugees. Located near the Turkish border, this former Kurdish stronghold was a powerful symbol to thousands of refugees, but they refused to leave their camps until coalition forces had secured Dohuk. The Iraqis, in turn, refused to leave Dohuk. Several armed encounters took place between Iraqi and coalition forces. Exasperated by Iraqi harassment, General Shalikashvili ordered an American military response. Before this took place, however, the situation changed dramatically.

After meeting with Saddam Hussein, on May 18, 1991, the leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party, Masoud Barzani, announced a tentative agreement concerning Kurdish autonomy. It established a Kurdish Autonomous Zone in northern Iraq. The next day, Shalikashvili met with an Iraqi general to forge an agreement regarding the city of Dohuk. Dohuk became an "open" city where the Iraqis would allow limited humanitarian and related groups to operate. Turkey agreed to allow a multinational force to remain on Turkish soil along the Turkish border with Kurdistan. These events eased tensions and encouraged hundreds of thousands of refugees to leave the mountains and return home. The last refugee camp closed on June 7, 1991.

By mid-July, military forces assigned to Operation PROVIDE COMFORT had pulled out of Iraq; a residual force in southeastern Turkey was left to keep the Iraqis in check. A military coordination center remained in Iraq to link the armed forces and civilian relief workers, and the UN assumed responsibility for the refugee camps.

Operation PROVIDE COMFORT was the first post–Cold War humanitarian intervention conducted principally by the United States. During the operation, from April to July, 12,316 American and 10,926 coalition military personnel served. It was fundamentally a military operation, implemented and managed by military officers. In conjunction with civilian relief agencies, they met the operational objectives of stopping the suffering and resettling the refugees, first in transit camps and then back in their homes.

In late July 1991, after coalition military forces departed northern Iraq, Operation PROVIDE COMFORT II began. It was essentially a show of force designed to deter Saddam Hussein from launching further attacks against the Kurds and had a limited humanitarian component. PROVIDE COMFORT II ended on December 31, 1996.

JAMES ARNOLD

See also

Hussein, Saddam; Kurds; Kurds, Massacres of; No-Fly Zones; Peshmerga; Shalikashvili, John Malchese David; Zinni, Anthony Charles

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Provincial Reconstruction Teams, Afghanistan

Teams composed of military and civilian personnel from the United States or coalition nations whose mission is to extend the authority of the Afghan central government, promote security, provide humanitarian relief, and sponsor reconstruction projects. Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs), begun in late 2002 in the wake of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, support provincial and district-level governments in Afghanistan and assist with national elections, both by explaining the process to local Afghans and providing security for polling areas. Teams monitor the disarming of local militias and illegally armed groups and provide training, support, and supplies to local police units. PRTs also provide humanitarian assistance and building projects in dangerous outlying areas where nongovernmental agencies cannot operate in safety.

Beginning in late 2001, U.S. Army Civil Affairs teams supplied some of the first humanitarian relief in Afghanistan. Civil Affairs teams created Coalition Humanitarian Liaison Cells (CHLCs), which provided humanitarian aid and assessed reconstruction needs. Established in January 2002, the Coalition Joint Civil-Military Operations Task Force (CJCMOTF) oversaw CHLC activities. It is unclear who initiated the idea to expand and reconfigure CHLCs into Provincial Reconstruction Teams. The U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) developed the first version of the teams, initially designated "Joint Regional Teams," in December 2002. The mission of these teams was to extend the authority of the Afghan central government, enhance security, provide humanitarian relief, and support reconstruction efforts. The interim president of the Afghan Transitional Authority, Hamid Karzai, approved the plan and requested the name be changed to Provincial Reconstruction Teams. Karzai wanted to emphasize support for the central government and the mission of reconstruction rather than imply a tie to regional warlords. In 2005, the PRT mission expanded to incorporate reform of local security forces, such as the police, and support for governors and other provincial authorities.

Each PRT is a unique team with different-sized staffs, a variety of skills, and a structure to meet local political, economic, and

An Afghan schoolboy reads aloud from his workbook at a primary school in the Shutol District of Afghanistan's Panjshir Province. The Panjshir Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) is facilitating 12 education projects in Panjshir worth $2.8 million, including 9 schools, 2 dormitories, and 1 multipurpose building. June 30, 2009. (U.S. Department of Defense)

security conditions. A model American PRT has from 80 to 100 personnel and includes two army civil affairs teams, a military police unit, a psychological operations unit, an explosive ordnance/demining unit, an intelligence team, medics, a security force of about 40 soldiers, additional support personnel, as well as a representative from the U.S. State Department, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the Afghan Ministry of the Interior, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and a local interpreter. Quite often American PRTs cannot follow the standardized model, which depends on availability of units and personnel. American civilian agencies rely on volunteers to serve in PRTs and have limited funding to support them once in Afghanistan.

Military and civilian personnel have different responsibilities within the PRT. A military officer commands the team. Initially, American PRTs were led by army colonels or lieutenant colonels, male or female. Subsequently, equivalent officers from the other U.S. military services have commanded them. The military provides security and logistical support for the PRT. The State Department representative's role includes political oversight, coordination, and reporting to the U.S. embassy in Kabul. USAID heads the reconstruction projects. The PRT's military commander, the State Department representative, and the USAID agent jointly approve all reconstruction projects, coordinating their activities with the central government and local authorities.

While these roles appear distinct on paper, the smooth functioning of the team often relies on the personalities, leadership styles, and individual experiences and skills of the key leaders. Some teams work well together, sharing a common vision, while others operate less effectively. The rotation of personnel sometimes limits the effectiveness of PRTs, as a new commander might have different priorities than the previous one. Skill sets for personnel do not remain consistent either, as a veterinarian could be replaced by an agricultural specialist, for example. Rotations of personnel also have a negative effect on the relationships with the local Afghan population if promises for reconstruction projects from one commander do not continue under the next one.

The first PRT opened in Gardez in January 2003, followed by ones in Kunduz, Mazar-e Sharif, and Bamyan. When Lieutenant

General David W. Barno assumed command in Afghanistan in October 2003, he expanded the PRTs as one component of a new counterinsurgency strategy to reach the Afghan people and to alleviate some of the causes of instability, such as poverty and the activities of local warlords. The Afghan central government controlled the capital in Kabul and surrounding areas but had limited influence in the provinces. Violence, corruption by local officials, and the activities of warlords limited the reach of the central government. Barno deactivated the CJCMOTF, and its personnel formed the military component of eight new PRTs in Asadabad, Fara, Ghazni, Herat, Jalalabad, Kandahar, Lashkar Gah, and Tarin Kot, all hot spots where it was too dangerous for civilian nongovernmental agencies to operate safely.

A PRT executive steering committee in Kabul creates guiding principles for the PRTs but does not oversee them directly. Members of the steering committee include the highest-ranking American military commander in Afghanistan, the commander of coalition forces, the Afghan minister of the interior, representatives from every contributing country, a representative from the United Nations (UN), and other key leaders. Initially, American PRTs reported to Combined Forces Command–Afghanistan, the highest military headquarters in Afghanistan at the time. In 2004, regional commanders assumed control of areas in the east, south, and west. Thereafter, PRTs reported to the commander in their region.

It costs about $6 million to establish a single PRT and an additional $5 million to maintain it. The U.S. Department of Defense contributes between $10 and $20 million for commanders to use on quick-impact projects through a program called the Commander's Emergency Relief Program. Other agencies contribute funding, particularly USAID.

PRTs became a way to expand the reach of the International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF), the coalition force's command. In 2003, ISAF's responsibilities were limited to Kabul, so PRTs offered a way for the coalition to become active in other areas of Afghanistan. The United Kingdom took over operations of the PRT in Mazar-e Sharif, while New Zealand assumed control of the Bamyan PRT and Germany accepted responsibility for the Kunduz PRT. In each case, the areas were secure and relatively peaceful. The international effort expanded to include Canada, Italy, Lithuania, the Netherlands, and Spain, among other nations, and into more volatile areas in the east and south of Afghanistan. As of April 2008, American and ISAF nations run 26 PRTs across Afghanistan,

including British and Canadian PRTs in Helmand and Kandahar provinces, the center of the Taliban resurgence.

While coalition PRTs share a common set of goals, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which commands ISAF, does not dictate how individual nations respond to them. Each nation shapes the focus and effort of its team with respect to reconstruction projects, extending the reach of the central government, working to reform local police forces, and supporting efforts to decrease the population's dependence on the cultivation of poppies, the plant from which opium and heroin originate. PRTs run by the coalition also have joint civilian-military teams, although the configuration varies. German PRTs, for example, have about 400 personnel. Civilian aid agencies of the various nations also play a role in ISAF teams, such as the Canadian International Development Agency or the British Department for International Development.

Given the unique organization and mission of PRTs, there has been confusion about their role, limits, and relationship to nongovernmental aid organizations. PRTs do not provide security for the local population, but their presence is meant to deter enemy forces and criminal elements because of their ability to call for quick military reinforcements. Reconstruction efforts focus on projects that can be quickly accomplished to win the trust of the local population and include building schools, clinics, water wells, roads, and other infrastructure. Sometimes these efforts conflict with similar projects run by nongovernmental agencies or were created in places where the local government could not provide teachers, doctors, or school or medical supplies. Nongovernmental agencies fear that the role of military personnel in reconstruction efforts jeopardizes their ability to work with the population as neutral actors in the conflict.

PRTs have provided some stability and infrastructure in Afghanistan. Between 2003 and 2006, USAID completed over 450 projects, such as buildings, irrigation systems, and road improvements. PRTs are limited in size, so they cannot replace an effectively centralized government, police force, or national army. The successes of PRTs in Afghanistan have led to the establishment of a similar program in Iraq. Some studies of PRTs in Afghanistan have shown that they have not demonstrated any quantifiable or proven effect in quelling the insurgency, but that they are thought to inhibit recruitment from the areas they serve.

Lisa M. Mundey

See also

Afghanistan; Barno, David William; enduring freedom, Operation; International Security Assistance Force; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; United States Agency for International Development, Afghanistan; United States Central Command

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Provisional Free Government of Kuwait

See Kuwait, Provisional Free Government of

Public Shelter No. 25, Bombing of

See Amariyah Bunker or Shelter Bombing

Putin, Vladimir Vladimirovich

Birth Date: October 7, 1952

Prime minister of the Russian Federation (1999–2000 and 2008–present), acting president (December 1999–March 2000), and second president of the Russian Federation (2000–2008). Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin was born on October 7, 1952, in the city of Leningrad (present-day St. Petersburg). He graduated with a law degree from Leningrad State University in 1975 and then joined the foreign intelligence directorate of the Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti (KGB), with which he served until 1990. For obvious reasons, little information has been made public regarding the details of Putin's KGB career other than that he spent some time during the Cold War in the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). However, since he became president, speculation about his intelligence career has flourished, with claims that he was involved in economic espionage in Western Europe; others allege that he was little more than a low-level domestic spy. Although international sources have raised concerns over Putin's background as an officer of one of history's most brutal internal police organizations, his KGB career has done little to detract from his growing popularity among Russians since his rise to power.

Returning to St. Petersburg after retiring from the KGB with the rank of colonel in 1990, Putin began his political career in the early 1990s under the tutelage of Anatoly Sobchak, who was then the mayor of St. Petersburg. Because Sobchak was known as a liberal democrat, Putin's role in his administration provides some of the few clues to his political orientation, which at the time of his later appointment to the federal government was not at all evident. Putin became deputy mayor of St. Petersburg in 1994 and proved himself a capable administrator. With just two years of political experience, he was brought to the Kremlin in 1996 to

serve on President Boris Yeltsin's presidential staff. In 1998, Yeltsin appointed him to head the KGB's main successor organization, the Federal Security Service (FSB), where Putin managed all of Russia's intelligence agencies and ministries; on August 9, 1999, Yeltsin appointed Putin prime minister and indicated publicly that he favored him as his presidential successor.

As Yeltsin's fifth prime minister in less than two years, Putin quickly accomplished the improbable task of gaining the confidence of a wary Russian public that had grown tired and frustrated with government corruption and a flagging economy. He was swift and firm in his response to an Islamic insurgency in Dagestan that was threatening to erupt into war with Chechnya by the time of his confirmation as premier. This earned him a reputation among Russians as a pragmatist for his tough-minded conduct of a government invasion of Dagestan in the wake of a string of terrorist bombings that struck large apartment complexes in Moscow in September 1999.

Although Yeltsin's surprise resignation from the Russian presidency on New Year's Eve 1999 came as a shock to many, his appointment of Putin as acting president was not a surprise. Drawing speculation that a deal had been struck between the two, Putin, in his first official move as acting president, signed a decree granting Yeltsin, among other perks, full immunity from criminal prosecution as well as a lifetime pension.

While Putin did not win the March 2000 presidential elections by as large a margin as analysts had predicted, he nevertheless easily defeated his closest challenger, Communist Party leader Gennady Zyuganov, by some 20 percentage points. The vote demonstrated what experts and pollsters described as a profound shift in Russian public opinion, which for the first time in a decade rallied around one candidate—a newcomer to politics—who had amassed a significant support base from formerly split constituencies and disparate parties. Putin was inaugurated in May 2000 in the first democratic transfer of power in Russia's 1,100-year history.

Putin moved quickly to solidify his power base, and he acted aggressively to curb corruption in government and in Russia's large industries. His detractors claimed that he sometimes subverted democratic ideals in doing so. His administration also struggled to jump-start Russia's troubled economy, a task that was made considerably easier after 2001, when the soaring price of oil brought an economic windfall to the world's second largest oil producer.

Putin's relations with Western leaders, particularly with President George W. Bush, began on a cordial and cooperative note. He voiced full support for the War on Terror after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, and supported Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan. Those relations suffered dramatically after the 2003 Iraq War, however, which Putin refused to endorse without a full United Nations (UN) authorization. He has also been angered over the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and is vehemently opposed to a U.S.-built missile defense system that would be deployed in Central and Eastern Europe. In December 2007, Putin pulled Russia out of the 1990 Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE), a move that was likely a show of Russian disdain for the missile defense plans. By now, many in the West began to talk about a renewed Cold War. Russia has also refused to ratify tougher sanctions against Iran and began to move closer to the People's Republic of China in an attempt to check U.S. hegemony. Meanwhile, Putin's government was compelled to fight against a guerrilla insurgency in Chechnya from 2000 to 2004.

Vladimir Putin became president of the Russian Federation in 2000 on the resignation of Boris Yeltsin and held that office until 2008. He is currently prime minister. (President of Russia)

Putin came under fire by many in the West and in his own country for what were perceived as harsh crackdowns on the media and critics of his government. Nevertheless, Putin was reelected in March 2004 with over 70 percent of the vote. The result was never truly in doubt, as few sought to oppose him and those that did were unable to pierce the media blockade imposed on his critics. European and American election observers criticized both the media coverage and polling irregularities. In response, Putin said, "In many so-called developed democracies there are also many problems with their own democratic and voting procedures," a not so veiled reference to U.S. president George W. Bush's controversial victory over Vice President Al

Gore in 2000. By the time he reluctantly gave up the presidency on May 7, 2008, the Russian economy was faring very well, and the Russian government was already making plans to augment its military capabilities. Putin's handpicked successor, Dmitry Medvedev, easily won the May 2008 election, although most believe that Putin, who is now prime minister, continues to hold the majority of power in the Kremlin. He is also head of the powerful United Russia Party, which currently exercises sweeping power within the Russian political arena.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Global War on Terror; Iran; Russia, Middle East Policy, 1991–Present; Yeltsin, Boris Nikolayevich

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Q

Qaddafi, Muammar
Birth Date: June 1942

Libyan military officer and head of state (1970–present). Born the youngest child of a nomadic Bedouin family in the al-Nanja community in Fezzan in June 1942, Muammar Qaddafi attended the Sebha preparatory school from 1956 to 1961. He subsequently graduated from the University of Libya in 1963, the same year he entered the Military Academy at Benghazi, where he became part of a cabal of young military officers whose plans included the overthrow of Libya's pro-Western monarchy.

Qaddafi and the secret corps of militant, Arab nationalist officers seized power in Libya on September 1, 1969, following a bloodless coup that overthrew King Idris. After a brief internal power struggle that consolidated his rule, Qaddafi renamed the country the Libyan Arab Republic and officially ruled as president of the Revolutionary Command Council from 1970 to 1977. He then switched his title to president of the People's General Congress during 1977–1979. In 1979 he renounced all official titles but remained the unrivaled head of Libya.

Domestically, Qaddafi's reign was based on Libyan nationalism and Islamic socialism. Loosely following the model of his hero Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser, Qaddafi believed in the cause of Arab unity. He also sought to promote his own developmental and economic policy, a middle path that was neither communist nor Western. He sought the privatization of major corporations, the creation of a social welfare system, and the establishment of state-sponsored education and health care systems. He also outlawed alcohol and gambling. His political and economic ideas are included within his Green Book. Qaddafi's regime encompassed a dark side, however, including the sometimes violent suppression of Libyan dissidents and the sanctioning of state-sponsored assassinations.

In foreign policy, Qaddafi promoted the ideals of Third Worldism, anti-imperialism, and solidarity between Arab and African nations. He was a major proponent of the Organization for African Unity (OAU) and supported various anticolonial liberation struggles in sub-Saharan Africa, including those in Mozambique and Angola. He also supported Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe and was a staunch ally of Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, stances that annoyed the United States, which had maintained a certain loyalty to European interests in Africa and viewed the South African apartheid regime as a bulwark against communism.

Qaddafi's national and Middle East policies further alienated him from the West. Libya had been deeply impacted by Italian colonization and, later, by European interests in its oil production. Qaddafi wanted no return of Western control. He viewed himself as heir to Nasser, who had, even with the failure of the United Arab Republic, continued to believe that Arab nations should cooperate politically.

In 1972 Qaddafi proposed a union of Libya, Egypt, and Syria, and in 1974 he signed a tentative alliance agreement with Tunisia, although neither scheme worked out. At the same time, he became a strong supporter of the Palestinian liberation movements and is rumored to have been a chief financier of the radical Islamic Black September Organization, which most notoriously engineered the killing of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics. He was also linked to other non-Arab movements such as the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and terrorist attacks including the December 1988 bombing of a Pan Am 747 airline jet over Lockerbie, Scotland.

As with many other Arab nationalists, Qaddafi generally held a visceral hatred for the State of Israel, which he viewed as a tool of

Western imperial domination. He made frequent threats of engaging Israel militarily and expressed public hope that the nation could be wiped off the map. He also urged several African states to withdraw support for Israel as a precondition for receiving foreign aid.

Qaddafi's ties to terrorism drove a deep wedge in Libyan-U.S. relations. By the early 1980s, he had marginally allied himself with and received significant weapons supplies from the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, tensions between Libya and the United States reached fever pitch during the presidency of Ronald Reagan. In 1986 Reagan authorized the U.S. bombing of Tripoli in retaliation for the bombing of a West Berlin discotheque, which had been tied directly to Qaddafi. The bombing raid, designed to kill Qaddafi, instead killed his infant adopted daughter and scores of civilians.

The end of the Cold War witnessed an easing of tensions in U.S.-Libyan relations as Qaddafi took a more conciliatory stance toward the West. He publicly apologized for the Lockerbie bombing and offered compensation to victims' families. He also openly condemned the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States and has taken a more moderate line in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. In February 2004, Libya publicly renounced its weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) program, and in May 2006 the United States and Libya resumed formal and full diplomatic relations. Most economic sanctions against Libya have now been lifted, and the U.S. State Department has removed Libya from its list of nations supporting terrorism.

Qaddafi continues to provide a radical, if unique, commentary in Arab affairs. In 2008, he called for a one-state solution to the Arab-Israeli issue. Qaddafi has not demonstrated any intention to ease his dictatorial grip on his country, and in 2006 he exhorted his supporters to kill those who sought political change.

Jeremy Kuzmarov

See also

Libya; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Palestine Liberation Organization; Pan-Arabism and Pan-Arabist Thought

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Qala-i-Jangi Uprising

Start Date: November 25, 2001
End Date: December 1, 2001

Uprising by Taliban prisoners that resulted in a fierce battle between the Taliban and the Northern Alliance, which was being assisted by American and British forces. The Uprising of Qala-i-Jangi unfolded from November 25 to December 1, 2001. Qala-i-Jangi, meaning "house of war" in Farsi, is a sprawling, 19th-century fortress surrounded by massive mud-baked, crenellated walls nearly 100 feet high. It is located just west of Mazar-e Sharif in northern Afghanistan and served as the personal headquarters of Northern Alliance commander General Abd al-Rashid Dostum. The compound contained stables and an armory and ultimately became a prison for hundreds of Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters after coalition forces captured Mazar-e Sharif in November 2001 as part of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. The resulting clash was one of the bloodiest episodes of the Afghan War.

To understand the reasons for the uprising, it is important to understand how the fortress's prisoners had been captured. On the previous day, November 24, a substantial number of Taliban fighters had surrendered to Northern Alliance forces under General Dostum following air strikes and a coalition assault on the northern city of Kunduz. Dostum negotiated a deal whereby most Afghan prisoners were to go free and the 300 foreign fighters were to be handed over to Dostum. Nobody informed the foreign fighters of the arrangement, however, and these men had surrendered expecting to be released. Now they found themselves betrayed and transported by flat-bed trucks to Qala-i-Jangi, where they now expected to be tortured and murdered. Significantly, their captors had failed to conduct thorough body searches, and some of the prisoners had managed to conceal weapons.

In two incidents that occurred shortly after the detainees arrived at the fort, prisoners detonated grenades and killed themselves as well as two Northern Alliance officers, Nadir Ali Khan, who had recently become chief of police in Balkh Province, and Saeed Asad, a senior Hazara commander. The angry Uzbek captors in the meantime herded the prisoners into overcrowded cells in the basement of the stables in the fortress compound without food, water, or sanitary facilities, there to join other Taliban prisoners who had been taken earlier. Despite the above incidents, security was not increased.

The next morning a full-scale battle broke out. The exact circumstances of how the fighting began late the next morning remain unclear. As the detainees filed out of the building, the handful of Uzbeks who served as their guards made them sit on the ground in rows and began to bind their hands behind their backs. Meanwhile, other guards took the prisoners in small groups to the courtyard before two Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) agents: Johnny "Mike" Spann, a former U.S. Marine Corps captain, and Dave Tyson. The two Americans were conducting interrogations to gather intelligence on Al Qaeda and the whereabouts of the organization's leader, Osama bin Laden. Suddenly, some of the prisoners made use of what concealed weapons they had and rushed and overcame the guards. While Tyson managed to escape the onslaught, Spann fell to his attackers and was kicked, beaten, and shot to death. He thus became the first American to die in combat in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM.

Intense firefights followed, as some of the foreign fighters used arms taken from their captors to try to take control of the fort,

while others remained bound in the courtyard. Foreign fighters remaining in the cells were released. Three tried to escape through a drain underneath a wall, only to be shot by Northern Alliance guards outside the fort. Others stormed a small armory and there seized mortars, rocket-propelled grenade launchers, AK-47 assault rifles, and other weapons and ammunition.

Northern Alliance forces then reorganized and mounted a counterattack, which killed many of the Taliban. Two Northern Alliance tanks, which were outside the fort, began to pound the prisoners' positions. In the meantime, Tyson, who had joined with a trapped German film crew in another part of Qala-i-Jangi, managed to contact the American embassy in Tashkent with a plea for help. Early in the afternoon, a Quick Reaction Force (QRF) team of British Special Boat Service (SBS) and American Special Operations Forces (SOF) arrived at the fortress in a pair of Land Rovers and engaged the Taliban fighters. One SOF team member directed air support in the form of McDonnell Douglas (Boeing) F-18 Hornet aircraft, which dropped several 500-pound bombs that missed the armory but forced the Taliban fighters to take refuge in the stable's cellar. At dusk on that first day of fighting, Tyson and members of the film crew managed to escape by climbing over one of the fortress walls. Because the QRF team did not know of their escape, the SBS team leader organized a rescue force, which braved Taliban fire only to find that Tyson was gone.

Over the next days, coalition forces attempted to subdue the stubborn Taliban fighters. Northern Alliance forces directed fire from tanks as well as mortars at the besieged, who continued a tenacious resistance. During the melee, a misdirected 2,000-pound bomb dropped by an American aircraft destroyed a tank and killed or injured several coalition soldiers. This was followed by another strike and an air-to-ground attack conducted by a Lockheed AC-130 Spectre gunship. Finally, with the surviving prisoners running out of ammunition and having nothing to eat but horseflesh, about 100 Northern Alliance troops, joined by SBS and SOF teams, mounted an assault on what remained of the Taliban defenses. With resistance apparently over, some of the Afghan soldiers reportedly looted the bodies of the fallen prisoners, only to discover them booby trapped.

There were still Taliban fighters who had been driven underground beneath the rubble of the ruined stables. These were dispatched with rifle fire, rockets, and grenades. Northern Alliance fighters also poured oil into the basement and lit it. Ultimately, Dostum's men flooded the underground hiding places with ice-cold water, finally forcing the surrender of those who remained alive. Some 86 prisoners were taken, including the so-called American Talib, John Walker Lindh.

For his activity, Lindh was later tried, convicted, and assessed a 20-year prison sentence. Many of his comrades were later transferred to Camp X-Ray at the American detention facility at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. Besides Spann, the only American to die in the uprising, the coalition suffered 40 to 50 combat deaths with a similar number wounded. The Taliban death toll has been variously estimated at 200 to 500, many of these being foreign fighters determined to fight to the death.

The action at Qala-i-Jangi has been the subject of some controversy. Some critics charged that a massacre took place; others, such as Amnesty International, questioned the proportionality of the force employed against the revolting prisoners and demanded an investigation. The U.S. and British governments refused, claiming that their forces had acted according to the rules of engagement and international law.

GEORGE L. SIMPSON

See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Dostum, Abd al-Rashid; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Mazar-e Sharif, Battle of; Northern Alliance; Taliban

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Qasim, Abd al-Karim

Birth Date: November 21, 1914
Death Date: February 8, 1963

Iraqi general and leader of the 1958 coup that overthrew the British-imposed monarch King Faisal II, sweeping away the last vestiges of colonial rule in Iraq. Abd al-Karim Qasim, son of a Sunni Arab and a Shia Kurdish mother, was born in a poor section of Baghdad on November 21, 1914. His father raised corn along the Tigris River, and as a young boy Qasim experienced poverty, which influenced his later efforts at social reform. He attended school in Baghdad, and at age 17, following a brief period teaching elementary school (1931–1932), he enrolled in the Iraqi Military College. Two years later, in 1934, he graduated as a second lieutenant. In 1935 he took part in suppressing unrest in the middle Euphrates region of Iraq.

In December 1941 Qasim graduated with honors from the al-Arkan (General Staff) College and became a staff officer. In 1942 while stationed in Basra near the Persian Gulf, he struck up a friendship with Abd al-Salam Arif. The two men shared a desire to overthrow the Iraqi monarchy. In 1945 Qasim commanded a battalion against rebellious Kurdish tribesmen in northern Iraq, a campaign that earned him the highest Iraqi military decoration.

In 1948, during the Israeli War of Independence (1948–1949), Qasim commanded a battalion of the Iraqi 1st Brigade in Palestine. Following the Arab defeat, he attended a senior officers' school in Britain for six months. Upon his return to Iraq, he was promoted to colonel and a year later attained the rank of brigadier general. During the Suez Crisis of 1956, he commanded Iraqi

troops in Jordan, where his schooling and his combat experience earned him respect and prominence.

In 1956 Qasim helped organize and then headed the central organization of the Free Officers, a clandestine association working to overthrow the Iraqi monarchy. He worked closely with Arif, waiting for the right moment to stage a coup. That time came in 1958 when a revolt broke out in Jordan followed by a crisis in Lebanon, and the Iraqi monarchy ordered troops into Jordan.

Arif's battalion entered Baghdad on July 13 en route to Jordan, but on the next day his troops occupied the central radio studio and proclaimed the overthrow of the king. The following day, the king, the crown prince, some other members of the royal family, and Prime Minister Nuri al-Said Pasha were all assassinated. Qasim arrived in Baghdad with his troops after the assassinations. Some historians attribute the apparent delay in his arrival to a calculated decision to allow Arif to take the initial risk. Regardless, Qasim became prime minister and minister of defense, with Arif as deputy prime minister and interior minister.

Disputes soon arose between Qasim and Arif over the direction of the revolutionary government. Arif was more popular with the crowds than Qasim, and this also led to tension. Arif favored the unionist wing of the Baathists, who first argued for unity with Egypt and later Syria, while Qasim was attempting to balance the Baath Party with its several factions against the Arab nationalists and the communists. These tensions eventually resulted in a showdown with Arif and his imprisonment on charges of conspiracy.

Qasim allowed the Communist Party to operate, and he embarked on serious land reform to address rural poverty. The new government launched a series of attacks on opponents that prompted a public outcry. Two incidents in particular inspired revulsion. The first occurred in March 1959 when Qasim's communist allies, after crushing a revolt by army units in Mosul, went on a rampage, killing anticommunist supporters of the rebellion. The second incident occurred later that summer when Kurdish communists were involved in massacres, particularly of Turkomen in Kirkuk.

Meanwhile, Qasim launched several important domestic and foreign policy reforms. First, he addressed the maldistribution of land by limiting the size of holdings. Second, he expanded women's rights in the areas of marriage, divorce, and inheritance. Third, in a highly successful move, he reduced the influence of oil companies by confiscating large amounts of land held by the foreign-owned Iraq Petroleum Company. This step prepared the way for full nationalization in 1973.

In foreign affairs Qasim followed a policy of nonalignment, but his actions, including substantial arms purchases from communist-bloc nations, tilted Iraq toward the Soviet Union. Relations with Egypt deteriorated, encouraging unionists to contemplate Qasim's overthrow. In October 1959 the Iraqi branch of the Arab Baath Socialist Party concluded that Qasim's policies, particularly his antagonism toward Egypt and alliance with the communists, necessitated his removal. The Baathists plotted to kill Qasim in the streets of Baghdad, and on October 7 they attacked but only succeeded in wounding him. Several of the conspirators fled Iraq, including the young Saddam Hussein.

Following this attempt on his life, Qasim permitted the free organization of political parties, but only if they did not threaten national unity. In practice, this meant that no independent party could exist, a fact confirmed in late 1960 when Qasim suppressed all parties. His increasingly narrow support became restricted to segments of the military, and he lived an increasingly isolated existence, barricaded in the office of the Ministry of Defense.

Qasim's growing unpopularity was exacerbated by two military failures. One was the inability to quell a Kurdish rebellion in northern Iraq. The second was his bungled attempt to absorb Kuwait in 1961, when he announced that the small Persian Gulf nation was in reality a renegade Iraqi province. When British and later Arab League troops moved to protect Kuwait, Qasim was forced to back down. Another blow came in the form of an economic slump. All these factors led to growing disaffection in the army, Qasim's last bastion of support. On February 8, 1963, a military coup led by Arif Baathists toppled Qasim. Following a bloody street battle, he was captured and executed. Qasim achieved much in societal reform, health, education, housing for the poor, and agriculture, but perhaps his greatest accomplishment was the establishment of a truly independent Iraq.

Neil Hamilton and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arif, Abd al-Salam; Baath Party; Egypt; Faisal II, King of Iraq; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Nuri al-Said; Suez Crisis; United Arab Republic

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Qatar

Independent Arab nation encompassing 4,416 square miles, a bit smaller than the size of the state of Connecticut, located in the northeastern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Qatar is itself a peninsula, as most of it fronts the Persian Gulf, but it does share a border to the south with Saudi Arabia. Qatar's current population is about 1.25 million people. Nearly 80 percent of Qatar's inhabitants live in the capital city of Doha and surrounding suburbs. Islam is the official religion of the country, although in the last decade several Christian churches have been established, which is reflective of the

View of Doha, Qatar. Doha is the chief port and capital of Qatar. (iStockPhoto)

reformist impulses of the current ruler or emir, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani.

Qatar was part of the Ottoman Empire for several centuries and was home to a large number of nomadic tribes until several sheikhs began to assert their authority in the 19th century. Qatar became a British protectorate following World War I and gained its independence on September 3, 1971.

The United States established diplomatic relations with Qatar in March 1973 and relations since then have been cordial. The era since the end of the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf War has been marked by greater political, economic, and military cooperation with the West (and the United States in particular) as the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the resulting threat to other small Gulf states forced Qatar to significantly alter its defense and foreign policy priorities. Qatar boasts a modern and impressive infrastructure and is a wealthy nation, owing in large part to its sizable oil reserves.

Qatar has a small military establishment, consisting of approximately 11,000 troops, 34 tanks, and about a dozen aircraft. Its most extensive role in combat operations came during Operation DESERT STORM. Between January 29, 1991, and February 1, 1991, a Qatari tank battalion participated with Saudi troops, backed by American artillery and air support, in repulsing an Iraqi cross-border assault on the Saudi city of Khafji. Qatari troops were officially part of the multinational coalition authorized by the United Nations (UN) and led by the United States that expelled Iraq from Kuwait in February 1991.

Strains with Saudi Arabia and Bahrain and aspirations for a more assertive and influential position in foreign affairs explain Qatar's recent foreign policy, which has become more Western-oriented. On June 23, 1992, Qatar and the United States signed a bilateral defense cooperation agreement that provided the United States access to Qatari bases, the prepositioning of U.S. military equipment in the nation, and future joint military exercises. Since the Persian Gulf War, Qatar has also aligned itself more closely with the United States by allowing the construction of an extensive American military air base—Al Udeid—in the country, which served as the command center for the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq in March 2003. Presumably for this reason, Iraq launched Scud missiles at Qatar upon the commencement of the conflict. It is worth noting that Al Udeid boasts the longest runway (15,000 feet) in the Persian Gulf region and currently houses some 5,000 U.S. troops. It is equipped to accommodate as many as 10,000 troops and 40 aircraft in a 76,000-square-foot hangar. Qatar has also allowed the construction of the As-Sayliyah Army base, the largest prepositioning facility for U.S. equipment in the world.

Shortly after the terror attacks against the United States on September 11, 2001, Qatar granted the Americans permission to deploy warplanes to Al Udeid, and these flew missions in

Afghanistan during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in the autumn of 2001 to overthrow the Taliban government there, which had given sanctuary to Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda terrorist organization.

In the months leading up to Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, the United States moved significant troops, weapons, and equipment, along with its Air Operations Command Center, from Prince Sultan Air Base in Saudi Arabia to Qatar, the consequence of Saudi Arabia's opposition to the invasion of Iraq. Indeed, during IRAQI FREEDOM, Saudi Arabia forbade the United States from using its territory to launch attacks against Iraq.

Unlike Saudi Arabia, Qatar has imposed far fewer restrictions on American operations launched from Al Udeid airbase. However, Qatar more recently announced that it would not participate in any American military attack on Iran, but it nevertheless objected to Iran's development of nuclear weapons and indicated that it was opposed to a nuclear arms race in the region.

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See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Global War on Terror; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Saudi Arabia

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Quayle, James Danforth

Birth Date: February 4, 1947

Republican attorney, politician, and vice president of the United States (1989–1993). James Danforth Quayle was born in Indianapolis, Indiana, on February 4, 1947, into a politically prominent and well-to-do family. His mother's father, Eugene C. Pulliam, was a newspaper publishing scion, having created Central Newspapers, Inc., which included ownership of the *Indianapolis Star* and Phoenix's *Arizona Republic.* Quayle spent a good portion of his youth in Arizona before moving back to Indiana, where he completed high school. In 1969, he received a bachelor's degree from DePauw University (Indiana); that same year, he secured a position in the Indiana Army National Guard, thereby making it very likely that he would not be sent to Vietnam. He then attended law school at the Indiana University School of Law–Indianapolis, from which he earned a law degree in 1974.

In 1975, Quayle completed his last year of service in the National Guard and went to work for the *Huntington Herald-Press* as associate publisher. The paper was part of his family's publishing empire. At the same time, he practiced law with his wife, Marilyn, who was also an attorney.

Quayle began his career in electoral politics in 1976, when he successfully ran for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives on the Republican ticket. He took office in January 1977. He won reelection by a huge margin in 1978 and made a name for himself as an earnest young congressman. In 1980, at age 33, he ran for a seat in the U.S. Senate. Capitalizing on his family's name recognition and resources, he won the election, becoming the youngest Indiana senator ever seated when he was sworn into office in January 1981. His political ascendancy coincided with the beginning of the Ronald Reagan administration and the rise of the Republican Party in national politics. Quayle's success in the 1980 election was all the more miraculous considering he unseated three-term Democratic Senator Birch Bayh, who by then was a household name in the Senate.

In the Senate, Quayle had an undistinguished career but was reelected by a wide margin in 1986. That same year, he came under heavy criticism for supporting a U.S. Court of Appeals nominee whose credentials were unimpressive and whose judicial track record was seen as divisive. The nominee, who was eventually confirmed, had been an old law-school friend of Quayle's, bringing charges of cronyism.

In 1988, Vice President George H. W. Bush, the Republican nominee for president that year, selected Quayle to be his running mate. The decision seemed a bolt out of the blue, as Quayle was entirely unknown outside Indiana. His congressional record was uninspiring, and at age 41 his maturity and experience were questioned. Nevertheless, the Bush campaign claimed that Quayle would bring youth and vigor to the ticket and would appeal to younger voters. Almost immediately, the press and the Democrats sharply criticized Bush's selection, and Quayle's Vietnam-era service in the Indiana National Guard elicited a brief storm of controversy. His detractors alleged that he had used his family connections to avoid active military service.

Quayle's frequent verbal gaffes and malapropisms during the campaign were skewered by the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, Senator Lloyd Bentsen. In one of their most famous exchanges, when Quayle compared his own youth and inexperience to the late President John Kennedy during a televised debate, Bentsen shot back that he had known Kennedy and that Quayle was "no Jack Kennedy."

Nevertheless, Quayle had the last laugh when the Bush-Quayle ticket went on to victory, and he took office as vice president in January 1989. President Bush did not involve his vice president in most policy decisions. In fact, compared to his immediate predecessors and successors, Quayle appeared to be disengaged. His continued gaffes and often inane statements proved to be a boon to his detractors and fodder for comedians' jokes. Many had believed that Bush would dump Quayle from the 1992 reelection ticket, but he stood by his vice president. In an election that featured a strong showing by third-party candidate Ross Perot, the Clinton-Gore ticket won with a plurality of the popular vote (43 percent—four

years earlier, Democrat Michael Dukakis had lost while receiving 45 percent of the popular vote). Quayle left office in January 1993.

In 1994, Quayle considered a run for the governorship of Indiana but demurred. Although he was perhaps unjustly criticized for his verbal and syntax miscues, Quayle had a difficult time appealing to voters after the 1992 defeat. He briefly sought the Republican nomination for president in 1996 but withdrew because of health problems. In 1999, he announced his intention to run for president in 2000, criticizing the presumptive front-runner George W. Bush for his inexperience. His campaign fizzled early, however, and he dropped out of the race. In the meantime, Quayle has practiced law, written his memoirs, sat on corporate boards, and been involved in political action committees and other political outlets. He has also had a syndicated newspaper column. Quayle and his wife now live in Paradise Valley, Arizona. He has kept a relatively low profile politically and neither strongly endorsed nor criticized President Bush's policies since 2001.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker

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Qur'an

The principal religious and sacred text of Islam. The name Qur'an al-karim (the noble Qur'an) derives from the Arabic verb *qa-ra-'a* ("to declaim or recite"). This text is so-named because the Qur'an comprises divine revelations spoken to the Prophet Muhammad by the angel Gabriel from about 610 CE until Muhammad's death in 632. Muslims hold that the Qur'an in the holy original Arabic is the literal word of Allah transmitted to the Prophet Muhammad (the Messenger) for humanity. Reading of the Qur'an is a duty for every Muslim. Specially trained reciters or readers (*qariun* or *muqriun*) present the Qur'an in a format called *tajwid,* a chanting in the modal musical system (like the *maqamat*) and set to the natural rhythm of the Arabic words, with their longer or shorter syllables. The *tajwid,* which today may be enjoyed in audio recordings or over the radio, allows the listener to hear the voice of the sacred text.

Epic poetry and other forms of oral literature were especially prized in pre-Islamic Arabian society. Hence, Qur'anic recitation provided Muslims a literary as well as a religious experience and an opportunity to reflect on the meaning of the text as well.

According to tradition, the Prophet Muhammad was illiterate. Like the other men of Mecca with sufficient means for leisure time, he used to retreat to the hills beyond the city to spend time reflecting or meditating. When in retreat in a cave on Mount Hira he heard a voice commanding him to "recite," Muhammad protested that he did not know what to recite. The mysterious voice was that of the archangel Gabriel, and his words are the first of the Qur'an:

> Recite [*Iqra*]: In the name of thy Lord who created, Created a man from *Alaq* [a "clinging" clot, or small amount of fetal material].
> Recite: And thy Lord is the Most Generous, Who taught [the use of] the pen, Taught man that which he knew not.

This verse has been interpreted to mean that the omnipotent Allah (God) has the ability to bring and teach his message even to an illiterate man. This passage, from the Surat al-Alaq (96:1–5), was revealed to Muhammad in Mecca, and it is the first of many to be given to the Prophet over the next 23 years, signaling the beginning of the divine revelation that became the Qur'an and the message of Islam.

The Qur'an is not a story of the Prophet's life, but some understanding of his experience is helpful to the outsider seeking to comprehend the text. The ruling elite in Mecca were threatened by the growing crowds of followers and the messages of monotheism and strict moral codes that Muhammad was spreading. After about a decade, they increasingly threatened the Prophet because of his proselytizing. In 622 after their pressure increased and his vulnerability increased due to the deaths of his wife Khadija and his uncle Abu Talib, Muhammad fled with his followers to the town of Yathrib, later renamed Madinat al-Nabi (City of the Prophet), on a journey now known as the *hijra.* While the Muslims were living in Medina, the early and basic concepts and practices of the faith were defined, although some changed after Mecca was reconquered. Also, the Kaaba, or holy site where the Black Rock is located, was cleansed of its idols.

Early on, some of the Prophet's companions and his wives had partial collections of the Qur'an, and other collections were written down. These were different in the ordering of the *surahs,* which are chapters with titles that concern particular themes, and in the number of verses they contained. Many Qur'an reciters worked from memory and not written texts. There were different versions, including variant spellings, and even more important differences. Some Sunni sources claim that following the wars of Ridda when many Qur'anic reciters were killed, Umar asked the caliph Abu Bakr to assemble a written version of the Qur'an, which he then did. Up until that time various versions had been recited due to the variations on the Arabic dialect of that period. Most sources agree that it was the caliph Uthman who recensed the Qur'an, creating a committee that met and approved one version based on the members' understanding of the text and their agreement given the various versions then recited. Uthman burned all the other versions of the Qur'an that he could find and distributed this official version 23 years after the Prophet's death. The recension was controversial to different parties, especially the Shia Muslims. By the ninth century, Uthman's form, or codex, was vocalized, meaning that the normally unwritten Arabic vowels were included to stabilize its meaning. Some authorities suggest that, because of an inability

An Egyptian boy shouts anti-U.S. slogans as his father displays the Qur'an, Islam's holy book, during a demonstration in Cairo, Egypt, on May 27, 2005. The protest followed reports that the Qur'an had been desecrated at the U.S. base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, by U.S. military personnel. Similar protests took place across the Muslim world. (AP/Wide World Photos)

to destroy all variant versions, the Prophet Muhammad approved seven valid readings of this text. More than seven exist, however.

The Qur'an is organized into the basic divisions of *ayat,* or verses; surahs; and the *juz,* which is simply a section that is 1/30 of the entire Qur'an. Muslims use this 1/30 division to read the Qur'an over a one-month period, or they might divide it into 7 sections. There are 114 surahs in the Qur'an, each of a different length, from just 3 to 286 phrases, or *ayat.* Many of the shorter, more dramatic surahs were revealed at Mecca, while the longer, more legalistic surahs were revealed at Medina. The Qur'an is arranged so that following the first surah, the longest surah, the second one al-Baqarah, is at the beginning of the text, and the surahs decrease in length.

Exegesis, or the explanation of the Qur'an, is an area of Islamic studies. These explanations are called *tafsir* and are used as a basis for Sharia (Islamic law). The Qur'an is most important as the ultimate authority in Sharia. The Qur'an is used as liturgy, that is, in prayer. The first verse of the Qur'an is repeated before each bowing and prostration, and devout Muslims recite a portion of the Qur'an each night (or more often).

The Qur'an has also served as a basis for education. The goal of learning to read in Arabic is the memorization of the Qur'an, often at a young age. The *kuttab,* or Qur'anic school, is found throughout the Muslim world. The Qur'an also serves various social purposes. It is read in funeral sittings and recited at public events or conferences. Contests in Qur'an reading are held, and calligraphy is based on the Qur'an.

The most basic aspect of the Qur'an is that it is proof of Allah's existence and gives information about His nature, which is at once powerful, tender, and mystical: "He is the First and the Last, the Outward and the Inward; and He is the Knower of every thing" (37:3). This is based on the notion of *tawhid,* the unicity of God, which is demonstrated in a multiplicity of ways.

Theology as expressed in the Qur'an begins with monotheism. The unity of Allah, his attributes, and the descriptions of heaven,

hell, and the angels are all supported by the Qur'an. Another basic message in the Qur'an concerns the nature of humans, who have been warned through the revelations to follow the Straight Path, or divine law, and must also overcome their tendencies toward insecurity, haste, and panic. If humans honor their pact with Allah, maintaining their trust in Him and living according to his rules, they will be rewarded. If not, they will be grievously punished.

During the seventh century, the Arabs at Mecca were polytheistic. Moreover, their society benefited the wealthy and the powerful. According to the Qur'an, however, the disenfranchised, orphans, and the poor are the responsibility of the Muslim community, for wealth comes from Allah and must be used for the good of his community. Another important message of the Qur'an has to do with living in accordance with Allah's will and avoiding sin, for the Day of Judgment and the Resurrection will come, when all shall be reckoned with.

Islam means "submission," or "surrender to Allah," while Muslim means "one who submits." This does not, as in English, have any tinge of self-abasement. Rather, it implies one who trusts completely in God and thus in His revelation, the Qur'an. The Qur'an describes the Muslim community, or *ummah,* in its covenant with Allah, as a "community in a state of surrender" (*ummah muslimah*), in which Muslims are accountable and responsible for their actions. The opposite of Islam is *kufr,* which means that one covers up, obscures, or denies Islam and all of its requirements.

The Qur'an is seen as the final of a series of revelations that begins with the book of Genesis and the story of Adam and Eve, as revealed to Moses, continues through the Gospels of Christ, and ends with the revelations given to Muhammad. The Qur'an describes prophets and their messages to mankind from Abraham to Muhammad, mentioning some included and others excluded from the Bible. The Qur'an refers to Jews and Christians (as well as Zoroastrians) as "Peoples of the Book," meaning that they and their scripture are to be respected and that they are not infidels or polytheists. However, in places the Qur'an also criticizes Christians and Jews for failing to follow the dictates of their own Holy Scriptures and not heeding the teachings of their prophets. The Qur'an also commands its followers to "struggle in the way of Allah," meaning to engage in jihad. This is interpreted to mean an armed struggle in battle, as well as the struggle to fulfill all the elements of faith (*iman*) in Islam.

Muslims recite and learn the Qur'an in Arabic, because in that form it is considered to be the literal word of Allah. Muslim clerics long maintained that any translation of the words of the Qur'an is not divine speech, but today even translations are treated as holy texts. Incidents involving insults to the Qur'an, such as those at Guantánamo, Cuba, or when a U.S. soldier used it for target practice in Iraq in May 2008, outrage Muslims. As the majority of Muslims are non-Arabic speakers, the requirement to learn and study the Qur'an in Arabic means study of the Arabic language in Islamic studies, since many historic texts and commentaries that pertain to the Qur'an are also in Arabic. The book itself is treated with reverence. Some translations, such as that by Abdullah Yusuf Ali in English, contain a great deal of commentary in notes, and others less. These have helped to create and sustain Muslim scholarship and discussion about the Qur'an in other languages. Meanwhile, works of analysis and commentary on the Qur'an have led to discussions that are relevant to the political and social challenges facing Muslims today.

B. Keith Murphy and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Allah; Bible; Gog and Magog; Guantánamo Bay Detainment Camp; Jihad; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Mawdudi, Sayyid Abu al-Aala; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam

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Qutb, Sayyid

Birth Date: October 9, 1906
Death Date: August 29, 1966

Islamist theorist, educator, and Muslim Brotherhood leader incarcerated and executed by the Egyptian government. Sayyid Ibrahim Husayn Shadhili Qutb received considerable attention when, in the wake of the September 11, 2001, attacks, Westerners researched the older literature on Islamic revivalism and extremism in an effort to understand the roots of Al Qaeda. Sayyid Qutb was born on October 9, 1906. His father came from a family of landowners in the village of Musha, in Asyut Province in Upper Egypt, several hundred miles south of Cairo. His father was politically active and his mother was deeply religious.

Qutb had a traditional Islamic education alongside a modern education in the national education system. Around 1921, Qutb left Musha and moved to Cairo, where he trained to become a teacher of Arabic language and literature. At this time the Wafd Party and other groups were promoting Egyptian nationalism and, ever since the revolution of 1919, had demanded the expulsion of Britain from the country. Britain finally granted Egypt nominal independence and a degree of self-government. Qutb was influenced by key members of the Wafd Party, and during this period in his life he worked for the Egyptian Ministry of Education, taught, published poetry, and wrote works of literary criticism. In 1945 he was appointed director general of culture. As part of his work, and also to remove him from the limelight because of controversial statements he made opposing the government, Qutb was sent to the United States from 1948 to 1950 to study and report on its

educational system. He was briefly in Washington, D.C., and also studied for several months at Colorado State in Greeley, Colorado.

While he was in the United States one of Qutb's most important books, *al-'Adala al-ijtima'iyya fi-l-Islam* (*Social Justice in Islam*), was published in 1949. This book thoughtfully analyzes the failure of Muslim-led governments to uphold the need for social justice and recommends a major shift in order to secure an Islamic system that would bring about this condition. The Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt's commitment to social justice is one of its continuous planks. In recent accounts of Qutb's life, it is claimed that he became anti-Western as a result of allegedly morally licentious behavior he observed. It is true that Qutb did not like the aura of certain mixed-sex events he saw, but his more significant criticisms of American life centered on the lack of true spirituality and the racism he observed in this period prior to the civil rights movement.

Qutb was already familiar with the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt. In the late 1940s the secret militant wing of the organization battled with the Egyptian government, and Egyptian government agents assassinated the leader of the Brotherhood, Hassan al-Banna, in 1949.

Qutb returned to Egypt, resigned his government position, and joined the Muslim Brotherhood in 1951, declaring that he was "born" in that year. He became the editor-in-chief of *al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin,* the organization's weekly publication, and then the head of its Propaganda Department and a member of the Working Committee. In 1952, Qutb published his monumental work on the Qur'an, *Fi Dhilal al-Quran,* which is simultaneously exegesis (a *tafsir,* or interpretation) and an examination of the aesthetics of the Qur'an.

When the revolution of 1952 occurred, members of the Muslim Brotherhood had hopes that they would be able to operate legally. Some of the members of the Free Officers Movement who had overthrown the previous regime were allied with the Muslim Brotherhood. However, the organization clashed with the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1949, and Qutb aligned himself with that organization. Many members of the Muslim Brotherhood were jailed in 1951 when the movement was banned in Egypt, and Qutb himself was arrested in 1954. He was held in prison until 1964 on charges of promoting antigovernment activities, and copies of his books were destroyed. Indeed, much of the recent characterization of him as a mastermind of radicalism springs from his struggle with the regime of Gamal Abdel Nasser.

In Qutb's book *Ma'alim fi Tariq* (*Milestones on the Road*), of 1964, he outlines the inevitability of conflict with an oppressive state that does not operate under Islamic principles and oppresses those supporting an Islamic society, equating it to the suppression of early Muslims. Qutb charged that the oppressors were, in essence, no longer Muslims, as they embraced the world of *jahiliyyah* (the term for the pre-Islamic environment), or "barbarism." He tells those struggling for Islam that they must embrace martyrdom, not by choice but because it is a matter of conflict between the forces that support Islam and those that oppose it. While this argument did not explicitly identify the rulers as nonbelievers as later radicals did in the 1970s, it paved the way for that interpretation. Death by martyrdom or death in revolutionary jihad is the fate of those locked in the struggle.

The book was banned, and in 1965, Egyptian authorities rearrested Qutb, along with other leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood. Qutb was brought to trial, found guilty, and executed by hanging in Cairo on August 29, 1966.

Some of the many Islamists jailed in the 1960s became more radical, but when most were released in 1971 by the Egyptian government of Anwar Sadat, they forswore violence and agreed to operate as a movement and were not a legalized political party. However, other more radical groups began to organize. Qutb's ideas are similar to some of those espoused by the radical Takfir wa-l Higrah and the Gamaat Islamiya, which arose in the 1970s. More recently, those dedicated to jihad in contemporary extremist organizations such as Al Qaeda make use of the same ideological constructs of jihad, which are part of Islamic history. What radicalizes them and causes them to pursue radical means is identical to that which confronted Qutb—a state power intent on their eradication.

Russell G. Rodgers and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Islamic Radicalism; Muslim Brotherhood; Nasser, Gamal Abdel

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R

Rabin, Yitzhak

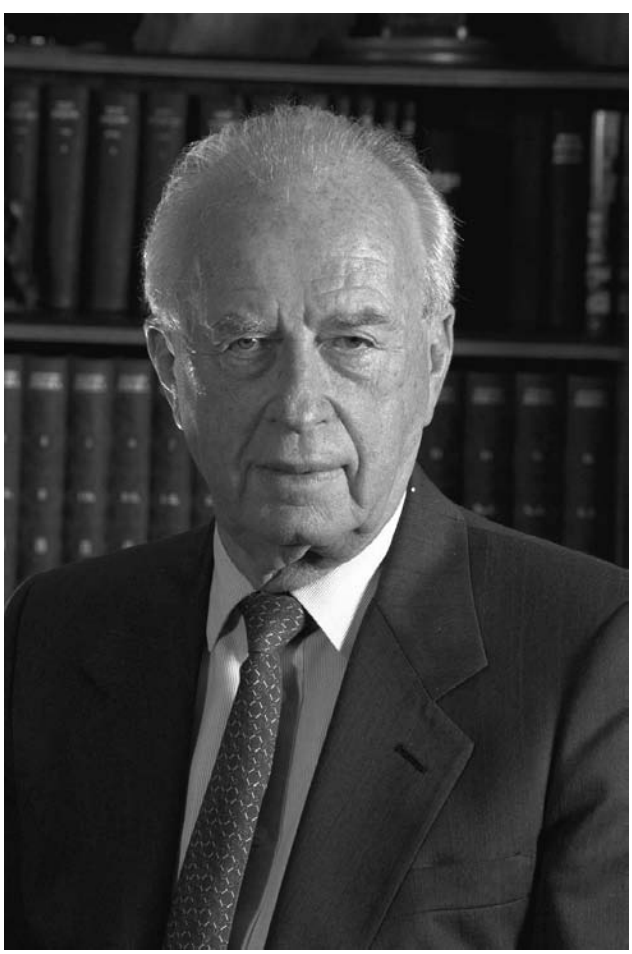
Birth Date: March 1, 1922
Death Date: November 4, 1995

Israeli Army general, diplomat, leader of the Labor Party, and prime minister of Israel (1974–1977 and 1992–1995). Born in Jerusalem on March 1, 1922, Yitzhak Rabin moved with his family to Tel Aviv the following year. He attended the Kadoori Agricultural High School, graduating in 1940. He then went to work at the Kibbutz Ramat Yochanan, where he joined the Palmach, an elite fighting unit of Haganah, the Jewish self-defense organization that ultimately became the Israel Defense Forces (IDF).

In 1944 Rabin was second-in-command of a Palmach battalion and fought against the British Mandate authorities. He was arrested by the British in June 1946 and spent six months in prison. He became chief operations officer of the Palmach in 1947.

Rabin spent the next 20 years fighting for Israel as a member of the IDF. During the 1948–1949 Israeli War of Independence he commanded the Harel Brigade and fought for Jerusalem. He participated in the armistice talks and served as a deputy to Yigal Allon. During 1956–1959 Rabin headed the Northern Command. During 1959–1961 he was chief of operations, and during 1961–1964 he was deputy chief of staff of the IDF. On January 1, 1964, he became IDF chief of staff and held this position during the Six-Day War in 1967. Following the Israeli capture of the Old City of Jerusalem in the war, he was one of the first to visit the city, delivering what became a famous speech on the top of Mount Scopus at the Hebrew University.

On January 1, 1968, Rabin retired from the army and shortly thereafter was named Israeli ambassador to the United States. He held this position until the spring of 1973, when he returned to



Yitzhak Rabin, Israeli Army general, diplomat, leader of the Labor Party, and prime minister of Israel (1974–1977 and 1992–1995). Rabin's assassination in 1995 by a Jewish right-wing extremist was a major blow to the peace process. (Israeli Government Press Office)

Israel and joined the Labor Party. He was elected to the Knesset (Israeli parliament) in December 1973. Prime Minister Golda Meir appointed Rabin to her cabinet as minister of labor in April 1974. Meir retired as prime minister in May 1974, and Rabin took her place on June 2.

As prime minister, Rabin concentrated on improving the economy, solving social problems, and strengthening the IDF. He also sought to improve relations with the United States, which played a key role in mediating disengagement agreements with Israel, Egypt, and Syria in 1974. Egypt and Israel signed an interim agreement in 1975. That same year Israel and the United States signed their first Memorandum of Understanding. The best-known event of Rabin's first term as prime minister was the July 3–4, 1976, rescue of hostages of Air France Flight 139 held at Entebbe, Uganda.

In March 1977 Rabin was forced to resign as prime minister following the revelation that his wife, Leah, held bank accounts in the United States, which was at that time against Israeli law. Menachem Begin replaced him, and Rabin was praised for his integrity and honesty in resigning.

Between 1977 and 1984 Rabin served in the Knesset as a member of the Labor Party and sat on the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. He published his memoirs, *Service Notebook,* in 1979 and served as minister of defense in the national unity governments between 1984 and 1990. In 1985 he proposed that IDF forces withdraw from Lebanon and establish a security zone to protect the settlements along the northern border of Israel.

In February 1992 Rabin was elected chairman of the Labor Party in its first nationwide primary. He led the party to victory in the June elections. He became prime minister for the second time that July. In an effort to achieve peace in the Middle East, he signed a joint Declaration of Principles with Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) chairman Yasser Arafat, shaking hands with him on September 13, 1993, during the Oslo Peace Accords. This agreement created the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) and gave it some control over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Rabin, Arafat, and Shimon Peres shared the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts to achieve peace. In 1995 Rabin continued his negotiations, signing an agreement with Arafat expanding Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank.

A number of ultraconservative Israelis believed that Rabin had betrayed the nation by negotiating with the Palestinians and giving away land they considered rightfully theirs. On November 4, 1995, right-wing extremist Yigal Amir shot Rabin after a peace rally in Kings of Israel Square, afterward renamed Yitzhak Rabin Square. Rabin died of his wounds soon afterward in Ichilov Hospital in Tel Aviv. November 4 has since become a national memorial day for Israelis. Numerous squares, streets, and public foundations have been named for Rabin, who is revered by many for his efforts on behalf of peace.

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See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arafat, Yasser; Begin, Menachem; Meir, Golda Mabovitch; Palestine Liberation Organization

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Radio Baghdad

U.S.-funded radio station begun in March 2002 designed to penetrate Arab nations, particularly Iraq, with the aim of disseminating pro-American news and information. Radio Baghdad is one station in an umbrella broadcast organization known as Radio Sawa.

An Arabic-language station, Radio Baghdad is an outgrowth of the Voice of America (VOA) used during the Cold War to reach behind the Iron Curtain and into Eastern Europe. The VOA, along with the British Broadcasting Company's (BBC) World Service and the Federal Republic of Germany's Deutsche Welle, served to send Western news and propaganda into the communist nations of Eastern Europe. They proved effective enough that the Soviet Union referred to these stations as "The Voices" and attempted to block them. Hoping to build on this success in Europe, the United States in 1955 created Radio Swan, later called Radio Marti, to broadcast into Cuba.

Far from falling out of favor after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the United States continued to use radio as a tool to complement foreign policy objectives and enhance its propaganda campaigns. Radio Rajo, or "hope," was set up to spread the American message in Somalia as well as to alert citizens to the location of relief stations after the U.S. humanitarian mission there in 1993. Prior to U.S. troops moving into Haiti in 1994, Radio Democracy was created to help instruct Haitians how to interact with American troops. And the VOA did not simply expand its number of stations, but it continued to broadcast into Eastern Europe in an attempt to solidify Western values and capitalist principles in those nations.

With the start of the so-called War on Terror after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, radio appeared to be a perfect tool in the U.S. attempt to wage and win a highly ideological war. In 2002, the George W. Bush administration established the Office of Global Communications in the White House to oversee this global propaganda effort. Specifically, the number and type of Arabic broadcasts have increased and greater funding is available for cultural exchange programs.

Because Arabic culture is centered on oral and linguistic histories, radio could be an important tool in U.S. propaganda efforts. In the Arab world, radio has been a social instrument around which people often gather to listen in concert to news and music. Indeed, prior to the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Iraq possessed the largest broadcasting network in the Arab world and one of the strongest in the entire world.

Radio Sawa produced its first broadcast on March 23, 2002. It records its broadcasts in Washington, D.C., and Dubai in the

United Arab Emirates. Radio Sawa has also extended itself onto the Internet with a Web site in Arabic, appropriately named www.radiosawa.com. These broadcasts continue to send out American news and music, as well as Arabic and Spanish-language music. The exact impact of this effort is unknown.

ROBERT H. CLEMM

See also

Global War on Terror; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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Ramadi, First Battle of

Start Date: April 6, 2004
End Date: April 10, 2004

Military engagement between U.S. forces and Iraqi insurgents (mainly Sunnis) on April 6–10, 2004, in Ramadi in central Iraq. Ramadi is the capital of Anbar Province, with a population of some 450,000, and lies along the Euphrates River 70 miles west of Baghdad along a main highway that continues eastward to the Iraqi capital and to the west across the Syrian desert to Jordan. Most of the city's inhabitants are Sunni Muslims. The battle was precipitated when Sunni forces in Ramadi arose in rebellion against U.S. forces garrisoned there.

Situated in the western part of the so-called Sunni Triangle, Ramadi's population had long been a center of support for the government of deposed dictator Saddam Hussein, and as such became a focal point for anticoalition forces after the March 2003 invasion of Iraq. After the days immediately after the fall of Baghdad in April 2003, the *muqawama* (resistance), including those who supported the former regime as well as Sunni Iraqis opposed to the invasion and Iraqi and foreign jihadists, began to fight coalition forces. The insurgents routinely ambushed lightly armored coalition vehicles and attacked convoys with small-arms and rockets, set off bombs in public places and near police stations, and planted improvised explosive devices (IEDs), which they detonated by remote control to destroy or disable coalition vehicles. While U.S. forces sought to maintain a low-profile presence in the city and engaged in efforts to win the support of the city's population through constructive projects, they found that many of the Sunnis held them in contempt.

U.S. troops were blamed when a bomb-making group accidentally set off a charge in a local mosque and when another explosive device exploded in the city's marketplace. By September 2003, the U.S. camp at Ramadi was coming under nightly mortar and artillery fire, with 19 soldiers killed with more than 100 wounded. The Americans sought to turn the town over to Iraqi officials, but insurgents also targeted these alleged collaborators. The resistance also became increasingly brazen; there were even large, noisy pro-Saddam public demonstrations in the city's streets.

Thus, 13 months after the invasion, Ramadi had become one of the most perilous places in all of Iraq. When members of the Iraqi Governing Council agreed on a new constitution in March 2004 and drafted plans for elections the following January, an upsurge in violence occurred in Anbar Province. The most dramatic incident in this escalation occurred in Fallujah, which was another epicenter of the insurgency located just 30 miles east of Ramadi. There a mob lynched four civilian contractors who had been dragged from an ambushed convoy, desecrated their burned bodies, and hanged the corpses on a bridge over the Euphrates on March 31, 2004. As coalition forces moved to pacify Fallujah, insurgents in Ramadi confronted U.S. Marines at a level of intensity not seen since the early days of the Iraq War.

The worst of the Battle of Ramadi, from the American perspective, occurred on April 6, the first day of pitched battle. On that day, the 2nd Battalion, 4th Marine Regiment, 1st Marine Division, which was charged with maintaining order in the city, received intelligence that insurgents intended to seize a government building. Marine patrols entered the city to carry out a sweep in support of loyalist Iraqis to prevent the takeover and to disperse antigovernment elements. On their way, they fell into well-laid ambushes set up by scores of fighters who were thought to be former members of the Special Republican Guards. Thus the marines of Golf Company, who were carrying out the foot patrols, came under sniper fire, ran into insurgent ambushes, and spent much of the day pinned down and taking casualties. As other units moved to relieve the beleaguered marines, they, too, were ambushed. Several platoons engaged in firefights before they could extricate themselves with the help of other marines as well as members of the U.S. Army's 1st Brigade, 1st Infantry Division, which committed M1 Abrams tanks and Bradley fighting vehicles to the fight.

The deadliest of the attacks that day took place in the city's marketplace, where a group of perhaps 50 anticoalition fighters set up a .50-caliber machine gun on a rooftop and took positions atop other buildings or in nearby shops and behind trees with AK-47s, rocket-propelled grenade launchers, and other small arms. There they waylaid a group of some 20 marines from Echo Company as they entered the marketplace in 3 Humvees followed by 2 trucks. The hard-pressed marines were unable to call in helicopter air support, which was then committed elsewhere, and the heavy machine-gun fire ripped apart the lead vehicle with all but one of its occupants trapped inside. By the time reinforcements arrived and the marines were able to move forward again, they found that many of their Iraqi opponents had fled. Ten marines were killed and many others were wounded in this action.

Heavy fighting occurred in Ramadi over the next few days. On April 7, the marines returned in force to take the fight to the

enemy and complete their original mission. They came under similar ambushes and sustained additional casualties, but no combat deaths in a series of firefights, which occurred throughout the city all that day. The marines also inflicted heavy losses on the insurgents. Ultimately, the marines conducted street-by-street and house-by-house raids that led to the capture and interrogation of dozens of suspects and the seizure of arms caches. Altogether before the battle ended on April 10, the marines suffered 16 killed-in-action and 25 wounded. Insurgent losses remain unclear, as many of those killed and wounded were removed before U.S. forces regained the upper hand; however, most estimates put insurgent casualties at around 250 killed and hundreds more wounded.

The insurgency swung into high gear with the fighting in Ramadi and elsewhere in March and April 2004. Heretofore, coalition leaders continued to hope that they would win the battle for the "hearts and minds" of Iraqi civilians. Now, many wondered whether this was possible. Others questioned whether there were sufficient numbers of "boots on the ground" to quell a growing resistance that was developing new and more lethal tactics. Rather than the desultory, hit-and-run efforts mounted by the insurgents in the past, the marines at Ramadi encountered well-coordinated attacks, with their opponents proving themselves adept at ambushes, laying down suppression fire, and making effective use of cover and concealment. Although the marines had won this battle, they and other forces in Iraq still faced a stiff resistance in many other towns and districts of Iraq that would not easily be extinguished.

George L. Simpson

See also

Fallujah, First Battle of; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; Sunni Triangle; United States Marine Corps, Iraq War

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Ramadi, Second Battle of

Start Date: June 17, 2006
End Date: November 15, 2006

Military engagement in which U.S. Army and Marine forces, along with elements of the Iraqi Army, fought for control of Ramadi, the capital of Anbar Province in western Iraq. After U.S.-led forces took Fallujah for the first time during November–December 2004, Ramadi became the center of the growing insurgency in Iraq. In this city of some 400,000 people, about 80 miles west of Baghdad, insurgent leaders created the Islamic State of Iraq, a coalition of Islamist fighting groups that included al-Qa'ida fi Bilad al-Rafhidayn ("Al Qaeda in the Land of the Two Rivers," meaning Iraq). At the time, marine leaders believed that if Ramadi remained in insurgent hands, all of Anbar Province would be insecure.

In June 2006, with the situation worsening, the U.S. command dispatched the 1st Brigade Combat Team of the 1st U.S. Armored Division to the Ramadi area to initiate plans to attack the insurgents. Many feared another full-scale Fallujah-style assault that might kill dozens of noncombatants and level the city. However, U.S. commanders were determined to proceed with caution and they carefully planned their operation, which involved some 5,500 U.S. soldiers and marines and 2,000 Iraqi Army troops.

By June 10, the U.S. and Iraqi troops had cordoned off the city, and a growing number of air strikes were mounted on specific targets. U.S. forces, using loudspeakers, warned residents to evacuate before the impending attack. The main goal of the operation was to sever insurgent supply and reinforcement lines into Ramadi. The Americans also planned to set up locations outside Ramadi where noninsurgent Iraqis from the city could find safe haven.

On June 18, operations began in earnest when two U.S. mechanized columns and an Iraqi Army unit of some 2,000 men entered the city's suburbs from the south and cut off two access routes into the city. Concurrently, marine units captured and held the western portion of the city center, controlling the river and its two main bridges. While armored forces controlled the city's eastern exits, marine units established outposts east of Ramadi along the main road between Baghdad and Syria.

With these key points secured, several hundred coalition forces, supported by Lockheed AC-130 gunships, moved into eastern Ramadi. The gunships killed several insurgents as coalition troops established an outpost in Ramadi's Mulab neighborhood to allow U.S. and Iraqi troops to better patrol this problem area. There they discovered numerous weapons caches and improvised explosive device (IED) components in many homes.

While this part of the operation met with some success, the Americans soon found themselves in intense street fighting throughout the city. Insurgents would mount widely scattered points simultaneously and then vanish. On July 24, the jihadist forces launched a major attack and, while they suffered heavy casualties, they continued to press toward their main objective, the Ramadi Government Center, in which dozens of marines were barricaded.

To meet the threat, U.S. troops demolished several smaller surrounding structures, with the plan to turn the area into a park later. Still, all the coalition troops who ventured into the city faced IEDs, suicide attacks, and patrol ambushes. Sniper fire was a near constant.

In early July, U.S. troops captured the Ramadi General Hospital, which had been used as an insurgent barracks. Coalition wounded who had been taken to the hospital were found beheaded, and nearly every room on every floor of the seven-story building was rigged with explosive devices.

On August 21, the insurgents killed and defiled the body of Sunni Sheikh Abu Ali Jassim, who had encouraged many of his

tribesmen to join the Iraqi police in their efforts to root out the insurgents. In response, with funding and organizational efforts coming from the coalition, on September 9, 2006, 50 sheikhs from 20 tribes from across Anbar Province formally organized an anti-insurgent council, named Anbar Awakening. Some of its members had been fighters with Al Qaeda in Iraq. However, as the council gained strength, its tribal members began attacking Al Qaeda fighters in the suburbs of Ramadi. By October, representatives from many tribes in northern and western Ramadi had joined the Awakening.

In mid-September 2006, new marine units relieved those holding western Ramadi. Throughout the next three months, truck bombs as well as suicide and sniper attacks continued as part of the daily routine for the occupying forces. U.S. Navy SEAL Michael A. Monsoor was posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor for having thrown himself on a grenade that threatened the lives of the other members of his team on September 29, 2006.

One of the more tragic events in the battle occurred in mid-November when, during a firefight, an air attack in central Ramadi inadvertently killed more than 30 civilians, many of them women and children. The Battle of Ramadi also marked the first time insurgents employed chlorine bombs. On October 21, 2006, they detonated a car bomb of two 100-pound chlorine tanks, injuring three Iraqi policemen and a civilian.

The battle formally ended on November 15. It had claimed the lives of 75 American soldiers and marines and more than 200 were wounded. U.S. officials estimated insurgent dead at 750. The number of Iraqi Army deaths were not known. Coalition forces claimed to have secured 70 percent of the city by the end of November.

On December 1, 2006, with insurgents still entrenched in parts of Ramadi, the United States launched Operation SQUEEZE PLAY. Supported by Anbar Awakening tribal fighters, by January 14, 2007, coalition forces had secured a much larger portion of the city and killed or captured roughly 200 additional insurgents.

By the spring of 2007, U.S. officials believed that they had finally gained control over all of Ramadi. On June 30, 2007, a group of 64 insurgents attempted to infiltrate the city but were wiped out by U.S. marines, who had been alerted by Iraqi police.

WILLIAM P. HEAD

See also

Al Qaeda in Iraq; Anbar Awakening; Fallujah, Second Battle of; Iraqi Insurgency

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Ratzinger, Joseph Alois

See Benedict XVI, Pope

Reagan, Ronald Wilson

Birth Date: February 11, 1911
Death Date: June 5, 2004

U.S. politician and president of the United States (1981–1989). Born on February 11, 1911, in Tampico, Illinois, Ronald Reagan graduated from Eureka College, worked as a sports announcer, and in 1937 won a Hollywood contract with Warner Brothers, eventually appearing in 53 movies. Once a New Deal Democrat, his politics grew increasingly conservative in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

In 1966, Reagan won the first of two terms as the Republican governor of California. During his campaign he supported U.S. intervention in Vietnam and condemned student antiwar protestors. He soon became one of the leading figures of the increasingly powerful Republican Right, supporting high defense budgets, a strong anticommunist international posture, and deep cuts in taxes and domestic expenditures. These positions he affirmed while seeking the Republican presidential nomination in 1976 and 1980.

In November 1980, when Reagan defeated Democratic incumbent Jimmy Carter for the presidency, the United States was

Ronald W. Reagan was president of the United States during 1981–1989. A staunch anticommunist, he carried out the largest peacetime defense buildup in U.S. history and worked to reverse the liberal tradition that had dominated U.S. politics since the Great Depression. (Library of Congress)

suffering from spiraling inflation and high unemployment. In Iran, radical Muslims had overthrown Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1979, sending oil prices soaring. For more than a year radical Iranian students held U.S. diplomatic personnel hostage in Tehran. An almost simultaneous Soviet-backed coup in Afghanistan intensified a sense of American impotence, as did communist insurgencies in Central America and Africa. Reagan opposed compromise with communism. Believing firmly that a U.S. victory in the Cold War was attainable, the ever-optimistic Reagan used blatantly triumphalist, anti-Soviet rhetoric, famously terming the Soviet Union "the Evil Empire."

Reagan purposefully engaged the Soviet Union in an arms race whereby he and his advisers hoped that American technological and economic superiority would strain the Soviet economy. The Reagan administration hiked the defense budget from $171 billion to $376 billion between 1981 and 1986 in the hopes of helping the United States to combat communism around the world.

Breaking with Carter's foreign policies, Reagan also deliberately supported dictatorships, provided they were pro-American, while at the same time assailing human rights abuses within the Soviet sphere. Covert operations intensified as the United States offered support to anticommunist forces around the world, providing economic aid to the dissident Polish Solidarity trade union movement and military and economic assistance to antigovernment rebels in Angola, mujahideen guerrillas in Afghanistan and the anti-Sandinista Contras in Nicaragua. Aid to the Contras included covert support. When Congress responded by passing the Boland Amendments (1982–1984), forbidding funding for Nicaraguan covert actions, the Reagan administration embroiled itself in an ill-fated secret enterprise to sell arms to Iran—thereby evading its own embargo but, officials suggested, enhancing the political standing of Iranian moderate elements—and using the proceeds to aid the Nicaraguan Contras. Revelations of these illegal activities embarrassed Reagan during his second term.

Notwithstanding his bellicose rhetoric, in practice Reagan was surprisingly pragmatic and cautious. In potentially difficult guerrilla settings, his administration favored covert operations, preferably undertaken by surrogates, such as the Afghan mujahideen or the Nicaraguan Contras, over outright military intervention. Wars were kept short and easily winnable, as in the small Caribbean island of Grenada in 1983 when American troops liberated the island from Marxist rule. When radical pro-Syrian Druze Muslims bombed the Beirut barracks of an American peacekeeping force in Lebanon that same year, killing 241 American soldiers, the United States quickly withdrew. In 1986, suspected Libyan involvement in terrorist incidents provoked retaliatory American surgical air strikes on Tripoli, but no war.

The Reagan administration's Middle East policies were characteristic of its approach toward other regions of the world. Anticommunism—laced with anti-Soviet rhetoric—was buffered by pragmatism and caution. U.S. officials took a hard line against regional terrorist organizations, including Lebanon's Hezbollah, which was routinely taking Americans hostage and assaulting civilian targets. This became particularly acute after the June 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. When radical Palestinians began a major terror campaign in the Gaza Strip and on the West Bank, Reagan administration officials sharply denounced the activity and made veiled hints of retaliation. In 1982 when the United Nations (UN) called for a limited peacekeeping force in Lebanon, Reagan sent U.S. Marines. Their job was not an easy one, given that Israel completely occupied Beirut and was attempting to flush out Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) members. In September 1982, the massacre of Palestinian civilians in Lebanon's Sabra and Shatila refugee camps by Maronite Christian militias shocked and embarrassed the Reagan administration. As a result, Reagan helped form a new multinational peacekeeping force. The intensive U.S. diplomatic efforts to broker a peace deal between Israel and Lebanon ultimately bore fruit, although the October 1983 bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut put an effective end to the American military presence there. In an attempt to keep American ties with Saudi Arabia on track, in 1981 Reagan pushed through the controversial sale of American-made Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) planes to the kingdom. Israel fiercely denounced the move.

Reagan had become president only months after the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988). At first, the United States attempted to stay neutral. As time went on, the administration attempted to help both sides. However, Reagan administration officials began tilting toward Iraq as the war dragged on. A clear consensus had emerged that Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein was the lesser of two evils. Indeed, the United States had more to fear from a triumphant Iran, which might foment fundamentalist revolutions in neighboring Arab states, than it did from a secular, albeit autocratic, Iraq. By 1982, when an Iranian victory looked likely, the Reagan administration launched Operation STAUNCH, an effort to prevent arms from making their way to Iran. The United States also began to provide financial and intelligence assistance to Hussein. At the same time, however, Reagan administration officials were secretly selling arms to Iran to fund its covert aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. It is also believed that the administration shipped so-called dual-purpose materials (such as biological and chemical agents) to Iraq, which was supposed to use them for civilian purposes. It is highly likely that they were used in Iraq's secret programs to manufacture chemical and biological weapons. The longer-term implications of these policies are now manifest. The United States has since been compelled to wage two separate wars against Iraq, the first one in 1991 and the second one in 2003, which is far from resolved.

Despite campaign pledges to the contrary, Reagan did not shun mainland China or restore U.S. relations with Taiwan. Sino-American trade increased, and Reagan made a 1984 state visit to Beijing. By 1984, international and domestic politics suggested that

the president moderate his anti-Soviet line. In September 1984, Reagan proposed combining all major ongoing nuclear weapons talks into one package, and Soviet leaders soon agreed.

Reagan's mellowing coincided with the culmination of long-standing Soviet economic problems as military spending rose, diverting funds from domestic programs. The Solidarity Movement in Poland proved remarkably persistent, undercutting Soviet control. Assertive Soviet policies in Africa and Latin America carried a high price tag too, while the decade-long Afghan intervention had embroiled Soviet troops in a costly and unwinnable guerrilla war.

In 1985 the young and energetic Mikhail Gorbachev became the general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). He thought the only way to save communism was to immediately address Russia's problems and reform the Soviet Union's crumbling economic and social systems. American and European leaders were initially wary of Gorbachev's overtures, although he quickly won great popularity. After British prime minister Margaret Thatcher urged Reagan—her ideological soul mate—to work with Gorbachev, the president did just that. Domestic economic factors may have also impelled Reagan toward rapprochement. Deep tax cuts meant that heavy government budget deficits financed the 1980s defense buildup, and in November 1987 an unexpected Wall Street stock market crash suggested that American economic fundamentals might be undesirably weak. Reagan had several summit meetings with Gorbachev, and in 1987 the superpowers signed the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, eliminating all medium-range missiles in Europe. This marked the beginning of a series of arms reduction agreements, continued under Reagan's successor George H. W. Bush, and of measures whereby the Soviet Union withdrew from its East European empire and, by 1991, allowed it to collapse.

Reagan left office in 1989. After a decade-long battle with Alzheimer's disease, he died of pneumonia at his home in Los Angeles, California, on June 5, 2004.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Carter, James Earl, Jr.; Iran; Iran-Contra Affair; Iran-Iraq War; Iranian Revolution; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Lebanon, Israeli Invasion of; Lebanon, U.S. Intervention in (1982–1984); Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Qaddafi, Muammar; Reza Pahlavi, Mohammad; Shultz, George Pratt; Soviet-Afghanistan War; Weinberger, Caspar Willard

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Reagan Administration, Middle East Policy

Although the Cold War with the Soviet Union remained the primary focus of the Ronald Reagan administration's foreign policy, the Middle East became an increasing concern. Reagan administration policies were less a consistent approach than a series of reactions to events that were often manipulated by adversaries and allies alike. Harried by the complexities of the region, the Reagan White House pursued a number of different strategies, some of them dubious. Among the latter was the 1987 Iran-Contra Affair, which involved the illegal and covert sale of weapons to Iran, the resulting funds from which were used to support rightist Nicaraguan freedom fighters (Contras).

When Reagan took office in January 1981, the most important goal was securing the release of the Iranian hostages. Thereafter, his administration entered Middle East politics with the notion that it could use the Soviet threat as a basis for cooperation between Israel and moderate Arab states. Instead, the competing territorial claims of Israel, the Palestinians, and hostile Arab state neighbors superseded all other issues. American challenges were compounded by three wars in progress when Reagan took office: the Soviet-Afghanistan War (1979–1989), the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), and an ongoing civil war in Lebanon.

The Reagan administration proved to be a staunch supporter of Israel in almost all cases and sharply denounced Palestinian terrorism in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. At the same time, it allowed Israel a free hand to operate in Lebanon, despite the significantly destabilizing consequences of these actions. In June 1982, Israeli forces invaded southern Lebanon, recapturing the buffer zone it had already claimed in 1978. The Israelis hoped to eliminate the Palestinian resistance there. Given that the Israelis were also engaging Syrian forces deployed in Lebanon to maintain a sphere of influence, considerable potential existed for a wider war.

The U.S. response to the Israeli incursion was tepid; indeed, the White House had provided an implicit green light to such a move on the part of Israel. But as casualties and international outrage mounted, Reagan sought a diplomatic solution to the crisis. With a temporary cease-fire in place, a multinational force, including 800 U.S. Marines, facilitated an evacuation of PLO fighters in August 1982.

The following month, however, hundreds of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps near Beirut were massacred by Christian militia units with the apparent knowledge of the Israelis. Reagan then dispatched 1,800 U.S. Marines to the vicinity of Beirut's airport to act as a buffer between the Israelis and their enemies. Meanwhile, the White House was gravitating toward the Christian Maronite faction in the civil war, which compromised the U.S. position as a peacekeeper. Further complicating matters, the Iranian theocratic government was also active in Lebanon, promoting terrorism among Shiite Muslims there.

In April 1983, a truck bomb destroyed the U.S. embassy in Beirut, taking 46 lives. The Israelis retreated to a more defensible

U.S. Marine Corps amphibious vehicles come ashore in Lebanon on September 29, 1982. In response to growing violence in Lebanon and a request by that country's president, U.S. president Ronald Reagan ordered the marines into Lebanon as part of an international peacekeeping force. (Marine Corps Historical Center)

position, which left the U.S. Marines even more dangerously exposed. On October 23, 1983, the marines suffered their worst day of combat deaths since the Battle of Iwo Jima of World War II. A truck loaded with explosives leveled their barracks, resulting in 241 fatalities, prompting Reagan to say later that this was the saddest day of his eight-year presidency. The Reagan administration withdrew the U.S. peacekeeping force early the following year with little to show for its efforts or the sacrifice by American servicemen. By 1983, the White House had unintentionally fostered the impression that it was complicit in all facets of Israeli policy.

In accordance with the Reagan Doctrine of supporting insurgencies against communist regimes around the world, in 1985 the White House began funding Afghan freedom fighters (mujahideen). The mujahideen were engaged in a long and bloody insurgency against Soviet occupation forces in Afghanistan. This policy aimed not only at augmenting the traditional containment doctrine but also at reducing U.S. casualties through the use of covert operations and client resources. The mujahideen had already been receiving U.S. military hardware of increasing sophistication since 1982, most notably Stinger surface-to-air missiles, which proved highly lethal to Soviet forces. In 1988, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union's new leader, announced that Soviet forces would begin a phased withdrawal from their quagmire in Afghanistan, although suspicions lingered in the White House that Moscow might continue to prop up a friendly regime in Kabul.

In the long term, American funding of the mujahideen and the rapid Soviet departure from Afghanistan left that nation highly unstable and susceptible to radicalized elements. By the mid-1990s, the Taliban, a radical fundamentalist theocracy took over there, which aided and abetted terrorists—most notoriously Osama bin Laden, the head of the Al Qaeda organization and mastermind of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks against the United States.

In 1986, the Reagan administration struck back against state-sponsored terrorism when it ordered a punitive air strike against the headquarters of Libyan president Muammar Qaddafi. Libya had been sponsoring terrorists and terrorist organizations for a number of years, the targets of which were invariably Western interests. Although the United States had been involved in low-level hostilities with the Libyans for years, the catalyst for the air strikes came in the April 5, 1986, bombing of a discotheque in West Berlin, Germany, in which two American servicemen were killed. When evidence for the deed pointed to Tripoli, Reagan ordered a punitive air strike against various Libyan targets, including some in the capital city of Tripoli. On April 15, 18 F-111F bombers carried out their mission. Although Qaddafi's home was targeted, he escaped injury, but an infant girl, said to be his adopted daughter, died in the raid. Two U.S. Air Force captains were also killed when their plane was shot down over the Gulf of Sidra. The bold attack provoked both shock and consternation internationally, but after the raid Libyan-sponsored terrorism dropped off precipitously.

In 1980, territorial, ethnic, and, religious disputes between Iran and Iraq, and Iran's seeming distraction following its 1979 Revolution, led Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein to go to war with

his neighbor. The result was an eight-year conflict that brought massive casualties on both sides and even the use of chemical and biological weapons. Although publicly calling on the international community to remain neutral in the Iran-Iraq War, the Reagan White House secretly provided arms and satellite intelligence to the Iraqis in response to America's recent anguish over the protracted hostage crisis with Iran.

Meanwhile, terrorist organizations with ties to Iran, such as Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad, had kidnapped seven U.S. citizens from Lebanon, most of whom had no connection to U.S. governmental policymaking. Agonizing over how to retrieve the hostages when the U.S. intelligence presence in the region was scant at best, the White House, though deeply divided, decided to cultivate relations with Iranian moderates. By 1985, negotiations were underway for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to sell U.S. antitank (TOW) missiles to Iran (with Israelis acting as go-betweens) in exchange for Tehran's favorable influence on the hostage dilemma.

President Reagan approved the plan with the stipulations that the arms transfers would not alter the balance of power in the Iran-Iraq War and that no quid pro quo existed to obtain the captured Americans. By 1986 the weapons flow had increased dramatically (more than 1,500 total missiles changed hands) without much progress with the hostage negotiations. Only two of the original seven hostages had been returned by July 1986, and later that year three more Americans were taken from Beirut.

In a bizarre twist, the proceeds from the Iranian arms sales were funneled through secret Swiss bank accounts to fund clandestine aid to Nicaraguan Contras battling against the left-wing, Sandinista regime. During 1982–1984, a Democratic-controlled House of Representatives had passed the Boland Amendments, specifically barring any U.S. governmental agencies from providing military aid to influence events in Nicaragua. In November 1986, however, a Lebanese magazine broke the story of the Middle Eastern dimension of what ultimately became known as the Iran-Contra Affair. U.S. credibility in the region suffered as moderate Arab states lost faith in Washington's resolve against terrorism.

A congressional investigation soon centered around national security advisers Robert McFarlane and Vice Admiral John Poindexter as well as Oliver North, a marine lieutenant colonel on staff assignment to the National Security Council. Some 190 Reagan officials were indicted or convicted in relation to this conspiracy, which was a significant blight on Reagan's second term. Reagan himself was not implicated in the scheme.

When Reagan left office in January 1989, he bequeathed to his successor a Middle East still in turmoil and with no significant breakthrough in the enduring Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Less than two years later, the formerly U.S.-backed Iraq preemptively struck at Kuwait and occupied it, setting off the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

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See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Hezbollah; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Contra Affair; Iran-Iraq War; Iranian Revolution; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Islamic Jihad, Palestinian; Lebanon; Lebanon, U.S. Intervention in (1982–1984); Libya; Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Reagan, Ronald Wilson; Taliban; Terrorism

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Reconnaissance Aircraft

See Aircraft, Reconnaissance

Reconnaissance Satellites

Intelligence-gathering satellites, usually known as spy satellites, launched into Earth orbit to gather information about other nations' military capabilities. The Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union in the years following World War II and the refusal of the Soviets to allow on-site weapons inspections as a condition of disarmament agreements led the United States to attempt to monitor Soviet military capabilities through specially designed high-flying reconnaissance aircraft. Although these aircraft—most notably the Lockheed U-2—carried out overflights of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China, the information they collected was rather limited, and the aircraft could be shot down. Indeed, a number of the aircraft were downed, most notably a U-2 on an overflight of the Soviet Union on May 1, 1960.

The U.S. Air Force ordered development of the first reconnaissance satellite on March 16, 1955, with the stated goal to "determine the status of a potential enemy's war-making ability." The first satellite in space, however, was the Soviet Sputnik on October 4, 1957. The U.S. Army launched the first American satellite, Explorer I, on October 1, 1958. Other launches by both powers followed in rapid succession, and both nations were soon using satellites equipped with specially designed cameras for intelligence collection. Now nearly a dozen nations utilize satellite technology for spying on foreign nations and their military dispositions. Satellites, of course, have the great advantage of not requiring overflight rights.

The first spy satellites were equipped with a single panoramic camera, the photographs from which were returned to Earth through ejected canisters of film on parachutes, which were then retrieved in midair. Currently intelligence satellites record digital images, which are then downloaded by means of encrypted radio links.

Established in 1960, the National Reconnaissance Office (NRO) had responsibility for the secret Corona project, the first and longest-running U.S. satellite program. For 12 years, until 1972,

Corona yielded invaluable information about the Soviet Union. While the NRO continues to create and build reconnaissance satellites for military and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) use, in 1982 the Air Force Space Command was created to manage operational control of space systems. It has charge of all launch operations.

The NRO operates satellites for the U.S. military and other intelligence agencies. Reconnaissance satellite programs are among the most classified of a nation's intelligence operations. Five primary surveillance systems are in use, including optical satellites, which use a large mirror to collect light for photography; radar-imaging satellites that rely on microwave signals to see through cloud cover (radar-imaging and optical satellites are also able to view wider areas of the earth's surface); signals satellites, which monitor and intercept radio, telephone, and data transmissions; and ocean observation satellites, which help to locate and ascertain the positions and headings of ships at sea.

Not wishing to see Iran triumph during the Iran-Iraq War of 1980–1988, the United States shared information gathered by reconnaissance satellites with the Iraqi military. Intelligence information acquired from satellites provided valuable information to coalition military planning during Operation DESERT STORM (January–February 1991). Two Key Hole–class KH-11 satellites (N-7 and N-8) and a Lacrosse-1 satellite provided visual reconnaissance. Key Hole–class satellites return images to Earth through an electronic link. The KH-11–class satellites have infrared imagery, including a thermal infrared capability that allows images to be captured in darkness. The Lacrosse radar-imaging system is a satellite utilized for identifying tactical and strategic military targets. The system employs Synthetic Aperture Radar (SAR), which allows it to resolve images to within one meter. Also, Lacrosse satellites are all-weather, day-night satellites.

In addition to the military space systems, images were also secured from commercial satellites for surveillance of natural resources, including the LANDSAT-4 and LANDSAT-5 (U.S.), and the Spot-1 and Spot-2 (France). Intelligence information collected from these sources was combined with data collected from human and other sources. Information gleaned from the satellites was especially useful in targeting air strikes by cruise missiles and aircraft.

One of the important lessons learned by the NRO from the Persian Gulf War was the need for increased area surveillance. In the decade following Operation DESERT STORM, reconnaissance satellites were improved to meet the evolving tactical intelligence needs of the military community. These improvements were tested in the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in 2001.

In 2001 the United States had 10 times the satellite capacity of the Persian Gulf War. Satellite imagery was a central component of targeting Al Qaeda and the Taliban during the autumn of 2001, and it played a key role in the rapid defeat of the Taliban by the U.S.-backed Northern Alliance. Reconnaissance satellites also proved invaluable in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003. In March 2003 there were no less than six NRO high-resolution imaging satellites providing around-the-clock intelligence coverage of Iraq. The KH-11 and Lacrosse radar satellites were able to monitor at night and in bad weather. Today, the U.S. military and those of other nations rely heavily on the surveillance capabilities of space satellite systems to provide timely, detailed information on enemy capabilities and dispositions.

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See also

Aircraft, Reconnaissance; Land Remote-Sensing Satellite; National Reconnaissance Office

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Regime Change

A phrase that first appeared in American vocabulary in the early 2000s, in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks. Generally, the term refers to action taken by external actors to replace another state's government. In its contemporary American usage, "regime change" refers specifically to President George W. Bush's policy goal of removing Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein from power. The stated belief that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) was the chief reason advanced by the Bush administration for the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003 (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). As a side issue, the poor human rights record and repression of Hussein's dictatorship were given as additional reasons for advocating a democratic Iraq. The neoconservatives believed that a democratic Iraq would help to transform the Middle East. When no WMDs were found in Iraq, "regime change" became the Bush administration's chief justification for the war.

Although the descriptor "regime change" is relatively new, the ideas behind it are not. Indeed, the United States has been involved in a number of military and diplomatic conflicts with similar goals. The United States has explicitly stated a policy of encouraging "regime change" in Iran for some years, although not by military means. Combined action by the United States and Britain indeed brought regime change to Iran in 1953, and covert U.S. actions fostered regime change in Latin America, specifically in Chile and Nicaragua. Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, the U.S.-led effort to topple the Taliban government in Afghanistan in late 2001, was clearly an effort to effect regime change there.

The origins of the U.S. aspiration for regime change in Iraq lie in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, in which the United States, under the leadership of President George H. W. Bush and within a broad international coalition, went to war with Iraq, then led by Saddam Hussein, to expel the Iraqis from Kuwait. In November 1998 President Bill Clinton signed the Iraq Liberation Act, which refers specifically to the "regime" of Saddam Hussein and the importance of ousting it.

In President George W. Bush's estimation, in the post–September 11 environment, the goal of regime change, along with the presumed threat of WMDs and the assumption that Hussein had ties to terrorist networks, necessitated military action. In his State of the Union Address on January 29, 2002, Bush identified Iraq as part of a global "Axis of Evil," which also included Iran and North Korea. This speech presaged his new foreign/military policy strategy of preemption, known as the Bush Doctrine, and was a break with past policy toward Iraq, which emphasized sanctions, containment, and localized bombing operations. Colin Powell, then secretary of state, made the case for an invasion of Iraq before the United Nations (UN) Security Council in February 2003, based partly on faulty intelligence. He later regretted his actions.

Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, which began in March 2003, has had various outcomes. To date, no WMDs have been found, and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has established that there were no clear links between Hussein's government and Al Qaeda operatives from Afghanistan, in contrast with the Bush administration's claims that such links existed. President Bush and other administration officials also confused many Americans when they subsequently portrayed Al Qaeda in Iraq as being essentially the same as Al Qaeda in Afghanistan.

The goal of regime change was realized, although the Iraqi government still remains unstable and insurgents continue to clash with coalition and Iraqi troops. After the collapse of his government, Hussein was captured on December 13, 2004, tried before an Iraqi court, and executed by Iraqi authorities on December 30, 2006. In the meantime, the Iraqi government and military have been restructured. Democratic elections were held in January 2005, and constitutional negotiations are ongoing. Furthermore, U.S. troops are training Iraqi military and police personnel so that they can take charge of their nation's defense.

Although there was widespread recognition of the dictatorial nature of Hussein's regime, which held many political prisoners and was guilty of major human rights abuses against the Kurds and Shia Iraqis, significant portions of the international community remained unconvinced that regime change in Iraq was a goal worth pursuing. This was especially true given the skepticism over Iraqi WMDs or ties to Al Qaeda, as evidenced by the failure of the UN Security Council to support military action against Iraq when permanent members France and Russia exercised their veto power. Regime change by an international power without an additional casus belli is considered illegal under international law. Thus other American actions in this regard, such as the CIA's participation in the 1953 coup in Iran, had been covert, and underlying reasons, such as securing access to oil, were not discussed widely. Furthermore, many scholars, activists, and world leaders expressed concern that "regime change" was simply American imperialism by another name.

Regime change as foreign policy remained controversial within the United States as well. Although there was widespread popular dislike and fear of Hussein and his regime, only a slim majority of the country supported taking military action to remove him from power. Furthermore, as fighting persisted well beyond Bush's declaration of the end of major combat operations in May 2003, the war became increasingly unpopular, and a counterdiscourse of domestic regime change emerged. Democratic candidate John Kerry, in his failed 2004 presidential bid, called for regime change in the United States.

With Hussein removed from power, the Bush administration backed off the language of regime change and switched its emphasis to the rhetoric of spreading freedom and democracy in the Middle East. Popular support for the war continues to wane, however, and many critics wonder whether the removal of a dictatorial government justifies the continuing loss of American lives in Iraq. Although Hussein was eventually found guilty of war crimes and executed in December 2006, the debate over the wisdom of regime change in Iraq has continued, especially in the political realm. In the 2008 presidential race, the rhetoric of regime change was downplayed, especially among the Republicans, but the Democrats continued to assert that the invasion of Iraq should not have taken place.

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See also

Bush Doctrine; Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Clinton, William Jefferson; Hussein, Saddam; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Powell, Colin Luther; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Rendition

A legal term meaning "handing over." As applied by the U.S. government, rendition has been a controversial method to fight terrorism. Overseen by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), its use was approved by both President William J. Clinton and President George W. Bush.

There are two forms of rendition: ordinary rendition and extraordinary rendition. Ordinary rendition occurs when a terrorist suspect is captured in a foreign country and then turned over to the United States. The individual is then transported to the United States or held at a foreign site for interrogation. Extraordinary rendition is the turning over of a suspected terrorist to a third-party country for detainment and questioning. Often, the suspect is wanted by the third-party country as well, for past offenses or crimes.

The first use of ordinary rendition occurred in 1986, during the Ronald Reagan administration, in regard to a suicide bombing in Beirut, Lebanon, the previous year. Fawaz Yunis had participated in the 1985 hijacking of a Jordanian aircraft, during which three Americans were killed. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents and U.S. Navy SEALs seized him in a boat off the Lebanese coast.

Rendition as a policy lay largely dormant until the rise of more terrorism in the early 1990s. One such rendition involved the capture of Ramzi Yusif and his transportation to the United States. Yusif had been implicated in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing.

By the mid-1990s, there was a need for rules to standardize rendition. Michael Scheuer, then the head of the Bin Ladin Issue Station (code-named Alex, or Alec Station) in the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), drew up the guidelines for a new rendition program in 1996. He ultimately ran the rendition program for 40 months.

The intent of the rendition program was to dismantle and disrupt the Al Qaeda terrorist network and detain Islamic terrorists. Because the Clinton administration and the FBI did not want the captives brought to the United States, where the legal process gave them significant protection, the CIA focused on Al Qaeda suspects who were wanted in a third country. In the early years, most of the extraordinary renditions were to Egypt, where torture and other illegal methods of interrogation were, and remain, in use.

The CIA has always been ambivalent about rendition. It has justified the practice with the contention that when allied governments had intelligence on terrorists that could not be used in a court of law, rendition was sometimes the only way to neutralize the terrorists. For renditions, the CIA has frequently used paramilitaries organized into teams and operating under the supervision of a CIA officer.

The rendition program has been effective, but it includes the danger that the information gathered is tainted by torture. Moreover, international law prohibits the forced return of any person, regardless of the crime, to a foreign location where that person would be subject to torture or mistreatment. Michael Scheuer has maintained that he warned the lawyers and policymakers about the dangers of turning over Al Qaeda suspects to foreign countries.

In the George W. Bush administration, the CIA continued to handle rendition cases. Whereas rendition cases were infrequent in the Clinton administration, they became numerous during the Bush administration, especially after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks. Approximately 100 suspected Al Qaeda operatives were captured and turned over to foreign governments for interrogation from 1996 to 2008. In recent years, a white Gulfstream V jet has been used to move prisoners around to various countries. Egypt, Afghanistan, and Syria have been principal destinations, but at least 14 European states have knowingly cooperated with the United States. Several Eastern European states are thought to have housed CIA detention centers.

In one case, two Egyptians were seized in Sweden and sent to Egypt. Ahmed Agiza and Muhammed al-Zery were radical Islamists, and they had sought political asylum in Sweden. On December 18, 2001, American agents seized both of them and placed them on a Gulfstream jet bound for Cairo, Egypt. The Swedish government cooperated after its representatives were assured that Agiza and Zery would not be tortured.

Once it was learned that both Agiza and Zery had indeed been tortured, there was a major political outcry in Sweden against the Swedish government and the United States. Egyptian authorities determined that Zery had no contacts with terrorists, and he was released from prison in October 2003. Agiza was less fortunate because he had been a member of Egyptian Islamic Jihad and close to its leader, Ayman al-Zawahiri. An Egyptian court subsequently sentenced Agiza to 25 years in prison.

Rendition has become more controversial after public revelations regarding several cases. The first such case was that of the radical Islamist cleric Abu Omar (full name Hassan Osama Nasr), who lived in Milan, Italy, under political refugee status. Omar had been under investigation for terrorist-related activities and support of Al Qaeda when the CIA, with the assistance of Italian security personnel, seized him on the streets of Milan on February 17, 2002. He was taken to a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) base near Aviano, Italy, and then flown to Egypt on February 18. There, Omar was offered a deal to be an informant. After he refused, he was sent to a prison where he was tortured. Italian authorities became incensed over this rendition, and a judge charged 25 American CIA operatives and two Italian security officers with abduction. The Italian government requested extradition of the CIA operatives, and initiated court proceedings in 2008. The trial has coincided with continuing popular Italian opposition to the Iraq War.

Two other cases of rendition also caused unease among U.S. allies. One was that of Maher Arar, a Canadian citizen from Ottawa and a software engineer. Arar arrived at JFK Airport in New York on an American Airlines flight from Zurich, Switzerland, on September 26, 2002, when U.S. authorities detained him. They were acting on inaccurate information given to them by the Royal Mounted Canadian Police (RMCP) that Arar was a member of Al Qaeda. After interrogation and a stay at the Metropolitan Detention Center, he was flown to Jordan on October 8, 2002. CIA operatives then transferred him to Syria. In Syria, he was imprisoned and intensively interrogated for nearly a year. It took intervention by the Canadian government to win Arar's release in October 2003, after more than 10 months in captivity. Since then, Arar has been seeking to sue both the U.S. and Canadian governments.

Another noteworthy case was the December 2003 rendition of Khalid al-Masri, a German citizen. Masri was born in Kuwait

An Italian protester holds up a poster reading "Justice for Abu Omar" above a picture of Muslim cleric Hassan Mustaffa Osama Nasr, also known as Abu Omar. The protesters were demonstrating on September 23, 2009, outside Milan's courthouse during the trial of 26 Americans and 7 Italians accused of orchestrating a CIA-led kidnapping of the Egyptian terrorist suspect from Milan. (AP/Wide World Photos)

but raised in Lebanon. In 1985 he immigrated to Germany, where he became a German citizen in 1994. He took a vacation in Skopje, Macedonia, but was arrested at the Macedonian border on December 31, 2003, because his name resembled that of Khalid al-Masri, the mentor of the Al Qaeda Hamburg cell. CIA agents took him into custody on January 23, 2004, shortly after Macedonian officials had released him. He was sent to Afghanistan, where he was tortured during lengthy interrogations. Masri went on a hunger strike for 27 days in the confinement camp. American officials determined that he had been wrongfully detained, and he was released on May 28, 2004. He was dumped on a desolate road in Albania without an apology or funds to return home. German authorities have initiated legal proceedings against CIA officials for their handling of Masri.

Numerous cases of torture have been verified, and they have made rendition a difficult policy to justify. Most of the rendition cases came during the first two years following September 11; there have been fewer of them after that time. Political fallout regarding rendition cases, however, continues both in the United States and among its allies.

Stephen A. Atkins

See also

Alec Station; Bush, George Walker; Central Intelligence Agency; Clinton, William Jefferson; Global War on Terror

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Repair Ships, U.S.

Large auxiliary ships equipped to effect heavy repairs on naval vessels far from port facilities. The last purpose-built repair ships delivered to the U.S. Navy were the four long-serving vessels of the Vulcan class. The lead ship, the AR-5 *Vulcan,* was launched in 1940 and commissioned in 1941. The other three were the AR-6 *Ajax,* AR-7 *Hector,* and AR-8 *Jason* (commissioned in 1944). The ships were 529.5 feet in length, with a beam of 73.33 feet and draft of 23.33 feet. They displaced 9,325 tons (light) and 16,245 tons (full load). Powered by two steam turbines, they had a top speed of 19.2 knots and range of 18,000 nautical miles at 12 knots. Their crew complement was 842 (29 officers; 813 enlisted). The ships were armed with 4 20-mm guns.

Outfitted with a pair of heavy-duty 20-ton capacity cranes, machine and electrical shops, foundries, and redundant tool sets of all kinds, the Vulcan-class ships carried abundant materials that their highly trained crews employed in damage control, repair or overhaul, and modifications aboard combat vessels of all sizes. Decks or hulls with gaping holes from bomb and torpedo strikes were routinely plated over, rewelded, and strengthened to nearly original configurations, and other repairs ranged from reoutfitting a battle-damaged crew's mess area to replacing a propeller shaft far below decks. During World War II, the repair ship operated nearly in the midst of conflict, sometimes tending to its own damage as it simultaneously assisted several alongside customers. In some cases, despite all its resources, the repair ship might only manage to render a severely disabled ship seaworthy enough to reach a harbor, where dry-docking and extensive reconstruction facilities could make permanent repairs.

In 1978 USS *Vulcan* was chosen by the U.S. Navy for its first implementation of a mixed male/female crew aboard an active-duty ship with the potential of experiencing combat; such crews are, by now, commonplace, and frequently are commanded by female officers. After long years of service to the Pacific fleet, two repair ships left U.S. naval service: *Ajax* was decommissioned in 1986, and *Hector,* decommissioned in 1987, was transferred to Pakistan (as PNS *Moawin*) in 1989, serving that navy until 1994. As no replacements for this class were forthcoming, *Vulcan* and *Jason* remained active fleet units in the Atlantic and Pacific, respectively, and eventually served in Operation DESERT STORM.

Vulcan's final career deployment was to the Mediterranean and the Red seas, where the destroyer tender *Yellowstone* (AD-41) contributed its capabilities to the repair of coalition naval units as the two ships operated near the Suez Canal, and then from the harbor at Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, during DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM in January and February 1991. Returning to home port at Norfolk Naval Station, *Vulcan* was decommissioned there on September 27, 1991, after 50 years of active service. *Jason* had been on station since early January 1991 in the Persian Gulf when the amphibious assault ship *Tripoli* (LPH-10), maneuvering off Kuwait as flagship of the U.S. Mine Countermeasures Group (USMCMG), sustained massive hull and internal damage from an Iraqi mine on February 18, 1991. When the *Tripoli* reached dry-dock facilities at Bahrain after transferring USMCMG flag duties to USS *La Salle* (AGF-3, the U.S. Middle East Force flagship), repair and reconstruction crews aboard *Jason* began working on a 24-hour basis to return the assault ship (ahead of schedule) to service in the northern Persian Gulf by early April 1991.

After the *Vulcan*'s decommissioning in 1991, *Jason* became the sole active U.S. Navy repair ship. Navy plans initiated as far back as the late 1980s targeted the 1994 fiscal year for commencing a replacement class of repair ships, but these were deferred. The shipbuilding program for fiscal 1998 made provisions for a new design to replace both the Vulcan class and the destroyer tenders of the Dixie class, which also dated from the early 1940s. By the early 1990s these plans were cancelled, and disposal was recommended for the older submarine tenders of the Fulton class, the remaining Dixie-class ships, and *Jason,* which was decommissioned in June 1995.

Shipboard-based repair of all forward-deployed ship types shifted to the newer, more versatile destroyer tenders of the Samuel Gompers and Yellowstone classes, which are fully equipped to support nuclear-powered cruisers, gas-turbine-powered missile destroyers, and frigates. Where practicable, less heavily damaged ships might also be tended to by matériel and special teams flown to a nearby staging point to undertake repairs and reduce a vessel's off-station time. Seriously damaged ships, such as the Exocet-stricken frigate USS *Stark* (FFG-31) in 1987, mine victims USS *Samuel B. Roberts* (FFG-58) in 1988 and the cruiser *Princeton* (CG-59) and the *Tripoli* in 1991, and the suicide-bombed destroyer *Cole* (DDG-67) in 2000, all required greater repair measures. The *Stark* was repaired by destroyer tender USS *Acadia* (AD-42) at Bahrain before returning to the United States for permanent repairs. The *Tripoli* and *Princeton* both received initial ministrations from Royal Fleet Auxiliary *Diligence* (A-132) at Jabal Ali before the *Princeton* was docked at Dubai and more comprehensively repaired by the *Acadia* to ensure a safe passage home, where it received another two months of further shipyard attention. Quick-witted and persistent damage control had saved both the *Roberts* and *Cole,* but in each case the hull's condition was so precarious that the United States opted to contract for heavy-lift ship transport (by Dutch and Norwegian providers, respectively) to carry the vessels across the Atlantic for complete repairs, and the eventual return of each warship to the fleet. No major repairs were needed to U.S. warships during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

GORDON E. HOGG

See also

Cole, USS, Attack on; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; Destroyer Tenders, U.S.; Mines, Sea, and Naval Mine Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; *Stark* Incident; Support and Supply Ships, Strategic; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Republican Guard

Iraqi army formation created in 1978 that served as the elite force of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's army. The Republican Guard was permanently disbanded after the 2003 Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). Throughout its existence, the Republican Guard was one of the mainstays of Hussein's regime and received the best equipment, training, and personnel. When first constituted, the Republican Guard was a palace guard of one brigade. At the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War in 1980, the Guard was expanded to take on the role of an elite offensive force, and by 1988 it numbered seven divisions and had been redesignated as the Republican Guard Forces Command (RGFC). The total strength of this force was estimated at 50,000 men and 400 tanks in seven divisions. There were an additional 10,000 troops in the Special Republican Guard, which was composed of the most loyal troops, usually stationed close to Baghdad.

The names of the seven divisions reflected either past military victories or past monarchs, such as the 6th Nebuchadnezzar Division named after the 6th-century BCE king of Babylon. Republican Guard divisions were organized similarly to those of the regular army, apart from the fact that the tank battalions had more tanks. However, soldiers in the Republican Guard were volunteers rather than conscripts and received subsidized housing and new cars as incentives. These incentives were to help ensure the loyalty of the Guard to Hussein and his regime. Many members of the Republican Guard were either from the Tikrit area or from other bases of support for the regime. In terms of equipment, much of the armored forces of the Guard were equipped with Soviet-produced T-72 tanks, and training in their use was more thorough than in the regular army.

The Republican Guard was not under the control of the defense ministry, but rather served as Iraq's special security apparatus. By 1990 the RGFC was officially under the command of Saddam Hussein's son Qusay, although it is possible that he directed only the Special Republican Guard, which guarded the palaces and important headquarters of the regime.

The Republican Guard was the main strike force in the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. In response to the deployment of coalition forces in operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, the majority of the Republican Guard was held in reserve. For the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq, destruction of the Republican Guard was a high priority. This was largely achieved by the 1st and 3rd U.S. Armored divisions. Following the end of the Persian Gulf War on February 28, 1991, Hussein rebuilt the Republican Guard, although, as with the rest of the Iraqi army, it was not to pre-1990 standards.

In 1995 an attempted military coup against Hussein led a battalion of the Guard from the al-Dulaymi tribe to rebel as well. They were subsequently defeated by two loyal brigades, and the clans of the al-Dulaymi tribe were severely punished. In July 1995 the Republican Guard was purged of all officers whom Hussein suspected of disloyalty. In 2002 there were reports that the Guard was being trained in urban warfare and guerrilla tactics. The U.S. military claimed that former Guardsmen constituted many of the insurgent forces in Iraq that fought the coalition and new Iraqi government after 2003; however these assertions have never been proven.

Before the March 2003 Anglo-American invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), the Republican Guard was dug in along the Tigris River close to Baghdad. The Republican Guard was then thought to number between 55,000 and 60,000 troops; some estimates placed the number as high as 75,000–80,000 (including some 7,000–12,000 Special Republican Guards). The force had at its disposal between 350 and 450 Soviet-made T-62 and T-72 tanks and various other armored and unarmored mechanized vehicles. When some of these units advanced to meet the U.S. drive on the capital, they were largely destroyed by U.S. air strikes. Those that escaped the aerial bombardment were annihilated during the Battle for Baghdad, which took place April 3–12, 2003; particularly hard hit during that engagement was the Special Republican Guard. Following the end of official hostilities in May 2003, coalition forces broke up any remaining Republican Guard formations. Some of its personnel, however, were subsequently recruited into internal security formations because of their comparatively high level of training.

RALPH MARTIN BAKER

See also

Baghdad, Battle for; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, Army; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Special Republican Guards; T-62 Main Battle Tank; T-72 Main Battle Tank

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Revolutionary Command Council

Supreme government entity in Iraq from 1968 to 2003. The Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) came into being in July 1968 after the Baath Party coup ousted Iraqi strongman Abd al-Rahman Arif. Between 1968 and 2003, the RCC was controlled exclusively by the Baath Party and retained both de facto legislative and executive powers. The chairman of the RCC, elected by RCC representatives (whose numbers varied over the years; by the late 1980s there were 10 members), was the president of Iraq.

Iraqi president Saddam Hussein chairs a joint meeting of the Revolutionary Command Council on March 26, 1999. That body was the most powerful decision-making body in Iraq. (AP/Wide World Photos)

The chairman was elected by a two-thirds majority vote; the vice chairman was similarly elected by RCC members and was the second-highest-ranking Iraqi government official. The vice chairman was to act as president upon the absence or death of the chairman, until such time that a new chairman could be elected. Once elected, the chairman was permitted to select his own vice president, who was not necessarily the vice chairman of the council.

The first RCC chairman was Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr, who led the government until his forced retirement in July 1979, at which time Saddam Hussein became chairman, a post he held until the U.S.-led invasion in 2003. Hussein had also served as vice chairman of the RCC before his rise to the chairmanship. Deputy chairmen of the RCC under Hussein included Izzat Ibrahim al-Douri, Tariq Aziz, and Taha Yasin Ramadan.

The RCC essentially acted as the policymaking tool of the Baath Party, which controlled all aspects of Iraq's government, politics, and economy. Its members were all high-ranking party members, many of whom were allies or loyalists to the RCC's chairman. In certain aspects, the RCC functioned similarly to a politburo in communist nations. The chairman, vice chairman, and other RCC members were answerable only to the RCC itself, which could dismiss members by a two-thirds vote and vote by the same margin to try any RCC official, cabinet member, or other high government official for wrongdoing.

After a government restructuring in 1977, the RCC's de facto membership included the Baath Party's regional chiefs. This change helped solidify the party's grip on political power throughout Iraq. RCC members were also members of the Iraqi legislature, the National Assembly.

The Iraqi constitution endowed the RCC with sweeping powers, not only in the executive realm, but also in legislative affairs. It was empowered to enact legislative initiatives with or without the National Assembly's involvement, establish internal security and military policies, declare war, negotiate treaties with other nations, establish and approve of governmental budgets, set parameters for the impeachment and removal from office of government officials, create an ad hoc court for such proceedings, and provide guidelines for its own functioning. The chairman, particularly Hussein, exercised dictatorial powers over both the RCC and Iraq itself. Although the Iraqi constitution had created a de jure separation of governmental powers, to be divided among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, in reality the RCC acted with supreme impunity, dominating the legislative and judicial processes at will. After the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq in March 2003, L. Paul Bremer, head of the Coalition Provisional Authority, abolished the RCC by Order Number Two, on May 23, 2003.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also
Aziz, Tariq; Baath Party; Bakr, Ahmad Hassan al-; Bremer, Jerry; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present

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Reza Pahlavi, Mohammad
Birth Date: October 26, 1919
Death Date: July 27, 1980

Ruler of Iran from 1941 to 1979. Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, who was also known by the deferential title Aryamehr, which means "Light of the Aryans," was the second monarch of the Pahlavi dynasty and the last shah of Iran. He was born in Tehran on October 26, 1919, the son of Shah Reza Pahlavi, who ruled Iran from 1925 to 1941. Shah Reza Pahlavi's father was a military leader, Reza Khan, who had overthrown the Qajar dynasty and established the Pahlavi dynasty in 1925.

During the last decades of the Qajar dynasty, the British and Russians established spheres of influence in Iran. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Qajar shah granted a concession to the British government, which resulted in British domination of the lucrative Iranian oil industry. Reza Pahlavi sought to decrease British and Russian influence in Iran by forging closer ties with the Axis powers of Germany and Italy. The shah's policy had the opposite effect, resulting in the occupation of Iran by British and Soviet forces in 1941 during World War II. Meanwhile, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi completed his education at a Swiss boarding school in 1935 and, upon returning to Iran, attended a military academy in Tehran, graduating in 1938. Two brief marriages had ended in divorce by 1948. Concerned that Reza Pahlavi was planning to ally his nation with Nazi Germany, the British forced him to abdicate in favor of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi on September 16, 1941, shortly before the latter's 22nd birthday.

Unlike his father, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi was willing to cooperate with the Allied war effort, and the British and Americans used Iran as a conduit to ferry supplies to the Soviet Union during the war. For many Iranians, the new shah's legitimacy was in question because he was viewed as a puppet of the Western powers.

After World War II, Iran was plagued by economic problems, including a large and impoverished peasantry, little foreign capital

Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, shah of Iran, shown here as he prepares to depart following a visit to the United States on November 16, 1977. (U.S. Department of Defense)

and investment, and high unemployment. Although tremendous wealth was being generated by Iranian oil production, most of the profits were going to the British-owned Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC).

In 1951 the Iranian parliament nationalized the AIOC, and Dr. Mohammad Mosaddeq, a nationalist who was a member of the Qajar family, became prime minister of Iran. Mosaddeq and his political party had advocated for the nationalization of the AIOC. The British subsequently imposed a naval blockade on Iran and refused to allow Iran to export any of its oil. On April 4, 1953, U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration approved $1 million in funding for the overthrow of Mosaddeq, who was being supported by radical Islamic clerics and the Tudeh Party, which was nationalist and prosocialist. The plan called for the shah to dismiss Mosaddeq. Although this initially failed and the shah was forced to flee Iran, within a few days a military coup, with support from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), restored the shah to his throne. Mosaddeq was placed under house arrest and then tried and imprisoned.

After being restored to power, the shah imposed an authoritarian regime funded by an increased profit-sharing plan negotiated with the foreign oil companies. By the early 1960s, the Iranian treasury was awash in money. The shah's secret police, however, the Sazeman-e Ettelaat va Amniyat-e Keshvar (SAVAK, National Information and Security Organization), crushed all politically and religiously based resistance in Iran. SAVAK was especially notorious for its brutal persecutions and torturing of prisoners. During the White Revolution of 1963, the shah nationalized large estates and distributed the land to 4 million landless peasants. And influenced by his third wife, Farah Diba, whom he married in 1959, the shah also granted women the right to vote. The move was fiercely unpopular among traditional Muslims and conservative clerics.

In 1975, citing security reasons, the shah effectively banned the multiparty system in Iran and ruled with even greater authority through his Rastakhiz (Resurrection) Party. These moves toward increased autocracy angered not only Islamic fundamentalists but also growing numbers of the middle class and intelligentsia. In 1976 the shah replaced the Islamic calendar, which begins in 622 when the Prophet Muhammad led his followers to Medina, with the Persian calendar, which begins more than 25 centuries earlier. The move outraged many conservative Muslims.

In foreign affairs, the shah was decidedly pro-Western. Under President Richard Nixon's administration, which came to view the shah's Iran as the central, pro-Western citadel in the Middle East, sales of U.S. arms and weaponry to Iran increased dramatically. Not surprisingly, the shah's pro-Western orientation did not sit well with Iran's Islamic clerics and other traditionalists. Although the shah never restored formal recognition to Israel, his government had various military and defense exchanges with the country. Because the shah also sponsored various opposition movements in the countries of such Arab neighbors as Iraq and Oman, there were other tensions with the Arab world.

The shah managed to straddle the fence during the 1967 Six-Day War and 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War by maintaining reasonably cordial relations with the Persian Gulf nations. He also enjoyed generally good relations with Jordan and Egypt. Relations with Iraq remained strained until the 1975 Algiers Accord brought a thaw. With vast revenues from the petroleum industry, the shah had built the largest military force in the Persian Gulf by the late 1970s.

By the end of the 1970s, however, the shah's strong-arm tactics, brutal suppression of dissidents, economic shortages and inflation, and increasing secularization had begun to take their toll. Following a year of intense political protests against the monarchy from students, Islamic traditionalists, and the middle class, a revolution occurred on January 16, 1979, and the shah and his family were forced to flee Iran. In February 1979, on his return from exile in France, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini was hailed by millions of Iranians as the father of the Iranian Revolution. He and his supporters quickly consolidated their political control over the country by eliminating opposing factions and clerics and establishing an Islamic-based government.

Mohammad Reza Pahlavi first went into exile in Egypt. Although President Jimmy Carter allowed the shah to seek treatment for lymphatic cancer in New York City, considerable political pressure was brought to bear on the U.S. government to expel the shah, and he was compelled to leave the United States after his treatment. His opponents charged him with pillaging the country and taking considerable sums of money when he fled Iran. The shah lived for a few months in Panama before returning to Cairo, Egypt, where he died on July 27, 1980, and was buried. The shah's oldest son, Reza Pahlavi II, who lives in the United States, is heir to the Pahlavi dynasty.

Michael R. Hall

See also

Iran; Iran, Armed Forces; Iranian Revolution; Khomeini, Ruhollah

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Rice, Condoleezza

Birth Date: November 14, 1954

U.S. national security adviser (2001–2005) and secretary of state (2005–2009). Condoleeza Rice was born on November 14, 1954, in Birmingham, Alabama, to a prominent African American family. She graduated in 1973 from the University of Denver at age

19, then earned a master's degree from Notre Dame University in 1975. After working in the State Department during the Jimmy Carter administration, Rice returned to the University of Denver and received a doctorate in international studies in 1981. She joined the faculty at Stanford University as a professor of political science and fellow at the Hoover Institute.

In 1989 Rice joined the administration of George H. W. Bush, where she worked closely with Secretary of State James Baker. She was the director of Soviet and East European affairs on the National Security Council (NSC) and a special assistant to the president on national security affairs. She impressed the elder Bush, who subsequently recommended her to George W. Bush when the Texas governor began to prepare for his 2000 presidential campaign. From 1993 to 2000 Rice was the provost of Stanford University.

Rice served as a foreign policy adviser to George W. Bush in the 2000 presidential campaign, and on assuming the presidency Bush appointed her in January 2001 as the nation's first female and second African American national security adviser. Following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, Rice emerged as a central figure in crafting the U.S. military and diplomatic response and in advocating war with Iraq. She played a central role in the successful implementation of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan in late 2001.

In 2002 Rice helped to develop the U.S. national security strategy commonly referred to as the "Bush Doctrine," which emphasized the use of preemptive military strikes to prevent the use of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and acts of terrorism, although many associate this policy more with Vice President Dick Cheney, Paul Wolfowitz, and other individuals, such as Douglas Feith. She was also instrumental in the administration's hard-line policy toward the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein, including the effort to isolate Iraq and formulate an international coalition against it. Rice was one of the main proponents of the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

During the 2004 presidential campaign, Rice became the first national security adviser to openly campaign on behalf of a candidate. She faced criticism by Democrats for her hard-line security policies and for her advocacy against affirmative action policies. After the election, upon the resignation of Colin Powell, Rice was appointed secretary of state.

Once in office in 2005, Rice worked to repair relations with such U.S. allies as France and Germany, the governments of which opposed the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. She also endeavored to increase international support for the continuing U.S. efforts in Iraq. Rice's closeness with Bush provided her with greater access, and therefore more influence, than Powell had enjoyed. Following Rumsfeld's replacement as secretary of defense, Rice's influence may have increased.

U.S. secretary of state Condoleezza Rice addresses the media following a meeting at the U.S. embassy in Baghdad, Iraq, April 2006. Rice was secretary of state in the George W. Bush administration during 2005–2009. (U.S. Department of Defense)

In 2005 Rice led the U.S. effort to develop a multilateral approach toward Iran in light of that country's refusal to suspend its nuclear program. In June 2006 the permanent members of the United Nations (UN) developed a plan to offer incentives in exchange for the cessation of Iran's nuclear program. Rice supported European Union (EU) high commissioner for foreign policy Javier Solana's efforts to negotiate with Iran after Tehran refused to meet an August 2006 deadline to suspend its nuclear enrichment.

Rice has been a staunch supporter of Israel. She endeavored to gain support for the Road Map to Peace, which endorsed the creation of a Palestinian state in exchange for democratic reforms and the renunciation of terrorism by the Palestinians. Rice supported the 2006 Israeli unilateral withdrawal from the Gaza Strip. When Israel began bombarding Lebanon in July 2006, following the kidnapping of Israeli soldiers by members of Hezbollah in the border town of Ghajar, Rice supported the Israeli action. She enraged the Lebanese by initially opposing a cease-fire in the hopes that Hezbollah would be destroyed. It was only after weeks of destruction that she supported a UN-brokered cease-fire based on UN Security Council Resolution 1701. In her last year of office, Rice

U.S. National Security Advisers, 1987–Present

Name	*Dates of Service*
Colin Powell	November 23, 1987–January 20, 1989
Brent Scowcroft	January 20, 1989–January 20, 1993
W. Anthony Lake	January 20, 1993–March 14, 1997
Samuel R. Berger	March 14, 1997–January 20, 2001
Condoleezza Rice	January 22, 2001–January 25, 2005
Stephen Hadley	January 26, 2005–January 20, 2009
James L. Jones	January 20, 2009–present

was unsuccessful in moving forward the Palestinian-Israeli peace process of Israeli soldiers. She took a hard-line stance against the Russian incursion into South Ossetia and invasion of Georgia in the summer of 2008.

Rice left office with the end of the Bush administration in January 2009. She is currently the Thomas and Barbara Stephenson Senior Fellow on Public Policy at the Hoover Institution and professor of political science at Stanford University. She also serves on a number of boards, including the board of trustees of the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Hezbollah; Hussein, Saddam; Iran; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Israel; Nuclear Weapons, Iraq's Potential for Building; Terrorism

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Rice, Donald Blessing

Birth Date: June 4, 1939

U.S. career government official who served as secretary of the U.S. Air Force (1989–1993). Donald Blessing Rice was born on June 4, 1939, in Frederick, Maryland. He earned a degree in chemical engineering from the University of Notre Dame in 1961 and was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army Ordnance Corps through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) upon graduation. In 1962 he earned a master's degree in industrial management from Purdue University. He went on to complete a PhD in economics from Purdue in 1965. From 1965 to 1967, Rice was assistant professor of management and acting deputy director for academics at the Navy Management Systems Center at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. Rice left the army as a captain in 1967.

Rice then joined the Department of Defense as director of cost analysis. In 1969 he was appointed deputy assistant to the secretary of defense for resource analysis. In this position, he was responsible for cost analysis, manpower and logistics requirements, and budget planning for all defense programs. Rice was assistant director of the Office of Management and Budget from 1970 to 1972.

Rice left government service in 1972, when he became president and chief executive officer of the RAND Corporation, the independent, nonprofit think tank in Santa Monica, California. While at RAND, Rice also served as chair of the National Commission on Supplies and Shortages and served two terms on the National Science Board. He also directed a study on resource management for the Department of Defense at the request of President Ronald Reagan. Rice left RAND in May 1989 when President George H. W. Bush appointed him secretary of the air force.

As secretary, Rice was faced with several important challenges, the majority of which involved the procurement budget, including that for the Northrop Grumman B-2 Spirit (stealth bomber) program. The top-secret aircraft was plagued by cost overruns and failed performance expectations. Rice reduced the order for B-2s from 132 to 75. The McDonnell Douglas C-17 Globemaster transport was another troubled program. It too suffered from budgetary problems and performance failures, but Rice was able to make the necessary changes and bring the program to fruition. Other programs done away with during Rice's tenure were the MX and Midgetman missiles.

Rice's tenure saw the successful employment of the Lockheed Martin F-117A Nighthawk in Operation JUST CAUSE, the U.S. invasion of Panama in 1989. Another success was the deactivation of the Looking Glass aircraft and of Strategic Air Command; both ended because of the conclusion of the Cold War. Perhaps Rice's greatest success was the air force's participation in Operation DESERT SHIELD, during which it assisted with the movement of men and supplies to the theater of operations; and in Operation DESERT STORM, when it achieved total air superiority and assisted ground forces in the liberation of Kuwait.

Leaving government service in 1993, Rice headed Teledyne Technologies. In 1996 he joined the Agensys Corporation, a biotechnology company.

SHAWN LIVINGSTON

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Forces; JUST CAUSE, Operation

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Rifles

Shoulder-fired weapons that are soldiers' primary firearm. Although a soldier may be assigned to crew-served weapons, such as a machine gun, an artillery piece, or an air-defense missile system, or may serve in a support role, such as a truck driver or a cook, the rifle remains his or her basic weapon for self-defense, position defense, and general security duties. For the infantry soldier, survival and success on the battlefield depend on his or her skill with a rifle.

The carbine is a more compact version of a standard rifle, usually with a shorter barrel and sometimes chambered for a smaller caliber. Carbines were first developed for cavalry and mounted troops, and during World War II and the Korean War were issued as substitutes for pistols.

In the years following 1945, most of the world's major armies moved away from the standard battle rifle that characterized both world wars, widely adopting lighter and more rapidly firing shoulder weapons that came to be classified as assault rifles. The battle rifles, however, remained in limited numbers, serving in special functions as sniper or designated marksman rifles or antimatériel rifles.

The U.S. wars in the Middle East were typical of all modern wars, with the vast majority of the combatants on all sides carrying rifles into combat. Officers, section leaders, and certain crews operating in restricted spaces, like tanks and aircraft, frequently carried pistols, carbines, or submachine guns instead of rifles. The infantry squad is usually equipped with a light machine gun or a heavy-barrel automatic rifle, but the rifle remains the primary infantry tool.

The United States ended World War II with the world's best battle rifle, the .30-caliber, semiautomatic M-1 Garand. In the early 1950s, efforts to improve the M-1 rifle resulted in the M-14 rifle. Unlike the M-1, the M-14 was capable of both semiautomatic and full-automatic fire, and was fed by a more efficient 20-round detachable box magazine, a distinct improvement over the M-1's internal magazine system, which had to be reloaded from an 8-round clip inserted through the breech of the weapon. The M-14 was also chambered for what became the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) standard rifle round, the 7.62x51-millimeter (mm). Essentially the same round as the commercial .308 Winchester, the bullet was the same diameter as that of the M-1's .30–06 Springfield round, but the overall cartridge was 12 mm shorter.

The M-14 was adopted in 1957 and first issued to units in the field in 1959. It weighed 11.5 pounds and was 46.5 inches long. It had a cyclic rate of fire of 700 to 750 rounds per minute and a maximum effective range of 460 meters (500 yards) with iron sights, and 800 meters (875 yards) with optical sights. But the M-14 remained the U.S. Army's standard rifle only until January 1968, when it was replaced by the M-16. The M-14 continued in service in limited numbers as several variations of sniper rifles. In the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, M-14s also have been assigned to army and marine corps units, carried by selected individuals known as designated marksmen—not to be confused with snipers—whose mission is to engage special targets that require a rifle with the accuracy, long range, and stopping power that are not characteristic of modern assault rifles. U.S. Navy ships also still carry a number of M-14s in their armories, primarily for close-in defense while in port.

Immediately following World War II, the U.S. Army's Operations Research Office conducted an extensive analysis of the existing combat after-action reports from both world wars and reached the conclusion that the trend in mobile warfare was for engagements that took place at shorter ranges and were initiated as surprise-meeting engagements. Under such conditions, the volume of fire, rather than accurate, aimed fire, was more important in determining the outcome. This led to the conclusion that the average soldier should be armed with an automatic-firing weapon. But the increased rate of ammunition consumption also meant additional weight for the already overloaded foot soldier to carry. That problem could be offset partially by decreasing the weight of the weapon as well as the size of the ammunition. Several other major armies, especially the Germans in the last years of World War II and the Soviets immediately after the war, reached the same conclusion. The result was the development of the assault rifle.

An Iraqi Army trainee with her AK-47 assault rifle at the Jordanian Royal Military Academy on June 22, 2004. She was one of 38 women in the second class of recruits undergoing basic training. (U.S. Department of Defense)

The M-16 rifle evolved through a series of innovative designs first introduced in the mid-1950s by armament designer Eugene Stoner and the ArmaLite Cooperation. Using milled aluminum, fiberglass, and emerging composite materials, Stoner's designs were significantly lighter than all other military weapons in service. Designed in 1957, Stoner's AR-15 weighed just 5.5 pounds and fired a 5.56x45-mm cartridge. In 1959 ArmaLite sold the rights to the AR-15 to Colt Industries.

In 1960 U.S. Air Force general Curtis LeMay ordered 8,500 AR-15s as a defense weapon for Strategic Air Command (SAC) bases. In air force service it was designated the M-16. Although there were still strong advocates for the M-14 in the army, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara was pushing for large-scale consolidations of all Pentagon procurement programs, including the adoption of a single standard weapon for all the armed services. In November 1963 the army also ordered 85,000 AR-15s, but insisted on the addition of an external bolt assist, thought necessary to ram the bolt into the battery physically in the event that it failed to lock into the chamber because of fouling or corrosion. While the air force version, without the external bolt assist, remained designated the M-16, the army version was designated the XM-16E1. In February 1968 it was standardized as the M-16A1.

The M-16A1 had substantial "teething" problems when first introduced. Some experts maintain that, although it is now highly improved, it is still inferior to the Soviet-designed AK-47. Touted by Colt as a "self-cleaning" design requiring little maintenance, it originally was issued without adequate numbers of cleaning kits. Furthermore, the army made some modifications to the propellant used in the 5.56-mm ammunition without sufficient field-testing. After a rash of reports of the M-16 jamming and failing to fire during combat in Vietnam, the ammunition problem was corrected, adequate cleaning supplies reached the field, and the rifle itself received a chrome-plated chamber—and later fully chromed bores—that better withstood the still corrosive effects of the ammunition.

When the U.S. Army in March 1970 began to issue the M-16 to its troops stationed in Europe, it caused a great deal of turmoil in NATO circles, because the NATO standard rifle round was supposed to be the 7.62x51-mm. By the late 1970s, the U.S. was pushing its 5.56x43-mm M-193 cartridge as the new standard NATO round. The Europeans instead adopted the Belgian-designed SS-109 round, which was similar to the American M-193 but had a steel-tipped bullet to improve penetration. The SS-109 round eventually was standardized as the M-855, and the M-856 in its tracer version.

The M-16A2 was introduced by the U.S. Marine Corps in 1982 and adopted by the U.S. Army by the end of the decade. The M-16A2 had a thicker barrel, improved adjustable-dial rear sights, a stronger buttstock, and symmetrical cylindrical front grips, as opposed to the triangular grips of the M-16A1. The M-16A2 also fired the M-855 NATO standard 5.56x43-mm round. Most significantly, the new design also eliminated the full-automatic fire option, replacing it with a three-round burst mode, which conserved ammunition and improved fire discipline. The M-16A2 weighs 8.5 pounds, is 39.5 inches long, and has a 20-inch barrel. It has a cyclic rate of fire of 800 to 900 rounds per minute, and a maximum effective range of 550 meters (600 yards).

The M-16A3 is essentially the same weapon as the M-16A2, except that it retains the full-automatic fire capability. The M-16A3 is used primarily by the U.S. Navy and issued to SEAL, Seabee, and security units. The M-16A4, introduced by the marine corps prior to Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, is now the standard-issue rifle for front-line marine and army units. It is essentially the same as the M-16A2, except that the fixed carrying handle and rear iron sights have been replaced with an integral rail-mounting system—called a Picatinny Rail for the Picatinny Arsenal—upon which can be mounted a detachable carrying handle and a variety of optical or infrared sights and auxiliary systems.

The carbine version of the M-16 first appeared in Vietnam in 1968 as the XM-177. A modification of the M-16A1, it had a 10-inch barrel and a telescoping stock. The current standard M-4 is the carbine version of the M-16A4. Adopted in 1994, the M-4 carbine has a 15.5-inch barrel and weighs 6.9 pounds.

In early 1967 the army field-tested the XM-148 grenade launcher as a potential replacement for the M-79 grenade launcher. One of the best weapons ever put in the hands of American soldiers, the M-79 was a single-shot weapon that reloaded like a break-open shotgun. A well-trained grenadier could reload in a matter of seconds and fire a 40-mm high-explosive grenade with great accuracy out to a range of 350 meters (380 yards). For close-in defense the grenadier carried a .45-caliber pistol. The XM-148 mounted underneath the barrel of the M-16A1. The combination was heavy, and the grenade launcher was cumbersome to use and slow to reload. The XM-148 was a complete failure and was withdrawn from Vietnam in a matter of months. In the early 1970s the army introduced an improved, but still cumbersome and slow, 40-mm grenade launcher, designated the M-203, and mounted under the barrel of the M-16A2, and later the M-16A4 and M-4 carbine. Although still not as capable or flexible as the original M-79, the M-203 mounted on the shorter M-4 carbine is a bit more maneuverable than one mounted on an M-16 rifle. The M-203's maximum effective range is only 150 meters (165 yards).

The U.S. military has used a number of different sniper rifles in the Middle East Wars. Introduced in 1969, the M-21 sniper rifle was a National Match grade M-14 rifle converted by the Rock Island Arsenal. Mounted with a 3x to 9x telescopic sight, the M-21 had a maximum effective range of 690 meters (755 yards) when fired from a bipod or a supported position. The M-25 sniper rifle also is based on the M-14, but has a different sight and a different stock. Specifically designed for U.S. Army Special Forces and U.S. Navy SEAL units, the M-25 was used during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. In 1988 the M-21 was officially superseded by the bolt action M-24 Sniper Rifle, but the M-21 nonetheless remained in active service through both wars in Iraq and in Afghanistan.

The U.S. Army's M-24 sniper rifle is a single-shot, bolt-action military version of the Remington 700 sporting rifle. Introduced in 1988, it has served in both Iraq wars and in Afghanistan. It is chambered for either the 7.65x51-mm NATO round, or the .300 Winchester Magnum round. The M-24 weighs 12.3 pounds, is 43 inches long, and has a maximum effective range of 800 meters (875 yards). The U.S. Marine Corps' M-40 sniper rifle is also based on the Remington 700, but after extensive modifications by marine armorers it has a maximum effective range of 1,000 meters (1,100 yards).

The M-82 was specifically designed as a sniper/antimatériel rifle. Introduced in 1989, it fires a massive 12.7x99-mm NATO round, the exact same ammunition as the venerable M-2 .50-caliber machine gun. The M-82 weighs 29.7 pounds, is either 48 or 57 inches long, depending on its configuration, and fires out to a maximum effective range of 1,850 meters (2,025 yards). It has been used extensively in both Iraq wars and in Afghanistan. As a captured weapon, it is highly prized by insurgent forces, and there have been several instances of captured M-82s being used against American troops. Although it has been used against individual human targets, the M-82 is principally designed for use against hardened point targets at far ranges. The M-82 was recently redesignated the M-107.

The ubiquitous Soviet-designed AK-47 is arguably the world's finest assault rifle. First designed in 1944 by Mikhail Kalashinkov while he was recovering from war wounds, the weapon was derived from the hard lessons of combat that the Soviets learned at the hands of the Germans. The AK-47 combined characteristics of both the rifle and the submachine gun, most significantly the high rate of fire of the latter. The result became known in the West as an assault rifle.

With a design based heavily on the German World War II *Sturmgewehr* 44 (which literally translates to "Assault Rifle 44"), the AK-47 was standardized in 1947 and adopted for general issue by the Soviet Army in 1949. Chambered for the 7.62x39-mm round (which is not compatible with the 7.62x51-mm NATO round), the basic version of the AK-47 weighs 9.5 pounds and had a cyclic rate of fire of 600 rounds per minute and a maximum effective range of 400 meters (435 yards). It is 37.1 inches long, with a barrel length of 16.3 inches. All of the AK-series weapons are known for their rugged reliability, ease of maintenance, and moderate accuracy. They almost never jam.

Early versions of the AK-47 went through a number of design variations, starting with a stamped receiver, switching to a heavier milled receiver, and finally reverting back to a stamped receiver. The final variant appeared in 1959 and was standardized as the AK-M, which was simpler than the original version and weighed only 6.8 pounds. The AK-47 was quickly adopted and manufactured under license by many other countries, including China, Iraq, Egypt, and most of the Warsaw Pact nations. More than 55 armies worldwide have issued the AK-47 to their troops. More than 11 major AK-47 variants exist, including models with fixed stocks of wood or polymers and the more popular folding-stock models for paratroopers. More than 100 million copies of all versions have been manufactured over the years.

Introduced in 1974, the AK-74 variant of the AK-47 is chambered for the lighter 5.45x39-mm round. Weighing 6.7 pounds, it has a cyclic rate of fire of 650 rounds per minute and a maximum effective range of 500 meters (550 yards). The AKS-74U is a shortened, or carbine, version of the AK-74, in much the same manner of the M-16A4 and the M-4. The AKS-74U has a folding stock and a short 8.3-inch barrel, giving it an overall length of 27.6 inches. It weighs only 5.5 pounds and was designed for airborne and special forces troops and tank crews.

The AK-47's very shape has become an iconic symbol of liberation movements and wars of resistance. After the falls of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan in 2002 and Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein in 2003, the units of the new Afghan and Iraqi armies being trained by the Americans still insisted on carrying the AK-47 rather than the M-16. Beyond the symbolism, however, there is a solid tactical basis for that preference. The AK-47 family of assault rifles remains superior to the M-16 family by almost every measure.

David T. Zabecki

See also
Rocket-Propelled Grenade

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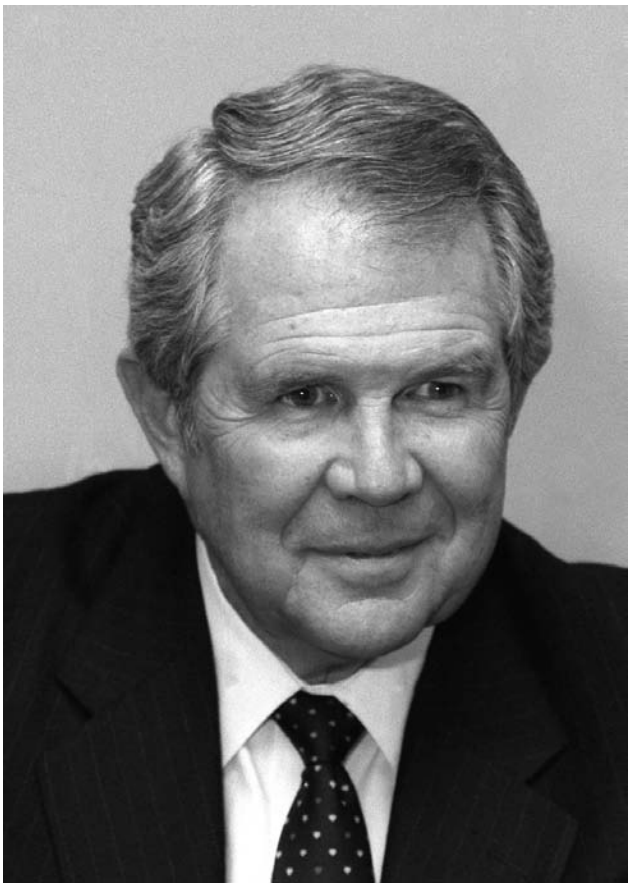
Robertson, Pat
Birth Date: March 22, 1930

Influential Christian televangelist, right-wing political activist, and entrepreneur whose conservative views often provoke great controversy. Marion Gordon "Pat" Robertson was born on March 22, 1930, in Lexington, Virginia. His father, Absalom Willis Robertson, was a conservative Democrat and served 34 years in the U.S. Congress, including 20 years in the Senate. Majoring in history, Robertson graduated magna cum laude from Washington and Lee University in 1950. He then served with the U.S. Marine Corps in Korea, although he did not see active combat.

Robertson earned a doctorate from Yale University's law school in 1955. In 1956, after meeting Dutch missionary Cornelius Vanderbreggen, Robertson experienced a renewal of his Christian faith. Failing the bar exam, he went on to earn a divinity degree from New York Theological Seminary in 1959.

In late 1959 Robertson and his family left New York for Tidewater, Virginia, where he purchased a bankrupt UHF television station in Portsmouth, Virginia. In 1960 Robertson founded the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), which went on the air for the first time on October 1, 1961. He was also ordained a minister of the Southern Baptist Convention that same year. As his broadcasting empire expanded, Robertson founded the CBN Cable Network in 1977; the network was renamed the CBN Family Channel in 1988. In 1990, to maintain the nonprofit status of CBN, Robertson created International Family Entertainment, Inc., with the Family Channel as its main subsidiary.



Pat Robertson is an evangelical religious broadcaster and television executive. The founder of the Christian Coalition, Robertson is one of the leaders of the conservative Republican movement in politics and a staunch defender of Israel. (AP/Wide World Photos)

The Family Channel was subsequently sold to the Fox Network, with the stipulation that Fox broadcast Robertson's television show *The 700 Club* twice daily in perpetuity. *The 700 Club* supports conservative and fundamentalist Christian views. The news and information show is seen in more than 175 countries and broadcast in approximately 70 languages. The news segments frequently emphasize Christian eschatology, particularly as it relates to Israel and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In 1987 Robertson ran for president on a very conservative platform. When it was apparent that he would not secure the Republican Party nomination, he urged his followers to support the candidacy of George H. W. Bush. After his unsuccessful bid for the presidency, Robertson formed the Christian Coalition, an organization that campaigns for conservative political candidates. Robertson has repeatedly condemned feminism, Islam and the Prophet Muhammad, barriers between church and state, homosexuals, liberalism, and communists. Robertson has also been a staunch defender of Israel, and an opponent of many in the Muslim world. In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, Robertson agreed with his guest, the Reverend Jerry Falwell, on a broadcast of *The 700 Club,* that the tragedy occurred in retribution for the activities of gays, feminists, abortionists, and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in the United States. He later apologized, asserting that he had not meant to blame the attacks on these groups.

Michael R. Hall

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Falwell, Jerry; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

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Rocket-Propelled Grenade

A short-range, shoulder-fired, infantry antitank and antimatériel weapon. Rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs) have also been used from time to time against aircraft, especially helicopters. RPG has been popularly translated as "rocket-propelled grenade," but the acronym actually stands for *ruchnoy protivotankovy granatomyot,* Russian for "handheld antitank grenade launcher." In the 1950s the production of RPGs was taken over by the Bazalt State Research and Production Enterprise, which continues to produce the Russian-made RPG today. The RPG fires a fin-stabilized, oversized explosive charge to penetrate armored vehicles. RPG warheads, ranging from 70 mm to 85 mm in diameter, come in thermobaric (fuel-air explosive), fragmentation, HEAT (high-explosive antitank), and high-explosive configurations. The most successful and commonly used RPG version today is the RPG-7 and its variants. It has been in service since 1961, when it replaced the earlier RPG-2 that had been introduced in 1949.

The RPG is a single-shot weapon, requiring reloading after each firing. In its regular military deployment, the RPG is used by a two-man team, with the gunner carrying the weapon and two additional rounds of ammunition. The assistant gunner carries an additional three rounds of ammunition, and is also trained to fire the weapon if the gunner is incapacitated. A well-trained RPG team can fire four to six rounds per minute.

The weapon comprises a reusable smooth-bore 40-mm tube that fires a front-loaded projectile. The tube is 37.4 inches long and weighs 17.4 pounds, unloaded. With the grenade loaded, it weighs 22 pounds. The weapon is controlled by two pistol-grip handles with an unusual configuration, which has the trigger mechanism located in the forward handle, with the rear grip used for additional stability. The projectile itself is made up of two parts, the warhead with a sustainer motor and the booster charge. These parts must be screwed together before loading and firing.

The RPG is recoilless, with the recoil of the rocket exiting through the breech exhaust opening. The projectile is rocket-propelled and is fired from the launcher tube by a small strip-powder

U.S. Army private first class Jennifer McDonald of the 55th Signal Company, holds a rocket-propelled grenade launcher while waiting for Canadian infantry to enter a simulated Afghan village during a training exercise at Fort Pickett, Virginia, on February 19, 2009. (U.S. Department of Defense)

charge at a velocity of about 380 feet per second. After traveling about 36 feet, a sustainer rocket ignites and increases the projectile's velocity to a maximum 960 feet per second. As the projectile leaves the launch tube, a set of stabilizing fins opens in the tail section of the projectile.

Firing the new PG-7VR tandem-charge ammunition, the RPG-7 can penetrate nearly 2 feet of steel with explosive reactive armor, 5 feet of reinforced concrete, 6.5 feet of brickwork, or 12 feet of log or sand. The RPG round can put a 2-inch hole in walls, but does not knock down the entire wall. It is highly effective in urban warfare against troops inside buildings. In this manner, it was used to great effect against American forces during the Vietnam War at the Battle of Hue in 1968.

The RPG-7 has two standard sights, a primary 2.5 power optical telescopic sight, and a permanently attached iron sight as a backup. In addition, night-vision sights may be attached in place of the optical sight. Two factors make accurate firing difficult, particularly at longer ranges, even in ideal weather conditions. First, the gunner must estimate range with a high degree of precision. This is facilitated to some degree by the optical sight, but remains a crucial factor in achieving a hit. Second, the weight of the warhead at the forward end of the projectile makes it difficult to hold the weapon steady for any length of time. This means that the gunner must line up his sights and fire quickly. Without practice, a gunner can hit a vehicle-sized target most of the time at ranges of 150–300 feet. With training, the RPG has an effective range of 1,000 feet against moving targets and about 1,600 feet against stationary targets.

Firing the RPG into a crosswind is difficult, as is the case with all unguided projectiles. In a crosswind of seven miles per hour (mph), a first round hit at 600 feet may be expected about 50 percent of the time. Insurgents have often compensated for poor accuracy by firing large numbers of RPGs at a single target. This technique was employed against the Soviets in Afghanistan in the 1980s, during the Afghanistan-Soviet War, and against the Israelis by Hezbollah in Lebanon in the summer of 2006.

The short effective range of the RPG forces the shooter to get close to the target, either by advancing or allowing the target to approach until within effective range. Rapid firing is critical, and the launcher is carried loaded to speed the firing procedure. When fired, the RPG emits a telltale puff of exhaust smoke. This factor, combined with the short range, necessitates evasive action by the gunner immediately after firing, unless the action is meant to be a suicide mission.

The RPG can be fired from the standing, crouching, or prone positions. Relatively low "back-blast" from the rocket's exhaust also allows the use of the RPG from enclosed spaces, such as rooms in fortified positions, making the RPG particularly useful in the

covered, short-range combat environment of urban operations. This feature has been used to considerable advantage in Northern Ireland, Lebanon, Gaza, and Iraq since 2003.

Originally designed as an antitank weapon, the RPG was copied from the World War II–era German Panzerfaust. Improvements in armor technology, particularly the incorporation of gapped and reactive armor in main battle tanks in the 1970s and 1980s, reduced the effectiveness of RPGs as antitank weapons. However, an advanced grenade, the PG-7BR, featuring a tandem two-stage warhead designed to defeat reactive armor, was introduced in 1988.

Nonetheless, with the development of precision antitank guided missiles, such as the Russian AT-3 Sagger, deployed in 1963, and the American BGM-71 tube-launched, optically tracked, wire-guided missile, deployed in 1971, use of RPGs against tanks declined considerably, and they were adapted thereafter mainly for use against personnel, fixed positions, and light vehicles. In addition, the fact that the RPG round self-detonates after a range of about 3,000 feet allows it to be used as a form of light artillery, spraying the target area with fragmentation.

In Mogadishu, Somalia, in 1993, RPGs shot down two American UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters. This triggered an extensive battle between U.S. forces and local militiamen, resulting in the deaths of 17 Americans. That in turn ultimately led to the withdrawal of American forces from Somalia in March 1994. Specially modified RPGs were also used by the mujahideen against Soviet helicopters in Afghanistan during the 1980s, to great effect.

In its antipersonnel role, the RPG fires two different grenades. One, a thermobaric, air-fuel explosive round, TBG-7VR, has the blast equivalent of an artillery projectile or a 120-mm mortar shell. The second, a fragmentation round, OG-7V, is particularly effective against troop emplacements. In addition, the HEAT round sprays lethal metal fragments as far as 500 feet from the point of impact.

The RPG, while originally Russian and still produced in that country, is also produced in more than a dozen other countries, and is in use in some 40 countries worldwide. In addition to regular armed forces, RPGs can be found in the arsenals of almost every nonstate military organization in the world, including terrorist groups.

RPGs are easy to use and maintain, are relatively inexpensive to manufacture, and, like the AK-47 assault rifle, are readily available on the black market at low cost. These factors, coupled with low training requirements and ease of use, have made it a chosen weapon of insurgents, terrorist groups, and other nonstate militias around the world.

The RPG has been used extensively in Vietnam, Afghanistan (both during the Afghanistan-Soviet War and in the ongoing Operation ENDURING FREEDOM since 2001), Chechnya, the Middle East, and Africa. The Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) also used it against British troops in Northern Ireland during the 1970s.

In Iraq, during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, RPGs have been the favored weapon of various insurgent forces. While they are not capable of penetrating the M-1 Abrams tank, they have been successfully used against light-armored vehicles and U.S. and coalition infantry forces. Nevertheless, a perfectly aimed RPG-7 can disable tanks, which can cause problems of a different sort. In August 2006 and again in January 2008, an RPG-29, the most potent RPG to date, did partially penetrate the FV4034 Challenger 2 tank, which is the United Kingdom's main battle tank.

Additional versions, the RPG-26 and RPG-27, are single-shot, disposable antitank rocket launchers, similar to the American M-72 light antitank weapon entered into service in 1989. Firing a variant of the tandem two-stage warhead developed for the RPG-7, these are for use only against armored vehicles.

ELLIOT P. CHODOFF

See also

Aircraft, Helicopters; Aircraft, Helicopters, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Antitank Weapons; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; Somalia, International Intervention in; Soviet-Afghanistan War

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Romania, Role in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

Southeast European nation with an area of 91,699 square miles and a 2008 population of 22.247 million. Romania borders Ukraine and Moldova to the north, the Black Sea to the east, Bulgaria and Serbia to the south, and Hungary to the west. A communist country from the end of World War II to 1989, Romania was a member of the Warsaw Pact, although in the last years of the Cold War its leader, Nicolae Ceauşescu, pursued a foreign policy often at variance with that of the Soviet Union. With the crumbling of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the dissolution of communism in Eastern Europe, Romanians overthrew Ceauşescu and his personal rule that had pushed Romania to the brink of ruin, and established a multiparty democracy modeled after that of the Fifth French Republic. The Romanian constitution provides for a popularly elected president and a prime minister selected by parliament; the two share executive powers. The prime minister, who is head of government, appoints the Council of Ministers, or cabinet. The president is head of state.

Following a somewhat rocky transition to free-market democracy, Romania aligned itself squarely with the West. It joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 2004 and the European Union (EU) in 2007. Since 2000 Romania's political landscape has been dominated by the National Union (a coalition comprising the Romanian Social Democratic Party and Humanist

Party); the Justice and Truth Alliance (a coalition comprising the National Liberal Party and the Democratic Liberal Party); the Greater Romania Party; and the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania. There were five prime ministers between December 2000 and December 2008 representing several parties and coalitions, and three presidents.

Since January 2002 Romania has deployed troops to Afghanistan as one of 10 countries providing most of the support for NATO's International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF) and the U.S. military campaign dubbed Operation ENDURING FREEDOM against the Taliban and its Al Qaeda allies. A total of 8 Romanian soldiers died in Afghanistan between 2002 and the end of 2008. In early 2009 Romania had approximately 800 military personnel in Afghanistan (500 of whom serve with ISAF). As recently as April 4, 2008, at the annual NATO summit held in Bucharest, Romania, Romanian president Traian Basecu reconfirmed his country's "firm" commitment to operations in Afghanistan, adding that NATO success is "crucial for the future of that country, for the war against terrorism and, consequently, for our security." After announcing the deployment of an additional 280 troops to Afghanistan in the second half of the year, however, the president expressed displeasure that other coalition nations had withdrawn their troops or relocated them to less dangerous areas—a major source of tension among countries participating in NATO's ISAF.

The 500 or so Romanian forces assigned to ISAF include: a military police platoon; soldiers posted to the ISAF command headquarters; an intelligence and counterintelligence unit; and an air unit consisting of one Lockheed C-130 Hercules transport plane—all based in Afghanistan's capital, Kabul. Since 2003 an additional unit, also based in Kabul, has assisted in training the Afghan National Army. Small teams of Romanian soldiers also serve with ISAF Provincial Reconstruction Teams, which are charged with assisting in economic development and local governance throughout the country.

Romania also deployed a battalion consisting of between 300 and 400 troops as part of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. According to the Romanian Defense Ministry, this battalion, based in southern Zabul Province, performs such tasks as surveillance, searching locations for Taliban insurgents, supporting humanitarian activities, escorting supply convoys, providing security for other coalition forces, and blocking insurgent communication and supply lines. In Zabul Province, these Romanian troops are responsible for safeguarding about 95 miles of Highway 1, a key 600-mile-long highway linking Kabul to the southern city of Kandahar and the city of Herat to the west.

As this road is a link between three major Afghan cities, Taliban insurgents and their Al Qaeda allies have sought to gain control of the roadway, particularly in Zabul Province, which has a common border with neighboring Pakistan. Insurgents and terrorists operate from bases in Pakistan against coalition forces in Afghanistan. These insurgents have attacked and ambushed road traffic, often not distinguishing between civilian and military targets, and they have also planted roadside bombs and mines. On June 16, 2008, one Romanian soldier was killed and three wounded when their patrol convoy was ambushed and attacked by Taliban insurgents armed with rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs). The commander of Romanian forces in Zabul Province, Lieutenant Colonel Adrian Soci, summed up his mission as that of denying the Taliban control of the 95-mile stretch of highway.

Romania also supported the U.S.-led 2003 invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), and it has cooperated closely with the United States and its partners in Iraq. Just a few days before the invasion, Romanian president Ion Iliescu declared his country's full support for all United Nations (UN) resolutions calling for Iraq's dismantlement of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and "the need for the international community to act against the threat of WMD posed by a regime that endangers international peace and security." Seeking closer ties with the United States and admission into NATO, Romanian leaders defended the Anglo-American–led invasion. It also allowed the United States to use one of its air bases during the 2003 invasion—including the stationing of up to 3,500 troops. A year later, the Americans announced that they would establish four military bases in Romania, and that same year Romania was rewarded for its support by being admitted into NATO. By permanently hosting American forces, Romania clearly seeks close ties with the United States, but some Romanians view this as a dangerous development, making their country a potential front-line combatant in the Global War on Terror and raising its exposure to terrorist attacks.

In July 2003 Romania deployed about 800 troops to Iraq at a reported cost of $38 million, or 3.5 percent of the country's defense budget. In 2003 the country received $25 million in military aid from the United States, $15 million of which was related to Romania's troop deployment in Iraq. Over the last five years, more than 5,300 Romanian troops have been deployed to Iraq. At the end of 2008 there were about 500 Romanian troops in the country. Romania's total troop complement in Iraq includes infantry, military policeman, and civil engineers. These forces have performed intelligence and interrogation missions, provided base security, manned a hospital, provided medical treatment for detainees and military personnel at camps Cropper and Bucca, and trained Iraqi Army units. Romania has rotated its forces every February and August. Romanian troops in Iraq have served under British and Italian command. Most of Romania's troops are stationed in southern Iraq, in the cities of Basra and Nasiriyah. Prominent among Romanian forces was the Neagoe Basarab 26th Infantry Battalion of some 400 men, based in Craiova, southern Romania, which in 2003 was deployed to the Nassiyah area of Iraq. Its task was to conduct patrols in the area, monitor traffic, perform escort missions in urban areas, support humanitarian missions, and guard fixed and mobile checkpoints. This battalion had previously taken part in peacekeeping missions in Angola, Albania, Afghanistan, and the Balkans. By the end of 2008 Romania was reportedly spending $90 million a year on troop deployments to Iraq.

In 2006, at the height of the insurgency in Iraq and after the April 26 death of a Romanian soldier in Iraq from a roadside bomb, growing opposition to Romania's presence in Iraq prompted Prime Minister Calin Tariceanu to call for the withdrawal of troops from Iraq, but President Traian Basecu dismissed such calls, claiming that it was "a dishonor to leave your allies." The president also stated that withdrawing troops could mean that Iraq would sink into civil war. On September 21, 2007, another Romanian soldier was killed and five others were wounded by the explosion of a bomb while they were on a patrol mission outside the Tallil military air base, near Nasiriyah. Another five Romanian troops were wounded in a blast when traveling in an armored personnel carrier, and earlier that month, on September 11, two Romanian officers were wounded in a missile attack on the base Camp Victory near Baghdad. Through 2008 Romania had suffered two deaths in Iraq.

On December 2, 2008, President Traian Basecu pledged that Romania would keep its troops in Iraq until the Iraqi government asked that they leave; that same day, Basecu reported that the Iraq government had requested that Romania continue its mission in Iraq until at least 2011.

STEFAN M. BROOKS

See also

ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; International Security Assistance Force; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Rove, Karl

Birth Date: December 25, 1950

Chief political consultant to President George W. Bush whose guidance led Bush to victory in the 2000 presidential race and whose influence continued in the White House well into Bush's second term. Karl Rove was born on December 25, 1950, in Denver, Colorado. While Rove was still in high school, his parents moved to Salt Lake City, Utah. Rove attended the University of Utah from 1969 to 1971 but dropped out of school to accept a position as the

Republican Party strategist Karl Rove, shown here addressing the Jackson County Lincoln Day dinner in Jackson, Michigan, on March 24, 2007. (AP/Wide World Photos)

executive director of the College Republican National Committee. After a contentious 1973 campaign, Rove was elected to serve as national chairman of the College Republicans.

Rove moved to Texas in 1977, advising William Clements in his successful 1978 gubernatorial campaign. Clements became the first Republican governor of Texas in more than 100 years, and Rove served as his deputy executive assistant from 1980 to 1981. Rove also established a direct-mail consulting firm, Karl Rove & Associates, which was involved in hundreds of Republican campaigns on both the state and national levels between 1981 and 1999.

Although Rove was removed from the 1992 presidential reelection campaign of George H. W. Bush for allegedly leaking criticism of the campaign to journalists, the consultant nevertheless advised George W. Bush in his successful 1994 and 1998 Texas gubernatorial bids. Despite having failed to earn a college degree, from 1981 to 1999 Rove taught graduate students at the University of Texas, Austin, in the LBJ School of Public Affairs and Department of Journalism.

In 1999 Rove sold his direct-mail business and assumed the position of chief strategist for George W. Bush's 2000 presidential campaign. As a senior adviser to the president, Rove played a key role in formulating the administration's response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM) and the March 2003 invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). Rove was also credited with targeting Christian evangelicals as a crucial constituency for Bush's 2004 reelection. Although Bush's political opponents questioned Rove's campaign ethics, the political consultant accepted a position in 2005 as the president's deputy chief of staff, heading the Office of Political Affairs, the Office of Public Liaison, and the Office of Strategic Initiatives. Because of his political skills and service as the president's top adviser, Rove came to be known as "Bush's Brain."

Rove retained the president's confidence, despite a grand jury investigation into his role in the White House's unauthorized disclosure in 2003 of Iraq War critic Ambassador Joseph C. Wilson's wife, Valerie Plame, as a CIA agent. In October 2005 Lewis "Scooter" Libby, chief of staff to Vice President Dick Cheney, was indicted for perjury in the case, while Rove remained a person of interest in the investigation. After participating in closed discussions with Special Counsel Patrick Fitzgerald, who was investigating the case, Fitzgerald informed Rove in June 2006 that he would not be indicted. Rove remained in Bush's inner circle, perhaps more a sign of the president's loyalty to his staff than anything else.

With Bush's poll numbers plummeting in late 2005 and into 2006, Rove was relieved of some of his policy tasks to concentrate on Republican strategy for the 2006 congressional elections. The combative Rove remained a political lightning rod, however, and the Republicans lost badly in 2006, relinquishing control of both houses of Congress. In 2005 he asserted that after September 11 Republicans prepared for war, while liberals were more interested in offering understanding to those who had attacked America, which outraged Democrats. In August 2007 Rove resigned from the Bush administration, citing personal reasons for his departure. Since then, Rove has been on an extended speaking tour and has served as a political analyst for Fox News Network, the *Wall Street Journal,* and *Newsweek* magazine. In July 2008 Rove refused to answer a summons to testify before a committee of Congress regarding the dismissal of U.S. attorneys by the Justice Department and was held in contempt of Congress.

RON BRILEY

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Wilson, Valerie Plame

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Rumaila Oil Field

Strategic oil field on the Iraq-Kuwait border. A source of great wealth but also great controversy, the Rumaila Oil Field has been a focus of economic and military contest in the modern Middle East for years. Straddling the borders of Iraq and Kuwait, the oil field brought both countries great wealth, yet also helped to bring them to war in 1990. Indeed, the Rumaila field is estimated to contain 14 percent of the world's known oil reserves, a staggering figure that has made controlling it a central goal of all forces with an interest in the region.

Situated mainly in southern Iraq, the Rumaila Oil Field also lies under Kuwait. As one of the most productive and lucrative oil fields in the Persian Gulf region, Rumaila provides 60 percent of Iraq's oil output, making it the most important natural resource for that nation's economy. More than 30 miles long, the Rumaila field is capable of producing an astonishing 1.6 million barrels of oil per day. More than 1,000 wells, which constantly work to bring oil to the surface, sit atop the Rumaila field.

The Rumaila field attracted international attention in August 1990 when the Iraqi military invaded Kuwait. One of the reasons cited for Iraq's annexation of the small Persian Gulf nation was the belief that Kuwait had been using transverse, or slant, drilling to extract, and then sell, oil from the Iraqi side of the Rumaila field since 1980. This oil was estimated to have been worth at least $2.4 billion on the world market, an amount greater than the war debt Iraq owed Kuwait in loans racked up during the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988). When Kuwait refused to forgive the loan, coupled with the historic dispute over Kuwait's status and other border issues, as well as differences over oil pricing, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein claimed that taking control of Kuwait, along with all of Rumaila's riches, was justified.

Kuwaiti oil well control specialists direct a fire control rig over a raging oil well fire at the Rumaila Oil Field in southern Iraq on March 27, 2003. (U.S. Department of Defense)

The Rumaila field gained attention yet again in February 1991 when retreating Iraqi troops, fleeing Kuwait following Operation DESERT STORM, set on fire many of the field's wells on the Kuwaiti side of the border. The burning oil wells of Rumaila, along with 85 percent of the rest of Kuwait's oil wells, became one of the most devastating ecological disasters in history, polluting not only the Persian Gulf region but sending toxic clouds thousands of miles east of Rumaila. Indeed, since the fires at Rumaila, physicians have seen rates of various cancers and other fatal diseases skyrocket in the region, causing many to question the relationship between the toxins and these illnesses.

In March 2003, at the beginning of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, nine of Rumaila's oil wells were set alight yet again by Iraqi troops retreating from advancing Anglo-American–led coalition forces. Nevertheless, keeping the oil pumping from Rumaila was a vital goal of the occupiers, and was met only with the work of a legion of skilled engineers supported by many troops. Within a few weeks of the invasion, Rumaila was pumping at near-normal capacity, securing the maintenance of its contribution to the world's oil needs.

NANCY STOCKDALE

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Kuwait; Oil; Oil Well Fires, Persian Gulf War

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Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

Birth Date: July 9, 1932

Congressman, government official, ambassador, and U.S. secretary of defense (1975–1977, 2001–2006). Born in Chicago, Illinois, on July 9, 1932, Donald Rumsfeld graduated from Princeton University in 1954. He was commissioned in the navy through the Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps (NROTC) and served during 1954–1957 as a pilot and flight instructor. Rumsfeld remained in the reserves, retiring as a navy captain in 1989.

Rumsfeld began his long association with Washington as an administrative assistant to Representative David S. Dennison Jr. of Ohio during 1957–1959, then joined the staff of Representative Robert Griffen of Michigan. During 1960–1962 he worked

for an investment-banking firm. In 1962 Rumsfeld was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives as a Republican from Illinois and served until 1969, when he resigned to accept appointment as director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and assistant to President Richard M. Nixon (1969–1970). He was then counselor to the president and director of the Economic Stabilization Program (1971–1973). During 1973–1974 he was U.S. ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and thus avoided any involvement with the Watergate scandal.

When Nixon resigned and was succeeded by Gerald Ford, Rumsfeld returned to Washington in August 1974 to serve as chair of the new president's transition team. He was then Ford's chief of staff. During 1975–1977 Rumsfeld served as secretary of defense. At age 43, he was the youngest person to hold that position. During Rumsfeld's 14 months in office, he oversaw the transformation of the military to an all-volunteer force, as well as post–Vietnam War reforms. He also actively campaigned for additional defense appropriations and to develop weapons systems, such as the B-1 bomber, the Trident missile system, and the MX missile. Ford honored Rumsfeld for his government service in 1977 with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian award.

Rumsfeld left government service when President James (Jimmy) E. Carter took office in January 1977. Following a brief period as a university lecturer, Rumsfeld entered private business. He was chief executive officer, then chairman, of G. D. Searle, the pharmaceutical company, from 1977 to 1985. From 1990 until 1993 Rumsfeld served as chairman and chief executive officer of General Instrument Corporation. During 1997–2001, Rumsfeld was chairman of Gilead Sciences, Inc. Concurrent with his work in the private sector, Rumsfeld served on numerous federal boards. He also served in the Ronald Reagan administration as special presidential envoy to the Middle East during 1983–1984.

In January 2001 newly elected President George W. Bush appointed Rumsfeld to be secretary of defense for a second time. Rumsfeld then became the oldest individual to hold the post. Bush charged him with transforming the military from its Cold War emphasis on major conventional warfare into a lighter, more efficient force capable of rapid deployment around the world. Rumsfeld worked to develop network-centric warfare, an approach to military operations that relies on technological innovation and integration of weapons and information systems to produce more firepower with fewer personnel. In addition, Rumsfeld initiated the restructuring of the U.S. military presence throughout the world and the closure and consolidation of bases. Rumsfeld also refocused the strategic forces of the United States by emphasizing missile defense and space systems following the 2002 U.S. withdrawal from the Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty. He made certain of the loyalty of top officers by personally reviewing all higher promotion decisions at the three-star level and above. He angered a number of congressmen when he canceled such weapons programs as the Comanche helicopter and Crusader self-propelled artillery system.

Donald Rumsfeld was U.S. secretary of defense during 1975–1977 and again during 2001–2006. The confrontational Rumsfeld was one of the strongest proponents of a U.S. invasion of Iraq but has been roundly criticized for his failure to provide adequate ground forces for the invasion and recognize the potential for insurgency operations. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Rumsfeld's reform efforts and his restructuring of the military were overshadowed by his role in the post–September 11, 2001, Global War on Terror. As secretary of defense and a proponent of neoconservatism, Rumsfeld oversaw the military operation that overthrew the Taliban regime in Afghanistan (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM), although the failure to capture Osama bin Laden tarnished the otherwise successful military campaign.

Rumsfeld was one of the foremost proponents of military action against Iraq, teaming up with President Bush and Vice President Richard Cheney to overcome opposition from within the cabinet by Secretary of State Colin Powell. Indeed, Rumsfeld was a major architect of the Bush Doctrine, which called for preemptive military action against potential adversaries. Rumsfeld then directed the 2003 invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). In the campaign, Rumsfeld employed a strategy that relied on firepower and smaller numbers of "boots on the ground."

While the overthrow of the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein was highly successful, the subsequent occupation of Iraq did not go well. Within the Pentagon, there were complaints of Rumsfeld running roughshod over those who disagreed with him. Certainly he was much criticized for his outspoken, combative management style, as when he pointedly referred to the French and German

governments, which had opposed the war, as "Old Europe." But there was good reason to criticize his military decisions and specifically his overly optimistic assessment of the situation that would follow the overthrow of Hussein. Disbanding the Iraqi Army to rebuild it from scratch came to be seen in retrospect as a major blunder. Rumsfeld had also ignored previous recommendations that 400,000 U.S. troops would be required for any occupation of Iraq. The actual number of troops involved was only about one-third that number. As a consequence, Iraqi arms depots, oil-production facilities, and even the national museum were looted in the immediate aftermath of the invasion.

Occupation troops were unable to halt a growing insurgency. As U.S. casualties escalated and Iraq descended into sectarian violence, calls for Rumsfeld's ouster came from Republicans as well as Democrats, and even a number of prominent retired generals. Just prior to the 2006 midterm elections, an editorial in all the *Military Times* newspapers demanded his removal.

Rumsfeld resigned on November 8, 2006. This came a week after President Bush had expressed confidence in his defense secretary and said that he would remain until the end of his term, but it was also one day after the midterm elections, in which the Republican Party lost its majorities in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. The election was widely seen as a referendum on the Iraq War and, by extension, Rumsfeld's leadership of it. President Bush named former Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) director Robert Gates to succeed Rumsfeld. Rumsfeld is reportedly seeking a publishing contract for his memoirs, which are likely to be a spirited defense of his policies in the George W. Bush administration.

Tom Lansford and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Bush, George Walker; Bush Doctrine; Cheney, Richard Bruce; enduring freedom, Operation; iraqi freedom, Operation; Neoconservatism; Powell, Colin Luther

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Russia, Middle East Policy, 1991–Present

Geography, oil, and economic imperatives have made the Middle East an area of considerable strategic interest for the Russian Federation since its beginnings in December 1991, although not until very recently has the nation possessed the economic and military means with which to flex its muscle in the region. Nevertheless, its actions in the Middle East have been fairly limited, especially when compared to its predecessor state, the Soviet Union, which made the region a pivotal Cold War battleground for some 40 years. From 1991 to 2003 or so, Russia, a state hobbled by financial crises and political turmoil, took a far more pragmatic and reactive stand in the Middle East. This does not mean, however, that the Soviet successor state abdicated its strategic or economic interests and commitments in the region. Since the late 1990s, in fact, the Kremlin has showed a renewed interest in the region. But this has not been driven by the old Soviet ideologies. Rather, it is based upon economic imperatives, traditional Russian conceptions of security and international power, and concerns about American hegemony in the Middle East.

As Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's attempts to reform the Soviet Union (glasnost and perestroika) in the mid- and late 1980s morphed into a political sea change that witnessed the dissolution of the Soviet Empire in Eastern Europe, Soviet troops were also being withdrawn from the disastrous Afghanistan-Soviet War. By 1989, when the last Soviet troops left Afghanistan, the Soviet Union was reeling from a stagnant economy and a considerable loss of international prestige. By the time the Persian Gulf War began in January 1991, the Soviets, who did not participate in that conflict, had essentially given a green light to the international coalition designed to oust Iraqi forces from Kuwait. While the Kremlin did engage in some last-minute (and unsuccessful) diplomacy to avoid military confrontation, it did not stand in the way of either the United Nations (UN) or the American-led coalition that was about to invade Iraq. It had neither the economic nor political will to do so, even if it had objected to the operation. Such a scenario would have been virtually unthinkable during the Cold War. By the time the Persian Gulf War ended in February, the dissolution of the Soviet Union was but 10 months away. With the familiar bipolarity of the Cold War gone following the collapse of the Soviet Union, many in the Middle East worried about U.S. hegemony and unilateralism, especially following the September 11, 2001, terror attacks.

Under Russian presidents Boris Yeltsin, Vladimir Putin, and Dmitry Medvedev (Putin's handpicked successor), Russian policy in the Middle East has largely eschewed the ideologically oriented prescriptions of the communist era. Russian policies now tend to be grounded in pragmatism and economic opportunism. And while these administrations in theory have supported democracy in the region, they were (and are) more concerned with political and economic stability. Another change from the Soviet era is the role of private enterprise in the direction and creation of foreign policies. In the pre-1991 era, the state controlled Soviet industry. In addition to promoting economic autarky, the government largely dictated the policies and direction of industry. Thus, there was no process of push-pull in foreign policymaking. The state dictated industrial policies that were at all times consonant with its foreign policies, and vice versa. In the post-1991 era of emerging free market capitalism, however, Russian industrial concerns in the Middle East have begun to play a more central role in overall Russian policy in the region. To spur and protect Russian private

A Russian technician rides his bicycle in front of the main reactor of the nuclear power plant in Bushehr, Iran, February 26, 2006. (AP/Wide World Photos)

investments in the Middle East, for example, the Kremlin has had to cleave to policies that are economically and politically advantageous to Russian industry, and some of those may not necessarily be consonant with Russian foreign policy objectives.

Much to the annoyance and occasional chagrin of the West, the Russians continued to play a role in the Middle East, the natural consequence of long-standing ties to the region. The Soviet Union had supplied weapons, technology, and advisers to Iran for decades. From the 1990s, the United States government sought to press Russia into ending its support for Iran's nuclear program.

Russia also inherited long-standing ties with both Iraq and Syria. Russian diplomats have so far played a masterful juggling act by maintaining relations with Syria and Iran while at the same time keeping relations with Washington and London on a relatively even keel. In 2005 Putin visited Israel, Egypt, and the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). In January 2005 Syrian president Bashar al-Assad traveled to Moscow on an official state visit. Clearly, the Kremlin had to balance its policies in the Middle East with its relations with the United States.

Some of the Kremlin's caution in the region is derived from its long-standing struggle with Chechnya, the renegade Russian Republic territory that is peopled largely by Sunni Muslims. From 1994 to 1996 Yeltsin fought a bloody—and unsuccessful—war with Chechnya, which desired to be completely independent. In 1999 military conflict between Russia and Chechnya inaugurated the Second Chechen War, which is still technically being fought. Hoping to quell Chechen rebels and court Chechen moderates, Putin has tried to cultivate positive relations with Islamic states to demonstrate Moscow's presumption of being an honest broker. Interestingly, in their immediate aftermath Putin was quick to decry the September 11 attacks, showing great sympathy for the United States. At the same time, however, he linked Moscow's war in Chechyna with the larger Global War on Terror, as if to justify Russian actions there.

Russia has been supportive of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process since 1993 and has courted positive relations with Tel Aviv. In the 1980s and 1990s millions of Jews, most of them emigrating to Israel and the United States, left the Soviet Union and its successor states. Russian businesses have also benefited from economic ties with Israel. Relations between Moscow and Tel Aviv have not been without tension, however, as the Kremlin's support of Iran and Syria has at times caused much dismay among Israeli policymakers.

Since the 1990s the Kremlin has engaged in major economic and technology deals with Iran, as Russian-Iranian ties owe much to the two nations' proximity and shared geopolitical interests.

Indeed, Iran concluded a major arms agreement and became Russia's third-largest arms client (after China and India) in the 1990s. Iran purchased advanced weapons, including Russian-made Kilo-class submarines, T-72 tanks, S-300 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs), and Su-24 and MiG-29 aircraft. Iran also acquired the rights to produce Russian weapons on its own soil. Iranian officers have attended Russian military schools, and Russian advisers are training Iranian forces in the use of Russian weapons. In 1995, under American pressure, Russia agreed not to conclude any new arms deals with Iran, but Putin abrogated this agreement in 2000. A particular U.S. concern has been the transfer of nuclear and missile technology. Russia sold Iran important missile components and manufacturing technologies in the 1990s and trained Iranian scientists in ballistics, aeronautic design, booster design, and missile guidance. Indeed, Iranian Shahab ballistic missiles were derived from Soviet SS-4 and SS-5 designs. In 1995 Russia obtained a contract to build a nuclear power plant at Bushehr, and despite U.S. protests remained determined to finish the project. Russia subsequently agreed to provide fuel for Bushehr and to build additional reactors in Iran.

The Russians notably abstained from voting when the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) found Iran in noncompliance with Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty safeguards on uranium enrichment and reprocessing in September 2005, and opposed referring the issue to the UN Security Council. Russia has consistently opposed the imposition of sanctions on Iran and has sought to protract negotiations for as long as possible. Moreover, in late 2006 Russia began delivering advanced Tor-M1 air-defense missiles to Iran that would seriously complicate any preemptive military action to destroy Iran's nuclear facilities. In 2007 and again in 2008, Russia steadfastly refused to consider invoking tougher sanctions against Iran, even in the face of growing evidence that the Iranians were engaging in prohibited uranium-enrichment efforts and were stonewalling the UN and the IAEA.

In recent years Russia has, on occasion, expressed its support of Syria, and in 2005 President Putin defended the position of Hezbollah in Lebanon, which used to be funded by the Syrians and Iranians (who in turn have received weapons systems and armaments from Russia). Moscow's links with Iran, Syria, and Hezbollah have strained relations with Washington over the last several years, and Moscow's repeated dilution of U.S. efforts to enact UN sanctions against Iran for its nuclear program has only added to the tension.

In March 2003, as the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq commenced, Putin issued an unequivocal if not prescient statement labeling the endeavor a grave political miscalculation. Unlike the 1991 war against Iraq, the Russians refused to endorse in any way the 2003 invasion. While Putin stopped short of warning Washington and London of any Russian countermeasures, he made it clear that the move was not in the best interests of Moscow or the Middle East as a whole. The ongoing war in Iraq therefore continues to strain Russia's relations with the West.

During the Israeli War with Lebanon in 2006, the Putin government did not openly oppose the Israeli incursion into southern Lebanon. Nevertheless, it was a well-known fact that Hezbollah had obtained Russian-made Spandrel, Kornet, and Vampir antitank missiles from Syria and Iran. These missiles played a major role in blunting Israel's armored offensive. Once more, the Kremlin was attempting to hedge its bets by staying out of any direct conflict in the region. But behind the scenes, it played an important role while attempting to appear neutral.

Very recently, some in the United States have begun to assert that Russia is seeking to revive the Soviet Union's hegemonic foreign policies. Both U.S. presidential candidates in 2008, for instance, decried the Russian incursion into Georgia in August of that year, a conflict revolving around the breakaway province of South Ossetia. Republican nominee John McCain was particularly bellicose toward the Kremlin, and he suggested that Russia be evicted from both the G8 and World Trade Organization (WTO).

While McCain may well be overstating the Kremlin's intentions and capabilities in the Middle East, there can be no doubt that Russia's improving economic situation and military readiness over the past few years will pose a challenge for Western leaders, especially in their Middle East policies. Skyrocketing oil and natural gas prices since 2005 have resulted in a windfall for the Kremlin's coffers. This in turn has allowed the Russians to begin rebuilding their armed forces and has given them more clout on the world stage. While it is difficult to envision a Russian Middle East policy that is entirely at odds with that of the United States and other Western powers, rising Russian economic and political influence will certainly be a force to be reckoned with in the years to come.

James D. Perry and Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Global War on Terror; Hezbollah; Iran; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Israel; Lebanon; Syria; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Rwanda

Nation located in East Africa, historically known as Ruanda or Ruanda-Urundi. Rwanda is bordered on the west by the Democratic Republic of Congo, on the south by Burundi, on the east by Tanzania, and on the north by Uganda. Most of the country lies between 1,600 and 6,500 feet above sea level, with some mountain

ranges soaring above 13,000 feet. Its climate is primarily mountain highland, with a small tropical savannah region on the eastern side.

Officially called the Republic of Rwanda, its capital city is Kigali. Rwanda is 10,169 square miles in area, slightly smaller than the state of Massachusetts, with a current population of approximately 8 million people. The population comprises about 85 percent Hutu, 14 percent Tutsi, and 1 percent Twa. Christianity is the prevailing religion (including Roman Catholicism and Protestantism); only a small percentage of Rwandans practice Islam.

During the 1880s Rwanda was part of German East Africa and included parts of present-day Tanzania, Burundi, and Rwanda. Germany primarily ruled through local native leaders. During World War I, Belgian troops seized Rwanda on June 6, 1916. After the war, the League of Nations and then the United Nations (UN) granted Belgium the responsibility of preparing Rwanda for independence. Belgium's decision to grant the Tutsis a greater role in the early colonial government created animosity among the Hutus, which would have far-reaching repercussions. Prior to Rwandan independence, which took effect on July 1, 1962, Belgium shifted its support toward the Hutus during the latter part of colonial rule.

The years between 1959 and 1962 saw an increase in ethnic violence directed against the Tutsis, resulting in numerous deaths among them. Other Tutsis fled to bordering countries, many of them to Uganda. Under UN oversight, Rwanda became an independent nation on July 1, 1962, and was governed by the majority Hutus. Following a 1963 anti-Tutsi campaign launched by the Hutus that resulted in as many as 14,000 deaths, the country became a one-party dictatorship under Hutu control. For the next several decades, Rwanda suffered under the yoke of dictatorship in which Tutsis and their Hutu supporters were brutally suppressed. Its economy barely functioned, and its government was rife with cronyism and corruption.

In 1987 the Rwandan expatriate Tutsis residing in Uganda formed the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) to overthrow the Hutu government in Rwanda. The ensuing years saw sporadic ethnic conflicts within Rwanda, which continued on a small scale until 1993, when the Rwandan genocide began.

The death in a plane crash in 1994 of Rwanda president Juvénal Habyarimana, a moderate Hutu, marked the beginning of systematic attacks against Tutsis. Although it is virtually impossible to get an accurate count of the resulting deaths, it is estimated that some 800,000 Tutsis were killed during the genocide, while many others fled Rwanda into neighboring countries. Except to rescue their own citizens, the Western powers, including the United States, were unwilling to intervene in Rwanda to stop the horrific bloodshed. Furthermore, the UN was powerless to act in the face of Western indifference.

In the aftermath of the genocide, the RPF continued fighting against the Hutu government, eventually taking over the country. Paul Kagame became president in 2000 and led Rwanda into an unsuccessful and bloody conflict with the Democratic Republic of Congo, which ended in 2002. During Kagame's administration, however, Rwanda slowly became safer and more stable.

The failure of the United States to intervene in Rwanda, its quick exit from Somalia (Operation RESTORE HOPE) in 1995, and its limited responses to terrorist attacks against American interests in Yemen and Africa in the late 1990s seemed to demonstrate Americans' unwillingness to risk U.S. lives for a greater cause. Some have speculated that this may have played a part in the decision of the Al Qaeda terrorist organization to attack the United States on September 11, 2001, believing it could do so with relative impunity. However, these attacks initiated the U.S. Global War on Terror, which then focused on the Middle East.

Since the early 2000s, Rwanda has slowly and steadily rebuilt its economy and infrastructure, and has voiced a keen interest in transforming its economy from one that is based largely on subsistence agriculture to one that is knowledge based. Such a transformation, however, will be slow going. Nevertheless, Kagame had made a concerted effort to attract outside investment and boost economic activity. By 2007 the nation was deemed safe for tourists, and only one mortar attack, in a rural area, was launched during that entire year.

WYNDHAM WHYNOT

See also

Al Qaeda; Global War on Terror; Somalia, International Intervention in

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S

Sabah, Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-

Birth Date: June 29, 1926
Death Date: January 15, 2006

Thirteenth emir of Kuwait (1977–2006) and a member of the ruling family of al-Sabah. Born in Kuwait on June 29, 1926, Sheikh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah was the third son of the late Sheikh Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, who was emir and head of state in Kuwait from 1921 to 1950. Sources report that Sheikh Jabir was educated at the al-Mubarakiyya School, al-Ahmadiyya School, and al-Sharqiyya School, and was further tutored privately in Arabic, English, religion, and science.

In 1949 Sheikh Jabir served as chief of public security in the Ahmadi oil fields. In 1962 he was appointed minister of finance, and under his direction Kuwait was transformed into a prosperous state with one of the world's highest per capita incomes. In 1965 he was appointed prime minister of Kuwait, and was subsequently named crown prince in 1966. He was thereby officially recognized as the heir apparent to the throne of Kuwait. In December 1977 Sheikh Jabir succeeded Sheikh Sabah al-Salim al-Sabah, his uncle, as emir.

A confluence of external and internal events dominated Sheikh Jabir's rule. During the 1980s a marked increase in political violence in Kuwait disturbed this historically peaceful country. This violence included the bombing of the U.S. and French embassies in December 1983, and an assassination attempt on the emir by a suicide bomber in 1985. In 1986, prompted by such events, Sheikh Jabir dissolved the National Assembly, exercising his powers as stipulated in Kuwait's constitution. Almost immediately, he took measures to curb civil and political rights. In 1991, however,

Sheikh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah was head of the ruling 1,200-member Sabah clan and emir of Kuwait from 1977 until his death in January 2006. (AP/Wide World Photos)

after the Persian Gulf War, Sheikh Jabir reinstated the National Assembly; by 1992 many press and civil restrictions were lifted.

On August 2, 1990, following a long-running border dispute between Kuwait and Iraq, Iraq invaded and occupied Kuwait with the stated intent of annexing it. This was the first time in Kuwait's history that it had been placed under direct foreign rule. During and after the occupation, Sheikh Jabir was subjected to severe criticism for immediately fleeing to Saudi Arabia and for setting up a government-in-exile there. In March 1991, after the conclusion of the Persian Gulf War, the emir returned to Kuwait. He assumed his former role as head of state, in spite of the fact that he had all but removed himself from the struggle to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi occupation.

In 1999, despite opposition from tribal and Islamist factions in parliament, Sheikh Jabir approved an amendment allowing women the right to vote and run for office; the bill was rejected by a 41–21 vote in the National Assembly. The bill was reintroduced and approved in June 2005, however, when parliament finally granted Kuwait's women political rights.

Sheikh Jabir also helped found the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf, or Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), in 1981, an organization comprising Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). The GCC provided vital support during the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. In September 2000 Sheikh Jabir suffered a stroke and traveled to the United Kingdom for medical treatment, returning four months later. Under Sheikh Jabir's watch, Kuwait remained a staunch ally of the United States and the West. His government fully supported the invasion of Afghanistan after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks and also supported the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq in 2003. Indeed, Kuwait continued to serve as a major staging area for coalition troops in the Middle East.

In July 2003 Sheikh Jabir announced that his brother—Prime Minister Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah—would lead the formation of a new government. Sheikh Sabah was already the country's de facto leader because of the emir's failing health. Sheikh Jabir al-Ahmad died on January 15, 2006, in Kuwait. He was automatically succeeded by Crown Prince Saad Abdullah al-Salim al-Sabah, who resigned within nine days. On January 29, 2006, Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmed al-Jabir al-Sabah was confirmed as the new emir of Kuwait.

KIRSTY MONTGOMERY

See also
Gulf Cooperation Council; Kuwait

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Sabkha

A relatively flat area of salty soil that is often found on or near the coast in arid regions of the world, especially in the vicinity of North Africa and the Persian Gulf. Sabkhas can be divided into two major types: coastal and inland. Both forms occur where the water table periodically reaches the surface. A coastal sabkha is found along tidal flats or in adjacent low-lying areas where tidal actions contribute to fluctuations in the water table. Inland sabkhas are typically found in low-lying areas, often between sand dunes, where water collects and later evaporates. In some cases, strong winds remove enough surface material to leave what remains in contact with the water table. Some sabkhas develop a thick salt crust over a bog that may have the consistency of quicksand. The variety in types of sabkhas as well as seasonal variations in their moisture content make them potential barriers to travel, especially by heavy vehicles.

The high temperatures and low humidity of Middle East and North African deserts cause water to evaporate rapidly. Freshwater runoff typically picks up minute amounts of salt. In other parts of the world, these salts are carried to the oceans. In arid regions, however, limited rainfall often prevents formation of perennial streams that could flush these salts into the sea. Instead, water may collect and evaporate in depressions, leaving the salts behind.

Although often lumped together, a sabkha does differ from a playa or kavir. A kavir, such as the Dasht-e Kavir (Salt Desert) in Iran, is a salt flat that may contain a shallow lake after rainfall, but is normally dry. Indeed, the Bonneville Salt Flats in Utah is renowned as a favored location for testing high-speed vehicles. In contrast, sabkhas are continuously wet, marshy, or water-filled, and they constitute formidable barriers for vehicular traffic, particularly military units with tanks, armored personnel carriers, and other heavy vehicles. In Iraq, the marsh areas are part of the Shatt al-Arab, the waterway that forms after the conjoining of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers.

During World War II, sabkhas in the Qattara Depression in northwestern Egypt formed a barrier that confined most military operations to the relatively narrow coastal strip. Although generally regarded as impassable, British Commonwealth units of the Long Range Desert Group traversed it during some of their operations against Nazi Germany's Afrika Korps. When the Germans retreated through south-central Tunisia, they found that the Shatt al-Djerid offered natural protection from flanking attacks.

In southern Iraq, the Tigris and Euphrates rivers converge at Basra to form the Shatt al-Arab waterway, which continues to the Persian Gulf. Numerous sabkhas, as well as extensive marshes,

are found in this region, especially along the Faw (Fao) peninsula. During the Iran-Iraq War of 1980–1988, Iranian forces seized the Faw peninsula in a surprise offensive in 1986. Despite the Iraqis' advantages in armor, the sabkhas and marshes kept most of their armored units confined to main roads, where they were more vulnerable to Iranian antitank units. It was not until 1988 that the Iraqis recaptured the peninsula, conducting a number of amphibious operations in their own surprise offensive. During the early stages of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, British forces reportedly had similar difficulties in the region.

Farther to the south are examples of inland sabkhas, which posed a significant obstacle during Operation DESERT STORM. February 1991 was unusually cold, with rain and snow falling throughout the region. When the ground war began, 60,000 American and French troops with XVIII Airborne Corps drove into southern Iraq to cut the main highway along the Euphrates River connecting Baghdad with Basra and Kuwait. The 24th Infantry had to cross the "Great Dismal Bog," a series of sabkhas approximately 45 miles southwest of Nasiriyah. Recent storms had turned them into bogs, slowing the advance considerably. Nevertheless, the 24th Cavalry found a passable, albeit circuitous, route through the sabkhas, allowing the 24th Infantry to seize its objectives. But the twisting course led to greater fuel consumption, which added to the logistical burden of supply units.

Immediately after Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, speculation abounded regarding the possibility that Iraqi forces would invade Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf states. Had that occurred, Iraqi armored units would have encountered sabkhas blocking off-road approaches to Jubail, Dhahran, and other towns in Saudi Arabia, as well as the highway leading into Qatar. And Sabkhat Matti would have proven an even more formidable barrier to off-road movement in Abu Dhabi. Throughout the Middle East and North Africa, sabkhas represent a category of seasonally changing obstacles to the movement of civilian or military vehicles.

CHUCK FAHRER

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Faw Peninsula; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Shatt al-Arab Waterway; Topography, Kuwait and Iraq; Umm Qasr, Battle of

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Sadat, Muhammad Anwar

Birth Date: December 25, 1918
Death Date: October 6, 1981

Egyptian nationalist, vice president (1966–1970), and third president of Egypt (1970–1981). Born on December 25, 1918, in Mit Abu al-Kum, near Tala in the Minufiyya Province of Egypt, to an Egyptian father and a Sudanese mother, Muhammad Anwar Sadat attended the Royal Egyptian Military Academy, from which he graduated in 1938 as a second lieutenant. Early on he supported the Misr al-Fatat (an Islamist youth party) and the Muslim Brotherhood. His first posting was in the Sudan, where he met fellow nationalist and future Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser. Sadat joined with Nasser in forming the secret organization that would eventually be called the Free Officers Movement, comprising young Egyptian military officers dedicated to ousting the British and replacing the government of King Farouk (Faruq).

In May 1941 Sadat took part in a plot led by ex-chief of staff General Aziz al-Masri and a group referred to as the Ring of Iron to aid the Axis powers in expelling the British from Egypt. British authorities foiled the plot, and Sadat was among those jailed in 1942. Escaping from prison in 1944, he was arrested again in 1946 and tried in the planning of the assassination of Amin Uthman. Released in 1948, Sadat regained his commission in 1950.

Anwar Sadat, president of Egypt from 1970 until his assassination in 1981. Sadat is remembered for his part in concluding the 1979 Camp David Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel. (U.S. Department of Defense)

A group of reformist army officers known as the Free Officers Movement carried out the July 23, 1952, bloodless coup against King Farouk. Thereafter, Sadat served loyally under Nasser. He edited the newspapers *al-Jumhuriyya* and *al-Tahrir* from 1953 to 1956, when he became a minister of state and chaired the United Arab Republic (UAR) National Assembly during 1960–1968. He was general secretary of the Egyptian National Union from 1957 to 1961.

In 1969 Sadat became vice president of Egypt, and on Nasser's death in September 1970, he became temporary president. Sadat was elected president by the National Assembly on October 7, and in November he was elected president of the Arab Socialist Union.

In domestic affairs Sadat soon began to move away from Nasser's positions, introducing the Corrective Revolution, which ousted Nasser's supporters. In the 1970s the regime announced its intent to introduce political reforms, but other than allowing a tiny, insignificant, and divided opposition, this promise went unfulfilled. Egyptians were granted easier access to foreign travel, but by the end of the 1970s censorship had been extended even to verbal discussion of Sadat's policies. However, earlier, as a means of defeating his leftist opponents, journalists with pro-Islamist and anti-Nasserist views were allowed to publish. In 1976 Sadat ran unopposed for a second six-year term as president and was confirmed.

In 1974 Sadat began a new economic policy, called the Open Door policy (*infitah*), which encouraged foreign investment, not only from oil-rich Arab states but also from the West, and was intended to privatize industries. The government encouraged expansion of the private sector, although tax and other regulation structures inhibited this. This economic liberalization was slow to bring tangible benefits to the Egyptian people, however. After several decades of socialism and expropriation of properties, foreign governments were wary of investing in Egypt, while many Egyptians disapproved of the reforms.

Nasser's prêt project, the Aswan High Dam that provided electricity and controlled the yearly flooding of the Nile and was therefore of benefit to agriculture and the economy, also proved a mixed blessing. While it provided much more electricity, it prevented the annual silting that had enriched the soil and also adversely affected aquatic life in the Nile. Given an increase in population, the bulk of which required assistance, and a jump in imports, Egypt experienced a growing trade imbalance. This meant that the Sadat government was continually forced to seek new foreign loans and refinancing of existing loans, while the national debt continued to increase. At the same time, the World Bank and other granting agencies demanded massive changes, including privatization and an end to subsidies. This prospect threatened Egypt's many poor.

In foreign affairs, Sadat severed ties with the Soviets and then improved ties with the West, particularly the United States. Sadat also improved relations with Persian Gulf states, which had been tense in certain periods under Nasser. Many wealthy Gulf Arabs preferred to vacation in Egypt, and some of the banking and services sector in Beirut had shifted there.

The Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel were so unpopular in the Arab world that relations with other Arab nations suffered for a few years, during which time Egypt was ousted from the Arab League. However, Egypt was brought back into the Arab fold by Sadat's successor, Hosni Mubarak.

Libyan strongman Muammar Qaddafi, a great admirer of Nasser, earnestly sought an Egyptian-Syrian-Libyan federation, which was signed in Damascus in August 1971. This arrangement was never enacted, however, and soon after, in April 1974, Cairo announced that it had discovered a plot to overthrow the Egyptian government and pointed to Qaddafi as being behind it.

When Sadat became president, Egypt had already experienced some years of tensions with military and technical advisers from the Soviet Union; these advisers were soon asked to leave the country. Indeed, Nasser had been moving away from the Soviet Union at the time of his death. Part of the reason for this may have been the refusal of the Soviet Union to sell advanced weapons systems to Egypt. On July 18, 1972, Sadat ordered the expulsion of all Soviet military advisers and experts from Egypt and placed all of their bases in the country under Egyptian control.

Meanwhile, Sadat did all he could to prepare Egypt for war, especially by increasing military training. He privately expressed the view to United Nations (UN) envoy Gunnar Jarring that he was willing to recognize the State of Israel and even to sign a peace treaty with the Jewish state but that the precondition for this was the return to Egypt and the Palestinians of all territory conquered by Israel. Sadat feared that the present situation of no war and no peace might go on indefinitely and that the world would ultimately come to accept this as a permanent situation, giving Israel de facto control over the annexed territories. Sadat believed that the only way to change this was for him to initiate a new war, which in turn would produce an international crisis that would force the world to deal with the situation once and for all.

Over a protracted period, Egyptian forces engaged the Israelis in low-level skirmishing across the Suez Canal. Then, on October 6, 1973 (Yom Kippur, the Jewish Day of Atonement), Sadat launched a massive cross-canal attack that caught the Israeli government and military completely by surprise, partly because of its timing. He had carefully coordinated his plans with Syria in order to oblige the Israelis to fight a two-front war. In the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, Syrian forces simultaneously struck Israel in the north along the Golan Heights. The war ended with Israeli forces poised to achieve total victory. On the Golan Heights front, Israeli forces held during desperate fighting and then counterattacked deep into Syria. Against Egypt, the Israelis had rallied from early setbacks, crossed the canal, and were in position to drive on Cairo. However, the Egyptians had achieved a psychological victory with their initial crossing of the canal. This and the relatively satisfactory ceasefire brokered by the United States and the Soviet Union earned Sadat great respect among his people and in the Arab world.

Painfully aware that only the United States could elicit any substantive concessions from Israel and seeking to orient Egypt

to the West and overcome his leftist opponents, Sadat completely severed relations with the Soviet Union in March 1976 and began working with the Americans toward a peace settlement with the Israelis. In a courageous move, on November 19, 1977, Sadat traveled to Jerusalem on a two-day visit, becoming the first Arab leader to make an official trip to the Jewish state. There he met with Prime Minister Menachem Begin and even addressed the Israeli Knesset. In September 1978 Sadat signed the Camp David Accords. This agreement and the peace treaty of March 1979 produced a comprehensive peace agreement with Israel. Sadat's journey to Jerusalem and the accords were highly unpopular in the Arab world. While many of his countrymen realized that Egypt could not tolerate the cost of future wars with Israel, Sadat was nevertheless criticized by highly respected politicians and large sectors of the population for what they saw as a dishonorable arrangement with the Jewish state.

Although the Camp David Accords and the peace treaty of March 1979 were, in the long run, beneficial for Egypt, which with its larger army had borne the brunt of much of the previous three wars, many in the Arab world saw them as a great betrayal and Sadat as a traitor.

Throughout the late 1970s, several extremist Islamist groups had been operating in Egypt. One attempted to assassinate Sadat at the Egyptian Military Academy in 1976 (the Military Academy Group). Another, the Takfir wa al-Higrah, went underground and kidnapped the former minister of Awqaf before massive arrests. Students and militants in the Gamaat Islamiya and the Islamic Jihad movement were also organizing against the government and carrying out attacks in certain parts of the country. In September 1981 the Sadat government simultaneously cracked down on extremist Muslim organizations and many other non-Islamist and liberal opponents of the president, arresting more than 1,600 people in the process. Among them was the brother of Sadat's future assassin, Khalid al-Islambuli. Sadat's strong-arm tactics angered many in the Arab community and only exacerbated his problems, which included an increasing gap between the wealthy and new middle classes and the poor, and charges that he had quashed critical voices through force.

On October 6, 1981, Sadat was assassinated in Cairo while reviewing a military parade commemorating the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War. The assassins were radical Islamist army officers who belonged to the Islamic Jihad organization, which hoped to overthrow the government and had bitterly denounced Sadat's un-Islamic rule and failure to implement Islamic law, his peace overtures with Israel, and the politically ruthless tactics of the state. Sadat was succeeded in office by Hosni Mubarak.

Spencer C. Tucker, Dallace W. Unger Jr., and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Begin, Menachem; Camp David Accords; Carter, James Earl, Jr.; Egypt; Nasser, Gamal Abdel

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Saddam Line, Persian Gulf War

Following the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, the Iraqi army constructed a network of fortifications along Kuwait's southern border with Saudi Arabia. These fortifications came to be known as the Saddam Line. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait led to widespread international protest and the subsequent formation of an international military coalition to liberate Kuwait.

The Iraqi plan for defending Kuwait from a coalition attack was quite straightforward. Just inside Kuwait's border with Saudi Arabia, Iraqi army engineers constructed a network of fortifications designed to inflict casualties and slow down any enemy advance into Kuwait. This line of defense became known to the Americans as the Saddam Line. Next, the Iraqis massed infantry and mechanized divisions in a second line designed to contain and counterattack any enemy breakthroughs of the first line. Finally, the Iraqis held elite Republican Guard divisions in reserve for a strategic counteroffensive. The Iraqi intention was to contain any coalition advance, inflict heavy casualties, and force the enemy to the negotiating table.

The Saddam Line itself consisted of two belts of mines, sand berms, and concrete bunkers. The Iraqis also constructed a network of ditches that could be flooded with oil from Kuwaiti wells, then set afire to turn the battlefield into a smoky inferno. Farther north, the Iraqis had sited 800 South African–manufactured 155-mm long-range artillery pieces. The Iraqi artillery was preregistered to concentrate fire on likely invasion routes from Saudi Arabia.

Breaking the Saddam Line posed challenges for coalition planners. However, the coalition's relentless six-week aerial bombing campaign significantly reduced the combat capability of Iraqi troops manning the Saddam Line, many of whom were Shiite conscripts who had little enthusiasm for the war. Indeed, many of these troops had deserted or surrendered even before the coalition ground offensive began on February 24, 1991.

Coalition forces attacking into southern Kuwait, primarily the U.S. 1st and 2nd Marine divisions, used line charges fired from Amtrack armored personnel carriers to blast a narrow path through the Saddam Line's minefield. The line charges, propelled by rockets, consisted of heavy cords with attached explosives that detonated when the rope had fallen to the ground. M-60 and M-1 tanks equipped with steel plows then widened the pathway, along with conventional mine-detecting equipment, so that follow-on tanks could pass through.

Clearing and widening the minefields proved a laborious task, especially because the Iraqis had used British-manufactured L-9

Bar mines captured from Kuwaiti stockpiles. Made of plastic, the Bar mines could not be located by American mine detectors, which detected only metal mines. Some of the line charges also failed to detonate properly. The mine-clearing process took so long that some marine tanks ran out of gas and had to be refueled between the first and second Iraqi lines, a highly dangerous procedure. As a result, several marine tanks and vehicles were disabled or destroyed by Iraqi mines. Had Iraqi artillery been more competent and not suffered such serious losses from the air campaign, the marines might well have taken heavy casualties. Regardless, the marines were able to force a number of passages through the Saddam Line on February 24. Surviving Iraqi defenders in the Saddam Line were not inclined to put up much of a resistance, and the road into Kuwait was soon open.

PAUL W. DOERR

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations

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Sadr, Muqtada al-

Birth Date: August 12, 1973

Influential religious figure in the Iraqi Shia community, leader of the Sadriyun that included the Mahdi Army militias, and considered by many to be the most populist of Iraqi Shiite leaders. The fourth son of the famous Iraqi cleric Muhammad Sadiq al-Sadr, Muqtada al-Sadr was born on August 12, 1973, in Baghdad. Sadr became a political leader with an enhanced following as a consequence of his nationalist stance against the coalition presence in Iraq, beginning in 2003. In Shia Islam in Iraq, believers follow a living cleric, but since Sadr had not attained the rank of his illustrious father in scholarly training or publications, he did not inherit the loyalty of many in his father's network of mosques who preferred a more senior cleric. Yet Sadr acquired a loyal following of his own and, during a period of political truce with the Iraqi government, sought to enhance his standing by continuing his own religious training. Like his father and Iraq's highest Shiite religious authority, Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Husayn al-Sistani, Sadr drew support from a network of mosques but also from extensive charitable and social services provided to impoverished Shia communities in various areas of Baghdad. He also has followers in many other cities and areas of southern and central Iraq. Sadr became especially popular in the large slum areas in Baghdad, including the Thawra area, which became known as Sadr City from the strength of his followers there.

The elder Sadr was a revered member of the Iraqi Shiite clergy who was assassinated, along with his two elder sons, in 1999. It is widely believed that the assassination was ordered by Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein. Muqtada al-Sadr is also related to the late highly respected leader Imam Musa al-Sadr, who created a popular movement among the Shia of Lebanon.

Muqtada al-Sadr spoke out fiercely against the actions of the U.S.-led coalition in Iraq despite his opposition, and that of his followers, to Saddam Hussein's dictatorial government. Sadr's opposition to the coalition presence was based on both political and religious considerations. After the U.S. Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) closed Sadr's newspaper *al-Hawza* on March 28, 2004, and there had been numerous attacks against him in the American-funded Iraqi press, Sadr mobilized his militia, known as the Mahdi Army. This was to protest what he perceived as the CPA's attempt to eliminate his organization prior to the transfer of authority to Iraqi officials, scheduled for June 30, 2004. The subsequent protests turned violent when a key Sadr aide was arrested on April 3, 2004. The situation was further enflamed two days later when CPA administrator L. Paul Bremer issued a warrant for Sadr's arrest and essentially declared him an outlaw. Sadr's Mahdi Army subsequently seized control of several cities in southern Iraq, provoking the worst crisis for the U.S.-led occupation since the spring of 2003, especially as the Mahdi Army held the loyalty of the most fiercely anti-Baathist groups in the country.

During the ensuing week of violence, Sadr sought refuge in the Imam Ali Mosque in Najaf, the holiest shrine in Shia Islam. Sadr's popularity soared during this period because he appeared to be the only Iraqi leader willing to actively resist the occupation. All others, even Ayatollah Sistani, appeared to be passively silent or even acquiescent to the Western authorities. Sadr declared a cease-fire on April 10, 2004, ostensibly to observe a three-day religious holiday, but momentum had also shifted as the CPA retook certain key bases in southern cities. In subsequent negotiations, the CPA called for Sadr to surrender but refrained from overt attempts to arrest him.

In late August 2004, following more than three weeks of renewed fighting between Mahdi Army fighters and U.S. forces, Sadr's forces withdrew from the Imam Ali Mosque. Sadr issued a statement urging his fighters to lay down their arms in line with an agreement he had reached with Ayatollah Sistani. On August 27, 2004, members of the Mahdi Army began surrendering their arms to Iraqi police. But Iraqi prime minister Iyad Allawi renewed the violence when he refused to honor the tenuous truce; fighting ensued, especially in Sadr City. Sadr, in an attempt to distance himself from the acrimony, was thereafter careful not to involve himself directly in Iraqi politics.

In October 2006 the Mahdi Army seized control of Amarah in southern Iraq. A pitched battle ensued between Iraqi security forces and the militiamen. Sadr implored the Mahdi soldiers to lay down their arms, and some have speculated that he had not authorized the Amarah offensive and had lost control over Mahdi Army

Muqtada al-Sadr, center, during prayers at the Al-Kufa Mosque in Najaf on July 18, 2003. Thousands gathered to listen to his speech opposing the new U.S.-appointed government. (AP/Wide World Photos)

groups in that area. Sadr's plea was largely ignored. In February 2007 the U.S. media reported that Sadr had fled to Iran in anticipation of the security crackdown attendant with the U.S. troop-surge strategy. Sadr, however, had merely gone into seclusion in Iraq, and during his two-month hiatus he sharply condemned the U.S.-led occupation and called for Iraqi security forces not to cooperate with occupation forces. In 2008 Sadr called for a truce and implored the Mahdi Army to lay down its arms, in response to myriad negotiations with Iranian and Iraqi leaders following several months of brutal fighting between the Mahdi Army and Iraqi government forces. Sadr continued to condemn the U.S. government and coalition forces' occupation in Iraq, as that was the primary concern of his followers. In late 2008 he called for attacks against U.S. troops in Iraq in retaliation for the Israeli incursion into the Gaza Strip seeking to defeat the radical Palestinian group Hamas. However, this was largely a rhetorical gesture, as his followers continued to observe the truce in place.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr. and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Allawi, Iyad; Bremer, Jerry; Hussein, Saddam; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Mahdi Army; Shia Islam; Sistani, Sayyid Ali Husayn al-

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Sadr City, Battle of

Start Date: March 26, 2008
End Date: May 11, 2008

A battle during the Iraq War that occurred March 26–May 11, 2008. In the Battle of Sadr City, coalition forces principally fought elements of the Mahdi Army. Sadr City is one of nine administrative districts of Baghdad, built in 1959 to ease a housing shortage in the capital city. It is home to more than 1 million Shia Muslims, many of them poor. Part of the district had been known as Thawra and was termed Saddam City by the Americans in 2003. American forces in the coalition then began to call the area "Sadr City" from the strength there of Muqtada al-Sadr's followers, known as the Sadriyun. The coalition forces in Iraq had long sought permission from Iraqi prime minister Nuri al-Maliki to subdue the Jaysh al-Mahdi (JAM) militias, which they called the Mahdi Army. The Sadriyun, or Sadrists, possessed militias just as did the Dawa Party

and the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iran (SCIRI). However, these militias also clashed with them, and therefore the coalition had to some degree been influenced by the competition of the various Shia political forces. The Americans claimed that certain elements from the Jaysh al-Mahdi were obtaining arms from Iran, although their competitors, such as the Badr Brigades, were more clearly linked with Iranian support, or at least had been in the past. Maliki was reluctant to approve coalition operations against fellow Shiites, particularly as he might not have been elected had it not been for his good relations with Muqtada al-Sadr and his followers. Also, the largest Shia party in the country had been even closer to Iran than the Sadriyun, who were seen as an Iraqi-based party. Another concern was the vulnerability of the poor civilian population of Sadr City. However, under pressure from Washington, when 12 rockets were launched from the Sadr City area into the Green Zone on March 25, 2008, Maliki approved a joint Iraqi-American response.

Forces of the Iraqi Army 11th Division entered Sadr City on March 26, supported by the U.S. Army 3rd Brigade Combat Team, 4th Infantry Division, commanded by Colonel John Hort. As the Iraqis moved in, American combat engineers began construction of a concrete barrier across the southern one-third of Sadr City in order to push insurgent forces back beyond rocket range of the coalition-controlled Green Zone. An American Stryker brigade and other supporting coalition units, including troops from the 2nd Stryker Cavalry Regiment, succeeded over the course of a month in building a three-mile-long wall across the southern third of the neighborhood. The concrete "Gold Wall" was constructed from sections 12 feet high by 5 feet wide, placed individually by crane. The "Gold Wall" and the construction of barriers has been highly criticized by Iraqis and others who believe that defense of perimeters or erection of "sanitized zones" is untenable in the long run.

The fighting in Sadr City was some of the heaviest in the Iraq War. Significantly, for the first time, an unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV), or drone, was placed under the direct control of a battlefield commander. Utilizing helicopters and armed and unarmed UAVs, and leveraging the persistent surveillance ability of the surveillance drones—which could follow a target on the ground for hours—American forces were able to strike insurgent targets deep within Sadr City. Precision attacks directed or conducted by UAVs killed numerous insurgent mortar and rocket teams.

The heaviest fighting took place on April 28 as militia forces, emboldened by the lack of American air support during a heavy sandstorm, attacked along the heavily contested area of al-Quds Street, known to allied forces as Route Gold. Dozens of militia fighters were killed in ensuing firefights. Mahdi Army forces marshaled heavy firepower to oppose the construction of the concrete wall. Although they employed .50-caliber sniper rifles and RPG-29 rockets, and detonated more than 120 Iranian-made mines with explosively forged projectiles against coalition forces, the militias nevertheless failed to prevent construction of the wall.

Of the some 2,000 American troops in the battle, 6 were killed. Some 5,000 men of the Iraqi Army took part in the battle; their casualty figures were not reported. The Mahdi militia numbered perhaps between 2,000 and 4,000 members; they are believed to have suffered some 700–1,000 casualties.

The forces of the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council (Majlis al-'A'la al-Islami al-'Iraqu, or SIIC), formerly known as the SCIRI, are heavily represented in the new Iraqi Army; consequently the action was understood as one of intrasectarian and political warfare. Muqtada al-Sadr took refuge in Iran but called for his fighters to adhere to a truce, or this campaign could have led to a much wider popular rebellion against the new Iraqi government. Unfortunately, violence continued in Baghdad with numerous large-scale suicide bombings there and in other cities in the spring of 2009. These, however, were primarily Sunni attacks on Shia or Iraqi and coalition forces, or against the Awakening Shaykhs.

The Battle of Sadr City was seen as a significant victory for coalition forces; however, it came at the expense of Prime Minister Maliki's impartiality and credibility to some degree, making him appear to be a creature of the coalition. Sadrist forces and Maliki reached a cease-fire agreement on May 11, 2008, bringing an end to the major fighting in Sadr City.

Shawn Fisher and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Iraqi Insurgency; Mahdi Army; Maliki, Nuri Muhammed Kamil Hasan al-; Sadr, Muqtada al-; Stryker Brigades

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Said, Edward

Birth Date: November 1, 1935
Death Date: September 23, 2003

Literary theorist, writer, critic, pianist, and pro-Palestinian activist. The son of Wadie Said of Jerusalem and Hilda Musa of Nazareth, Edward Said was born on November 1, 1935, in Jerusalem, then part of the British Mandate for Palestine. He spent his early years living in Cairo and Jerusalem and visiting Lebanon every year. When he was 12 years old and attending St. George's School in Jerusalem, his immediate family left for Egypt. Then, his remaining relatives and neighbors in West Jerusalem were forced out.

At age 16 he attended the Mount Hermon School in Massachusetts before attending college. He received his bachelor's degree from Princeton University in 1957 and his master's degree from Harvard University in 1960. During these years, his family and many friends would be forced to leave Egypt as a consequence

of arrests and sequestrations under Gamal Abdel Nasser's Arab socialist policies. Said's parents urged him to avoid politics, and they sent his four younger sisters to college in the United States as well.

In 1963 Said joined the faculty at Columbia University as a professor of English and comparative literature studies. A year later he earned his PhD from Harvard. Said spoke Arabic, English, and French fluently, and he was proficient in Latin, Spanish, Italian, and German. He remained on the Columbia faculty for several decades, ultimately becoming the Old Dominion Foundation Professor of Humanities in 1977. He also taught at Harvard, Johns Hopkins, and Yale universities.

Said's early work focused on the novelist Joseph Conrad. Perhaps Said's greatest intellectual contribution was his critique of orientalism that in turn spawned postcolonialist theory in political, literary, and historical forms. In his seminal book *Orientalism* (1978), he examined the prejudices and presumptions of the major European scholars of the Middle East. He argued that the European interest in the Middle East was rooted in a political agenda of domination and served as the justification for imperialist, colonial policies in the region. Said believed that these scholars and other writers had created a false, romantic, and exotic sense of the region, thus rendering it an "Other" and an enemy. He claimed that these counterproductive stereotypes still held sway in Western culture, and he worked to shape the study of and policy toward the Middle Eastern, African, and Asian worlds. In essence, he broke new ground in both cultural studies and literary theory. He also profoundly shook the academic establishment, opening the door to new Middle Eastern scholars and interpretations.

Said is also identified with postmodernism and discursive theory, which was perhaps best illustrated by the work of French philosopher Michel Foucault. The deconstructionist theory as propounded by the French literary theorist Jacques Derrida can also be found in Said's work. Said's critics claimed, however, that he had merely helped to create another type of academic dogma in place of orientalism. In another important work, *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), Said showed the breadth of imperial vision and how it deals with resistance. He also opened the door in the 1980s to the hiring of other Arab academics, who with the exception of language specialists or Israeli Arabs, had been mostly excluded from academic institutions.

As a Palestinian activist, Said initially supported the creation of a single, independent Palestinian state. He later lobbied for the establishment of a single Jewish-Arab state. He was an independent member of the Palestinian National Council (PNC), the Palestinian parliament in exile, during 1977–1991. He left the organization because of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) chairman Yasser Arafat's decision to support Iraq in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Afterward, Said became an outspoken opponent of Arafat. For different reasons, he denounced the 1993 Oslo Accords as counterproductive to Palestinian interests. In 1995 an infuriated Arafat banned the sale of Said's books to Palestinians. In 2000, however, Said softened his position toward Arafat when the PLO leader turned down Israeli peace offers at the Camp David Summit in 2000.

Said also wrote against the cultural boycott of Israeli Jews. His love of music and friendship with conductor-musician Daniel Barenboim led to the founding of a unique workshop in Europe for young Palestinian, Arab, and Israeli musicians to study with such figures as Barenboim and cellist Yo-Yo Ma. Said died on September 23, 2003, in New York City after a decade-long struggle with leukemia.

Daniel Kuthy and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Arafat, Yasser; DESERT STORM, Operation; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Palestine Liberation Organization

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Said, Qaboos bin Said al-
Birth Date: November 18, 1940

The sultan of Oman since 1970, Qaboos bin Said al-Said was born on November 18, 1940, in Salalah, Province of Dhofar, the son of Sultan Said ibn Tamir. He spent seven years in Great Britain during his youth and attended the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst. He returned to Oman in 1965, much influenced by Western ideas; as a result, his conservative father placed him under virtual house arrest.

In 1970 Said, with the aid of military forces loyal to him, staged a coup d'état and deposed his father, who then went into exile in Great Britain. Said set about trying to modernize his country and bring it into the international political mainstream. As such, he built new roads, extended educational opportunities, and greatly improved medical care. He also fought off a guerrilla movement, known as the Dhofar Rebellion, in the early years of his rule that had been supported by the Soviet Union and its allies in South Yemen. That conflict finally ended in 1975.

During the first 15 or so years of his rule, Sultan Said maintained strong ties with the United States, sometimes alienating other Arab countries in the process. Indeed, he was one of only two Arab leaders to support the 1978 Camp David Accords signed by Israel and Egypt and brokered by the United States. In 1985 Said began to cultivate relations with the Soviet Union. He also attempted to assume a stronger stance in regional politics during the 1980s. In 1981 he brought Oman into the Gulf Cooperation Council and several years later tried to bring an isolated Iran into

The sultan of Oman since 1970, Qaboos bin Said al-Said has led his country into the modern era and maintained close ties with the United States, though he has taken an independent path in foreign affairs in recent years. (Embassy of the Sultanate of Oman Information Attache)

the organization. He also worked hard to stabilize the region in the wake of the 1991 Persian Gulf War, which he strongly supported and to which he dispatched 6,300 troops.

In 1996 the sultan issued a decree promulgating a new basic law that clarified royal succession, provided for a legislative council and a prime minister, and guaranteed basic civil liberties for Omani citizens. Said, who still rules with an iron hand, holds the positions of prime minister, minister of foreign affairs, defense, and finance. His rule has been fairly progressive, however, especially vis à vis Persian Gulf standards, and since 1994 he has appointed numerous women to government posts. Said has also been a cooperative partner in the U.S.-led war on terrorism since September 2001, allowing coalition forces overflight and basing rights. He was less supportive of the Iraq War, which commenced in 2003.

In October 2004, as a result of many of Said's reforms, which included the institution of universal suffrage in 2003, Oman held its first free elections for the economic advisory council, known as the Shura Majlis Council. Still, however, the sultan continues to exercise absolute power, and government institutions operate in a merely advisory capacity.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Gulf Cooperation Council; Oman, Role in Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars

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Salafism

Term describing branches of reformist Islam as well as a widespread contemporary purist movement, an attempt to return to traditional Islamic roots and practices. Salafism (*salafiyya* in Arabic) is derived from the Arabic *salaf,* and means "(righteous) predecessors" or "(righteous) ancestors" in reference to the first three generations of Muslims. Some adherents seek a return to the spirit of that period.

Modernist reformers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries have been considered salafists. The name also applies to fervently observant or activist Sunni Muslims who follow the teachings of Muhammad abd al-Wahhab in the 18th century and other scholars. These latter are sometimes called the neo-salafis.

A key concept undergirding salafism is that the first several generations of Muslims were intent on following the Sunnah, or tradition of the Prophet, and sincere in their efforts to live according to Islamic teaching. One common thread in the different branches of salafism is that Islam must be cleansed of illicit innovations, known as *bid'ah.* The modernist school argued that tradition had rendered various principles rigid and imitative and that a return to previous creative principles would be of benefit. This school implicitly supported some innovations.

Both the modernist and purist strands of salafism have impacted such organizations as the Muslim Brotherhood. The purist trend of salafism has informed the worldviews of such organizations as Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia or Al Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan. However, most Muslims who abide by the precepts of salafism and who may be found in many countries are neither violent nor radical.

The term "salafiyya" or "salafism" dates back hundreds of years and was applied to movements like the Ikhwan al-Safa arising in previous centuries. The term "salaf" appears in a number of early *hadith,* or sayings of the Prophet and his companions, as well as other writings, such as the *tafsirs* of al-Tabari and Ibn Kathir.

The title was applied in the late 19th century to various Muslim thinkers, including Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani and his disciple Muhammad Abduh, mainly in response to British colonialism in the Middle East.

Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani was born and raised in eastern Iran and was probably Shiite by doctrinal association. Nevertheless, in his effort to see the revival of Islam as a counter to British colonial

policy, he strove to hide his doctrinal sympathies, focusing instead on building a philosophical opposition movement to oppose British occupation of Muslim lands. He traveled extensively and typically portrayed himself in ways that were not consistent with his background and training. In each instance when his benefactors, whether in Great Britain, Egypt, or Istanbul, became suspicious of him and his motives, Afghani would depart to another area of the world to continue his self-appointed mission to throw off the British yoke. Wherever he went he continued to preach the revival of the Islamic community, or *ummah,* as based on the lives of the Prophet and his early companions.

In his desire to defeat British colonialism, Afghani was willing to engage in a wide range of political and insurgency-type activities, ranging from simple fund-raising to endorsing assassination attempts against those Middle Eastern rulers he considered to be British puppets. He spoke openly of killing the leader of Persia, Nasir ad-Din Shah, and one of his disciples eventually carried out the deed in 1896. Although supportive of the Ottoman Empire as the current seat of the Islamic caliphate, Afghani spent his last years in Istanbul virtually as a political prisoner of the empire's sultan, and died of cancer in 1897.

Afghani's influence almost vanished after his death, but later his name would be resurrected as a folk hero to the revived Islamic movement in the Middle East. The principles of salafism would be pushed eloquently by one of his main disciples, Muhammad Abduh. Abduh collaborated with Afghani on a number of publishing projects and helped to popularize salafist ideas through what became known as "the Islamic League." He was savvy politically, and was able to secure the position as Grand Mufti of Egypt in 1899, a post he held until his death.

In some ways Abduh's influence was greater than Afghani's because Abduh was seen by many as more moderate and mainstream, even though his ideas were essentially no different than his mentor's. His writings were more readily accepted, and included a *tafsir* of the Qur'an along with other works defending the unity of Allah from Christian influences stemming from British colonial policy.

Abduh's ideas would have a tremendous impact on the thinking of Hassan al-Banna and the founding of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in 1928. The focus of the brotherhood as well as other revivalist Muslim societies was initially based on personal piety and raising money through the imposition of *zakat,* or the charitable tax. Soon these activities turned to political activism and the brotherhood surged to the forefront of political thought in the struggle against British colonial occupation of the country. Although Banna was assassinated in 1949, the ideas of the brotherhood spread throughout the Middle East and into the rest of the Islamic world, especially through the work of such apologists as Sayyid Qutb and Yusuf al-Qaradawi, and have in large measure become the foundation of the Islamic revival movement.

The principles of salafism revolve around several key issues that involve the literal interpretation of the Qur'an and adopting certain aspects of the lifestyle of the Prophet and his companions. Shunning Western dress and grooming became important outward displays of this movement, although this was not always consistently done for political reasons. Coupled with this was a revival of interest in the writings of the Hanbalite jurist Ibn Taymiyyah, who discussed the conflict inherent between the *salaf* and the *khalaf,* or the authentic believers of the Prophet with those who are merely substitutes of the real thing.

This led to sporadic conflict in the Muslim world between the members of the salafist movement and the governments of the region. Efforts by Arabic governments to suppress salafism culminated in the judicial execution of Sayyid Qutb by the Egyptian government of Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1966, and the destruction of the town of Hama, which had become the base of the movement in Syria, by the government of Hafiz al-Asadin 1982 in which close to 30,000 people died. These attempts to destroy the movement were only temporary, however. Rebounding from these setbacks, the brotherhood continued its political activities throughout the Islamic world, spreading even into Europe and the United States.

Another important aspect of the salafist movement is the rejection in general of the concept of *taqlid,* and the call to revive *ijtihad. Taqlid,* often incorrectly labeled as "blind following," stresses the need for a Muslim to simply follow the rulings of a particular *madhhab,* or school of law, without doing the necessary research themselves. This is a convenient approach for it does not require an inordinate amount of time and energy to be expended on learning the fundamentals of Islam, particularly those considered well-established a few hundred years after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. Taking a ruling on faith, a Muslim can practice his religion on the basis of these early rulings by those much more learned than they.

The weakness of *taqlid,* however, is obvious, as for one to be a truly devoted follower it is best to learn the foundational material for oneself. This requires long hours of study and sometimes even formal training to become well versed in the early writings of Islam. This approach reopened the door to *ijtihad,* being the revival of personal interpretation of Qur'anic texts as well as other early writings. For many centuries the learned within Islam had considered *ijtihad* closed because of the solidification and codification of Islamic practice through the *madhhabs.* Salafism called for the return of *ijtihad* to allow the typical believer to make up his mind for himself, and this led to a massive revival in interest in the classical and medieval works of Islam. Translations of the *hadith* and *sunnah* writings flourished, and the works of medieval scholars such as Qadi Iyad, Ibn Taymiyyah, and Ibn Qayyim were resurrected. Even the writings of some early Sufi scholars such as Imam Ghazzali became popular, even though the salafist movement by and large considers Sufism a heretical interpretation of Islam.

The return of *ijtihad* meant that many devout Muslims began to question some aspects of the juristic rulings from later scholars of the *madhhabs,* while still retaining interest in the rulings of the founders of those schools. This revival of personal interpretation

had significant influence on bringing back the earliest teachings regarding *zakat,* the proper forms of prayer, and the need to engage in jihad. *Zakat* became the means for the salafists to influence local politics through provision of welfare and family support, while jihad became more than an inward struggle, returning to the Prophet's own conception that jihad was a form of warfare to make Islam supreme. This revival not only spawned such groups as the Muslim Brotherhood but also led to a whole series of other lesser groups generally striving for the same goals, being the imposition of Islamic Sharia in the Muslim world, and a return to evangelistic operations to spread Islam throughout the non-Muslim world. The salafist movement's teachings can be found in virtually every Islamic revival today, largely because those teachings were built upon the earliest ideas and writings of the Prophet and his companions.

RUSSELL G. RODGERS

See also

Al Qaeda; Allah; Islamic Radicalism; Muslim Brotherhood; Qur'an; Sharia; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam

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Samawah, Battle of

Start Date: March 30, 2003
End Date: April 4, 2003

Battle fought during the 2003 Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM) involving U.S. and Iraqi troops. The fighting took place in Samawah, about 170 miles to the southeast of Baghdad. Beginning in late March, the U.S. Army's 2nd Brigade, 82nd Airborne Division swept through Samawah to rid it of Iraqi resistance. From March 22 to 25, on its way to Baghdad, the U.S. 3rd Infantry Division had encountered some hostile fire from Iraqi troops in Samawah. Although U.S. artillery and air strikes hammered Iraqi positions within the city, the decision was then made to skirt the city so that the 3rd Infantry Division could move directly on to Baghdad. At the same time, on March 25, the 2nd Brigade, 82nd Airborne Division received orders to assault Samawah and clear it of hostile forces.

On March 30 at approximately 3:00 a.m. the 2nd Brigade had reached the outskirts of Samawah. Inside the city were elements from the Iraqi Republican Guard, Fedayeen Saddam, and regular Iraqi army. Toward daybreak, U.S. forces began to advance into the city, expecting to meet stiff resistance on the city's perimeter; they encountered no such resistance and no organized defenses there. However, U.S. troops began to encounter heavy Iraqi small-arms fire and assaults by rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs) as they neared a concrete factory just inside the city's perimeter. At about 3:00 p.m. that same day, U.S. commanders called in air strikes, conducted by U.S. Navy McDonnell Douglas Boeing/Northrop F-18 Hornets, which leveled a warehouse next to the plant, temporarily neutralizing resistance there.

That evening, the 2nd Battalion, 325th Infantry Regiment began a feint on the bridges spanning the Euphrates River. The hope was to draw in Iraqi Republican Guard units so that they would be distracted and thus be unable to conduct a rear-guard maneuver against American forces. At the same time, U.S. aerial bombardment of the north bank of the river took place, allowing the 2nd Brigade to capture the bridges, cross them, and dig in north of the river. At around dawn the next day, American troops pulled back, having accomplished their objective. The remainder of that day, fighting was light and sporadic.

Iraqi resistance inside Samawah, meanwhile, was concentrated in and near the concrete factory. On April 2, U.S. forces (mainly from the 1st Battalion, 325th Infantry Regiment) finally took the entire factory complex, with the help of Lockheed/Boeing AC-130 Spectre gunships. This action permitted other forces to move into the city and take control. The operation culminated in an attack on the headquarters of an Iraqi paramilitary group on April 4. The U.S. strategy in taking the city was designed to demoralize the enemy while keeping American casualties to a minimum; much of the fighting involved concentrated, short attacks into the city followed by carefully staged withdrawals. Meanwhile, U.S. air strikes were called in against entrenched Iraqi positions, such as the local Baath Party headquarters, a school building being used as a shelter, and even a soccer field. By nightfall on April 4, Samawah had been secured, with just one U.S. combat death and 6 wounded. The Iraqis suffered at least 50 dead and 23 taken prisoner.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Ground Campaign; Republican Guard

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Samita Incident
Event Date: March 20, 1973

An attempt by the Iraqi government to chip away at the sovereignty of Kuwait by occupying a portion of territory disputed between the two countries. The Samita Incident was an armed confrontation between Kuwaiti and Iraqi troops on March 20, 1973, at Samita, several miles south of Umm Qasr. It was only one of a number of attempts by Iraq to lay claim to some or all of Kuwait. Both countries agreed to arbitration brokered by the Arab League before the crisis escalated into a more serious situation. The results, however, may have encouraged Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein and others of his countrymen to believe that a move against Kuwait would have only limited international impact.

After Iraq became independent from the Ottoman Empire, a major goal of Iraqi leaders was the acquisition of Kuwait. Even before oil was discovered in Kuwait in 1937, King Ghazi of Iraq made public statements about annexing it, and encouraged the Kuwaiti people to overthrow the al-Sabah family that ruled the emirate. The strong British presence in both countries limited the amount of direct pressure the Iraqis could put on the Kuwaitis. The situation changed after World War II, however. In 1958, the Iraqi monarchy strongly encouraged Kuwait to join a union of Jordan and Iraq to form a single state. The concept of Arab unity was very popular at the time, and Egypt and Syria had just formed the United Arab Republic.

The 1958 revolution that brought down the Iraqi monarchy put an end to the movement to unify Jordan, Iraq, and Kuwait, but it did not end Iraqi interests in Kuwaiti territory. In June 1961 a treaty between Great Britain and Kuwait that gave Britain control over the emirate was replaced by a treaty of friendship that acknowledged Kuwaiti's independence. Iraqi prime minister Abd al-Karim Qasim condemned the new treaty as illegal because Iraq held that the original treaty that had ended Kuwait's association with the Ottoman Empire was also illegal. His threats to Kuwaiti independence prompted the emirate to ask for help from Great Britain, which responded by stationing some 8,000 troops, along with supporting air units, in or near Kuwait. This was sufficient force to deter Iraqi leaders, who also faced a rebellion by Kurds in northern Iraq at the time.

Kuwaiti leaders were uncomfortable with having to rely on British armed forces, however, because it seemed to negate their independence and keep them in colonial status. Thus they turned to the Arab League for assistance. Thanks to an Iraqi boycott, Kuwait was accepted for membership in the league on July 20, 1961. Kuwait then requested Arab forces to protect it from Iraq, and Arab League members eventually sent 3,300 troops. Although they did not actually replace British troops already in place, the Arab forces were politically more acceptable.

After Qasim was overthrown in February 1963, a government apparently friendly to Kuwait replaced him, and Arab forces were gradually withdrawn as the threat to Kuwaiti independence seemed to recede. The Kuwaiti government tried to establish friendly relations with Iraq by making a number of long-term financial loans to that nation, and on October 4, 1963, an agreement was signed between the two countries that appeared to guarantee Kuwaiti independence. The government of Kuwait was so encouraged by developments that it terminated its treaty with Great Britain that guaranteed British military aid.

The Iraqi government, however, continued to try to impinge on Kuwait's sovereignty. At different times, it demanded ownership or occupation of the Bubiyan and Warba islands, off the narrow tip of Iraq that borders the Persian Gulf. Kuwaiti financial aid kept the Iraqis from pressing the issue too hard, however.

In April 1969 the Iraqi government tried another tack. It requested permission to station troops on Kuwaiti soil to protect the newly built port of Umm Qasr from Iranian attack. Kuwaiti defense minister Sheikh Saad al-Sabah gave his verbal consent, under pressure. Iraqi troops were to be allowed to occupy two square kilometers of land on the Kuwaiti side of the border, just south of Umm Qasr, near Samita. In fact, Iraqi troops had already begun crossing the border before Shaikh Saad had given his assent to what became the "unwritten agreement."

Even after relations between Iraq and Iran had cooled, Iraqi troops remained in Kuwait near Umm Qasr. In December 1972 an Iraqi construction crew began to build a paved road to Samita, under the cover of armed Iraqi soldiers. When Kuwait protested this step, the Iraqi government presented a draft treaty in March 1973 that would give Iraq virtual sovereignty over the area, including oil drilling and exporting rights. The Kuwaiti government rejected the treaty out of hand. Iraq responded by reinforcing its garrison in Kuwait and by establishing a new post at Samita. A Kuwaiti outpost was already in Samita, however, and tensions immediately rose.

On March 20, 1973, Kuwaiti soldiers approached the Iraqi troops and road construction crew with orders to eject them from what Kuwait considered its territory. The Iraqi commander warned the Kuwaitis to withdraw. When they refused, Iraqi troops opened fire. After a brief firefight, two Kuwaitis and one Iraqi were killed.

Two days later, the Kuwaiti government lodged a formal protest with the Iraqis. The secretary general of the Arab League and representatives from Syria and Saudi Arabia visited both capitals in an effort to mediate the situation. Nineteen truckloads of Iraqi soldiers subsequently withdrew to the old borders on April 5, but the Iraqi government refused to accept the borders that Kuwait claimed. It continued to claim parts of Kuwait, including the Bubiyan and Warba islands.

The Samita Incident attracted little attention in the West because it was quickly resolved, but it had long-term significance. Indeed, this was Kuwait's first test of protecting its sovereignty without British aid. Furthermore, the incident revealed to the world that the Kuwaiti government had tacitly allowed Iraqi troops to occupy part of Kuwait for years. This helped undercut Kuwait's claims for its existing borders. Finally, the crisis was settled by the Arab League, much as the 1961 crisis had been. This

fact may have encouraged Saddam, 17 years later, to believe that another crisis with Kuwait might lead to a peaceful compromise brokered by other Arab states.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Kuwait; Umm Qasr

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Sanchez, Ricardo S.

Birth Date: May 17, 1951

U.S. Army officer best known for his command of coalition forces in Iraq from June 2003 to June 2004 (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). Born on May 17, 1951, in Rio Grande City, Texas, Ricardo S. Sanchez began his military career in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) program at the University of Texas at Austin and Texas A&I University (now Texas A&M–Kingsville). A 1973 graduate of the latter institution, Sanchez was commissioned in the U.S. Army as a second lieutenant that same year. He served in both infantry and armor units early in his career. He was a platoon leader, an executive officer, an assistant logistics officer, and an operations officer. Sanchez's military education included both the Command and General Staff College and the U.S. Army War College. He also earned a master's degree in operations research and systems analysis engineering from the Naval Postgraduate School.

As a lieutenant colonel, Sanchez served in Operation DESERT STORM in 1991 as commander of the 2nd Battalion, 69th Armor, 197th Infantry Brigade. His performance in the Persian Gulf War contributed to his early promotion to colonel in September 1994. During July 1994 to June 1996 he commanded the 2nd Brigade of the 1st Infantry Division (Mechanized) at Fort Riley, Kansas.

Sanchez then served as an investigator in the Office of the U.S. Army Inspector General Agency and in various roles at U.S. Southern Command. After promotion to brigadier general in November 1998, Sanchez served as assistant division commander (support) of the 1st Infantry Division during 1999–2000. From July 2000 to June 2001 he was deputy chief of staff for operations, U.S. Army Europe and Seventh Army, Germany. During July 2001–June 2003 he commanded the 1st Armored Division, being promoted to major general in July 2002. Promoted to lieutenant general in August 2003, from July 2003 to June 2004 he was the commanding general of V Corps, U.S. Army Europe and Seventh Army, Germany, to include duty as commanding general, Combined Joint Task Force 7, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

With the rapid withdrawal of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) and its Combined Forces Land Component Command (CFLCC), Sanchez by default became the commander of Coalition Ground Forces in Iraq, the top military position in Iraq. This critical period after the end of major hostilities saw the emergence of the Iraqi insurgency, the deaths of Uday and Qusay Hussein, and the capture of deposed Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. The major challenges facing Sanchez were the reestablishment of essential services and basic security and ending the counterinsurgency. According to multiple sources, communications between Sanchez and L. Paul Bremer, head of the Coalition Provisional Authority, were strained and often nonexistent. This poor communication and lack of unified leadership is often cited as one of the contributors to the turmoil that followed the end of major conflict in Iraq. Compounding Sanchez's problems during this period was the fact that he was essentially a corps commander with little more than a corps staff yet was responsible for commanding an entire theater. With the vacuum created by the rapid withdrawal of the CFLCC, Sanchez was left with a staff that was nowhere near large enough for his responsible span of control or trained and experienced at the higher level of theater operations.

Despite progress in certain areas, this period of IRAQI FREEDOM was marked by a burgeoning insurgency, widespread lawlessness, and the challenge of detaining thousands of prisoners. The most glaring controversy during Sanchez's tenure was the prisoner abuse at Abu Ghraib Prison. In September 2003 Sanchez approved in writing 29 interrogation methods authorized for use with Iraqi detainees. At the direction of CENTCOM, 10 of those methods were later repealed after having been deemed unacceptably aggressive. However, the actual methods employed at Abu Ghraib went beyond even what Sanchez had authorized, as evidenced by the graphic photographs that were ultimately seen on worldwide media. On January 16, 2004, Sanchez issued a press release announcing the investigation of "detainee abuse at a Coalition Forces detention facility."

Sanchez left his post in June 2004. Ultimately several low-ranking military members were court-martialed over the abuse scandal, and Sanchez believed that he was denied his fourth star and was forced into retirement on November 1, 2006, because of it.

In 2008 Sanchez published his autobiography, *Wiser in Battle: A Soldier's Story,* a sweeping indictment of the handling of the Iraq War by Defense Secretary Donald Rumsefeld and the George W. Bush administration. Sanchez now lives in Texas.

BENJAMIN D. FOREST

See also

Abu Ghraib; Bremer, Jerry; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

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San Remo Conference

Start Date: April 19, 1920
End Date: April 26, 1920

Conference held in San Remo, Italy, from April 19–26, 1920, that determined the allocation of various League of Nations mandates, regions that would come under the command of a colonial administration, among the principal Allied powers of World War I. The territory divided among the powers was land once ruled by the former Ottoman Empire, which had ceased to exist following World War I. The Middle Eastern mandates, known as Class A mandates, were Iraq, Palestine, and Syria. The Allied powers deemed that Class A mandated regions had developed to the point where they were nearly ready for independence, subject to the assistance of the mandatory power. Great Britain gained control of Iraq and Palestine as part of the conference, while France gained Syria (later to include Lebanon).

Well before the end of World War I, Great Britain and France had discussed how to divide Southwestern Asia after the war. Indeed, a secret deal between the two nations was concluded on May 16, 1916. Known as the Sykes-Picot Agreement after the two diplomats who negotiated the deal, Sir Mark Sykes of Great Britain and François Georges Picot of France, the agreement stated that the region would be broken up into two zones, with France getting access to the northern zone, which would be comprised of what is today southeastern Turkey, northern Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon. Great Britain would control the southern zone, which consisted of what is today Jordan, central and southern Iraq, and Haifa, a town in present-day Israel. The Sykes-Picot Agreement would be largely reaffirmed at the San Remo Conference.

The conference also confirmed the British support of a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine. Many British leaders had been influenced by Zionism, an international movement whose goal was to reestablish a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine, an area with much religious significance. In a classified formal statement dated November 2, 1917, the British foreign secretary, Sir Arthur James Balfour, declared that the British sympathized with Zionist aspirations. The Balfour Declaration was later incorporated into the Mandate for Palestine.

Delegates attending the conference held in San Remo, Italy, during April 19–26, 1920. The conference decided the allocation of mandated territory taken from the defeated Central Powers as a consequence of the Allied victory in World War I. (Underwood & Underwood/Corbis)

The Armistice of Moudros, signed on October 30, 1918, ended fighting in the Middle Eastern theater and was followed by the Allied occupation of Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire. At the London Conference in February 1920, the European Allied powers began the process of partitioning lands formerly held by the Ottoman Empire.

Attending the San Remo Conference were the prime ministers of Italy, Great Britain, and France as well as top-level representatives from Belgium, Greece, and Japan. Francesco Nitti, the Italian prime minister, was largely ineffectual at the conference, and discussions regarding the Middle East were dominated by British prime minister David Lloyd George and French prime minister Alexandre Millerand. France and England seemed to be most interested in Syria and Iraq. The controversy regarding Syria revolved around whether France should have all of what is geographically outlined in Syria or just certain parts. In respect to Iraq, oil was an issue with which both France and Great Britain were concerned. On April 24, 1920, Frenchman Philippe Berthelot, secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and John Cadman, a British petroleum technologist, agreed secretly to divide up the oil of Europe, Asia Minor, North Africa, and Iraq.

The San Remo Resolution was adopted on April 25, 1920, and was binding among the Allied powers. The exact boundaries of the territories in question were left unspecified and were to be determined by the Allied powers at a later date. It was also announced that the creation of Palestine would not affect the nationality of Jews in other countries. A Jew of American, French, British, or other nationality could thus maintain her or his nationality while also being a citizen of Palestine. Nor was the creation of Palestine supposed to change the status of the 600,000 Arabs already living there. Also, the property and legal rights of the Arabs were not to be disturbed.

The British and French mandates led to many serious problems in the Middle East. On July 23, 1920, the Battle of Maysalun occurred between Syrian and French forces. The Syrians had recently claimed independence under King Faisal. French forces easily overran the Syrians. Despite their victory, the French continued to face uprisings in the Syrian mandate. French troops did not leave Syria until April 17, 1946.

The British faced numerous uprisings in Iraq and Palestine. Many nationalists in Iraq were upset when Iraq was accorded mandate status. The British faced major resistance there, and the country was in a state of anarchy following uprisings in July 1920. Iraqi independence was finally achieved on October 3, 1932, when the British mandate ended and Iraq was officially admitted to the League of Nations. The British retained bases and influence, however.

Violence also broke out in Palestine against the British presence and also because of the immigration of thousands of Jews into the mandated region. Violence in the region continued to take place throughout the mandatory period, including the bloody Palestinian Arab Uprising of 1936–1939. Finally, on May 14, 1948, the British, not able to find a way to bring peace to Palestine, left the future of the mandate in the hands of the newly formed United Nations (UN).

GREGORY W. MORGAN

See also

Balfour Declaration; France, Middle East Policy; Mandates; Ottoman Empire; Sykes-Picot Agreement; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; World War I, Impact of

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Satellites, Use of by Coalition Forces

Some military leaders and analysts have dubbed the 1991 Persian Gulf War the "first space war" because of the extensive use of satellite systems during that conflict. Although the U.S. military had used satellite systems to some degree in prior conflicts, it utilized every type of satellite system during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. The use of satellite systems became even more prominent in the years since the end of that war.

When Iraqi troops invaded Kuwait in August 1990, the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) had begun updating its war plans, an indication of CENTCOM's intent to fully use space systems in a future Middle Eastern conflict. When hostilities by a U.S.-led coalition to drive Iraq from Kuwait began in January 1991, most of the satellites eventually used in the conflict were already in orbit and available. The Department of Defense eventually launched additional satellites to provide increased theater coverage and deployed more than 7,000 terminals and receivers so that the military could readily access and use the satellite data and imagery.

With the initial deployment to Saudi Arabia, CENTCOM contacted numerous space organizations, such as the Defense Communications Agency, Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), the Defense Mapping Agency (DMA), the U.S. Space Command, the Space and Missile Systems Center, the Strategic Air Command, the U.S. Navy's Space Command, and the U.S. Army's Space Command, to secure access to satellites, resolve technical issues, and arrange for data and imagery dissemination. The time it took to mobilize these capabilities depended upon ground equipment and satellite availability, launch windows, processing actions required to launch a spacecraft into orbit, time required to check out newly launched satellites or to reposition a satellite for better coverage, and the placement of trained personnel where needed. CENTCOM

eventually received the use of 51 military and 12 commercial satellites by February 1991.

Perhaps the most important system of the Persian Gulf War was the Navigation Satellite Timing and Ranging (NAVSTAR) Global Positioning System (GPS) satellite constellation. Coalition forces used GPS signals for numerous logistical, planning, and warfighting applications. With GPS receivers, ground troops could readily navigate the nearly featureless desert, especially in the frequent sandstorms, and supply trucks were able to locate dispersed frontline units. Units conducted large-scale night maneuvers that in the past would have required numerous scouts and guides along the routes of advance. GPS allowed coalition forces to shift their attack plans back and forth virtually up to the moment of attack, since they did not need fixed ground markers.

The Defense Meteorological Satellite Program (DMSP) satellites provided weather and climatic data and imagery directly to theater commanders in near real time. Commanders could now select targets and munitions for accurate targeting, plan and redirect aerial and ground missions, optimize night-vision equipment and night-capable targeting systems, and plan movement routes into Kuwait. DMSP satellites also provided information to alert troops to sandstorms, predict the possible spread of chemical agents, and monitor the extensive smoke plumes from the oil fires, ignited by the Iraqi Army as it fled Kuwait in February 1991.

Satellite communications (SATCOM) provided essential command and control (C2) of deployed coalition forces. Within the first 90 days of deployment, U.S. military forces established more military communications connectivity to the Persian Gulf than had existed in Europe over the previous 40 years. Theater commanders communicated through a U.S. Navy Fleet Satellite Communications (FLTSATCOM) satellite, a Leased Satellite (LEASAT) program satellite, and two Defense Satellite Communications System (DSCS) satellites over the Indian Ocean. In addition, the Defense Department used FLTSATCOM satellites over the Atlantic and DSCS satellites over the Eastern Atlantic to communicate between CENTCOM headquarters in Saudi Arabia and various headquarters in the United States.

CENTCOM also used three early warning satellites of the Defense Support Program (DSP), normally used to provide ballistic missile early launch warning and other surveillance information. The DSP satellites detected Iraqi Scud missile launches, especially against targets in Israel, to provide timely warning to military forces and civilians.

Before the Persian Gulf War, the Defense Department used LANDSAT, the longest-running satellite program for space-based imagery of Earth, to image the Persian Gulf region and identify areas of contention during the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War and areas of economic contention during the tanker wars of the late 1980s. During DESERT SHIELD, LANDSAT satellites provided multispectral imagery (MSI) of the Persian Gulf region that the DMA used to create detailed maps and that the U.S. Air Force used to produce engineering drawings for the construction of airfields in Saudi Arabia. Coalition forces also used LANDSAT's MSI of the Saudi-Kuwaiti border to determine changes in Iraqi emplacements and significant military movements. Additionally, during and after the war, LANDSAT, along with Satellite Pour l'Observation de la Terre (SPOT) satellites, a French system similar to LANDSAT, helped evaluate the environmental damage to Kuwaiti and the Persian Gulf from oil spills and fires, most intentionally created by Iraqi forces.

U.S. Army specialist Kerry Lampkin sets up a SATCOM antenna during Operation EAGLE CLAW VIII, carried out to find weapons caches and terrorist suspects in the village of Malhah in Kirkuk Province, Iraq, December 22, 2006. (U.S. Department of Defense)

During the course of the 1990s, the use of satellites by U.S. military forces grew as individual satellite systems, the integration of air and space elements to support joint war fighting, the development of digital data links, and increasing electronic airborne sensors to process information and deliver that information to field forces developed into network-centric warfare. More than 50 American and European satellites supported Operation ALLIED FORCE in March–June 1999 to force Yugoslavian president Slobodan Milosevic to end atrocities in Kosovo. Satellites connected the Combined Air Operations Center (CAOC) in Italy and other C2 centers to each other and to improved satellite sensors and other intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) assets, such

as the Predator unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV) and high-altitude U-2 reconnaissance aircraft. The Predators picked up ground imagery and relayed it through satellites to various C2 centers in real time, allowing commanders to calculate precise coordinates for the newly operational Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM), which used the NAVSTAR GPS signal to provide precise guidance to within 10 feet of its intended target and to improve timely battle damage assessment.

This short conflict made huge demands on SATCOM systems, especially the DSCS III satellites. After DESERT STORM, the U.S. Air Force had contracted with Lockheed Martin to upgrade the last four DSCS satellites to provide greater tactical capability. DSCS satellites, the U.S. Navy's Ultra-High Frequency Follow-on satellites, and the newly operational Military Strategic and Tactical Relay (MILSTAR) satellite constellation provided bandwidth not only for voice and message communications but also for video-conferencing among the leaders of the coalition nations and coalition military leaders. Additionally, these satellites relayed video imagery from Predator and other airborne ISR platforms to dispersed C2 centers and linked command authorities, ground stations, and aircraft and ships during the conflict. Although SATCOM capability had risen by more than 100 percent since DESERT STORM, the unprecedented demand during Operation ALLIED FORCE forced the Defense Department and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to lease commercial satellites to supply almost 75 percent of SATCOM's needs.

After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, the Defense Department launched Operation NOBLE EAGLE to deter a future air attack on the United States. Military, civil, and commercial space capabilities played an important part during this operation. SATCOM provided immediate communications to New York City and Washington, D.C., when they lost cell service from very high postattack use. Weather satellites provided weather data for decision makers involved in protection, response, and recovery actions. GPS provided precise data for search and rescue work and vehicle surveillance and tracking. Intelligence-gathering satellites helped monitor, locate, and intercept terror communications and networks.

In October 2001 U.S. military forces, assisting indigenous anti-Taliban forces in Afghanistan, launched Operation ENDURING FREEDOM to destroy the Al Qaeda terrorist infrastructure and overthrow the Taliban government. CENTCOM conducted an air campaign, relying on precision-guided weapons and U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOF) operating with the anti-Taliban forces. CENTCOM's newly operational CAOC at Prince Sultan Air Base, Saudi Arabia, served as the linchpin for the campaign's network-centric operations. Decision makers and planners could track every aircraft over Afghanistan, receive real-time video and data links from UAVs and other ISR platforms, and develop a common operating picture through global communications connectivity.

Coalition forces for this conflict utilized nearly 100 satellites of all types. Through a daily Space Tasking Order that paralleled the CAOC's Air Tasking Order, the Air and Space Operations Center of Fourteenth Air Force, the key provider of space support, could optimize coalition space capabilities by directing the appropriate space system to support a particular operational requirement and apportion space assets to meet both theater and global requirements. Because of greatly increased communications requirements, the military planners maximized the use of DSCS and MILSTAR satellites. Expanding use of UAV streaming-video imagery in real time to some strike aircraft and numerous worldwide C2 centers drove the need to obtain additional bandwidth and channels from civil and commercial communications satellites as the UAVs could not link through the military communications satellites. The widely dispersed and remote locations of coalition ground forces in Afghanistan increased the use of SATCOM between fielded forces and higher headquarters on the one hand and various control centers on the other hand.

Military and commercial weather and environmental satellites also made significant contributions to ENDURING FREEDOM operations. This variety of satellites provided imagery and data on surface wind speed and direction, fog and cloud conditions, and dust storms.

The GPS satellites have been the great enabler of network-centric and precision warfare in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. SOF controllers with the ground forces used laser-designator binoculars to determine the exact range of enemy ground forces, fed this data into a GPS receiver to produce accurate target coordinates, and then relayed these coordinates to airborne warning and control (AWAC) aircraft, the CAOC, or strike aircraft that released laser-guided bombs (LGBs) or GPS-guided munitions against the designated targets. Additionally, some strike aircraft obtained the capability to directly receive Predator video imagery through SATCOM links to actually see the targets on the ground and resolve any questions about target identification directly with the ground controllers.

Additionally, the use of the JDAM in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM rose by almost 45 percent, while the use of LGBs dropped by nearly 32 percent. The U.S. Air Force increased its use of Boeing B-52 Stratofortress and North American/Rockwell/Boeing B-1B Lancer strategic bombers, which released 46 percent of the total number of JDAMs in precision attacks on hostile ground forces. Increasingly, land- and carrier-based fighter aircraft handled most of the LGB missions. The larger bombers could carry up to 80 of the smaller, more accurate JDAMs and, more recently, the Small Diameter Bombs (SDB) that enabled them to strike more targets in a single mission with greater accuracy and less collateral damage. Data links allowed pilots to change preprogrammed target coordinates in flight to meet current needs of the ground forces.

Because the larger percentage of coalition forces in Afghanistan consisted of small parties of tactical air controllers with the anti-Taliban forces, the CAOC and other headquarters and control centers needed a means to track and locate these widely dispersed units in remote locations of Afghanistan. The U.S. Army had

initiated a digital battle command system, called Force XXI Battle Command Brigade and Below (FBCB2). In this system, ground vehicles equipped with GPS transponders reported their location to a host vehicle, which in turn retransmitted its position to all networked units. Computer screens in these vehicles then displayed the locations of all networked vehicles as blue icons. Operational and intelligence personnel could then input data on enemy forces, which showed up as red icons.

Because of the limited range of line-of-sight radios, the Army attached SATCOM receivers onto the roofs of the vehicles of two 4th Infantry Division brigades. These receivers allowed the operators to receive an aggregated picture of the blue (friendly) force from a satellite ground station. This system, known as FBCB2-Blue Force Tracking (FBCB2-BFT), provided commanders with a tactical internet that allowed them to control more decisive operations over vast distances more rapidly with greater force protection capability and allowed them to conduct operations in bad weather or at night in difficult terrain.

Space support for Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, which began in March 2003, was prominent, pervasive, and effectively more integrated than in previous operations. It produced a far greater level of coordination among air and space elements to support the fielded forces. As in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, the Space Cell in the CAOC worked even closer with the mission planners to integrate space assets into the operational plan and then work with space operations organizations in the United States to provide tailored space systems for particular combat requirements.

DSP satellites detected and tracked Iraqi tactical ballistic missiles that resulted in the issuance of warning notices to targeted forces. Military, civil, and commercial satellites provided weather and environmental data and imagery to headquarters, C2 centers, mission planners, and fielded forces in virtually real time.

The use of GPS timing and ranging proved vital to IRAQI FREEDOM operations. With a full constellation, the GPS satellites provided unprecedented precise tracking, location, and targeting coordinates. The ENDURING FREEDOM experience with FBCB2-BFT resulted in the expansion of the program as U.S. Army, U.S. Marine Corps, and British forces in Iraq received more than 1,200 BFT systems. The use of GPS-guided air-delivered munitions increased to about 68 percent of all munitions expended, almost 8 percent above the ENDURING FREEDOM figure of 60 percent by late 2006.

SATCOM was another indispensable element in network-centric expeditionary warfare. The Defense Department increased available bandwidth capacity, especially from commercial satellites, by a factor of three to accommodate the growing requirements. Operation ENDURING FREEDOM saw an increase in the use and quantity of satellite phones for communications and blue force situational awareness. The CAOC increased its use of MILSTAR satellites for secure communications, UAV surveillance video feeds, reach-back intelligence data, and facsimile and data message transmission among multiple users, such as the CAOC, headquarters, C2 centers, and deployed air, ground, and naval forces. Satellites will continue to take on even greater importance as technology continues to advance at a rapid pace.

ROBERT B. KANE

See also

Bombs, Precision-Guided; Defense Meteorological Satellite Program; Defense Satellite Communications System; Joint Direct Attack Munition and Small Diameter Bomb; Land Remote-Sensing Satellite; Navigation Satellite Timing and Ranging Global Positioning System; Network-Centric Warfare; United States Central Command; Unmanned Aerial Vehicles

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Saud, Abdullah ibn Abd al-Aziz al

See Abdullah, King of Saudi Arabia

Saud, Khalid ibn Sultan ibn Abd al-Aziz al-

Birth Date: September 23, 1949

Saudi prince, military officer, assistant minister of defense and aviation, and inspector general for military affairs for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. He also served as a lieutenant general and commander of Joint Forces and Theater of Operations during the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

Prince Khalid bin Sultan ibn Abd al-Aziz al-Saud was born on September 23, 1949, in Makkah, Saudi Arabia. He is the eldest son of the first crown prince and minister of defense, Prince Sultan, and the grandson of the kingdom's modern founder, King Abd al-Aziz, known as Ibn Saud. He studied at the Princes' School in Riyadh and attended the British Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst, graduating in 1967. He continued his advanced military training in the United States, at the Army Command and General Staff School and the Naval Postgraduate School, and he obtained his Air War Certification at the U.S. Air War College at Maxwell Air Force Base. He also earned a master's degree in political science at Auburn University.

With a reputation as an air defense expert, Khalid moved up rapidly in the military, holding the positions of air squadron chief, training officer and assistant staff officer for operations, army inspectorate chief, director of the administration of air defense projects, deputy chief of the air force, chief of air defense, and chief of the strategic missiles force.

Saudi air and air defense forces have played a special role in the kingdom's defense planning. One reason for this is its vast open spaces, most of which are inaccessible except from the air. Another reason is that with the deliberate decision to keep the military establishment quite small (an idea that Khalid later challenged), air defense became more crucial, and the kingdom traditionally relied on the West—first on Great Britain, and later the United States—for military support. Over the years, Saudi Arabia has spent billions on the acquisition of advanced weaponry, aircraft, and missiles.

Khalid was involved in numerous arms deals, certainly with the purchase of the medium-range surface-to-surface CSS-2 East Wind missiles from China. He has written that he and his half-brother, Bandar, formerly ambassador to the United States, negotiated the acquisition of these missiles for an estimated $3.5 billion.

On the eve of Operation DESERT STORM in 1991, Khalid was named commander of the Joint Forces and Theater of Operations at the rank of lieutenant general. The Joint Force Command allowed countries, in particular Arab and Muslim nations, to place their troops under Saudi leadership rather than that of the United States. In all, the Joint Forces included personnel from 24 nations. Saudi Arabia provided up to 100,000 personnel for the conflict. Prince Khalid's position in the war demonstrated Saudi Arabia's political leadership, not to mention its military capabilities. At the same time, however, the large wave of opposition within Saudi Arabia to military participation with the United States and the presence of Western troops in the kingdom unleashed strong reactions in the form of religiously based protests against the al-Saud family and the government as a whole.

Following the Persian Gulf War, Khalid was promoted to the rank of field marshal. He left government service in 1991. In 2001 he was called back to become the assistant minister of defense and inspector general for military affairs, posts he continues to hold. In the interceding years he was involved in private business and published his account of Operation DESERT STORM and Saudi Arabia's history in *Desert Warrior: A Personal View of the Gulf War* (1995), written with Patrick Seale. In the book Khalid disagrees with certain statements and assessments made by General H. Norman Schwarzkopf in his 1992 book *It Doesn't Take a Hero.*

An avid scuba diver, Khalid has involved himself in marine ecology, which he supports through the Living Oceans Foundation, and he has funded a multinational team of scientists called Scientists without Borders who will assess the health of coral reefs and marine life in the Caribbean beginning in 2010. He has also created a chair for environmental research at King Saud University.

SHERIFA ZUHUR

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Saudi Arabia; Saudi Arabia, Armed Forces; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.

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Saudi Arabia

Middle Eastern nation located on the Arabian Peninsula and having a current population of approximately 28.2 million. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, founded in 1932, covers 756,981 square miles, nearly three times the area of the U.S. state of Texas. Saudi Arabia borders on Jordan, Iraq, and Kuwait to the north; the Persian Gulf, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates to the east; Oman and Yemen to the south; and the Red Sea to the west.

Saudi Arabia has been dominated by its ruling family, the House of Saud, for all of its modern history. King Abd al-Aziz al-Saud, known as Ibn Saud, the founding monarch, ruled until his death in 1953. All succeeding kings have been his sons, of which he had 48. The House of Saud has a historical alliance with the Shaykh family, the descendants of Muhammad abd al-Wahhab, founder of Wahhabism (an interpretation of Islam). Saudi Arabia's legal system is based on the Hanbali school of Islamic law. Indeed, the Qur'an serves as the basic governing principles for Saudi Arabia.

The role of Ibn Saud in Saudi Arabia cannot be overstated. The state grew inexorably as a result of his increasing domination of the Arabian Peninsula in the early 20th century as the Ottoman Empire declined. After the end of World War I and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, he consolidated his position and became king in 1925. The realm was renamed the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia seven years later and included the Hijaz region, which had been governed by the Sharifians who, unable to hold their territory, now headed the countries of Jordan and Iraq. The fortunes of the kingdom were transformed with the discovery of vast petroleum reserves in the 1930s. The nation's oil reserves would bring with them trillions of dollars of revenue and turn the kingdom into one of the world's wealthiest nations. After the 1960s, at which point the influence of foreign oil companies was on the wane, Saudi Arabia's oil assets gave the kingdom a great deal of geopolitical clout as well.

Initially, American oil companies (Chevron in particular) played the leading role in oil exploration and formed a partnership with the Saudi monarchy, paying royalties for the right to extract and ship Saudi oil. The importance of oil during World War II enhanced the U.S.-Saudi relationship, and in 1944 the Arab-American Oil Corporation (ARAMCO) was formed. President Franklin D. Roosevelt

The Kingdom Center tower in the Saudi Arabian capital city of Riyadh. (iStockPhoto)

helped to cement the growing relationship when he met with Ibn Saud on February 14, 1945, aboard the heavy cruiser USS *Quincy*. The Saudi monarchy maintained close economic and strategic ties to the United States throughout the remainder of the century.

Nevertheless, the Israeli issue greatly complicated U.S.-Saudi relations. The Saudis firmly objected to the 1948 formation of the State of Israel, opposed the displacement of Palestinian Arabs, and played a minor military role in the Israeli War of Independence (1948–1949). Support of Palestinian rights and opposition to Israel became a central theme of Saudi foreign policy, and as with other Arab nations, the Saudis refused to recognize Israel. Nevertheless, strong American ties led Saudi diplomacy to depart significantly from that of the frontline republican Arab states such as Syria and Egypt. Because of the growing strategic importance of the Middle East and its oil reserves to Cold War geopolitics, the United States, the Soviet Union, and even the People's Republic of China (PRC) sought increased influence in the region. The Soviets pursued political relationships with secular, socialist Arab nationalist regimes in Egypt, Iraq, and Syria, and Soviet military assistance was crucial to these nations in their ongoing struggle with Israel. The United States countered these Soviet overtures by tightening its links to the royal regimes in Iran and Saudi Arabia, which included vast arms sales.

In 1962 civil war broke out in Yemen when a republican faction broke with the traditional Zaydi rulers in northern Yemen. The war reflected political, sectarian, and geographic divisions. Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser supported the republicans. Despite previous rivalries with the ruling house of Yemen, the Saudis gave financial support and military assistance to the Zaydi leadership. Egypt and Saudi Arabia thus confronted each other indirectly in the conflict while carrying out a wider propaganda war against each other. The House of Saud refused to tolerate the spread of Nasserists who might challenge royalism in the kingdom even as they supported Arab unity as a general principle. In addition, the respective affiliations of Egypt and Saudi Arabia with the Soviet Union and the United States turned the North Yemen Civil War into a regional theater of confrontation.

Israel's seizure of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Sinai peninsula, and the Golan Heights in the June 1967 Six-Day War deeply concerned Saudis, as it did all Arab states. In the wake of Nasser's death, Saudi concerns over regional policy multiplied. As U.S. support for Israel increased, the Saudis sought to influence U.S. policy in favor of the Arabs. This resolve was also seen in the 1973 oil embargo. Saudi oil was largely controlled by American-owned oil companies until the early 1970s. At that point, the House of Saud negotiated the gradual transformation of ARAMCO into Saudi ARAMCO. By 1973 the transfer of control had begun. When Egypt and Syria attacked Israel in October 1973, prompting the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, Saudi Arabia's King Faisal obtained U.S. president Richard M. Nixon's assurances of American nonintervention.

The Israelis suffered severe reversals in the opening stages of the conflict, however, prompting Nixon to send U.S. military aid to Israel on October 19. The next day the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), to which Saudi Arabia belongs, implemented an oil embargo directed at the United States and other Western oil-importing states that supported Israel. The embargo hobbled the already weak U.S. economy and created inflationary pressures. American fuel prices rose 40 percent during the five months of the crisis. The boycott ended without securing any resolution of the Palestinian issue, yet afterward oil prices remained volatile and high, in part due to distributors and middlemen who benefited from this.

Saudi Arabia benefited immensely from this crisis, experiencing an economic boom. Massive increases in oil revenues (from $5 billion per year in 1972 to $119 billion per year in 1981) led to the kingdom's transformation of its urban centers from dusty provincial towns to modern cites. Generous government subsidies and programs were also extended to Saudi citizens, many of whom were poor and still remain so. However, the House of Saud maintained strict control over Saudi society, politics, and law. Religious conservatives strongly influenced local culture and social practices.

Opposition emerged to King Faisal, particularly from conservatives. On March 25, 1975, Faisal was assassinated by his nephew, the stated reason being revenge for the death of his brother who had been killed by Saudi Defense Force members during a demonstration in 1965.

Faisal was followed by his half brother, Khalid. In 1979 Juhayman al-Utaybi took hostages at the Grand Mosque in Mecca, triggering a full-scale political crisis, and foreign troops had to be brought in to deal with the rebels.

Saudi Arabia remained an absolute monarchy until 1992, when the royal family promulgated the nation's Basic Law following the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

The U.S.-Saudi relationship eventually recovered and remained close. Indeed, Saudi Arabia often used its influence in OPEC to keep oil prices artificially low from the mid-1980s to the late 1990s. However, the Saudis continued to oppose Israel's treatment of the Palestinians and its continued presence in the occupied territories. Saudi relations with Egypt declined precipitously after the signing of the Camp David Accords between Israel and Egypt in 1978. The Saudis objected to any individual peace deals with Israel that did not settle the entire Arab-Israeli conflict and address the plight of the Palestinian Arabs and the refugees of the 1948–1949 war. In 1981 Crown Prince Fahd (who ruled as king during 1982–2005) proposed a peace plan based on a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, removal of Israeli settlements in those areas, and a plan to address the needs of Palestinian refugees. Indeed, Saudi Arabia became a primary source of economic aid for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) after the Camp David Accords. While the PLO's support for Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein during the Persian Gulf War of 1991 effectively curtailed Saudi financial support for Fatah, then the PLO's principal political faction, the regime in Riyadh did not change its position on a comprehensive peace. In 2002 Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia proposed another comprehensive peace plan to which the Israeli government did not respond.

During Operation DESERT SHIELD, which began in August 1990 after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the Saudis took the highly unusual step of allowing some 500,000 foreign troops—most of them American—to use its territory as the main staging area for a potential strike against Iraq. Initially the buildup in Saudi Arabia was billed as a protective measure to keep Iraq from broadening its offensive into Saudi Arabia. The decision caused a negative reaction among the ultraconservatives and morals police in Saudi Arabia, and consequently the king had to rein them in. The conservatives argued that the foreigners were defiling Islamic traditions and law. But the troop deployment was seen in Riyadh as a necessary evil of sorts, as Iraqi dictator Hussein could not be trusted to end his land grab in Kuwait. Saudi troops subsequently joined the 34-nation international coalition that forced Iraq from Kuwait in February 1991 during Operation DESERT STORM.

After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, which involved 15 Saudi Arabian nationals or citizens, U.S.-Saudi relations suffered even though Riyadh decried the terrorist actions. The Saudis strongly disapproved of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, which commenced in March 2003, and they refused to allow use of their territory as a base of operations for the invasion. The Saudis disapproved because of the likelihood of Iraqi fratricide following regime change and the boon that a destabilized Iraq would create for Iran. However, many Saudis were also concerned that if the coalition forces pulled out too soon, Iraq would degenerate into full-scale civil war. Also, the U.S. engagement in Iraq provided a rationale for Saudis who opposed their own government's alliance with America. Some went to join the insurgents in Iraq.

At the same time, an ongoing effort to close down U.S. military operations in the kingdom had been in progress for some time. In August 2003 all remaining U.S. troops were withdrawn.

During 2003–2005 a series of attacks by a hitherto unknown group calling itself al-Qa'ida fi Jazirat al-Arabiyya killed Saudis and Westerners. These included the bombing in May and November 2003 of two housing compounds for foreign workers in Saudi Arabia that resulted in many deaths (including Americans) and an attack on the American consulate in Jeddah. Attacks and attempted sabotage by this group continued into 2009 despite a strong counterterrorism effort carried out by the Saudi authorities and a thorough reeducation program designed by the Saudi Ministry of the Interior. The Saudis also cooperated with numerous American requirements such as exerting control over Islamic charitable groups, addressing extremism in parts of the Islamic educational system, cutting off funding to the *mutawa'in* (morals police), and providing information to the international counterintelligence effort. Still, the United States media and government remain highly critical of Saudi Arabia, in part because of increases in the price of oil, owing to political volatility in the region; threats in Nigeria, another oil producer; and Saudi efforts to more prudently manage its current economic boom. In 2007–2008 a sharp increase in oil prices created some panic in the United States. The George W. Bush administration asked Riyadh to increase oil output to ease prices, and the Saudis agreed in 2008.

ROBERT S. KIELY AND SHERIFA ZUHUR

See also

Al Qaeda; Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arab Nationalism; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Faisal, King of Saudi Arabia; Global War on Terror; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Oil; Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries; Pan-Arabism and Pan-Arabist Thought; Saudi Arabia, Armed Forces; September 11 Attacks, International Reactions to; Wahhabism

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Saudi Arabia, Armed Forces

Saudi Arabia's military forces are currently divided into five major branches: the Saudi Arabian National Guard (SANG), the Royal Saudi Land Forces (RSLF), the Royal Saudi Air Defense Forces (RSADF), the Royal Saudi Air Force (RSAF), the Royal Saudi Naval Force (RSNF), and the Saudi Coast Guard (SCG). Operational control of these forces rests with the minister of defense and aviation in Riyadh. The head of the SANG is the first deputy prime minister and answers directly to the king.

SANG evolved from Ikhwan (the Brotherhood), the *muwahhadin,* or Wahhabi, warriors who fought in the establishment of the Saudi Arabian state. The Ikhwan were sometimes called the White Army for the traditional Arab robes rather than uniforms worn by its members. King Abd al-Aziz, known as Ibn Saud, the first king of Saudi Arabia, organized and led the White Army in the early decades of the 20th century to subdue tribal resistance and unify the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula into what is now the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. From this origin, SANG has a long-honored tradition of bravery and loyalty to the nation and its ruling family.

Existing parallel to but separate from the regular Saudi military forces, SANG is a full-time standing, land-based, defensive force of approximately 75,000 regulars and 25,000 militia. It is headquartered in the capital city of Riyadh and has two regional headquarters at Dammam in the east and Jeddah in the west.

SANG is a mechanized infantry and light infantry force that relies on rapid mobility and firepower to defeat its adversaries. Armed with eight-wheeled light armored vehicles and towed artillery, SANG complements the heavier armor of the RSLF and is fully capable of conducting integrated operations. However, it primarily acts a very effective internal security force that can provide rear-area security for the army and help defend Riyadh.

The RSLF is headquartered in Riyadh and has field commands organized into eight zones under military zone commanders. The RSLF consists of armored, mechanized, and airborne forces with associated support elements. The RSLF has about 75,000 troops and an inventory of 1,000 tanks, 3,000 other armored vehicles, and 500 major artillery pieces. These forces are normally dispersed over much of the kingdom and focus on territorial defense.

The RSLF Aviation Branch employs a mix of Sikorsky UH-60 Blackhawk utility and support helicopters, Boeing-Vertol CH-47 Chinook transport helicopters, and Bell AH-64 Apache attack helicopters. The RSLF has its own tactical air defense resources designed to protect its maneuver forces in combat. These forces

A Royal Saudi Air Force F-15 Eagle fighter aircraft approaches a KC-135 Stratotanker for refueling during Operation DESERT SHIELD, May 1990. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Military Expenditures of Selected Nations during the Persian Gulf War (in millions of dollars)

Country	*1990*	*1991*
Iraq	$14,110	$8,776
Kuwait	$13,170	$15,950
Saudi Arabia	$23,160	$35,510
United Kingdom	$37,090	$39,620
United States	$306,200	$280,300

are armed with Mistral, Stinger, and Redeye surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). In addition, they employ a number of different antiaircraft gun systems, including the Vulcan, Bofors, and Oerlikon guns.

In 1984 the kingdom established the Royal Saudi Air Defense Force, a separate professional service dedicated to the territorial air defense mission. This separate force controls Saudi Arabia's heavy SAMs and fixed air defenses, including a mix of Crotale, Shahine, and I-Hawk surface-to-air missiles. It is a relatively static force of about 16,000 men designed for point defense that cannot easily support the army in mobile operations.

Saudi Arabia has given the modernization and expansion of the RSAF a higher priority than that of the land forces, navy, and air defense force. This is primarily because the RSAF is the only service that can cover Saudi Arabia's 888,035 sqaure miles (2.3 million square kilometers) of territory. The RSAF is headquartered at Riyadh and has a total strength of about 20,000 men. Its operational command is structured around its air command and operations center and base operations. The main air command and operations center is near Riyadh, and there are ancillary sector operating centers at Tabuk, Khamis Mushayt, Riyadh, Dhahran, and Kharj that control fighter aircraft, SAMs, and air defense artillery.

The RSAF has operational command facilities at a number of air bases located throughout the kingdom. According to one source, the RSAF's combat forces are organized into six wings with a total of 15 combat squadrons and more than 400 fixed-wing combat and training aircraft. The RSAF flies a mix of aircraft to include various models of the McDonnell Douglas F-15 Eagle, the Northrop F-5 Freedom Fighter and Tiger, and the Panavia Interdictor Tornado.

The RSNF is headquartered in Riyadh and has east and west fleets for its Persian Gulf and Red Sea coasts. It has a total strength of 13,500 to 15,500 men. The combat strength of the RSNF includes 7 frigates, 4 missile corvettes, and 9 guided missile ships. It also includes 3 torpedo boats, 20 inshore fast craft, 17 coastal patrol craft, 3 mine warfare ships, and a number of support and auxiliary craft. The RSNF also includes the Royal Saudi Marine Division. This 3,000-man force is organized into one regiment with two battalions.

The SCG is part of the Frontier Force, has a separate command chain, and maintains its primary base at Aziziah. The SCG contains up to 4,500 men who man a variety of coastal patrol craft. Its primary mission is antismuggling activity, but it does have an internal security mission as well.

Saudi Arabia emerged as a significant regional military force during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Two Arab task forces were organized under the command of Prince Khalid ibn Sultan al-Saud. By the time the land phase of the war began in February 1991, the Saudi ground forces in theater totaled nearly 50,000 men, some 270 main battle tanks, 930 other armored fighting vehicles, 115 artillery weapons, and more than 400 antitank weapons. The RSAF flew a total of 6,852 sorties between January 17 and February 28, 1991, second only to the United States in total air activity. In the four-day ground war that began on February 24, Saudi troops, including the SANG, helped defeat the Iraqis and drive them out of Kuwait. Saudi forces did not participate in the Iraq War that began in 2003, however. The military remains a significant employer of Saudi citizens, and despite rocky relations with the United States after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, Riyadh remains the primary purchaser of U.S. armaments, with contracts exceeding $1.1 billion in 2005.

JAMES H. WILLBANKS

See also

Arms Sales, International; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Saud, Khalid ibn Sultan ibn Abd al-Aziz al-; Saudi Arabia

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SCATHE MEAN, Operation
Event Date: January 17, 1991

Part of the air operations at the beginning of Operation DESERT STORM in 1991 intended to force the Iraqis to turn on their radars and track large numbers of decoys that would confuse and overwhelm their tracking systems. Operation SCATHE MEAN was to follow initial air strikes by conventionally armed cruise missiles and Lockheed F-117 stealth fighters that would target the major Iraqi air defense control centers. Coalition planners hoped that the Iraqis would also fire some of their surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) at the decoys. In any event, coalition aircraft armed with high-speed antiradiation missiles (HARMs) would attack the radars, helping to blind Iraqi air defenses. The operation went perfectly, leaving the Iraqis unable to seriously challenge coalition strike aircraft.

In 1981 Israel launched a surprise attack on Iraq's Osiraq nuclear reactor. The raid was a complete success, prompting Iraqi president Saddam Hussein to order the construction of a new air defense system. Companies from several countries provided parts for the new system. It was named Kari (Iraq spelled backwards in French) by the French engineers who oversaw the creation of the Iraqi defensive system. Although Kari used various radars from numerous countries, including China and Italy, the heart of the system was a centralized command structure employing mainframe computers to collect data from different sources and provide a clear picture to controllers in Baghdad. The central authorities could then decide how best to deal with an incoming threat.

Kari was based upon the Soviets' air defense system. By integrating radars, SAMs, and antiaircraft artillery, Kari was expected to make air strikes by coalition aircraft very costly. The weakness turned out to be the highly centralized control. Dictatorship generally seeks to have centralized control over different systems and disapproves of initiatives taken by local commanders.

Under Kari, intercept-operations centers fed information to sector operations centers, which in turn sent information to Air Defense Headquarters in Baghdad. The coalition air plan concentrated the first strikes against the command facilities in Baghdad, including the communications and power nodes. Essentially, the coalition plan was to break the Iraqi air defense system into component parts and then destroy each. Because Baghdad was so heavily defended, only stealth fighters and cruise missiles were assigned to the initial attacks.

Although U.S. war planners believed that they could disable the Iraqi central command structure, they recognized that the Iraqi air defenses remained dangerous. The navy's Strike Projection Evaluation and Anti-Air Research (SPEAR) study group had studied how to overcome antiaircraft defenses since 1983, when the navy lost two aircraft against relatively weak Syrian air defenses. SPEAR passed along what it learned about Iraqi defenses to the group in Saudi Arabia preparing the air campaign. The air force had a similar study group known as Checkmate. One of the plans to come out of Checkmate was to use decoys to fool the Iraqi defenses. The idea was based on the success enjoyed by the Israelis against Syrian air defenses in 1982.

One of the problems that planners faced was obtaining a sufficient number of decoys to fool the Iraqi defenses. The U.S. Navy had purchased more than 1,000 tactical air-launched decoys (TALDs) that were based on decoys used by the Israelis in 1982. They weighed between 400 and 450 pounds each, and up to six could be carried on a single wing pylon of a naval aircraft. The TALDs were unpowered gliders, but they had a glide ratio of 10:1, so they could fly more than 60 miles after being released. With an ability to reach speeds up to 460 miles per hour (mph) and the capability to return radar signatures similar to any military aircraft, the TALDs were able to fool the Iraqis into thinking that a major air attack was being launched.

The U.S. Air Force's part in Operation SCATHE MEAN was somewhat different because the air force had no decoys or drones that were suitable to the operation. Instead, it managed to obtain 44 BQM-74 Chukar drones from the U.S. Navy. The navy typically used the Chukars as targets. They were powered by a turbojet producing 240 pounds of thrust, giving the drone a top speed of nearly 600 mph. The gyroscopes used to control the Chukars' flight path were not as accurate as hoped, but the planners believed that they would work. Brigadier General Larry Henry, known as "Poobah," headed the air force operation, which became known as "Poobah's Party."

To launch the Chukars, the air force had to assemble the equipment and a team. Because the drones were not standard air force equipment, expertise regarding them was in short supply. Ordinarily the Chukars would be launched from a Lockheed DC-130 Hercules director aircraft, but none was available for duty in the Persian Gulf. Instead, Henry made the decision to use ground launchers. A dozen launchers were found in the navy's stockpiles and made available. Rocket-assisted takeoff packs were found in Belgium and flown to Saudi Arabia. Trucks were purchased from a California commercial trucking firm, and tool kits were bought at Sears. Field gear for the personnel was purchased at military surplus stores.

The only air force personnel with experience in ground-launched missiles were those who had been trained to launch nuclear-tipped cruise missiles. Those weapons had been eliminated in the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, but a training unit was still operational in Arizona. Personnel from the unit were then formed into the 4468th Tactical Reconnaissance Group and sent to Saudi Arabia. They arrived in two six-launcher teams near the Iraqi border on October 15, 1990. One team was based near King Khalid Military City near Kuwait, while the other was near Arar, a town in western Saudi Arabia that was a base for U.S. Special Forces.

On January 17, 1991, the air campaign began. After F-117s and cruise missiles had hit targets in and around Baghdad, Operation SCATHE MEAN began. Twenty-five TLADs were launched by navy Grumman A-6 Intruders, apparently heading toward Iraqi targets. At 3:48 a.m. (local time), the Chukars were launched from Saudi Arabia. Although 38 decoys were supposed to be launched in groups of three, only 37 were actually sent on their way. The Iraqi defenders, deprived of central control and determined to prevent more strikes on the capital, lit up their radars and began tracking the decoys. As they identified targets, they began launching their Soviet-made SAMs. The Iraqis thought that they were scoring many successes. As the TALDs reached the end of their range they descended off the radar scopes, like so many aircraft being shot down. As the Chukars approached targets from Saudi Arabia, the Iraqis launched interceptor aircraft. One group of three was intercepted, while the others made it to their targets in and around Baghdad.

As the Iraqis turned on radars to track the decoys, U.S. Marine Corps and U.S. Navy McDonnell Douglas (now Boeing) F/A-18

Hornets and U.S. Air Force McDonnell Douglas F-4G Phantom II/Weasel aircraft launched more than 200 HARMs. Many Iraqi radars were destroyed, creating huge holes in their defenses for later air strikes. The loss of radars and the wasting of many SAMs on decoys were severe blows from which the Iraqi air defenses never recovered. Although coalition aircraft continued to be lost until the end of the war, the numbers were quite low. Indeed, most fell to unguided antiaircraft artillery or individually launched missiles.

The 4468th Group was disbanded after the Persian Gulf War, and a single BQM-74C was donated to the U.S. Air Force Museum at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base (Ohio) to commemorate the success of Operation SCATHE MEAN.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Air Defenses in Iraq, Persian Gulf War; Antiradiation Missiles, Coalition; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; Kari Air Defense System; Tactical Air-Launched Decoys; United States Air Force, Persian Gulf War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Schoomaker, Peter Jan
Birth Date: February 12, 1946

U.S. Army general and the army's 35th chief of staff (2003–2007). Peter Jan Schoomaker was born on February 12, 1946, in Detroit, Michigan. He entered the army as a second lieutenant in June 1969 through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) upon graduation from the University of Wyoming. Following the Officer Basic Course, he graduated from both the Airborne and Ranger training programs. His first field assignment came in January 1970 as a reconnaissance platoon leader.

Thereafter, Schoomaker's military career involved a wide variety of command and staff assignments with both conventional and special operations forces. His military education included the Marine Corps Amphibious Warfare School, the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, and the John F. Kennedy School of Government Program for Senior Executives in National and International Security Management. Schoomaker also earned a master's degree in management from Central Michigan University.

From 1978 to 1981 Schoomaker commanded a squadron of the 1st Special Forces Operational Detachment D. He led a Delta Force team during Operation EAGLE CLAW, the ill-fated 1980 attempt to rescue Americans being held hostage in Iran. This experience led to Schoomaker's conviction that proper training and proper equipment were vital to operational success. After attending the Army Command and General Staff College, he served as executive officer in an armored cavalry squadron based in West Germany from June 1982 to August 1983. During most of the period from August 1983 to August 1988, he served in command and staff positions with the Joint Special Operations Command and 1st Special Forces Operational Detachment D (popularly called the Delta Force) based at Fort Bragg. From October 1983 to February 1984 he was assigned temporary duty with the Department of Defense Commission on United States Marine Corps Terrorist Incident in Beirut, Lebanon.

After attending the National War College, Schoomaker returned to Fort Bragg in 1989 to serve as commander of the Combat Applications Group (Airborne) until July 1992. Promoted to colonel on June 1, 1990, he was the 1st Cavalry Division's assistant division commander from July 1992 to July 1993. He was promoted to brigadier general on January 1, 1993. In July 1993 Schoomaker became the deputy director of operations, readiness, and mobilization, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans. From July 1994 to August 1996 Schoomaker served as the commanding general of the Joint Special Operations Command. Having been promoted to major general on March 1, 1996, and then to lieutenant general on August 1, 1996, he was the commander of the U.S. Army Special Operations Command at Fort Bragg through October 1997. Promoted to full (four-star) general in October 1997, Schoomaker served as the commander in chief, U.S. Special Operations Command, at MacDill Air Force Base, Florida, from November 1997 to November 2000, when he retired from the military.

When several activte duty generals declined to serve as chief of staff under him, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld recalled Schoomaker from retirement to become the army's 35th chief of staff on August 1, 2003. This appointment was particularly controversial because Schoomaker's predecessor, General Eric Shinseki, had fallen out of favor with many influential members of the George W. Bush administration. Schoomaker was the first U.S. Army chief of staff to possess wide experience with the Special Forces. In his first remarks after being sworn in, Schoomaker announced that he would focus on army training methods and leadership development. He also planned to evaluate the mix between active and reserve components. Schoomaker was most concerned with the soldiers, emphasizing that their capabilities were fundamental to creating a flexible, adaptable force.

Much of Schoomaker's time was devoted to supporting ongoing operations in Iraq and Afghanistan while implementing what some called the greatest reorganization of the U.S. Army since World War II. This also involved the most extensive modernization plan in three decades, the so-called Future Combat System. Under Schoomaker's guidance, the army transformation concept was updated with a stated goal of providing "relevant and ready current forces and future forces organized, trained, and equipped

General Peter J. Schoomaker, U.S. Army chief of staff during 2003–2007, center, is shown here in Iraq with 101st Airborne Division commander Major General David Petraeus, right, in 2003. (U.S. Army)

for joint, interagency, and multinational full spectrum operations." Simultaneously, Schoomaker worked to instill a warrior ethos throughout all levels of the military. Having completed his four-year term on April 10, 2007, Schoomaker retired for a second time. General George W. Casey Jr. succeeded him.

James Arnold

See also

Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; United States Army, Afghanistan War; United States Army, Iraq War

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Schröder, Gerhard Fritz Kurt
Birth Date: April 7, 1944

German attorney, politician, and chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) during 1998–2005. Gerhard Fritz Kurtz Schröder was born on April 7, 1944, in Mossenberg, Lower Saxony, just months before his father was killed in action in World War II. Schröder worked various unskilled jobs while studying at night to gain a high school diploma. He went on to study law at the University of Göttingen, graduating in 1971, and became active in the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) from 1963 onward.

From 1972 to 1976 Schröder served as an assistant at the University of Göttingen, and from 1976 to 1990 he practiced law. Elected to the Bundestag (parliament) in 1980, he soon gained a reputation for his charisma. In 1990 he became the minister-president of Lower Saxony, where he served as the head of a coalition between the SPD and the Green Party, a relationship that he had conceptualized in the early 1980s. On October 27, 1998, he became the head of that same coalition, this time at the federal level as chancellor of Germany.

Economic and domestic issues dominated the first half of Schröder's chancellorship, but the terrorist attacks against the

United States on September 11, 2001, shifted his attention to terrorism and the Middle East. September 11 provided an opportunity for Germany to move its foreign policy away from its general post–World War II diffidence. As such, Schröder promised a 3,900-man force for the ensuing military action in Afghanistan (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM). This move served as both an important gesture of solidarity with the United States and a sign of Germany's willingness to project force abroad. Schröder now publicly asserted that Germany's responsibility to the world went beyond its economic strength and that it would have to exert political power as well. Thus, he pushed for the first ever FRG military action outside Europe, in Afghanistan. Because of the controversy surrounding this decision, Schröder insisted on a vote of confidence in the Bundestag. He secured a favorable vote, although this led to strained relations with the Green Party elements of his coalition.

As American rhetoric against Iraq intensified in 2002, Germany was one of many nations in the United Nations (UN) to argue for nonmilitary alternatives to enforce previous UN resolutions regarding Iraqi disarmament. Schröder went further, however, joining France in declaring unequivocally that his nation would not send military support of any kind to wage a war in Iraq even if a UN resolution authorized the use of force. Not surprisingly, Schröder's opposition to the Iraq War (2003–) caused a significant breach in German-American relations, which had heretofore been strong.

This situation was exacerbated when Schröder used the looming conflict in Iraq as a major campaign issue when he was lagging in the polls during the 2002 federal election process. Politically, the exposure of Al Qaeda cells operating in Hamburg undermined SPD control there and elsewhere, opening the door for more conservative movements to gain a foothold. Emerging information during the campaign only highlighted Germany's poor record of tracking Islamic groups with potential terrorist links. However, two-thirds of Germans remained opposed to war in Iraq, so this issue bore electoral fruit. Critics, however, accused Schröder of, at best, exploiting anti-American sentiments in his country and, at worst, intentionally cultivating them to gain reelection. Schröder's coalition won another four-year hold on power in the September 22, 2002, federal elections.

Both Chancellor Schröder and his American counterparts tried to put the best face on their now-rocky relationship, particularly considering the importance of the ongoing German presence in Afghanistan. Schröder also sent nonmilitary assistance for the reconstruction of Iraq after the Anglo-American–led March 2003 invasion and reinforced the consensus between the United States and Europe that Iran should be prevented from developing nuclear weapons capabilities. However, tensions in the U.S.-German relationship reemerged when Schröder warned the United States in August 2005 to back away from military threats against Iran. He tried to use Iran as a campaign issue that autumn, but this time the tactic failed, and he was forced from office in November 2005, replaced by Angela Merkel, a Christian Democrat who is more conservative than Schröder and far less anti-American.

Schröder had found a partner for his Middle East policy in the Russian Federation, while the U.S.-Russian relationship became strained. In his last weeks in office he signed a deal to build a natural gas pipeline under the Baltic Sea to supply Germany directly. After leaving office he became chairman of the North European Gas Pipeline, a project majority-owned by the Russian state-controlled natural gas giant, Gazprom, the primary beneficiary of the Baltic Sea pipeline. Critics on both sides of the Atlantic were outraged, asserting that Schröder had pursued policies in office that ultimately brought him private gain. Many critics in Germany accused Schröder of simply selling Germany and Western Europe to Russia. The affair cast a dark shadow on the legacy of his Middle East policy. Since leaving office, Schröder has continued to be an outspoken apologist for Russian policies, especially during the Russian attack on Georgia in 2008 and Russia's long-running campaign of seeking to assert its authority over Ukraine and the Baltic Republics.

STEPHANIE TROMBLEY

See also

ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Germany, Federal Republic of, Middle East Policy; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.
Birth Date: August 22, 1934

U.S. Army officer, commander in chief of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) from 1988 to 1991, and commander of coalition forces during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. H. Norman Schwarzkopf Jr. (sometimes referred to as "Stormin' Norman") was born on August 22, 1934, in Trenton, New Jersey. His father, Herbert Norman Schwarzkopf, disliked his own first name and gave his son only its first letter. The elder Schwarzkopf had graduated from the United States Military Academy, West Point, and, following his military career, headed the New Jersey State Police. In the late 1940s the younger Schwarzkopf accompanied his father to Iran, where the elder Schwarzkopf helped establish and train that country's national police. This experience gave the young Schwarzkopf a lasting interest in Islamic culture and history.

Schwarzkopf followed his father in attending West Point, graduating in 1956. His first assignment was at Fort Benning, Georgia, where he received advanced infantry and airborne training. Schwarzkopf later served with the 101st Airborne Division in Kentucky and the 6th Infantry Division in Germany. He was in

As commander of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) during 1988–1991, U.S. Army general H. Norman Schwarzkopf directed the highly successful international military coalition that drove Iraqi forces from Kuwait during the Persian Gulf War in 1991. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Berlin during the crises there in 1960 and 1961. In 1964 Schwarzkopf earned a master's degree in mechanical engineering from the University of Southern California, specializing in the development of precision-guided missiles, and in 1965 he began a three-year teaching assignment at West Point.

The Vietnam War cut short Schwarzkopf's West Point assignment, however, and at the rank of captain he served a tour as an adviser to the Republic of Vietnam Airborne Division before returning to the academy. Promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1968, Schwarzkopf attended the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, and in 1969 he returned to Vietnam as a battalion commander, where he earned a Silver Star and was twice wounded. There he also acquired his reputation as a tough no-nonsense commander who was willing to risk his own life for his men. In 1970 Schwarzkopf, now a colonel, returned to the United States in a body cast. On his recovery he studied internal defense and national security issues at the Army War College. He then served in Alaska, Washington state, Hawaii, Germany, and Washington, D.C.

Schwarzkopf was promoted to brigadier general in 1978 and assigned at the assistant division commander of the 8th Infantry Division (Mechanized) in the Federal Republic of Germany. Promoted to major general in 1982, he assumed command of the 24th Infantry Division (Mechanized) at Fort Stewart, Georgia. A year later he served as an adviser to the U.S. Navy in Operation URGENT FURY, the U.S. invasion of Grenada. Earning the confidence of the naval commanders, he was appointed deputy commander of the joint task force. He also learned valuable lessons from the experience, especially the need for more effective coordination and control in joint operations.

In 1984 Schwarzkopf returned to the Pentagon to serve in the Office of Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations. In 1986 he was promoted to lieutenant general and assigned as commander of I Corps at Fort Lewis, Washington. After only serving one year in that assignment, he returned to the Pentagon as the army's deputy chief of staff for operations.

Promoted to full (four-star) general in 1988, Schwarzkopf was assigned as commander of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), headquartered at Tampa, Florida. CENTCOM was tasked primarily with potential U.S. operations in the Middle East and Southwest Asia. Although at the time Schwarzkopf assumed CENTOM command the possibility of U.S. military action in those regions seemed remote to American military planners, the situation changed dramatically in August 1990.

Following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, Schwarzkopf established a forward headquarters in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and played a key role in building the international

coalition that carried out the United Nations (UN) mandate to restore the independence of Kuwait. Schwarzkopf doubted the ability of airpower alone to cause Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein to withdraw his forces from Kuwait and thus insisted on a large buildup of ground forces to do the job. Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM proved highly successful, with coalition forces winning the ground war within only 100 hours in February 1991. Despite the overwhelming success of DESERT STORM, during the war Schwarzkopf's relations with his subordinates—and his superiors in Washington, D.C.—were often rocky. Many subordinates resented his bullying, confrontational manner of command, and his interaction with the Joint Staff and the U.S. Army Staff was often difficult. Although he was immensely popular with the American public, those who worked with him did not share the public's positive perception.

Reportedly, Schwarzkopf opposed the George H. W. Bush administration's decision to end the war without the destruction of the Iraqi Republican Guard. Yet Schwarzkopf himself made the decision in the cease-fire agreement that allowed the Iraqis to continue to fly helicopters, which very much surprised the Iraqi delegates. This decision greatly aided the Iraqi government in crushing insurrections against the Hussein regime.

Schwarzkopf returned to the United States a national hero, aided considerably by his ability to deal quite effectively with the press. He retired from the army in August 1991 and published his best-selling memoir, *It Doesn't Take a Hero,* in 1992. He currently resides in Florida and sits on several corporate boards, including that of Remington. Schwarzkopf was sharply critical of Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld's management of the Iraq War but supported President George W. Bush's reelection bid in 2004 and Republican senator John McCain's presidential bid in 2008. Among Schwarzkopf's many decorations are three Silver Stars and the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

DEBORAH KIDWELL, PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR., AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; United States Central Command

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SCORPION, Operation
Event Date: Late 1990

A plan for ground operations during the 1991 Persian Gulf War to occupy western Iraq; the operation was never implemented. Supporters believed that Operation SCORPION, also known as "the Western Excursion," would prevent Iraqi Scud missiles from being fired at Israel, which might have threatened to break up the military coalition against Iraq. They also believed that it offered an opportunity to destabilize the regime of President Saddam Hussein and force a change in the Iraqi government. The cost to American personnel would be minimal, it was hoped, while Iraqi ground forces that moved to oust the Americans could be devastated by American airpower. The chief supporter of Operation SCORPION was U.S. secretary of defense Richard (Dick) Cheney.

When Hussein ordered his forces to occupy Kuwait in August 1990, the first American objective was to prevent the Iraqis from moving on and occupying the Saudi Arabia oil fields. When sufficient forces had been assembled to prevent this, under the code name DESERT SHIELD, planners then began to plan how to force the Iraqis to leave Kuwait. The United Nations (UN) had authorized tough economic sanctions against Iraq, and many members of the George H. W. Bush administration hoped that sanctions would force Hussein to quit Kuwait. Even so, military commanders began to plan how to use force if necessary to accomplish American goals.

By October 1990 the American XVIII Airborne Corps was fully in place in Saudi Arabia. With supporting units, including marines on amphibious assault ships in the Persian Gulf, it was a powerful force, but planners knew that it was outnumbered by Iraqi forces defending Kuwait. The coalition theater commander, General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, had organized a planning group to develop the options to drive the Iraqis out of Kuwait with the forces at hand. All plans recognized that the coalition organized to liberate Kuwait could quickly obtain air supremacy, and they proceeded from that assumption.

On October 10 and 11 military planners from Schwarzkopf's command presented their preliminary plans to the secretary of defense, President Bush, and his national security team. The original plan consisted mainly of a direct attack on Iraqi defenses in Kuwait. Planners estimated that American forces could suffer up to 10,000 casualties, with 1,500 killed in action. Because one important domestic political consideration was to limit American casualties, the plan was deemed unacceptable. One concrete result of the October conferences was to confirm that Bush expected to use a military solution for the problem. By that point he did not believe that sanctions would force the Iraqis out of Kuwait, and he was prepared to use whatever force was necessary. He then approved the transfer of another corps to Saudi Arabia, along with a large number of other military units. American ground, naval, and air forces in the theater were to be doubled by the beginning of 1991.

Rejection of Schwarzkopf's original plan encouraged others to develop their own. As chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), General Colin L. Powell organized a planning staff at the Pentagon to develop alternatives. Because attacking directly into Kuwait had been implicitly rejected, the planners looked to a left-hook scenario to move American forces farther west and curve around behind the Iraqis in Kuwait.

By the late autumn of 1990 a certain amount of friction had developed between Powell and Cheney. Cheney favored a more immediate military solution than Powell and kept prodding his military commanders to prepare for war. Cheney had his own staff develop a plan intended to force the Iraqis out of Kuwait as well as to meet other political objectives. The genesis of what became Operation SCORPION came from former Stanford University professor Henry Rowen, who was the assistant defense secretary for international security affairs. The region of the world assigned to Rowen included Southwest Asia and the Middle East. Rowen had no higher political ambitions and was looking forward to returning to Stanford. Even after the invasion of Kuwait, he found time to take a vacation to France in September. While there he read *The History of the Arab Peoples* by Sir John Bagot Glubb. Also known as Pasha Glubb, the author had commanded the British Arab Legion during the 1930s and 1940s. Glubb recorded how he had led the legion from Transjordan across western Iraq in 1941, when Iraq revolted against British domination. The information was eye-opening for Rowen. He realized that Arab armies had maneuvered across the desert for centuries. Surely the U.S. Army, with its far greater logistic capabilities, could do the same. Rowen found that a two-lane asphalt highway, known as the Tapline Road, ran from western Iraq into Saudi Arabia and paralleled the border with Iraq. He believed that it could be used by U.S. forces for supply purposes.

When Rowen returned to the United States, he took his idea to Paul Wolfowitz, a key Cheney aide. Wolfowitz saw potential in the plan and took it to Cheney. Cheney liked the idea and had Wolfowitz set up a secret planning team in the Pentagon to flesh out the possibilities. To head the team, Wolfowitz picked retired U.S. Army lieutenant general Dale Vesser, who had been planning officer for the JCS. Cheney recognized that a plan that had been developed by a retired officer was more likely to be accepted by military commanders than one seen as coming strictly from civilians. Vesser and his team were told to discuss their work with no one else, including Powell.

Vesser was initially skeptical of the plan but liked it the more he studied it. Basically, the plan called for American airborne forces, including the 82nd and 101st Airborne divisions, to be moved by air into western Iraq. Presumably they would be able to occupy most of the region with little difficulty because only one low-grade Iraqi division was based in the area. The region was also sparsely populated, which lowered the possibilities of civilian casualties. The airborne units were to be supported by mechanized forces that would move up the Tapline Road with supplies and armor support.

Cheney and his team expected a number of results from this operation. They saw it as making the best use of American advantages in airpower and mobility, similar to the Inchon landings that turned the tide during the Korean War in 1950. They expected that the first result would be the destruction or capture of the Scud missiles located in western Iraq. Air force planners believed that coalition aircraft could knock out the Scuds before they could be launched.

Another benefit from Operation SCORPION was that road communications between Baghdad and Jordan would be cut. Intelligence reported that supplies were flowing through Jordan to Iraqi troops, a significant hole in the blockade authorized by the UN sanctions.

Cheney also expected that Iraqi Republican Guards, the most effective Iraqi troops, would be called upon to drive the Americans out of western Iraq. As they moved along the roads, coalition aircraft would be able to attack and significantly degrade them. The weakened divisions could then be defeated by American ground forces with fewer American casualties.

Finally, some planners believed that having U.S. forces within 60 miles of Baghdad would bring the overthrow of Hussein. Baghdad itself could be cut off from outside aid, and dissidents could be encouraged to rise up and revolt. While Cheney discounted this possibility, it remained attractive to some planners.

Cheney had Powell and the JCS briefed on Operation SCORPION. The JCS quickly dismissed it as failing to meet American objectives and having logistical problems. Nonetheless, when Powell was in Saudi Arabia in late October, Cheney took the plan to President Bush and briefed him on it. It was an unprecedented event for the civilian secretary of defense to go around his military commanders to present a plan directly to the president. Powell was furious, as were most other military leaders. They viewed it as a signal that Cheney had lost faith in their abilities. It also highlighted the tension that often exists between civilian and military leaders in wartime.

Although Operation SCORPION was not accepted, it did help convince Pentagon planners to move the American main effort farther west. The final plan for DESERT STORM had the main U.S. effort west of the Wadi al-Batin, much farther west than had been originally planned.

TIM J. WATTS

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Powell, Colin Luther; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.

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Scowcroft, Brent
Birth Date: March 19, 1925

U.S. Air Force officer and national security adviser for presidents Gerald R. Ford (1974–1977) and George H. W. Bush (1989–1993). Born in Ogden, Utah, on March 19, 1925, Brent Scowcroft graduated from the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, in 1947 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the newly formed U.S. Air Force that same year. His hopes of a career as a military pilot were dashed by injuries suffered in a plane crash. He then assumed operational and administrative positions within the air force. His military career, which included teaching posts at West Point, the U.S. Air Force Academy, and the National War College, ended with his retirement on December 1, 1975, as a lieutenant general.

Scowcroft received an MA degree in international relations from Columbia University in 1953. From 1953 to 1957 he taught Russian history at the U.S. Military Academy. In 1957 he received his PhD, also in international relations, from Columbia. From 1959 to 1961 Scowcroft was assigned to the U.S. embassy in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. He then attended the Armed Forces Staff College. In 1962 Scowcroft chaired the Department of Political Science at the Air Force Academy. He taught there until 1964.

In 1964 Scowcroft began a seven-year assignment at the Pentagon. From 1964 to 1967 he served in the planning division of the Office of Deputy Staff for Plans and Operations. From 1968 to 1969, he worked for the assistant secretary of defense on international security affairs, and from 1969 to 1971 he was a staff member on the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). In November 1971 Scowcroft was named chief military aide to President Richard M. Nixon and accompanied him on his historic trip to the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1972. Promoted to brigadier general upon his return, in May 1972 Scowcroft led an advance team to Moscow to prepare for Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union.

In 1973 Scowcroft was chosen by Henry Kissinger, then national security adviser, to be his deputy. Scowcroft continued in that post until 1974 in President Gerald Ford's administration. That same year Ford promoted Scowcroft to national security adviser. As Ford's chief adviser on national security issues, Scowcroft coordinated the April 1975 evacuation of Americans and foreign nationals from Saigon and headed the decision-making process that led to the freeing of U.S. hostages taken from the American merchant ship *Mayaguez* in May 1975.

When Jimmy Carter became president Scowcroft left the National Security Council in January 1977, although he served on a presidential committee that helped to formulate the SALT II Treaty. From 1982 to 1989 Scowcroft was vice chairman of Kissinger Associates, Inc., an international consulting firm. In 1983, President Ronald Reagan named Scowcroft to head the Commission on Strategic Forces, which helped to secure funding for the MX missile program.

In 1988 president-elect George H. W. Bush offered Scowcroft his second appointment as national security adviser and sent him on two secret missions to China following the 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre in Beijing. Scowcroft was integral to the planning and decision-making process involving Operation DESERT STORM, and he is credited for having reached the conclusion that Iraqi president Saddam Hussein should not have been removed from power in 1991 out of fear that Iraq would disintegrate into civil unrest and instability. Scowcroft presciently forecast that if that had happened, the United States would have become bogged down in a lengthy and expensive occupation. He was critical of President George W. Bush's Iraq policies after 2001.

Former national security adviser Brent Scowcroft, shown here on September 27, 2006, served as chairman of President George W. Bush's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board during 2001–2005. (Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library)

Scowcroft left the White House in 1993 and founded the Scowcroft Group, an international business consulting firm. In 1998 Scowcroft coauthored a book of memoirs, *A World Transformed,* with former president George H. W. Bush. From 2001 to 2005 Scowcroft served as chairman of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board under President George W. Bush. Scowcroft is also the founder and president of the Forum for International Policy, a nonpartisan organization that promotes opinions and perspectives on issues of foreign policy. He is known as a behind-the-scenes presence and a trustworthy loyalist, and his habit of engaging in

prolonged academic discussions is a hallmark of his approach to security issues. He continues to serve on numerous corporate, nonprofit, and university boards and on various presidential commissions, including the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the Gerald R. Ford Foundation, the George C. Marshall Foundation, and, in 1986, the President's Special Review Board (Tower Board) investigating the Iran-Contra Affair. Scowcroft is chairman of the American-Turkish Council and president of the George Bush Presidential Library Foundation and the International Advisory Board of the Atlantic Council. Named for him, is the Scowcroft Institute of International Affairs at the Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University. Scowcroft, a devout Mormon and a moderate Republican who shuns the Washington social scene, currently resides in Bethesda, Maryland.

GARY KERLEY

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; DESERT STORM, Operation; Iran-Contra Affair; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Kissinger, Henry Alfred; Reagan, Ronald Wilson

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Scud Missiles, U.S. Search for during the Persian Gulf War

Coalition effort to locate Iraqi Scud missiles during Operation DESERT STORM. By January 16, 1991, when Operation DESERT STORM began with widespread air strikes against Iraqi targets, Secretary of State James A. Baker and President George H. W. Bush had put together an international military coalition that included such members of the Arab League as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt, Syria, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Oman, and Bahrain. Beginning on January 18, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, in an attempt to break up this coalition, launched seven al-Hussein missiles, a variant of the Soviet Scud-B intermediate-range ballistic missile, at Haifa and Tel Aviv in Israel. U.S. officials feared that if Israel launched a counterstrike, America's Arab allies might abandon the coalition and might possibly side with Iraq in a wider Middle East war.

Iraqi Scud missile attacks imperiled not just Israel and the coalition but also Saudi Arabia and the U.S. troops stationed there. In all, the Iraqis launched a total of 40 Scud missiles against Israel and 46 against Saudi Arabia. One such attack killed 28 U.S. servicemen when a missile hit a U.S. Army barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, on February 25, 1991. Coalition policy makers were also concerned that Iraq might arm its Scud missiles with chemical or biological weapons, such as thickened VX gas, which would have wrought havoc and caused many deaths.

In addition to deploying advanced U.S. air and missile defense batteries with the Patriot missile to Israel and Saudi Arabia, the destruction of Iraq's Scud missile launch sites became a top priority for U.S.-led forces. To do so, U.S. Special Operations Command created a special task force that, together with British special operations, hunted for Iraqi Scuds in western Iraq. Intelligence and special operations teams worked closely with coalition air forces to destroy scores of Scud launchers and their support vehicles. Over a six-week period, from January 18 to February 27, Scud attacks against Israel dropped by more than half, from 29 launches in the first three weeks to 11 launches in the subsequent period. They also became less accurate. Scud missile attacks continued, however, and the air strikes against the Scuds were not as effective as claimed at the time. Indeed, so much airpower—40 percent of coalition air assets—was diverted to search for and destroy Scud missiles that the overall air campaign had to be extended for an additional week, and targeting goals could not be fully attained before the ground war began on February 24, 1991.

JASON N. PALMER

See also

Arab League; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Forces; Dhahran, Scud Missile Attack on

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Scud Missile Specifications

NATO Designation	*U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency Designation*	*Date of Deployment*	*Length (feet)*	*Width (feet)*	*Launch Weight (pounds)*	*Payload*	*Range (miles)*	*Accuracy (feet)*
Scud A	SS-1b	1957	35.1	2.9	9,700.3	2,094.4	93.2	13,123.4
Scud B	SS-1c	1964	36.9	2.9	13,007.3	2,171.6	186.4	2,952.8
Scud C	SS-1d	1965	36.9	2.9	14,109.6	1,322.8	357.3	2,952.8
Scud D	SS-1e	1989	40.3	2.9	14,330.0	2,171.6	435.0	164.0

Sealift Ships

Sealift refers to the movement of vehicles, equipment, sustainment supplies, and personnel by oceangoing ships. Although the U.S. military usually transports its personnel by air (as well as approximately 5 percent of its equipment, vehicles, and sustainment supplies), the remaining 95 percent of American military cargo is transported by ships because of their far superior carrying capacity. The Military Sealift Command (MSC) manages American sealift ships, which are normally manned through contracts with civilian industry. The MSC also charters American-flagged ships, contracts with civilian shipping companies for space on regular commercial routes known as liner service, and secures foreign-flagged charters during short periods of high-intensity (surge) operations related to movement for combat operations when other assets are not available to meet the shipping needs of the military.

The U.S. Army and the U.S. Marine Corps conduct the loading and offloading of most MSC-managed or MSC-chartered ships in American and foreign ports. The U.S. Army's Surface Deployment and Distribution Command (SDDC), a subordinate command of the Department of Defense's Transportation Command (TRANSCOM), oversees and manages the stevedore contracts associated with the loading and offloading of most MSC ships around the globe.

Sealift ships can be categorized by at least two methods: their design for loading cargo and their operational readiness status. First, ships can be distinguished by their loading methods. Military cargo is moved onto and off of a vessel via lift-on/lift-off (LO/LO) or roll-on/roll-off (RO/RO) operations. LO/LO is conducted by utilizing a crane to lift vehicles or containers, and RO/RO refers to the ability to actually drive a vehicle onto and off a vessel. Fuel and other liquid products are pumped directly into holding tanks on special tanker ships. Second, ships can be categorized by their readiness status. Prepositioned ships are loaded with the vehicles, equipment, and sustainment supplies required for a deployed military unit and then dispatched to areas around the world, where they await a situation requiring the introduction of U.S. military forces. Army or marine personnel are flown to an area, where they meet the ships carrying their equipment. Prepositioning reduces the amount of time required to load and transport the equipment and permits an American military unit with heavy equipment to hit the ground and be combat ready up to two weeks faster than shipping everything from the United States. Thirty-four ships are part of this program, and the number can fluctuate based on need. Normally, 10 ships are dedicated to the U.S. Army, 16 are dedicated to the U.S. Marine Corps, and 8 total are dedicated to the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Air Force.

The three prepositioned ship squadrons are located in the Mediterranean Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the western Pacific Ocean. The MSC also operates a small fleet of cargo ships utilized to conduct regular sustainment support and the movement of vehicles and equipment for American military personnel and facilities around the world. The number of ships in this second category fluctuates based on current needs. The Maritime Administration manages the Ready Reserve Force (RRF), a third type of ship available for transport operations. The organization bases these 44 ships at ports across the United States and minimally maintains them with small contract crews. Depending upon the contract, each vessel can be placed into active service within a period of 4, 5, 10, or 20 days. The MSC assumes control of the ships upon activation. The fourth group of ships comprises those of the Reserve Fleet. These older ships are mothballed and moored together in case of need by the U.S. military. The ships are not maintained by their own crews but can be placed back into active service within two weeks or less.

Persian Gulf War

The Persian Gulf War proved to be the first major test of American sealift since the Vietnam War. The MSC placed a number of assets into service by transporting American military equipment and vehicles to the Middle East for the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Prepositioned ships were the first ships to arrive in Saudi Arabia after August 1990 with American military equipment. Most of these ships remained in service to haul more equipment between the United States and the Middle East and carried approximately 19 percent of all American equipment, including their prepositioned loads.

The MSC's eight-ship Fast Sealift Fleet (FSF) played a significant role in the Persian Gulf War. However, one vessel, the *Antares,* developed boiler problems in midocean and had to be towed to Rota, Spain, and then Gibraltar. The *Antares* remained out of commission for the rest of the conflict. FSF ships are the fastest cargo ships afloat and can exceed 30 knots. Although they were built in 1972 and 1973 as SeaLand Corporation container carriers, the U.S. military acquired the ships in 1982 and 1983 and converted them to their current configuration. Each of the eight FSF ships has RO/RO-capable decks in the middle of the vessel as well as cargo holds for LO/LO operations in the forward and aft sections. Vehicles can be loaded by either RO/RO or LO/LO, and these operations occur simultaneously. Seven of the eight FSF ships sailed in support of the Persian Gulf War deployment and retrograde following the conflict, moving approximately 13 percent of all military cargo transported from the United States.

The Maritime Administration activated all 17 of its RO/RO ships in the RRF as well as 55 other RRF ships in support of the Persian Gulf War. The RO/RO ships were of the Cape class of ships, all with names beginning with the word "Cape" and ending in a word with a common first letter. For example, Cape D–class ships include the *Cape Decision, Cape Diamond, Cape Domingo, Cape Douglas,* and *Cape Ducato* ships. Cape D ships vary slightly from other RO/RO ships, such as the Cape H and other classes. Although slightly different, each Cape ship is an RO/RO vessel that has been converted from civilian service to meet the needs of the military and can reach a speed of approximately 16 knots. The 55 RRF ships carried approximately 29 percent of all Persian Gulf War cargo for the American military.

The Military Sealift Command–chartered freighter *Cape Ducato* (T-AKR-5051) enters port during Operation DESERT SHIELD, 1990. (U.S. Department of Defense)

The MSC also chartered American-civilian and foreign-flagged ships to assist with the sealift of equipment bound for the Middle East. American-flagged ships carried approximately 13 percent of the total cargo, while foreign-flagged ships hauled approximately 26 percent. The heavy utilization of foreign-flagged ships was the result of a lack of available American-owned ships.

Operations NORTHERN WATCH and SOUTHERN WATCH

The heavy reliance on foreign-flagged ships and delays in activating RRF ships served as important sealift lessons from the Persian Gulf War. In response, the 1992 Mobility Requirements Study recommended the acquisition of a new class of sealift ships—known as Large, Medium Speed, Roll-On/Roll-Off (LMSR)—for utilization in surge periods. The MSC acquired 19 of the new ships between 1996 and 2003. Four of the ships are container ship conversions, and the other 15 ships are new constructions. An LMSR, second in size only to an aircraft carrier when comparing military ships, is an RO/RO vessel but is also capable of LO/LO operations into some holds. Each vessel is capable of carrying up to 380,000 square feet of combat cargo. For comparison, FSF ships have 185,000 square feet of cargo space, and Cape-class ships vary in size. For example, Cape D–class ships have 178,000 square feet, and Cape H–class ships have 187,000 square feet. An LMSR can reach a speed of 24 knots.

As the military accepted the new LMSRs, they were placed into service supporting American forces in Operations NORTHERN WATCH and SOUTHERN WATCH or in the Prepositioning Program. LMSRs were not kept in constant service, and many reverted to the RRF for various periods of time. The MSC also continued to rely on FSF ships and other RRF ships in support of American forces deployed for Operations NORTHERN WATCH and SOUTHERN WATCH. The number and type of ships varied depending upon the needs of the military.

Operation ENDURING FREEDOM

The initial cargo for Operation ENDURING FREEDOM arrived in Afghanistan by air. Subsequent equipment and sustainment supplies have been dispatched via sealift. MSC ships transport equipment and supplies that are then transloaded onto civilian ships for final delivery to ports and overland transportation, as Afghanistan is a landlocked country with no port facilities.

Operation IRAQI FREEDOM

LMSR ships in the Prepositioning Program were the first ships to arrive in the Middle East with cargo to support Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in the spring of 2003. The MSC utilized ships from all of its programs during the buildup and opening of the conflict. Between January and May 2003 MSC ships delivered approximately 20.5

million square feet of vehicles, equipment, and supplies to Kuwait and other locations for the war effort in what is known as a surge operation. These ships included LMSRs, FSFs, and Cape-class ships as well as additional RRF assets and, later, civilian charters. After the fall of Saddam Hussein's government, the U.S. military settled into a long period of occupation, stabilization, pacification, and state building in Iraq.

The nature of the MSC sealift changed with the new military mission once Hussein's government was toppled. Sealift shifted into two components: force sustainment and cargo movement, the latter to support the arrival and departure of combat units. Sustainment operations involve the ongoing efforts to provide for the basic needs of military personnel including food, clothing, and personal goods bound for post exchanges. The military tends to send these items via commercial container ships. Equipment belonging to arriving and departing combat units is transported by MSC ships, commercial charter, and/or existing civilian liner service. The number and type of ships varies based on the requirements of combat units.

TERRY M. MAYS

See also

Aircraft, Transport; Fast Combat Support Ships; Logistics, Persian Gulf War; Military Sealift Command; Support and Supply Ships, Strategic

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SEAL Teams, U.S. Navy

The U.S. Navy SEALs (Sea, Air, and Land) are part of the U.S. Navy Special Warfare Command, which in turn is a unit of the U.S. Special Operations Command (SOCOM). SOCOM was formed in 1987 to better coordinate military special operations, including the U.S. Army Delta Force, the U.S. Army Special Forces, and U.S. Air Force and U.S. Marine Corps special operations elements. U.S. Navy SEALs have played important roles in Operations DESERT STORM, ENDURING FREEDOM, and IRAQI FREEDOM.

With nearly 2,500 members, SEALs have a distinguished tradition to draw upon. Tracing their heritage to the World War II navy frogmen who cleared underwater obstacles on Japanese-held islands in the Pacific prior to amphibious landings, SEAL Teams were officially formed by order of President John F. Kennedy on January 1, 1962. From the Vietnam War in the 1960s to the invasion of Grenada in 1983 and the 1989 invasion of Panama, SEALs played an important role in American covert and special operations missions.

While SEALs operate in small units from two to eight members, the organizational structure of the SEAL Teams is larger. There are eight SEAL Teams (four on the West Coast and four on the East Coast). Each team is subdivided into six platoons, with supporting units that make up a Naval Special Warfare Squadron.

SEALs have become a lead element in executing the Global War on Terror. From 2002 to the end of 2008 SEALS were undermanned by about 12 percent, but a mandate to remedy the shortfall has resulted in a slow expansion in their numbers. Since augmentation efforts began in 2005, the rate of completion for the Basic Underwater Demolition/SEAL Course has risen from 26 percent to about 32 percent. Training, at a cost of around $350,000 per individual, takes on average about 30 months before a SEAL candidate is ready to deploy to a team.

The international response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 led to Operation DESERT SHIELD and then to Operation DESERT STORM. Beginning in August 1990, SEAL Teams 1, 3, and 5 were in country and served in various missions. Prior to combat they operated on the Kuwait-Iraq border, gathering intelligence on Iraqi dispositions and helping to train Kuwaiti and Saudi sailors. SEAL Teams were the first U.S. combat forces to face Iraqi forces. When the war began in January 1991, SEALs performed maritime missions such as inspecting ships and capturing oil platforms. This included the first nonaerial combat of the war when SEALs assaulted Iraqis firing from a platform on U.S. helicopters. This SEAL operation killed 5 Iraqis and captured 23 others with no American casualties. Other tasks performed included combat search-and-rescue missions (including securing an American pilot who had ejected into the sea off Kuwait) and conducting beach reconnaissance to determine potential landing areas in Kuwait. Additionally, SEALs performed mine-clearing operations. During a 16-day period in January 1991, SEALs destroyed or rendered harmless 25 maritime mines. This activity went undetected by the Iraqis.

One SEAL mission during DESERT STORM was diversionary in nature and was designed to convince the Iraqi leadership that an amphibious assault was in the offing, fixing Iraqi coast defense units in place when the ground offensive began. SEALs planted explosive charges in Iraqi-held Kuwaiti beaches. These were later detonated remotely, part of a major deception operation involving more than 17,000 U.S. marines on landing ships off the coast.

The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq found the SEALs operating inland. During these conflicts they have performed various missions including covert combat action, escorting VIPs in Iraq and

Members of Sea, Air, and Land (SEAL) Team 8 prepare to enter the bridge of the fleet oiler USNS *Joshua Humphreys* during a boarding exercise. SEAL Team 8 provided boarding teams to assist ships of the Maritime Interdiction Force in its enforcement of United Nations (UN) sanctions against Iraq during Operation DESERT STORM. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Afghanistan, the rescue of American and allied prisoners of war (including the April 2003 rescue of U.S. Army private Jessica Lynch in Nasiriyah, Iraq), search and rescue of downed pilots, and the capture or apprehension of high-value targets. Some examples in Afghanistan include the search for Al Qaeda organization leader Osama bin Laden and Taliban Mullah Khairulla Kahirkhawa in February 2002 and stability operations performed with indigenous forces. In January 2002 Seal Team 3 searched for weapons being smuggled into Afghanistan. In the Iraq War, SEAL operations have included safeguarding offshore oil platforms and dams (the latter included the April 2003 capture of Dam 57 in conjunction with Polish Special Operations forces before Saddam Hussein loyalists could destroy it) and reconnaissance and intelligence gathering.

Operations in conjunction with both conventional forces and special operations units of the other armed services have expanded the SEAL missions as well. A major strength of the SEAL Teams continues to be their great flexibility, which gives them tremendous force-multiplying capability. They tie up more enemy troops defending against their real or perceived threats than their actual numbers would seem to dictate.

The conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq have taken a toll on the SEAL Teams. Between October 2001 and November 2008 SEAL deaths were estimated to exceed 25, a fairly large number for this small organization. By April 2010, that number had risen to 30. Decorations include a posthumous Medal of Honor to Master-at-Arms Second Class Michael A. Monsoor, a 25-year-old member of SEAL Team 3 who fell onto a grenade on September 26, 2006, in Ramadi, Iraq, to save the lives of his teammates. Another posthumous Medal of Honor was awarded to Lieutenant Michael P. Murphy for heroic actions in Afghanistan on June 27–28, 2005.

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See also

United States Navy, Afghanistan War; United States Navy, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence Joint Inquiry into the Terrorist Attacks of September 11

Start Date: February 14, 2002
End Date: December 10, 2002

The first in-depth U.S. government attempt to study the intelligence failures leading up to the September 11, 2001, terror attacks. Senator Robert (Bob) Graham (D-Fla.), chair of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and Representative Porter J. Goss (R-Fla.), chair of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, agreed on the need for a joint committee of the two houses to study intelligence gathering before September 11, which became the genesis of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence Joint Inquiry into the Terrorist Attacks of September 11. The Joint Inquiry committee was convened during February 14–December 10, 2002. For the inquiry to be successful, Graham and Goss agreed that it had to be bipartisan and would need to have the full support of the congressional leadership and the George W. Bush administration.

Despite assurances of support, however, the committee ran into opposition from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the White House. There was also little enthusiasm in Congress for the probe. It took Congress five months to announce the inquiry and another four months before the committee began to function.

The Joint Inquiry committee finally received its mandate in early 2002, and the cochairmen, Robert Graham and Porter Goss, announced its beginning on February 14, 2002. The committee had a 10-month deadline to accomplish its task of evaluating the intelligence record prior to September 11, 2001. In the first months, investigators for the Joint Inquiry began to compile evidence. Hearings began in June 2002. Those hearings in June, July, and the first half of September were held in closed sessions. In the second half of September, there were open hearings. Hearings in October alternated between open and closed. A final report of the Joint Inquiry appeared on December 10, 2002, but only 24 of the more than 800 pages were released to the public.

Eleanor Hill, a lawyer and former Pentagon inspector general, was the staff director for the committee. She had not been the first choice of the committee, but its first choice, L. Britt Snider, had run into difficulty because of his friendship with George Tenet, the director of the CIA. Hill was recommended by Sam Nunn, a former U.S. senator from Georgia, to Senator Richard Shelby (R-Ala.). Hill was a partner in the law firm of King and Spalding when she was offered the job working with the Joint Inquiry committee.

Hill's job was to supervise the creation of a variety of staff reports that pointed out intelligence-gathering deficiencies. Her crew had to comb through the 150,000 pages of documents from the CIA and a like number of documents from the FBI. Most of the difficulty was in obtaining access to the documents in the first place. Members of the staff also conducted intensive interviews and attended briefings.

Hill reported to the Joint Inquiry committee on all aspects of the intelligence picture before September 11. Among her reports to the committee was one on the FBI's failure to react to the Phoenix Memo (a memo sent from an FBI agent in Phoenix, Arizona, in July 2001 warning about the use of civilian flight schools by potential terrorists) and the refusal of FBI headquarters to authorize a search warrant for Zacarias Moussaoui's possessions. She also reported that the intelligence community had received at least 12 reports of possible terrorist attacks before September 11 but that nothing had been done about them.

A controversy developed when there was a leak of closed-session testimony from General Michael V. Hayden, director of the National Security Agency (NSA). The testimony was about the fact that the NSA had intercepted two Al Qaeda messages on September 10, 2001, indicating that something would happen on September 11, but these fragmentary messages were not translated until September 12, 2001. Despite the classified nature of this material, first the *Washington Times* and then the Cable News Network (CNN) learned of it and publicized it widely. Other newspapers also picked up the story. This leak led Vice President Richard Cheney to attack the Joint Inquiry committee as the source of the leak; he also reprimanded both Goss and Graham by telephone. This incident produced negative publicity for the committee and led Goss and Graham to invite the FBI to investigate the leak. Nothing came of the investigation, but it gave critics of the committee more ammunition. It also further clouded an already tense relationship between the inquiry and the Bush administration.

Cooperation from the CIA and the FBI was minimal. Only four CIA witnesses testified, including George Tenet. None of the key FBI agents appeared before the committee. Not surprisingly, Senator Shelby complained about the lack of cooperation.

The Bush administration had doubts about the Joint Inquiry committee from the beginning but was more than unhappy about the final report. The administration wanted the final report to be a validation of its position that there was no way September 11 could have been avoided, meaning that no one was responsible. As soon as the White House realized that the Joint Inquiry committee did not subscribe to this view, all cooperation ceased.

Officials in the White House worked to block the release of the full report, wanting instead to classify parts of the material retroactively. Consequently, the issuance of the full report was delayed, and significant parts of it were classified as secret. Most notable of the blacked-out sections was the section concerning Saudi citizens on American soil on September 11. Even the September 11 Commission had difficulty gaining access to the full report, but in the end it did come out.

In the final analysis, the failure to obtain key documents negatively impacted the 37-member Joint Inquiry committee. The staff had reviewed almost 500,000 pages of documents from intelligence agencies and other sources. Approximately 300 interviews had been conducted, and 600 people had briefed them about intelligence matters. There had been 13 closed sessions and 9 public hearings.

Once the classified report was rendered on December 20, 2002, the battle began over the classified parts of the report. The first agency to look at it was the CIA. The CIA classified whole sections of the report, including material that had already appeared in the media. This wholesale reclassification proved too much for the Joint Inquiry committee's staff. In a meeting with representatives from the CIA, the FBI, and the NSA, the staff went over the report page by page, reclaiming much of the material. The final obstacle was the White House, whose representatives wanted large parts of the report classified. The most notable section blacked out by the White House consisted of 27 pages that dealt with the relationship of the Saudi government to the September 11 conspirators. White House representatives wanted the changes to the report to be hidden, but the final unclassified version of the report has those areas shaded in black. On July 24, 2003, the final unclassified report appeared.

Although there were gaps in the report because of documents that were never produced, the Joint Inquiry committee did document the failures of U.S. intelligence agencies. Both the CIA and the FBI received specific criticism. The staff did uncover new information, including the Phoenix Memo, the Moussaoui debacle, warnings about possible use of aircraft as weapons, failures to monitor known Al Qaeda operatives, and lack of coordination between CIA and FBI, to name only some of the new information. The Joint Inquiry committee's most important recommendation was for the creation of a cabinet-level position, a director of national intelligence, to coordinate all American intelligence agencies and their activities, a post that was formed in 2005.

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See also

Bush, George Walker; Central Intelligence Agency; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Goss, Porter Johnston; Moussaoui, Zacarias; September 11 Attacks; September 11 Commission and Report; Tenet, George John

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Senegal and Sierra Leone

Two independent sub-Saharan nations located in West Africa. Senegal is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean to the west, Mauritania to the north and northeast, Mali to the east, and Guinea-Bissau and Guinea to the south. Senegal also surrounds Gambia on three sides. Sierra Leone is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean to the west, Guinea to the north and east, and Liberia to the southeast.

Senegal, officially known as the Republic of Senegal, has its capital at Dakar. The country's territory encompasses 75,749 square miles, with 318 miles of coastline, and the majority of the land consists of either flatlands or rolling hills. Senegal's altitude ranges from sea level to 1,906 feet at its highest point in the east. Sierra Leone, officially known as the Republic of Sierra Leone, has its capital in Freetown. The country's total area encompasses 27,698 square miles, with 241 miles of coastline. Sierra Leone's terrain includes mountains in the east as high as 6,391 feet, rolling hill country and mangrove swamps in the center and west.

Both countries have a similar tropical climate, varying between rainy and dry seasons that run between May and December and December and April, respectively. The population of each country consists of multiple ethnic groups. Senegal, with approximately 12.5 million people, has three major groups: the Wolof (43 percent); the Pular (24 percent); and the Serar (15 percent). The remaining peoples include the Diola, the Mandinke, the Sonnike and other African groups as well as Lebanese and various Europeans. Sierra Leone has about 6.1 million people, with 90 percent of the population belonging to African ethnic groups (30 percent Temne, 30 percent Mende, and 30 percent all others). The remaining 10 percent consists primarily of the Creole (Krio), the descendants of freed slaves, and a very limited number of Europeans and South/Southwest Asians.

Both countries feature a variety of native languages spoken by the various groups in each country. In addition to the official native languages, French is an official language in Senegal, and English is an official language in Sierra Leone. Islam is the dominant religion in both countries, practiced by 94 percent of Senegalese and 60 percent of Sierra Leoneans. Indigenous religions are more prevalent in Sierra Leone, with approximately 30 percent in Sierra Leone compared to just 1 percent in Senegal. Christianity is practiced by about 5 percent of the Senegalese and 10 percent of Sierra Leoneans. Both countries are members of the United Nations (UN), the African Union, the Organization of Islamic Conference, and the Economic Community of West African States.

Senegal's territory during its precolonial history was either completely controlled or partially controlled by three of the great West African civilizations: the Ghana Empire, the Malian Empire, and the Songhai Empire. During the latter two empires Islam gained strong footholds in West Africa. Under the Songhai Empire, Islam was established as the official religion of the empire, which encouraged the expansion of Islam in the region.

During the age of exploration Portugal initially claimed a sphere of influence over West Africa's coastline, including Senegal and Sierra Leone. The Portuguese primarily focused on trading for natural resources and slaves rather than attempting to establish an inland colony. Dutch and French colonies were established at Goree Island and Saint Louis, respectively. During the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Great Britain acquired control over the region but agreed to return it to France as part of the terms of the 1763 Treaty of Paris. France directly ruled Senegal from 1763 until 1960, when the latter acquired its independence.

Throughout its colonial period, France pushed farther inland, acquiring land that would be part of present-day Senegal. Senegalese soldiers served alongside French forces attempting to expand French control in Africa as well as in France's military during World War I (1914–1919) and World War II (1939–1945). Although Senegal temporarily joined with the Sudan Republic in 1960 to form the Mali Confederation, Senegal decided to become completely independent in August of that same year. Upon independence in 1960, Leopold Sedar Senghor of the Socialist Party of Senegal was chosen as the nation's first president. He served as the country's leader for the next 20 years, stepping down in 1980. His successor, Abdou Diouf, temporarily united Senegal with Gambia between 1982 and 1989, forming the Senegambia Confederation that eventually separated in 1989.

Senegal has remained relatively stable for much of its postcolonial history, with the major exception being a rebellion in southern Senengal's Casamance region, where rebels have opposed the government since 1983. President Abdoulaye Wade, elected in 2000 and reelected in 2007, is the first president from the Senegalese Democratic Party.

Sierra Leone fell within Portugal's sphere of influence during the 1500s and was called Serra Lyoa. By 1684 English traders established a presence within the country, which would allow the United Kingdom to dominate Sierra Leone until April 27, 1961, when Sierra Leone became independent. Freetown, founded in 1787, and the surrounding area served as a trading post for English traders, a naval base for English ships involved in operations to eliminate the transatlantic slave trade, and a court of admiralty to deal with ships captured by the British Royal Navy. In 1787 Sierra Leone also served as a colony for a small number of Africans living in England. Future settlement of Africans in the colony included free blacks from Nova Scotia, Canada, and Jamaica as well as the resettlement of slaves liberated by the Royal Navy's antislavery patrols. Sierra Leone eventually became a British protectorate in 1896.

From the 1780s through the present day, Sierra Leone has suffered much unrest. Neither British officials nor British trading company personnel were able to control or stabilize the protectorate. The reasons for this included ongoing conflicts among the

Men pan for diamonds near Koidu in northeastern Sierra Leone in 2004. During that country's 1991–2001 civil war, civilians were used as slaves to mine the diamonds that funded the rebels' war efforts. Even with the end of the civil war, the diamond industry struggles to reduce the number of "conflict diamonds" that enter the foreign market. (AP/Wide World Photos)

large number of ethnic groups in Sierra Leone as well as the various native systems of governance and landownership that were in use. After independence some of the same problems continued, and there were always questions as to who should rule the country. Initially the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) ruled the nation, but in the 1967 elections the All-People's Congress (APC) won but was almost immediately overthrown in a military coup. Within one year the APC returned to power, eventually establishing one-party rule. Corrupt leadership within the APC, however, eventually resulted in another coup.

Between 1991 and 2002 Sierra Leone suffered gravely as the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) caused enormous disruptions in an attempt to overthrow the government and gain control over the diamond-rich regions of the country. The government initially signed agreements with Executive Outcomes, a private military contractor (PMC), to defeat the RUF and restore peace and stability to the country. But the Sierra Leonean government, despite the PMC's success, was forced by the World Bank to terminate the contract. Executive Outcomes left and the government was overthrown, resulting in other PMCs and Nigerian forces restoring the legitimate government. However, permanent peace was not achieved. Eventually military forces from the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and British troops stabilized the country long enough to hold elections. In 2002 the SLPP won the elections; the RUF's political party failed to win any seats in the government. Although the political climate remains restless, relatively fair elections held in 2007 resulted in a victory for APC candidate Ernest Bai Koroma.

During the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf War, Senegal actively supported coalition forces in Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM by sending 500 troops to Saudi Arabia. Senegalese personnel were also assigned to the Joint Forces Command East (JFCE), which included Morocco and the military forces of various countries of the eastern Arabian Peninsula, and were deployed south of the Kuwaiti border at the beginning of the ground invasion in February 1991. During the early 2000s the terrorist organization Al Qaeda issued threats against French interests in Senegal.

Sierra Leone's political instability prevented it from participating in international peacekeeping or other military operations in Southwest Asia or the Middle East. However, Al Qaeda has established a presence in Sierra Leone and is primarily involved in the illegal diamond trade whereby money and/or guns are often traded for diamonds. It is believed that at least one Al Qaeda cell continues operating within Sierra Leone's borders. In the past Sierra Leone's Lebanese population served as a potential financing source for the government, and because many of the Lebanese immigrants to Sierra Leone are Shia, the United States has claimed that they are connected with or are members of Hezbollah.

Neither Senegal nor Sierra Leone have been involved in military operations after Al Qaeda's September 11, 2001, attacks sparked the Global War on Terror and Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM. However, the alleged presence of Al Qaeda operatives in both countries, especially in the volatile and unstable Sierra Leone, has been a source of concern for the United States and other Western governments.

WYNDHAM WHYNOT

See also

Al Qaeda; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Hezbollah

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Sensor Fuzed Weapon

Laser-guided (smart) air-to-ground area weapon that can accurately detect and attack multiple ground targets, such as armored columns, antiaircraft batteries, and motorized supply and personnel convoys. Designated as Cluster Bomb Unit 97 (CBU-97), the Sensor Fuzed Weapon (SFW) manufactured by Textron Defense Systems weighs 1,000 pounds and consists of the Suspended Utility Unit 66 (SUU-66)/B Tactical Munitions Dispenser (TMD) with 10 Bomb Live Unit 108 (BLU-108)/B submunitions inside. Attached to each BLU-108 submunition are four Smart Skeet infrared sensing projectiles that resemble hockey pucks. Each Smart Skeet warhead has a dual passive infrared and active laser sensor to detect and then engage a target within a 30-acre area. BLU-108 can be integrated into several American weapon systems and foreign dispenser systems.

U.S. Air Force combat aircraft deploy the weapon from altitudes between 200 feet to 20,000 feet at speeds between 250 to 650 knots. After the delivery aircraft releases the TMD, the TMD opens at a set altitude and dispenses the parachute-stabilized submunitions. At a preset altitude sensed by a radar altimeter, a rocket motor fires to spin the submunition and initiate an ascent. The submunition then releases its four projectiles, which are lofted over the target area. The projectile's sensor detects a vehicle's heat signature, and an explosively formed penetrator fires at the heat source. If each Smart Skeet projectiles does not detect and engage a target after a preset time period, it will self-destruct to leave the battlefield clean of unexploded warheads that could endanger innocent civilians, a serious problem with earlier cluster bomblets.

The weapon is most effective when employed at low altitudes from level flight attitudes in an environment void of

Two aviation ordnanceman airmen inspect a cluster bomb on the flight deck of the U.S. Navy aircraft carrier *Abraham Lincoln* (CVN-72) in 1998 during Operation SOUTHERN WATCH. (U.S. Department of Defense)

countermeasures. However, during the 1991 Persian Gulf War air campaign (January 17–27, 1991), most U.S. Air Force pilots had to deploy their air-to-ground weapons from medium to high altitudes to avoid enemy surface-to-air defenses. As a result, because the effectiveness of the weapon decreases as release altitude, dive angle, and/or time of flight increases from adverse effects of wind conditions, weapon dispersion, and aim point uncertainties, the Air Combat Command added the Wind Corrected Munitions Dispenser (WCMD) tail kit to the SFW. The WCMD tail kit uses the Navigation Satellite Timing and Ranging (NAVSTAR) Global Positioning System (GPS) signal to guide the weapon to a precise impact. The modification, designated the CBU-105, will expand the delivery envelope of the SFW to strategic aircraft and higher altitudes and will give the delivery aircraft some standoff capability.

Textron (then Avco) began concept development with the U.S. Army and the U.S. Air Force in the late 1970s for a weapon that could help North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces overcome the numerical superiority of Soviet armored and artillery formations in Central Europe. The original mission requirements called for a weapon that would provide multiple kills per pass of an enemy's armored force over a wide area in any weather. The air force began engineering and manufacturing development of the SFW in 1985. Over the late 1980s and the 1990s, the program office, contractor, and vendors overcame numerous technical and engineering challenges to produce the desired weapon. The end of the Cold War removed the original purpose for the SFW but opened the way to utilize the air force's strategic bombers to deliver large numbers of the SFW to the battlefield. The air force had the SFW system available for Operation ALLIED FORCE in 1999 against Serbian forces in the Kosovo War, but the Serbian Army never deployed its tanks in a sufficient concentration to warrant its use.

The SFW made its combat debut during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. On April 2, 2003, a Boeing B-52 Stratofortress, assigned to the 20th Bomb Squadron, Barksdale Air Force Base, Louisiana, took off for a typical 17-hour-plus combat mission. After striking an Iraqi ammunition dump in northeastern Baghdad, the crew received a call for help from a U.S. Marine Corps division being threatened by an Iraqi tank column. The B-52 crew maneuvered their aircraft to attack the enemy tanks, received the coordinates of the target from a marine ground controller, programmed its SFWs for release against the target, and released two of these weapons against the Iraqi tank column. The weapons destroyed

the Iraqi tanks from the first one-third to one-half of the column. Then, as the smoke from the attack cleared, the remaining Iraqi tank crews quickly exited their tanks and surrendered. Battlefield Damage Assessment reports from IRAQI FREEDOM indicate that the BLU-108 performed well against various armored threats. The Iraq experience with the SFW demonstrated the robustness of the weapon and has garnered it great respect for its capabilities.

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See also

Bombs, Precision-Guided; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Air Campaign; Navigation Satellite Timing and Ranging Global Positioning System

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September 11 Attacks

On September 11, 2001, the United States suffered a series of coordinated suicide attacks perpetrated by members of the Islamic terrorist group Al Qaeda, which was then based in Afghanistan and led by Osama bin Laden. On that day, 19 Al Qaeda terrorists hijacked four commercial American jetliners and crashed them into prearranged targets. Two of the airplanes crashed into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City. Another plane crashed into the Pentagon, the headquarters of the Department of Defense, in northern Virginia. A fourth plane crashed into a field near Shanksville in rural Somerset County, Pennsylvania, after some passengers, having been informed of the other suicide airplane attacks from cellular phone communications with family members, attempted to storm the cockpit and regain control of the plane from the hijackers. The White House or the Capitol were the most likely suspected targets of this plane. Excluding the hijackers, a total of 2,974 died in the attacks, including 246 from all four planes in which there were no survivors. The attacks crippled not only the city and economy of New York City but also sectors of the U.S. economy. Particularly hard hit were the airline and insurance industries, which suffered billions of dollars of losses. The September 11 attacks were the worst terrorist attacks ever committed against the United States, and the resulting death toll surpassed that of the December 7, 1941, Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

The George W. Bush administration responded to the attacks by declaring a Global War on Terror. The next month the United States invaded Afghanistan, toppling the Taliban government that

Fires burn amid the rubble and debris of the World Trade Center in New York City in the area known as Ground Zero two days after the September 11 terrorist attacks. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Selected Terrorist Attacks Perpetrated by Al Qaeda

Date	*Location*	*Deaths*
February 26, 1993	World Trade Center in New York City	6
September 10, 1997	Tourist bus in Cairo, Egypt	10
November 17, 1997	Tourists in Luxor, Egypt	70
August 7, 1998	U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania	200+
October 12, 2000	USS *Cole* in the port of Aden, Yemen	17
September 11, 2001	World Trade Center in New York City; Pentagon in Washington, D.C.; Pennsylvania	approximately 3,000
April 11, 2002	Synagogue in Dyerba, Tunisia	21
June 14, 2002	U.S. consulate in Karachi, Pakistan	12
October 12, 2002	U.S. consulate, Sari Club, and Paddy's Bar in Bali, Indonesia	202
May 12, 2003	Compounds in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia	30+
May 16, 2003	Spanish club, hotel, and sites in Casablanca, Morocco	45
November 8, 2003	Residential compound in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia	17
March 11, 2004	Trains in Madrid, Spain	199
September 9, 2004	Australian embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia	9
July 7, 2005	Subways and busses in London, England	52
April 11, 2007	Prime minister's office and police station in Algiers, Algeria	33
February 1, 2008	Pet markets in Baghdad, Iraq	73
June 2, 2008	Danish embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan	6

had given sanctuary and support to bin Laden and Al Qaeda. The U.S. government also enacted the Patriot Act in October 2001, a sweeping law designed to protect the country against terrorism by enhancing the power of the federal government to conduct criminal and intelligence investigations, engage in espionage, and conduct searches for communications records.

The four airliners hijacked—American Airlines Flight 11 (Boston to Los Angeles), American Airlines Flight 77 (Dulles, Virginia, to Los Angeles), United Airlines Flight 175 (Boston to Los Angeles), and United Airlines Flight 93 (Newark to San Francisco)—were all bound for the West Coast from the East Coast. Al Qaeda deliberately chose the flights because of their long distance, which meant that the large airplanes (Boeing 757s and 767s) would be carrying large amounts of jet fuel, thereby intensifying the destruction and explosions once the planes crashed. It is suspected that at least some of the hijackers had previously flown on some of the same flights from the East Coast in preparation for their suicide operations.

It is not entirely clear how exactly the hijackers gained control of the cockpits of each of the four planes, as federal aviation rules mandated that cockpit doors remain closed and locked during flight. The hijackers were armed with box cutters, however, and also mace or pepper spray. According to some passengers on some of the planes, the terrorists claimed to have bombs as well, although this was probably a ruse to control the passengers. According to the September 11 Commission Report, the hijackers probably opened the then-unreinforced cockpit doors by forcing a flight attendant to open them. Other theories hold that they may have stabbed the flight attendants to obtain a cockpit door key or somehow lured the captain or first officer out of the cockpit. During cell phone conversations as the attacks unfolded, some passengers on American Airlines Flight 11 reported that two flight attendants had been stabbed; passengers on United Airlines Flight 175 revealed that both pilots had been killed and that a flight attendant had been stabbed. However, passengers on American Airlines Flight 77 and United Airlines Flight 93 reported no in-air injuries or deaths, but the cockpit voice recorder of United Airlines Flight 93 indicated that a woman, most likely a flight attendant, was being held in the cockpit and that she struggled with one of the hijackers, who either killed or otherwise silenced her.

None of the airport security checkpoint supervisors recalled the 19 hijackers or reported anything suspicious regarding their screening. The hijackers were apparently allowed to clear security unimpeded. The September 11 Commission, however, concluded that the quality of the screening was "marginal at best," particularly given the fact that two of the hijackers had set off metal detectors and were then hand-wanded and allowed to proceed. The security screeners never resolved what had set off the metal detector in the first place, and airport video footage showed that one of the hijackers was carrying an unidentified item clipped to his back pocket, which escaped any scrutiny. In addition, although some of the hijackers were selected by a computerized prescreening program known as Computer Assisted Prescreening Passenger System (CAPPS) to identify passengers who should be subjected to special security measures, this only meant that the hijackers' checked bags were held off the plane until it was confirmed that they were aboard the aircraft. CAPPS did not trigger any further scrutiny of what they carried on the planes with them.

American Airlines Flight 11 and United Airlines Flight 175 crashed into the 110-story North Tower and South Tower of the World Trade Center at 8:48 a.m. and 9:30 a.m. local time, respectively. Due to massive structural failure, the South Tower collapsed at 9:59 a.m., and the North Tower collapsed at 10:26 a.m., killing a total of 2,603 in both buildings (including 341 New York firefighters and two paramedics, 23 New York City police officers, and 37 Port Authority police officers); another 24 people remain listed as missing. The collapse of the two huge buildings also brought down

A view of the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., one day after the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001. (U.S. Air Force)

neighboring office towers and badly damaged others, all of which occurred in a densely populated part of the city.

According to a 2005 report by the National Institute of Standards and Technology of the U.S. Department of Commerce titled "Final Report on the Collapse of the World Trade Center Towers," the impact of both planes as they crashed ignited thousands of gallons of jet fuel, which melted the thermal insulation, or fireproofing, on the interior core steel-support columns of the World Trade Center. That caused the floors to sag and then collapse. In so doing, they pulled and collapsed the exterior, or perimeter columns, of the buildings, reducing their ability to support the floors above. This explains why neither tower collapsed immediately upon impact with the aircraft. The aircraft impacts did not cause the towers to collapse; instead, it was the ensuing fires from the exploding jet fuel that ultimately brought the buildings down. The South Tower collapsed more quickly than the North Tower because there was more aircraft damage to the central core of the South Tower, which then collapsed the exterior or perimeter support structure of that building. The report also found no evidence to substantiate some of the principal conspiracy theories alleging that the World Trade Center was destroyed by some elements of the U.S. government by means of a controlled implosion using explosives.

Meanwhile, American Airlines Flight 77 crashed at 9:37 a.m. local time into the Pentagon, killing 125 people, while United Airlines Flight 93 plowed into a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania, at 10:03 a.m., killing all 40 passengers and crew aboard. It is clear from the cockpit voice recorder that the hijackers, who had gained access to the plane's controls, were aware of the passengers' assault against the cockpit and pitched the plane so that it crashed into an empty field.

The motives for the attacks of September 11, 2001, date from Al Qaeda's declaration of jihad (holy war) against the United States in February 1998. Bin Laden decried American foreign policy in the Middle East including America's military presence in Saudi Arabia, the site of Islam's two holiest shrines. According to bin Laden, American support for Israel and dictatorial Arab states such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia allegedly constituted proof of anti-Islamic U.S. policies. Sadly, the attacks of September 11, 2001, were but a tragic and devastating culmination of escalating attacks by Al Qaeda against U.S. targets around the world, including the August 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania and the October 2000 attack on USS *Cole* in a Yemeni port.

The fallout from the attacks was both long lasting and far reaching. No commercial air traffic was allowed for several days after the attacks, the stock market was closed for nearly a week, and the U.S. economy tilted toward recession as consumer spending plummeted in the weeks and months after the disaster. The attacks helped shape the Bush Doctrine, which would seek to

prevent further attacks by launching preemptory strikes against nations or regimes likely to launch terrorist assaults on the United States. The 2003 invasion of Iraq was a case in point. The Iraq War and the Afghanistan War have both dragged on, without resolution. Finally, the September 11 attacks shattered Americans' sense of invulnerability, which has helped the federal government erect a pervasive and powerful internal security state to complement the broader national security state.

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See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Bush, George Walker; Bush Doctrine; *Cole,* USS, Attack on; Dar es Salaam, Bombing of U.S. Embassy; Global War on Terror; Nairobi, Kenya, Bombing of U.S. Embassy; September 11 Commission and Report; Terrorism

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September 11 Attacks, International Reactions to

Although the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, targeted the United States, many other countries throughout the world were also affected. In addition to the 2,657 Americans killed, 316 foreign nationals from 84 different countries also died in the attacks, including 67 Britons, 28 South Koreans, 26 Japanese, and 25 Canadians. The shock and horror engendered by the attacks were truly international in scope.

Most public reaction and media coverage outside the United States was extremely sympathetic. The French national newspaper, *Le Monde,* declared "*Nous sommes tous Américains*" ("We are all Americans"). The British *Mirror* labeled the attacks a "War on the World." The Spanish paper *El Correo* ran a single-word headline: "Muerte" ("Murder"). Most world leaders were also quick to condemn the terrorists. Russian president Vladimir Putin urged that "the entire international community should unite in the struggle against terrorism," adding that the attacks were "a blatant challenge to humanity." Japanese prime minister Junichiro Koizumi said that "this outrageous and vicious act of violence against the United States is unforgivable." German chancellor Gerhard Schröder told reporters that "they were not only attacks on the people in the United States, our friends in America, but also against the entire civilized world, against our own freedom, against our own values, values which we share with the American people."

Perhaps even more moving was the spontaneous outpouring of sympathy from average people around the globe. Tens of thousands of people left flowers, cards, and other personal mementos at U.S. consulates and embassies in many countries. Vigils and prayers were held throughout the world in a wide range of faiths. Thousands turned out in the streets of major capitals to protest the attacks, nearly 200,000 in Berlin alone. Ireland proclaimed a day of national mourning, while in Britain the American national anthem played at the changing of the guard in front of Buckingham Palace. With many international flights grounded for days after September 11, volunteers in 15 Canadian cities took care of 33,000 stranded passengers—mostly Americans—who had been aboard 255 planes diverted from U.S. airports.

Sympathy came from unlikely places. Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi, himself linked to terrorism, called the attacks

A mourner weeps as she holds up the American flag during a special changing of the guard ordered by Britain's Queen Elizabeth II at London's Buckingham Palace to honor victims of the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001. (AP/Wide World Photos)

"horrifying" and counselled Muslims that "irrespective of the conflict with America it is a human duty to show sympathy with the American people." Iranian president Mohammed Khatami expressed his "deep regret and sympathy with the victims," while a visibly shocked Palestinian president Yasser Arafat denounced the attacks, repeating how "unbelievable" they were. Even the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea), a rogue nation considered by many a sponsor of international terrorism, offered Americans sympathy following such a great "tragedy." In fact, few people demonstrated anything but sympathy for those who suffered in the attacks.

Sympathy for the United States and the victims of September 11 continued when in October 2001 the United States led an invasion of Afghanistan to destroy Al Qaeda training camps, hunt its elusive leader Osama bin Laden, and overthrow the oppressive Taliban regime that had given refuge to the organization responsible for the carnage. On September 12 the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) had invoked Article 5 of its charter, which pledged mutual assistance in the war against Al Qaeda. This was the first time in NATO's 52-year history that Article 5 was invoked.

Pakistan offered bases from which to plan operations in Afghanistan and support in tracking down Al Qaeda and Taliban fighters. Simultaneously, British prime minister Tony Blair pursued multilateral antiterrorist planning within the European Union (EU). French president Jacques Chirac promised to stand with the United States, "fighting shoulder to shoulder" against terrorism. Many governments quickly arrested suspected terrorists operating in their countries. They also developed and implemented legislation aimed at combating terrorist organizations. While such measures were not without their critics, much of the world adopted more stringent security measures in the first few months after September 11.

This general outpouring of sympathy did not, however, translate into open-ended support for American foreign policy of its Global War on Terror. Many criticized U.S. president George W. Bush's worldview when he said a few days after September 11 that "you're either with us or with the terrorists." Some saw the Global War on Terror as a cover for extending U.S. power abroad, particularly when the Bush administration erroneously began to link September 11 terrorists with Iraq. Bush's controversial "Axis of Evil" reference, in which he grouped Iraq, Iran, and North Korea in his State of the Union address on January 29, 2002, struck many listeners as inflammatory and off the mark.

Reports by organizations such as Amnesty International would condemn the United States for the treatment of suspected terrorist prisoners in camps at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, where detainees from the conflict in Afghanistan were held. More than anything, international sympathy for the United States was largely undermined by Bush's decision to invade Iraq in March 2003 despite the fact that its major allies and the United Nations (UN) refused to support such action. Thus, the legacy of September 11 turned from one of sympathy and commonality to one of suspicion and condemnation.

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See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Bush, George Walker; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Global War on Terror; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; September 11 Attacks; Taliban

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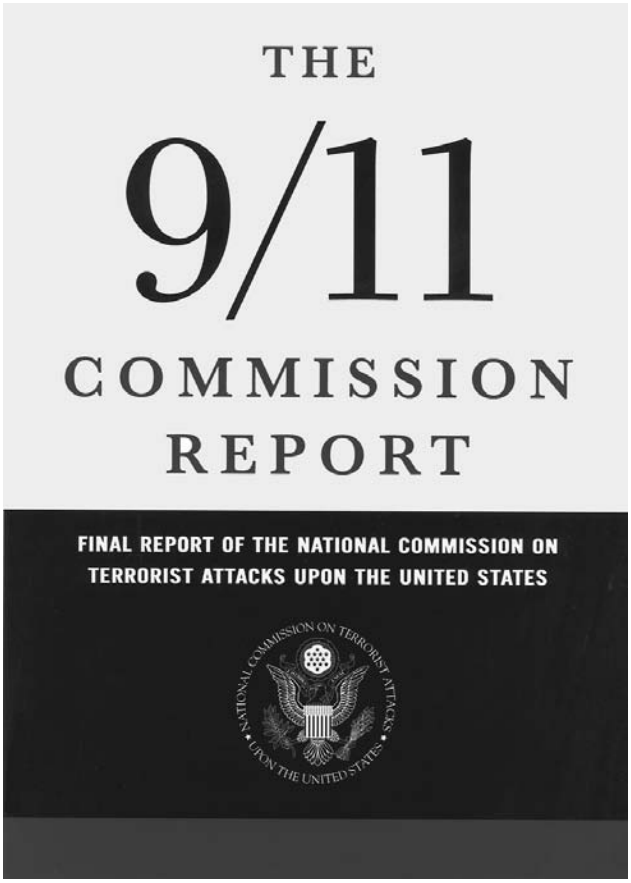
September 11 Commission and Report

Commission and report on the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States. Members of the Al Qaeda terrorist organization hijacked commercial jetliners and used them to destroy the World Trade Center towers in New York City and to damage a portion of the Pentagon in northern Virginia. Another simultaneous hijacking resulted in the downing of a jetliner in western Pennsylvania, killing all on board. Some 3,000 people died as a result of the attacks. The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, better known as the 9/11 Commission, was created by congressional legislation and signed into law by President George W. Bush on November 27, 2002.

Tomas H. Kearn was chairman of the commission, and Lee H. Hamilton was vice chairman. Other members of the commission were Richard Ben-Veniste, Fred F. Fielding, Jamie S. Gorelick, Senator Slade Gorton, Senator Bob Kerrey, John F. Lehman, Timothy J. Roemer, and James R. Thompson.

The commission's bipartisan membership and independence from the authority of any individual branch of the U.S. government was designed to ensure that political bias did not enter into its deliberations. Its charter enabled it to produce a full and complete account of the circumstances surrounding the September 11 terrorist attacks. The commission was also mandated to investigate and report on America's preparedness for and immediate response to the attacks and to make recommendations to guard against future attacks.

The commission examined documents dating back to three presidential administrations, including intelligence reporting and National Security Council staff minutes. The commission also interviewed hundreds of witnesses from midlevel to senior-level federal, state, and municipal officials and conducted interviews with some of the victims of the attacks. Although some commission critics have pointed to the vested interest of some of its members (e.g., Gorelick because of her authorship of one of the pre-9/11 government guidance documents that affected information exchanges among government agencies), few dispute that the commission's investigation and report were as thorough and balanced as could be achieved.



Cover of *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States*. The report, issued on July 22, 2004, provides the findings and recommendations of the 9/11 Commission in its investigation into the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001. (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks)

The 9/11 Commission's establishment and charter initially proved controversial, and the early debates over its formation were politically charged and passionate. Some government officials were afraid that the commission's deliberations and acquisition of intelligence reports would compromise sensitive sources at a time of war. Others saw it as a distraction from the war effort. Some Republicans viewed the call for an investigation as a Democratic effort to exploit the country's passions politically. Some Democrats believed that Republican calls for the commission to examine the evidence dating back a decade was an attempt to shift blame to President Bill Clinton, whose efforts to fight terrorism prior to the end of his term of office in January 2001 were largely ineffective.

In the end, the country's need to understand what went wrong and what was needed to face future terrorist threats won out. The commission's membership was divided equally between Democratic Party and Republican Party officials. Its membership included two former senators, an ex-congressman, a former White House counsel, a former secretary of the navy, two former governors, and three former Justice Department officials. Former New Jersey governor Thomas H. Kearn accepted the position of chairman, and former Indiana congressman Lee H. Hamilton served as vice chairman. More than 100 staffers, drawn from federal agencies and Congress, were assigned to support the commission in its work.

The commission's first challenge was to gain access to intelligence documents and the Bush administration's National Security Council (NSC) records. As other administrations have done in the past when dealing with congressionally mandated commissions, the Bush administration claimed executive privilege. The resulting legal battle led to several months of negotiations before an agreement was reached governing the handling of sensitive materials, including NSC materials. Once the majority of the government documents had been examined, the commission began to hold public hearings to gather witness testimony. Most of the commission hearings were public and were held in locations that facilitated access to the potential witnesses and officials. The first set of public hearings was conducted from March to April 2003 in New York City. The remaining ones were held in Washington, D.C.

The 9/11 Commission's classified report was presented to Congress and the White House in June 2004. The public report was released one month later. The findings contained some key judgments about America's warning of and preparations for the 9/11 attacks. The most significant conclusion was that it was a "lack of imagination, not lack of intelligence information," that prevented the intelligence agencies from predicting 9/11. Moreover, the U.S. government had sufficient indications of a terrorist attack using commercial airliners. Had it taken some key precautions, these might have inhibited, if not prevented, the 9/11 hijackers from succeeding. Several of the hijackers had overstayed their visas or were on terrorist watch lists, and a few of them had even been involved in suspicious activities involving aircraft (such as taking flying lessons without concern about landings or takeoffs). Reports of these activities, however, never reached the appropriate officials because of the lack of information sharing and cooperation among the nation's intelligence, security, and law enforcement agencies.

The 9/11 Commission strongly recommended that the federal government restructure its domestic security efforts to ensure unity of purpose. The commission also recommended the unification of the country's intelligence community under a central authority that would report directly to the president. Finally, the commission recommended Congress's inclusion in that effort. Perhaps even more importantly, the commission identified several shortcomings in U.S. capacity and equipment for responding to the catastrophic effects of a major terrorist attack and identified several areas for improvement. These included compatible communications and data-processing systems among state, regional, and federal civilian and military agencies. Those recommendations ultimately led to the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence.

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See also
September 11 Attacks; Terrorism; United States Department of Homeland Security

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73 Easting, Battle of
Event Date: February 26, 1991

Battle during Operation DESERT STORM fought on February 26, 1991, between elements of the U.S. Army VII Corps and the Tawakalnah Division of the Iraqi Army Republican Guard. The battle, which was part of the larger Battle of Wadi al-Batin, ended in a decisive American success and questions about how the outnumbered U.S. force was able to win such a lopsided victory.

During the ground phase of Operation DESERT STORM the U.S. VII and XVIII Airborne Corps undertook a left hook into the western Iraqi desert in which they skirted the western limit of Iraqi frontier defenses, the so-called Saddam Line. Both corps then made a great right turn with the intention of cutting off Iraqi forces remaining in Kuwait. On February 26 VII Corps came into contact with the Iraqi Republican Guard's Tawakalnah Division. The Iraqi division had been hastily redeployed to take up improvised defensive positions along the western side of the Wadi al-Batin, which marked the Kuwaiti-Iraqi border. The Iraqis hoped to delay VII Corps long enough to allow their forces in Kuwait to escape. The Battle of Wadi al-Batin refers to the VII Corps' attack on the Tawakalnah Division, while the Battle of 73 Easting was a part of the larger overall Battle of Wadi al-Batin. The term "73 Easting" simply refers to a Global Positioning System (GPS) coordinate. The Battle of 73 Easting was notable also for the fact that it was one of the few engagements during the war in which an outnumbered American force faced a larger Iraqi force in a stationary defensive position.

The main American force involved in the battle was the 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment, consisting of eight troops each of about 120 soldiers in 20–30 armored vehicles. Three troops of the 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment were most involved in the 73 Easting actions. Eagle Troop, commanded by Captain H. R. McMaster, took the lead and did most of the fighting, followed by Ghost Troop and Iron Troop.

Eagle Troop was acting as a reconnaissance unit for VII Corps when it ran into the 18th Brigade of the Tawakalnah Division late in the afternoon on February 26. The Iraqis had deployed T-72M-1 tanks supported by BMP infantry fighting vehicles, while the Americans had M1-A1 Abrams tanks and M-3 Bradley armored fighting vehicles. Weather conditions at the time were poor with a heavy storm limiting visibility, and the Americans could not call in air strikes because of the weather. However, the Abrams tanks and Bradley vehicles had the advantage of thermal sights, while the Abrams guns far outranged those of the T-72s. American tanks could also fire on the move, while the Iraqis could not. Eagle Troop found itself in a seam between the Iraqi 18th Brigade and the adjacent Iraqi 12th Armored Division. The surprised Iraqis quickly opened fire. Normal procedure called for the reconnaissance units to wait for heavier supporting units to catch up, but Iraqi fire was so intense that McMaster had no choice but to engage. At the start of the fighting, Eagle Troop consisted of just 9 Abrams tanks and 12 Bradleys.

The tank-versus-tank battle was over quickly, with 37 T-72s and 32 other vehicles destroyed in just 40 minutes. Ghost Troop and Iron Troop moved up to join in the battle. However, Iraqi resistance at 73 Easting proved to be unexpectedly determined. Iraqi tanks made attempts to maneuver and outflank American tanks, rather than remaining in stationary defensive positions, as was their normal operating procedure. Iraqi troops typically surrendered or broke and fled when their tanks were knocked out, but the infantry of the Tawakalnah Division continued to resist, employing rocket-propelled grenades. Ghost Troop was heavily counterattacked after nightfall and had to call in an artillery bombardment of 2,000 howitzer rounds and 12 rockets. Iraqi opposition finally ended about six hours after the battle first began.

The U.S. 1st Infantry Division arrived later that night to pass through the battle scene and continue the unrelenting U.S. advance. American losses in the battle were minimal, with the Iraqis destroying only one Bradley. A second Bradley was hit by friendly fire. Despite the ferocity of their resistance, the Iraqis proved ultimately ineffective in countering the American advance. Altogether, the Iraqis lost 113 armored vehicles and suffered 600 casualties.

The Battle of 73 Easting generated controversy after the war as commentators tried to explain how three troops of an armored cavalry regiment could destroy an entire Iraqi brigade. Some stressed the superiority of American technology and the woeful state of the Iraqi Army in which even the elite Republican Guard units fought unsuccessfully. Others pointed to the skill level of the American soldiers, arguing that their proficiency rather than the disparity in technology explained the battle's one-sided outcome. Still others thought that the air campaign that had preceded the ground phase of Operation DESERT STORM had been decisive in disorganizing the Iraqis' defense and their will to fight.

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See also
DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks; Republican Guard; Wadi al-Batin, Battle of

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Sèvres, Treaty of

Peace treaty between 13 World War I Allied powers (most notably France, Great Britain, and Italy) and Turkey signed on August 10, 1920, at Sèvres, France. Although the Armistice of Mudros had ended World War I hostilities with the Ottoman Empire in October 1918, the Treaty of Sèvres took another 20 months to conclude. As with many other treaties that ended the war, its terms were presented by the winners to the losers without negotiation. Unlike many other treaties, few of its terms were ever implemented. In 1923 the Treaty of Lausanne superseded most of the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres. It was thus the shortest-lived of the treaties ending the war.

Although the Allies (specifically France and Great Britain) did not envision the destruction of the Ottoman Empire in 1914, the Treaty of Sèvres confirmed what had become an established fact. The Ottoman Empire was officially dissolved, and the new state of Turkey appeared in its place. Consistent with realities on the ground, Sèvres removed all predominantly Arabic-speaking regions from Turkish control. The region of the Hijaz (in what is now Saudi Arabia) was made an independent kingdom and named a signatory to the treaty.

The creation of an Arabian state notwithstanding, the treaty denied independence to much of the Middle East, which passed under French and British control as mandates. While nominally free of foreign rule, Arabia was in reality under British suzerainty. Palestine and Mesopotamia became British mandates, while Syria and Lebanon became French mandates. The mandates were supposed to lead to eventual independence under the supervision of the League of Nations. The United States, displeased at what it saw as the furtherance of European imperialism in the region and never itself at war with the Ottoman Empire, declined to participate in the treaty negotiations. Nevertheless, U.S. president Woodrow Wilson secured the right to determine the borders of the new state of Armenia.

The treaty was an immediate disappointment to Arab leaders. The British had made grandiose promises of independence during the war to Arab leaders such as Sharif Hussein. In return for staging rebellions in the Arab parts of the Ottoman Empire, the British had promised Hussein and other Arab leaders that Britain would support the creation of independent Arab states.

The Treaty of Sèvres fell far short of those guarantees. Instead, it upheld the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 wherein Britain and France agreed to divide former Ottoman territories among themselves, although the treaty added the cloak of the mandate system. The treaty also reaffirmed the Balfour Declaration of 1917 in which Great Britain stated that it viewed with favor the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Nevertheless, the Great Powers took no definitive steps in that direction.

The treaty did not deal with the humiliations of the Capitulations, which had been solidified between the states of Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire since the 16th century. These involved unequal trade terms between the Great Powers and the Ottoman Empire and granted the right of extraterritoriality to foreign nationals. Under the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres, the Capitulations were effectively continued in relation to the new state of Turkey.

In addition, the treaty made the Bosporus and the Dardanelles international waterways. This provision existed mostly to prevent the Russian Bolshevik regime from claiming ownership of the straits. Armenia, the scene of a genocide during the war, was made independent, and Kurdistan received significant autonomy within the new Turkish state. Great Britain landed a force under General George Milne to guarantee the neutrality of the straits and ensure control of Constantinople.

The real humiliation for Turkey lay in the settlement of its European and Anatolian boundaries. Greece acquired all of European Turkey except the immediate area around Constantinople, which came under international control. The Greeks were also awarded the city of Smyrna, several Aegean islands, and large parts of western Anatolia. These areas were to remain under Greek control for five years, after which the Greeks were to conduct a plebiscite. Britain and France presumed that this vote would result in the annexation of these areas to the Kingdom of Greece. Finally, Ottoman finances were placed not in Turkish hands but instead under the supervision of British, French, and Italian financiers.

The principal architect of the treaty, British prime minister David Lloyd George, regarded it as the triumph of Romantic Hellenism and Christendom. He seems to have immediately recognized, however, that Great Britain could not enforce these terms. The Greeks were already showing an appetite for more of Anatolia than the treaty permitted, and Britain was facing intense domestic pressures to demobilize.

Most importantly, Turkish nationalists were showing determination to resist many of the terms laid out in the treaty. Brilliantly led by Mustafa Kemal, the hero of Gallipoli, the nationalists planned to overturn Sèvres. Most nationalists understood that reviving the Ottoman Empire and recapturing the lost Arab lands could not and should not be accomplished. They bristled, however, at any ethnically Turkish lands falling under foreign control. Kemal set out to regain all Anatolian and Armenian lands for Turkey.

Only Greece decided to meet Kemal with military force. The Greeks had 150,000 troops in Turkey, and Greek premier

Eleuthérios Venizélos was determined to use them to crush Kemal's nationalists. Kemal, however, carried out a brilliant military campaign in the Greco-Turkish War of 1920–1922. He recaptured Smyrna and its hinterland and then turned north to move on Constantinople. The Italians, who had come to view Greece as a more immediate rival than Turkey, agreed to withdraw their occupation troops after a defeat at Kemal's hands in Central Anatolia. The Italian decision led the British and French to also quit Turkey. Within only two years, the Treaty of Sèvres had been superseded by the Treaty of Lausanne, signed on July 24, 1923.

Michael S. Neiberg

See also

Balfour Declaration; France, Middle East Policy; Lausanne, Treaty of; Mandates; Ottoman Empire; Paris Peace Conference; Sykes-Picot Agreement; Turkey, Role in Persian Gulf and Afghanistan Wars; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; World War I, Impact of

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Shalikashvili, John Malchase David

Birth Date: June 27, 1936

U.S. Army officer and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) from 1993 to 1997. John Malchase David Shalikashvili was born on June 27, 1936, in Warsaw, Poland, to parents of Georgian descent. His father, Dimitri, had been an army officer in the Democratic Republic of Georgia until that nation was overrun and occupied by the Soviets in 1921. Both his parents fled the Soviet occupation and settled in Warsaw, where the couple first met and later married. Dimitri later joined the Georgian Legion, one of the many ethnic units raised by the Germans during the war. Although the Georgian Legion was anticommunist and opposed to the Russian occupation of Georgia, it fought in Normandy against the Western Allies in 1944.

The Shalikashvili family survived the devastation of the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944. The future American general was only 8 years old and had already experienced war at its most brutal. After the uprising was crushed, the Shalikashvilis were evacuated to Germany. In 1952, when Shalikashvili was 16 years old, the family immigrated to the United States. They settled in Peoria, Illinois, and Shalikashvili taught himself English in part by watching old John Wayne movies on television.

Shalikashvili attended Bradley University and majored in mechanical engineering. In May 1958 he became an American citizen. The following month he graduated from Bradley, and the month after that he was drafted into the army. After attending officer candidate school at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, Shalikashvili was commissioned a second lieutenant of artillery in 1959.

Shalikashvili rose steadily through the ranks, serving in a variety of assignments in field artillery and air defense artillery units. He served in Germany, Italy, Korea, and various places in the United States. In 1968 and 1969 he served as a senior district adviser in Vietnam. He also attended the Naval Command and Staff College (Newport, Rhode Island), the U.S. Army War College (Carlisle, Pennsylvania), and George Washington University, from which he earned a master's degree in international affairs. In 1979 he was posted to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, West Germany) as the divisional artillery commander of the 1st Armored Division. He later served as the assistant division commander and was promoted to brigadier general in 1982. In 1986 he was promoted to major general and assigned to the Pentagon as assistant deputy chief of staff and later as deputy chief of staff of the army for operations and plans. From June 1987 to August 1989, Shalikashvili commanded the 9th Infantry Division (Motorized). Promoted to

Polish-born U.S. Army general John Shalikashvili was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) under President Bill Clinton from 1993 to 1997. (U.S. Army)

lieutenant general in August 1989, he became deputy commanding general of the U.S. Army, Europe, as well as the Seventh Army.

Shalikashvili received wide recognition for his highly effective command of Operation PROVIDE COMFORT, the major humanitarian relief effort carried out in northern Iraq in the immediate aftermath of Operation DESERT STORM. Starting in April 1991, PROVIDE COMFORT was designed to protect, feed, and house several hundred thousand Iraqi Kurds who had been forced to leave their homes. In August 1991 Shalikashvili was reassigned to Washington, D.C., as assistant to the chairman of the JCS, General Colin L. Powell.

In 1992 Shalikashvili became supreme allied commander, Europe, and served simultaneously as the commanding general of the U.S. European Command. After being nominated for the position of chairman of the JCS by President Bill Clinton, Shalikashvili, now a four-star general, began his four-year tour as JCS chairman on October 25, 1993. Just prior to his confirmation by the Senate, the *New York Times* broke the story that his father not only had been a German officer in World War II but was also suspected of having ties to the Waffen SS. Although the Georgian Legion was not technically part of the SS, Hitler had placed the legion under the operational control of the Waffen SS after Wehrmacht officers made an attempt on his life in July 1944. While some critics of the Clinton administration tried to make an issue of Shalikashvili's father's past, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin defended him strongly by saying, "Allegations about his father's history are not relevant to General Shalikashvili's nomination to be the next Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

Shalikashvili faced several thorny issues in his new role. After the flap over gays in the military and the promulgation of the don't ask–don't tell policy, which seemed to have pleased no one, Shalikashvili worked hard to bolster morale in the armed forces and smooth over the dissension in the ranks. He also presided over the scaling back of the defense budget, which led to charges by some—especially on the Right—that he was complicit in the gutting of the American military establishment. The reductions in defense spending, however, were largely driven by politics, including the end of the Cold War and the so-called peace dividend, and the Clinton administration's desire to wipe out decades of budget deficits and national debt. Shalikashvili was well respected and well liked, and his steady leadership was crucial for Clinton, who did not enjoy harmonious relations with the armed services.

Shalikashvili stepped down in September 1997 at the conclusion of his term. He also retired from the army at that time, ending an impressive 38-year career. Upon his retirement he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, a rare honor for a military officer. Despite suffering a severe stroke in August 2004, he has been active in politics since retirement, having served as an adviser to Democratic senator John Kerry's failed 2004 presidential campaign and having publicly endorsed Democratic senator Hillary Rodham Clinton's 2008 presidential bid. Shalikashvili has served on a number of corporate boards, including that of United Defense Industries, and holds a visiting professorship at Stanford University's Center for International Security and Cooperation.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Clinton, William Jefferson; Kurds; Powell, Colin Luther; PROVIDE COMFORT, Operation

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Shamal

A *shamal* is a prevailing northerly and northwesterly wind that typically occurs in summer and winter throughout Iraq and neighboring countries. Winds are named for the direction from which they blow. Thus, Iraq's *shamal* (meaning "north" in Arabic) blows from its northern highlands toward Arabia and the Persian Gulf. These winds are capable of producing fierce sandstorms. *Shamals* are not restricted to Iraq, so *shamal* can refer to different weather events, as in the *shamal* in northern Egypt. Latitudinal variations in solar radiation produce world wind patterns. Near the equator, intense solar radiation draws substantial amounts of water vapor into the atmosphere. This creates the intertropical convergence zone (ITCZ), a belt of equatorial low-pressure systems that shifts north and south of the equator with the changing seasons. As warm moist air rises above these systems, the process of cooling and condensation produces precipitation. With its moisture wrung out, the drier air flows north and south beneath the tropopause, a ceiling of sorts separating the stratosphere from the troposphere. Dry air is heavier than moist air, causing it to descend north and south of the ITCZ to create high-pressure systems and desert regions.

Just as water flows downhill, winds blow from high pressure to low pressure regions. The Coriolis force causes winds blowing toward the poles to veer to the east, producing westerly winds, while winds blowing toward the equator veer westward to produce easterly winds. In the summer, high pressure dominates much of North Africa, but the ITCZ shifts northward over Southern Asia. A low-pressure system forms over India, bringing rain as part of the summer monsoon (Arabic for season). This leaves Iraq between low pressure to its east and high pressure to its west. Thus, rotational patterns cause *shamal* winds to prevail in summer on the Iraqi side of both systems.

During spring and autumn, *sharq* (Arabic for "east") winds take precedence, although these are normally southeasterly rather than easterly winds. Winter marks a return of *shamal* winds, which vary in duration. The most common of these lasts a day or so and may occur a few times per month. These *shamals* are associated

with the passage of storm fronts to the north. As the ITCZ moves south, so too does the belt of prevailing westerly winds, which periodically propels storms through Turkey. As the trailing edge of a storm passes through eastern Turkey, the low-pressure system generates strong *shamal* winds in Iraq. Longer winter *shamals* may last for several days or even for weeks in some areas.

Shamal winds can have a significant effect on military campaigns. During World War I, British Army lieutenant colonel T. E. Lawrence (aka Lawrence of Arabia) vividly recounted bone-chilling winds that made life miserable for Arab forces covering Lieutenant General Edmund Allenby's eastern flank during their winter offensive against Ottoman Turkish forces. Lacking highlands or forests to deflect or slow the wind, *shamals* in central and southern Iraq can easily achieve sufficient velocity to create blinding sandstorms or dust storms. Although desert soils are frequently sandy, those of Iraq contain substantial amounts of clay. When dry, the soil becomes like talcum powder. Besides making life miserable for troops, the dust can make weapons, vehicles, communications gear, and other equipment inoperable by clogging all accessible ports. *Shamal* winds that might not pick up as much sand can easily create dust storms from these finer aridisols (arid soils). Movement through these areas is made all the more difficult by the presence of sabkhas, or areas that may feature brittle, salty soil atop marshes. Winter *shamals,* which may bring rain or snow, can turn these regions into veritable mud baths.

A particularly strong *shamal* struck just as ground operations commenced during Operation DESERT STORM in February 1991, with rain making the sabkhas especially difficult to traverse. Although troops were forced to take fuel-consuming circuitous routes to cross the sabkhas, the *shamal* ultimately placed many coalition units upwind of Iraqi defenders, decreasing the likelihood of Iraqi chemical attacks.

Shamals are especially dangerous for aircrews flying at low altitudes. The hazards of flying across a featureless landscape are compounded by rain, sand, and dust. Air operations were repeatedly interrupted during Operation DESERT STORM by the severity of the *shamal.* This forced many American ground commanders to do without air support and destroy Iraqi units with armored forces.

Twelve years later, desert weather forecasting was much improved for Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. Forecasters provided early warning of the *shamal* that occurred on March 25–27, 2003. Although some air missions were cancelled, others succeeded because forewarned units prepared additional munitions, guided by the Global Positioning System (GPS), to compensate for poor visibility. Indeed, Iraqi units seeking to use the sandstorm as cover were devastated by these attacks. The predictability of *shamals* has not lessened their impact on military operations, however. Although the nature of combat changed with the advent of the Iraqi insurgency, *shamals* continue to make military operations more difficult to conduct in Iraq.

CHUCK FAHRER

See also

Defense Meteorological Satellite Program; Middle East, Climate of; National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency; Sabkha

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Shamir, Yitzhak

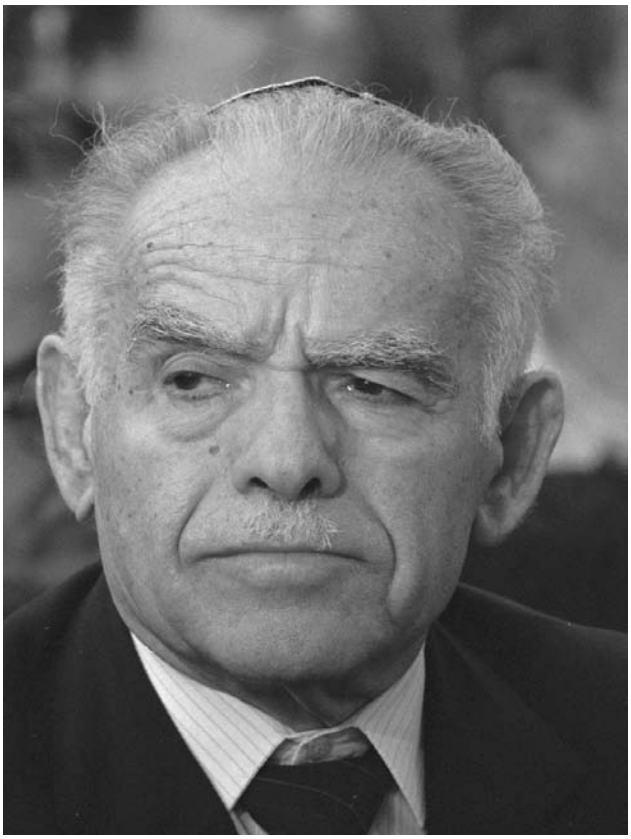
Birth Date: October 15, 1915

Israeli politician and prime minister (1983–1984, 1986–1992). Yitzhak Shamir was born Yitzhak Jaziernicki on October 15, 1915, in Ruzinoy, Poland (now in Belarus). While a young man, he joined the Polish Betar Zionist youth movement. His law studies in Warsaw ended when he immigrated in 1935 to the British Mandate for Palestine (Eretz Israel), where he ultimately enrolled in Jerusalem's Hebrew University.

That same year Jaziernicki formally changed his name to Shamir. He then joined the Irgun Tsvai Leumi (National Military Organization), a right-wing paramilitary Zionist underground movement in Palestine. Irgun was known for its immediate and harsh retaliation for Arab attacks on the Jewish community in Palestine and its advocacy of military action against the British mandatory government.

When Irgun split into right-wing and left-wing factions in 1940, Shamir affiliated himself with the more militant Lohamei Herut Israel (Israel Freedom Fighters), a group that was classified by the British as a terrorist organization and later became known as the Stern Gang (after its founder, Avraham Stern). Shamir was arrested by the British in 1941 and escaped from their custody in 1943 following the death of Stern in 1942. Shamir now became one of those who led the organization and who reformed it and renamed it Lehi. It was under Shamir's leadership that in 1944 Lehi assassinated Walter Edward Guinness, Lord Moyne, the British minister resident in the Middle East and heir to the Guinness fortune.

Shamir served as Lehi's principal director of operations until he again was arrested by the British in 1946 and exiled to a British prison camp in Eritrea. Shamir escaped from there in 1947 to the neighboring French colony of Djibouti and, although granted political asylum by France, returned to Israel in 1948 to command Lehi until it was disbanded in 1949. Shamir directed the 1948 assassination of Count Folke Bernadotte, the United Nations (UN) representative in the Middle East, whom Shamir and his collaborators saw as an anti-Zionist and in league with the British.



Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, shown here in 1991. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Shamir served as a Mossad (Israeli intelligence service) operative from 1955 to 1965 and then engaged in business until he joined Menachem Begin's Herut movement (which became the Likud Party) in 1973. Shamir was elected to the Knesset (Israeli parliament) in 1973 and two years later became Herut's chairman. In the Knesset, Shamir served on the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee as well as on the State Comptroller's Committee. The Likud Party's victory in the national elections for the ninth Knesset in May 1977 saw Begin become Israel's first non-Labor prime minister and Shamir become the Speaker of the Knesset. Begin immediately challenged King Hussein of Jordan, President Hafiz al-Asad of Syria, and President Anwar Sadat of Egypt to meet to negotiate a peace treaty. Sadat subsequently agreed to the Camp David Accords and the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty that extended full Egyptian diplomatic recognition to Israel in exchange for the return of the Sinai peninsula, which Israel had seized in the Six-Day War in 1967. Shamir presided over the ratification of the treaty in the Knesset.

Following the resignation of Moshe Dayan, Shamir served as Israel's foreign minister during 1980–1983. In that capacity he oversaw the posttreaty normalization process with Egypt, reestablished diplomatic contacts with African countries severed during the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War in 1973, and negotiated a postoperation peace agreement for Galilee with Lebanon. This treaty was later revoked by the Lebanese under Syrian pressure soon after Begin's resignation as prime minister in October 1983. Shamir succeeded Begin both as leader of Likud and as prime minister.

Shamir's failure to decrease the inflation that racked Israel's economy led to an indecisive national election in July 1984 and the formation of a government of national unity that allied Likud with the Labor Party headed by Shimon Peres. Peres served as prime minister, with Shamir serving as vice premier until October 1986, when Shamir and Peres rotated positions and Shamir again became prime minister. While serving in these capacities, Shamir and Defense Minister Moshe Arens collaborated with U.S. president Ronald Reagan and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger to advance U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation and free trade.

Following another indecisive election in 1988, Likud and Labor formed a new coalition government that retained Shamir as prime minister but did not have the rotation arrangement of its predecessor agreement. When this coalition government failed in 1990, Shamir formed a new government that included members of some ultraconservative parties and excluded Labor.

In 1991 Shamir's government ordered the rescue of thousands of Ethiopian Jews in Operation SOLOMON. At Washington's urging, Shamir did not retaliate in 1991 for unprovoked Iraqi Scud missile attacks during the Persian Gulf War that were designed to bring Israel into the conflict and break up the allied coalition. In September 1991 Shamir's government participated in the Madrid Peace Conference, which led to the 1993 peace accords between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) that began Israel's withdrawal from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Shamir's premiership ended in 1992 with the defeat of Likud in general elections. He resigned from the leadership of Likud in March 1993, although he retained his seat in the Knesset until 1996. Since that time, he has largely withdrawn from public scrutiny. In recent years he has reportedly been in failing health.

RICHARD EDWARDS

See also

Begin, Menachem; Camp David Accords; DESERT STORM, Operation; Israel; Reagan, Ronald Wilson; Weinberger, Caspar Willard

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Sham'un, Kamil

See Chamoun, Camille Nimr

Sharia

Sharia is Islamic law, which Muslims regard as divine and a guide to an Islamic lifestyle. Islamic law is not monolithic; many differences in its principles and positions have occurred, and it is

continually evolving. Sharia guides the believer's relationship with God (theology) as well as human relationships (ethics). Moreover, there are traces of tribal or customary law (*urf*) within the criminal principles of jurisprudence and penalties of Sharia. Especially since the terrorist attacks on the United States of September 11, 2001, but also earlier, some non-Muslims have attacked Muslims seeking to live under Sharia and have described Sharia in pejorative terms.

The term "Sharia" (Shari'ah) means the "straight path" or "the way." In the Qur'an (surah 1), which is part of daily prayers, Muslims ask to be guided on the straight path (*sirat al-mustaqim*) and not the path of those who have gone astray. Sharia provides that guidance. Reference to Sharia is found in the Qur'an in surah 45:18, where the Prophet is told that Allah (God) has "set Thee on the Way of our religion; so follow it, and follow not the desires of those who know not."

Sharia developed gradually over a considerable period and is based on the roots of jurisprudence (*usul al-fiqh*) as interpreted by Muslim scholars. The actual literature on Sharia deals with either the roots of Islamic jurisprudence, which differ slightly in each of the formal schools of Islamic law, or with *furu' al-fiqh,* the branches of Islamic law. The works on *usul al-fiqh* discuss the Qur'an as well as the hadith, the collections of the sayings and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad and in some cases those of his Companions or wives. The hadith are intended to illustrate the Sunnah, or tradition of the Prophet.

Islamic legal experts and scholars use the hadith, the Qur'an, and other legal principles of Sharia in order to determine the correctness of any action. The works that explain the *usul al-fiqh* acknowledge differences between scholars and discuss methodology. The *furu'* literature, on the other hand, concerns the ritual of Islam (*ibadat*) and social relations (*mu'amalat*). The first branch considers ritual purity, prayer, *zakat* (almsgiving), pilgrimage, fasting, and jihad, whereas the second might consider divorce; marriage; inheritance; the rules of buying, selling, lending, bequests, deposits, crimes, torts, *dhiyya* (compensatory payment to the family of the dead, or to the injured), or *talion* (retaliatory injury for injury); judicial procedure; contracts; rules about slaves; land ownership; the slaughter of animals for licit (*halal*) food; oaths; and many other topics, as virtually all aspects of life should be governed by Islamic law. Each action considered under the *furu'* is graded into one of five categories—neutral, reprehensible, forbidden, allowed, or recommended in Islam—and there may be further refinements of these gradations. In this literature, there are both expansive works with many subdivisions called *mahsus* and concise works called *mukhtasars.*

In Islam, the ultimate source of law is Allah. The Prophet Muhammad arbitrated disputes in Medina during his lifetime. After his death, lawmaking was carried out by secular rulers but also increasingly by scholars trained to be jurists. The Shia Muslims considered all the executive legislative functions of the ruler to be rightfully those of the Hidden Imam, so their scholars, *fuqaha* (those who make *fiqh*), were responsible for them.

An unidentified man, his face blackened, covered with cans and scrap, is paraded around Kabul on February 5, 1997, after being convicted of stealing 10 liters of diesel fuel. As part of its strict interpretation of Islamic Sharia, the Taliban normally chops off the hands of thieves. However, those convicted of minor theft are subjected to public humiliation. (AP/Wide World Photos)

During their lifetimes, the first four caliphs (*khulafa*) were considered the *rashidun* (rightly guided). They had an input into lawmaking as well as the arbitration of disputes. However, as the Muslim empire expanded, the need arose for a more formalized methodology to deal with the myriad of cases.

The first step to this formalization was the compilation and recension of the Qur'an. Next came the systematization of the hadith literature in the period between 800 and 960 CE. Some of these individual hadiths were considered sound, or *sahih,* while others were considered weak (available only from single sources or possibly incorrect). The collections considered to be sound or most accurate included those by Muhammad ibn Ismail ibn Ibrahim ibn al-Mughirah al-Bukhari, Abu al-Husayn Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj Qushayri al-Nishapuri (simply referred to as Muslim), Abu Issa Muhammad ibn Issa al-Tirmidhi, Abu Abdullah ibn Yazid ibn Majah al-Rabiah al-Qazwini (Ibn Majah), Abu Dawud Sulayman ibn Ashath al-Azadi al-Sijistani, Abu Abdullah Malik ibn Anas ibn Malik ibn Amr al-Asbahi (Ibn Malik), and Ahmad ibn Shuayb ibn Ali ibn Sinan Abu Abd al-Rahman al-Nasai. The most widely used today are those by Muslim and Bukhari.

The earliest collection of hadith was the *Muwatta* of Ibn Malik. He interviewed numerous individuals whose early family relatives knew the Prophet and heard key sayings from him. Ibn Malik was

also the founder of the Maliki *madhhab* (school of law). Bukhari then developed a list of more than 600,000 oral traditions, but he only accepted 7,000 as sufficiently authentic to be followed. This systematic approach to the collection of hadith literature was soon followed by the development of the *madhahib* (sing., *madhhab*), or schools of law.

The early *madhahib* were quite numerous, being developed by those who were disciples of scholars of the Qur'an and hadith. In addition to these sources of law, the jurists exercised opinion (*ra'y*) and used analogy (*qiyas*) and also consensus (*ijma'*), which could refer to scholarly agreement, or what scholars believed the consensus of the Muslim community at Medina to have been.

Another method was known as *ijtihad,* a form of creative inference and interpretation in making legal judgments. This process, coupled with practical application, led to a series of digests of legal rulings. From 800 to 1300 CE, these schools of law developed, matured, and consolidated until five Sunni schools had emerged as well as several Shiite schools. Today four Sunni and three Shiite legal traditions exist as well as the Ibadi tradition. The major Sunni *madhahib* differ in methodology and rulings, but they agree on the basic commonalities of Muslim practice, such as the need for prayer or *zakat.* The basic process that each school follows was generally the same, starting with the Qur'an and then working through hadith literature, followed by the consensus opinions of the Prophet's Companions and then their individual opinions. Failing this, solutions to problems could be derived through *ijtihad* at least until the 10th century or with reference to other principles such as *istislah* (consideration of the common good). Certain Sunni *madhahib* had put more emphasis on aspects of law other than the use of *ijtihad;* however, the tradition continued on in the Jafari *madhhab* followed by the Twelver Shiite Muslims.

The Hanafi *madhhab* was based on the teachings and writings of Abu Hanifa (703–767). He had the opportunity during his lifetime to meet some of those who actually saw and heard the Prophet speak and was thus able to ascertain some hadith from them. The *Kitab al-Athar* of Ibn Hanafi, compiled circa 750, serves as a key digest of hadith collections for this *madhhab,* while a number of other digests of legal rulings have come forth from its early days. Another important early writing of this school was the *Siyar* of Shaybani, written circa 800 and called the "law of nations," while another was *al-Hidayah* (*The Guidance*) of Marghinani, which was penned circa 1190. The Hanafi *madhhab* was the official school of the Ottoman Empire, so it is followed by the Sunni Muslims of Iraq and Syria and is one of the two schools followed in Egypt.

The Maliki *madhhab* was established by Malik Ibn Anas (717–801), sometimes called Imam Dar al-Hijra, or the Imam of the House of the Migration. A later Maliki work of Qadi Iyad ibn Musa al-Yahsubi called *al-Shifa,* written circa 1140, was an important collection of material on the life of the Prophet and its impact on the life of the Muslim. Maliki law prevails in North Africa and is characterized as being moderate; however, Maliki jurists, like others, are often influenced by the salafist movement.

The Shafii *madhhab* was founded by Muhammad bin Idris al-Shafi (769–820). Shafi was born in Gaza and belonged to the legal school of Medina, but developed his own legal school. The *Risala al-Fiqh of al-Shafi,* written circa 800, is extremely important in that Shafi created a conservative methodology different from the Hanafiyya use of private judgment and also distinct from the Traditionists of the Maliki and Hanbali schools. Shafi's method is rigorous hierarchy of the use of Qur'an, hadith, *ijma',* and then *qiyas* (analogy). His other great work of jurisprudence was *Kitab al-Umm.* Another important source text is the *Umdat al-Salik wa Uddat al-Nasik* (*Reliance of the Traveller and the Tools of the Worshipper*) by Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri, which was written circa 1050 and contains the rulings and concepts of Imam Nawawi regarding Islamic public and foreign policy. Among many great Shafi scholars were Imam Ghazali and Abu al-Hasan Ashari. The Shafi legal school is found in Kurdistan, India, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, Somalia, the Hijaz, Palestine, and throughout Southeast Asia and in some Egyptian and Chechen communities.

The Hanbali *madhhab* was developed by the disciples of Ahmad ibn Hanbal al-Shaybani (778–855). This school is considered by some scholars today to be more restrictive or purist than others. Hanbal's method of instruction revolved around a collection of 30,000 hadiths called the *Musnad,* and it was said that he knew 100,000 traditions by heart. Solutions to legal problems were sought first in the Qur'an and then in this collection, followed by recourse to the other sources of *fiqh* (*usul al-fiqh*) specified by Hanbal. Hanbal adamantly refused to allow his students to record his decisions. Hanbali law is not codified, and our knowledge of his own fatawa (response) comes from his disciples, including the two greatest hadith collectors Bukhari and Imam Muslim. Two of Hanbal's other followers were the distinguished jurists Ibn Taymiyyah (1263–1328) and his disciple Ibn Qayyim (1292–1350). Some of Ibn Taymiyyah's writings and ideas—for instance, some parts of his questions about the rightful authority of the Mongol rulers—have been instrumental in much of the salafist revival movement of the 19th and 20th centuries. The best collection of early Hanbali juristic decisions is found in Khiraqi's *al-Mukhtasar,* compiled circa 940. Ibn Hamid, Ibn al-Jawzi, Shams al-Din ibn Muflih, Sharaf al-Din al-Hajjawi, Muhammad al-Saffarini, and Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab are among the many Hanbali jurists. The Hanbali *madhhab* was followed in Jerusalem, Greater Syria, and Saudi Arabia.

Applying Sharia principles in the modern world is complex. Sharia is considered immutable, but in fact scholars created jurisprudence (*fiqh*) in response to the questions that arose. Although every aspect or action in life is to be considered on the basis of Sharia, investigation into questions of jurisprudence and responses by Muslim jurists is deeply shaped by precedent and the way that the question (fatwa) is formulated.

In the 19th century, the Ottomans partially codified their use of Hanafi law, to some degree in response to the thinking that Sharia ought to be more systemized as was Western law. Important

arguments were made during this century by Egyptian jurist Muhammad Abduh about the use of *ijtihad,* disregarding the strict traditions of the *madhahib* and instead using a kind of patchwork approach called *talfiq,* whereby a jurist could borrow from different legal schools.

As modern states subsumed or limited the activities of the traditional *ulama* (scholars), civil laws began to adjudicate individual activities, particularly in commercial, civil, and penal law. In certain countries, scholars only retained power over family law, sometimes called personal status law, and Islamic education.

This shift in legal authority has been contested by some in the Muslim world. The development of civil legal systems has certainly complicated the application of Sharia, as have developing civil legal systems that incorporate aspects of Sharia. This has led to advocacy by some to Islamize civil codes partially based on Sharia or to oppose further changes in them in the form of many proposed legal reforms. Still other groups have sought to establish an Islamic government based upon Sharia. This occurred in Iran, where the laws of the Pahlavi era were completely reworked.

Currently, many Muslim countries still include aspects of Sharia in family courts, maintain dual legal systems, or still incorporate Sharia in other areas of law. The use of Sharia impacts all areas of law in Iran, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, and parts of Malaysia and also in the criminal codes of Libya, Pakistan (now partially reformed), and parts of Nigeria. In the case of Kelantan in Malaysia, there is an effort to eventually impose Sharia on all aspects of life, as the Sharia law courts in that country have been gradually assuming many of the functions of the state-supported civil courts.

In Iraq there is today a dual legal system administering family law. Many elements of family law under Sharia have been classified as statutory discrimination against women by the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN). These also impact civil laws that were partially based on Ottoman law and included exemptions for those who carried out murder in the name of family honor and for rapists who married their victims. Supporters of Sharia have argued that incorrect interpretations of Sharia might have prevailed but that Western-style reforms will destroy the morals of their societies.

Much criticism has come from the West and the UN against penal codes that utilize the severe *hadd* punishments, as in Iran, Libya, and Saudi Arabia; in the revised penal code adopted in Pakistan; and in areas controlled by the Taliban. These included capital punishment, amputations of hands or feet, and lashings. Some Muslim leaders, such as Tariq Ramadan in Switzerland, have called for a moratorium on such penalties on the grounds that true Sharia is not actually being applied today and requires revision and discussion, but other Muslim authorities oppose his idea of a moratorium.

The major reason for considering Sharia in a study of modern U.S. wars in the Middle East is the disagreements about its role either in violent extremism or in political opposition to regimes backed by or in conflict with the United States, such as the Taliban in Afghanistan. Images of corporal punishment being meted out in public by the Taliban in Pakistan prior to reconquest of the Swat Valley evoked widespread criticism in the United States of the Pakistani government's decision to conclude a truce there with the Taliban.

Russell Rodgers and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Allah; Muhammad, Prophet of Islam; Qur'an; Salafism; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam

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Sharon, Ariel

Birth Date: February 27, 1928

Israeli Army general, politician, and prime minister (2001–2006). Born Ariel Scheinermann on February 27, 1928, in Kfar Malal, Palestine, to Russian immigrants, at age 14 Ariel Sharon joined the Gadna, the paramilitary youth organization of the Haganah, the Jewish defense force that protected kibbutzim (collective-farming settlements) from Arab attacks.

Sharon commanded an infantry company in the Alexandroni Brigade during the Israeli War of Independence (1948–1949) and was severely wounded by Jordanian forces in an effort to relieve the besieged Jewish population of Jerusalem during the Second Battle of Latrun. Following the war he founded and commanded a special commando unit (Unit 101) that specialized in reconnaissance, intelligence gathering, and retaliatory raids designed to punish and deter Palestinian and Arab protagonists while enhancing Israeli morale.

Sharon was criticized for targeting both Arab soldiers and noncombatants and was condemned for the killing of 69 civilians, half of whom were women and children, during a raid on the West Bank village of Qibya in the autumn of 1953. In an effort to end the criticism, in 1954 Unit 101 was folded into the 202nd Paratroop Brigade. However, it continued to attack military and civilian targets, including the Kalkiliya police station raid in October 1956.

During the 1956 Suez Crisis, Sharon commanded the 202nd Brigade in the Israeli invasion of the Sinai peninsula, capturing the strategically important Mitla Pass at the onset. Later he received

Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon speaks during a press conference at his office in Jerusalem in May 2001. (Ya'cov Sa'ar/Israeli Government Press Office)

heavy criticism for taking the pass rather than merely holding the ground east of it. Taking the pass claimed 38 Israeli dead. This incident hindered Sharon's military advancement during the next several years.

After studying at the British Staff College in 1957, Sharon commanded an infantry brigade and then the Israeli Army Infantry School. In 1962 he earned his bachelor of law degree from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He was appointed chief of staff of the Northern Command in 1964 and then in 1966 headed the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) Training Department.

Sharon was promoted to major general just before the 1967 Six-Day War, when forces under his command again took the Mitla Pass. He assumed leadership of the Southern Command in 1969. He retired from the IDF in June 1972 but was recalled to command the armored division that crossed the Suez Canal into Egypt at the end of the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War. His direction of that crossing and the subsequent encirclement of Egyptian forces is widely considered one of the masterpieces of tactical command in modern mobile warfare.

Sharon helped found the Likud Party in September 1973 and was elected to the Knesset (Israeli parliament) in December 1973. He resigned in 1975 to serve as security adviser to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin until 1977 and then became minister of agriculture in Likud prime minister Menachem Begin's first government (1977–1981). In this position Sharon actively promoted the construction of Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories. In June 1981 he became Begin's minister of defense, and in this position Sharon designed and prosecuted Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, known as Operation PEACE FOR GALILEE. Sharon and Begin deliberately expanded the invasion to include a drive against Beirut. Although the Palestinians were driven from Lebanon, the invasion intensified the Lebanese Civil War, allowing Syria to become entrenched in the politics of that country. The Israeli presence in force lasted three years (a limited Israeli force remained until 2000) and resulted in such a high number of Palestinian civilian deaths that worldwide public opinion turned against Israel. Following the September 1982 massacre of Palestinians at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps by Israel's Lebanese Christian Phalangist allies, Sharon was found to be indirectly responsible for failing to provide adequate protection for the refugees and thus resigned as Begin's minister of defense. This event overshadowed Sharon's diplomatic rapprochement with a number of African nations and his role in developing the first strategic cooperation agreement with the United States (1981), Operation MOSES (1984), and a free trade agreement with the United States (1985).

Sharon served in various Israeli governments as a minister-without-portfolio (1983–1984), minister of industry and trade (1984–1990), and minister of construction and housing and chair-

man of the ministerial committee on immigration and absorption (1990–1992). The latter post allowed him to double the number of Jewish settlements throughout the West Bank and the Gaza Strip during his tenure in office. He hoped that these settlements would not only provide a strategic buffer for Israel proper but also reduce the possibility of the return of these territories to Palestinian Arabs.

Sharon then served on the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee (1992–1996) and as minister of national infrastructure (1996–1998) under Likud prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu. As foreign minister (1998–1999), Sharon led Israel's permanent status negotiations with the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) and sought to promote long-term solutions to the region's water disputes and inadequacies.

Sharon assumed the leadership of the Likud Party after Ehud Barak's Labor Party victory in the elections of May 1999 led to Netanyahu's resignation. The failure of Barak's land for peace initiative at the 2000 Camp David Summit coupled with the collapse of his governing coalition and the eruption of Palestinian violence led to Barak's defeat by Sharon in the general election of February 2001, even though much of the civil violence was precipitated by Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount on September 28, 2000. The ensuing violence was known as the Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada (2000–2004).

Palestinians charged that as prime minister, Sharon pursued a policy of confrontation and nonnegotiation. On July 2004, he also angered the French government when he called for French Jews to immigrate to Israel following an upswing in anti-Semitic incidents in France. With 600,000 Jews, France had the largest Jewish population after the United States and Israel.

In 2004 Sharon began a bold policy of disengagement, or unilateral withdrawal, from the Gaza Strip, a policy opposed by his own Likud Party but supported by the Labor Party, the U.S. government, and many European nations. In January 2005 Labor Party leader Shimon Peres accepted the position of vice premier in Sharon's unity government that included members of Likud, Labor, Meimad, and United Torah Judaism. Sharon completed the withdrawal from Gaza of all Israeli settlers on August 30, 2005, and the destruction of all Israeli settlements and the complete withdrawal of the Israeli military on September 11, 2005.

Sharon narrowly defeated a challenge to his leadership of Likud by Netanyahu on September 27, 2005, and then on November 21, 2005, resigned his Likud position, dissolved parliament, formed a new center-right party known as Kadima (Forward), and set new elections for March 2006. On December 18, 2005, Sharon was hospitalized for what was thought to be a minor stroke and released. However, he suffered a massive cerebral hemorrhage at his Sycamore Ranch in the Negev region on January 4, 2006. He remains in a persistent vegetative state with little potential for recovery. On April 11, 2006, the Israeli cabinet declared Sharon incapacitated and ended his prime ministership three days later, naming Ehud Olmert as interim prime minister, a position made official after Kadima won the most Knesset seats in the national election. Perhaps the most controversial of Sharon's projects as prime minister was a security wall designed to separate and secure Israel proper from territory to be ceded to the Palestinians.

RICHARD EDWARDS

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arafat, Yasser; Begin, Menachem; Intifada, Second; Katyusha Rocket; Lebanon; Netanyahu, Benjamin; Palestine Liberation Organization; Rabin, Yitzhak; Suez Crisis

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SHARP EDGE, Operation
Start Date: June 2, 1990
End Date: January 9, 1991

Evacuation of noncombatant personnel from the U.S. embassy in Liberia. By mid-1990 increasing internal unrest threatened U.S. diplomats and civilians living and working in Liberia; the situation in Liberia had been steadily deteriorating for a decade. On April 12, 1980, army master sergeant Samuel K. Doe led a coup that overthrew the government in Monrovia. Doe suspended the constitution and imposed martial law. A new constitution was drafted, and on October 15, 1985, elections were held. Doe was elected president and was inaugurated on January 16, 1986.

In December 1989 Charles Taylor began an insurgency against the Doe government. Taylor's insurgent organization became known as the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). The organization grew in strength as dissatisfaction with Doe increased. As the NPFL gained strength it mounted military operations against the Doe government, and a civil war ensued. As the fighting spread from the interior toward the Liberian capital of Monrovia, President George H. W. Bush ordered an amphibious ready group consisting of four U.S. warships and 2,300 U.S. marines to proceed to the vicinity of Monrovia and be prepared to evacuate noncombatants and protect key U.S. installations there (which included a number of sensitive communications sites).

Amphibious Squadron Four, which had been undergoing an upkeep period in Toulon, France, included the *Saipan* (LHA-2), a Tarawa-class amphibious assault ship; the *Ponce* (LPD-15), an Austin-class amphibious transport dock; the *Sumter* (LST-1181), a Newport-class tank landing ship; the Spruance-class destroyer *Peterson* (DD-969); and Fleet Surgical Team Two. The amphibious ready group embarked elements of the 22nd Marine Expeditionary Unit (MEU), including Battalion Landing Team (BLT) 2/4, and departed on May 27, 1990, for the coast of Liberia. Additional units supporting the mission included Marine Medium Helicopter

A Liberian citizen about to be frisked by a U.S. marine aboard the tank landing ship *Barnstable County* on September 6, 1990. During the Liberian Civil War, Operation SHARP EDGE evacuated citizens from the war-torn country in U.S. Navy ships. (U.S. Navy)

Squadron (HMM) 261 (Reinforced) and MEU Service Support Group (MSSG) 22.

As the amphibious ready group made its way toward Liberia, the situation there grew more perilous, particularly in Monrovia. The navy decided that it needed to get a helicopter-borne force within range of Monrovia as quickly as possible. The *Saipan* group could not close this distance until June 3, however, so the decision was made to put a Boeing CH-46 Sea Knight helicopter and a 75-man security force composed of a reinforced marine rifle platoon and a SEAL detachment on the *Peterson* to sprint ahead of the *Saipan* group. The *Peterson* arrived off Monrovia on June 2, but the situation in the capital had changed somewhat for the better, and it was deemed not necessary to deploy the security force to Monrovia at that point.

During June and July and into the first days of August, the NPFL and a splinter group, the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL) under Prince Johnson, slowly tightened a noose around Monrovia. At the end of July the fighting intensified and threatened the U.S. embassy; subsequently the amphibious ready group and the marines afloat were put on alert. The killing of approximately 200 civilians at the Lutheran Church of Monrovia added a new sense of urgency to the situation.

On August 4 Prince Johnson began rounding up foreigners and threatened to take U.S. hostages. That evening the U.S. ambassador advised the forces afloat that he was requesting assistance from the president. Shortly thereafter the amphibious ready group was given the order to secure the U.S. embassy and evacuate embassy personnel, U.S. citizens, and designated foreign nationals. Additionally, they were to evacuate U.S. workers at the telecommunication and receiver sites.

At 9:00 a.m. on August 5, 1990, marines from Echo Company, 2nd Battalion, 4th Marines, boarded helicopters and flew to the American communications sites. There they rescued 21 U.S. citizens. Simultaneously, a mix of CH-46s and Sikorsky Ch-53s Sea Stallion landed 234 marines from Hotel Company, 2nd Battalion, 4th Marines, at the U.S. embassy compound in Monrovia. Once on the ground, they evacuated not only 330 Americans but also Canadian, French, Italian, and some Liberian nationals. By the time the

noncombatant operation was over on August 21, the marines had rescued 1,600 people.

On August 21 the original four-ship amphibious ready group was relieved by a two-ship amphibious force, which remained until November to assist the U.S. embassy and continue the evacuation of noncombatants. The 22nd MEU was relieved by the 26th MEU embarked on the *Inchon* (LPH-12), an Iwo Jima–class amphibious assault ship. The last amphibious ship, the *Nashville,* an Austin-class amphibious transport dock, left the coast of Liberia on January 9, 1991, ending the operation. A total of 2,609 people were evacuated from Liberia between August 5 and the departure of the *Nashville.* Additionally, sailors and marines from the task force provided humanitarian assistance, airlifting food, water, fuel, and medical supplies to the ravaged capital city.

Little has been written about this operation because it was overshadowed by Iraq's seizure of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, and the subsequent U.S. and coalition troop buildup in the Middle East (Operation DESERT SHIELD). However, at the time, SHARP EDGE was the longest-running noncombatant evacuation operation in recent naval history.

JAMES H. WILLBANKS

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation

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Shatt al-Arab Waterway

A 120-mile waterway formed by the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers at Qurnah in the Basra governorate in southern Iraq and fed by a number of Iranian tributaries, of which the Karun River is the largest. The waterway traverses the eastern edge of the Faw (Fao) peninsula and empties into the Persian Gulf near Kuwait. Its southern half delineates the border between Iraq and Iran. Shatt al-Arab is Arabic for the "coast/shore of the Arabs." The Shatt al-Arab is Iraq's only access to the sea and is thus essential to Iraq's oil exportation and the importation of goods and commodities. Iran uses the waterway for the same purposes.

Alluvial deposits from the waterway's feeder rivers created an expansive marsh that remains the home of the 5,000-year-old Marsh Arab culture and people. These deposits continue to expand the delta at the mouth of the waterway on the Persian Gulf. The Shatt al-Arab shrinks from a width of one-half mile at its mouth to 120 feet at the Iraqi port city of Basra. Constant dredging is necessary to keep the waterway open to Basra and the Iranian port cities of Abadan and Khorramshahr. The legal course of the waterway is disputed between Iraq and Iran, because in the distant past the Tigris and Euphrates rivers flowed into the Persian Gulf more to the west than they do today and because the shifting delta now separates Abadan from the Gulf by 30 miles. About 1,000 years ago the city was situated at the head of the Gulf.

The earliest-known dispute over the waterway was resolved by the 1639 CE Treaty of Zohab between the Turkish Ottoman Empire, whose territory included current-day Iraq, and Persia, renamed Iran in 1935. A later dispute was resolved by the 1847 Second Treaty of Erzurum, with the British supporting the Ottomans' claim to both banks of the waterway and the Russians supporting the Persian claim to the eastern bank, which granted Persia rights of navigation on the waterway. The dispute continued, and a 1913 protocol signed in Constantinople gave Persia control of the eastern bank with expanded control to the middle of the waterway at Abadan and Khorramshahr, allowing easier navigation into and out of Iranian ports. World War I, however, halted implementation of this protocol. A 1935 British-led international commission gave Iran control of the approaches to Abadan and Khorramshahr while granting Iraq (renamed by the League of Nations in 1920 after the post–World War I division of the Ottoman Empire) complete control of the rest of the Shatt al-Arab and its delta.

As the economic importance of oil exportation to Iraq and Iran increased in the 1960s and 1970s, so did tensions and disputes over the Shatt al-Arab waterway. The 1975 Iran-Iraq Algiers Accord divided sovereignty using straight lines connecting at the waterway's deepest points (the thalweg principle), with Iraq controlling the waterway westward of the line and Iran controlling the waterway eastward of the line.

Believing that Iraq's greatest weakness was the Shatt al-Arab, the artery through which Iraq's oil passed, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein in 1980 verbally abrogated the 1975 accord, claimed sovereignty over both banks, and invaded Iran, sparking the Iran-Iraq War. Iraq initially took control of the waterway in the Iran-Iraq War. Iraqi fears about the waterway were realized when in 1987 Iran captured Iraq's Faw peninsula, blocking most of Iraq's export-import activities. The original pre-1980 accord boundaries were restored when the war ended in 1988. Hussein renounced his stated abrogation of the Algiers Accord in 1990, mollifying Iran prior to Iraq's 1990 invasion and occupation of Kuwait.

Although the 1991 Persian Gulf War removed Hussein's forces from Kuwait, the cessation of the war before Hussein was ousted led President George H. W. Bush to urge an internal revolt against Hussein. Responding to this call, the Marsh Arabs joined a short-lived (March 1991) Shiite uprising in southern Iraq. Hussein brutally crushed the rebellion and began draining the marshes by channeling the Tigris and Euphrates rivers directly into the Shatt al-Arab, essentially converting the wetlands into a desert. This decimated and dispersed the Marsh Arab population.

The waterway was an initial target in the Anglo-American–led 2003 Iraq invasion that ousted Hussein and overthrew Iraq's Sunni-led Baathist government. British Royal Marines employed the 1987 Iranian tactic and captured the Faw peninsula, severing Iraq's main economic artery. Restoration of the marshlands began

in 2003 following the end of organized Iraqi military resistance, and by 2007 the marsh had been restored to approximately 50 percent of the area it comprised prior to the Iran-Iraq War.

In June 2004 the Iranians seized British Royal Marines patrolling the waterway and released them a few days later. United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1723, passed in 2006, mandated that the British patrol, interdict contraband on, and keep the waterway open from Basra to the Persian Gulf. On May 23, 2007, the Iranians seized 15 British Royal Navy personnel patrolling the waterway and released them 13 days later. The incident increased the already strained relations between Iran and the West.

RICHARD EDWARDS

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Faw Peninsula; Hussein, Saddam; Iran; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Marsh Arabs; Persian Gulf; Persian Gulf War, Cease-Fire Agreement

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Sheehan, Cindy Lee Miller

Birth Date: July 10, 1957

Prominent antiwar activist made famous by her outspoken opposition to the Iraq War and to the George W. Bush administration in general. Born on July 10, 1957, in Los Angeles, California, Cindy Lee Miller Sheehan was a Catholic youth pastor and mother of four in suburban California but entered the national spotlight in 2005 as an audacious and outspoken critic of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. Her activism was motivated by the April 2004 death in Iraq of her son, 24-year-old Army Specialist Casey Sheehan. Citing his memory, she became a key organizer of Gold Star Families for Peace and founded the Camp Casey installation in August 2005 near President Bush's ranch in Crawford, Texas.

Sheehan has stated that she had been a tepid critic of President Bush all along and was immediately skeptical of the invasion of Iraq in March 2003. She claimed that she had been surprised when her son enlisted in the army in 2000, but it was her grief over his death that galvanized her public dissension. Unable to recover from her loss, Sheehan embarked on a public campaign to challenge the war, demanding more information from Bush and other officials about the cause for which her son had died.

In August 2005 Sheehan began a three-week vigil outside the president's Crawford, Texas, ranch, vowing not to move until he granted her a meeting and an explanation for the war and its aftermath. According to Sheehan, she and her immediate family had met with the president in a condolence visit shortly after Casey's death; Bush did not, however, agree to meet again. Although her stint at Camp Casey failed to achieve the intended results, it did channel an unprecedented level of media attention onto the antiwar movement. Many argue that Sheehan's actions reinvigorated opposition to the war, which had flagged after its failure to prevent the initial invasion of Iraq.

Camp Casey transformed Sheehan into a highly visible public figure and an internationally recognized speaker and activist. She became a fixture at antiwar demonstrations and secured audiences with a number of celebrities and politicians, including controversial Venezuelan leader Hugo Chavez. Additionally, Sheehan has published two books, *Peace Mom* (2006), an autobiographical account of her development as an activist, and *Dear President Bush* (2006), a collection of essays. Through her work, she has promoted a platform of "matriotism," an antiwar perspective that she deemed the opposite of militaristic patriotism. Matriotism, as Sheehan has articulated it, eschews all war (except for explicitly defensive purposes) on the grounds that it kills other mothers' children. Because everyone has or had a mother and because

War protestor Cindy Sheehan carries a cross on the road leading to President George W. Bush's ranch in Crawford, Texas, April 14, 2006. (AP/Wide World Photos)

motherhood is the essence of caring, Sheehan reasons, all mothers should oppose war on ethical grounds.

Predictably, Sheehan's philosophy and actions have drawn a great deal of controversy. She has been the subject of multiple arrests, and her husband, who disagreed with activism, filed for divorce while she was entrenched at Camp Casey. Many of the criticisms of Sheehan's work are deeply personal, in large part because her efforts are often couched in and motivated explicitly by her own loss. Some question whether her project is as altruistic as it might appear, while others resent the way in which her actions monopolized the attention of the media and came to represent the entirety of the otherwise diverse peace movement. Perhaps the greatest debate over Sheehan's message is whether or not it has dishonored the war dead; many have argued that describing the war as senseless is disrespectful not only to her son but also to all the others who have died in the conflict. Consequently, other Gold Star families have undertaken a media campaign proclaiming that Sheehan does not speak for them because they support the cause for which their loved ones had died.

Despite her early tenacity, Sheehan publicly resigned from the peace movement in May 2007. Citing a need to return to mothering her surviving children and the ineffectiveness of antiwar organizing, she posted an open letter announcing her departure on the liberal Web site DailyKos and has largely disappeared from the public scene. Although she has formally renounced antiwar activism, Sheehan remains a sharply polarizing figure, a target of criticism for some and a source of inspiration for others.

Rebecca A. Adelman

See also

Antiwar Movements, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Bush, George Walker; Casualties, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM

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Shehhi, Marwan al-

Birth Date: May 9, 1978
Death Date: September 11, 2001

One of the key figures in the hijacking of American jetliners on September 11, 2001, who was the hijackers' pilot for United Airlines Flight 175 that crashed into the South Tower of the World Trade Center complex on September 11. Marwan Yousef Muhammed Rashid Lekrab al-Shehhi was born on May 9, 1978, and raised in Ras al-Khaimah in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Ras al-Khaymah was one of the poorest and most conservative of the emirates. The family, which was quite religious, was a member of the Shooh Bedouin tribe. His father served as the *'adhan* (muezzin), the person who chants the daily calls to prayer at the mosques in Ras al-Khaymah.

Good grades allowed Shehhi to attend the Emirates al-Ain University. After finishing his schooling he joined the UAE Army. Soon after he entered the military and reached the rank of sergeant, the army awarded him a paid scholarship to further his education in Germany. His goal was to study marine engineering.

Shehhi entered into a German-language preparatory course in Bonn, which he passed in 1996. Next he enrolled at the University of Bonn, but his father's death in 1997 caused him to neglect his course work when he took an unofficial leave to return to the UAE. Returning to Germany some months later, Shehhi passed the next course in 1997. He proved to be an average student with little ambition. Also, by the time he returned to Germany, he was increasingly militant in his religious views. Unhappy with the environment in Bonn, he petitioned the UAE Army to allow him to transfer his studies to the Technical University of Hamburg-Harburg. The strict religious environment at the al-Quds Mosque in Hamburg satisfied his new religiosity, and his friendship with Muhammad Atta only increased this religious fervor.

Soon Shehhi's relationship with Atta had solidified, with Atta as the leader and Shehhi as a faithful follower. Shehhi was the acknowledged expert on Islamic scripture. Together with Ramzi Bin al-Shibh, the three are alleged to have made up the Hamburg Cell.

The friends constantly debated how they could make a contribution to the Muslim cause. At first they wanted to fight on the side of the Chechen rebels in Chechnya, then fighting Russian forces, but Shehhi then traveled with his friends to Afghanistan to train at Al Qaeda training camps.

Shehhi left for Afghanistan in the autumn of 1998 for training at the Al Qaeda Khalden camp. While in Kandahar he, along with Atta and Ziyad Jarrah, met and talked with Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. Shehhi, Atta, and Jarrah were recruited at this conversation for a special future martyrdom mission. Once they had accepted the mission, Muhammad Atef, Al Qaeda's military strategist, outlined the basics of the September 11 plot. Returning to Germany, Shehhi joined with Atta and Shibh in working at a warehouse, packing computers for shipping. Never excited about his education, Shehhi stopped attending class, and he was dropped as a student in December 2000.

Shehhi became the number two man behind Atta in the September 11 plot. Shehhi arrived in the United States separately from Atta, but they kept in touch and trained together in Florida to pilot commercial jetliners. Although Shehhi was never a skilled pilot, he was nonetheless able to pilot United Airlines Flight 175 into the South Tower on September 11, 2001. Shehhi died when the Boeing 767 slammed into the World Trade Center at 9:03 a.m. All others on board, 64 people in all, also perished.

Stephen E. Atkins

See also
Al Qaeda; Atta, Muhammad; Bin Laden, Osama; Hamburg Cell; September 11 Attacks; Shibh, Ramzi Muhammad Abdallah ibn al-

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Shevardnádze, Eduard
Birth Date: January 28, 1928

Soviet foreign minister (1985–1990, 1991), chairman of the Georgian State Council (1992–1995), and president of Georgia (1995–2003). Born on January 28, 1928, in the Georgian village of Mamati, Eduard Shevardnádze graduated from the Party School of the Communist Party Central Committee in 1951 and from the Kutaisi Pedagogical Institute in 1959. He then became an instructor for the Komsomol (Communist Union of Youth). Joining the Communist Party in 1948, he rose quickly through its ranks and became a member of the Georgian Supreme Soviet in 1959.

During 1961–1964 Shevardnádze served as a party regional secretary, and during 1964–1965 he was deputy minister of internal affairs for Georgia. He became minister of internal affairs of Georgia in 1965, a post he held until 1972. During this period he reformed Georgian agriculture, creating new incentives for farmers and boosting production. He was also responsible for firing and imprisoning hundreds of officials in his fight against bureaucratic corruption, earning him the reputation of a merciless opponent of corruption and inefficiency. He also forced government officials to give up properties that they had attained through bribery and other illegal means. Shevardnádze stated that the Soviet economy would never move forward if corruption continued to plague the system.

In 1972 Shevardnádze was appointed first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party, a post he occupied until 1985. There too he continued his fight against corruption. He became a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1976. In 1977 Soviet authorities conducted a series of crackdowns against human rights activists, jailing many of the movement's top figures. Shevardnádze's Georgian government participated in the crackdowns, and among those jailed was Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who in May 1991 would become the first democratically elected president of the independent Republic of Georgia. In 1978 Shevardnádze was promoted to candidate member status of the Soviet Politburo, which functioned as the central policy-making and governing body of the CPSU. That same year he was awarded the Order of Lenin.

In 1985 the new reform-minded Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev appointed Shevardnádze minister of foreign affairs after the resignation of Andrei Gromyko. Shevardnádze also became a full member of the CPSU Politburo. As foreign minister, he played an important role in ending the Cold War. He reformed Soviet foreign policy making, implementing Gorbachev's policies. These included withdrawing all Soviet troops from Afghanistan, developing new arms control and Middle East peace strategies, establishing ties with Israel, negotiating German reunification, and allowing for the democratization of Eastern Europe. Shevardnádze rejected all aid requests by communist leaders in Eastern Europe when revolutions and democratization swept their countries, allowing for a smooth and relatively bloodless transition to democracy in the region.

As foreign minister of the Soviet Union from 1985 to 1990, Eduard Shevardnádze pursued liberal policies designed to improve the Soviet Union's relationship with the West. Shevardnádze was president of the Republic of Georgia from 1995 to 2003. (U.S. Department of Defense)

These actions, however, made Shevardnádze many enemies in Moscow. Nevertheless, he adhered to a strict policy of liberalization, which gradually separated him from Gorbachev's incrementalist policy of preserving a socialist system. Because of these differences and growing criticism from Communist Party hard-liners, Shevardnádze resigned his post in December 1990 and warned that the nation was headed toward dictatorship. Following his resignation, an unsuccessful coup against Gorbachev by communist hard-liners

in August 1991 seemed to prove that Shevardnádze's prediction was correct. He returned to the post of foreign minister in November 1991 but resigned together with Gorbachev in December when the Soviet Union was officially dissolved.

In March 1992 Shevardnádze became head of an interim Georgian government following the ouster of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. In 1995 Shevardnádze survived an assassination attempt and that same year was elected president of the Republic of Georgia by a comfortable margin. He survived a second assassination attempt in 1998. In 2000 he won a controversial presidential election that was immediately followed by accusations of vote rigging. In November 2003 Shevardnádze was forced to resign the presidency after huge demonstrations showed that he had lost much of his political support. He was succeeded by the ardently pro-Western Mikheil Saakashvili. In 2006 Shevardnádze published his memoirs, titled *Thoughts about the Past and the Future.*

ARTHUR M. HOLST

See also

Gorbachev, Mikhail; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy

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Shia Islam

The smaller of the two predominant branches of Islam, the larger being Sunni Islam. The name "Shia" derives from the Arabic term "Shiat Ali" (Party of Ali), whereas the name "Sunni" derives from the term "Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah" (People of the Prophet's Practice and Unified Community). Adherents to Shia Islam account for 12–15 percent of all Muslims worldwide. The Sunni sects or schools of Islam account for approximately 85 percent.

Shia Islam grew out of political struggles against the Umayyad caliphs. As a result of its political and theological evolution, it came to incorporate the descendents of several different trends: activists, moderates, and extremists. In addition, Shiite leadership is divided into different positions and differs in the degree of approved activism by clerics. The Ithna Ashariyya, called Twelvers by Westerners and Jafariyya by adherents for their school of Islamic law, were historically moderates; the Ismailiyya (Seveners) were labeled extremists, or *ghulat,* by their enemies; and the Zaydiyya (Fivers) were activists (in their support of Zayd in his jihad against the caliph). The three groups are named according to the prominent figures in the chain of religious leaders (*a'imah,* or imams) whom each recognizes as constituting the proper line of religious authority passed down to them from the Prophet Muhammad.

Shiism is the dominant branch of Islam in Iran (90 percent of the population), Iraq, Lebanon, Bahrain, and Azerbaijan. Shiism also has adherents in Syria, Yemen, East Africa, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Turkey, Qatar, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia, and many areas outside the Middle East, such as the United States, Canada, South Asia, the United Kingdom, Europe, Australia, and East Africa. In the United States, Dearborn, Michigan, has a very large Shiite population.

The Shiat Ali (Party of Ali) were those who preferred the succession of Ali ibn Abu Talib as *khalifa* (caliph) when the Prophet Muhammad died. Ali ibn Abu Talib was the son-in-law of Muhammad by marriage to Muhammad's only surviving daughter, Fatima. Some suggest that in the mixture of southern and northern Arab Muslim tribes, it was the southerners, Aws and Khazraj of Medina, who most strongly supported hereditary rights in leadership rather than a leader chosen on a different basis.

Ali accepted Abu Bakr as caliph, or political leader of the Muslims, even though Ali's supporters preferred Ali, and he also accepted the caliph Umar. The caliphate was then offered to him, but he was told he would have to follow the precedents of Abu Bakr and Umar, and Ali refused to do this. His supporters agitated again when Uthman became the third caliph. Uthman was so disliked for nepotism and the enrichment of his Umayyad relatives that a revolt occurred in which he was killed. Ali's followers recognized him as the fourth caliph in 656 CE. However, the Umayyads claimed the caliphate for Muawiya, and this led to two civil wars in Islam and Ali's assassination in 661. Following Ali's death, his son Hasan was forced to abdicate, and his other son Husayn fought the Umayyads and was killed at Karbala. These events are commemorated in Shiism and given a deeply symbolic meaning.

While all Muslims revere the Prophet and his family (known as Ahl al-Bayt, or People of the House), Sunni Muslims recognize a large number of the Prophet's early companions at Medina as transmitters of hadith, the short texts relating Muhammad's words, actions, or preferences. In contrast, the Shia do not recognize the authority of certain Companions and teach the traditions (hadith) transmitted by others or the Ahl al-Bayt from the Prophet, his daughter Fatima, and Ali on to Ali's sons Hasan and Husayn and also the succession of imams who followed them. More importantly, because Ali had rejected the injunction to follow the precedents of the first two caliphs rather than the *sunnah* (traditions or practices) of the Prophet, the foundational logic for Shiism to develop its own *fiqh,* or legal school, was set.

In the Umayyad period, the followers of Ali began to develop their own attitudes and worldview in contrast to other Muslims. The Battle of Karbala in October 680 between the supporters and relatives of Muhammad's grandson Husayn ibn Ali and forces of Yazid I, the Umayyad caliph, reinforced the Shia belief in *walaya,* or devotion to the Prophet's family, and also provided a reason for rebellion. A movement called the *tawabbun* (penitents) rose up to fight the Umayyads a year after the Battle of Karbala because they had not defended Husayn then, and 3,000 of them were killed.

Shiites believe that Ali was the first imam, thereby inheriting the *nass,* or spiritual legitimacy, of the Prophet. The imam is the

Shiite Muslim women walk past the shrine of Imam Ali in Najaf, Iraq, in April 2003. The site honors Abu ibn Abi Talib, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, considered by Shiites to be the rightful successor of Muhammad. (AFP/Getty Images)

sole legitimate religious successor of the Prophet, and each imam designates his own successor. In Shia Islam, each imam is held to have special knowledge of the inner truth of the Qur'an, Muhammad's *sunnah,* and Islam. This institution is called the imamate in English (*a'imah*). The *a'imah,* or chain of imams, are believed to be infallible, sinless, and personally guided by Allah (God) and are also believed to possess the divine authority over Islam and humanity granted to Ali by the Prophet Muhammad.

Shiites and Sunnis have the same beliefs about Allah, who has omnipotence over all beings and is also perceived as Merciful and Beneficent, closer to man than his own jugular vein and one who cares deeply about his creation. In both branches of Islam there is also a dynamic between faith and the acceptance of divine will along with the responsibility of the human believer. Indeed, apart from the differences in the Shia view of leadership, the two sects are very similar in many aspects. They diverge, however, in their legal systems.

The Shia recognize all the same religious duties as the Sunnis, which are described in the study of Islam in the West as the Five Pillars with two additional duties. However, the Ismailiyya sect and its subsects also stress the inner truths, or esoteric knowledge of Islamic principles. Therefore, to their spiritual elite simply reading the Qur'an is inadequate; one must understand its hidden meaning.

The Shia stress the unicity or oneness (*tawhid*) of Allah, a strict monotheism, and the avoidance of any trace of polytheism. They support social justice (*'adalah*), which means equity within society, and aid to the oppressed and the needy. As with Sunni Muslims, the Shia adhere to the principle of the *hisba,* or commanding the good and forbidding the reprehensible. This refers to all that is licit or recommended in Islamic law as opposed to sins that are forbidden. Entrance into Paradise is based on doing more good than evil or upon martyrdom. All Muslims, Shia as well as Sunni, respect the prophets, including Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad, whom they believe revealed to humans the true religion of Allah.

The concept of the *a'imah* (imamate)—that specific leaders are appointed by Allah and then designated by other imams (*nass*)—grew in strength thanks to the sixth imam, Jafar al-Sadiq. His followers developed the Twelver legal and theological tradition. The last of these 12 imams, Muhammad al-Mahdi, did not make himself known at the death of the 11th imam, al-Hasan al-Askari; however, texts revealed his presence. Mahdi is believed to be hiding on Earth, neither alive nor dead but in a state of

occultation, and will return at the Day of Judgment and the Resurrection (*qiyamah*) when Allah will decide the fate of all humanity, Muslim and non-Muslim alike.

The Twelvers believe that Mahdi, born in 689, was the son of Hasan. The Shia believe that Mahdi was in hiding from the caliph and that between the years 874 and 941 he communicated by letters with his people. During this period, called the Lesser Occultation, the community recognized four regents for Mahdi. In his last letter, he wrote that he would no longer communicate with humanity. Thus, the period from 941 to the present is known as the Greater Occultation.

In Islam, every human is held accountable for his or her deeds. The deeds of each individual are judged by Allah and weighed on a scale. If the good outweighs the evil, then the individual gains entrance into Paradise. If the evil outweighs the good, the individual spends eternity in Hell. The Shia, like the Sunni, also believe that the prophets, imams, and martyrs can intercede with Allah for a soul on the Day of Judgment and may seek this intercession (*shafa'a*) if possible through prayer, religious rituals, or appeals to the Fourteen Infallibles: the Prophet Muhammad, his daughter Fatima, the Twelve Imams, or martyrs. They also seek redemption through the ritual of repentance performed on the Day of Ashura, the commemoration of Imam Husayn's death.

Shiism's Twelvers, the largest Shia group, proclaim the necessity of obligatory religious duties or acts of outward worship. The first is the *shahada,* or testimony that there is no God but God and that Muhammad is his prophet and Ali his imam. The next is prayer (*salat*), recited five or more times a day. The third is fasting (*sawm*) during the daylight hours for all of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the Islamic calendar. The fourth religious practice is the pilgrimage (*hajj*), a journey to the holy city of Mecca that should be made at least once during a person's life if he or she is physically and financially able to undertake it. The fifth religious practice is the paying of *zakat,* a voluntary tax that is used to support the poor, to spread Islam, or sometimes for other purposes such as aid to travelers and the funding of jihad. The assessment of *zakat* should be 2.5 percent of one's income and assets in any given year. (All Muslims also give gifts of money during and at the end of Ramadan and the Id al-Adha, but these are in addition to *zakat.*) Another form of tithing, the *khums,* is a 20 percent tax on all annual profits from any source levied on all adult males and is used to support the mosque and the clerics. Jihad is also a commanded duty in Shiism and refers to the struggle of the faithful to please Allah as well as to defend Islam by waging war against those who attack Muslims. The idea of the *walaya* is important in Shiism (but also in Sufi Islam), as is the *tabarra.* These mean a special reverence for all members, past and descended, of the Ahl al-Bayt; the guardianship of the imamate; and the disassociation from all enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt.

In addition to the Shia groups mentioned above, there are others. The Shaykhiyya of Basra and Bahrain are a subsect of the Twelver Shia, influenced by Akhbari thought. The Druze (who call themselves *muwahiddun,* or unitarians) are an offshoot of the Ismailiyya sect, and the Alawites found in Syria and Turkey are a distinct subsect of Shiism. Sunni Muslims and some Shia, however, consider the Alawi sect extreme because of some of its syncretic practices. Nonetheless, it was declared a licit school of Islam in a fatwa issued by Imam Musa al-Sadr in order to legitimate the rule of President Hafiz al-Asad, an Alawi, in Syria. Although all branches of Islam believe in a divine savior, the Mahdi (the Guided One) who will come at the Day of Judgment, the Twelver branch of Shiism holds that the Twelfth Imam, or Hidden Imam since he is in occultation, is the Mahdi and call him the Imam Mahdi.

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, president of Iran, and his cabinet have pledged to work to make the conditions right for the return of the Imam Mahdi, a return that Shia Muslims believe will lead Islam to world domination. In Iran, many believe that the Imam Mahdi will reappear from a well at the mosque in Jamkaran just outside of the holy city of Qum, Iran. The site is frequently visited by Shiite pilgrims who drop messages into the well hoping that the Hidden Imam will hear them and grant their requests. Along with the Imam Mahdi's return at the Day of Judgment, there are various beliefs about other millenarian events and wars that will occur before this period.

Since the disappearance of the Twelfth Imam, the Shia *ulama* (clerics) have served as his deputies, interpreting the law and leading the Shiite faithful under the authority of the Hidden Imam. In Twelver Shiism it is believed that four persons acted as the deputies or special vice-regents (*wakala al-khassa*) of the Hidden Imam during the Lesser Occultation. These persons were called the *bab* (gate) or *na'ib* (deputy) for the imam. From 941 there have been no overt claims of a *bab* except for Sayyid Ali Muhammad (known as "The Bab"), who established Babism in the 19th century, and the Shaykhi Shia, who put forth the idea of the perfect Shia who lives in each age. Generally in this period, the idea is that there is a *wakala al-'amma,* or a general vice-regency, that has been delegated to the Shia clerics. When Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and his government established the system of rule of the cleric (*vilayat-e faqih*) in Iran, there were disputes about whether he was to be considered the *na'ib* al-Imam, or deputy of the Hidden Imam. The idea of rule of the cleric, developed from the increasingly activist opinions of one branch of Shiism—the Usulis (*usuliyya*)—opposed the Akhbaris, a different intellectual tradition. This notion that clerics should rule, therefore becoming a part of the political system, is still controversial even among many Usulis.

Khomeini's official title became "Supreme Faqih" (Jurist), and he governed the Council of Guardians as its supreme religio-political authority. There had been several clerics more senior to Khomeini who were, however, marginalized or even assassinated after the Islamic Revolution. Khomeini's successor, Ali Husayni Khamenei, was not the most senior of the clerics who might potentially have followed Khomeini in power. Khamenei was granted the title of ayatollah to ensure his authority. Some described him as a political appointee.

Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad speaks during a gathering in Kalat, Iran, on April, 11, 2006. A picture of Iran's late leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini is at left. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Ismaili Shiites, also known as Ismailiyya, or the Seveners, are followers of the living Agha Khan and constitute the second-largest branch of Shia Islam. Ismailis believe that the imamate is a position that continues unbroken since the caliphate of Ali, although the living imams since the Seventh Imam serve as regents awaiting the return of the Hidden Imam. Ismailis acknowledge only six of the Twelve Imams and assert that the real Seventh Imam was Ismail Ibn Jafar. Other Muslims assert that Ismail's son Muhammad was the Seventh Imam and that he is presently occulted awaiting the end of time to reveal himself as the last imam. The Ismaili movement spread through missionary activity as a secret organization beginning in the later ninth century. It split in a factional dispute about leadership in 899. Ismaili Shia are found primarily in South Asia, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, China, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and East Africa but have also, in recent years, immigrated to Europe and North America.

Ismailis mandate the same religious practices as the Twelvers, but their emphasis is on esoteric teachings and thus on an inner or deeper interpretation of each that can make them distinct. As with the Twelvers, the Ismailis evince love and devotion (*walayah*) for Allah, the prophets, the Ahl al-Bayt, the imam, and the Ismaili *da'i* (preacher) and also believe in personal purity and cleanliness (*taharah*). As with all other Muslims, they must also practice prayer and *zakat,* or almsgiving. In addition, they fast during Ramadan, carry out the *hajj,* and believe in jihad.

Zaydis, also known as Zaydiyya or the Fivers, are theologically and in the view of Islamic law closer to a Sunni school of the law. There are Zaydi communities in India, Pakistan, and Yemen. Zaydis derive their name from Zayd ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib, the son of Husayn ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib (626–ca. 680), the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad. Most Zaydis regard Husayn as the third rightful imam. After Ali, Hasan, and Husayn, the followers of Zayd had asserted that the succession of the imamate would be determined after engaging in armed rebellion against the Umayyad caliphs. Zayd's followers did not want a Hidden Imam, but a living one who would rule instead of the Umayyads, and so the Zaydiyya are considered activists. Although Zayd's rebellion against the corrupt Umayyad caliph Hisham ibn Abd al-Malik (691–743) in 740 was unsuccessful, his followers thereafter recognized Zayd as the fourth Zaydi imam.

Zaydism does not support the infallibility of the imams and asserts that no imam after Husayn received any divine guidance. Zaydis reject the Hidden Imam and the idea that the imamate must be passed from father to son, although they do believe that the living imam must be a descendant of Ali, and some of their own leaders passed on their leadership to their sons. Zaydi Islamic law (*fiqh*) is most like the Sunni Hanafi school.

While there was never a concept of Sunni Islam as a sect as it is described today, the non-Alid Muslims (those who did not insist on Ali gaining political leadership) accepted the institution of the caliphate even though the caliph was not a spiritual descendant of the Prophet. Still, the caliph received an oath of allegiance from his people and had to be pious and promote and protect Islam. Alids (supporters of Ali), later called the Shia, accepted their temporal rulers but did not regard them as being spiritually legitimate in the manner of the imams. For purposes of survival, they could deny

their Shia beliefs if need be in the practice known as *taqqiya* (dissimulation). There are major legal and philosophical differences in Shia Islam, such as the theme of the oppressed Muslims who act out their penitence for their inability to defend Husayn at Karbala, the imamate, the concept of the Occultation and the Return, and the concept of *marjaiyya,* the idea that a believer should follow a particular cleric as a guide. Minor differences pertain to aspects of daily prayer and the commencement of holidays, which often begin on one day in Iran and, typically, a day earlier in Saudi Arabia and other Sunni centers.

Shiite Islamic education is centered in Najaf and Karbala in Iraq and in Qum and Mashhad in Iran, with other religious authorities in Tehran and additional centers of learning elsewhere. Shia clerics from Lebanon typically studied in Iraq or in Iran. One of the most influential Shia theorists in Iran following the Islamic Revolution was probably Abd al-Karim Sorush, who is famous for his idea of the expansion and contraction of Islamic law (*qabz va baste shari'at*). The most senior cleric in Iraq today is the Shia Grand Ayatollah Sistani. The clerical establishment in Iraq is referred to as the *hawzah,* and its duty is to train the future clerics of Shiism, provide judgments, and officiate over pilgrimages and those who wish to be buried at the holy sites. Other important cities of Shia learning are Qum, Mashhad, and Tehran, all in Iran.

In Iran the great leaders of Tehran, Ayatollah Sayyid Muhammad Tabatabai (1841–1920) and Sayyid Abd Allah Bahbahani (d. 1871), were part of the revolutionary organization of the constitutional movement early in the 20th century, but other clerics opposed that movement. Shiite authorities also resisted British colonialism and encroachments on their power by Reza Shah Pahlavi in Iran.

The last great single *marja' al-mutlaq* (the absolute source of emulation), Ayatollah Burujerdi, died in 1961. Debate then began between different reformist leaders and the degree of activism in which clerics should engage. In the 1960s a more radical, or activist, Shiism began to develop. Informal gatherings and new publications began to spread new radical Shiite thought. Ayatollah Khomeini's resistance to Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi was significant, but so too was the work of Dr. Ali Shariati (1933–1977).

Educated in Mashhad and Paris, Shariati challenged the quietism of many religious scholars, writing essays and giving lectures to galvanize a new activism in Shiism that combined with existentialism and Third Worldist views. Another major influence on radical Shiism in this period was Murtaza Mutahari (1920–1979).

Sunnis and Shiites have different approaches to jurisprudence, or the making of Islamic law, and therefore also in the issuance of fatawa to broader religious questions of Muslims. The different Sunni schools of law use as sources (*usul al-fiqh*) the Qur'an, the hadith, analogy (*qiyas*), and *ijma,* or the consensus of the community at Medina or of the jurists. In earlier periods, these legal schools also used *ray* (opinion of the jurist) or *ijtihad,* a particular technique of intellectual problem solving. In the 10th century, the Sunni jurists decided to stop using *ijtihad* so as to avoid the introduction of too many innovations into Sharia (Islamic law). However, the Shia legal school of the Twelvers retained this principle. Consequently, Shia cleric-jurists who train in this technique and qualify receive the title of *mujtahid,* or one who can enact *ijtihad.*

Ijtihad has come to mean more than a principle of Islamic jurisprudence. As contemporary activist Shiism was developing, Ali Shariati began to apply *ijtihad* to Muslim life, including a vibrant definition of monotheism and the application of Muslim principles.

There are various ranks of clerics in Shia Islam in addition to the *mujtahid,* such as the elevated designations of ayatollah and grand ayatollah that other clerics should agree on. In addition, the Shia may follow his or her own preferred *marja' al-taqlid* (source of emulation). Above all of these clerics, there may be one agreed-upon *marja' al-mutlaq,* or source of emulation of the age.

These are not the only differences between Sunni and Shia Islam. Shia constituted minorities in such countries as Lebanon and Saudi Arabia, where they were an underclass socially and economically. In the modern period, leaders such as Ali Shariati and Imam Musa Sadr in Lebanon supported populism and addressed the discrimination against and suffering of the Shiite masses.

While at times some Sunni groups have expressed both discrimination and hatred toward Shia Muslims, there have also been efforts at ecumenism and more cooperation between the sects. Al-Azhar University in Egypt teaches about the Jafariyya (Twelver) *madhhab,* or legal school of Islam, in spite of the government of Egypt having outlawed Shiism. It should also be noted that Shia and Sunni Muslims had coexisted peacefully and have frequently intermarried in Iraq. Shia Muslims were often members of the Communist Party or the Baath Party, and just like the Iranian clerics responding to the inroads made by secular ideologies in that country, the clerics in Iraq began an Islamic movement in part to encourage youths to reengage with Islamic education. When this movement developed from a clerical organization into an activist one, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein ruthlessly suppressed it. Sadly, the end of Hussein's rule brought Shia-Sunni sectarian conflict to Iraq, fueled in part by Sunni Islamists and nationalists who viewed the new Shia-dominated majority as conspirators with the Americans and who call the Shia apostates or renegades.

Richard Edwards and Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Iraqi Insurgency; Islamic Dawa Party; Jihad; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Martyrdom; Qur'an; Sunni Islam; Syria

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Shibh, Ramzi Muhammad Abdallah ibn al-
Birth Date: May 1, 1972

One of the chief planners of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks against the United States and an active member of the Hamburg Cell. Ramzi Muhammad Abdallah ibn al-Shibh was born on May 1, 1972, in Ghayl Ba Wazir (al-Ghayl) in the province of Hadramawt, Yemen. His father was a merchant. The family moved to Sanaa, the capital of Yemen, when ibn al-Shibh (known in colloquial Arabic and FBI sources as bin al-Shibh) was a small boy.

Bin al-Shibh was more religious than some of his family members. After finishing his schooling, he began working as a messenger boy at the International Bank of Yemen. For a time he studied at a business school before deciding to leave Yemen. In 1995, he applied for a U.S. visa, but his application was turned down.

Determined to leave Yemen, bin al-Shibh then traveled to Germany, where he claimed to be a Sudanese citizen seeking political asylum under the name Ramzi Omar. German authorities were suspicious of his claim, and it was initially turned down. Germany then received more than 100,000 political asylum seekers annually. Bin al-Shibh spent two years at the so-called Container Camp, awaiting his appeal.

During the period pending the appeal of his asylum claim, bin al-Shibh attended the al-Quds mosque in Hamburg. There he met Mohammed Atta and other Islamist militants. After his appeal was denied by the German government, bin al-Shibh returned to Yemen in 1997. Shortly thereafter, he returned to Germany, this time using his true name. Bin al-Shibh subsequently enrolled in a school in Hamburg, although academic problems led to his expulsion in September 1998.

Bin al-Shibh was alleged to have been an active member of the so-called Hamburg Cell. There he was known by associates as Omar. He roomed with Atta and Marwan Yufif Muhammed Rashid Lekrab al-Shehhi beginning in 1998. In summer 1998, bin al-Shibh traveled to Afghanistan for special training at one of Al Qaeda's training camps. He was obviously valued because Al Qaeda leaders selected him for a special mission. A fellow recruit later testified that bin al-Shibh had extensive contact with Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden while in Afghanistan. Officials believe that along with Atta, Ziyad al-Jarrah, and Shehhi, he was recruited by bin Laden for a special martyrdom mission. Muhammad Atef, the military commander of Al Qaeda, gave them a briefing on the outlines of the September 11 plot. Returning to Germany, bin al-Shibh joined with Atta and Shehhi in working at a warehouse packing computers for shipping.

Bin al-Shibh is believed to have recruited Zacarias Moussaoui (Zakarias Mussawi) into Al Qaeda and to have given him funds for pilot training in the United States. Although Moussaoui was not a part of the Hamburg Cell and the September 11 plot, he was being considered for a future martyrdom mission.

Bin al-Shibh gathered cassette tapes of Muslim jihadist activities in Chechnya, Bosnia, and Kosovo and played them to various Muslim audiences in Hamburg. Bin al-Shibh was the only member of the Hamburg Cell to attend the January 2000 Kuala Lumpur meeting where Al Qaeda midlevel operatives discussed future operations.

Bin al-Shibh's inability to obtain a U.S. visa prevented him from joining Mohammed Atta's suicide team on September 11. He is called the 20th hijacker, and his slot went unfilled. Instead, bin al-Shibh provided logistical support and money from Germany and kept in close contact with Atta, serving as his banker. He also protected the men of the Hamburg Cell by keeping them registered

Ramzi ibn al-Shibh, shown here in an undated photograph, is believed to be one of the chief planners of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the United States. Captured in Pakistan a year later, he is currently in U.S. custody. (AP/Wide World Photos)

as students. When bin al-Shibh finally learned in late August 2001 of the date of the planned Al Qaeda attack on the World Trade Center complex, the Pentagon, and the U.S. Capitol or White House in late August 2001, he began to shut down operations in Germany, as he was well aware that all members and anyone affiliated with the Hamburg Cell would be subject to arrest. In early September, he fled to Pakistan, where he apparently believed he would be safe from American reprisal.

In Karachi, bin al-Shibh gave a key interview to an Al Jazeera journalist who also interviewed Khalid Sheikh Mohammed. This interview, and not subsequent interrogation or torture sessions, provided information concerning Al Qaeda's activities and planning. Although the reporter was blindfolded, he passed on information about his location to his supervisor, who in turn gave it to Qatari authorities, who then provided it to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). This led to bin al-Shibh's capture in the same apartment complex in Karachi, Pakistan, on September 11, 2002, following a gunfight with Pakistani security forces.

On September 16, 2002, the Pakistani government turned bin al-Shibh over to U.S. security officials, who moved him out of Pakistan to a secret interrogation site. Bin al-Shibh has expressed no regrets about his involvement with Al Qaeda; had he not been captured, he would still be an active participant. Under interrogation, bin al-Shibh revealed some information about organizational aspects of Al Qaeda, verifying the participation of particular individuals, such as Sayf al-Adl. In August 2006, bin al-Shibh was transferred to the Guantánamo Bay Detainment Camp with 13 other high-profile terrorist suspects.

Bin al-Shibh and four other Guantánamo detainees were charged in military commissions in the spring of 2008. All said they refused U.S.-appointed attorneys and would boycott their proceedings, but only bin al-Shibh has held out, refusing to meet an attorney and saying he wanted to plead guilty. The court pressured his codefendants to persuade him to appear. It has been suggested that bin al-Shibh is psychotic, and his attorneys have charged that his mental condition is the result of torture since his incarceration.

Stephen A. Atkins

See also

Al Qaeda; Atta, Muhammad; Bin Laden, Osama; Guantánamo Bay Detainment Camp; Hamburg Cell; Jarrah, Ziyad al-; September 11 Attacks; Shehhi, Marwan al-

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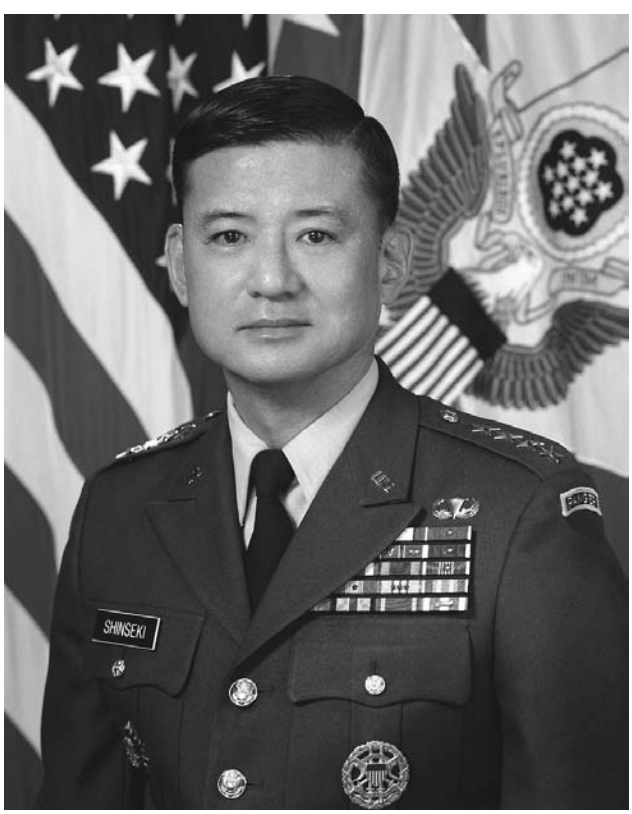
Shinseki, Eric Ken

Birth Date: November 28, 1942

U.S. Army general and chief of staff of the army (1999–2003). Born in Lihue on the island of Kauai, Hawaii, on November 28, 1942, Eric Shinseki graduated from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1965 and was commissioned a second lieutenant. His military education included the Armor Officer Advanced Course from 1968 to 1969, the United States Army Command and General Staff College in 1979, and the National War College in 1986. Shinseki also earned a master's degree in English literature from Duke University in 1976.

Shinseki served two combat tours in Vietnam with the 9th and 25th Infantry divisions. He was wounded during each of those tours, the second time by a land mine that took off most of his right foot. After recovering, he had to fight the military personnel system to stay in the army with his handicap.

Shinseki's subsequent command and staff assignments included more than 10 years in Europe, with assignments in command and staff at Schweinfurt, Kitzingen, Würzburg, and Stuttgart in the Federal Republic of Germany. Promoted to brigadier general (July 1991), Shinseki served in Verona, Italy, as deputy chief of staff of Allied Land Forces Southern Europe, a component



U.S. Army general Eric Shinseki was chief of staff of the U.S. Army during 1999–2003. He became secretary of veterans affairs in 2009. Shinseki sharply disagreed with Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld on the number of troops that would be required in an invasion of Iraq. (U.S. Department of Defense)

of Allied Command Europe, and later as the assistant division commander for maneuver of the 3rd Infantry Division in Würzberg. Promoted to major general in June 1994, he commanded the 1st Cavalry Division at Fort Hood, Texas. Promoted to lieutenant general (August 1996), Shinseki became U.S. Army deputy chief of staff for operations and plans. Promoted to full general in August 1997, he commanded United States Army Europe and Seventh Army. In that capacity, he was directly responsible for the peacekeeping and stabilization operations, led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), in Croatia and Bosnia.

From June 22, 1999, to June 11, 2003, General Shinseki was the U.S. Army's chief of staff. He was both the first four-star Asian American general in U.S. history and the first Asian American to head one of the armed services. As chief of staff he initiated the controversial Army Transformation Campaign, by which the army was to be transformed into a lighter, more mobile force to address contemporary emerging strategic challenges. These included antiterror operations such as the invasion of Afghanistan (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM) in 2001 and the more conventional campaign against Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM) in 2003. Shinseki launched his Army Transformation Campaign well before Donald Rumsfeld became secretary of defense and announced his own strategic vision of smaller and more flexible forces. Nonetheless, Shinseki found himself constantly at loggerheads with the brusque and imperious defense secretary. In 2001 Shinseki resisted Rumsfeld's call for additional reductions in army strength. Some insiders suggest that Shinseki's opposition to Rumsfeld's overzealous force reductions bordered on insubordination. Others considered Shinseki to be one of the few senior military leaders willing to challenge Rumsfeld's far-fetched and unfounded notions about fighting modern wars, which almost all proved failures.

In February 2003, just one month prior to the launching of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, Shinseki testified before the Senate Armed Service Committee that "something on the order of several hundred thousand soldiers" would be needed for the pacification and occupation of Iraq. Shinseki's estimate was based on his own experience with such operations in the Balkans, but his troop estimate for Iraq was immediately dismissed by Rumsfeld and others because it directly contradicted their theories about high-technology military operations on the cheap. If Shinseki's recommendations had been followed, there can be no doubt that the Iraq War would have played out much differently.

In what was considered by many to be an unbelieveably shabby and small-minded bureaucratic maneuver, Rumsfeld undercut Shinseki's authority by selecting his successor more than a year before Shinseki was due to step down as chief of staff. Shinseki retired from active duty in August 2003. Despite his disagreements with Rumsfeld and the Pentagon's planning for Iraq, Shinseki has kept silent on the issue, choosing not to engage in any public discussions or castigations concerning the defense secretary or the ongoing war in Iraq. Nevertheless, the apparent success of the Bush administration's troop surge—accompanied by a revitalized counterinsurgency strategy—seems to have vindicated Shinseki's view that more troops were required in Iraq. When Barack Obama became president in 2009, he selected Shinseki as his administration's secretary of veterans affairs. Shinseki's appointment was greeted enthusiastically by both members of the military and veterans' groups.

MICHAEL DOIDGE

See also

ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Surge, U.S. Troop Deployment, Iraq War

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Shughart, Randall David

Birth Date: August 13, 1958
Death Date: October 3, 1993

U.S. Army soldier who received the Medal of Honor (posthumously) after giving his life to defend fellow U.S. soldiers during the Battle of Mogadishu in Somalia on October 3, 1993. His story was told in the popular book and movie *Black Hawk Down.* Randall (Randy) David Shughart was born on August 13, 1958, in Lincoln, Nebraska. While still in high school he enlisted in the U.S. Army and then entered active duty upon graduation in 1976.

Shughart subsequently graduated from Ranger School and was assigned to the 2nd Ranger Battalion, 75th Infantry (Airborne) at Fort Lewis, Washington. After briefly leaving the army, Shughart reenlisted and qualified for Special Forces. He was then assigned to the premier army Special Forces unit, the 1st Special Forces Operational Detachment–Delta, better known as Delta Force.

Shughart served in Operation JUST CAUSE, the invasion of Panama, in 1989. In the summer of 1993 Sergeant First Class Shughart was ordered to Somalia with other Delta Force members to participate in Operation RESTORE HOPE, designed to help bring stability to the troubled country. As part of Task Force Ranger, Shughart was assigned to a three-man sniper team. His teammates were Sergeant First Class Brad Hallings and Master Sergeant Gary Gordon, the team leader. On October 3, 1993, they were part of Operation GOTHIC SERPENT, an assault mission designed to capture key advisers to Somali warlord Mohammed Farrah Aidid (Aideed) in the part of Mogadishu still controlled by Aidid.

During the operation, one of the Sikorsky UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters transporting the assault teams was shot down and crashed into Aidid-held territory. The Combat Search and Rescue (CSAR) team on standby was dispatched to secure the crash site and to rescue any survivors. While they were fighting their way

through to the crash site, a second Black Hawk was shot down. The crew of four survived, but they were soon threatened by Aidid's militia and civilian supporters. The CSAR was still engaged in trying to reach the first crash site. Shughart's team was aboard another Black Hawk, and they were attempting to cover the second crashed helicopter. Gordon requested permission to land so his team could take position to protect the injured crew. Their field commander twice refused permission, believing that their position in the air would better allow them to target hostile Somalis. On Gordon's third request, the field commander gave in and allowed the sniper team to land.

Before landing, the minigun operator on the Black Hawk was wounded, so Hallings was assigned to man it and provide cover. Shughart and Gordon then landed alone. Debris and ground fire prevented their Black Hawk from landing at the crash site, so they found an open area some 100 yards away. The pair made their way through buildings to the crash site, taking Somali fire along the way. When they arrived at the downed helicopter, Gordon and Shughart managed to remove the crew, including Chief Warrant Officer Mike Durant and three others. Shughart and Gordon established a perimeter around the helicopter, moving from place to place to keep the attacking Somalis away. Armed only with their personal weapons, the pair managed to kill or disable numerous attackers. Finally, their ammunition ran low, and the Somali attackers were able to move closer.

Accounts vary about whether Gordon or Shughart was killed first by Somali gunfire. Shughart's citation for the Medal of Honor indicates that he was killed first, but some authorities believe that he was the last to die. Durant survived, and he testified that after one Ranger had been killed, the other gave him the extra weapon. Durant could not identify if it was Shughart or Gordon, but the weapon he had was not Shughart's distinctive M14 but rather Gordon's weapon. Other Rangers did not believe that Gordon would have given another soldier his own weapon, indicating that it was Shughart's. In any event, after Shughart and Gordon were killed, Durant was captured by the Somalis. The other three members of the crew died, making Durant the only American survivor. In all, 18 American servicemen died in Operation GOTHIC SERPENT. The failure led to a loss of public support for operations in Somalia, eventually causing the William J. Clinton administration to withdraw American troops from that country.

On May 23, 1994, Shughart and Gordon were decorated posthumously with Medals of Honor for their sacrifice in attempting to save fellow Americans. They were the only soldiers in Operation GOTHIC SERPENT to receive the medal and its first recipients since the Vietnam War. Shughart was further honored by having a U.S. Navy ship named after him. The ship, USNS *Shughart,* was the navy's first large medium-speed roll-on/roll-off ship, intended to hasten the rapid deployment of forces overseas.

TIM J. WATTS

See also
Delta Force; Somalia, International Intervention in

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Shultz, George Pratt
Birth Date: December 13, 1920

U.S. secretary of labor (1969–1970), secretary of the treasury (1972–1974), and secretary of state (1982–1989). Born in Englewood, New Jersey, on December 13, 1920, George Pratt Shultz graduated from Princeton University, majoring in economics, in 1942 and then joined the U.S. Marine Corps, serving in the Pacific theater as an artillery officer and ending World War II as a captain. After demobilization, in 1949 he obtained a doctorate in industrial economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he subsequently taught industrial relations, moving to the University of Chicago in 1957.

Under Republican president Richard Nixon, Shultz served successively as secretary of labor (1969–1970), the first director of the Office of Management and Budget (1970–1972), and secretary of the treasury (1972–1974). He resigned in March 1974 to become

George Shultz held three cabinet-level posts under five U.S. presidents. A trained economist and specialist in labor relations, Shultz put his negotiating skills to use in service to presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard M. Nixon, and Ronald W. Reagan. (U.S. Department of Defense)

vice president of Bechtel Corporation, an international construction company, where he remained until 1982.

In June 1982 Shultz became Republican president Ronald Reagan's second and last secretary of state, replacing the forceful but overbearing Alexander M. Haig and adopting a low-key nonconfrontational style. Even so, Shultz's cautious readiness to negotiate arms control agreements with the Soviet Union brought repeated clashes with the more hawkish secretary of defense, Caspar Weinberger, who favored major increases in weapons systems.

Shultz's tenure of office saw the emergence in 1985 of Mikhail Gorbachev as general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Gorbachev was a conciliatory leader who became increasingly committed to reducing his country's international military commitments and improving Soviet-American relations. Shultz, initially somewhat skeptical and inclined to discountenance the more optimistic Reagan's readiness in his 1986 Reykjavik meeting with Gorbachev to consider abolishing all nuclear weapons, nonetheless negotiated the 1987 Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) Treaty that removed all such weapons from Europe. In 1988 the Soviets also concluded an agreement to withdraw all their forces from Afghanistan, where since 1979 they had been at war with U.S.-backed mujahideen guerrillas.

From the time Shultz took office, one of his major preoccupations was with initiatives to resolve or at least ease the entrenched disputes dividing Israel and its Arab opponents after Israel's June 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Except in Afghanistan, the warming in Soviet-American relations had relatively little impact on the nearly intractable Middle Eastern situation. Shultz drafted the September 1982 Reagan Plan envisaging partial Israeli withdrawal from occupied territory in return for Arab acceptance and respect for Israeli security interests, proposals that the Israeli government strongly rejected. Throughout his years in office, Shultz repeatedly but unsuccessfully tried to broker similar schemes. In December 1988 he prevailed upon Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasser Arafat to renounce the use of terrorism, a stance enabling the United States to open direct talks with the PLO, but Arafat failed to force his more radical followers to respect this stance, and within a year the U.S.-PLO talks broke down.

Shultz was a determined opponent of international terrorism and of governments such as those of Libya and Iran, which sponsored such tactics. After powerful bombs from Imad Mughniya's radical Shiite group destroyed the barracks of the U.S. Marine Corps peacekeeping force in Beirut, Lebanon, in October 1983, killing 241 American servicemen, Shultz began to press Reagan to respond forcefully to such attacks on Americans. Shultz supported the use of force as well as military and economic sanctions, not just against individual terrorists but also against states that sponsored terrorism. He applauded Reagan's readiness in 1985 to employ military personnel to capture Palestinian hijackers of the American cruise ship *Achille Lauro* and to mount bombing raids on Libya in April 1986 in retaliation for a discotheque bombing in West Germany that killed U.S. servicemen.

Shultz opposed and was therefore deliberately left in ignorance of efforts by National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane and others based in the Reagan White House to sell arms to the fundamentalist Islamic regime in Iran and surreptitiously use the proceeds to fund the activities of anticommunist Contra guerrillas in Nicaragua. The Iran-Contra Scandal, which broke in 1986, damaged but did not destroy Reagan's presidency, and his final years in office saw further incremental warming in Soviet-American relations that came to full fruition under his successor, George H. W. Bush.

Shultz retired at the end of Reagan's presidency and became a senior fellow at the conservative Hoover Institution in Palo Alto, California. In retirement Shultz has written lengthy memoirs. In January 2006 he joined other former secretaries of state and defense for a White House summit to debate the current and future course of American foreign policy.

PRISCILLA ROBERTS

See also

Arafat, Yasser; Bush, George Herbert Walker; Iran; Lebanon, U.S. Intervention in (1982–1984); Libya; Nixon, Richard Milhous; Palestine Liberation Organization; Reagan, Ronald Wilson; Reagan Administration, Middle East Policy; Terrorism; Weinberger, Caspar Willard

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Sierra Leone

See Senegal and Sierra Leone

Singapore, Role in Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars

A small island nation in Southeast Asia encompassing just 272 square miles, the Republic of Singapore had a 2007 population of approximately 4.7 million people. Located some 85 miles north of the equator, Singapore is located south of the Malaysian state of Johor and north of the Riau Islands of Indonesia. One of the last remaining city-states in the world, Singapore was a British colony until 1963, when it became a part of the Federation of Malaysia.

In 1965 it became a fully independent country. Since its independence, the government of Singapore has been a strong supporter of the United Kingdom, and also of the United States. A parliamentary democracy, the tiny nation is very Westernized in terms of culture and politics, and enjoys a relatively high standard of living. National service is compulsory, and although the Singaporean Armed Forces are very small, they are among the best equipped in the region, with a heavy reliance on high-tech equipment.

With the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, Singapore's government was keen to participate in the multilateral force to liberate Kuwait, although it did not send any combat troops to fight in the subsequent war. As a member of the United Nations (UN) and as an ally of the United Kingdom and the United States, Singapore fully supported UN sanctions against Iraq.

In late 1990 with war in the Persian Gulf imminent, the British government made a formal request for medical support from Singapore. In response, on January 7, 1991, on orders from the Singaporean government, the Headquarters Medical Services was activated and began preparing for a medical mission to the Gulf. Using the code name Operation NIGHTINGALE, the mission consisted of 30 men led by Major Tan Chi Chiu, a physician. It deployed to the Persian Gulf on January 20, 1991.

The Singaporean medical team included 2 physicians, 2 surgeons, 1 flight surgeon, 1 anesthetist, 1 sports medicine specialist, 1 ophthalmologist, 3 general practitioners, 2 nursing officers, 12 medical orderlies, and a number of communications specialists in a signals detachment that included 1 officer, 2 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), 1 administrative officer, and 1 mechanic. They were attached to the British 205th General Hospital, and during their 54 days in the Gulf they treated some 200 casualties. In fact, the Singaporean medical team was the first to perform surgery during the existence of that hospital group. During this time, the Singaporeans helped develop and improve nursing procedures for injured personnel and gained much experience in the operating theaters. They were also able to take part in a series of in-house lectures that focused on the care of postoperative patients, treatment of victims of chemical and biological weapons, management of ocular trauma, aeromedical evacuation procedures, and the diagnosis and treatment of respiratory problems.

Singapore's medical team was based at a hospital that had been established in Terminal 4 of the King Khalid International Airport near Riyadh, the Saudi Arabian capital. On many occasions coalition forces, concerned about the possible use of nerve gas and chemical or biological attacks, worked wearing gas masks and chemical suits. The team worked in 12-hour shifts from noon until midnight. Operationally, the 205th General Hospital had a total of 80 doctors and 20 dental surgeons.

The arrival of the Singaporean medical team in Saudi Arabia coincided with former Singaporean prime minister Lee Kuan Yew's visit on January 21, 1991, to Washington, D.C., where he met with President George H. W. Bush at the White House. Lee spent the evening meeting with Bush in his private quarters along with Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser. Lee congratulated Bush on waging the war in the Gulf using a broad coalition, but stated that he believed that victory in the war should lead to a broader Middle East peace settlement that was fair to both the Israelis and the Palestinians. On their return to Singapore on March 7, 1991, the members of the Singaporean medical mission were awarded Singapore Armed Forces Overseas Service Medals (Operational Service).

Subsequently, Singapore's government was involved in monitoring UN sanctions against Iraq and contributed to the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM). Singapore did not participate militarily in the war in Afghanistan or the 2003 invasion of Iraq but did assist with humanitarian and reconstruction assistance in both Afghanistan and Iraq. Singapore provided a landing ship tank and a C-130 transport aircraft and later deployed a Republic of Singapore Air Force KC-135 tanker aircraft in the Gulf region. Singapore was also involved in sending a police training team to the International Police Training Center in Jordan, where it helped with the training of Iraqi police officers.

On March 21, 2003, less than a day after the invasion of Iraq began, Deputy Prime Minister Tony Tan stated that Singapore was a member of the "coalition for the immediate disarmament of Iraq." In May 2003 the United States signed a free trade agreement with Singapore, and President George W. Bush hailed Singapore as "a strong partner in the war on terrorism and a member of the coalition on Iraq." In December 2003 Singapore dispatched one soldier to serve with the Multi-National Force in Iraq as a gesture of support and solidarity. In June 2005 the inaugural Asia–Middle East Dialogue was held in Singapore, and the Singaporean government pledged to continue its contributions to reconstruction in the Middle East.

JUSTIN J. CORFIELD

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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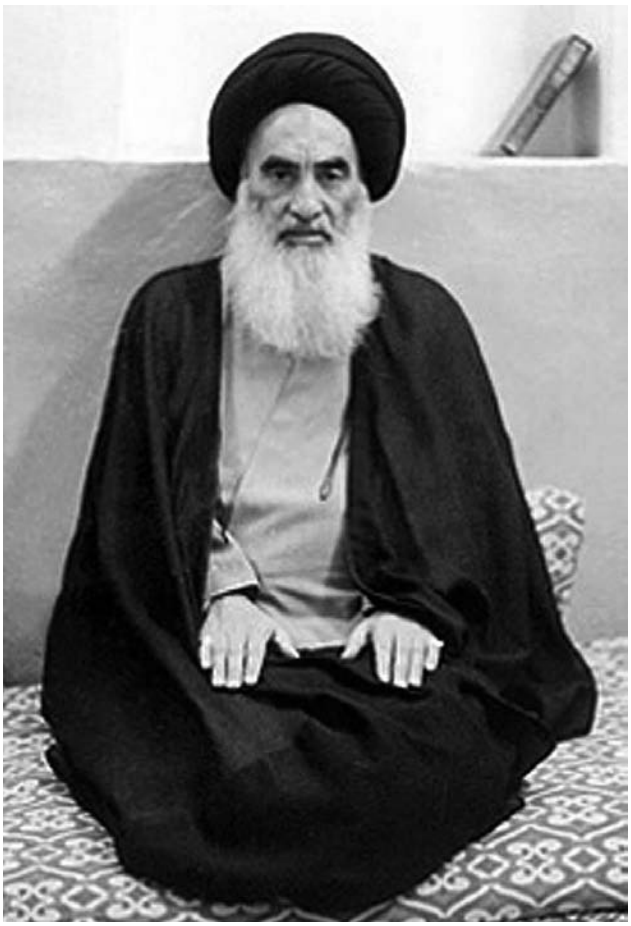
Sistani, Sayyid Ali Husayn al-

Birth Date: August 4, 1930

Islamic cleric and the most imposing traditional religious authority in Iraq, a prolific author (38 books), and a key presence in post-2003 Iraq. Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Husayn al-Sistani was born in Mashhad, Iran, on August 4, 1930, into a *sayyid* family that traced its lineage to the Prophet Muhammad. The family has produced scholars since the 17th century. Sistani began his



Grand Ayatollah Sayyid al-Sistani is the leading Shiite cleric in Iraq and one of the most revered religious leaders in Shia Islam. (EPA/Corbis)

religious training in Mashhad and then moved to Qum, Iran, to study Islamic jurisprudence and theory when the supreme and only *marja'-e mutlaq* (source of emulation) of his time, Muhammad Husayn Burujerdi, taught there.

Sistani moved to Najaf, Iraq, in 1951. There he attended lectures by grand ayatollahs Abu al-Qassim Khoi and Sheikh Hussayn Hilli. Upon his return to Mashhad, Sistani received the certificate of *ijtihad* by both Khoi and Hilli. *Ijtihad* is a source of law in Jafari jurisprudence involving independent deductive and creative reasoning attainable only after sufficient study and with acknowledgment by certain clerics.

Sistani later returned to Najaf to teach, remaining a quietist during the Islamic revival and rise of activist parties, such as the Islamic Dawa Party, and surviving when other Shiite clerics were persecuted by the Baathist government. Sistani served as the prayer imam in Khoi's own mosque from 1987 to 1993 and announced his status as a *marja' al-taqlid* (religious source of emulation) after Khoi's death. This led to challenges to his authority by clerics in Qum, but Sistani shrugged them off thanks largely to responses of his *wakil* (agent) and son-in-law Javad Shahrastani. Sistani's mosque was closed in 1994, and he was placed under house arrest. Sistani rarely traveled except for pilgrimages, but he went to London in 2004 to be treated for a heart condition.

Grand Ayatollah Sistani and his *wakils,* including Shahrastani, built and continue to maintain a vast network of adherents and centers of learning and charity. This includes a main office in Qum, which manages his mosques, scholarly libraries, charities, schools, hospitals, seminaries, the publishing of Islamic legal codes, and the distribution of preachers' and students' salaries. The main office also manages the transfers to other agents of his international network, which consists of mosques, charitable organizations, Internet sites, and seminaries, all of which operate on a multimillion-dollar budget. Sistani's activities in Najaf further the *hawzah* (scholarly establishment) there, shaping the future role of clerics, supporting pilgrims and other religious traffic to Iraq's holy cities, and managing educational, Internet, and publishing outlets.

Beyond his religious reach, since 2003 Sistani has significantly impacted the political life of Iraqis, facilitating the integration of clerical influence in the country with government agencies, for the dominant political parties are Islamist and extremely powerful within the various ministries. He has helped move the Iraqi polity more toward an Islamic democratic system than the secular, liberal democracy envisioned by American administrators.

From the beginning of the Iraqi occupation, the Americans realized that Sistani was an important contact point for them in postinvasion Iraq, but they did not fully understand his beliefs or stances vis-à-vis Islamic life and government, Iraqi sovereignty, Iran's role in the country, or Shiism. He refused to meet with them, as he did not support a lengthy occupation of Iraq and did not wish to be compromised. Communications were thus carried on through intermediaries.

With his thick Iranian accent and his image as a cleric steeped in the Iranian tradition, Sistani has garnered ire from those who oppose Islamic clerics, the Shia, and Iran in general. He could have initially more forcefully opposed the American occupation, but he instead urged Iraqi cooperation to build stability and independence. However, on June 26, 2003, Sistani's office called for an immediate general election instead of the formation by the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) of a transitional government. He then opposed the CPA-supported plan for caucuses that would precede an election. His followers staged protests throughout Iraq and ultimately defeated the plan. Sistani, however, was sustaining his legacy as a quietist scholar who had to preserve clerical independence from politicians and the media. At the same time, he had to oppose undue Western interference in Iraqi affairs.

Sistani nevertheless encouraged all Iraqis to participate in the 2005 elections as their Islamic duty. The result was the emergence of a democratically elected coalition of Shiite parties with an Islamist agenda. One may conclude that Sistani's interpretation of the role of the cleric (*ulama*) differs from that of the late Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's in that Sistani does not argue for *vilayat al-faqih* (rule of

the cleric) and opposes authoritarianism. Instead, he holds that the cleric's role in Muslim society is a holistic defense of Islam.

Sistani decried the civil and sectarian violence that has raged in Iraq since 2005, calling for restraint in revenge attacks against Sunni Iraqis, although his ability to moderate these conflicts, or inter-Shiite conflict, in central and southern Iraq is limited. He opposed the Iraqi government's 2008 attacks on the Mahdi Army, the militia controlled by cleric Muqtada al-Sadr, because of the need for Iraqi unity. Sistani has not favored the proposed mutual security agreement between Iraq and the United States, intended to become operational after the United Nations (UN) Security Council's authorization of U.S. troop presence in Iraq ends in December 2008.

Sherifa Zuhur

See also

Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Islamic Dawa Party; Khomeini, Ruhollah; Mahdi Army; Sadr, Muqtada al-; Shia Islam

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Slovakia, Role in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

Landlocked East European nation encompassing some 18,725 square miles of territory. With a 2008 population of approximately 5.455 million people, Slovakia is bordered by the Czech Republic and Austria to the west, Poland to the north, Ukraine to the east, and Hungary to the south. Slovakia, formerly a part of Czechoslovakia until it became an independent nation in 1993, has oriented itself squarely with the West and is a member of the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Slovakia has a democratic parliamentary-style political system and multiple political parties. The popularly elected president is head of state, while the prime minister, who is head of government, is appointed by the president. The largest and most influential parties include the Direction-Social Democracy, the Slovak Democratic and Christian Union, the Slovak National Party, the People's Party/Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, and the Christian Democratic Movement. Slovakia enjoyed a booming economy after 1993 and by 2007 had attained the fastest growth rate of any EU nation.

Slovakia joined other East European states in supporting the U.S.-led campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq. After its former partner in Czechoslovakia, the Czech Republic, joined NATO in 1999, Slovakia initiated a sustained wider campaign to also become part of the alliance. As part of its effort to increase security cooperation with the United States and the West, Slovakia deployed peacekeeping forces in a range of missions in the Balkans during the late 1990s. When terrorists struck the United States on September 11, 2001, the Slovak government pledged diplomatic and security support for the U.S.-led coalition that invaded Afghanistan.

In August 2002 Slovakia deployed an engineer company of 40 soldiers to Bagram Air Field in Afghanistan. The troops helped rebuild and expand the air base for coalition operations based there. In December, Slovak forces were moved to Kabul, where they joined the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). Slovakia subsequently dispatched other engineering forces that undertook ordnance disposal missions and reconstruction projects. In addition to service in and around Kabul, elements of the Slovak contingent were stationed in Kandahar, where they worked to expand the air facilities. Slovak troops worked mainly with national units from the Netherlands and the Czech Republic. The peak Slovak deployment in Afghanistan was 115 soldiers in 2008, but the government announced in early 2009 plans to increase its number of troops to more than 250. The country also dispatched civilian advisers to serve as part of the NATO provincial reconstruction teams throughout Afghanistan.

Slovakia also donated a significant amount of military equipment to the Afghan National Army. The Slovak aid included small arms and ammunition, rocket launchers, and artillery. In 2005 Slovakia wrote off Afghanistan's debt of approximately $3 million. During its involvement in Afghanistan, Slovakia funded eight reconstruction and infrastructure projects totaling more than $1 million.

Slovakia also supported the effort by the George W. Bush administration to assemble a coalition to invade Iraq and oust Saddam Hussein from power. The Slovak government's main interests in backing the United States were a concern over the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), support for the Global War on Terror, and the country's continuing effort to join NATO (Slovakia was admitted to membership in the alliance in 2004). In July 2003 Slovakia sent an engineering company to Iraq as part of the U.S.-led coalition. The Slovaks were deployed as part of the Multi-National Force in the southern area of Iraq. They engaged in demining and ordnance disposal missions. Slovakia rotated seven deployments through Iraq (each lasing six months). Slovakia withdrew the bulk of its forces, which peaked at 110 personnel, from Iraq in February 2007 but continued to participate in the NATO-led training mission for Iraqi security forces. The country maintained a small contingent of six officers and soldiers as part of the NATO operation until July 2007. The government also provided training for Iraqi police officers in Slovakia and donated surplus military equipment, including small arms

and ammunition to the Iraqi security forces. During the country's involvement in Iraq, four Slovakian soldiers were killed.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan; Provincial Reconstruction Teams, Afghanistan

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Small Diameter Bomb

See Joint Direct Attack Munition and Small Diameter Bomb

Smart Bombs

See Bombs, Precision-Guided

Smith, Paul Ray

Birth Date: September 24, 1969
Death Date: April 4, 2003

U.S. Army sergeant and posthumous recipient of the Medal of Honor for service in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, the first U.S. soldier in the Iraq War to be so recognized. Paul Ray Smith was born in El Paso, Texas, on September 24, 1969, but grew up primarily in Tampa, Florida. After graduating from Tampa Bay Technical High School in 1989, he joined the army. He completed basic training and advanced individual training at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, and became a combat engineer. Before his death in 2003, Smith had some 14 years of service and had risen to the rank of sergeant first class. He served in both Germany and the United States in the 82nd Engineer Battalion in Bamberg, Germany; in the 1st Engineer Battalion at Fort Riley, Kansas; in the 317th Engineer Battalion at Fort Benning, Georgia; and in the 9th Engineer Battalion in Schweinfurt, Germany. Smith served in the Persian Gulf War and in Bosnia. In 1999 he joined the 11th Engineer Battalion based at Fort Stewart, Georgia, which was deployed to Kosovo in 2001.

During the invasion of Iraq in March 2003, Smith was a member of Bravo Company, 11th Engineer Battalion, of the 3rd Infantry Division. His company was assigned to support the 2nd Battalion, 7th Infantry Regiment, which was advancing toward Saddam International Airport in Baghdad. To reach that objective, the battalion had to pass through the Karbala Gap, across the Euphrates River. The battalion encountered some resistance on its way to the airport on April 4, 2003, and fighting ensued that led to the taking of a number of Iraqi prisoners.

To hold these prisoners, Smith and his unit had to establish a makeshift holding pen. He and his men used an earthmover to make a hole in a nearby enclosed courtyard with a tower. At this point Smith discovered that 50–100 Iraqi troops had taken up position near its gate. Smith called up an M-3 Bradley fighting vehicle in order to attack the position, which was supported by three M-113 armored personnel carriers (APCs). One of the M-113s was hit, possibly by a mortar round, and all three crewmen were wounded. Smith aided in their evacuation but then discovered that there was an aid station in the area with a number of combat casualties. In order to protect the aid station, Smith elected not to withdraw but instead to stand and fight. Now under intense Iraqi cross fire, Smith took command of the M-113 and organized a counterattack, which was successful. At the end of the firefight, however, his comrades found Smith slumped over the Bradley's M-2 .50-caliber machine gun. His body armor had been pierced 13 times, but he had been killed by a shot to the neck and head. Smith is credited with having killed as many as 50 of the enemy and saving the lives of a number of his own men.

President George W. Bush presented the Medal of Honor to Smith's 11-year-old son David during a White House ceremony on April 4, 2005. Smith was the first Medal of Honor recipient of the Iraq War. Several months after the award of Smith's Medal of Honor, his German-born wife Brigit became an American citizen.

MICHAEL K. BEAUCHAMP

See also

Bush, George Walker

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Somalia

East African nation covering 246,199 square miles with a 1945 population of approximately 9.56 million people. Somalia is bordered by the Gulf of Aden to the north, the Indian Ocean to the east, Djibouti to the northwest, Ethiopia to the west, and Kenya to the southwest. On July 1, 1960, the former colony of British Somaliland and the United Nations (UN) trusteeship of Italian Somaliland merged to form Somalia. Clan loyalties divided the population and formed the basis of the political parties that continually vied for power. During 1960–1967, Aden Abdulla Osman served as president and was succeeded by Abdirashid Ali Shermarke (1967–1969).

In 1960, recognizing Somalia's potential as a counterbalance to the American presence in neighboring Ethiopia, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev established relations with the nation and offered economic aid and expanded the port facilities at Berbera. In October 1969 following President Shermarke's assassination, General Mohamed Siad Barre, commander in chief of the armed forces, seized power. He dismissed the elected government and proclaimed Somali socialism. Siad's attempts to improve conditions within Somalia included the adoption of an official script for the Somali language, improved education and health care facilities, and large-scale agricultural projects. He also granted the Soviets access to military facilities and received military aid sufficient to make Somalia one of the most heavily armed states in Africa. The Soviet-Somali Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation was signed in July 1974, the same year that Somalia joined the Arab League. In 1976 the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party was founded.

Nationalism and irredentism—not communism—motivated Siad. He believed that the European scramble for Africa in the 19th century had destroyed his nation by dividing land inhabited by the Somali people among the colonial powers. Siad wanted to reunite ethnic Somalis in neighboring Ethiopia, Kenya, and Djibouti with the rest of the Somali nation but was constrained by the 1964 Cairo Resolution that pledged African states to maintain existing borders. With diplomatic backing unlikely, Siad resorted to military conquest to implement his plans whereby chances of victory would be improved by external support. Hence, he tightened relations with the Soviet Union.

Siad began his campaign in July 1977 when, supported by Soviet arms and advisers, he attempted to seize the Ogaden region of Ethiopia. However, his fears that the Soviets had developed relations with Somalia only because they could not control Ethiopia were soon realized. Although Ethiopia and Somalia had both received military aid from the Soviet Union since 1974, the onset of the Ogaden War forced the Soviet Union to choose sides; in October 1977 Moscow halted military aid to Somalia.

In November 1977 Siad broke ties with the communist bloc and turned instead to the United States, hoping that the Americans would appreciate Somalia's value as a Cold War counterbalance. However, newly elected president Jimmy Carter refused to aid Siad's regime. With no external support and with the might of the communist bloc aiding Ethiopia, the war reached an inevitable conclusion. On March 9, 1978, Siad announced the withdrawal of all Somali forces from Ethiopia.

By 1980, however, the changing international environment, particularly the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the 1979 Iranian Revolution, compelled Carter to steer U.S. foreign policy toward a more traditional Cold War orientation. In August 1980 an agreement was reached that granted the Americans access to military facilities in Somalia in return for military aid, thus countering the Soviet presence in Ethiopia and facilitating American military operations in the Indian Ocean. Siad's dictatorial reputation prevented a closer relationship, and in 1989 his continued human rights violations prompted the U.S. Congress to halt military assistance.

As conditions in Somalia deteriorated, the misgivings felt by the Americans were progressively shared by the Somali people. During the 1980s the economy declined steadily, and periodic droughts aggravated food shortages caused by poor agricultural policies and government price controls. Siad's persistence in awarding key positions to members of his own Marehan clan and other subclans of the Darod clan exacerbated clan rivalries and government corruption. Dissent increasingly manifested itself through violence, and the country entered a state of virtual civil war following an uprising that began in the north in May 1988, then consolidated under the leadership of the Issaq-led Somali National Movement (SNM). Siad provided the Darod clan with arms with which to oppose the SNM, but Darod loyalty to Siad was diminishing. In April 1988 he lost support of the Ogadeeni subclan when Somalia and Ethiopia signed a peace treaty in which Siad renounced all claims to the Ogaden.

Opposition from the Hawiye clan led to the formation of the United Somali Congress (USC), which concentrated on efforts to take control of Mogadishu, prompting Siad to withdraw those troops still loyal to him to defend the capital. By December 1990 much of Mogadishu had been destroyed, and thousands had been killed in the fighting. On January 27, 1991, Siad fled Mogadishu, and the USC took control of the city. With the common enemy gone, however, clan rivalries exploded once more, and civil war resumed.

In 1992 the USC split when the Haber-Gedir subclan formed the United Somali Congress/Somali National Alliance (USC/SNA), which came to be headed by General Mohammed Farrah Aidid (Aideed). Meanwhile civil warfare continued unabated, and a humanitarian catastrophe loomed. Beginning in April 1992, the UN attempted to broker a peace in Somalia and dispatched a small number of troops to distribute aid, which did little to alleviate the suffering of the Somali people. In December 1992 the United Task Force (UNITAF), led by the United States, commenced Operation RESTORE HOPE. UNITAF included some 30,000 troops, mostly American. By the spring of 1993 it had helped alleviate the worst of the living conditions in Somalia, and in March 1993 the UN took over all operations in Somalia. Further attempts to broker a peace, however, were unsuccessful. In March 1993, the UN created the United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSCOM II), which sought to disarm the warring factions of their heavy weapons and to broker a lasting peace. The United States opted to keep many of its troops in Somalia operating within the framework of UNOSCOM II, which numbered about 28,000 military and support personnel.

The UN peacekeeping force soon encountered resistance from Aidid's USC/SNA, which believed that UNOSCOM II had undermined its gains made in the civil war. Fighting now broke out between Aidid's faction and UNOSCOM in June 1993. Between June and October, UN forces attempted to defeat the USC/SNA and capture Aidid. In the process several thousand more Somalis perished, and Aidid remained at large. By the autumn of 1993 many Somalis had turned against UNOSCOM II and began supporting

Two soldiers of the U.S. Army 10th Mountain Division conduct a nighttime sweep for weapons in the small Somali village of Afgooye in January 1993. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Aidid. During October 3–4, 1993, in the Battle of Mogadishu, 18 U.S. soldiers died; there were many other casualties. President Bill Clinton, his administration deeply embarrassed by the debacle, announced that U.S. troops would be withdrawn from Somalia by March 31, 1994. Meanwhile, Aidid announced a cease-fire.

After the Battle of Mogadishu there was some stability in south-central Somalia, but no peace had been brokered. UN peacekeeping and humanitarian workers remained in Somalia until March 1995, but any gains made during the UN intervention were quickly erased by renewed fighting. In August 1996 Aidid was killed, but this did little to quell the civil violence. Al Qaeda sent exploratory groups into Somalia in this period, and these linked up with the local militias and activists. Some U.S. government experts believed that the cells that attacked the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, carried out the attacks on an Israeli-owned hotel in Mombasa, and attempted to down an Israeli airplane in 2002 were based in Somalia. In 2002 the United States established the Combined Joint Task Force–Horn of Africa in Djibouti, with some 2,000 troops, to confront the threat in Somalia.

Several subsequent attempts to reach a peace settlement in Somalia and to create a central government failed, although in 2004 the UN helped some Somali factions establish the Transitional Federal Government (TFG), but it proved unable to assert control over the country.

In May–June 2006 a coalition of Islamic fundamentalist courts, known as the Union of Islamic Courts, and their militias asserted authority over most of south-central Somalia. Its forces were successful in defeating clan militias. The Islamists now invoked Islamic law in Mogadishu and surrounding areas. The neighboring Ethiopians, however, were threatened by the hard-line Islamists and sent forces into Somalia in December 2006, allying with the TFG. The Islamists were temporarily defeated, allowing the TFG to finally assert a semblance of control in south-central Somalia. The TFG, however, was not able retain control and has been forced to deal from Djibouti with an insurgency mounted by the Islamists. Meanwhile, in the northwest (Somaliland) relative peace and stability were achieved beginning in 1991. In the northeast (Puntland) relative stability was achieved by 1998, but this area remains desperately poor.

In 2007 fighting among TFG, Ethiopian, and Islamist forces resulted in scores of deaths and created another humanitarian crisis, as more than 300,000 residents of Mogadishu were forced to flee their homes. In January 2007 the United States launched air strikes against retreating Islamist militants, claiming that Al Qaeda members were among them. The move angered many in the Muslim world because numerous civilian died in the attacks. In June 2008 the TFG brokered a truce with moderate Islamist groups and agreed to the withdrawal of Ethiopian troops, which would

be replaced by UN peacekeeping troops. In January 2009 Ethiopia began removing its 3,000 troops; 4,500 Ugandan and Burundian peacekeeping troops from the African National Union replaced them. However, the TFG's hold in Somalia collapsed at the end of that month, and the TGF then attempted to rule from Djibouti. A growing insurgency by Islamic extremists continued, and by June 2009 they even held parts of Mogadishu. The government-in-exile has included Islamists in its ranks.

One of the Islamist extremist groups, al-Shabab, expanded through central and southern Somalia, capturing some towns near Mogadishu. In May 2009 al-Shabab took the strategic town of Jowhar, some 50 miles northeast of the capital, forcing some 40,000 civilians from their homes.

Meanwhile, a growing threat of piracy from Somali warlords operating in the Indian Ocean and Gulf of Aden has showcased the inherent dangers of an unstable and anarchic Somalia. Most of the pirates operate from Puntland, which has been relatively stable, but the grinding poverty there has encouraged many to resort to illegal means by which to earn a living.

The TFG formed a coalition with its two principal Islamic opposition parties in June 2009 that proceeded to announce that Sharia law would govern the nation's judiciary. This was not well received among Western nations. Nevertheless, fighting continues in the central and southern parts of Somalia between government forces and Islamic extremists groups, many of which have ties to Al Qaeda. In September 2009 U.S. Special Forces conducted a daring helicopter commando raid in Somalia that killed an Al Qaeda operative who was believed to have been involved with the bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998.

Donna R. Jackson and Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Aidid, Mohammed Farrah; Somalia, International Intervention in

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Somalia, International Intervention in

Start Date: April 1992
End Date: March 1995

Intervention in Somalia that lasted from April 1992 to March 1995 and was an international response to deteriorating humanitarian conditions in the war-torn nation. By 1992, continuing civil unrest in Somalia had rendered the government unable to react to a rising humanitarian crisis among its people, which threatened to bring wholesale starvation to millions of people. The intervention was made possible due largely to a consensus among the United Nations (UN) Security Council members to take action in a country where the central government had essentially ceased to exist. A major relief and humanitarian effort on the part of the United States, code-named Operation restore hope, became the backbone of the intervention. It began on December 9, 1993.

Modern Somali history has been repeatedly punctuated by international involvement and interventions. Somalia was forced into the European colonial system at the end of the 19th century. Italy ruled its southern, central, and northeastern regions, while Great Britain ruled the northwestern region. During World War II, Great Britain conquered the entire country; after the war ended, Somalia was incorporated into the international mandate system. On July 1, 1960, all regions of Somalia were united to form one independent state.

Because Somalia had long been dominated by clan politics, forming a stable regime there proved to be impossible. In 1969 General Mohamed Siad Barre formed a dictatorship. In May 1988 the Somali National Movement (SNM), which represented the northwestern clan, the Isaaq, openly challenged Siad's rule. In the years that followed, a full-scale civil war unfolded in Somalia. Other clans joined the SNM's struggle against Siad, such as the Majerteen/Darod from the northeast and the Hawiye from the central region. Each clan formed its own political faction. When the clans' coalition finally defeated Siad's forces in early 1991, they turned against each other.

By 1992 the state was divided among the various warring factions. In the northwest, the Isaaq clan declared independence from Somalia and formed Somaliland. The Majerteen declared autonomy in the northeast of Somalia. The south-central region, which was the most populous, was dominated by the Hawiye, who formed the United Somali Congress (USC). The Haber-Gedir, a subclan of the Hawiye, split from the USC and formed the most powerful faction, the USC/SNA (United Somali Congress/Somali National Alliance). This faction was headed by General Mohammed Farrah Aidid (Aideed). The continuous fighting among the factions crushed whatever remained of Somalia's state authorities and infrastructure, threatening the well-being of millions of Somalis who were suffering from starvation, disease, and daily violence.

The first phase of the international intervention in Somalia lasted from April 1992 to December 1992. During this period, UN representatives tried to broker a peace deal among warring factions in Somalia while deploying a small peacekeeping force, called the United Nations Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM I). The UN military contingent numbered approximately 500 soldiers from Pakistan stationed in the country's capital, Mogadishu. Another objective of the intervention was to deliver humanitarian aid to the country. But UN efforts failed to bring about change on the political, security, or humanitarian levels. The situation

A Botswana member of the United Task Force (UNITAF) in an armored personnel carrier provides security at Mogadishu Airport in support of Operation RESTORE HOPE, 1993. (U.S. Department of Defense)

remained unchanged until the George H. W. Bush administration in the United States took the decision to lead a United Task Force (UNITAF) comprised of multinational forces to help deliver humanitarian aid to approximately 2 million Somalis.

UN Security Council Resolution 794 of December 3, 1992, marked the beginning of the second phase of the international intervention in Somalia and began Operation RESTORE HOPE, which commenced on December 9, 1992, when the first contingent of U.S. forces landed on Somali shores. This phase lasted until March 1993, when UN forces took over responsibility for all international operations in the country. For the first time in UN history, the Security Council had now confirmed the fact that obstacles to humanitarian aid are to be considered a threat to international peace and security.

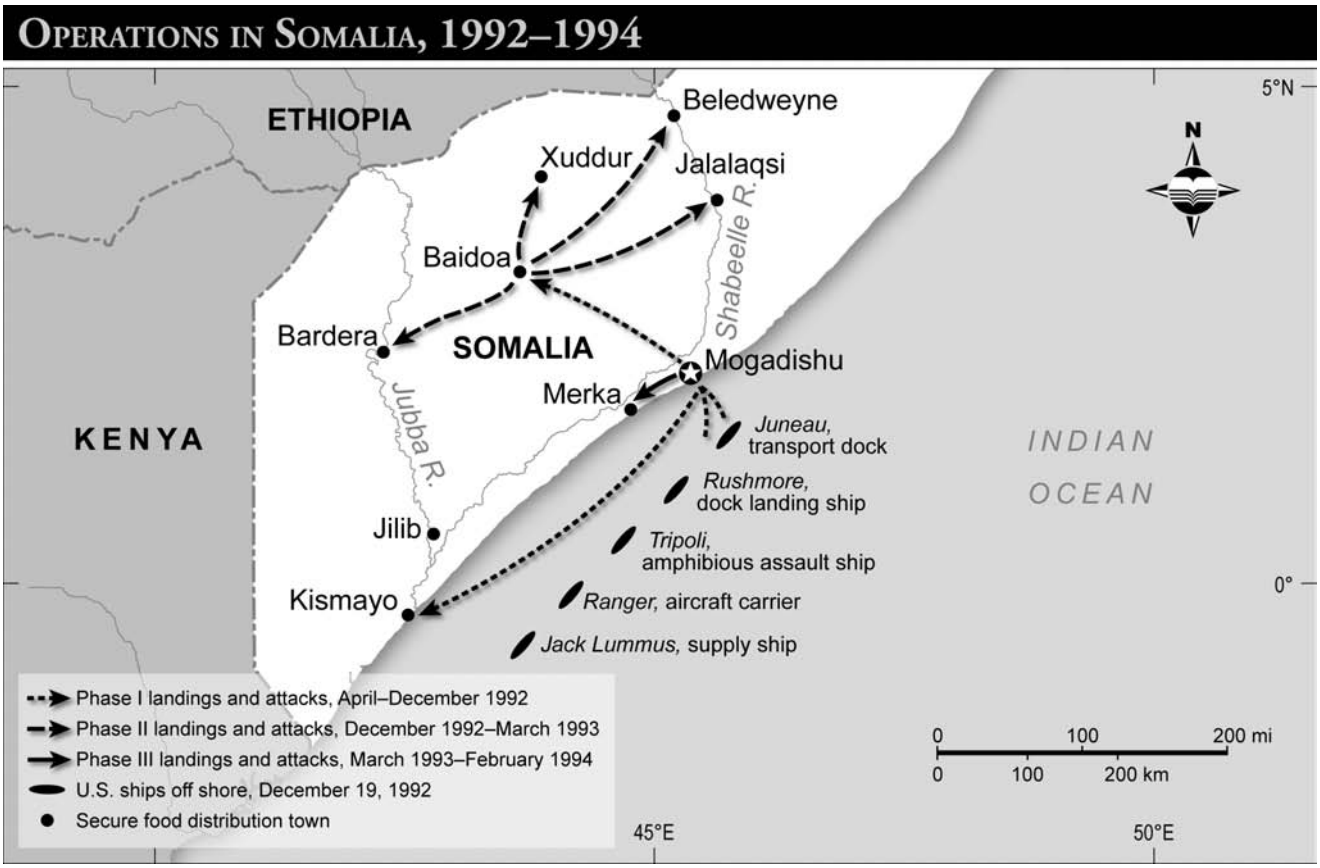
UNITAF numbered more than 30,000 men at its peak, with the United States contributing approximately two-thirds of this manpower. UNITAF troops were deployed solely in the south-central region of the country, encompassing some 40 percent of the country's territory, in the areas that had experienced the worst warfare and famine in the early 1990s. The international force took control of all ports, airfields, and main roads within its deployment areas.

Massive aid operations soon began reaching the needy, and within a few months UNITAF had succeeded in ameliorating the humanitarian conditions. All local Somali factions cooperated with the multinational forces and in January and March 1993 signed the Addis Ababa Peace Agreements, calling for the establishment of a Transitional National Council, a political body that was to include all Somali factions and work as an interim government for the country.

During the intervention, a controversy developed between the U.S. government and the UN Secretariat concerning the disarming of the Somali factions. The UN Secretariat wanted UNITAF to disarm all Somalis, whereas the United States refused to do so, claiming that it had led UNITAF for strictly humanitarian reasons, not to impose peace. The Americans claimed that once the humanitarian crisis was over, it would be time for the UN to lead the international force. As a compromise, instead of disarming the population, the international force concentrated its efforts on supervising the storage of the factions' heavy weapons under international supervision.

Security Council Resolution 814 of March 26, 1993, established the United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II), which replaced the American-led UNITAF. For the first time in history, UN forces were authorized under Chapter VII of the UN Charter to use force. This authorization marked the third phase of the intervention in Somalia.

During the third phase, which lasted from March 1993 to February 1994, UNOSOM II numbered approximately 28,000 soldiers,



civil police, and civilian personnel. These forces were supposed to assist the local Somali factions in implementing the Addis Ababa Peace Agreements. The UN forces had many objectives resulting from the agreements, such as establishing civilian institutions in Somalia, continuing the humanitarian aid, and instituting various development projects.

Instead of conciliation, however, UN actions strained the multinational force's relations with the most powerful Somali faction in the south-central region of the country, the USC/SNA. Aidid, the faction's leader, perceived the UN actions as efforts to undermine his faction's achievements from the civil war. He then encouraged his supporters to attack the UN forces.

Tension between the UN and the USC/SNA reached a climax on June 5, 1993. Fighting erupted that day between Pakistani peacekeeping contingents and armed locals who were probably connected to the USC/SNA. The Pakistani soldiers were supposed to inspect a USC/SNA arms depot and to assist in the delivering of humanitarian aid. When the fighting ended, 24 Pakistani soldiers and approximately 50 Somalis were dead.

This fighting marked the beginning of a four-month war between the UN forces and Aidid and his allies. Between June and October 1993 the UN launched numerous operations to capture Aidid and his faction's coleaders. Most of the operations were led by U.S. Special Forces units in the streets of southern Mogadishu, but these operations yielded bad results. Thousands of Somalis died, and Aidid was not caught. As a result of the high number of Somali casualties, many Somalis began to support Aidid against the international intervention.

The deadliest engagement occurred during October 3–4, 1993. A raid by U.S. Rangers and Delta Force troops on a USC/SNA house on Mogadishu was upset when, because of street fighting, the American force became disoriented and two U.S. Sikorsky MH-60 Black Hawk helicopters were shot down. Pakistani armor failed to arrive as intense fighting took place in southern Mogadishu between the American forces and hundreds of Somalis. At the end of battle there were many casualties, including 18 American soldiers. After the battle, Aidid declared a unilateral cease-fire.

Outraged and embarrassed by the turn of events, on October 7 President Bill Clinton declared his intention to withdraw all American forces from Somalia by March 31, 1994. After the Battle of Mogadishu, relative political and military stability prevailed in south-central Somalia until February 1994 but with no progress made regarding the core problems that had led to the intervention in the first place. The Somali factions retained their armaments, and the UN continued the rebuilding of civilian institutions under its auspices.

The beginning of the final phase of the intervention was defined by UN Security Council Resolution 897 of February 4, 1994. This phase lasted until the evacuation of the last UN contingent in March 1995. In March 1994 the last Western soldiers (including

U.S.) were withdrawn from the country. Other countries withdrew their forces as well. After its forces were reduced to less than 20,000 soldiers, the UN changed its focus to that of the original mandate in 1992. The forces' operations would now emphasize reconciliation efforts among the local factions and the development of civilian institutions and infrastructure. In total, all forces under the UN suffered 147 casualties between 1992 and 1995.

Most of the UN's achievements were temporary. Even before the last UN forces were evacuated, the Somali factions renewed their fighting. Most of the civilian institutions that the UN helped to establish, such as a force of approximately 8,000 civil police and local authorities, disintegrated after the end of the intervention.

Aidid died on August 1, 1996, after being mortally wounded a week earlier. During the late 1990s the international community tried to broker a national peace agreement. In 2000 an attempt to create a Transitional National Government was undermined by the clans' mistrust of each other. This was encouraged by the fact that various African and Arab countries supported different clan coalitions. In 2004 another international effort created the Transitional Federal Government (TFG), which included all Somali clans. However, the TFG failed to establish authority in Somalia.

During 2006 a union of fundamentalist Islamic courts took hold of most of south-central Somalia. Their base of power was in Mogadishu, and they succeeded in defeating the clans' militias. The Islamists were able to restore law and order to the areas under their control by invoking Islamic laws. However, their hard-line calls for religious war (jihad) put them at odds with Ethiopia. On December 24, 2006, Ethiopian military forces, aided by the TFG's forces, invaded the Islamist-held territories, defeating the Islamists in a series of battles. The Ethiopian victories paved the way for the TFG to finally take root in Mogadishu. However, the TFG faces continued insurgencies by Islamists and supporters of the various clans. In contrast to the turbulent history of south-central Somalia, relative political stability has prevailed in the northwestern self-declared state of Somaliland since 1991 and in the northeastern self-declared autonomy of Puntland since 1998.

CHEN KERTCHER

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Clinton, William Jefferson; Durant, Michael

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SOUTHERN WATCH, Operation

Start Date: August 26, 1992
End Date: March 19, 2003

Coalition surveillance and air policing operation of southern Iraq from August 26, 1992, to March 19, 2003. Operation SOUTHERN WATCH was implemented to prevent Iraqi fixed- and rotary-wing military aircraft from flying in Iraqi airspace south of the 32nd Parallel (33rd Parallel after 1996). The operation effectively established a southern no-fly zone to enforce United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 688, passed on April 5, 1991.

Following the end of the Persian Gulf War in February 1991, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein ordered his military forces to repress Shia Muslims in southern Iraq who had revolted against his rule. In April, UN Security Council Resolution 688 demanded that Hussein end attacks on Iraqi Shiites, but the Iraqi dictator refused.

On August 26, 1992, U.S. president George H. W. Bush announced that a coalition of UN-member military forces would begin air policing operations of Iraq below the 32nd Parallel to ensure Iraq's compliance with Resolution 688. The coalition barred all Iraqi fixed- and rotary-wing aircraft from flying in the designated area. The U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) activated Joint Task Force Southwest Asia (JTF-SWA) as the command and control organization for coalition forces monitoring the southern no-fly zone, and the mission was dubbed Operation SOUTHERN WATCH. Lieutenant General Michael A. Nelson, then commander of CENTCOM air forces, became the first commander of JTF-SWA, headquartered in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. Besides the United States, the other coalition partners were Great Britain, France, Russia, and Saudi Arabia.

Coalition air forces flew the first SOUTHERN WATCH sortie on August 27, 1992. At first Iraq complied with the no-fly restrictions, but Hussein soon began challenging SOUTHERN WATCH operations after the UN decision of November 24, 1992, to retain sanctions against Iraq. On December 27, 1992, a U.S. Air Force Lockheed Martin F-16 Fighting Falcon patrolling the no-fly zone encountered an Iraqi MiG-25 Foxbat. After the Iraqi pilot locked his air-to-air radar onto the F-16, the American pilot destroyed the Foxbat with an air-to-air missile. Shortly afterward, Hussein moved surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) into southern Iraq below the 32nd Parallel. Because of the threat this posed to coalition pilots flying SOUTHERN WATCH missions, the coalition ordered Hussein to remove them. He ignored the demand.

On January 6, 1993, the United States, Russia, France, and the United Kingdom agreed to work together to enforce Resolution 688. A week later, coalition aircraft destroyed Iraqi SAM sites and their command and control units in southern Iraq, and on January 17, 1994, coalition naval forces disabled an Iraqi nuclear facility with Tomahawk cruise missiles to emphasize the need for Iraq to comply with UN Security Council Resolution 687, which had demanded the destruction of all Iraqi weapons of mass destruction (WMDs).

On April 18, 1993, a McDonnell Douglas F-4G Phantom II fired a missile into an Iraqi antiaircraft position after its radar

An F-14 Tomcat lands on the U.S. aircraft carrier *Independence* (CV-62). The carrier was taking part in Operation SOUTHERN WATCH, a multinational effort establishing a no-fly zone for Iraqi aircraft south of the 32nd Parallel in Iraq. (U.S. Department of Defense)

had illuminated the aircraft. On June 26, 1993, the United States launched Tomahawk missiles against targets in Iraq in retaliation for an April 1992 Iraqi government plan to assassinate former President George H. W. Bush during a visit to Kuwait.

Because the first nine months of 1994 passed without any Iraqi challenges in the SOUTHERN WATCH area, JTF-SWA began to withdraw forces in February 1994. By late spring almost 20 aircraft, about 300 personnel, and almost 1,000 tons of equipment had redeployed to their home stations in the United States. However, in October 1994 Iraq began to move troops toward Kuwait after the coalition refused to set a date to end sanctions against Iraq.

Coalition forces then deployed additional forces into the theater in Operation VIGILANT WARRIOR. In response the UN Security Council passed Resolution 949, which prohibited Iraq from using its forces to threaten neighboring countries or UN operations in Iraq, deploying units south of the 32nd Parallel, and enhancing its military capabilities in southern Iraq.

After another Iraqi confrontation in September 1996, JTF-SWA continued to monitor the airspace south of the 32nd Parallel in southern Iraq with aircraft from the American, British, French, and Saudi Arabian air forces from land bases in the region and from U.S. Navy carrier groups in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Coalition naval forces also provided maritime intercept operations in the northern Red Sea and the Persian Gulf in support of UN sanctions against Iraq. By this time, the U.S. Air Force had deployed more than 6,000 personnel to support Operation SOUTHERN WATCH air operations over southern Iraq. Aircraft included the F-4 Phantom II, the McDonnell Douglas F-15 Eagle, and the F-16 Fighting Falcon and, for refueling coalition strike aircraft, the Boeing KC-135R Stratotanker. Between August 1992, when SOUTHERN WATCH began, and the end of January 1997, U.S. Air Force aircraft and crews had flown more than 28,800 sorties (68 percent of the total sorties) in support of the coalition operation.

After the June 1996 bombing of the Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia, the U.S. Air Force relocated the majority of its SOUTHERN WATCH

forces from Prince Sultan Air Base to Kharj, Saudi Arabia, located to the southeast of Riyadh, and instituted additional force protection measures throughout the CENTCOM's area of responsibility.

In November 1998 U.S. president William J. Clinton warned Hussein that the coalition would use force if he continued to hamper UN weapons inspectors looking for Iraqi WMDs. When Hussein continued to do so, the coalition conducted Operation DESERT FOX during December 16–19 to show its resolve in supporting the UN's weapons inspections. Coalition air forces attacked installations associated with Iraq's development of WMDs, national command and control systems, air defense facilities, Republican Guard facilities, airfields, and the Basra oil refinery, which was involved in the illegal production of petroleum products for export.

After DESERT FOX began, France ended its participation in SOUTHERN WATCH air operations on December 16, 1998, contending that the United States and British air forces had conducted attacks against Iraqi targets for more than a year, contributing to the continuing tensions. France, however, still retained men and equipment in the region.

By early 2001, coalition pilots had entered the southern no-fly zone 153,000 times since the start of SOUTHERN WATCH without losing any pilots. Since December 1998 the Iraqis had illuminated coalition aircraft with their radar or attacked them with antiaircraft weapons on 500 occasions. In the same period, CENTCOM reported that Iraqi aircraft violated the southern no-fly zone more than 150 times, often trying to lure coalition aircraft north of the 33rd Parallel into so-called SAM-bushes. Although some published reports indicated that coalition air operations had caused the deaths of 175 civilians and wounded nearly 500 others between January 1999 and April 2000, coalition aircraft did not target civilian populations or infrastructure and sought to avoid injury to civilians and damage to civilian facilities.

During 2001 and into 2002, U.S. and British aircraft launched sporadic attacks against Iraqi command centers, radars, and communications centers in southern Iraq. Coalition aircraft hit only about 40 percent of the targets, but these attacks sparked adverse opinion in the foreign press, reflecting growing world skepticism about U.S.-British policy toward Iraq. Then, attacks by Iraqi antiaircraft defenses on coalition aircraft, followed by retaliatory air strikes, began to occur almost weekly.

In June 2002 American and British forces stepped up their attacks to degrade Iraqi air defense and communication targets all over southern Iraq to soften them up in preparation for a future invasion of Iraq. Lieutenant General Michael Mosley revealed the existence of this operation, called SOUTHERN FOCUS, in mid-2003. Later revelations discovered that these attacks were part of a preplanned operation to degrade the Iraqi air-defense system in preparation for the planned invasion of Iraq. This operation continued until the beginning of the invasion of Iraq during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in March 2003. By that time, coalition air forces had flown nearly 300,000 sorties in support of Operation SOUTHERN WATCH and related operations.

In December 2002 the U.S. Air Force sent an RQ-1 Predator unmanned reconnaissance aircraft, armed with infrared AIM-92 Stinger air-to-air missiles, to patrol the no-fly zone in an attempt to bait Iraqi fighters into a fight. An Iraqi MiG-25 spotted the unmanned aerial vehicle and attacked. Both aircraft fired missiles at each other, but the Iraqi aircraft was outside the range of the Stinger. While the U.S. missile fell short, the Iraqi missile hit the Predator, destroying it. This mission was the first time an unmanned aircraft had been used in air-to-air combat.

During the 10 years of its duration, Operation SOUTHERN WATCH sparked a number of both good and bad results. First, it provided a major impetus for the U.S. Air Force to reorganize itself into 10 Aerospace Expeditionary Forces (AEFs) that could handle regular, extended, or temporary deployments. Additionally, the need for combat-ready forces produced equipment upgrades and modernization for Air National Guard and Air Force Reserve units, which provided 10 percent of the U.S. Air Force's deployed aerospace expeditionary forces. On the down side, the operation contributed significantly to very fast-paced operations that caused major readiness problems throughout the air force. In May 2000, for example, one-third of the air force's combat units were not fully ready for war, largely because manning and spare parts shortages had reduced its readiness level to the lowest point in 15 years. Many believed that the long-term sustained air operations of SOUTHERN WATCH contributed significantly to this problem.

ROBERT B. KANE

See also

DESERT FOX, Operation; Missiles, Surface-to-Air; No-Fly Zones; United Nations; United Nations Security Council Resolution 687; United Nations Special Commission; United Nations Weapons Inspectors; United States Central Command; VIGILANT WARRIOR, Operation

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Soviet-Afghanistan War

Start Date: 1979
End Date: 1989

War that destroyed the U.S.-Soviet détente of the 1970s; inaugurated a new, dangerous stage in the Cold War; destabilized Afghanistan; and badly weakened the Soviet military and economic establishments. The Soviet-Afghanistan War represented

the culmination of events dating to April 1978, when Afghan communists, supported by left-wing army leaders, overthrew the unpopular, authoritarian government of Mohammad Daoud Khan and proclaimed the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Although the extent of Soviet involvement in the coup remains unclear, Moscow certainly welcomed it and quickly established close relations with the new regime, which was headed by Nur Muhammad Taraki. He was committed to bringing socialism to Afghanistan.

With the ambitious, extremely militant foreign minister Hafizullah Amin as its driving force, the Taraki regime quickly alienated much of Afghanistan's population by conducting a terror campaign against its opponents and introducing a series of social and economic reforms at odds with the religious and cultural norms of the country's highly conservative, Muslim, tribal society. Afghanistan's Muslim leaders soon declared a jihad (holy war) against "godless communism," and by August 1978 the Taraki regime faced an open revolt, a situation made especially dangerous by the defection of a portion of the army to the rebel cause.

As Afghanistan descended into civil war, Moscow grew increasingly concerned. Committed by the Brezhnev Doctrine to preventing the overthrow of a friendly, neighboring communist government and fearful of the effects that a potential Islamic fundamentalist regime might have on the Muslim population of Soviet Central Asia, specifically those in the republics bordering Afghanistan, the Soviets moved toward military intervention. During the last months of 1979, the Leonid Brezhnev government dispatched approximately 4,500 combat advisers to assist the Afghan communist regime while simultaneously allowing Soviet aircraft to conduct bombing raids against rebel positions. Although Soviet deputy defense minister Ivan G. Pavlovski, who had played an important role in the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, counseled against full-scale intervention in Afghanistan, his superior, Defense Minister Dmitry Ustinov, convinced Brezhnev to undertake an invasion, arguing that only such action could preserve the Afghan communist regime. He also promised that the Soviet presence there would be short.

Brezhnev ultimately decided in favor of war, the pivotal factor arguably being the September 1979 seizure of power by Hafizullah Amin, who had ordered Taraki arrested and murdered. Apparently shocked by Amin's act of supreme betrayal and inclined to believe that only a massive intervention could save the situation, Brezhnev gave approval for the invasion. Beginning in late November 1979 and continuing during the first weeks of December, the Soviet military concentrated the Fortieth Army, composed primarily of Central Asian troops, along the Afghan border. On December 24, Soviet forces crossed the frontier, while Moscow claimed that the Afghan government had requested help against an unnamed outside threat.

Relying on mechanized tactics and close air support, Soviet units quickly seized the Afghan capital of Kabul. In the process, a special assault force stormed the presidential palace and killed Amin, replacing him with the more moderate Babrak Karmal, who attempted, unsuccessfully, to win popular support by portraying

Soviet soldiers ride aboard an airborne combat vehicle in Kabul, Afghanistan, in March 1986. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Soviet Military Expenditures during the Occupation of Afghanistan (1979–1989)

Year	*Military Expenditures (in millions of 1989 dollars)*	*Military Expenditures as % of Total Government Spending*
1979	$284,400	56.8%
1980	$292,000	53.4%
1981	$295,200	51.7%
1982	$300,500	48.8%
1983	$304,900	50.2%
1984	$309,200	50.2%
1985	$315,600	50.0%
1986	$319,200	46.9%
1987	$325,900	45.9%
1988	$330,900	46.4%
1989	$311,000	45.7%

himself as a devoted Muslim and Afghan nationalist. Soviet forces, numbering at least 50,000 troops by the end of January 1980, went on to occupy the other major Afghan cities and secured major highways. In response, rebel mujahideen forces resorted to guerrilla warfare, their primary goal being to avoid defeat in the hopes of outlasting Soviet intervention.

Moscow's invasion of Afghanistan had immediate and adverse international consequences, effectively wrecking détente that was already in dire straits by December 1979 thanks to recent increases in missile deployments in Europe. Having devoted much effort to improving relations with Moscow, U.S. president Jimmy Carter believed that he had been betrayed. He reacted swiftly and strongly to the Afghan invasion.

On December 28, 1979, Carter publicly denounced the Soviet action as a "blatant violation of accepted international rules of behavior." Three days later, he accused Moscow of lying about its motives for intervening and declared that the invasion had dramatically altered his view of the Soviet Union's foreign policy goals. On January 3, 1980, the president asked the U.S. Senate to delay consideration of the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks II (SALT II) treaty. Finally, on January 23, in his State of the Union Address, Carter warned that the Soviet action in Afghanistan posed a potentially serious threat to world peace because control of Afghanistan would put Moscow in a position to dominate the strategic Persian Gulf and thus interdict at will the flow of Middle East oil.

The president followed these pronouncements by enunciating what soon became known as the Carter Doctrine, declaring that any effort to dominate the Persian Gulf would be interpreted as an attack on U.S. interests that would be rebuffed by force if necessary. Carter also announced his intention to limit the sale of technology and agricultural products to the Soviet Union, and he imposed restrictions on Soviet fishing privileges in U.S. waters. In addition, he notified the International Olympic Committee that in light of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, neither he nor the U.S. public would support sending a U.S. team to the 1980 Moscow Summer Games. The president called upon U.S. allies to follow suit.

Carter also asked Congress to support increased defense spending and registration for the draft, pushed for the creation of a Rapid Deployment Force that could intervene in the Persian Gulf or other areas threatened by Soviet expansionism, offered increased military aid to Pakistan, moved to enhance ties with the People's Republic of China (PRC), approved covert CIA assistance to the mujahideen, and signed a presidential directive on July 25, 1980, providing for increased targeting of Soviet nuclear forces.

Carter's sharp response was undercut to a certain extent by several developments. First, key U.S. allies rejected both economic sanctions against the Kremlin and an Olympic boycott. Second, Argentina and several other states actually increased their grain sales to Moscow. Third, a somewhat jaded U.S. public tended to doubt the president's assertions about Soviet motives and believed that he had needlessly reenergized the Cold War.

Ronald Reagan, who defeated Carter in the November 1980 presidential election, took an even harder stand with the Soviets. Describing the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" that had used détente for its own nefarious purposes, the Reagan administration poured vast sums of money into a massive military buildup that even saw the president push the development of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)—labeled "Star Wars" by its critics—a missile defense system dependent on satellites to destroy enemy missiles with lasers or particle beams before armed warheads separated and headed for their targets. The Soviet response was to build additional missiles and warheads, further straining the Soviet Union's already heavily militarized economy.

Meanwhile, confronted with guerrilla warfare in Afghanistan, the Soviets remained committed to waging a limited war and found itself drawn, inexorably, into an ever-deeper bloody quagmire against a determined opponent whose confidence and morale grew with each passing month. To make matters worse for Moscow, domestic criticism of the war by such prominent dissidents as Andrei Sakharov appeared early on, while foreign assistance in the form of food, transport vehicles, and weaponry (especially the FIM-92 "Stinger" man-portable antiaircraft missile launchers) from the United States began reaching the mujahideen as the fighting dragged on.

Neither the commitment of more troops, the use of chemical weapons, nor the replacement of the unpopular Karmal could bring Moscow any closer to victory. Accordingly, by 1986 the Soviet leadership, now headed by the reformist General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, began contemplating ways of extricating itself from what many observers characterized as the "Soviet Union's Vietnam."

In April 1988, Gorbachev agreed to a United Nations mediation proposal providing for the withdrawal of Soviet troops over a 10-month period. One month later, the departure of Soviet military forces, which had grown to an estimated 115,000 troops, commenced—a process that was finally completed in February 1989.

Although the Soviets left Afghanistan with a procommunist regime, a team of military advisers, and substantial quantities of

AFGHAN REFUGEE FLOW DURING THE SOVIET-AFGHANISTAN WAR, 1979–1990
60°E
65°E
70°E
40°N
35°N
30°N
25°N
Amu R.
Soviet Union
Osh
Samarkand
Turkmenabat
Ashkhabad
Dushanbe
CHINA
Khorugh
Mary
Termiz
Kunduz
Mazar-e Sharif
Baghlan
Mashhad
Maymana
Indus R.
Kabul
Herat
Chaghcharan
Jalalabad
Islamabad
AFGHANISTAN
Khost
Peshawar
Farah
Lahore
Kandahar
IRAN
Zaranj
Zhob
PAKISTAN
3.25 million refugees
Quetta
Zahedan
Sibi
Surab
Indus R.
3 million refugees (mostly located in urban areas)
Sukkur
INDIA
Turbat
Bela
Main refugee camp/settlement
Refugee movement
Arabian Sea
0 100 200 mi
0 100 200 km

Members of the Afghan resistance return to a village that has been destroyed by Soviet forces, March 25, 1986. (U.S. Department of Defense)

equipment, the nine-year-long war had exacted a high toll, costing the Soviets an estimated 50,000 casualties. It seriously damaged the Red Army's military reputation, further undermining the legitimacy of the Soviet system, and nearly bankrupted the Kremlin. For the Afghans, the war proved equally costly. An estimated 1 million civilians were dead, and another 5 million were refugees. Much of the country was devastated. The social and political chaos in postwar Afghanistan paved the way for more civil war there, fostered the rise of the Taliban, and, ultimately, embroiled the country in the Global War on Terror after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks prompted the United States to topple the Taliban regime during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM.

BRUCE J. DEHART

See also

Abu Daoud; Afghanistan; Afghanistan, Economic Cost of Soviet Invasion and Occupation of; Carter, James Earl, Jr.; Carter Doctrine; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Gorbachev, Mikhail; Jihad; Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Reagan, Ronald Wilson; Reagan Administration, Middle East Policy; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; Taliban

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Soviet Union, Middle East Policy

Geography and oil made the Middle East a crucial arena of Cold War competition, and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union in the region sought to counteract British, French, and other European influences there, as well as American involvement, and to create allies for itself and markets for its weapons and wheat. In general, the Soviet Union realized that it could not gain dominance in the region, although it had special and historic interests in Iran and some parts of the former Ottoman Empire, and had to keep in mind the allegiances of its significant Muslim population.

The Soviets supported some of the Arab states for geopolitical reasons, such as access to the Mediterranean Sea, the Suez Canal,

and the Indian Ocean, just as its policies toward Iran and Turkey concerned access to the Black Sea. The Soviets generally backed the Arab states during the various Arab-Israeli wars; however, it also benefited from the regional arms race that was a part of those conflicts. Much earlier in the 20th century, the Soviet Union hoped to expand its alliances for ideological reasons, but later pragmatism took center stage. It would have been foolish for the Soviets to attempt anything like overt efforts to dominate the Middle East, given the region's deep religiosity and antipathy to atheism. However, leftist, nationalist, and semisocialist groups were less opposed to the Soviet Union and sought to employ it as a counterweight to the West. However, there were some exceptions to this pattern, as when governments in Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, and Pakistan were identified more directly with the Soviets and especially with the long war in Afghanistan.

The primary vehicle of Soviet influence in the Middle East was military aid, often offered from East European satellite countries. Soviet arms were available in large quantities, at low prices, and on favorable credit terms. The Soviet Union was the chief military patron of Egypt (1955–1973), Syria (after 1958), Iraq (after 1958), Libya (after 1974), Algeria (after 1962), Somalia (1962–1977), Ethiopia (after 1977), South Yemen (1960s), and Afghanistan (after 1973). During the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), the Soviets supplied both Iraq and Iran via intermediaries. The Soviets provided advisers to their clients, obtained air and naval basing rights in the region, and deployed combat forces in Afghanistan (1979–1989).

The Soviets had negligible influence in the Middle East before World War II. This was the period when communist parties in the Middle East were at their most robust; their political fortunes in most countries turned later, with the exception of the Sudan, where the Communist Party remained strong through the 1970s.

After World War I the Soviet Union assumed power over many former khanates and areas, including Georgia, Armenia, and northern Azerbaijan, which assured it access to Caspian Sea oil and trade. A Soviet republic was briefly established in Gilan, Iran, and then again during World War II, in Iranian or southern Azerbaijan. After World War II had decisively weakened Britain and France, Soviet interest in the northern Middle Eastern states, Pakistan, and Afghanistan altered.

The Soviets also hoped to gain influence in other parts of the Middle East. They decided to support the Zionist movement in order to weaken British power and create tensions between the United States and Britain, and because of the common suffering of the war that had claimed up to 27 million Soviet citizens and 6 million Jews. In 1947 Soviet diplomats supported the partition of Palestine, which led to the creation of Israel in 1948. To strengthen Israel, the Soviets transferred Jews from Soviet-occupied territories to Poland, fully expecting them to emigrate. The Soviets instructed Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Hungary to permit Jewish emigration. From 1948 to 1951, more than 302,000 Jews emigrated from Eastern Europe to Israel. Israel's Jewish population was only 806,000 in 1948, so this was a vital demographic boost.

At Soviet direction, in 1948 Czechoslovakia provided $22 million in arms to Israel, including 50,000 rifles, 6,000 machine guns, 90 million rounds of ammunition, and Supermarine Spitfire and Avia S-199 fighter aircraft. Czech arms played a crucial role in securing air superiority over Israel and halting Arab ground advances in the Israeli War of Independence (1948–1949).

The Soviets may have initially contemplated a strategic alliance with Israel. However, relations deteriorated with the onset of the Cold War when Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin launched an anti-Semitic, anti-Western propaganda campaign. In late 1952 Soviet security services manufactured an alleged conspiracy of Jewish doctors to poison Soviet leaders, and in this atmosphere the Soviet Union broke relations with Israel. Official anti-Semitism eased with the death of Stalin in March 1953. Diplomatic relations with Israel were restored, but Israel had since shifted permanently into the Western camp.

In 1955 Pakistan and Turkey signed a military alliance, followed by an Iranian and Pakistani agreement, and then the Baghdad Pact, which garnered signatures from the governments of the United Kingdom, Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan, and Iran in the Central

Muslims gather for prayer in Termez, Uzbekistan, in the Soviet Union in 1990. Termez is close to the border with Afghanistan. (Reza/Webistan/Corbis)

Treaty Organization. The alliance's ostensible purpose was to contain Soviet advances to the south, but it was unsuccessful and actually prompted movement by Egypt toward the communist bloc.

In the 1950s the United States, Britain, and France sought to maintain an Arab-Israeli arms balance and would not sell advanced weapons to Egypt. Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser approached the Soviets, who agreed in September 1955 to supply arms via Czechoslovakia. This Czech arms deal, as it was known, included 230 tanks, 200 armored personnel carriers, 100 self-propelled guns, 500 artillery pieces, several hundred MiG-15 jet fighters, 50 Il-28 jet bombers, transport aircraft, and assorted naval vessels. This development greatly alarmed Israel as well as Britain and France, which had their own difficulties with Nasser.

Anglo-French tensions with Egypt came to a head in 1956. The United States withdrew funding from the proposed Aswan High Dam project, and in turn Nasser decided to nationalize the Suez Canal, with the revenues to be used to finance the dam. The British, French, and Israelis invaded Egypt in October to regain control of the canal and overthrow Nasser. At that time the Soviets were busy crushing the Hungarian Uprising and in any case had little military capability to intervene on Egypt's behalf. However, the Soviets sent diplomatic notes with veiled threats of force against Britain and France unless they withdrew from Egypt, and proposed a joint U.S.-Soviet military intervention to halt the fighting. Washington rebuffed Soviet threats, rejected the proposal for joint action, and employed political and economic pressure to force Britain and France to abandon their occupation. After the Suez Crisis, the Soviets portrayed themselves as Egypt's friend and protector, even though their bluster had risked nothing and achieved little. During the brief war, British, French, and Israeli forces destroyed large quantities of Soviet-supplied equipment at little cost to themselves. The Soviets attributed this discreditable performance to poorly trained Egyptian operators.

The British and French defeat at Suez facilitated increased Soviet influence in the Middle East. The Soviets agreed to replenish Egypt's lost equipment and supplied more modern MiG-17 and MiG-19 fighters. In 1963 Egypt received first-line T-54/55 tanks, MiG-21 supersonic fighters, Tu-16 bombers, and SA-2 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). The Soviets provided similar modern equipment to the progressive regimes in Syria and Iraq; the latter's pro-British government was overthrown in 1958. Some 1,300 Soviet and East European advisers trained Egyptian forces to use the new equipment. The number of Soviet tanks and combat aircraft given to the Arabs vastly exceeded Western supplies to Israel, not least because the United States refused to supply significant quantities of modern equipment to Israel before 1967.

Soviet strategy in the Middle East from 1965 to 1973 was subordinate to Soviet strategy toward Indochina. In response to the escalating war in Vietnam after 1965, the Soviets supplied many tens of thousands of tons of weapons and equipment to Hanoi. The overland supply route from the Soviet Union across the People's Republic of China (PRC) to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) was not secure because of Sino-Soviet antagonism and the turmoil created by China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Nor could supplies travel via Vladivostok given the limited capacity of the Trans-Siberian Railroad and the need to increase Soviet forces in the Far East to confront China. Thus, the Soviets shipped supplies to North Vietnam primarily via the Black Sea port of Odessa. The sea route from Odessa to Haiphong via the Cape of Good Hope was more than twice as long as the route via the Suez Canal. Closing the Suez Canal would thus more than halve the quantity of supplies the Soviets could deliver. After the 1967 Six-Day War closed the canal, the Soviets urgently sought to reopen it both by demanding Israeli withdrawal from the canal zone and by arming Egypt to open the canal by force.

The argument that the Soviets instigated the Six-Day War or encouraged Arab aggression in 1967 defies logic. The Soviets wanted to keep the Suez Canal open. Furthermore, Egyptian and Syrian forces had not yet received all the weapons or training that the Soviets intended to provide. The war came about with a third of Egypt's army (55,000 troops, including the best units) deployed in Yemen and thus unavailable to fight Israel. When tensions rose in May 1967, the Soviets warned Egypt that Israel planned to attack Syria. This triggered Nasser's subsequent actions, closing the straits of Tiran and ordering United Nations (UN) peacemakers to leave the Sinai. Possibly, the Soviets hoped that a display of Egyptian resolve would deter Israel from striking Syria, but if so this backfired. Israel chose to interpret these responses as acts of war. On May 26, 1967, the Soviets pressured Egypt and Syria to moderate their rhetoric and prevent armed conflict with Israel by whatever means necessary, but this came too late to prevent Israeli action.

Soviet behavior during the Six-Day War was restrained. The Soviets expressed resolute support for the Arabs, but did not resupply them or risk confrontation with the United States. The Soviets only threatened overt involvement on June 10, when they feared that Israel would take Damascus and overthrow the Syrian government. They broke off relations with Israel and alerted their airborne divisions for deployment, but intervention proved unnecessary when Israel accepted a cease-fire.

After the Six-Day War, the Soviets replaced Egypt's and Syria's lost equipment and dispatched huge quantities of arms to Sudan, Iraq, and Yemen. The Soviets sent 13,000 military advisers to Egypt in late 1967—rising to 20,000 in 1970—with advisers attached to every Egyptian unit down to battalion level. The Soviets demanded an overhaul of the Egyptian high command, and thousands of Egyptian officers visited the Soviet Union for training. Diplomatically, the Soviets continued to insist that Israel withdraw from the canal zone without preconditions. Washington responded that a comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict must precede Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories. The Soviets and the East Europeans began to train, fund, and equip terrorist organizations, such as the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), to harass Israel, Western Europe, and the United States.

In April 1969 Egypt launched the War of Attrition, which sought to avoid major ground combat while causing continual Israeli casualties. Israel countered with air strikes that destroyed Egypt's air defenses in the canal zone. When this did not force Egypt to desist, Israel began deep-penetration raids throughout Egypt. Egypt then convinced the Soviets to take control of Egypt's air defenses. More than 12,000 Soviet operators manned air defenses that included 85 SA-2 and SA-3 missile sites, radar-guided artillery pieces, and more than 100 MiG-21 fighters with Soviet pilots. Although initially restricted to defense of the Nile River Valley, the Soviets began moving SAM batteries closer to the Suez Canal in July 1970, creating the prospect that Egyptian forces could cross the canal under this umbrella. The United States equipped Israeli aircraft with advanced electronic countermeasures and air-to-surface missiles to defeat the SAM threat.

The effort to put a SAM umbrella over the Suez Canal coincided with a crisis in Jordan. In September 1970 King Hussein violently suppressed increasingly uncontrollable Palestinian guerrilla groups. In response, the Soviets sponsored a brief Syrian invasion of Jordan. Soviet advisers planned the operation and accompanied Syrian tanks until they crossed the border. The Soviets hoped that either Israel would intervene, which would discredit Jordan's King Hussein, or that the Americans would intervene, which would discredit the United States in the Arab world. However, the Jordanian air force smashed Syria's tank columns, making outside intervention unnecessary.

After Nasser's death in September 1970, Egypt's new president, Muhammad Anwar Sadat, sought to improve relations with Western Europe and the United States. When the Soviets tried to influence the Egyptian succession struggle in favor of leftist vice president Ali Sabri, Sadat dismissed and arrested Sabri. More than 100 Nasserist or leftist officials were purged from the Egyptian government in the Corrective Revolution of May 1971. To prevent a complete break in relations, the Soviets demanded—and obtained—a Soviet-Egyptian Treaty of Friendship. The treaty restricted the Soviet role in Egypt to providing military aid and training, and Egypt agreed not to join any anti-Soviet alliance.

Having lost influence in Egypt, the Soviets tried to strengthen their relations with other Arab states through arms deliveries to Syria, Iraq, Somalia, South Yemen, and the Sudan. However, by this time the communist parties in Syria and Iraq were suppressed by the Baathists. Some competition in the form of aid and weapons sales came from China. However, in the Sudan, the Nimeri government cracked down on the substantial Sudanese Communist Party, limiting its influence from that point. The Sudanese communists launched a coup attempt but were crushed. Soviet military advisers were then expelled.

Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev greets Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, who was in Moscow in October 1971 seeking diplomatic support and military hardware against Israel. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Sadat understood that the Soviets preferred to perpetuate Arab-Israeli antagonism to keep Egypt isolated and dependent on the Soviet Union. He also knew that only the Americans could deliver a political settlement with Israel and the return of the Sinai to Egyptian control. Sadat hoped that Washington could broker a political solution, but American efforts to do so in 1971 and 1972 foundered on Israeli intransigence. Sadat signaled his independence and desire for improved relations with the United States, but was thus breaking with Egypt's long-standing nonalignment policy and strong desire to avoid any measures of foreign control. Sadat's strategy was to prepare for a limited war in the expectation that victory would enable Washington to force Israel to accept a peace agreement and withdraw from the Sinai. Sadat informed the Soviets in February 1973 that he intended to attack Israel, and he demanded their support. The Soviets had little choice but to agree, since failure to support Egypt would destroy Soviet influence in the Middle East. Furthermore, reopening the Suez Canal would facilitate arming Hanoi for a future attack on South Vietnam.

From late June 1967 until early 1973, the Soviets gave Egypt sufficient weaponry to defend itself but not advanced offensive weapons. The Egyptians were especially displeased that the Soviets did not provide their latest MiG-23 and MiG-25 fighters to counter Israeli F-4 Phantoms. Before the October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, the Soviets provided first-line T-62 tanks and large numbers of antiaircraft and antitank missiles, which would enable Egypt to take and hold a bridgehead on the east bank of the Suez against Israeli air and armored counterattacks. Syria and Iraq also received significant quantities of Soviet weapons before the war.

The main Soviet objective before and during the 1973 war was to ensure that the region remained polarized. This required either stampeding Israel into a preemptive attack on Egypt, which would make Sadat's goal of a limited victory over Israel impossible, or prodding Washington into a premature display of full support for Israel, which would ruin Washington's credibility as an honest broker. Moscow tried to provoke Israeli preemption by circulating warnings in the communist press that an attack was imminent and by evacuating Soviet civilians from Egypt and Syria. These gambits failed, not least because the U.S. sternly warned Israel not to preempt.

Once the war began in October 1973, the Soviets sought a cease-fire at the point of maximum Arab gain—when Egypt had taken the east bank of the canal and Syria had taken the Golan Heights—but this effort failed. Israel quickly counterattacked the Syrians, and Moscow asked Egypt to advance in order to divert Israeli attention. The Soviets also began resupplying Syria and Egypt by air and sea and alerted their airborne divisions for deployment to Damascus. Israel, however, stopped short of Damascus and shifted its forces south to inflict a catastrophic defeat on the Egyptians, who had advanced into the Sinai beyond their air-defense umbrella. Israeli forces then crossed the Suez Canal and threatened to destroy Egyptian forces trapped on the east bank. The UN Security Council called for a cease-fire on October 22, 1973, but Israel disregarded this and continued encircling the Egyptians. The Soviets proposed sending joint U.S.-Soviet military contingents to enforce the cease-fire and threatened to act unilaterally if the United States refused. To emphasize their determination, the Soviets made further preparations to deploy airborne forces, and Soviet troops in Egypt fired two Scud ballistic missiles into Israel. At this point there was a real prospect of renewed fighting and the commitment to nuclear weapons. Washington raised its military alert level, informed Moscow of its willingness to cooperate in maintaining a cease-fire (although not with U.S. troops), asked Sadat to withdraw his request for superpower military intervention (which he did), and demanded that Israel cease operations (which, under extreme duress, it eventually did).

The 1973 war yielded only one positive result for Moscow: the opening of the Suez Canal. Otherwise, the outcome was profoundly negative. Washington reestablished ties with Egypt and excluded Moscow from any substantive role in the Egyptian-Israeli peace process. Moscow's only recourse was to strengthen ties with Syria and to forge a relationship with Libya, which bought $20 billion in Soviet arms from 1974 to 1985.

In 1969 Mohamed Siad Barre seized power in Somalia and proclaimed it a socialist state. Somalia bought Soviet arms and gave the Soviets access to ports on the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden. In 1975 the Ethiopian military seized power and embraced socialism. Two years later Haile Mengistu, the new Ethiopian leader, obtained substantial Soviet military aid. Barre wished to control Ethiopia's ethnically Somalian province of Ogaden and feared that Soviet support for Mengistu would prevent this. Barre rejected Soviet efforts to mediate the Ogaden dispute and appealed to the Americans for military aid. The United States agreed in principle to provide defensive arms, and Barre, assuming that he had secured an alternate arms supplier, invaded Ethiopia in July 1977. In August the United States reversed itself and declined to provide arms to Somalia. Barre begged the Soviets to restore military support but was denied. The Soviets poured $1 billion in military aid into Ethiopia, including 600 tanks, thousands of advisers, and 15,000 Cuban combat troops. These forces drove the Somalians out of Ethiopia by March 1978. Somalia renounced its Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviets, expelled Soviet personnel from Somalia, and became a U.S. client state.

After defeating Somalia, Ethiopia focused on suppressing its nationwide internal rebellion. Despite prodigious Soviet military aid worth more than $4 billion from 1978 to 1984, the Ethiopians never managed to crush the rebels. After 1985, reform-minded Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev dramatically reduced Soviet aid to Ethiopia, gradually withdrew Soviet advisers, and urged the Ethiopians to negotiate a settlement of their internal disputes.

In 1974 Iran began a determined effort to shift Afghanistan into its orbit. With Iranian assistance, Afghan president Mohammad Daoud Khan lessened his dependence on Moscow and attempted to suppress Afghan communists. To arrest this trend, in April 1978 Moscow approved a coup that killed Daoud and installed

Soviet troops on the Salang Highway during the Soviet Union's military withdrawal from Afghanistan in February 1989. The Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan were contributing factors to the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991. (Getty Images)

Nur Muhammad Taraki as president. Afterward, the Soviet political and military presence in Afghanistan rapidly escalated.

In June 1978 a pro-Marxist coup in South Yemen reversed that country's history as a colony of the British. Energetic Soviet-sponsored action in Ethiopia, South Yemen, and Afghanistan in 1978 raised serious questions in the United States regarding the Soviet commitment to détente. Collectively, pro-Soviet regimes in these countries, together with Syria and Iraq, gave the Soviets tremendous potential leverage against the pro-American regimes in Saudi Arabia and Iran.

American efforts to guide Iran from autocracy to constitutional monarchy in the late 1970s completely failed. Opposition to Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi grew throughout the 1970s, and he abdicated in early 1979 in the face of revolution. The shah's departure with substantial assets infuriated Iranians, who asked the United States to refuse him entry. When he was permitted entry to the United States for medical care in October 1979, radical Iranian students took over the U.S. embassy in Tehran.

Major U.S. forces began assembling in the region, and the Soviets, perceiving a geopolitical opportunity, warned the Americans not to intervene militarily in Iran. The crisis in Iran coincided with an anticommunist revolt in Afghanistan that the Afghan government was unable to quell. After Hafizullah Amin assassinated Taraki and became president of Afghanistan in September 1979, the Soviets decided on military action there. In December 1979, 80,000 Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan—and executed Amin—to suppress the revolt and deter a U.S. invasion of Iran, which the Soviets mistakenly believed was imminent.

The Soviet army originally intended to garrison key points and allow the Afghan army to fight the resistance but was soon drawn into combat itself. Soviet equipment and tactics designed for conventional opponents proved poorly suited to fighting guerrillas in rugged Afghan terrain. The indiscriminate use of firepower aroused the intense hatred of the Afghan people and created millions of refugees. With American, British, and Saudi support, Pakistan provided a sanctuary in which resistance fighters could train and launch attacks into Afghanistan. Equipping the resistance fighters with Stinger antiaircraft missiles in 1986 deprived the Soviets of the crucial advantage of low-altitude air support. Soviet general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev finally decided to abandon the debilitating occupation and withdrew Soviet troops in 1989. The Soviet-Afghanistan War cost 15,000 Soviet dead and 470,000 sick and wounded over a 10-year period. Moreover, it nearly bankrupted the Kremlin's already shaky treasury. Afterward, Afghanistan sank into civil war. From a larger perspective, the Soviet war in Afghanistan galvanized American leadership around a global

anti-Soviet crusade. The Afghan debacle was in fact a major factor in the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Before 1979 Iraq was a long-standing Soviet military client, receiving 90 percent of its arms from Soviet sources, while Iran was a U.S.-armed client. The fall of the shah of Iran caused Iraq to improve relations with Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and the United States, while Iran strengthened its relations with Syria, Libya, and the Soviets. After Iraq invaded Iran in September 1980, the Soviets tried to manipulate the conflict to bring a pro-Soviet regime to power in Iran. The Soviets believed that Iran's war with Iraq, Iran's need for Soviet arms to fight that war, and the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan and American forces in the Persian Gulf would create irresistible pressure on Tehran to turn to Moscow to solve its problems and escape hostile encirclement.

Soviet strategy required time to come to fruition. Moreover, prolonged conflict would weaken Iran and, because Iran could not obtain Western arms, increase its dependence on the Soviet Union. Thus, the Soviets armed both sides to protract the fighting. Some regarded Iraq as an American puppet during the Iran-Iraq War. In fact, the Soviet bloc and its clients provided the vast majority of Iraq's tanks, armored personnel carriers, artillery, small arms, and combat aircraft. At the same time, Soviet clients—Syria, Libya, North Korea, Cuba, and Vietnam—supplied Iran with arms that played a critical role in blunting the initial Iraqi offensive and allowing Iran to counterattack. The Soviets backed Iranian communist resistance groups that three times attempted to overthrow the Khomeini regime, but each time the coups were brutally suppressed. Ultimately, Soviet strategy did not succeed. Only after the end of the Iran-Iraq War, the death of Khomeini, and the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan were the Iranians willing to accept a close relationship with Moscow (which persists to this day).

Syrian alignment with Iran in the 1980s created fear of a Syrian attack that Iraq, fully engaged against Iran, could not withstand. The Soviets did not intend to authorize such Syrian action, but Israel, with U.S. backing, moved to pin down the Syrians in any case. Soviet leaders witnessed the Iran-Iraq War in the 1980s and also Israel's powerful incursion into Lebanon in 1982. The minimum Soviet goal during the Israeli invasion of south Lebanon was to ensure that Israel did not totally destroy the Palestinians, or make advances into Syria, although the Soviets took no direct steps to support Syria or counter Israel in Lebanon itself. After the destruction of Syrian air defenses in 1982, the Soviets rebuilt them with the more modern SA-5 SAMs and provided additional modern weapons such as Su-24 and MiG-29 aircraft and T-72 tanks. The Soviet military presence in Syria peaked at 13,000 Soviet and East European advisers in 1984 and declined steadily after 1985.

The Soviets were on the defensive worldwide from 1985 to 1991. This stance was driven by serious internal economic dislocations, political uncertainty, the disastrous Soviet intervention and occupation of Afghanistan, and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts to reform Soviet society and government (glasnost and perestroika). In the Middle East, the Soviets' willingness to provide unstinting military largesse to their clients declined, and the Soviets sought to extract themselves from the Afghan quagmire. Diplomatically, the Soviets improved relations with Egypt, Israel, Saudi Arabia, and the Gulf States in the late 1980s and joined the UN consensus in condemning Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990.

Indeed, Soviet cooperation completely changed the character of the U.S. confrontation with Iraq during 1990–1991, which culminated in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. The Kremlin declined to aid—or even shield—its regional client as it had done during the Cold War. The Persian Gulf War would have in fact been unimaginable at the height of the U.S.-Soviet Cold War rivalry. The movement of major American forces from Germany to Saudi Arabia most certainly would not have been possible during the Cold War. The Soviets attempted to persuade Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein to withdraw unscathed from Kuwait, but he obstinately refused a diplomatic solution. Thus, the Soviets did not block the use of force in January and February 1991. The Soviet collapse in December 1991 ended four decades of bipolar superpower competition in the Middle East and ushered in a less peaceful and far more unpredictable era in the region.

James D. Perry and Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Baghdad Pact; DESERT STORM, Operation; Egypt; France, Middle East Policy; Iran; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Israel; Russia, Middle East Policy, 1991–Present; Soviet-Afghanistan War; Suez Crisis; Syria; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Space Shuttle Atlantis, Military Mission of

Event Date: 1991

On November 24, 1991, at 6:44 p.m., the U.S. space shuttle Atlantis (OV-104) was launched from Kennedy Space Center, Florida, on Mission STS 44, intended to deploy a U.S. Air Force (USAF) Defense Support Program (DSP) satellite. The satellite was designed to use infrared sensors to detect Earth-based missile launchings, nuclear detonations, and space launches.

The Atlantis crew consisted of mission commander USAF colonel Frederick D. Gregory, USAF pilot Colonel Terence T. Henricks, mission specialist Dr. Story Musgrave, mission specialist Navy Commander Mario Runco Jr., mission specialist Army Lieutenant Colonel James S. Voss, and payload specialist Army Chief Warrant

The launch of space shuttle Atlantis on November 24, 1991, to deploy a Defense Support Program satellite. (NASA)

Officer Thomas J. Hennen. This was the Atlantis's tenth trip into orbital space for the Department of Defense.

The Department of Defense issued the mission execution order (91–7) on October 11, 1991, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) scheduled the launch for November 19, 1991. A problem with the satellite's inertial upper-stage booster delayed the mission for five days, however, while the inertial measurement unit was replaced and tested. The Atlantis successfully launched on November 24, and the crew completed its primary objective of deploying the DSP satellite approximately 6 hours and 18 minutes into the flight.

The DSP satellite was 33 feet long and weighed 5,200 pounds. Its powerful telescope and infrared sensors provided early warning detection and tracking of surface-to-air missiles. Similar satellites played a vital role in the 1991 Persian Gulf War by tracking Iraqi Scud missiles and allowing Patriot missile interceptors extra time to engage them.

In addition to deploying the DSP satellite, the crew completed a number of secondary objectives. An Interim Operational Contamination Monitor (IOCM) measured contamination in the cargo bay during launch. A Terra Scout experiment conducted by Hennen used the Spaceborne Direct-View Optical System, a telescopic device, to test the ability of a shuttle to serve as an observation station for viewing various sites on Earth. Hennen viewed a number of sites where the USAF had placed large panels in different grid patterns to determine how well observations could be made from space. The Military Man in Space (M88–1) experiment evaluated the ability of a military observer to track troop and equipment movements from space. Another experiment utilized the Shuttle Activation Monitor to measure the onboard radiation environment and its effects on gamma ray detectors. The Cosmic Radiation Effects and Activation Monitor (CREAM) gathered readings on onboard cosmic rays and radioactivity, while the Radiation Monitoring Equipment III (RME III) measured the crew's exposure to ionized radiation.

Two experiments used no onboard equipment; instead, other sites observed the shuttle. The Air Force Maui Optical System (AMOS) experiment used the USAF's electrical-optical system on the Hawaiian island of Maui to observe and evaluate Atlantis's jet firings, water dumps, and encounters with atomic oxygen. The other test involved an Ultraviolet Plume Instrument (UVPI), a sensor on another Department of Defense satellite, which observed Atlantis in order to fine-tune that sensor. In addition, the crew took part in several medical studies. Most of these tests evaluated the effects of prolonged exposure to a weightless environment on the human body and analyzed the effectiveness of various methods in counteracting those effects. One specific experiment used the Visual Function Tester-1 (VFT-1) to study changes that may occur to human vision due to weightlessness.

As a scheduled 10-day mission, STS 44 medical experiments were supposed to aid scientists in preparing for a 13-day mission scheduled for 1992. However, a malfunction in one of the orbiter's three inertial measurement units forced NASA to abort the final three days of the mission. Atlantis successfully landed at Edwards Air Force Base, California, on December 1, 1991, at 2:34 p.m., having completed all the major mission objectives.

Mission STS 44 was the first time that the Department of Defense publicly acknowledged sending a military payload into space on a shuttle mission. Once shrouded in the secrecy of the Cold War, the Pentagon had previously required that all military shuttle flights be subject to an information blackout in protection of national security. The first exception to this policy came in April 1991, when NASA launched a shuttle with a Pentagon experiment for its antimissile program, but the November 1991 launch of Atlantis marked the first time a military satellite was openly sent up through the shuttle program. Financial motivations sparked the policy change from secrecy to openness: the Pentagon saved approximately $80 million per year, money usually spent on spy-proofing military control rooms and test facilities used to develop Department of Defense missions.

This flight was the last military mission aboard a winged spaceship. In its place, the Department of Defense thereafter developed a fleet of unmanned space-launch vehicles to carry payloads into orbit.

By 1996 the Pentagon utilized Pegasus, Taurus, Delta II, Atlas II, and Titan II and IV rockets with Inertial Upper Stage and Centaur upper-stage boosters to deliver military payloads into space.

ADAM P. WILSON

See also

Patriot Missile System; Reconnaissance Satellites; Satellites, Use of by Coalition Forces

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Spain, Role in Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Wars

Nation located in the Iberian Peninsula of southwestern Europe, officially known as the Kingdom of Spain. It is bordered by the Bay of Biscay to the north; by France and Andorra to the northeast; by the Balearic Sea to the east; by the Mediterranean Sea, Gibraltar, Straits of Gibraltar, and the Atlantic Ocean to the south; and by the Atlantic Ocean and Portugal to the west. Spain, with a land mass of 194,968 square miles, also controls the Balearic Islands, located about 50 miles off its eastern coast, and the Canary Islands, located about 70 miles off Morocco's western coast. Spain's current population is estimated at 40.41 million people.

In 1975, following the death of longtime dictator General Francisco Franco, Spain adopted a constitutional monarchy led by King Juan Carlos, who is still the Spanish king. Spain has a democratically elected parliament. The monarch is head of state but not of government, although he retains the right to recommend the head of government (prime minister), who is then approved by vote of the National Assembly.

In addition to army, navy, and air force, Spain's armed forces also include the Royal Guards, Civil Guards, Navy Marines, Army Airmobile Force, and the Spanish Legion. The latter three deployed select units to Afghanistan in 2002 and Iraq in 2003. Spain is also a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Eurocorps. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Spain dispatched naval forces to assist with the international coalition's naval blockade of Iraq. Furthermore, U.S. military bases in Spain supported supply and logistics operations throughout the war.

Since 1991 Spain has been involved in various NATO and non-NATO operations, including operations in Bosnia Herzegovina (1995), Afghanistan, and Iraq. Most Spanish deployments have been limited in scope, however, with only one brigade sent to Bosnia Herzegovina, and between 550 and 800 troops operating in Afghanistan since the end of 2001. Spain's troops in Afghanistan are incorporated within NATO's International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF), which was created in December 2001 and which coordinates military and military-related activities in Afghanistan. Approximately 750 Spanish troops, including members of the Spanish Legion's 3rd Tercio Juan De Austria, support NATO operations in Afghanistan. The majority of these forces are assigned to a forward support base in Herat, as part of NATO's Regional Command–West, and in Badghis.

A sailor aboard the Spanish frigate *Vencedora* (F-36) prepares to toss a line to members of a boarding party as they return to the ship in an inflatable boat after inspecting a merchant vessel. The *Vencedora* was one of the ships of the Maritime Interdiction Force (MIF) formed during Operation DESERT SHIELD in 1990 to enforce trade sanctions against Iraq. (U.S. Department of Defense)

As part of the War on Terror, Spain deployed limited naval and air assets to patrol the seas around the Horn of Africa and in the Indian Ocean after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States. Spanish prime minister José María Aznar and the Spanish government supported the Anglo-American decision to invade Iraq in 2003 to oust Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein from power. Toward that end, between September 2003 and May 2004, Spain deployed to Iraq some 1,300 troops, including the Spanish

Legion's 3rd Tercio and 4th Tercio (also named Alejandro Farnesio). Spanish forces in Iraq joined with Honduran, Salvadoran, Nicaraguan, Dominican Republican, and Polish troops to form the Multinational Brigade Plus Ultra, which was responsible for military operations and reconstruction operations in Iraq's upper southern region.

On March 11, 2004, just prior to national elections in Spain, terrorist bombings of the Cercenia commuter train system in Madrid killed 191 people and wounded an additional 1,755. A group inspired by Al Qaeda and with connections to other jihadists, but without a direct connection to the group headed by bin Laden, carried out the attack. Three days later, Aznar's center-right Partido Popular (Popular Party) was defeated as a consequence, according to many in Spain, of its initial accusations that the Basque separatist group Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque Homeland and Freedom, or ETA) had carried out the bombings. With Islamists established as the likely suspects, the left-of-center Spanish Socialist Workers' Party came to power. It had criticized Spanish involvement in Iraq. Within days, Spain's new prime minister, José Luis Rodriguez Zapatero, ordered the withdrawal of Spanish troops from Iraq by June 2004.

However, the terrorists did not solely aim to force a withdrawal from Iraq, for on April 2 they made another attempt to bomb a train. On April 3, seven of those involved blew themselves up when the police surrounded their apartment.

Following an investigation of the 11-M, or March 11 attacks, 21 persons were changed with murder, terrorism, or lesser offenses. Seven were found not guilty. Emilio Trashorras, Othman al-Gnaoui, and Jamal Zugam, the main conspirators, received sentences of nearly 40,000 years in prison. The March 11 attacks deeply affected the Spanish people and caused much concern over converts to Islam and the large Muslim immigrant presence in Spain.

The United States decried the precipitous Spanish military withdrawal from Iraq, claiming that it would embolden Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups. Zapatero, however, had campaigned on a promise to withdraw the troops, and he made good on that pledge. U.S.-Spanish relations were thereafter somewhat contentious and became an issue during the 2008 U.S. presidential campaign, when Republican candidate Senator John McCain said that, if elected president, he would not meet with Zapatero.

Wyndham Whynot

See also

Al Qaeda; Global War on Terror; International Security Assistance Force; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Special Air Service, United Kingdom

Established in the summer of 1941 in Egypt, the Special Air Service (SAS) is the special forces regiment within the British Army. The regiment saw extensive action during the Persian Gulf War (1990–1991) as well as the wars in Afghanistan (2001–present) and the conflict in Iraq (2003–present).

The SAS consists of four squadrons: A, B, D, and G, as well as a number of smaller specialty units, such as operations Research, Demolitions, Parachute Section, Boat Section, and Army Air Corps Section. The SAS insignia is the winged sword, and its unit motto is "Who Dares Wins."

The SAS has its roots in the Long-Range Desert Group, a group of commandos who fought against Italian forces in North Africa during World War II. Lieutenant Colonel David Stirling, the regiment's founder, began his army career with the Scots Guards in 1939, and thereafter transferred to No. 8 Commando unit in the Middle East. Convinced that small, self-sufficient units of 4 or 5 men each could be more effective than groups of 200, Stirling established the SAS in July 1941. The regiment began with approximately 60 men and a few trucks. By the end of World War II, the force numbered more than 1,000 men.

After the war, the remnants of the SAS (known as the Artists Rifles) were reorganized. Between 1950 and 1966, the SAS carried out combat operations against communist guerrillas in Malaya, and against Indonesian forces and rebel guerrillas in Borneo. Additionally, SAS D-Squadron conducted operations in Jebel Akhdar, Oman, during 1958–1959, and in Aden during 1964–1967. Between 1970 and 1977, the SAS returned to Oman to fight guerrillas there who were attempting to overthrow the government. From the late 1960s, SAS elements also spent 25 years in Northern Ireland, supporting the British army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) in their fight against the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA).

In April 1980, back on home soil and under the glare of the world's media, the SAS took a mere 46 minutes to rescue 26 hostages from the Iranian embassy in London, during Operation NIMROD. In May 1982 the SAS carried out operations in the Falkland Islands against Argentine forces during the Falklands War.

In 1990, after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and formation of a military coalition spearheaded by the United States to drive out the Iraqis, some 700 men of the SAS (almost the entire regiment) were deployed to Iraq. General Sir Peter de la Billiére, the joint British commander-in-chief in the Persian Gulf, convinced U.S. general H. Norman Schwarzkopf, overall commander of coalition ground forces, to allow the SAS to operate in Iraqi territory. Dividing into separate fighting columns, with 30 SAS men assigned to each, A and D squadrons drove almost 250 miles behind enemy lines.

The SAS operations generally took place under cover of darkness and included missions to interrupt Iraqi communications. Tactics included blowing up underground fiber-optic cables, placing booby traps, and destroying communication towers. In addition to the disruption of Iraqi communication networks, the

SAS destroyed Scud missile launch sites through a series of coordinated attacks.

However, not all SAS missions in Iraq proved successful. Two missions were aborted, and an SAS team known as "Bravo Two Zero" found itself in considerable difficulty behind Iraqi lines. After being discovered by Iraqi forces and splitting into two groups, the team battled harsh weather conditions and hypothermia. Four men were lost in this mission.

After seeing further action in the Balkans and Sierra Leone between 1994 and 2000, SAS units deployed to Afghanistan in 2001 in the ongoing fight against the Taliban and Al Qaeda (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM). Tasked with training the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance, the SAS instructed men in standard British Army assault tactics. The SAS also conducted surveillance and ground assaults on Al Qaeda training camps. Allegedly, during one of these missions in the cave complexes at Tora Bora in late 2001, the SAS believed that it had located the hiding place of Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. However, for political reasons, the SAS operatives withdrew until U.S. forces could arrive, and the chance to capture bin Laden was lost. In addition to their regular assignments, the SAS has undertaken humanitarian assignments in Afghanistan, including locating suitable sites for food aid drops.

In 2003 the SAS returned to Iraq to support the Anglo-American–led military coalition that toppled the Saddam Hussein regime. The SAS deployed units for several operations behind Iraqi lines before the main ground campaign began in March. SAS teams helped to pinpoint the whereabouts of Hussein, who was apprehended in December 2003, and to monitor oil fields. Select SAS units remain in Iraq, although the nature of their work remains, necessarily, guarded.

KIRSTY MONTGOMERY

See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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Special Boat Service, United Kingdom

Established in the summer of 1941 during World War II in the Mediterranean Theater, the Special Boat Service (SBS) is the Royal Marines special forces unit of the British Royal Navy and is the sister unit of the Special Air Service (SAS) regiment of the British Army. The SBS specializes in operations at sea, along coastlines, on rivers, and on dry land. Based in Poole, Dorset, England, the SBS witnessed extensive action during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan (2001–present), and Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (2003–present).

The SBS consists of four squadrons: C, X, M, and Z, each containing around 60 men. The winged dagger is the insignia of the SBS regiment; the unit motto is "By Strength and Guile." The SBS, or Special Boat Section as it was first known, has its roots in the Long-Range Desert Group, a group of commandos that fought against Axis forces in North Africa during World War II. At first, the chain of command was informal, but by September 1941 the canoeists of the SBS came under the command of Lieutenant Colonel David Stirling, the founder of the Special Air Service (SAS).

In 1950, during the Korean War, the SBS teamed up with U.S. forces to carry out operations against North Korea, launching raids from submarines and warships along the Korean coast. During the Cold War, the renamed Special Boat Squadron played a vital role along the coastlines of Eastern bloc countries. From the late 1960s, the SBS and SAS spent 25 years in Northern Ireland, supporting the British Army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) in their fight against the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA). In May 1982 the SBS carried out operations in the Falkland Islands against Argentinean forces. In 1987 the SBS was renamed the Special Boat Service and came under the operational control of the United Kingdom Special Forces.

In 1990, after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, an international coalition led by the United States deployed to Iraq. It included some 700 men from the SAS and SBS. Before the war began, British general Sir Peter de la Billiére, the joint British commander in chief in the Persian Gulf, convinced overall commander of coalition forces, U.S. general H. Norman Schwarzkopf, to allow the SAS and SBS to operate in the Iraqi desert. While the SAS covered western Iraq, the SBS covered the east. Operations generally took place under cover of darkness and included missions to interrupt Iraqi communications. Assigned the task of locating and cutting communications cables, SBS employed such tactics as blowing up fiber-optic cables buried underground, placing booby traps, and destroying communication towers.

In the autumn of 2001 SBS units deployed to Afghanistan in the fight against the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, a fight that is ongoing. In November 2001 the entire SBS C Squadron was flown in to secure the Bagram air base. Tasked with training the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance, the SBS provided tactical advice. Furthermore, the SBS, along with the SAS, undertook surveillance and ground assaults on Al Qaeda training camps and the cave complexes of Tora Bora, believed to be the hiding place of Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. Later, in 2006, the SBS took part in Operation MEDUSA, a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)–led operation against the Taliban.

In 2003 the SBS returned to Iraq as part of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM to support coalition efforts there. At the beginning of the conflict, the SBS operated with U.S. Navy SEALS to secure the beaches along the strategic Faw (Fao) peninsula. SBS commandoes also

helped to secure Iraq's southern oil fields. The war in Iraq is ongoing, but the role of the SBS since 2003 has been relatively peripheral.

KIRSTY MONTGOMERY

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Faw Peninsula; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Special Air Service, United Kingdom; United Kingdom, Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Special Republican Guards

An elite military unit created in 1992 by Iraqi president Saddam Hussein to protect his regime and himself from revolt or assassination by other Iraqi military units. The Special Republican Guards (SRG) was composed of men from clans and towns (such as Tikrit) that were particularly loyal to Hussein. They were better paid and received more benefits than members of the regular army or the Republican Guards, and had the best military equipment at their disposal. After the fall of Hussein's government in April 2003, the SRG was believed to have been responsible for much of the violence of the Iraqi insurgency that followed.

During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, most of Hussein's elite Republican Guard units were decimated. Although those who survived remained loyal to Hussein and helped keep him in power, he apparently feared that some might turn on him. For that reason, in 1992 (some sources say 1995) Hussein created the SRG. From the very beginning, the SRG was intended to protect the regime from internal foes more than from external threat. To ensure loyalty, SRG members were recruited from Hussein's clan and those closely allied to it. The members were also required to be from Tikrit, Bayji, Sharqat, or other smaller towns in the region in which Hussein was born. Recruits were almost always Sunni Muslims, rather than Kurds or Shiites. By insisting on these membership criteria, Hussein was able to better ensure that the SRG would be loyal to him and his family, through ties of family, regional origin, and shared religion. In addition to better pay than their military compatriots, members of the SRG

Iraqi Republican Guard soldiers chant anti-American slogans as they parade outside a Baghdad hotel where members of the foreign media are staying, April 5, 2003. (AP/Wide World Photos)

received enlistment bonuses and subsidized housing, which were not offered to other units.

The SRG was the only armed force allowed to garrison Baghdad. Regular army troops were never stationed in the city, and Republican Guard divisions were stationed in the city's outer defenses. The SRG was not under the authority of the Defense Ministry but rather the State Special Security Apparatus, which was tightly controlled by Hussein himself. Indeed, the commander of the SRG was Qusay Hussein, the dictator's son.

The SRG was originally composed of one brigade, but later was expanded to five brigades with a total of 14 battalions of 1,300 to 1,500 men each. Four of the brigades were mechanized infantry, equipped with the best weapons available in Iraq. A fifth brigade was armored, equipped with T-72 main battle tanks. Antiaircraft weapons were also available, including handheld weapons and antiaircraft artillery. Because the SRG's purpose was to protect the regime, it had to be able to resist assaults by regular military units. At its peak, the SRG numbered about 26,000 men. By March 2003, however, its strength had declined to some 12,000 troops.

The SRG's duties included protecting Hussein's various presidential palaces and residences, along with his farms and other real estate holdings. It also guarded key installations in Baghdad. The 1st Brigade in particular was charged with presidential security. Various units drove and maintained the limousines used by Hussein, and they provided security for motorcades and members of the government and their families. One gruesome task assigned to the 1st Brigade was the apprehension and execution of military officers and government leaders accused of disloyalty to the regime. Other units are believed to have been charged with guarding sites that might have contained weapons of mass destruction (WMDs).

In 1998 a dispute between the Iraqi government and the United Nations (UN) arose when weapons inspectors wanted to examine SRG facilities believed to contain WMDs. Although the situation was resolved without violence, the episode convinced some intelligence experts that Hussein continued to work on forbidden weapons and used his most loyal units to keep prying eyes away.

During the March 2003 Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq, many American military leaders believed that the SRG would be their most dangerous opponent. While the Republican Guard was largely destroyed outside of Baghdad, the SRG was first encountered in the fighting for Baghdad International Airport on April 4. In a three-hour engagement with troops of the U.S. 3rd Infantry Division, the SRG was soundly defeated. Three tanks were destroyed, and an estimated 250 SRG members were killed; American losses were 1 dead and 8 wounded. Following this battle, the SRG largely melted into the population. Fears that SRG members might fight house-to-house for Baghdad proved unfounded. On May 23, 2003, the provisional Iraqi government ordered the SRG dissolved.

SRG members are believed to have launched the insurgency against coalition forces in the Sunni triangle around Tikrit during the summer of 2003. Ironically, the Sons of Iraq and Anbar Awakening home guard militias that have been funded, trained, and equipped by the Americans beginning in 2007 contain cadres composed of former SRG members.

Tim J. Watts

See also

Anbar Awakening; Baghdad; Baghdad, Battle for; Hussein, Qusay; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, Army; Iraqi Insurgency; Republican Guard; T-72 Main Battle Tank

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Speicher, Michael Scott

Birth Date: July 12, 1957
Death Date: January 17, 1991

U.S. Navy pilot and the first U.S. casualty of the Persian Gulf War in 1991. Born in Kansas City, Kansas, on July 12, 1957, Michael Scott Speicher moved with his family to Jacksonville, Florida, when he was 15. He graduated from Florida State University in 1980 with a bachelor's degree in business. His father had been a pilot during World War II, and Speicher decided to pursue the same course with the navy. He earned his pilot's wings and spent several years as a flight instructor with the McDonnell Douglas (now Boeing) F/A-18 Hornet. At the beginning of the Persian Gulf War, Lieutenant Commander Speicher was assigned to VFA-81 on the carrier *Saratoga.*

Speicher was flying an F/A-18 when he was shot down on the night of January 16–17, 1991, at the beginning of the Persian Gulf War. His aircraft went down in Anbar Province, some 100 miles west of the Iraqi capital of Baghdad in an area known as Wadi Thumayal. Although the Pentagon claimed at the time that his aircraft had been shot down by a surface-to-air missile (SAM), evidence points to it having been downed by an air-to-air missile from a Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-25 Foxbat aircraft piloted by Iraqi lieutenant Zuhair Dawood.

Speicher was placed on missing-in-action (MIA) status, the only American serviceman to be so designated during the war. In May 1991 his status was changed to killed in action/body not recovered (KIA/BNR), and in 1992 Speicher's widow remarried.

In December 1992 a military official from Qatar discovered the wreckage of an aircraft in the desert, and this was subsequently identified as Speicher's F/A-18. U.S. spy satellite photography identified symbols in the desert that might have been made by Speicher as a sign that he had survived the crash. The Speicher case was taken up by the National Alliance of Families, which had been active during the Vietnam War in keeping the prisoner of war

(POW) and MIA issues alive. There was also frequent speculation about his fate in the press.

In 2001, therefore, the office of the Secretary of the Navy changed Speicher's status back to MIA, the first time the Defense Department had made such a change. At the same time, Speicher was routinely promoted, first to commander, and then in July 2002 to captain.

Following the U.S. invasion of Iraq in March 2003, Defense Department officials investigated the situation on the ground. At the same time, there was a report that Speicher's initials had been discovered on a prison-cell wall in Baghdad. On August 2, 2009, however, the Navy Department reported that Speicher's remains had been discovered near where he had been shot down and that these had been positively identified. An Iraqi had come forward, informed U.S. officials that Speicher had perished in the crash of his aircraft, and took them to where he had seen the remains being buried by Bedouins.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign

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Standing Naval Force Atlantic

A multinational group of warships representing North American Treaty Organization (NATO) nations bordering the Atlantic Ocean, and a component of the NATO Response Force (NRF) that has been a part of counterterrorism activities since 2001. The core navies contributing to this squadron are those of Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, and the Netherlands. The navies of Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Portugal, and Spain are also regular participants in the squadron, which usually comprises from 6 to 10 ships, generally cruisers, destroyers, and frigates, accompanied by a replenishment vessel. Since its inception in 1968 as the Standing Naval Force Atlantic (STANAVFORLANT), this permanent NATO maritime patrol group has provided a flexible response force in the Atlantic, and also has deployed beyond its primary venue when necessary.

As early as 1960, interest had been expressed within NATO in forming a dedicated antisubmarine warfare naval task force,

The Portuguese frigate *Alvares Cabral* moored alongside the Canadian frigate *Nipigon* during a port call, Port Everglades, 1993. Both ships were serving with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's Standing Naval Force Atlantic. (U.S. Department of Defense)

which came into being in 1965 when the navies of Canada, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States each supplied an escort vessel, such as a frigate or destroyer, for a five-month period of joint exercises known as MATCHMAKER I. With the continuing interoperational successes of MATCHMAKER II (1966) and MATCHMAKER III (1967), NATO resolved in December 1967 to establish and deploy STANAVFORLANT beginning in January 1968.

One of the chief advocates for developing STANAVFORLANT was U.S. admiral Richard G. Colbert, whose efforts on behalf of global maritime cooperation earned him the nickname "Mr. International Navy" from Chief of Naval Operations admiral Elmo Zumwalt. Colbert also had supported NATO's multilateral force concept, which would have placed nuclear ballistic missiles on disguised surface ships operated by multinational crews. While this plan was never realized, NATO's Mixed Manning Demonstration (1964–1965) nonetheless tested the feasibility of an international crew aboard one of the U.S. Navy's destroyers operating as a unit of its Atlantic and Mediterranean fleets. Despite that demonstration's overall success, NATO kept to the operational model of mixing ships from various nations in formulating STANAVFORLANT's fundamental characteristics. Each participating ship would be assigned to the force for up to six months, and command of the squadron would rotate on an annual basis among the represented navies. An aspect of Mixed Manning did become a feature of STANAVFORLANT operations: the "cross-polling" (cross-pollinating) exchange of some crew members between ships during exercises, a form of multinational cross-training that continues to enhance the squadron's NATO hallmarks of interoperability, cohesion, and international cooperation.

In addition to participating in NATO training exercises, undertaking humanitarian missions, and making goodwill port calls around the Atlantic, STANAVFORLANT in 1992 joined NATO's STANAVFORMED (Standing Naval Force Mediterranean) and WEU (Western European Union) escort vessels in patrolling the Adriatic Sea during the Kosovo/Yugoslavia conflict in what would become Operation SHARP GUARD. Shipping was monitored but not boarded, and to the extent possible under the prevailing restrictions, maritime aspects of United Nations (UN) Security Council resolutions were enforced. In May 1996 STANAVFORLANT returned primarily to its duties in the Atlantic, but in October 2001, after the September 11 attacks on the United States, the squadron again joined STANAVFORMED in the eastern Mediterranean to guard against and combat terrorism in NATO's Operation ACTIVE ENDEAVOR; the two forces continue to deploy alternately in this theater to ensure an evident and consistent NATO presence.

As of January 2005, the STANAVFORLANT acronym was replaced by SNMG1 (initially, Standing NATO Response Force Maritime Group 1, then simplified to Standing NATO Maritime Group 1). STANAVFORMED, similarly, became known as SNMG2. These changes reflected the more complete integration of the Immediate Reaction Forces (as STANAVFORLANT and STANAVFORMED had been designated) into the NRF structure. NATO continues to employ both forces in demonstrating its solidarity in the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and beyond. In 2007 SNMG1 undertook an extraordinary circumnavigation of Africa, and in 2008 the squadron ventured into the Black Sea for naval exercises with Romania and Bulgaria, while SNMG2 transited the Suez Canal for antipiracy duty off Somalia.

GORDON E. HOGG

See also

Counterterrorism Strategy; Cruisers, U.S.; Destroyers, Coalition; Destroyers, U.S.; Global War on Terror; North Atlantic Treaty Organization

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Stark Incident
Event Date: May 17, 1987

Iraqi cruise-missile attack on the U.S. Navy Perry-class frigate *Stark* (FFG-31) on May 17, 1987, in the Persian Gulf. The attack occurred during the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), which saw Iraq and Iran attacking each other's ships and then routinely firing on cargo and tanker vessels in the Persian Gulf. The Iranians sought to attack ships belonging to Iraqi ally Kuwait, while the Iraqis sought to destroy Iranian tankers and prevent seaborne trade with Iran. More than 200 ships had been attacked since the beginning of the war. Fearing that such activity would disrupt oil supplies to the West, the Ronald Reagan administration dispatched U.S. Navy warships to escort the tankers in the Persian Gulf.

On the night of May 17, 1987, a French-made Iraqi Mirage F-1 fighter aircraft launched two AM-39 Exocet antiship cruise missiles (ASCMs) at a radar contact 36 nautical miles distant. Two minutes later, the missiles struck their target, which turned out to be the *Stark.* Although only one of the missiles detonated, the two severely crippled the frigate and killed 37 crew members and injured another 50.

The Iraqi Mirage involved had departed Iraq's Shaibah Air Base at 8:00 p.m. on a routine antishipping patrol. A U.S. Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft with a combined U.S.-Saudi crew detected the Mirage as it broke over the Persian Gulf 10 minutes later, flying at 5,000 feet and 550 knots. The *Stark* was informed via a tactical link system and itself detected the Mirage at 9:40 p.m., when it was 200 nautical miles distant from

The U.S. Navy guided-missile frigate *Stark* limps to port after being hit by two Iraqi-fired Exocet air-to-surface missiles. The ongoing hostilities between Iran and Iraq affected other nations in the Persian Gulf region, and the U.S. Navy provided a measure of stability and protection to international shipping there, although not without price. (Naval Historical Center)

the ship. The ship's crew considered it a routine night strike against Gulf shipping. No American warship had ever been attacked, and the crew of the *Stark* did not expect this raid to be any different.

Captain Glenn Brindel of the *Stark* was informed of the missile launches, but no special watch or combat conditions were in effect. At 10:09 p.m., the ship's crew warned the Iraqi aircraft that it was approaching an American warship. The Mirage was 12 nautical miles away at that time. What neither Captain Brindel nor his crew realized was that the Mirage had already launched its missiles. The AWACS crew noted that the Mirage made a breakaway maneuver at 10:10 p.m. and was heading for home. A few seconds later, one of the ship's lookouts detected the incoming missiles and notified the ship's Combat Information Center (CIC). By then, it was too late for the crew to take action.

Both of the radar-guided missiles, traveling at Mach 0.8, slammed into the ship's port side. One hit beneath the bridge and the other just aft of the first missile, almost in the superstructure's center. The single warhead detonation all but destroyed the ship's CIC, eliminating most of its combat systems and electronics, and one-third of its firefighting equipment. The crew fought fires throughout the night and ultimately saved the ship. They then took it to Bahrain under its own power.

The subsequent U.S. Navy investigation found several problems with the ship's design and several shortcomings in the ship's operating and training procedures. For example, the ship's electronic countermeasures system had a blind zone off the bow, and it had been facing the Iraqi fighter at the time of the Exocet launch. However, the failure to detect the incoming missiles was as much due to complacency as systems shortcomings. Two critical weapons stations were not manned during the incident, one of them because the assigned watch stander had departed his station to run personal errands. The ship's captain was not called to the CIC, nor kept constantly informed of the situation, until the final moments before the missile struck. More importantly, the ship's executive officer was present in the ship's CIC and neither noticed the empty weapons control stations nor took any action to increase the ship's combat readiness until the incoming missile had been detected.

The *Stark* incident illustrated the deadliness of antiship cruise missiles and proved the "win big or die" nature of modern sea combat. It also triggered political debate in Washington about

the wisdom of operating U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf when Europe and Asia received a far greater proportion of their oil from that region than did the United States. However, the Ronald Reagan administration perceived that U.S. credibility was at stake and continued the naval patrols and tanker escorts in the Persian Gulf, soon to be dubbed Operation EARNEST WILL, which would endure until December 1989.

As for the *Stark,* the poststrike investigations forced Brindel's retirement and resulted in letters of reprimand for the executive officer and the tactical action officer on watch that evening as well as disciplinary proceedings against the individual who had departed his assigned watch station. U.S. Navy warships intensified their "quick reaction drills" and other combat readiness training for ships destined for Persian Gulf duty. Also, the Perry-class frigates received upgrades to their electronic warning and countermeasures systems to eliminate blind zones. The severity of the damage to the *Stark* precluded it from returning to service for more than 18 months, and it had to be dispatched onto a special heavy-lift ship and be taken back to a U.S. shipyard for extensive repairs.

CARL OTIS SCHUSTER

See also

EARNEST WILL, Operation; Iran-Iraq War; Missiles, Cruise; Persian Gulf

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Starry, Donn Albert
Birth Date: May 31, 1925

U.S. Army general and one of the most significant reformers of the army following Vietnam. Born on May 31, 1925, in New York City, Donn Albert Starry served as an enlisted soldier during World War II and entered the United States Military Academy, West Point, from the ranks. Graduating in 1948, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in armor. Reporting to Germany for his first assignment as a platoon leader, he served under battalion commander Creighton Abrams, a highly successful tank battalion commander in World War II. An innovative and dynamic military thinker, Abrams was a significant influence on Starry.

Starry served two tours in Vietnam during that war. During his second tour, he commanded the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment as a colonel, leading it during the 1970 Cambodia incursion, Operation TOAN THANG 43. Following Vietnam, he commanded the Armor School at Fort Knox, Kentucky, as a major general. There he wrote the influential monograph *Mounted Combat in Vietnam,* part of a series of official U.S. Army studies. He then commanded V Corps in Germany as a lieutenant general.

In 1977 he was promoted to full general and succeeded General William E. DePuy as the second commanding general of the Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC). With the possible exception of DePuy, Starry was the most influential commander of TRADOC. Seizing upon the deep internal debate and controversy surrounding the 1976 edition of *FM 100-5 Operation* and DePuy's concept of active defense, Starry presided over and personally directed the development of AirLand Battle Doctrine and the long overdue recognition by the U.S. military of the operational level of war. Based heavily on classic German concepts of rapidly moving war fighting, AirLand Battle became the doctrine with which the U.S. Army fought both the 1991 Persian Gulf War and the 2003 Iraq War. While he was TRADOC commander, Starry also introduced the concept of sergeants' business, which became a critical tool in rebuilding the noncommissioned officer (NCO) corps that had been decimated by Vietnam.

Starry retired from the army in 1983. His last assignment was commanding general of the U.S. Army Readiness Command. He is one of a handful of key officers who rebuilt the U.S. Army in the decade following the Vietnam War into a genuine threat to the Soviet Army and the Warsaw Pact.

DAVID T. ZABECKI

See also

AirLand Battle Doctrine

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Status of Forces Agreement, U.S.-Iraqi

Bilateral agreement between the governments of the United States and Iraq that set the terms and conditions of the continued American troop presence in Iraq, formally approved by the Iraqi government on December 4, 2008. In early 2008, under pressure from domestic critics as well as the Iraqi government, Washington began negotiations to establish the Status of Forces Agreement, which would not only set the terms of the continued U.S. military presence in Iraq, but would also provide for a definitive

exit strategy and a date for the withdrawal of American forces. The George W. Bush administration was especially concerned that an agreement be reached before a new administration took power in January 2009.

The negotiations surrounding the Status of Forces Agreement were fraught with difficulties. Of particular concern to the Nuri al-Maliki government was that early drafts of the proposal ceded too much authority to U.S. forces in Iraq, and that in general the agreement would impinge upon Iraqi sovereignty. Indeed, Maliki was under considerable pressure from various groups in his nation seeking to effect the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops; other groups did not insist on such a drastic measure, but nevertheless voiced outrage that Washington was dictating terms to Baghdad and that draft proposals seemed to hamper Iraqi sovereignty. A key issue of contention was whether or not U.S. defense contractors would continue to enjoy immunity from prosecution in Iraqi courts for crimes committed against Iraqi citizens. Baghdad insisted that such a policy be abandoned, and Washington reluctantly agreed in the summer of 2008 out of fear that the agreement would not be reached in timely fashion.

In July 2008 the talks hit another snag when Iraq's grand ayatollah, Sayyid Ali Husayn al-Sistani, denounced the draft agreement, asserting that it trampled Iraq's sovereignty. Iraqi government officials, as well as the Iraqi parliament, also came to insist that the agreement contain a definitive date for U.S. troop withdrawal, something that the Bush administration was loath to accede to. By October, however, the two sides had moved closer to an agreement, and the draft proposal was circulated among parliament members and Iraqi government officials.

On November 16, 2008, the Iraqi cabinet approved the status agreement, which called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraqi cities by December 31, 2009, and the withdrawal of all troops from Iraq by December 31, 2011. On November 27 the Iraqi parliament ratified the agreement, but insisted that withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraqi cities occur no later than June 30, 2009. The United States accepted the amendment. On December 4, the Iraqi Presidential Council approved the plan, making the agreement final.

The final agreement gave the Iraqi prime minister the ability to negotiate amendments to the agreement based upon the security situation in Iraq. It also forbade U.S. forces from holding Iraqi citizens without formal charges being made, and limited the use of search and seizures by American troops. Coalition forces were now subject to Iraqi law and legal proceedings when off duty and off base, and U.S. defense contractors guilty of committing crimes in Iraq were subject to prosecution in Iraqi courts. Finally, U.S. troops were to vacate all Iraqi cities by June 30, 2009, and were to leave the country entirely by December 31, 2011.

The agreement had many detractors in Iraq, however, who publicly demonstrated in opposition. The government promised to hold a national referendum on the agreement no later than June 20, 2009. Some Iraq experts expect the referendum vote to move up the final withdrawal date to as early as June 2010. The United States would be bound to heed the referendum should that come to pass.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Maliki, Nuri Muhammed Kamil Hasan al-; Sistani, Sayyid Ali Husayn al-

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Stealth Technology

Low-observability (LO) technology, also known as stealth technology, utilizes various counterradar measures to minimize the radar cross section (RCS), the thermal and acoustic output, and the radio frequency emissions of a vehicle or aircraft with the goal of making it almost invisible to radar, sonar, and infrared detection.

Designers of LO aircraft and ships take into account the shaping of a ship or aircraft to scatter radar reflection, and they utilize radar-absorbent materials (RAM) to dissipate radar waves and mask radar signatures given off by inlets, exhausts, cockpits, antenna installations, propellers, rotors, and external stores of weapons and fuel in their attempt to decrease the vehicle's RCS. LO technology utilizes a multifaceted "diamond" shape to reduce corner reflections caused when vehicle components form right angles that reflect radar waves directly back to sensors.

One main concern for right angles comes from a plane's tail. Northrop Grumman solved this problem by using a "flying wing" design that completely eliminates the tail. The aircraft is also covered in RAM plates or paint made of carbonyl iron ferrite. The ferrite grains turn radar waves into an alternating magnetic field in the RAM, resulting in the transfer of radar's electromagnetic energy to heat, which then dissipates from the vehicle.

LO plane engines are built to fly at high subsonic speeds in order to avoid tracking by sonic boom and are built within the fuselage to reduce their profile to infrared radar. Additionally, some LO planes cool exhausts to reduce heat signatures. To thwart radio-frequency and electromagnetic tracking, designers use very low-powered computers and eliminate the plane's radar systems to ensure energy use is low enough to avoid detection.

The Lockheed F-117A Nighthawk, also known as the Stealth Fighter, was the first combat aircraft designed around LO technology. In the aftermath of 1970s combat experiences with potent Soviet radar-based air defense systems, the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) investigated whether it was conceptually possible to develop an aircraft with a low enough RCS to defeat the radar-based defense systems. By 1975 Lockheed

A bow view of the experimental stealth ship *Sea Shadow* underway in San Francisco Bay, 1993. (U.S. Department of Defense)

and Northrop achieved breakthroughs in designing LO aircraft, and in April 1976 the U.S. Air Force (USAF) contracted Lockheed Advanced Development Projects, also known as "Skunk Works," to produce a test aircraft.

Lockheed's demonstrator aircraft was classified under the program name "Have Blue." By mid-1979, Have Blue test flights had proven that Lockheed's design concepts could produce a plane with low radar and infrared signatures that could meet USAF standards and maintain satisfactory flying capabilities. The first test flight of an F-117 came on June 18, 1981, over Nevada test ranges. Production began rapidly after the successful flight, and the first F-117A was delivered in 1982. The 4450th Tactical Group, currently the 49th Fighter Wing, Holloman Air Force Base, New Mexico, achieved operational capability in October 1983.

Although the plane first served in military missions during Operation JUST CAUSE in Panama in 1989, the Nighthawk gained prominence in 1991 during the Persian Gulf War. In the campaign, F-117As proved most valuable in strikes on downtown Baghdad, where it was the only aircraft able to avoid Iraqi surface-to-air missile (SAM) sites. On April 22, 2008, however, the USAF retired the F-117 in favor of the newly developed Lockheed Martin/Boeing F-22 Raptor and the Lockheed Martin/Northrop Grumman/BAE Systems F-35 Lightning II.

Northrop Grumman continued testing LO technology and in 1979 was contracted to produce a stealth bomber. The B-2 Spirit made its first flight on July 17, 1989, and saw first combat in Operation ALLIED FORCE over Kosovo in 1999. Designers of the B-2 contoured the plane into a "flying wing" that hides the bomb bays, engines, and cockpit with RAM and parallel alignment of its external lines to scatter radar waves. The plane's body covers the engine's turbine blades and fan to shield these highly reflective areas from radar. Furthermore, the plane pipes engine exhaust through a long tube covered with heat-absorbing materials to mask its heat signature and to avoid infrared detection. Assigned to the 509th Bomb Wing stationed at Whiteman Air Force Base, Missouri, after being declared fully operational in 2003, B-2s have seen service in three different campaigns.

The B-2 was designed as a long-range bomber and first-strike weapon to knock out important strategic targets, such as communications and radar facilities. The plane performed this role in Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003. Designers originally manufactured the B-2 to deliver nuclear payloads in case of intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) attack. Most frequently, the B-2 has carried Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAMs), a guidance system that converts gravity bombs to guided smart bombs using Global Positioning System (GPS) receivers.

Stealth technology is also employed at sea. The U.S. Navy, DARPA, and Lockheed began the development of stealth ships in the 1980s. They completed construction of the IX-529 *Sea Shadow,* the first stealth ship, in 1985. The *Sea Shadow* takes advantage of the same diamond shaping used in the F-117 and B-2 to reduce its RCS. Additionally, designers utilized a unique double pontoon hull to reduce sonar and infrared detection, along with diminishing the right angles that form and produce radar signatures when the hull enters the water. Known as the small water plane area twin hull (SWATH) configuration, the *Sea Shadow*'s main deck is supported by two thin struts that connect two submerged pontoons. The A-frame shape provides superb stability in rough waters and supplements the ship's stealth.

The *Sea Shadow* was built to test LO technology on ships and has no military capabilities. In April 1993 the navy declassified the *Sea Shadow* and revealed it to the public. After a year of daylight testing, they placed the ship in lay-up status at its home port in San Diego, California, where it stayed for five years until the navy reactivated it in 1999. After reactivation, the *Sea Shadow* participated in tests of new LO technology to be used in the Zumwalt-class destroyer, which the U.S. Navy hopes to commission beginning in 2015.

Presently, the United States, Germany, France, Britain, Sweden, the Netherlands, Norway, Finland, India, and Singapore are utilizing LO technology in military vessels. The U.S. Navy's Zumwalt-class destroyer is planned to utilize a tumblesome wave-piercing hull designed by Northrop Grumman. Designers claim that the hull optimizes the speed and maneuverability of the ship while maintaining the stability of traditional hulls. Additionally, the tumblesome hull uses low angles to reduce the destroyer's RCS and minimizes infrared signatures. The Zumwalt-class is also to employ stealth with an advanced induction motor, an all-electric motor that quiets engine noise. The navy intends the Zumwalt-class destroyer to take on multiple roles of undersea warfare, ship-to-ship combat, antiaircraft support, and long-range surface attacks. Stealth significantly impacts these plans because LO technology would allow the destroyers to avoid detection and to prevent weapons from locking on the ship, greatly increasing its survivability and capabilities as a first-strike weapon.

ADAM P. WILSON

See also

B-2 Spirit; Joint Direct Attack Munition and Small Diameter Bomb; Navigation Satellite Timing and Ranging Global Positioning System; United States Air Force, Afghanistan War; United States Air Force, Iraq War; United States Air Force, Persian Gulf War

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STEEL CURTAIN, Operation
Start Date: November 5, 2005
End Date: November 22, 2005

A major anti-insurgent operation mounted by U.S. Marines and Iraqi forces during November 5–22, 2005, as part of the broader al-Sayyad operation that aimed to control the resistance in the Euphrates River Valley, deal with Anbar Province, and also establish control by the Iraqi Army in the Al Qaim region. Operation STEEL CURTAIN (also known as Al Hajip Elfulathi) was significant in that it was the first military operation to include significant numbers of Iraqi Army personnel recruited and trained by the coalition government for Iraq. For the first time, Iraqi soldiers took the lead in some of the house-to-house searches and extensively patrolled in insurgent areas. The U.S. command considered the operation to be a success, although it was costly in terms of civilian casualties and the creation of strong tensions.

After the fall of President Saddam Hussein's regime in April 2003, many U.S. leaders considered the war in Iraq to be over. This proved not to be the case when a major insurgency broke out that summer and intensified over the succeeding months. Some of the resistance came from Islamist groups, others did not, but all wanted American troops out of Iraq. The resistance was particularly active in Anbar Province in western Iraq, adjoining the Syrian border, but was not restricted to this area. The Anbar region is dominated by tribes, and the Sunni tribes expected nothing but violence and a diminution of their role in Iraq under a government dominated by Shia groups. This area had also long been used by smugglers. Consisting mostly of rough desert terrain, the province held many routes for men, arms, and supplies to flow from Syria to desert camps and urban locations inside Iraq. Major urban centers included Husaybah, Karabilah, and Ubaydi. Ubaydi in particular was considered a key location for insurgents and was heavily fortified. Indeed the earlier Operation MATADOR in May 2005 had been an attempt to secure Ubaydi. Although coalition forces took the city, they failed to garrison it, and insurgents quickly resumed control over the city.

Most observers believed that coalition success in Iraq would depend upon whether or not a viable Iraqi military could be established. When Hussein was forced from power, the United States took what many now consider to be the unwise course of completely disbanding the Iraqi military as part of the attempt to rid the country of Baathist influences. This decision left a power vacuum that coalition forces could not fill, and it forced the building of a new Iraqi army from scratch. The process was slow and difficult, and Operation STEEL CURTAIN appeared to be an opportunity to speed along the process.

In June 2005 U.S. forces launched Operation SPEAR, an effort to oust insurgents from Anbar Province. In that operation, only 100 Iraqi soldiers participated. By November 2005, however, the number of Iraqi soldiers nationwide had increased dramatically. Special efforts had also been made to recruit and station new units in

A U.S. Marine Corps AH-1W Super Cobra helicopter is prepared for a nighttime takeoff from Forward Operation Base Al Qaim to provide close-air support for coalition forces in Operation STEEL CURTAIN during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in November 2005. (U.S. Department of Defense)

and around Anbar. Two Iraqi division headquarters were formed, along with four brigade headquarters. Ten infantry battalions were recruited and deployed to Anbar. A total of 15,000 Iraqi soldiers were stationed in the province by November 2005, with 1,000 deployed to help the American troops in Operation STEEL CURTAIN.

The most hopeful sign for the coalition was that some of the new troops were locally recruited. A number were assigned to specially trained Scout Platoons, also known as Desert Protectors. Comparisons were made between the Scout Platoons and Native Americans recruited by the U.S. Cavalry during the 19th-century Native American wars in the American West. Like the Native American units, the Scout Platoons were familiar with the territory in which STEEL CURTAIN took place. They served as a liaison between American units and local tribal leaders, and the Scouts also provided information about which individuals belonged in the area and which individuals might be foreign fighters. American military leaders also viewed the increased number of recruits as a sign that the local population was increasingly unhappy with the foreign fighters, especially members of Al Qaeda.

In July 2005 coalition forces launched Operation HUNTER, which was intended to sweep through the Euphrates River Valley. Coalition planners recognized that in the western provinces most of the insurgents in 2005 were Al Qaeda operatives. The goal of Operation HUNTER had been to force the insurgents out of the region and cut off the supply lines that funneled fresh resources and men into Iraq and permitted operatives to escape to camps in Syria and beyond. Unlike earlier anti-insurgent campaigns, Operation HUNTER was also expected to establish a permanent Iraqi army presence in the area.

American operational forces for STEEL CURTAIN included marines from the 3rd Battalion, 6th Marine Regiment, and the 2nd Battalion, 1st Marine Regiment. Both were part of the 2nd Marine Division. The marines were reinforced with supporting units and specialists, including forward air controllers, to total approximately 2,500 men.

STEEL CURTAIN began on November 5 with an assault on Husaybah. It took coalition forces four days to clear the city. Many of the insurgents that were forced from Husaybah fled to Karabilah. Another four days were needed to secure Karabilah. The final phase of the operation was to secure Ubaydi. Fighting in this center of Al Qaeda operations was difficult and more protracted, involving house-to-house combat. After seven days, coalition commanders declared the city secure.

From the Iraqi perspective, the operation resulted in hundreds of civilian casualties and destroyed much of Husaybah, including government buildings, schools, and two mosques. Citizens were

also very angry and upset because they were not allowed to reclaim their dead.

Operation STEEL CURTAIN officially ended on November 22. Iraqi soldiers were praised for their participation in the operation, especially their work inside the cities. Unlike earlier operations, the coalition forces established forward operating bases in the region as they cleared out the Al Qaeda insurgents. The goal was to establish an ongoing presence that would prevent the return of Al Qaeda.

Coalition losses were relatively light. Ten marines were killed and 30 others were wounded. Losses among the Iraqi troops are unknown. Coalition spokesmen claimed that 139 insurgents were killed and another 256 captured.

Coalition commanders were pleased that five Al Qaeda leaders were killed in the air strikes on Husaybah. Although planners had hoped to capture or kill Jordanian-born Al Qaeda associate Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, he was not among the casualties. He was later killed in an American air strike in June 2006.

Coalition leaders considered the operation a success and held that the new Iraqi Army could now aid in operations against insurgents. Only three weeks after the conclusion of STEEL CURTAIN, the Iraqi provisional government held the first democratic election in years on December 15. A permanent legislative body was elected. Although many in the Al Qaim region and Anbar region refused to vote, the reduction in the harassment and intimidation of voters was considered an important goal of Operation STEEL CURTAIN and similar military operations.

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See also

Al Qaeda in Iraq; Iraqi Insurgency; United States Marine Corps, Iraq War

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Stryker Brigades

Rapidly deployable, multioperational, highly mobile infantry brigade combat teams. As part of broader Defense Department reform and realignment efforts, the U.S. Army spent much of the 1990s planning a new force structure for the early 21st century. The transformed army would boast new equipment to take advantage of what some saw as a revolution in military affairs. Its units would be more flexible, deployable, and sustainable than those of the Cold War, but every bit as lethal. The Stryker Brigades emerged as a deliberate intermediate step between the Cold War army and this new, objective force.

On October 12, 1999, General Eric K. Shinseki, the U.S. Army's newly appointed chief of staff, delivered the traditional keynote speech to the annual meeting of the Association of the United States Army. In that speech, General Shinseki announced his intent to begin implementing the long-studied reforms. He established many specific goals, including reducing the army's logistics requirements, shrinking the size of support forces, and replacing existing armored vehicles with smaller, lighter counterparts. Army units would adopt a standard modular structure capable of rapid deployment. Most significantly, Shinseki called for the creation of a prototype unit within the next year.

That unit would use readily available equipment to begin moving toward the eventual objective force. It would both validate that future force's design theory and begin providing the army with experience in new operating concepts. By design, the brigade would form both an intermediate step between the existing light and heavy combat brigades and an interim force between the existing and future units. It would be able to deploy almost as quickly as lighter infantry units, but have combat power approaching that of heavier armored units. By using a standard vehicle chassis, state-of-the-art electronics, and a number of other innovations, the new formation would require fewer personnel and supplies.

The 3rd Brigade of the 2nd Infantry Division was selected as the first of seven brigades to adopt the new design. After evaluating 35 U.S. and foreign vehicles, the army settled on a Canadian Light Armored Vehicle as the new unit's mount. In February 2002 this vehicle, modified for the army's needs into several different variations, was officially named to honor two infantrymen with the same last name who had been awarded the Medal of Honor. The Stryker, with eight wheels, became the symbol of the new units, subsequently designated as Stryker Brigade Combat Teams.

The prototype unit technically existed within a year of Shinseki's speech. But it required substantially more time to acquire hundreds of new types of equipment and reconsider the way army brigades traditionally fought. At 19 tons, the basic Stryker infantry carrier provided a medium-weight platform that could be adopted to meet nearly all of the brigade's vehicle needs. The Stryker family included a mortar carrier, a mobile gun system, and reconnaissance, command, fire support, engineering, ambulance, and antitank variations. The vehicles and the troops they carried shared information through a sophisticated electronic network. Through experiments, tests, and training the Stryker Brigades learned how to make the most of their new capabilities.

After September 11, 2001, many viewed the new type of brigade as a critical component of the War on Terror. Its new equipment, organization, and techniques theoretically allowed the Stryker Brigade to shoot, move, and communicate with unprecedented ease and coordination. That theory was soon to be tested in combat.

On December 3, 2003, with the beginning of the Iraq War, the first Stryker Brigade crossed the Kuwaiti border bound for the Iraqi city of Mosul. Rapidly changing conditions forced a change in plans while it moved north, and the unit drove into the city of Samarra instead. The brigade's ability to alter plans on the march without pause proved to be but one of its chief assets.

In the course of its initial deployment, the first Stryker Brigade met and exceeded the army's expectations. The medium-weight force proved ideal for a number of missions. With its modern information systems and modular structure, the brigade's subordinate units could be rapidly reconfigured as need arose. Special training and equipment provided for its individual soldiers increased the effectiveness of even the smallest units. The Stryker vehicle itself also offered unexpected advantages in Iraq. While it proved as fast and easy to support as had been hoped, its silence in comparison to tracked vehicles provided a valuable advantage in urban settings. Following the success of the 3rd Brigade, 2nd Infantry Division, additional units completed their conversions into Stryker Brigades and deployed to Iraq.

This did not stop criticism of the Stryker vehicle and the units that used it, however. Many observers, familiar with tactics designed for heavier armored vehicles, have criticized the Stryker's comparative lack of armor and use of wheels rather than tracks. Others have complained about the vehicle's high center of gravity, a deliberate choice to protect its passengers from roadside mines.

Despite such criticisms, the performance of the Stryker Brigades in combat has fulfilled General Shinseki's intent. The new units proved more flexible, deployable, and sustainable than previous designs without sacrificing lethality. Also, techniques and equipment developed for the new brigades quickly found their way into other units. Along the way, the Stryker Brigades and their signature vehicle became an icon of American forces in Iraq since 2003.

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See also

United States Department of Defense, Military Reform, Realignment, and Transformation

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Submarines

Although the Middle East wars have involved neither major naval engagements nor significant antishipping campaigns as did the two world wars, changing technology enables submarines to play an important if nontraditional role in these conflicts. The shallow waters of the Persian Gulf limit the operations of large oceangoing submarines there. However, the advent of submarine-launched cruise missiles gives submarines the capacity to strike targets far inland from the deep ocean areas where they can operate freely.

U.S. Navy submarines launched more than 20 percent of the cruise missiles used against Iraq in the two wars the United States has fought with that country, and they launched the majority of the cruise missiles fired in retaliation for terrorist attacks against the United States between 1992 and 2001. Moreover, the United States and Britain also employed submarines to monitor international shipping in support of United Nations (UN)–mandated sanctions imposed on Iraq before Operation desert storm. Given the enduring tensions between the United States and Iran and their respective submarine fleets, albeit of disparate size and capability, submarines may play an even greater role in any future Middle East wars, particularly since Iran has received or is developing land-attack cruise missiles for its submarines.

Although the primary Western countries involved in the Middle East, the United States and Britain, prefer nuclear-powered submarines, the nature of the Middle Eastern nations' naval-operating areas and the limited size of their defense budgets have driven them to opt for the cheaper and much shorter-ranged diesel-electric models. In fact, prior to the late 1990s they were limited to operating secondhand obsolescent submarines. Since that time, they have acquired increasingly modern top-of-the line, conventionally powered submarines.

With its ports lying up a waterway shared with Iran, Iraq had no submarines for many years. However, its neighbor Iran acquired three Soviet-built Kilo-class diesel submarines in the 1980s and began to build an indigenous class of small shallow-water submarines by the late 1990s. The Kilo-class displaces more than 3,900 tons submerged and has a top underwater speed of 17 knots. The Kilos are armed with 6 21-inch torpedo tubes and 1 surface-to-air missile (SAM) launcher. The first of the Iranian-built Gadir- or Qadir-class boats appeared in 1998. Their precise characteristics are unknown, but most analysts estimate that they displace approximately 200 tons submerged, carry 2 21-inch torpedoes or 4 mines, and are manned by a crew of approximately eight men. Their diesel-electric drive is believed to provide a maximum submerged speed of about 10 knots on batteries and 6–8 knots when snorkeling. Underwater endurance is believed to be approximately 12 hours at 3–5 knots on batteries.

The American Los Angeles–class nuclear-powered attack submarine constitutes the backbone of the American submarine force employed in its Middle Eastern wars. Displacing more than 7,000 tons submerged and having almost unlimited endurance and a top speed of more than 25 knots, the Los Angeles–class boats are regarded as the world's best open-ocean fighting platforms. Their 142-man crews are highly trained, and the submarine's acoustic and electronic sensors enable it to track ships covertly from as far as 50 nautical miles distant. They are also equipped with the extensive command and control systems necessary to communicate with the fleet and forces ashore. These submarines carry 12 Tomahawk Land Attack Missiles (TLAMs) in vertical launch tubes, giving them a significant power-projection capability. However, these submarines' large size, compared to conventional submarines, puts them at a disadvantage in the Persian Gulf's shallow waters and high-density shipping lanes.

The U.S. Navy submarine *Los Angeles* (SSN-688), lead submarine of the Los Angeles class of attack submarines, underway off Oahu, Hawaii. (U.S. Department of Defense)

In fact, two American attack submarines were damaged there between 2003 and 2006 when the venture effect of the ultra-large crude carriers (ULCCs) plying these waters and passing overhead sucked them up into the tankers' bottoms, crunching the submarines' sails.

Although they did not participate in combat operations against Iraq, British submarines were involved in sanctions-enforcement operations. The newest British submarines are the Trafalgar class, of which seven units were in service during Operation DESERT STORM. Slightly smaller than the Los Angeles class at just 5,000 tons submerged, they carry the same sensor load, only with British-built systems. They employ a pump-jet rather than a seven-bladed propeller for propulsion, giving the submarine greater maneuverability and a higher top speed (30 knots). However, the Trafalgar-class lacks the TLAMs and extensive command and control systems found on the U.S. submarines, hence their more limited employment. They have conducted sea control missions in the Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea.

The Iranian submarines represent the best of the conventionally powered submarine designs in service among Middle Eastern nations, although Egyptian efforts to acquire French- and German-built submarines with air-independent propulsion systems may change that. Once considered obsolete by many American defense analysts, modern diesel submarines are now recognized as a serious threat in constricted waters, such as the Strait of Hormuz and the waters around the Middle East's potential conflict zones. Moreover, modern diesels are quieter when operating on their batteries than are nuclear submarines, and they can remain submerged on their batteries for up to 15 days with the latest air-independent-propulsion systems. Nonetheless, prior to the introduction of submarine-launched land-attack missiles in 1991, submarines traditionally have had their greatest impact in wars that last long enough for attacks on an enemy's fleet and shipping to have a strategic impact on the fighting ashore. Although that has not been the case in the Middle East wars of the last 50 years, Iran's Kilo-class submarines provide Tehran with the capacity to

seriously disrupt if not decimate oil shipments coming out of the Persian Gulf.

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See also

Arms Sales, International; Iran, Armed Forces; Israel, Armed Forces; Mines, Sea, Clearing Operations, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Mines, Sea, and Naval Mine Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Missiles, Cruise; United States Navy, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Sudan

Largest country in Africa, encompassing 967,495 square miles. Sudan, situated in east-central Africa, is the site of a long-standing civil war that includes the bloody Darfur genocide, which began in 2003. It is bordered by Egypt to the north, the Red Sea to the northeast, Eritrea and Ethiopia to the east, Kenya and Uganda to the southeast, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Central African Republic to the southwest, Chad to the west, and Libya to the northwest. With a current population of approximately 39.4 million people, Sudan has a tropical climate in the south and an arid desert climate in the north. Despite its natural resources of petroleum, zinc, copper, silver, and gold, Sudan is one of the poorest nations in Africa and has been rocked by civil war and political turmoil in the last several decades.

Some 70 percent of the Sudanese population are farmers, although 66 percent of the population resides in a concentrated area around Khartoum, Omdurman, and Khartoum North. Only a few Sudanese engage in trade and commerce. Most residents lack modern facilities such as electricity, good transportation, and safe drinking water. The population of Sudan is increasing by nearly 6 percent every year, but its gross production has not kept up with this growth, suggesting a difficult future for the country.

Sudan's culture represents those of many different African and Arab peoples and has been influenced by the ancient civilizations of the Kingdom of Kush, Nubia, and Meroe. It has a long and distinguished history dating back several thousand years. The Arabs called Sudan the "Country of the Blacks" (Bilad al-Sud). It was invaded and ruled in the past by the Romans, Egyptians, and British, who controlled it from 1899 to 1955. Sudan was also a hunting place for black slaves, sought by Arab traders. In the past, before modern transportation, Sudan was a transitional depot for Muslim pilgrims from East, Central, and West Africa. They often passed through Port Sudan en route to Mecca for the Islamic pilgrimage.

In 1956 Sudan won its independence from the British and became the Republic of Sudan, with Khartoum as its capital. It has 26 states and a military-rule (transitional) style of government. General Omar al-Bashir is its current president.

Sudan comprises many diverse ethnic groups: Arab, Nubian, Beja, Dinka, Azande, and Zaghawa. Each group speaks a different language, but Arabic is the official language and the one used by the government. The Arabs are the second largest ethnic group, and most are descended from the Jaaliyin and the Juhayna tribes. About 70 percent of Sudanese are Muslims, while 20–25 percent are followers of traditional African religions. Some 5–10 percent of Sudanese are Christians. Sudanese Muslims are Sunnis; however, many of them are members of different mystical, or Sufi, orders. The majority of Sudanese Christians are Roman Catholics.

In 1983 Sudanese president Jafar Nimayri imposed Islamic law (Sharia) over all aspects of life, including civil and criminal laws, which caused a major upheaval that sparked the Second Sudanese Civil War. Prior to that, Sudan had been torn apart by the First Civil War, which raged from 1955 to 1972. Today, Sudan still applies Islamic law to daily life. Many followers of indigenous African religions believe that Muslims and Christians have used religion to oppress them, and they resent the aggressive missionary work of both Muslims and Christians. However, it was the Catholic Church that helped bring the world's attention to the crisis and attendant genocide in Darfur.

Socially, Sudan remains a family-oriented society that cherishes the extended family. The family unit takes care of its elderly and the sick, and watches over the welfare of all. Women are still segregated at many festivities, except for the Western-educated young women who enjoy some limited social and career mobility. Prior to the Bashir regime, many Sudanese women received a modern education and worked as doctors, engineers, and teachers; but with Islamization, an effort began to exclude female workers from many professions, and political purges had the same effect. Unfortunately, nearly all Sudanese women practice a severe form of female circumcision despite its condemnation by the international community, often creating many health problems for them.

Politically, Sudan is divided into southern and northern parts, an artificial creation of the former Egyptian and British colonial regimes. The division was created for political and administrative purposes. A policy of segregation and discrimination against the southerners was carried on after independence and helped fuel the two civil wars, as did competition among northern groups.

Sudan remains an underdeveloped country. A military government backed by the largest Islamic party and headed by Hasan Turabi and Omar al-Bashir came to power in 1989; it put an end to the democratically elected government of President Sadiq al-Mahdi, the leader of the Ummah party, and banned all political parties. Bashir later secured the exit of Turabi from the government. The Sudan had already been involved in a long and bitter civil war primarily between the South and the North. The civil war widened to include western areas like Darfur and also, for some years, efforts to bring down the Bashir government by a coalition of rebels. Sudan's bitter civil wars, which have caused and continue to cause insurmountable problems, have ruined its economy and resulted in the death of more than half a million people. Many Sudanese were forced to flee into neighboring countries to save their lives. Millions of them became refugees in other lands without any hope of returning to Sudan because of the continuing violence and bloodshed.

In August 1998 the U.S. government ordered Operation INFINITE REACH, which featured a preemptory cruise-missile strike on a pharmaceutical factory in Khartoum. The Americans claimed it was a chemical weapons facility with links to Al Qaeda. The strike was controversial, for the facility turned out to be merely a pharmaceutical factory with no links to Al Qaeda.

The Darfur genocide has claimed the lives of as many as 400,000 people and has displaced another 2.5 million. Rather than the religious strife of the two previous civil wars, the catalyst in the Darfur crisis has been ethnic and tribal tensions. Much of the world, including the United States, has denounced the Sudanese government and has labeled the bloodshed genocide. However, with much of the world's attention on conflicts in the Middle East and the War on Terror, little has been done to stop the bloodshed.

Sudan is bitterly divided by elements loyal to the government, freedom fighters (whom the government labels rebels) in the South, inhabitants of the Darfur region to the west, and northerners in opposition to the government. All suspect one another, and efforts to find an amicable solution to the country's problems have all failed. Several local and international conferences have taken place in and outside Sudan to help resolve the problems, and peace treaties have been signed but are then disregarded. Thousands of Sudanese refugees are now living in wretched conditions in refugee camps and are being taken care of by the United Nations (UN) and international charitable organizations.

It should be noted, however, that many of the freedom fighters are Muslims themselves, and not Christians as portrayed in the media. The Arab militias who are fighting them are also Muslim, as well as black. The Arab northerners want to tap the natural resources in the South and rule the country without allowing the indigenous people to benefit from the resources in their own area. The non-Muslim peoples of the South have long opposed the imposition of Islamic law in their region as well. The southerners and people in Darfur believe that the government has marginalized them.

The international community has condemned Sudan for the atrocities committed by the *janjawid,* or fighting groups. Sudan has also been isolated in the past for allegedly sponsoring terrorism, especially with its previous accommodation of Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, and the United States strongly opposes the Islamic nature of the Sudanese government. The international community is currently exerting considerable pressure on Sudan to end the crisis in Darfur, and the U.S. government has sought support for the issue from the UN Security Council. However, many Arab governments oppose pressure on Bashir, and the United States has not received sufficient support in the Security Council for meaningful action, thanks to opposition from the People's Republic of China (PRC), at least in part because the Chinese government imports oil from Darfur and is the major supplier of arms to Sudan.

YUSHAU SODIQ

See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; INFINITE REACH, Operation; Terrorism

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Suez Crisis

Start Date: July 26, 1956
End Date: March 6, 1957

The Suez Crisis was one of the major events of both the modern Middle East and Cold War as well as of the Arab-Israeli wars. The crisis ended Britain's pretensions to be a world superpower and fatally weakened Britain's hold on what remained of its empire. It also placed a dangerous strain on U.S.-Soviet relations, strengthened the position of Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser throughout the Middle East, and distracted world attention from the concurrent Soviet military intervention in the Hungarian Revolution.

The Suez Crisis had its origins in the development plans of Gamal Abdel Nasser. In 1952 a reformist and anti-British coup d'état in Egypt, led by young army officers, toppled the government of King Farouk I. During the months that followed, Nasser emerged as the strongman and ultimately became president of Egypt. Nasser hoped to enhance his prestige and improve the quality of life for his nation's burgeoning population by carrying out long-discussed plans to construct a high dam on the upper Nile River south of Aswan to provide electric power. To finance the project, Nasser sought assistance from the Western powers. But Nasser had also been endeavoring to build up and modernize the Egyptian military. Toward that end he had sought to acquire modern weapons from the United States and other Western nations. When the U.S. government refused to supply the advanced arms,

which it believed might be used against the State of Israel, Nasser turned to the communist bloc in 1955. In September 1955, with Soviet encouragement, he reached a barter arrangement with Czechoslovakia for substantial quantities of weapons, including jet aircraft and tanks, in return for Egyptian cotton.

This arms deal had an impact on the Aswan High Dam construction project for which Nasser had sought Western financing. In December 1955 Washington declared its willingness to lend $56 million for financing the dam, while Britain pledged $14 million and the World Bank $200 million. The condition to the aid was that Egypt provide matching funds and that it not accept Soviet assistance.

Nasser was unhappy with the attached strings. With Nasser expecting a Soviet offer of assistance, the controlled Egyptian press launched an all-out propaganda offensive against the West, especially the United States. But when no Soviet offer was forthcoming, Nasser finally accepted the Western aid package on July 17, 1956. Much to his chagrin, two days later U.S. secretary of state John Foster Dulles announced that it had been withdrawn. Britain immediately followed suit. The official U.S. reasons for withdrawal were that Egypt had failed to reach agreement with the Sudan over the dam (most of the vast lake created by the dam would be in Sudanese territory), and the Egyptian part of the project's financing had become uncertain. The real reasons were objections from some U.S. congressmen, especially southerners fearful of competition from Egyptian cotton, and Dulles's determination to teach Nasser and other neutralists a lesson. Dulles was angry over Nasser's flirtation with the communist bloc to include the arms purchases and was especially upset over Egypt's recent recognition of the People's Republic of China (PRC).

Nasser's response to this humiliating rebuff came a week later on July 26, when he nationalized the Suez Canal. He had contemplated such a move for some time, but the U.S. decision prompted its timing. In 1955 the canal produced net revenues of nearly $100 million, of which Egypt received only $2 million. Seizure of the canal would not only provide additional funding for the Aswan High Dam project, but it would make Nasser a hero in the eyes of many Arab nationalists.

The British government regarded the sea-level Suez Canal, which connected the eastern Mediterranean with the Red Sea across Egyptian territory, as its lifeline to Middle Eastern oil and the Far East. Indeed, fully 60 percent of all oil consumed in Western Europe passed through the canal. The canal, built by a private company headed by Frenchman Ferdinand de Lesseps, had opened to much fanfare in 1869. It quickly altered the trade routes of the world, and two-thirds of the tonnage passing through the canal was British. Khedive Ismail Pasha, who owned 44 percent of the company shares, plunged Egypt into debt as a result of his profligate spending, and in 1875 the British government stepped in and purchased his shares. In 1878 Britain acquired the island of Cyprus north of Egypt from the Ottoman Empire, further strengthening its position in the eastern Mediterranean north of Egypt. The British also increased their role in Egyptian financial affairs, and in 1882 they intervened militarily in Egypt, promising to depart once order had been restored. Britain remained in Egypt and in effect controlled its affairs through World War II.

In 1954 Nasser, determined to end British influence in Egypt, succeeded in renegotiating the 1936 treaty with the British to force the withdrawal of British troops from the Suez Canal zone. The last British forces departed the canal zone on June 13, only six weeks before Nasser nationalized the canal.

The British government took the lead in opposing Nasser. London believed that Nasser's growing popularity in the Arab world was encouraging Arab nationalism and threatening to undermine British influence throughout the Middle East. British prime minister Anthony Eden developed a deep and abiding hatred for the Egyptian leader. For Eden, ousting Nasser from power became nothing short of an obsession. In the immediate aftermath of Nasser's nationalization of the canal, the British government called up 200,000 military reservists and dispatched military resources to the eastern Mediterranean.

The French government also had good reason to seek Nasser's removal. Paris sought to protect its own long-standing interests in the Middle East, but more to the point, was then fighting the National Liberation Front (NLF) in Algeria. The Algerian War, which began in November 1954, had greatly expanded and become an imbroglio for the government, now led by socialist premier Guy Mollet. Nasser was a strong and vocal supporter of the NLF, and there were many in the French government and military who believed that overthrowing him would greatly enhance France's chances of winning the Algerian War. This position found considerable support when on October 18, 1956, the French intercepted the Egyptian ship *Athos* and found it loaded with arms and documents proving Egyptian support for the NLF.

Israel formed the third leg in the triad of powers arrayed against Nasser. Egypt had instituted a blockade of Israeli ships at the Gulf of Aqaba, Israel's outlet to the Indian Ocean. Also, Egypt had never recognized the Jewish state and indeed remained at war with it following the Israeli War of Independence (1948–1949). In 1955 Israel mounted a half dozen cross-border raids, while Egypt carried out its own raids into Israeli territory by fedayeen (guerrilla fighters).

Over the months that followed Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal, the community of interest among British, French, and Israeli leaders developed into secret planning for a joint military operation to topple Nasser. The U.S. government was not consulted and indeed opposed the use of force. The British and French governments either did not understand the American attitude or, if they did, believed that Washington would give approval after the fact to policies believed by its major allies to be absolutely necessary.

The British government first tried diplomacy. Two conferences in London attended by the representatives of 24 nations using the canal failed to produce agreement on a course of action, and Egypt refused to participate. A proposal by Secretary of State Dulles for

a canal users' club of nations failed, as did an appeal to the United Nations (UN) Security Council. On October 1 Dulles announced that the United States was disassociating itself from British and French actions in the Middle East and asserted that the United States intended to play a more independent role.

Meanwhile, secret talks were going forward, first between the British and French for joint military action against Egypt. Military representatives of the two governments met in London on August 10 and hammered out the details of a joint military plan known as MUSKETEER, which would involve occupation of both Alexandria and Port Said. The French then brought the Israeli government in on the plan, and General Maurice Challe, deputy chief of staff of the French Air Force, undertook a secret trip to the Middle East to meet with Israeli government and military leaders. The Israelis were at first skeptical about British and French support. They also had no intention of moving as far as the canal itself. The Israelis stated that their plan was merely to send light detachments to link up with British and French forces. They also insisted that British and French military intervention occur simultaneously with their own attack.

General André Beaufre, the designated French military commander for the operation, then came up with a new plan. Under it, the Israelis would initiate hostilities against Egypt in order to provide the pretext for military intervention by French and British forces to protect the canal. This action would technically be in accord with the terms of the 1954 treaty between Egypt and Britain that had given Britain the right to send forces to occupy the Suez Canal zone in the event of an attack against Egypt by a third power.

On October 23 Mollet and French foreign minister Christian Pineau met in the Paris suburbs at Sévres with Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion, defense minister Shimon Peres, and chief of the Israeli General Staff Lieutenant General Moshe Dayan. The French agreed to provide additional air cover for Israel. French ships supposedly searching for Egyptian arms shipments to the Algerian rebels would move to the Israeli coast immediately, and French Mystére aircraft flown by French pilots would be repositioned in Israel. That afternoon British foreign secretary Selwyn Lloyd and Foreign Office undersecretary of state Patrick Dean joined the discussions. The British, while staunchly prointervention, were deeply concerned about their position in the Arab world and were not anxious to be seen in collusion with the Israelis. Thus, an Israeli strike toward the canal through the Sinai would enable the British to have it both ways: they could join the French in demanding of Nasser the right to protect the canal. When he refused, as he certainly would, they could join the French in destroying the Egyptian Air Force, eliminating the one possible

Egyptian Army prisoners of war (POWs) taken by British and French forces stand behind a barbed wire fence during the Suez Crisis, November 3, 1956. Their steel helmets lie in a pile in the foreground. (Israeli Government Press Office)

threat to Israeli success on the ground. All parties agreed to this new plan, informally dubbed the "Treaty of Sévres" and signed by Dean, Pineau, and Ben-Gurion.

On October 23, meanwhile, unrest began in Hungary. The next day Soviet tanks entered Budapest to put down what had become the Hungarian Revolution. French and British planners were delighted at this international distraction that seemed to provide them a degree of freedom of action.

On the afternoon of October 29 Israeli forces began Operation KADESH, the invasion of the Sinai peninsula. Sixteen C-47 transports took off from Israeli fields, each with a paratroop platoon. The objective of the 395-man paratroop battalion was the key Mitla Pass, 156 miles from the Israeli border and only 45 miles from the canal. Meanwhile, the remainder of Colonel Ariel Sharon's 202nd Parachute Brigade would race for the pass in French-provided trucks, linking up with the paratroopers within 36 hours. This operation was designed to trigger a major Egyptian response and threaten the canal in order to trigger the planned British-French response.

The announced objective of Operation KADESH was the eradication of the fedayeen bases, but it was begun so as to appear to the Egyptians as if it were the beginning of an all-out war. Dayan's detailed plan called for nothing less than a weeklong lightning advance that would end with Israeli forces securing the entire Sinai and a total victory over Egypt. The destruction of Nasser's prestige in the Arab world and final Egyptian recognition of the impossibility of an Arab military victory over Israel were the goals, rather than destruction of the Egyptian Army or acquisition of its new Soviet equipment.

A day later, October 30, the British and French governments issued an ultimatum, nominally to both the Egyptian and Israeli governments but in reality only to Egypt, expressing the need to separate the combatants and demanding the right to provide for the security of the Suez Canal. The ultimatum called on both sides to withdraw their forces 10 miles from the canal and gave them 12 hours to reply. The Israelis, of course, immediately accepted the ultimatum, while the Egyptians just as promptly rejected it.

At dusk on October 31, British and French aircraft struck Egyptian airfields and military installations from bases on Cyprus and Malta and from aircraft carriers. The aircraft attacked four Egyptian bases that day and nine the next. On November 1, meanwhile, a British and French naval task force sailed from Malta to join with other ships at Cyprus. In all, the allied landing force numbered some 80,000 men: 50,000 British and 30,000 French. There were 100 British and 30 French warships, including 7 aircraft carriers (5 British) and the French battleship *Jean Bart*; hundreds of landing craft; and some 80 merchant ships carrying 20,000 vehicles and stores. Yet when Eden reported to the House of Commons on events, he encountered a surprisingly strong negative reaction from the opposition Labour Party.

Also, following the initial British and French military action, the Egyptians immediately sank a number of ships in the canal to make it unusable. Meanwhile, the Israelis, battling against ineffective Egyptian forces, swept across the Sinai in only four days. Finally, on November 5, British and French paratroopers carried out a vertical envelopment of Port Said, Egypt, at the Mediterranean terminus of the canal, while at the same time French and British destroyers carried out a shore bombardment against those targets likely to impede a landing. Early on November 6, British troops began coming ashore at Port Said, while the French landed at Port Faud. A single day of fighting saw the ports in allied hands. French and British forces then began a virtually unopposed advance southward along the canal.

U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower had already entered the picture. On October 31 he described the British attack as "taken in error." He was personally furious at Eden over events and is supposed to have asked when he first telephoned the British leader, "Anthony, have you gone out of your mind?" The United States applied immediate and heavy financial threats, both on a bilateral basis and through the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to bring the British government to heel. Eisenhower also refused any further dealings with Eden personally.

The Soviets, preoccupied by Hungary, took some five days to come to the conclusion that the United States was actually opposing the British and French action. On November 5, Moscow threatened to send "volunteers" to Egypt. This proved a further embarrassment for the British government, but it was U.S. pressure that was decisive. Nonetheless, the world beheld the strange spectacle of the United States cooperating with the Soviet Union to condemn Britain and France in the UN Security Council and call for an end to the use of force. Although Britain and France vetoed the Security Council resolution, the matter was referred to the General Assembly, which demanded a cease-fire and withdrawal.

Israel and Egypt agreed to a cease-fire on November 4. At midnight on November 6, the day of the U.S. presidential election, the British and French governments also accepted a cease-fire, the French only with the greatest reluctance. By the time the cease-fire went into effect, the French and British controlled about half of the canal's length. French and British losses in the operation were 33 dead and 129 wounded. Egyptian losses are unknown.

A 4,000-man UN Emergency Force, authorized on November 4 and made up of contingents from the Scandinavian countries, Brazil, Colombia, India, and Indonesia, then arrived in Egypt to take up positions to keep Israeli and Egyptian forces separated. At the end of November the British and French governments both agreed to withdraw their forces from Egypt by December 22, and on December 1 Eisenhower announced that he had instructed U.S. oil companies to resume shipping supplies to both Britain and France. Under pressure from both the United States and the UN, Israel withdrew its forces from the Sinai, including the Gaza Strip, during February 5–March 6, 1957. A UN observer force of 3,500 men then took up station in Gaza, at Sharm al-Shaykhh, and along the Sinai border. Although Israel had been assured that Egyptian forces would not return to Gaza, the Egyptians were there within 48 hours of the Israeli withdrawal.

An Egyptian boy stands near a British tank amid the rubble of destroyed buildings in Port Said after the British and French assault on the city during the Suez Crisis, November 1956. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

Nasser and Arab self-confidence were the chief beneficiaries of the crisis. The abysmal performance of Egyptian military forces in the crisis was forgotten in Nasser's ultimate triumph. Nasser found his prestige dramatically increased throughout the Arab world. Israel also benefited. The presence of the UN force guaranteed an end to the fedayeen raids, and Israel had also broken the Egyptian blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba, although its ships could still not transit the Suez Canal. The crisis also enhanced Soviet prestige in the Middle East, and the UN emerged with enhanced prestige, helping to boost world confidence in that organization.

The Suez Crisis ended Eden's political career. Ill and under tremendous criticism in Parliament from the Labour Party, he resigned from office in January 1957. Events also placed a serious, albeit temporary, strain on U.S.-British relations. More importantly, they revealed the serious limitations in British military strength. Indeed, observers are unanimous in declaring 1956 a seminal date in British imperial history, marking the effective end of Britain's tenure as a great power. The events had less impact in France. Mollet left office in May 1957 but not as a result of the Suez intervention. The crisis was costly to both Britain and France in economic terms, for Saudi Arabia had halted oil shipments to both countries.

Finally, the Suez Crisis could not have come at a worse time for the West because the event diverted world attention from the concurrent brutal Soviet military intervention in Hungary. Eisenhower believed, rightly or wrongly, that without the Suez diversion there would have been far stronger Western reaction to the Soviet invasion of its satellite.

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See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Aswan High Dam Project; Baghdad Pact; Dulles, John Foster; Egypt; Eisenhower, Dwight David; France, Middle East Policy; Hussein ibn Talal, King of Jordan; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Suicide Bombings

Bombings in which an explosive is delivered and detonated by a person or persons who expect to die in the explosion along with the intended target or targets. In recent years the number of suicide bombings or attacks has risen exponentially, and not just in the Middle East. The United States was struck by four hijacked aircraft piloted by Islamic fanatics associated with the Al Qaeda terrorist organization on September 11, 2001, resulting in the deaths of almost 3,000 people. Certainly, this was the worst—and most dramatic—example of a suicide operation. Other shocking attacks took place in Bali, Jakarta, Madrid, London, the Sinai peninsula, and Amman, in addition to those in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan.

Suicide bombers employ several different techniques. Japanese pilots in World War II were known for crashing their airplanes straight into targets, causing tremendous devastation. These were known as kamikaze ("divine wind"), the name given to a typhoon that destroyed a Mongol invasion fleet off Japan in the 13th century. Kamikazes exacted a heavy toll on Allied warships at the end of World War II, especially off Okinawa. The Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka utilized suicide bombings during their long struggle against the central government in 1983–2009. Other attackers have employed bombs secured in cars or trucks.

Individual suicide bombers often strap explosives and shrapnel to their bodies and wear vests or belts specially designed for the purpose. They then drive or walk to their targets. Because military targets are heavily defended, typical targets include crowded shopping areas, restaurants, or buses. Suicide bombers may also approach softer targets directly linked to the military or police, such as a line of recruits in the street, as has occurred during the Iraq War. Detonating the explosives kills and injures people in the vicinity and can also destroy notable property, such as religious shrines. One technique is to send two or more suicide bombers against a single target; after the first blast, the second bomber works his way into the crowd of responders and then detonates his explosives.

An explosion in an enclosed area is more destructive than one in the open, and suicide bombers pick their targets accordingly. Forensic investigators at the site of a suicide bombing can usually identify the bomber and the general type of device he or she used. A suicide vest decapitates the bomber; a belt cuts the bomber in two.

The explosive devices themselves are easily constructed. They might include an explosive charge, a battery, a cable, a light switch detonator, and a custom-made belt or vest to hold the explosives. Scrap metal might be employed to act as shrapnel, which in the blast would kill or maim those nearby. Explosives may also be carried in a briefcase or other bag. The bomber sets off the explosive by flipping a switch or pressing a button, sometimes remotely as in the case of a car or truck bombing.

Muslim extremists in the latest wave of violence might leave a written or video *shahada,* which is partially a statement of their intent and partially a will and settlement of any debts. Suicide bombings have been used in the Middle East since the late 1970s. The Islamic resistance employed them in Syria against the Baathist government, although many more conventional attacks also occurred. During the Lebanese civil war, car bombings evolved in some cases into suicide attacks; and in 1981 the Islamic Dawa Party bombed the Iraqi embassy in Beirut.

In response to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, the Islamic Resistance, a loosely organized group, formed, and some of its elements planned bombing attacks. In November 1982 an Islamic Resistance suicide bomber destroyed a building in Tyre, Lebanon, and killed 76 Israelis. The Organization of Islamic Jihad and other militant Islamist groups including Hezbollah, as well as numerous Christians, carried out another 50 suicide attacks between 1982 and 1999, when the Israelis withdrew from Lebanon. A massive suicide bombing of their barracks in October 1983 forced American and French troops from Lebanon.

The belief that such attacks bring martyrdom has encouraged suicide bombings in countries all over the world, including Afghanistan, Chechnya, Croatia, Tajikistan, Pakistan, Yemen, Panama, Argentina, and Algeria. In 1995 a suicide bomber dressed as a priest attempted to assassinate Pope John Paul II in Manila.

Suicide attacks by Palestinians began after the First Intifada but were not regular events; however, many more took place during the Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada. The first Palestinian suicide bombing occurred in April 1994 in the West Bank. It killed 8 Israelis and was carried out to avenge the deaths of 25 Muslims who had been praying in the Ibrahimi Mosque when they were killed by Israeli settler Baruch Goldstein. Hamas explained that its basic policy was only to attack Israeli soldiers, but if Palestinian civilians were slaughtered in deliberate attacks, then it would break that policy. There were 198 known suicide-bombing attacks in Israel and Palestine between 1994 and July 2002, which killed 120 people. The bombers died in 136 of those attacks. Because many of the bombers were intercepted and/or the attacks otherwise failed, the numbers of casualties are far lower than in the numerous suicide attacks carried out in Iraq since 2003. Attacks increased after the beginning of the Second Intifada in September 2000. Although suicide bombings comprised only a small percentage of actual attacks launched by Palestinians against Israelis, they accounted for perhaps half the Israelis killed between 2000 and 2002. In 2003 there were 26 attacks killing 144, but in 2004, 15 attacks and 55 dead. In 2005 Hamas

ordered a cease-fire, which was, however, not binding on the other groups that had engaged in attacks: the Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Islamic Jihad, and the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades. During 2005 there were 7 attacks killing 23, and then in 2006 only 2 attacks.

Many of the suicide attackers in Lebanon in the 1980s were Christians; Palestinian suicide bombers have been presumed to be Muslims, although there are many Christians in the Palestinian national movement. A Greek Orthodox religious figure, Archimandrite Theosios Hanna, supported *fida'iyin n shahids* (fighter martyrs) in several speeches. Other Christian leaders have explained the attacks as a desperate response to a brutal military occupation. It is obvious from the Tamil, Japanese, or anarchist violence that the motivation is primarily nationalist, and in fact Islam strictly forbids suicide and engaging recklessly in jihad so as to obtain martyrdom. According to classical doctrine, there are set rules regarding who may participate in jihad, and these exclude children, those with dependants, and also, traditionally, women. The main religious justification is that under circumstances of military occupation, jihad is required of Muslims. In Islam, there is a difference between an individual and a collectively incumbent religious duty. Religious authorities who decry the linkage of Islam with suicide and the killing of innocent people try to convince their audiences that the greater jihad, the striving to be a good Muslim in every possible aspect of life, can substitute for jihad as armed struggle, or that if armed struggle is necessary, it should not involve attacks of this type. Among convocations of clerics who have met on this issue, most acknowledge that jihad is licit for Palestinians, and some believe it is licit in Iraq, although many object to suicide attacks. In 20 books of recantation of violent jihad, the leaders of the Gamaat Islamiya have provided powerful arguments against violence employed for the right reason (in their view) but with the wrong methods, or timing. Not all religious authorities take this position, of course, and unfortunately the televised footage or videos of suicide bombers serve as a recruiting tool for others.

For most Muslims, suicide is anathema; many would-be suicide bombers are motivated by the desire to combat social injustice; others find irresistible the temptation of martyrdom with its promise of rewards in paradise. Martyrdom has its own history in early Islam, and it is believed that martyrs are cleansed of their sins and that they will have special power to intercede on behalf of their relatives and close friends on the Day of Judgment. The families of suicide bombers are often extremely proud of their loved ones and praise them publicly as heroes. Some Palestinian suicide bombers received financial support from the Iraqi government, and in this way were able to provide for their dependants. Suicide bombers also believe that they will be remembered as popular heroes.

Would-be Palestinian suicide bombers have often used the argument that all Israelis serve in the military, at least as reserves, and therefore are combatants and not really civilians. In Iraq, the suicide attacks since the coalition invasion of 2003 were initially

Smoke and flames fill the air after a suicide bomber set off an explosion that killed 33 people and injured another 50 in Tal Afar, Iraq, on October 11, 2005. (U.S. Department of Defense)

directed against coalition forces, but then turned to Iraqi citizens working for the government, police, or military, and also to ordinary civilians. In addition, groups such as al-Qa'ida fi Bilad al-Rafhidayn (Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia) have targeted Shia civilians, declaring them to be "renegades" or apostates and therefore subject to death. The attacks spiked in 2005. In 2003 there were 25 suicide bombings; in 2004, 140; in 2005, 478; in 2006, 300; in 2007, more than 200 suicide bombings; in 2008, more than 115 suicide bombings. Although far fewer, there were a number of costly suicide bombings in the spring of 2009.

Suicide bombings were also employed by insurgents in Afghanistan, although here there were not as many casualties, most probably because the Taliban have chosen to target military personnel or politicians, rather than civilians, and because the planning for them is often poor. Large numbers of civilian casualties have resulted from certain attacks, as in the Baghlan in 2007, where the target was a politician and 70 people died, or when a local miltia leader was targeted at a dogfight in Kandahar in February 2008, and 80 people died.

There are differing attitudes in the various states where suicide attacks have occurred. While most all people fear such attacks, many citizens support the notion of armed resistance. Since Al Qaeda and groups similar to it have been active, counterterrorist agencies, police, and gendarmeries around the world have been focusing on ways to prevent suicide bombings.

Suicide bombings are part of asymmetric warfare. Advantages for any violent radical group employing this tactic are that no escape need be arranged for the bombers and that they are not expected to live to reveal information. Also, the materials for the explosive devices are inexpensive.

Al Qaedist tactics have created a new *fiqh al-jihad,* or rules of jihad, that are somewhat different from the past. For example, in a collective jihad, women, children, and parents of dependant children, or the children of the elderly, were not to volunteer for jihad, but in the five-year period when such attacks were most prevalent in Israel and in the last several years in Iraq, bombers have come from both genders, although most were men. It is a common assumption that suicide bombers are drawn from the poor and desperate, but a careful study of most suicide terrorist acts shows this is untrue; the bombers were, rather, the ideologically committed of different backgrounds. On occasion, Afghani and Iraqi authorities have claimed that mentally impaired people have been induced to be bombers, but this must be only a small number. Sometimes those who were recruited to such actions were chosen for their psychological predispositions not to suicide but to suggestibility, and were prevented, if possible, from contacting their families once their mission was set, so as not to give any hint of their intent. In the case of Palestinian suicide bombers, those attackers who authorities said were traceable to Hamas and Islamic Jihad were persons with no major family responsibilities and who were over the age of 18. In some cases, recruiters sought individuals who could speak Hebrew well.

Understandably, suicide bombings are enormously upsetting to potential civilian victims. Suicide bombers turn up when they are least expected as their victims go about their daily business, and victims and bystanders are taken completely by surprise. The victims are often civilians, and children make up a sizable percentage of those killed. Because the bomber has no concern for his or her own life, it is difficult to prevent such attacks. In Israel and in Iraq, many individuals and businesses have hired security guards who are specially trained to spot potential bombers. Airport and general transport security has now been increased, worldwide.

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See also

Hamas; Hezbollah; Intifada, Second; Islamic Jihad, Palestinian; Islamic Radicalism; Jihad; September 11 Attacks

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Suleiman, Michel

Birth Date: November 21, 1948

Lebanese army officer and president of Lebanon (2008–). Michel Suleiman was born on November 21, 1948, in Amsheet (Amchit), Lebanon, to a Maronite Christian family. He attended Lebanon's military academy, graduating in 1970. Commissioned a second lieutenant in the Lebanese army, he went on to earn a bachelor's degree in political and administrative sciences from Lebanese University. Fluent in Arabic, English, and French, Suleiman—described as having a strong personal presence and firm leadership and management skills—rose steadily through the military hierarchy.

By December 1990 Suleiman had been named chief of the Intelligence Branch of Mount Lebanon, which post he held until August 1991. He then assumed the post of secretary-general of the Army Staff, a position he retained until June 1993. From June 1993 to January 1996, he commanded the 11th Infantry Brigade. During his command, the brigade was heavily involved in fighting in the West Bekáa Valley and in southern Lebanon. Beginning on January 15, 1996, he assumed command of the 6th Infantry Brigade, and in December 1998 he was named commander of Lebanese armed forces, a post he held until he took office as president in May 2008.

As Lebanon's military commander, Suleiman performed admirably while navigating with considerable skill the minefields of Lebanese politics. He managed to keep the public calm during mass demonstrations both for and against Syrian involvement in Lebanese affairs, to diminish sectarian violence, to deploy forces into areas loyal to Hezbollah in southern Lebanon—a first for the Lebanese army—and to help quash Islamic militants in the north of Lebanon in 2000. Suleiman became most celebrated during the clash between the radical Sunni terrorist group Fatah al-Islam and the Lebanese army in northern Lebanon. The conflict began in May 2007 and did not end until September. Suleiman moved with great caution, but nevertheless acquitted himself well, soundly defeating the Fatah al-Islam militants. He also advanced a plan that helped end the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon in 2006.

In May 2007 political animosity between government loyalists and Hezbollah broke out into open warfare, which lasted until May 2008. Suleiman was careful not to involve the army directly in the clashes, instead seeking to use the armed forces as a mediator and separating the fighters from the political figures they claimed to represent. While some criticized Suleiman for his failure to move with more force to stop the violence, many others lauded his efforts, claiming that his level-headedness and impartiality prevented a more serious civil war.

In November 2007 President Emile Lahoud's tenure in office ended, but the fractured Lebanese political landscape made searching for a new president a tall order. After several months of starts and stops, Lebanon's major political parties had reached a virtual deadlock, as no potential candidate seemed satisfactory enough to hold the vital center of the nation's political hierarchy. By the late winter of 2008, many in Lebanon came to view Suleiman as the only potential candidate who could effectively lead the various political factions in Lebanon. He commanded respect among government loyalists and the opposition, the Arab community, and the international community. On May 25, 2008, following a deal brokered by Arab diplomats, the Lebanese parliament elected Suleiman as president, and three days later he reappointed Fouad Siniora as prime minister. Some in the United States perceived Suleiman's election as a victory for Hezbollah, as he, like General Michel Aoun, is a firm supporter of national unity and Lebanon's basic principle of representation for all national groups. None of the other presidential candidates would have been acceptable to Hezbollah, as well as to other Lebanese parties, unless Aoun had been permitted to stand for election.

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See also
Hezbollah; Lebanon; Lebanon, Armed Forces

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Sullivan, Gordon R.
Birth Date: September 25, 1937

U.S. Army general and chief of staff of the army during 1991–1995. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, on September 25, 1937, Gordon R. Sullivan graduated from Norwich University in 1959 with a bachelor's degree in history. Commissioned a second lieutenant of armor through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC), he entered the army upon graduation.

Sullivan subsequently earned a master's degree in political science from the University of New Hampshire. In addition to his military branch training, he also graduated from the Army Command and General Staff College and the Army War College.

Overseas assignments included two tours during the Vietnam War, four tours in Europe, and one tour in Korea. His command assignments ranged from platoon through division. He commanded a battalion of the 73rd Armor Regiment and the 1st Brigade of the 3rd Armored Division. He was also assistant commandant of the Armor School at Fort Knox, Kentucky (1983–1985), and was later deputy commandant of the Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas (1987–1988). He commanded the 1st Infantry Division (Mechanized) at Fort Riley, Kansas, during 1988–1989. He was then deputy chief of staff for Operations and Plans before being named vice chief of staff of the army as a full (four-star) general. He held this post during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. In the run-up to the war, he intervened personally to speed production of the newer model of the Patriot missile.

General Sullivan became chief of staff of the army in June 1991. His chief task on assuming his post was to oversee the transformation of the army from a Cold War posture into a smaller, more flexible, and technologically advanced force with more of its units stationed in the continental United States, although a sizable force remained in Europe to counter any threat from Russia. Sullivan retired from the army on July 31, 1995. He has coauthored several books, including *Hope Is Not a Method,* which describes the challenges of reshaping the army while he was chief of staff. Sullivan currently serves on the boards of several corporations. He has also served as chairman of the Board of Trustees of Norwich University and is the president and chief operating officer of the Association of the United States Army.

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See also
Patriot Missile System

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Sunni Islam

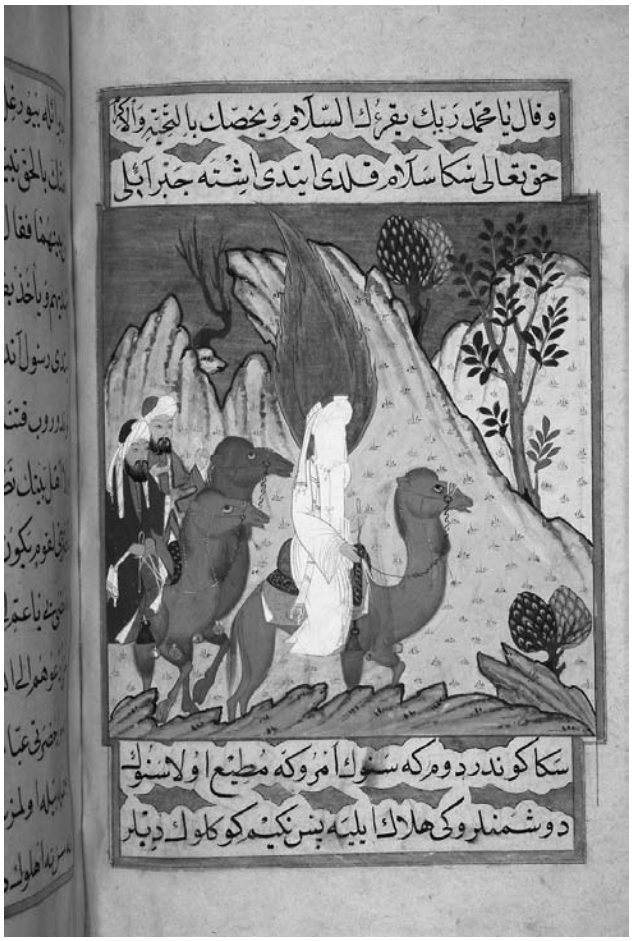
Largest of the two predominant branches of Islam. Approximately 85 percent of Muslims worldwide are adherents of Sunni Islam, although the exact proportions of the two branches are disputed. Muslims themselves seldom used the word "Sunni" prior to the 2003 invasion of Iraq and subsequent occupation or the Islamic Revolution in Iran. It derives from a medieval Arabic phrase, *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jama'a,* meaning those who live according to the Prophet's model, unified in a community. In the early period, this term did not refer to all Muslims but rather to those who were engaged in Islamic scholarship and learning. The *sunnah,* or way, of the Prophet Muhammad refers to his tradition, or practice, of Islam during his 23 years of life following the initial revelation of Allah's words to him. However, "sunnah" generally referred to any tradition of the ancient Arabs.

It is mostly in the West that Muslims are differentiated as Sunnis or Shia. If asked, a Muslim may instead identify himself by a school of Islamic law or jurisprudence, such as the Hanafi school, which was the official legal doctrine of the Ottoman Empire, or of a particular movement. Since the most recent Islamic revival (*sahwa islamiyya*) began in the 1970s, the term *sunniyyun* (plural of *sunni* used interchangeably with *Islamiyyun*) has acquired the meaning of a very devout Muslim, or a *salafi.*

In contrast with the more institutionalized clerics, courts, and systems of Sunni Muslim learning, Sufi Islam is a mystical movement within Islam, the goal of which is the spiritual development of the individual. Sufis seek out personal guides (*shaykh* or *pir*) and are organized into brotherhoods (*tariqat*). There are Shia as well as Sunni Sufi orders. Sufism can be highly ascetic, while mainstream Islam is not. In contemporary times, sometimes even official clerics are also Sufis; however, the *salafists* oppose Sufism.

Sunni Muslims do not adhere to the doctrine of the imams, as do several sects of Shia Muslims (excluding the Zaydiyya). In the past, they generally judged the validity of the caliph (the temporal political and military leader) or the caliphate (Islamic government) itself by his or its adherence to the faith and the order and harmony that he or it maintained. In contrast with the Shia, Sunni Muslims believe that Abu Bakr, Umar, and Uthman—the first three Rashidun caliphs following Muhammad—were legitimate successors of Muhammad and that they are of equal standing with the fourth caliph, Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law. Ali became the fourth caliph in 656 CE after the murder of Caliph Uthman and was himself assassinated in 661. However there were other Muslims, not Ali's supporters, who also opposed the Umayyads, so the political divisions over leadership were complex.

It was not a requirement that the political and religious leadership in Sunni Islam trace its lineage through Ali, although the requirements of a caliph as defined by the scholar Abu al-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Habib al-Mawardi (972–1058) indicated that he must be of the Prophet Muhammad's Quraysh tribe, male, not physically impaired, and pious. Any link to the Ahl al-Bayt, the immediate family members of the Prophet was, however,



In this scene from the 16th-century manuscript *Life of the Prophet*, Muhammad (whose face is not shown, by Islamic tradition) is accompanied by Abu Bakr and Ali ibn Abu Talib. (The New York Public Library/Art Resource, NY)

highly regarded. The caliphs lost their real authority in 1055. They retained an element of religious authority only in name, as the caliph was mentioned in the Friday prayers. With the Mongol sack of Baghdad in 1258, the caliphs lost all power. For Sunni Muslims, other political leaders were acceptable, though they were supposed to uphold Islamic law. When the Ottoman sultans years later declared themselves to be caliphs in order to wage jihad, other Muslims questioned their religious claim. By the 20th century some Muslims understood the caliphate as an ideal structure but one that could be replaced by other forms of authority. Others supported attempts to restore the caliphate.

In the absence of the caliphate, Muslim politics continued under the precept that other rulers, sultans, or emirs would rule to the best of their ability in accordance with the Sharia (Islamic law) and uphold the *hisba,* the principle of "commanding the good and forbidding the evil," a key principle in Islam. Clerics, or *ulama* (those who possess *'ilm,* religious knowledge), were to be consulted by the ruler, issue fatawa, and help to guide the believers.

To justify Islamic rule the Ottomans, who were Sunni Muslims, later governed under a particular theory called the circle of

equity, in which mutual responsibilities were to provide equity, security, and justice. In the 20th century both Sunni and Shia politicized Islamic movements have argued for a more intensely Islamic government. The Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas, Hezbullah, the Gamaat Islamiya, and Al Qaeda have all taken this position. These groups draw on very important arguments about governance and the state that have developed in Islamic history. The Muslim Brotherhood relinquished jihad as armed struggle and sought to change society through *dawa,* a program involving recruitment, education, and social support. Hezbollah and Hamas argue for both armed struggle and *dawa.* Islamic Jihad (in Egypt), Gamaat Islamiya, and Al Qaeda all argue that the groups who only conducted *dawa* are not supporting Muslims, that jihad as armed struggle is necessary. However, the Gamaat Islamiya and Egyptian Islamic Jihad (in Egypt, excluding those members who joined Al Qaeda) recanted their use of jihad beginning in 1997 and reached a truce with the Egyptian government in 1999.

In general, individual interpretations of Islamic law by scholars may vary. There is no pope or central authority in Sunni Islam. In Sunni Islam, unlike Shia Islam, there is no *marjaiyya,* or formal policy of choosing a cleric as a "source of emulation." However there are today many very popular Sunni clerics and preachers whose followers are loyal to their various positions.

The Sunni legal schools employ a principle of lawmaking known as *ijma,* or consensus, that is not employed by the Shia legal schools. However, there are differences in the legal definitions of that consensus. Additionally, a Sunni Muslim could resort to a cleric of one school to obtain a ruling, or fatwa, and is generally expected to adhere to the commonly acknowledged features of his own school. But Muslims may also seek advice from other clerics or authorities, and advice columns in newspapers and on the Internet provide differing opinions, sometimes based on the positions of other legal schools.

Muslims believe that the Qur'an is the literal word of God delivered in Arabic by the angel Gabriel to Muhammad over a period of 23 years. Any desecration of the Qur'an is therefore a desecration of the very words of Allah. Although the Qur'an is the final statement of Allah to humanity, when it does not offer explicit advice on a particular matter, a Muslim may appeal to a jurist to look to the Prophet's *sunnah,* as recorded in the *ahadith,* or collected materials concerning the tradition, behavior, practices, and sayings of the Prophet. They may also use *qiyas,* or a type of analogy, in determining the licitness of any action, or behavior, or the principle of *ijma.*

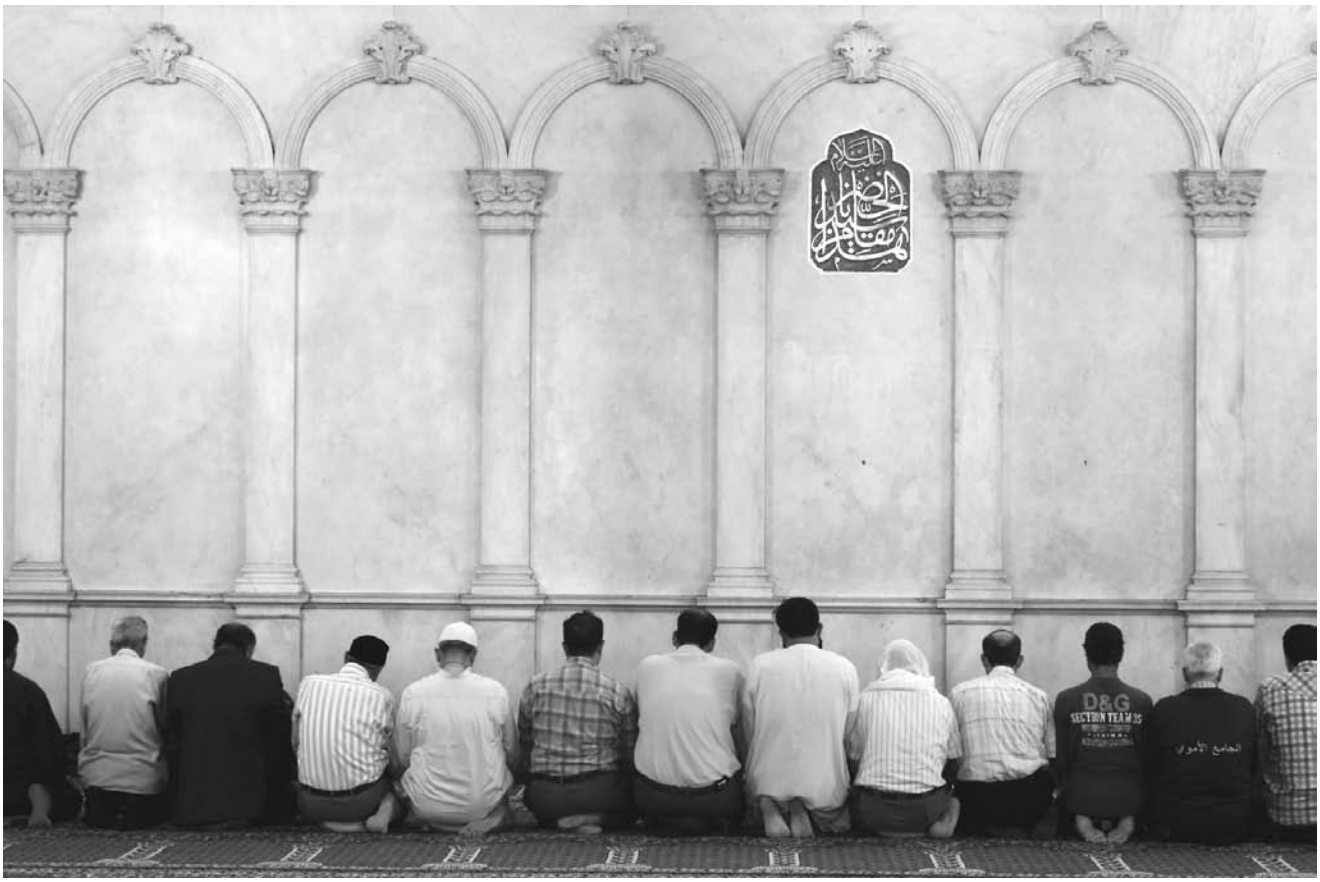
The *hadith* are always introduced by listing the chain of their transmitters. Ideally, the first transmitter of the text was a companion (*sahabah*) of Muhammad. An important companion was Abu Bakr, also known as "The Most Truthful" (*al-Siddiq*), the first caliph. The next companions in level of importance are the next two caliphs, Umar and Uthman. The Shia reject the *hadith* transmitted by those they call Unjust Companions, who repudiated the leadership of Ali abi Talib. Although these three are important companions, there are ten who are thought to warrant paradise. A much longer list of *sahabah* exist because Sunnis consider anyone who knew or even saw Muhammad, accepted his teachings, and died as a Muslim to be a companion. Early Sunni scholars identified these companions, wrote their biographies, and listed them in various reference texts. This identification was essential because their testimonies and their reputation for veracity affirm and determine the content of the *hadith* and, therefore, the *sunnah.*

Religious Makeup of Selected Middle Eastern and North African Countries

Country	*Sunni Muslims*	*Shiite Muslims*	*Other Religions*
Algeria	95%	4%	1%
Bahrain	30%	70%	0%
Egypt	93%	1%	6%
Iran	10%	89%	1%
Iraq	34%	63%	3%
Jordan	92%	2%	6%
Kuwait	65%	35%	0%
Lebanon	24%	36%	40%
Libya	96%	1%	3%
Morocco	97%	2%	1%
Oman	89%	10%	1%
Qatar	60%	25%	15%
Saudi Arabia	90%	10%	0%
Syria	77%	13%	10%
Tunisia	96%	2%	2%
United Arab Emirates	82%	14%	4%
Yemen	57%	42%	1%

There are many collections of these original oral traditions, but they are graded according to their soundness with six respected collections, two of which—that of Muslim and Bukhari—are considered most reliable. However, many Muslims repeat and believe in *hadith* that are not necessarily the most sound, and since the reform movement of the 19th century, some Muslims believe that the *hadith* brought many unwanted innovations or, conversely, too much imitation of tradition (*taqlid*) into Islam. Shia Islamic law generally uses *hadith* that pertain to Muhammad as told to members of Ali's family. These variations lead to some differences in Sunni Islamic law and Shia Islamic law.

Muslims must practice their faith through demonstrated religious rituals and obligations. Many sources speak of five religious practices or duties, often referred to as the Five Pillars. The first pillar is called bearing witness (*shahadah*) and is the recitation of the creed or confession of faith, called the Testimony of Faith: "There is no God, but Allah; and Muhammad is His prophet." The *shahadah* is also uttered as part of the Muslim call (*adhan*) to prayer and is part of the Tashahud, which follows each set of two prayer sequences, when they are recited at least five times daily (at different times two, three, or four sequences are the minimum required). The second pillar is prayer (*salat*), performed at least five times a day (dawn, noon, midafternoon, sunset, and evening). Muslims purify themselves before prayer by washing their hands, face, mouth, nose, ears, and feet. During prayer, all Muslims face



Sunni Muslim men at prayer in the Umayyad Mosque, Damascus, Syria, 2009. (Ryan Rodrick Beiler/Dreamstime.com)

Mecca. The third pillar is fasting (*sawm*) during the daylight hours for all of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the Islamic lunar calendar. This fasting means that no food or beverages are consumed and that there is no smoking or sexual intercourse. Those who are sick are excused from fasting and make up their fast. Other days of fasting may be observed, but it is obligatory during Ramadan.

The fourth pillar is almsgiving, effectively a tax (*zakat*) of 2.5 percent calculated on one's income and assets. But unlike a tax, it is supposed to be voluntary. It is used for the community's poor, the promotion of Islam, and the maintenance of the mosque and other religious institutions. The fifth pillar is the required pilgrimage (*hajj*) once in a lifetime to the holy city of Mecca, as commanded in the Qur'an in surah XXII, al-Hajj, 22–33.

The responsibility for performing these duties falls on the individual, but stricter Muslims and Muslim governments hold that it is the duty of the state to command the good and thus to enforce their performance. There are other strictures as well. For example, Muslims must not drink alcohol, not simply as a forbidden substance but because it clouds alertness and judgment and makes it impossible to pray. Pork is forbidden, as are games of chance. Many Muslim women believe that covering their heads is a required individual duty, but others do not. Modest behavior is, however, required of both men and women.

Many Westerners know little about Islam, with the exception of the Five Pillars. Yet ethical behavior is very important to Islamic belief, including the commitment to social justice, as in protection of the weak and aid to the poor and socially disadvantaged. Islam seeks to promote an ethical life lived within a community. It is more difficult in many ways to be a good Muslim while fulfilling one's obligations to family and community than to live as a hermit, and the Prophet Muhammad is said to have promoted marriage and discouraged celibacy or an extreme ascetic lifestyle. Many of the rules regarding relations between men and women, which non-Muslims find very strict and hard to understand, are indeed intended to provide a moral and ethical grounding for the community.

Muslims are concerned with *iman,* or faith, as well as acts of submission (*islam*) and rightful intentions (*ihsan*), and many religio-philosophical principles guide them. The most basic aspect of Islam is belief in Allah and the Oneness (*tawhid*) of Allah. This monotheism is expressed in many ways. Muslims believe in the prophets and believe that they brought important messages to mankind, but Muhammad is considered the Seal of Prophecy, or the last prophet. Nonetheless, Jesus, Moses, Abraham, and others are revered. However, Muslims believe that some Jews did not heed the word of God in his divine message to them. Muslims, who believe that Jesus was only a prophet, also argue that Christians

wrongly recognize Christ as Father and Divine Spirit. The doctrine of the Trinity violates the idea of the Oneness of Allah.

Muslims recognize the scriptures as revelations of Allah. Allah was the creator, but he did not simply create the world and humankind and leave humanity to fend for itself. Rather, Allah provided revelations for the guidance of men. The Qur'an is the transcending revelation of Allah that cannot be contradicted by any other revelations of Allah. Still, Muslims recognize other revelations, which include the Jewish and Christian holy scriptures, as well as the Zoroastrian texts.

Muslims believe in the angels (*malaika*), who are the servants of Allah. Angels were not given the free will that Allah granted to humans. Their duties include recording all human deeds, ensouling the fetus at 120 days of gestation (although some Islamic scholars believe ensoulment occurs on the 40th or 80th day), watching over and caring for creation, gathering souls at death, and much more.

All Muslims also believe in the Day of Judgment and in the Resurrection (*qiyama*), when Allah will return to judge all of humanity, Muslim and non-Muslim, including the dead. After the Resurrection, every human is held accountable for his or her deeds. The deeds of each individual are judged by Allah and weighed on a scale. If the good outweighs the evil, then the individual gains entrance into Paradise. If the evil outweighs the good, the individual spends eternity in Hell.

In the pre-Islamic era, referred to as the *jahiliyya* or time of barbarity, people believed entirely in preordination. Islam rejects this passivity because people possess free will and can thus choose to do good or evil and are held accountable for their decisions. At the same time, it is difficult to retain faith in the face of tragedy, poverty, or disaster. The Muslim belief in the omnipotence of God, his transcendence and simultaneous immanence, is meant to solace the believer.

The application of reason, in the form of Hellenic philosophical arguments to theology, philosophy, and the sciences, was prominent in the Golden Age of Islam. Reacting to the philosophers and those who used logical reasoning (*kalam*) were Traditionists, the scholars who focused on *hadith* to determine the *sunnah* and rejected the methodology of logical reasoning.

Multiple Sunni traditions, or schools of law and theology, arose over time. Not all survive today. These schools share the basic theology described above and assert the primacy of the Qur'anic revelation, but there are notable differences.

Sunni Islamic law is based on the Qur'an and the *sunnah,* as nuanced by the particular *hadith* collector and his interpretation. Different scholars using different assumptions, reasoning, hermeneutics (guiding interpretive principles), and source materials arrived at different applications of Islamic law, which were organized into schools known as *madhahib.* Muslims assert that Sharia never changes but that the understanding and application of it into jurisprudence (*fiqh*) does change, since jurisprudence is carried out by human beings. Muslims generally seek to avoid illict innovation (*bidah*), but many "innovations" have to be considered. Thus, the Qur'an predates the telegraph. Thus, the application of *fiqh* to adjudicate the use of the telegraph was a matter of interpretation. In addition to the usual sources of law, jurists took into account *maslaha,* public benefit or the common good, in considering new technology.

There are four surviving major schools of law in Sunni Islam. The various schools predominate in different regions. These dominant Sunni schools of law are Hanbali, Hanafi, Maliki, and Shafi, and all use the Qur'an as their primary source.

Hanbali law is the strictest tradition and was practiced by Muslims in Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Syria, Palestine, and elsewhere; with the growth of *salafism* and *neosalafism,* it has expanded. It was founded by Ahmad ibn Hanbal and is the dominant tradition on the Arabian Peninsula, although it has adherents in Iraq, Syria, Jerusalem, and Egypt as well.

The Hanafi *madhhab* may be the largest school. It was founded by Abu Hanifa and encompasses 30 percent of Sunnis. Its adherents are mainly in Turkey, Central Asia, the Balkans, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, lower Egypt, and in former states of the Soviet Union. Both the Mongol Empire and the Ottoman Empire promoted the Hanafi tradition. When the Ottoman sultan Selim the Grim (1512–1520) captured Palestine, he imposed Hanafi law on the region. The official judicial traditions and systems in contemporary Syria, Jordan, and Palestine are derived from the Hanafi tradition.

The Maliki school has approximately 15 percent of Sunnis as adherents. It was founded by Malik ibn Anas and has adherents in North Africa and West Africa, particularly upper Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Mauritania, and Libya, as well as in the Sudan, Kuwait, Dubai, and Abu Dhabi. The Maliki school derives its *fiqh* through consensus more than do any of the other traditions. The Maliki system of lawmaking is built on the Qur'an and the *hadith,* supplemented by an interpretation of *ijma* (consensus), as being the consensus or agreed opinion of the People of Medina, and analogy (*qiyas*). In addition, Malik considered the statements of the Prophet's companions and referred to the public good (*maslahah*), customary law (*urf*), common practice (*adat*), and several other legal principles.

The Shafi school was founded by Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi and has adherents in the southern Arabian Peninsula, the Hijaz, Palestine, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia, parts of India, the Philippines, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, North Yemen, Kurdistan, Sri Lanka, and lower Egypt. The Shafi school utilizes the *usul al-fiqh* (roots of lawmaking) in a way that places *ijma* ahead of analogy.

Historically, there were many Sunni schools and trends in theology. Among the important or well-known trends were the Mutazila, whose doctrine was abandoned, and the Ashariyyah, Maturidiyyah, and Salafism (which has at least two versions).

The Mutazila school was established in Iraq by Wasil bin Ata (699–749). Abbasid caliph al-Mamun (813–827) made Mutazila theology the state religion and persecuted all dissenters. At the

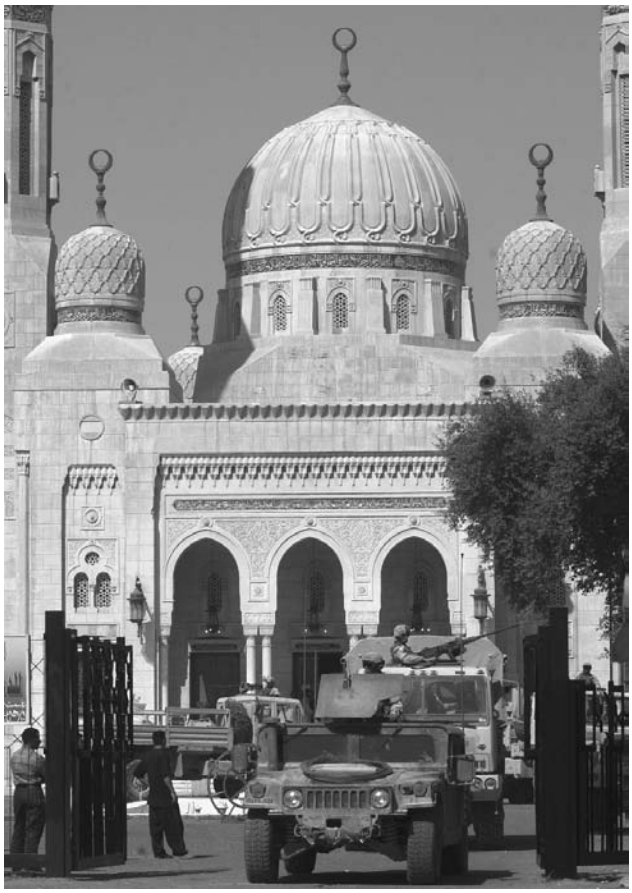
time, Muslims had debated the uncreatedness versus the created (manmade) nature of the Qur'an and many other theological questions. Mutazilites rejected the doctrine of the uncreated Qur'an, but with their downfall Muslims accepted precisely that doctrine. The Mutazila's name came from their intermediate position on the question of sin: they asserted that Muslims who commit grave sins and die without repentance cannot be treated as nonbelievers, but judgment must be withheld until the resurrection. The Mutazilites rejected anthropomorphic interpretations of God. For instance, the phrase "hand of God" might refer symbolically to God's power to the Mutazila, whereas their opponents would insist it meant the actual hand of God.

The Ashariyyah school was founded by Abu al-Hasan al-Ashari (873–935) and became the dominant Sunni theology in that era. It emphasizes divine revelation and stresses the understanding of that revelation through the application of human reasoning.

The Maturidiyyah was founded by Abu Mansur al-Maturidi (d. 944). Maturidis believe that the existence of Allah as understood in Islam can be derived through reason alone and that such is true of major concepts of good and evil, legal and illegal.

Salafism, a reform movement in Islam, actually developed in two different contexts in 18th-century Arabia and in 19th-century Egypt and Ottoman Empire. The 19th-century to early 20th-century reformers Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, Qasim Amin, and Rashid Rida initiated a discussion about the decline of the Muslim world and the reforms it should carry out to overcome the negative influence of Western colonialism and imperialism. While Afghani looked for an Islamic ruler who would stand up to the West and believed that Pan-Islam could solve the problem, Muhammad Abduh, an Egyptian jurist, recommended reform of Islamic education and the methodology of Islamic law in which blind imitation of the past would cease. He thought that Sunni Muslims should consider a return to *ijtihad* (a Shia methodology of lawmaking) to meet contemporary requirements, and he wanted Western sciences introduced into the educational curriculum. Qasim Amin argued for an end to enforced marriages, female seclusion, and lack of education for women, while Rashid Rida pursued a somewhat stricter and more Islamist approach to the proper way of life for Muslims.

Earlier, Muhammad abd al-Wahhab in Arabia promoted a strict monotheism, which he claimed would cleanse Islam of many syncretic traditions that constituted *shirk,* or polytheism. This tradition is referred to by his enemies as Wahhabism, which is the general term used today in the West. The *muwahiddun,* or Unitarians as they call themselves, or Wahhabists who fought as warriors for the Saud tribe, were known as the Ikhwan (brethren). In general, the *muwahiddun* are considered *salafis,* because they wanted to cleanse Islamic practice and society of un-Islamic accretions and innovations (*bida*) that had arisen through cultural synthesis. However, this cleansing is a matter of gradation, so not all Wahhabis, as the West calls them, are either violent purists or



U.S. troops depart following a search operation at the Sunni Ibn Taymiyyah mosque in Baghdad, Iraq. The mosque is attended mainly by Muslims of the Wahhabi sect, 2004. (AP/Wide World Photos)

ardent *salafists.* The Wahhabis adhere to the Hanbali school of law, although some modern *salafis* speak of rejecting all legal tradition and utilizing only the Qur'an and the *sunnah.* The *salafis* were anti-Ottoman, anti-Shia, and anti-Sufi, and opposed such practices as Sufi ceremonies and visiting tombs, even at Mecca. These *salafis* called for jihad in its active form with which they, in alliance with the Saud family, drove out first the Ottomans and then, in a later historical period, the Rashids and the Hashimites.

Terrorist and Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden is a *neosalafi* and a Wahhabi. He believes that the Saudi Arabian royal family does not strictly uphold Wahhabi or *salafi* values and should be militantly opposed for its alliance with the West. Other *salafis* have been part of the resistance to U.S. occupation and the new Iraqi government in post-2003 Iraq.

Some *salafis* consider the Shia to be renegades (this refers to a specific denigrating legal epithet given them during the civil wars in Islamic history) or apostates, apostasy being a capital crime in Islam. The Shia had come to fear and hate the Wahhabis because of their raids on Shia areas historically, but this animosity is not true of all Sunnis and Shia who, in general, lived peacefully alongside each other in prewar Iraq. Some charge that the United States

and Israel, as well as certain Arab countries, are heightening fears in the region of a Shia crescent of influence, running from Iran to the Shia of Iraq and the Gulf States, and then to the Shia of Lebanon. Such discourse could create more problems among Muslims in the region. Therefore, King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia has spoken out against sectarian discord. Elsewhere leaders such as at al-Azhar try to represent the Jafari *madhhab* as a legitimate legal school of Islam.

Richard Edwards and Sherifa Zuhur

See also
Al Qaeda; Hezbollah; Jihad; Salafism; Sharia; Shia Islam; Wahhabism

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Sunni Triangle

Region of Iraq, populated largely by Sunni Muslims, which has been at the epicenter of the Iraqi insurgency during the Iraq War, which began in 2003. The Sunni Triangle begins near Baghdad, then extends west to Ramadi and north to Tikrit. Each side of the triangle is roughly 125 miles long. This region, which lies generally northwest of the capital city of Baghdad, is densely populated. Tikrit, the birthplace of former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, has been one of the epicenters of the insurgency since 2003. Also lying within the triangle are the cities of Mosul, Fallujah, Samarra, and Baqubah, all of which have been heavily involved in the insurgency. Hussein's strong tribal and familial connections to the area have traditionally made it the strongest base of support for his regime, and many of his advisers, confidantes, and military commanders hailed from the area.

The term "Sunni Triangle" did not enter the popular lexicon until 2003, after a *New York Times* story that ran on June 10 used it to describe the area in which the growing insurgency was based. The Sunni Triangle witnessed several major offensives conducted by coalition forces designed to flush out and neutralize Iraqi insurgents. The first was Operation red dawn, launched in December 2003. Its goal was the capture of the deposed President Hussein. On December 13, 2003, Hussein was found alive and captured in ad-Dawr, a small village not far from his hometown of Tikrit. Hussein's apprehension was a significant public relations and morale boost for coalition forces occupying Iraq.

On April 4, 2004, coalition forces implemented Operation vigilant resolve, an attempt to capture control of Fallujah from insurgent forces. The operation precipitated the First Battle of Fallujah, which lasted until May 1, 2004. U.S. forces were unsuccessful in their endeavor, and they sustained 27 killed in the fighting. The prematurely terminated operation proved a public relations nightmare for the United States, as it drove home the notion that its forces were now waging a dangerous and increasingly ineffective counterinsurgency.

During the Second Battle of Fallujah (November 7–December 23, 2004), U.S. forces, working in concert with Iraqi forces, were successful in wresting control of the city from the insurgents. At the time, the Pentagon termed the vicious combat at Fallujah as the worst urban fighting in which American forces had been involved since the January–March 1968 Battle of Hue, during the Tet Offensive of the Vietnam War. The victory was costly, however. U.S. forces suffered 95 killed; Iraqi forces reported 11 killed. At least 1,350 insurgents died in fighting, while another 1,500 were taken captive.

During November 8–16, 2004, American and allied Iraqi Security Forces fought Iraqi insurgents in the Battle of Mosul. It was designed to coincide with the Second Battle of Fallujah. U.S.-led forces were only partly successful in seizing control of Mosul, as a number of insurgents remained in the western third of the city, from which they engaged in hit-and-run tactics. Despite the capture of Fallujah and other counterinsurgency operations, the Sunni Triangle remains among the most dangerous regions of Iraq for U.S. and allied forces.

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See also
Hussein, Saddam; Iraqi Insurgency; Tikrit

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Support and Supply Ships, Strategic

Auxiliary naval vessels of the Maritime Sealift Command (MSC) that transport the supplies, vehicles, weapons, and munitions to sustain projected ground-force operations through high-speed point-to-point sealift. Forward deployed naval squadrons and

aircraft carrier battle groups in Operations DESERT SHIELD, DESERT STORM, ENDURING FREEDOM, and IRAQI FREEDOM owed their availability and flexibility to the range of underway replenishment ships gathered around them as they steamed to take up position, and as they subsequently made the transition to a powerful on-station force.

Also of great importance to these campaigns were and are the ships of the MSC's Strategic Sealift Force. These ships are a mixture of commercial cargo types acquired by and converted for the U.S. Navy, predominantly large medium-speed roll-on/roll-off (RO/RO) vehicle cargo ships, container ships, and combination container–RO/RO ships built in the United States and abroad. The RO/RO ships feature large portals with strengthened ramps that allow for quick drive-on loading of battle tanks, armored personnel carriers, rolling artillery pieces, and service vehicles. The container ships and combination container–RO/RO ships are equipped with large heavy-lift cranes that handle the loading and off-loading of their own cargo. MSC's Ready Reserve Force also maintains nine dedicated crane ships to assist chartered merchant vessels in off-loading containers, helicopters, and other heavy loads where port facilities are minimal or lacking.

MSC's three dozen Maritime Prepositioning Force (MPF) ships are distributed into three squadrons, many of whose assets are stationed in the Mediterranean, at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, and in the Pacific at Guam and Saipan. Each MPF squadron has at its disposal the equipment, vehicles, munitions, and supplies necessary to support a U.S. Marine Corps or a U.S. Army brigade for a month. The specifications of the two major MPF vessel types of the MSC are as follows:

Large Medium-Speed RO/RO Ships

Gordon class (2 ships: T-AKR-296; T-AKR-298; built in Denmark 1972; MSC 1996–1997). Length 956 feet; beam: 105.9 feet; draft: 35.75 feet; displacement: 55,422 tons (full load); load: 334,000 square feet cargo space; speed: 24 knots; range: 12,000 nautical miles at 24 knots; crew: 26 to 45 civilians.

Shughart class (2 ships: T-AKR-295; T-AKR-297; built in Denmark 1981; MSC 1996–1997). Length: 905.75 feet; beam: 105.5 feet; draft: 35 feet; displacement: 55,298 tons (full load); load: 312,461 square feet cargo space; speed: 24 knots; range: 12,000 nautical miles at 24 knots; crew: 26 to 45 civilians.

Bob Hope class (7 ships: T-AKR-300–T-AKR-306; built by Northrop Grumman, New Orleans, for MSC, 1997–2003). Length: 951.4 feet; beam: 106 feet; draft: 34.6 feet; displacement: 62,069 tons (full load); load: 380,000 square feet cargo space; speed: 24 knots; range: 12,000 nautical miles at 24 knots; crew: 26 to 45 civilians.

Watson class (8 ships: T-AKR-310–T-AKR-317; built by National Steel, San Diego, for MSC, 1997–2002). Length: 951.4 feet; beam: 106 feet; draft: 34 feet; displacement: 62,968 tons (full load); load: 394,000 square feet cargo space; speed: 24 knots; range: 12,700 nautical miles at 24 knots; crew: 26 to 45 civilians.

Container–RO/RO Ships

Cpl. Louis J. Hauge Jr. class (5 ships: T-AK-3000–T-AK-3004; built in Denmark 1979; MSC 1984–1985). Length: 755 feet; beam: 90 feet; draft: 32 feet; displacement: 46,552 tons (full load); load: 120,080 square feet cargo space; 332 containers; speed: 17.5 knots; range: 10,800 nautical miles at 17.5 knots; crew: 25 to 32 civilians.

Sgt. Matej Kocak class (3 ships: T-AK-3005–T-AK-3007; built by Sun SDD, PA, and General Dynamics, MA, 1981–1983; MSC 1984–1985). Length: 821 feet; beam: 105.6 feet; draft: 32.2 feet; displacement: 48,754 tons (full load); load: 152,524 square feet cargo space; 540 containers; speed: 20 knots; range: 13,000 nautical miles at 20 knots; crew: 26 to 34 civilians.

2nd Lieutenant John P. Bobo class (5 ships: T-AK-3008–T-AK-3012; built by General Dynamics, MA, 1985–1986 for MSC). Length: 675.2 feet; beam: 105.5 feet; draft: 29.5 feet; displacement: 44,330 tons (full load); load: 162,500 square feet cargo space; 522 containers; speed: 18 knots; range: 11,100 nautical miles at 17.7 knots; crew: 29 to 38 civilians.

The Strategic Sealift Force shares in these maritime assets and also employs some ships from the Ready Reserve Force as fast sealift ships, most prominently the SL-7 type of the USNS Algol (T-AKR-287) class, formerly commercial SeaLand Corporation vessels known as the fastest cargo ships in the world, capable of making 33 knots. Together, the eight Algol-class ships operating during DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM—namely, USNS *Algol* (T-AKR-287), USNS *Bellatrix* (T-AKR-288), USNS *Denebola* (T-AKR-289), USNS *Pollux* (T-AKR-290), USNS *Altair* (T-AKR-291), USNS *Regulus* (T-AKR-292), USNS *Capella* (T-AKR-293), and USNS *Antares* (T-AKR-294)—were capable of transporting nearly all the matériel and vehicles required by a U.S. Army mechanized division, including the massive M1A1 Abrams main battle tanks. Their specifications follow:

Fast Sealift Ships

Algol class (eight ships: T-AKR-287–T-AKR-294; built 1971–1973 in the Netherlands and Germany; MSC 1984–1986). Length: 946.13 feet; beam: 105.5 feet; draft: 36.66 feet; displacement: 31,017 tons (light load); 55,425 tons (full load); load: 185,000 square feet vehicle space; speed: 33 knots; range: 12,200 nautical miles at 27 knots; crew: 42 civilians.

During DESERT SHIELD's enormous, unprecedented rapid transfer of four divisions' worth of munitions, armaments, armored vehicles, and tanks from the continental United States to the Middle East, MSC was largely successful in mobilizing its fleet of snoozing cargo vessels from Ready Reserve Force status to purposefully

The support and supply ship USNS *2nd Lt. John P. Bobo* (T-AK 3008), under long-term lease to the U.S. Military Sealift Command. (U.S. Department of Defense)

steaming across thousands of miles of ocean. Occasional breakdowns were inevitable. In August 1990 *Antares,* loaded with Abrams tanks, lost engine power in midocean and was towed to Spain, where *Altair* took on the heavy cargo for a delayed delivery to Saudi Arabia for DESERT SHIELD preparations. Since the mid-1990s the size of this delivery force has nearly doubled, and it also contributed significantly in the run-up to and the initiation of the Iraq War in 2003. Among the augmented forces assembling for Operation IRAQI FREEDOM were the DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM veterans of the Algol class, along with all five ships of the Hauge class, the two Gordon class, the Bob Hope class, the two Shughart ships, the Watson and Bobo classes, and the one-off combination container–RO/RO ship *Lt. Harry L. Martin* (T-AK-3015) and the RO/RO ship *Gunnery Sgt. Fred W. Stockham* (T-AK-3017).

GORDON E. HOGG

See also

Fast Combat Support Ships; Military Sealift Command; Repair Ships, U.S.; Underway Replenishment Ships; United States Navy, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Supporters of Islam

See Ansar al-Islam

Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq

See Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council

Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council

Shia resistance group founded in 1982 and a powerful political party in post-2003 Iraq. The Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council (SIIC) was created and known for decades as the Supreme Council for

Ammar al-Hakim, leader of Iraq's largest Shiite party, the Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council, gives a sermon in Baghdad in September 2009. (AP/Wide World Photos)

the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI). It is an Islamist-oriented organization whose goal has been the creation of an Islamic-based regime in Iraq. The group advocates a decentralized Iraqi government and the establishment of an autonomous zone reserved for Shiites in the south of Iraq. The party's name was changed in 2007 to remove the term "Islamic revolution" from the party's official title. This move also seemed to signal a concern on the part of the SIIC to eschew the advocacy of civil and sectarian violence in Iraq, and to draw more Iraqis into its ranks.

The SCIRI was formed in 1982, during the Iran-Iraq War. At that time, the Islamic Dawa Party, Iraq's principal Islamist group, was severely repressed by the Saddam Hussein regime. The SCIRI was formed as a party in exile in Iran, with the backing of the Iranian regime, and contrasted with the Islamic Dawa Party, many of whose members left Iran because they did not wish to fight Iraqis in the Iran-Iraq War. Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim, a member of one of Iraq's most prominent Shia clerical families, came to lead the group. Upon the creation of the party, Hakim made it clear that the primary and immediate goal of the organization was to overthrow Hussein's Baathist regime and to establish an Islamic state in Iraq, along the lines of the regime in Iran. But the SCIRI also became an umbrella organization, allowing other Shia groups to ally with it.

The SCIRI espoused the belief that, ideally, an Islamist regime must be controlled by Islamic scholars (*ulema*), the system that is in operation in Iran. Other Shia Islamist groups, however, did not subscribe to that framework, believing instead that the government should be guided by the whole of the Muslim community (*ummah*). Until the fall of the Hussein regime in 2003, the SCIRI operated largely in exile and along the fringes of Iraqi politics.

That all changed after the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq in March 2003, which ousted Hussein from power. Working in tandem with other Shia groups, the SCIRI moved to solidify its base and influence in a nation that had been dominated for many years by the Sunnis. Taking its cues from Islamist organizations in other countries, especially the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas, the SCIRI gained many adherents by providing humanitarian aid and basic services to displaced and poor Shia Iraqis. The United States became closer to SCIRI than to any of the other Shia parties, for despite its Islamism, the group was well organized, promised to control other Shia militias, and had English-speaking leaders, whom the Americans preferred to Ibrahim al-Jafari of the Islamic Dawa Party. However, other American and British officials have sometimes viewed the party with a weary eye, as the SIIC is likely receiving financial support and, allegedly, weapons from Iran. In

an attempt to make itself more credible, the party has soft-pedaled its devotion to revolution and the imposition of an Islamic state in Iraq since the 2003 invasion. Instead, it has stated its commitment to democratic processes and has demonstrated a willingness to cooperate with rival political parties.

Not surprisingly, the SIIC's power base is located in the center and south of Iraq. It competes with other Shia parties, particularly Fadhila in the city of Basra, which has a heavily Shia population. The party maintains an armed militia, known as the Badr Brigades. It is believed that these forces contain from 5,000 to 10,000 well-armed men, the weapons of which have come largely from the Iranians. Badr's headquarters are located in Baghdad.

The party suffered a setback in August 2003 when its leader, Ayatollah Hakim, was killed in Najaf in a car bombing. It has been posited that Al Qaeda in Iraq was behind the murder. Hakim's brother, Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim, then took control of the organization. He died in a Tehran hospital in August 2009 of lung cancer and was succeeded by his son, Ammar al-Hakim.

Currently, the SIIC retains the most seats of any Iraqi political group in the Council of Representatives. In January 2005 it joined forces with the United Iraqi Alliance and captured six of the eight Shia-majority governorates and garnered 40 percent of the votes in Baghdad. Numerous SIIC members have held both official and unofficial positions with the Iraqi government. Hakim was a member of the Iraqi Governing Council, created by the United States, and served as that body's president briefly in late 2003. Hakim has adeptly walked a political tightrope and managed to maintain relatively cordial relations with the United States. Indeed, he has met with numerous high-level U.S. officials, including Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, and had a one-on-one meeting with President George W. Bush at the White House in December 2006. Nevertheless, SIIC's control of the southern Iraqi governorates has come under fire for alleged corruption and the misdeeds of its Badr organization.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Walker; Hakim, Abd al-Aziz al-; Hakim, Muhammad Baqir al-; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

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Surge, U.S. Troop Deployment, Iraq War

The term "troop surge" refers to the early January 2007 decision by the George W. Bush administration to deploy approximately 20,000 to 30,000 additional American troops to Iraq to arrest insurgent-inspired violence. Those insurgents included both Al Qaeda terrorists and rival Sunni and Shiite sectarian militias. U.S. Army general David Petraeus, commander of U.S. forces in Iraq, is credited with the surge strategy. The impetus for the troop surge was the November 2006 U.S. midterm election, in which the Republican Party lost control of both houses of Congress, largely because of growing public opposition to the Iraq War and dismay with the level of casualties among U.S. soldiers.

With the Democrats having made opposition to the Iraq War the central issue of the 2006 election and calling for a withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq, Bush announced a change in strategy to reduce violence and improve security in Iraq. This followed the resignation of Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, a key architect of the Iraq War, in December 2006. Referring to a "new way forward" in a televised national speech on January 10, 2007, the president announced a plan to secure the capital city, Baghdad, from both Al Qaeda and sectarian militias, and rid Anbar Province (stretching west from Baghdad to the Syrian and Jordanian borders) of Al Qaeda fighters. Approximately 16,000 additional U.S. troops were deployed to secure Baghdad, and another 4,000 troops were sent to Anbar Province.

By June 15, 2007, with these additional troops in place, the surge began in earnest. Instead of simply launching raids against Al Qaeda and sectarian militias, U.S. and Iraqi forces in Baghdad established posts within neighborhoods controlled by these groups. In Anbar Province, because of public outrage sparked by Al Qaeda's murdering of hundreds of Iraqi Muslims, Sunni tribes severed their ties with Al Qaeda and aligned themselves with the Iraqi government and the U.S. military. In so doing, these tribes formed militias ("Sons of Iraq"), comprising some 103,000 men, many of them former insurgents and terrorists, armed and paid by the United States to defend their communities against Al Qaeda. Although this proved effective in rooting out Al Qaeda insurgents in the short term, in the long run these militias will have to be reintegrated into either the Iraqi military or police forces, or find gainful employment elsewhere, in order for them to remain loyal to the Iraqi government.

The surge strategy emerged from the belated recognition that Iraqi security forces were as yet unable to provide security without significant American assistance and support, and that the number of U.S. troops had to be increased to effectively stamp out the insurgency. It was also recognized that to defeat an insurgency, military forces must take up residence and maintain a physical presence within the areas infested by insurgents because, in the words of General Petraeus, "you can't commute to this fight; you must live among the people." Accordingly, the surge increased U.S. troop strength in Baghdad and Anbar Province, the two most violent regions of Iraq, not only to clear but also to hold territory, thus reinforcing Iraqi military and police presence. U.S. troops were also to assist Iraqi forces as they established security. The downside of this strategy was that it prolonged the foreign military presence in the country, which is what had provoked the insurgents and thus gave them cause to continue resistance.

A U.S. Army soldier provides security on a street in Tarmiyah, Iraq, in 2007. The soldier is a member of the 4th Brigade of the 2nd Infantry Division, one of five brigades sent to Iraq as part of the "Iraq troop surge." (U.S. Department of Defense)

Since early 2007, with continued American military assistance, particularly in the form of logistics and air support, Iraqi forces had demonstrated increasing competence and skill in battling insurgents and providing security. In addition, Iraqi prime minister Nuri al-Maliki, a leader of the Islamic Dawa Party, showed a willingness to confront militias, including Shia militias, as evinced by Iraqi military operations in the cities of Basra, Baghdad, and Ninawa. Also, Muqtada al-Sadr, the leader of the powerful Shiite Mahdi Army, agreed not to confront the Iraqi government and U.S. military, and has maintained that promise since mid-June 2007. In both Baghdad and Anbar Province, Al Qaeda was seriously weakened, but unfortunately its signature tactic of inflicting mass casualties through car bombs targeting Shiites, including Shiite mosques, had resumed again in 2009. Coalition efforts in these two areas forced the group to flee to the northern city of Mosul and the surrounding province of Nineveh, as well as to the religiously mixed province of Diyala. Iraqi and U.S. forces then battled Al Qaeda in these new areas. Nonetheless, the situation remained volatile, with Al Qaeda still a dangerous threat and the possibility that any one of the factors that had contributed to the military gains under the surge could be reversed and produce an increase in violence.

The results of the troop surge could be seen in the statistical decline in both Iraqi and U.S. casualties. According to a June 2008 Pentagon report, violence in Iraq dropped between 40 and 80 percent from presurge levels, while the number of violent incidents fell to their lowest point in more than four years. In addition, fewer U.S. troops were killed in May 2008, when 19 died (compared to 126 in May 2007), than in any other month since the invasion of Iraq in March 2003; 29 U.S. troops were killed in June 2008 compared to 101 in June 2007. The Iraqi Body Count, a group that keeps a tally of Iraqi casualties from media reports, noted that 712 Iraqi civilian deaths occurred in June 2008, less than a third of the average during the summer of 2007.

Expanding revenues from the export of Iraqi oil and continued growth in the Iraqi economy (4 percent in 2007) also contributed to a decline in violence in the country, as unemployment dropped. The June 2008 Pentagon report, however, warned that security gains could not be preserved without continued progress in economic development and reconstruction; increasing government services, such as electricity (currently available for a national daily average of only 14.9 hours, including just 13 hours in Baghdad); health care, water, and sewage treatment; and national

political reconciliation among Iraq's rival religious and political groups. An important step in political reconciliation was taken with the passage of a long-awaited and needed Amnesty Law on February 26, 2008, for Iraqis accused or convicted of crimes of terrorism. In addition, Iraq's largest Sunni Arab bloc, the Iraqi Accord Front, prepared to rejoin Prime Minister Maliki's cabinet after a yearlong boycott protesting the government's alleged policies of excluding and marginalizing Sunnis. The inclusion of Sunnis into Iraq's government was cited by both the United States and Iraq as a major factor in bringing about national unity. Sunni Arabs had a great deal of power during Saddam Hussein's regime, but became marginalized after he was toppled in 2003. Since then, the Iraqi government has been dominated by Shiites and Kurds.

Despite these developments, however, it was acknowledged that the Iraqi government remained corrupt and inefficient, and that it lacked sufficiently qualified personnel to effectively govern and execute policy and programs.

The surge also entered presidential politics in the United States. In the summer of 2008, Republican candidate John McCain made much of his advocacy of, and support for, the surge. He sought to make the troop surge a major issue in the campaign, attacking his Democratic opponent Barack Obama for his opposition to it. Obama pointed out that it was not just the increase in troop strength but also the reconciliation of the Sunni tribes that had contributed to the decrease in violence. He also noted that McCain had supported the earlier Bush policies that had not worked, whereas he (Obama) had opposed the war from the beginning.

In sum, the surge proved to be successful, but as Petraeus remarked, "we can't kill ourselves out of this endeavor." Ultimately, it is only the Iraqi government that can build a stable, secure, prosperous, and united nation.

STEFAN M. BROOKS

See also

Al Qaeda; Al Qaeda in Iraq; Bush, George Walker; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Iraqi Insurgency; Mahdi Army; Petraeus, David Howell; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

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Suri, Abu Musab al-

Birth Date: 1958

Nom de guerre of Mustafa Sittmariam Nasar, one of militant Islam's most prolific strategic theorists in the past 30 years and a member of the Al Qaeda terrorist organization. Abu Musab al-Suri was born in Aleppo, Syria, in 1958; his birth name reportedly was Mustafa Sittmariam Nasar. Suri experienced a religious awakening in 1980 after studying engineering at the University of Aleppo for four years. Joining a branch of the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood, he left Syria in 1980 never to return because of the severe repression by the Asad regime of the Islamic opposition. Despite Suri's exile, he maintained his Syrian roots and connections—al-Suri means "the Syrian" in Arabic—and was considered the Syrian representative in Al Qaeda's highest leadership circles.

Suri traveled widely after leaving Syria. He is known to have resided in Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and France (mid-1980s), Afghanistan (1987–1992), Spain (1992–1997), and Afghanistan again (1997–2002). While in Spain he married a Spanish woman. During his first visit to Afghanistan he met both Abdallah Azzam and Osama bin Laden, the founders of Al Qaeda. Suri may have received sanctuary in Iran after Operation ENDURING FREEDOM began in late 2001, and he reportedly traveled to Iraq to visit Ansar al-Islam's camp in Kurdistan prior to the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM) in March 2003. In November 2004 the U.S. government offered a $5 million reward for information leading to his capture.

Suri is best known for his prolific theoretical writing and speaking on jihad (holy war) and the appropriate strategies for waging war against the West. His writings are notable for their systematic efforts to learn from past mistakes. His first book, *The Syrian Islamic Jihadist Revolution: Pains and Hopes,* was published around 1990 in Peshawar. In the 1990s, he established a media center called the Islamic Conflict Studies Bureau LTD and was able to create major media opportunities for bin Laden and Al Qaeda leadership in the 1996–1998 period. During this period Suri wrote a number of studies and analyses of jihadist efforts in the Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia. His 160-page *Musharraf's Pakistan: The Problem and the Solution! And the Necessary Obligation* was published in late 2004. It called for the overthrow of the Pervez Musharraf regime, a call later echoed by Al Qaeda second-in-command Ayman al-Zawahiri. At about the same time, Suri finally completed the 1,600-page *The Call for a Global Islamic Resistance,* a work he had begun in the early 1990s that articulates his ideas for a new global guerrilla warfare strategy based on a decentralized model of organization. He also hoped to write a book on jihad guerrilla strategy titled *The Fundamentals for Jihadi Guerrilla Warfare in Light of the Conditions of the Contemporary American Campaign* and based on his lectures and research in Afghanistan, but he was arrested before the manuscript could be completed. Several transcripts of his lectures on this topic have been released on jihadi Web sites since his arrest.

Suri apparently had strong reservations about the September 11 attacks. On the one hand, he recognized their mobilizing effect on the Islamic community. On the other hand, he also recognized

that the attacks provided a justification for U.S. invasion, which shattered the jihadi movement. This recognition led to his publication of *The Call for a Global Islamic Resistance* in which he argued that the old local and regional covert organizations (*tanzims*) were no longer an effective way of conducting revolution. Their large hierarchical organization, firmly rooted geographically, raised too many risks in an era of dominant U.S. military and political influence and active opposition from many local governments. Suri instead argued that a transnational structure based on small cells held together by common doctrine and ideology could carry out terror operations at lower risk. This also would create a deterritorialized jihadist war in which operations are carried out on a global scale and resistance to occupation is not confined to the theater in question.

Suri himself insisted in his writings that he was primarily a theorist and thinker, not an executor of operations. However, he is suspected of having had deep operational involvement in a variety of conflicts and, since 2001, attacks or attempted attacks on Western states. He fought with Al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan, where his experiences during American air strikes contributed strongly to his reassessment of proper resistance tactics. He was suspected of involvement in the March 2004 Madrid bombing attacks and has been linked in some reports to attacks in London in July 2005. British authorities reportedly suspect that he had some involvement in the 1995 Paris Metro bombings, and he has significant ties with terrorist cells in both Europe and the Maghreb, as well as a record of support for the Algerian terrorist organization Armed Islamic Group (GIA). Some reports also link him with Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, as both men are associated with a virulent dislike of Shia Islam. However, Suri might have acquired this position because of the sectarian situation in Syria. At least one account notes that the intellectually sophisticated and articulate Suri must have had a strong ideological impact on the barely educated Zarqawi.

Suri also ran a major training camp called Al Ghuraba ("The Aliens") in Afghanistan during 2000–2001 that trained foreign fighters for Al Qaeda and the Taliban. Also, he is reported to have assisted in Al Qaeda's experiments with chemical weapons. Suri almost certainly trained Al Qaeda operatives who went back to Europe and created sleeper cells.

Interestingly, Suri was linked with a group of secessionists inside Al Qaeda who reportedly rejected bin Laden's leadership and pledged loyalty to the Taliban. Suri had to take an oath of obedience to Mullah Mohammed Omar, leader of the Taliban, in order to run his training camp. Suri himself denied rumors of a split, however, and emphasized his close links with Al Qaeda leadership, including his invitation to bin Laden's wedding in 2000. The nature of the connection to Al Qaeda is, in some respects, irrelevant, as Suri's writings provide the basis for a school of jihadi strategic studies that have profoundly affected Al Qaeda and other transnational terrorist networks and have raised significant concern for Western analysts and policy makers.

In late 2005 Pakistani security forces reportedly captured Suri in Quetta, Pakistan. He was then allegedly transferred to American custody, but his current location is unknown.

TIMOTHY D. HOYT

See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Omar, Mohammed; Taliban; Terrorism; Zawahiri, Ayman al-

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Swannack, Charles

Birth Date: May 9, 1951

U.S. Army general whose last major command was the 82nd Airborne Division during its deployment in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. Charles Swannack was born on May 9, 1951, in Morristown, New Jersey. When he was nine years old his family moved to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, where he spent his formative years. Swannack graduated from the United States Military Academy, West Point, in 1971 and was commissioned a second lieutenant.

Swannack's first posting was to the American sector of then-divided Berlin, Germany. He then served with the 82nd Airborne Division. Swannack also earned an MS degree in mechanical engineering from Georgia Institute of Technology and then taught at West Point. Following study at the Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1984 Swannack was assigned to the 7th Infantry Division at Fort Ord, California. In 1989 he served in the U.S. invasion of Panama (Operation JUST CAUSE) as commander of an infantry battalion. Swannack then held a series of staff positions and studied at the National War College.

In 1994 Swannack took command of the 2nd Brigade of the 25th Infantry Division. Soon afterward he returned to the 82nd Airborne Division and served as assistant division commander in Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY in Haiti. After that he again returned to Washington, D.C., and held several staff positions, including deputy director of Strategy Plans and Policy Directorate in the office of the U.S. Army's deputy chief of staff for operations and plans.

In 1998 Swannack was promoted to brigadier general and took command of the Joint Readiness Training Center in Fort Polk, Louisiana, which trained light infantry forces. In 2001 Swannack assumed command of the Multi-National Force North in Tuzla, Bosnia. This division was integral to North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) efforts to support the Dayton Accords and to ensure the peace in war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In 2002, Swannack was promoted to major general and was assigned command of the 82nd Airborne Division. This time the

U.S. Army brigadier general Charles H. Swannack, commander of the 82nd Airborne Division during its deployment in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. (U.S. Department of Defense)

82nd was already engaged in combat operations in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. When he arrived in theater in October 2002, the 82nd Airborne was part of Task Force All American. Comprising 18,000 soldiers from various units, Task Force All American occupied an area the size of Wyoming in western Iraq. Its area of operations included the city of Fallujah. In the nine months of his command, Swannack endeavored to secure the part of this area under his command while turning over as much responsibility as possible for administering the area to local Iraqi authorities. This plan appeared to be working until the Iraqi insurgency led to a full-scale siege of Fallujah and the April 2004 First Battle of Fallujah.

In May 2004 Swannack became deputy commanding general of the XVIII Airborne Corps. Later in 2004 he retired from active duty. In April 2006 Swannack joined several other retired general officers in calling for the resignation of Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and the reexamination of American tactics and policies in Iraq.

SHAWN LIVINGSTON

See also

Fallujah, First Battle of; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

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Swift Boat Veterans for Truth

Political group formed in 2004 in opposition to the presidential campaign of Democratic U.S. senator John F. Kerry, a Vietnam War veteran who had served on swift boats during the conflict. Swift Boat Veterans of Truth (SBVT) was composed chiefly of swift-boat veterans and former Vietnam prisoners of war (POWs). When first conceived, its sole purpose was to prevent Kerry from being elected president. Although it publicized itself as nonpartisan, numerous high-level SBVT members were Republicans or otherwise had close ties to the Republican Party. Among those who made sizable contributions to the organization was Texas oil tycoon T. Boone Pickens.

Only some 250 of the more than 3,500 sailors who had served on swift boats during the war became members of SBVT, and most of those had never served with Kerry. Several of the veterans who joined the group had earlier praised Kerry's performance during the war, including 16 naval officers who had served with Kerry in Coastal Division 11. Only 1 person who had actually served on Kerry's boat joined the group, although he did not have a high profile within the organization. All of the other surviving members of Kerry's crew enthusiastically supported his candidacy.

Among other things, the SBVT charged that Kerry was unfit to serve as president because he had knowingly misrepresented the wartime conduct of other Vietnam War veterans and had either withheld or distorted facts relating to his own conduct during the war. Many of the charges against Kerry were based on Kerry's actions after he returned from the war, including his involvement in Vietnam Veterans Against the War, testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that was highly critical of the war, and connection to an incident in which he and other veterans threw down their war medals on the steps of the Capitol building, with media cameras recording the action.

Kerry received the Silver Star, Bronze Star, and three Purple Heart medals during his Vietnam tour, but the circumstances surrounding the actions for which he received the awards have generated controversy. For example, his highest award, the Silver Star, was for his action in leaving his boat and shooting a Viet Cong guerrilla who had already been wounded by American automatic weapons fire and may have been helpless. Additionally, at least one of his Purple Heart medals has been questioned for the highly irregular manner in which the award recommendation was processed (it was largely handled by Kerry himself). Since Kerry presented himself as a Vietnam War hero, the SBVT challenged this representation, raising troubling questions.

Perhaps Kerry's most incendiary postwar activity was his involvement in the 1971 Winter Soldier Investigation in which he spearheaded an effort to publicize testimony of some 100 veterans who were alleged to have participated in or witnessed war crimes.

When SBVT went public in May 2004, its allegations against Kerry created few waves, and the media largely ignored it. That all changed, however, when the group produced television ads that began airing on August 5, 2004. These showcased numerous veterans asserting that Kerry was unreliable, dishonest, unfit to be president, and had needlessly besmirched the reputations of thousands of Vietnam War veterans. Interspersed with the interviews were photos of Kerry throwing down his medals and in uniform. A second ad began running on August 24. It showed clips from Kerry's Senate testimony in 1969 and excerpts from the Winter Soldier Investigation. That was followed by two more equally damning commercials that ran into early September.

In August, John O'Neill (SBVT founder) and Jerome E. Corsi published a book titled *Unfit for Command,* published by Regnery Press and featuring a prominent photo of Kerry on the front cover. It reiterated the main selling points of the group's allegations.

Many were aghast at the ad campaign, and Republican senator John S. McCain III strongly rebuked the first ad, saying that it was "very, very wrong." Although McCain challenged President George W. Bush to condemn the ads, neither the president nor the Bush presidential campaign did so. Instead, they merely insisted that they did not endorse the SBVT group and did not question Kerry's patriotism or service in the war.

For Kerry's part, his campaign made the fatal mistake of not immediately and strongly countering the attacks, and by the time the campaign countered the attacks, the damage had already been done. While it is simplistic to say that the television ads alone caused Kerry's defeat in the November 2004 elections, they certainly did not help his chances and managed to plant much doubt in the minds of voters concerning his veracity as a politician and his ability to lead the nation during a time of war.

The SBVT has since changed its name to Swift Vets and POWs for Truth and continues to operate as a nonpartisan organization. In the meantime, the term "swift-boating" entered the American political lexicon as a term describing particularly negative campaign ads. The swift-boat controversy clearly showcased the divisive nature of American politics and demonstrated the continuing centrality of the Vietnam War in contemporary U.S. political discourse.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Walker; Kerry, John Forbes; McCain, John Sidney, III; United States, National Elections of 2000; United States, National Elections of 2004

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Swift Project

Start Date: 2001
End Date: Continuing

A secret U.S. government program to trace the financial records of people suspected of having ties to the Al Qaeda terrorist organization. Within weeks of the events of September 11, 2001, the George W. Bush administration launched the project, which has come to be known as the Swift Project. It was named after the Brussels banking consortium Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication (SWIFT). The SWIFT consortium serves as a gatekeeper for electronic transactions among 7,800 international institutions and is owned by a cooperative of more than 2,200 organizations. Every major commercial bank, brokerage house, fund manager, and stock exchange used its services. Because of the top-secret nature of the program, precise details, including the date of implementation, are not known precisely.

The Bush administration entrusted the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the U.S. Treasury Department to set up and run the Swift Project. Legal justification for the implementation of this project was the president's emergency economic powers. American agents used computer programs to wade through huge amounts of sensitive data from the transactions of SWIFT. Treasury officials maintained at the time and since that the Swift Project was exempt from U.S. laws restricting government access to private financial records because the cooperative was classified as a messaging service, not a bank or financial institution. This allowed the U.S. government to track money from bank accounts of suspected terrorists to a source in the United States or elsewhere in the world. It was information of this type that allowed American officials to locate and capture Radwann Isamuddin Hambali, the operations chief of the Indonesian terrorist group Jemah Islamiyya, in Thailand.

News of the Swift Project became public in 2006 and became identified with the surveillance of American citizens by the U.S. government. Members of the Bush administration, especially Vice President Dick Cheney, sharply denounced the media's revelation of the program. Despite considerable negative publicity, the Bush administration continued to use the Swift Project to track the financial records of organizations and people suspected of giving money to Al Qaeda.

Stephen E. Atkins

See also

Bush, George Walker; Central Intelligence Agency; Cheney, Richard Bruce

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Sykes, Sir Mark

Birth Date: March 16, 1879
Death Date: February 16, 1919

Tory member of the British Parliament, expert on the Near East, and perhaps best known for negotiating the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 that carved the Middle East into spheres of influence between Britain and France and created the boundaries of many of the present-day Middle Eastern states. Mark Sykes was born in London on March 16, 1879, the child of Sir Tatton Sykes, 5th Baronet. As a youth Mark Sykes spent time in both London and the family estates at Sledmere in Yorkshire.

His wealth and his position as 6th baronet upon his father's death in 1913 left Sykes largely at his own discretion, and he gravitated toward travel and scholarly pursuits. As a young man he became fascinated with Turkey and the entire Near East. He attended Cambridge University for a time and in 1897 joined a reserve battalion of the Princess of Wales' Own Regiment (Yorkshire Regiment). He traveled extensively and published four books while still a young man, three of which were travel narratives dealing with his impressions of Turkey and the Arab world.

Sykes served in the Second Boer War from 1900 to 1902. When he returned home in early 1903 his lineage and background made politics a natural outlet for his talents. During 1904–1905 he served as a parliamentary secretary to George Wyndham, chief secretary of Ireland and the primary British official in Ireland. In 1912 Sykes secured election to Parliament from Hull Central. His father died the following year, making Sykes the 6th Baronet. With the beginning of World War I, Sykes remained a lieutenant colonel with the Green Howards, but given his background as a Turkish and Arab specialist, he secured a post in the War Office. There he helped guide Britain's Near East policies and advised the cabinet on matters pertaining to the region.

World War I had necessitated a shift in British policy toward the Near East. Heretofore, Britain and France had been staunch allies of the waning Ottoman Empire, in part to restrain Russian territorial ambitions in the Balkans and the Near East. However, now Britain and France found themselves at war with the Ottoman Empire and fighting alongside a Russian ally. Arab allies fighting against the Ottomans were of great assistance to the Allies, and many Arabs expected to receive some form of self-determination when the war was over; indeed, once the United States entered World War I in April 1917, self-determination became an ostensible Allied war goal. Numerous pro-Arab Britons with expertise in the region, including T. E. Lawrence, Gertrude Bell, and Sir Percy Cox, desired the breakup of the Ottoman Empire and Arab independence. Sykes, however, tried to steer a middle course that would provide for greater Arab sovereignty but also create a strong Turkey, able to resist future aggression from Russia or other regional powers.

Entente Powers' negotiations over postwar planning for the Near East resulted in the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement (Sykes's French counterpart was François Georges Picot), which Sykes had worked on for several months. As France and Britain were clandestinely redrawing the map of the Near East, they consulted with the Russian government, which gave its tacit approval to the arrangements. By 1916, however, Russia was poised on the precipice of civil war, so it could not have asserted itself in the region even if it had disagreed. The agreement gave each of the Allies control over areas of the former Ottoman Empire. Britain would dominate contemporary Jordan and Iraq and a stretch of territory through modern Israel. France would have supervision over southern Turkey, Syria, and Lebanon. Russia was to control Constantinople and the Turkish straits and Armenian territory.

The Sykes-Picot Agreement became a source of embarrassment for the British and French governments after the Bolshevik Revolution and Russia's withdrawal from World War I, when the Bolsheviks published the secret partition treaties. Indeed, the agreement did seem at variance with promises by British officials in Cairo to their Arab allies that they would achieve self-determination, and it certainly flew in the face of U.S. president Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, issued in 1918. The agreement blatantly contradicted Wilson's cherished principle of self-determination.

Sykes may have played a role in the crafting of the 1917 Balfour Declaration. He was a member of the British delegation to the peace negotiations at Paris after World War I that led to the Treaty of Versailles. He was suddenly taken ill with Spanish flu while in Paris and died there on February 16, 1919. The 1916 arrangements for the Near East were approved by the Treaty of Sèvres in August 1920. The basic tenets set forth by the Sykes-Picot Agreement remained, and were approved in the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) in which Turkey recognized the League of Nations mandates given to France and Britain. France's mandate was over Lebanon and Syria, while Britain's was over Iraq and Palestine (at the time Palestine included Jordan as well as present-day Israel and the West Bank). Shortly after World War II, the last of the mandates were given independence, creating the modern states of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel. Thus, in a real sense Sykes's decisions created many of the nation-states of the modern Middle East and the accompanying problems.

Michael K. Beauchamp

See also

France, Middle East Policy; Lausanne, Treaty of; Mandates; Middle East, History of, 1918–1945; Ottoman Empire; Sèvres, Treaty of;

Sykes-Picot Agreement; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; World War I, Impact of

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Sykes-Picot Agreement

Clandestine agreement reached among the British, French, and Russian governments regarding claims of territory belonging to the Ottoman Empire. In the spring of 1915 the British high commissioner in Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon, promised Sharif Hussein ibn Ali of Mecca British support for an Arab state under Hussein in return for Arab military support against the Ottoman Empire. Confident of British assistance, in June 1915 Hussein proclaimed the Arab Revolt. The French government was alarmed over this, and on October 24 McMahon informed Hussein of limitations on a postwar Arab state. Britain was to have direct control of the Baghdad-Basra region so that the area west of Hama, Homa, Aleppo, and Damascus could not be under Arab control. Any Arab state east of the Hama-Damascus area would have to seek British advice. McMahon also warned Hussein that Britain could make no promises that would imperil French interests.

Aware of the British agreement with Hussein, Paris pressed London for recognition of its own claims in the Ottoman Empire. Englishman Sir Mark Sykes and Frenchman François Georges Picot were appointed by their respective governments to conduct the negotiations, and because discussions of the future of Asiatic Turkey necessarily affected the Russians, the two proceeded to Petrograd in the early spring of 1916 and there presented their draft agreement. They secured Russian support in the formal Sazonov-Paléologue Agreement of April 26, 1916, named for Russian foreign minister Sergei D. Sazonov and French ambassador to Russia Georges Maurice Paléologue. It is most often known as the Sykes-Picot Agreement, however. The agreement was officially concluded on May 16, 1916.

The Sykes-Picot Agreement provided extensive territorial concessions to all three powers at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. Russia was to receive the provinces of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis (known as Turkish Armenia) as well as northern Kurdistan from Mush, Sairt, Ibn Omar, and Amadiyya to the border with Persia (Iran). France would secure the coastal strip of Syria, the vilayet of Adana, and territory extending in the south from Ayntab and Mardin to the future Russian border to a northern line drawn from Ala Dagh through Kaysariyya Ak-Dagh, Jidiz-Dagh, and Zara to Egin-Kharput (the area known as Cilicia). Britain would secure southern Mesopotamia along with Baghdad as well as the ports of Haifa and Acre in Palestine. The zone between the British and French territories would be formed into one or more Arab states, but this was to be divided into British and French spheres of influence. The French sphere would include the Syrian hinterland and the Mosul province of Mesopotamia, while the British would have influence over the territory from Palestine to the Persian border. The agreement also provided that Alexandetta would become a free port, while Jerusalem would be internationalized.

The parties involved agreed to maintain strict secrecy regarding the plan. Despite this, the Italian government learned of its existence by early 1917 and forced the French and British governments to agree in the St. Jean de Maurienne Agreement of April 17, 1917, that Italy would receive a large tract of purely Turkish land in southern Anatolia and a sphere of influence north of Smyrna. This was the final agreement among the Allies regarding the future partition of the Ottoman Empire. It was contingent on the approval of the Russian government, which was not forthcoming because of revolutionary upheaval there. Hussein did not learn of the Sykes-Picot Agreement until December 1917, when the information was published by the Bolshevik government of Russia and relayed to Hussein by the Turks, who vainly hoped thereby to reverse his pro-British stance.

The Sykes-Picot Agreement proved a source of bitter conflict between France and England at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. French premier Georges Clemenceau expected to receive British support for French claims to Lebanon, Cilicia, and Syria. He based this belief on a December 2, 1918, meeting in London with British prime minister David Lloyd George where, in a verbal understanding without witnesses, Clemenceau agreed to modify the Sykes-Picot Agreement. Recognizing the British role in victory in the Middle East, Clemenceau agreed that the oil-producing area of Mosul, assigned to France in the Sykes-Picot Agreement, would be transferred to the British sphere. Palestine, which had been slated for some form of international status, would also be assigned to the British. In return, Clemenceau believed that Lloyd George had promised British support for French claims to Syria and Cilicia.

At the Paris Peace Conference, however, Lloyd George jettisoned the Sykes-Picot Agreement. Appealing to U.S. president Woodrow Wilson's principles of national self-determination, Lloyd George argued that the Arab Revolt entitled the peoples of Lebanon and Syria to self-rule. Lloyd George wanted Hussein's son Emir Faisal, who was under British influence, to rule Lebanon and Syria. But Lloyd George also insisted that Britain retain control of Iraq and Palestine. Clemenceau protested. The standoff was resolved on April 24, 1920, at the San Remo Conference, whereby the British and French governments reached agreement on mandates in the Middle East. Britain would receive Palestine and Iraq, while France secured Lebanon and Syria. Self-determination in the Middle East was thus rejected.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Mandates; Ottoman Empire; Paris Peace Conference; San Remo Conference; Sykes, Sir Mark

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Syria

Arab nation in the Middle East covering 71,498 square miles, just slightly larger than the U.S. state of North Dakota. Syria's current population is approximately 19.75 million. The Syrian Arab Republic borders on Jordan and Israel to the south, Beirut and the Mediterranean Sea to the west, Turkey to the north, and Iraq to the east. For much of its history, Syria was dominated by larger powers. Syria was part of the Ottoman Empire until the end of World War I, and the country's economy and educational system had left its populace in relative destitution. In 1920 France received a League of Nations mandate over both Syria and neighboring Lebanon.

French rule resulted in the Great Syrian Revolution (1925–1927) led by a Druze, General Sultan Pasha al-Atrash. The French had to send thousands of troops from Morocco and Senegal to rout the rebels. After a tortuous series of negotiations, Syria was granted considerable autonomy in 1936. Following the defeat of France by Germany in June 1940, Syria was controlled by the Vichy French government, headed by Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain. The Vichy government installed General Henri Dentz as high commissioner to Syria with a cabinet headed by Khalid al-Azm. Pétain ordered Dentz to allow German and Italian aircraft landing rights in Syria on their way to support Rashid Ali al-Gaylani's regime in Iraq.

This situation was intolerable to the Allies. On June 8, 1941, Allied forces that included the British Ninth Army, Australian, and Free French forces, along with troops of the Transjordan Arab Legion, crossed from Palestine into Lebanon and Syria. By June 15 they had reached the Syrian capital of Damascus, which fell on June 21. On July 13 Dentz and the Vichy French forces surrendered, and the next day signed the Acre Convention. The fighting claimed 4,500 Allied and 6,000 Vichy French casualties.

Syria was then turned over to British and Free French authorities even though there were some disputes between these parties.

Aleppo, Syria, one of the world's oldest inhabited cities. (iStockPhoto)

Although the French had announced that they would grant Syria its independence, in fact they continued to occupy the country. They declared martial law, imposed strict press censorship, and arrested political subversives.

In July 1943 under pressure from its allies, the Free French government-in-exile announced new elections in Syria. A nationalist government came to power that August, electing as president Syrian nationalist Shukri al-Quwatli. France granted Syria independence on January 1, 1944, but the country remained under Allied occupation for the remainder of the war. In February 1945 Syria declared war on the Axis powers and then the next month became a member of the United Nations (UN).

In early May 1945 anti-French demonstrations erupted throughout Syria, whereupon French forces bombarded Damascus, killing 400 people before the British intervened. A UN resolution in February 1946 called on France to evacuate the country, and by mid-April all French and British forces had left Syrian soil. Evacuation Day, April 17, 1946, is still celebrated as a Syrian national holiday.

On March 22, 1945, Syria was a cofounder of the Arab League, which advocated Arab nationalism but without the formal unification of Arab states and the resultant problems that such a movement would have witnessed. The Arab League was also aimed at blocking the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, which the Syrians strongly opposed.

Syria played a relatively small role in the failed Israeli War of Independence (1948–1949) that arose from the creation of the Jewish state in May 1948. At the beginning of the fighting Syria had only some 4,500 troops to commit, almost all of whom were dispatched to the Syrian-Palestinian border. Just six days into the fighting, Syrian troops had been repelled, with heavy casualties. News of the Syrian defeat spread rapidly, and many Syrians blamed Quwatli for the setback. Quwatli reacted by firing his defense minister and chief of staff. As time progressed, however, Syrian troops enjoyed some success and managed to occupy a small strip of Palestinian territory along the border. They also occupied a small piece of land in northeastern Palestine. After these initial successes, the small Syrian military contingent remained rather inactive for the rest of 1948. For Quwatli, whose popularity was quickly eroding, the chief issue of the 1948–1949 war was whether Syria would fight alongside other Arab nations in a show of Pan-Arabism or whether it would fight to retain its Syrian identity. In so doing, he diluted the Syrian effort against the Israelis and engendered opponents in other Arab states.

The Israeli victory in the war and disagreements over Syria's potential union with Iraq torpedoed Quwatli's government. There were three separate coups in 1949, the last one headed by Lieutenant Colonel Adib al-Shishakli, who governed with a heavy hand until 1954. In 1952 after a series of lengthy talks, Shishakli agreed in principle with a U.S. offer that would have brought $400 million in aid to Syria in exchange for Syria's settling of as many as 500,000 displaced Palestinians. The plan was doomed from the start, however, as many Syrians—especially those on the political Left—decried the plan as an attempt to deny Palestinians their right of return to Palestine, which by now had UN backing.

Shishakli was ousted in 1954, and late that year elections were held to determine the makeup of the new government, which would now be civilian. In the end, a three-party coalition (People's Party, National Party, and Baath Party) emerged, with National Party chief Sabri al-Asali as its head. The coalition was a shaky one, and political instability plagued the new government. In the succeeding years the Baathists, who combined Arab nationalism with socialist economic policies, became the most powerful political force in Syria, and Syria gradually entered into economic and military agreements with the Soviet Union.

In February 1958 Syria and Egypt joined to form the United Arab Republic (UAR). Syrian political parties were now supposed to refrain from all political activity. Complete Egyptian domination of the UAR forced yet another coup against the Syrian government in September 1961. Carried out by military officers, the coup plotters promptly pulled Syria out of the UAR and established the Syrian Arab Republic. In December 1961 elections for a national assembly were held, and the body chose two conservative People's Party members to lead the new regime. However, another coup in late 1962 again toppled the government.

In 1963 a joint Baath-military government came to power. The new government nationalized most industrial and large commercial concerns and engaged in land reforms that redistributed land to the peasants. Meanwhile, Syria continued to cultivate relations with the Soviet bloc. A schism in the Baath Party resulted in more instability, and in 1966 the radical wing of the party staged a coup and installed Yussuf Zayan as prime minister. Nur al-Din al-Atasi became president. This new regime tightened Syria's ties with both the Soviets and Egyptians.

Syria fought Israel yet again in the June 1967 Six-Day War, with disastrous consequences. This time, its defeat included the loss of the Golan Heights to the Israelis. The outcome of the war eviscerated the ruling government, and when Syrian forces had to pull back after attempting to aid the Palestinians in Jordan during Black September (1970), the scene had been set for yet another change of government. On November 13, 1970, General Hafiz al-Asad, the minister of defense, seized power in a coup. Asad referred to it as the Corrective Revolution, which essentially ousted from power civilian Baathists in favor of the military Baathists. An ardent nationalist, Asad sought to strengthen ties to other Arab states, de-emphasize Syrian reliance on the Soviet Union, and defeat Israel.

In early 1971 Asad was elected president and immediately began to consolidate his power. He would rule the country until his death in 2000. During the early years of his presidency, he modernized the Syrian Army and engaged in modest economic reforms, while the Baath Party gained even more strength. Befitting his Baathist philosophy, the state played a central role in economic planning and implementation. Asad's tactics could be brutal, and there was little room for dissent or democracy in Syria.

A convoy of armored personnel carriers passes near the mosque of a deserted Syrian village during manuevers in the Golan Heights on August 27, 1997. Although considered Syrian territory after World War I, the Golan Heights have been under Israeli occupation since the Six-Day War in 1967. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Syria joined with Egypt against Israel in the October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War. At the beginning of the fighting, Syria launched a massive ground attack that included 1,500 tanks (900 in the initial attack and 600 in reserve) and 144 batteries of artillery in an attempt to retake the Golan Heights. After some initial success and although their forces this time fought quite well, the Syrian attackers were finally driven back beyond their original positions. Syria did not take the Golan Heights but did regain control over a small portion of it as a result of U.S.-led negotiations after the war.

In the late 1970s and 1980s Sunni Muslim fundamentalists began challenging the government's authoritarian rule, as the Sunni majority greatly resented the way they were treated by Alawites who assumed more importance in the government and the military. The Islamic parties opposed the Baath Party's secular outlook. From 1976 to 1982 the cities of Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo became hotbeds of political unrest. Asad's brother brutally crushed a February 1982 uprising by the Muslim Brotherhood in Hama, and troops killed as many as 30,000 people. Many others who had sympathies with the Islamic parties fled the country.

Asad also sent his army into Lebanon in 1976, ostensibly as a peacekeeping force during the civil war there. The troops stayed on, however, with Asad siding at certain points with the progressive Christian, Druze, and Muslim forces and then later with certain Christian militias. By the mid-1980s Syrian forces in Lebanon were playing both a military and political role in that conflict. The conflict was declared to have ended in 1990, although Syrian troops were not withdrawn from Lebanon until 2005. Syria used Lebanon as both a market and an informal second economy. As a result of the long Syrian presence in Lebanon, many thousands of Syrians moved into Lebanon after the civil war to seek work. Because of special agreements, Syrian produce was cheaper than that grown in Lebanon, which hurt Lebanese farmers. Smuggling, organized by the Syrian military, meanwhile continued from Lebanon into Syria. In 1994 the Lebanese government granted citizenship to 250,000 Syrians, a controversial move for Lebanese.

At the same time, the 1980s saw the Asad regime taking harder-line Arab positions and moving closer to the Soviets. Asad was also courted by the Chinese. His get-tough approach in regional politics included funding and encouragement of terrorism both in the Middle East and internationally. Asad, who was always in the end a pragmatist, sought to ameliorate relations with the West when the Soviet Union began to implode in 1990. When Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, Asad was the first Arab leader to denounce the attack. His government also provided 20,000 troops to the international coalition that defeated Iraqi forces in the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

Asad's frontline stance on the war reflected both his desire to strengthen relations with the West and his strong dislike of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein. Although Hussein was a Baathist, he was a direct threat to Asad, who wanted to maintain Syria's position with Saudi Arabia and Egypt as the key decision makers in the region. Syria hosted Iraqi political opposition leaders in exile, and Iraq did the same for Syrian political exiles.

In 1991 Asad's government entered into peace negotiations with Israel, although the process broke down in January 2000 with no firm agreement. Asad died in June 2000 after 30 years in power. He was succeeded by his son, Bashar al-Asad, who had been carefully groomed as the heir apparent after the death of his brother Basil in 1993.

Allegedly a free-market proponent, the younger Asad attempted some economic reforms, but the process has been fraught with setbacks and obstacles. In 1998, 65 percent of all Syrian revenues came from petroleum products. Bashar al-Asad also promised both political and democratic reform, but neither has occurred.

After the September 11, 2001, terror attacks against the United States, Syria pledged its cooperation in the Global War on Terror. But with the beginning of the 2003 Iraq War, which Asad refused to support, U.S.-Syrian relations sharply deteriorated. Syria's continued support, or at least its hosting of militant Palestinian groups and organizations such as Hezbollah, let alone the insurgents fighting U.S. and coalition troops in Iraq, all further strained relations with the United States. Refugees from Iraq, many of them very poor, poured into Syria. And although Syrian troops were out of Lebanon by 2005, there is considerable evidence to suggest that the Syrians continue to involve themselves in the internal politics of that nation. Indeed, most observers agree that Syrian operatives were responsible for the assassination of former Lebanese prime minister Rafic al-Hariri in February 2005, which prompted massive protests in Lebanon and compelled Asad to withdraw all remaining troops from Lebanese soil. These same operatives have likely been responsible for other assassinations of leading Lebanese figures. The assassination of Hariri resulted in the formation of the March 14 coalition, which has been strongly supported by Saudi Arabia and has insisted on further Syrian distancing from Lebanon.

More recently, concerns arose that Syria was attempting to carry out a clandestine nuclear program, possibly with technological assistance from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea). These concerns were given considerably more credence after a September 2007 Israeli air raid in Syria's Dayr al-Zawr Governate to destroy what was widely believed to be a nuclear reactor under construction. The Syrian government protested the strike, claiming that the site was an agricultural testing facility. At the same time, it hastily removed material from the area.

Beginning in 2007, Syria was involved in secret peace talks with Israel that were coordinated and mediated through the Turkish government. Asad subsequently confirmed these talks and also confirmed that the future of the Golan Heights, which is the primary issue for Syria, was under discussion with Tel Aviv.

The United States has charged that Syria has supported the insurgency in Iraq, funding segments of the insurgency since at least early 2004, and that Syria had allowed an undetermined number of fighters access to Iraq through its border crossings. However, Syria subsequently permitted access by U.S. authorities to its bank records and cooperated in various measures designed to defeat the insurgency. During 2007 and 2008, Syrian diplomats met with Iranian, Iraqi, and U.S. counterparts to discuss ways to curb the Iraq insurgency and quell sectarian violence in Iraq. The extent to which the talks have resulted in a scaling back or elimination of Syrian support for the insurgency remains to be seen, however, and relations between Damascus and Washington continue to be contentious.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arab League; Arab Nationalism; Asad, Bashar al-; Asad, Hafiz al-; Baath Party; DESERT STORM, Operation; Global War on Terror; Hezbollah; Iraqi Insurgency; Lebanon; Muslim Brotherhood; Syria, Armed Forces; Terrorism; United Arab Republic

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Syria, Armed Forces

Syria has been inhabited continuously for thousands of years and has been the site of dozens of conquests by invading forces. Damascus, the capital of Syria, is one of the oldest-surviving cities in the world. It became a Muslim city in 636 CE and was the heart of the Islamic world until the Abbasid Caliphate was established in Baghdad in the eighth century. By 1517 Syria had been incorporated into the Ottoman Empire, where it remained until World War I. After World War I when the Ottoman Empire was partitioned, Syria became a French protectorate. Syria did not achieve full independence until April 1946.

The modern Syrian Army was first formed as a mandate volunteer force in 1920. Designated the Troupes Spéciales du Levant (Levantine Special Forces) in 1925, all of the unit's officers were originally French. During World War II this force was under Vichy French control until the British occupied Syria. When the force passed to the control of the Free French, it was redesignated the Troupes du Levant (Levantine Forces). When the French finally departed in 1946, the Levantine Force became the Syrian Army, which by 1948 had grown to 12,000 troops.

A Syrian honor guard prepares for the arrival of a visiting dignitary during Operation DESERT SHIELD. Despite Syrian animosity toward U.S. ally Israel, it joined the United States in opposing Iraq during the Persian Gulf War of 1991. (U.S. Department of Defense)

In May 1948 the British Mandate for Palestine came to an end. The Jews there declared the independence of the State of Israel, and the forces of Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and Transjordan (later renamed Jordan) immediately invaded Israel.

Syrian involvement in the Israeli War of Independence (1948–1949) began with an advance of infantry and armored vehicles into the Galilee region. The newly established Israel Defense Forces (IDF) had few means to repel armored forces, which it faced on three fronts. The IDF also began the war with no combat aircraft. The Syrian Air Force in 1948 had 50 aircraft, although only 10 were of relatively modern World War II design. French influence on the Syrian military was still significant in 1948. Most Syrian tanks were French models, including the Renault R-35 and R-37. The Syrians also had a small number of French artillery pieces.

The first Syrian advances into Israel targeted the village of Zemach (Samakh), situated at the southern edge of the Sea of Galilee. Despite deploying tanks, armored cars, and artillery against a defensive force armed only with rifles, machine guns, and two small antitank guns, the Syrian Army took three days to capture the village. After the fall of Zemach, the Syrians pushed toward the Degania Kibbutzim. At Degania A, 70 Israelis armed with rifles and Molotov cocktails repelled a Syrian infantry company reinforced by tanks and artillery. After a similar defeat at Degania B the Syrians withdrew, abandoning all their previous gains and providing a one-month respite to the exhausted Israeli defenders.

On June 10, 1948, Syrian forces successfully forded the Jordan River and attacked Mishmar Hayarden, a kibbutz north of the Sea of Galilee. The Israelis launched a series of fierce counterattacks but could not drive the Syrian Army back from Mishmar Hayarden. From that point on, however, the Syrians were content to consolidate their defensive positions and hold what Israeli territory they had.

The Syrian Army occasionally supported the Arab Liberation Army (ALA), a multinational force commanded by Syria's Fawzi al-Qawuqji. When the IDF launched an offensive to destroy the ALA in October 1948, however, Syria refused to support ALA units or to allow them to withdraw into Syrian territory. On July 20, 1949, Syria and Israel agreed to a cease-fire. Syria withdrew from the Mishmar Hayarden area, which became a demilitarized zone.

Dissatisfaction with the outcome of the Israeli War of Independence ran deep in the Syrian military. Although Syrian president Shukri al-Quwatli envisioned a greater Arab nation encompassing both Syria and Palestine, he also believed in a republican form of government. He was removed from power during a series of military coups that erupted in 1949. In December, Colonel Adib Shishakli seized power. In 1951 he orchestrated his own election as president and dissolved the Syrian parliament. Another coup removed him from power in 1954, and he was replaced by an Arab nationalist coalition. In September 1961 another military coup occurred. Following more turmoil, Syrian Army officers created the National Council of the Revolutionary Command (NCRC), dominated by the Baath Party. The NCRC assumed power on March 8, 1963, and remained in place until 1970, although internal coups changed the face of the NCRC on a regular basis.

Meanwhile, two decades of sporadic raids across the Israeli-Syrian border exploded into an aerial battle over the Golan Heights on April 7, 1967. Israeli aircraft shot down six Syrian Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-21 fighters, after which IDF warplanes flew over Damascus in a triumphant show of force.

Although the United Arab Republic had dissolved, Egypt and Syria continued to maintain close military ties. On May 30, 1967, Jordan joined the alliance. All three nations began mobilizing their military forces, deploying them to the Israeli border. In response to the overwhelming intelligence indicators, the IDF launched a preemptive strike against Egyptian airfields on June 5, 1967, triggering the Six-Day War. After destroying virtually the entire Egyptian Air Force on the ground, Israeli warplanes launched attacks against Jordanian, Syrian, and Iraqi airfields with much the same results.

With two-thirds of the Syrian Air Force destroyed and the remainder dispersed to distant airfields, Syrian military options against Israel were limited. After an abortive attack on the Tel Dan water plant, Syrian units began shelling Israeli towns from

fortified positions atop the Golan Heights. The IDF retaliated with air strikes, attempting to silence Syrian artillery and disorganize or destroy the armored units.

On June 9 Israeli forces broke the Syrian defensive lines atop the Golan Heights plateau. The Syrian Army retreated in disarray, abandoning much of its heavy equipment. When the cease-fire took effect on June 11, IDF troops held the Golan Heights. During the Six-Day War, Israel lost only 141 soldiers on the Syrian front. The war cost Syria 2,500 killed as well as almost all of its equipment that had been deployed on the Golan Heights.

The Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights was a critical factor in the next outbreak of hostilities between the two nations. On October 6, 1973, Egyptian and Syrian forces launched a coordinated surprise attack against Israel. During the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, Syria's primary objective was to retake the Golan Heights. Syria also sought to reclaim some measure of the respect it had lost in the humiliating 1967 defeat. During the first two days of fighting Syrian forces made significant advances, regaining much of the lost territory. Syrian tanks outnumbered those of Israel by as much as 10 to 1 in some sectors of the battlefield.

For the IDF the primary front of the war was the Golan Heights, the loss of which would represent the single most serious threat to the security of Israel. Combat against Egypt in the Sinai became the secondary theater, as the IDF rushed reserves to the Northern Front.

Early Syrian advances pushed the IDF back to the outskirts of Nafah. But as the Syrian units advanced, they left the protective umbrella of their antiaircraft defensive network, increasing their own vulnerability to Israeli air attack. By October 8 the initiative and momentum shifted to the Israelis, who began to push the Syrian forces from the Golan Heights and back into Syria. On October 14 Israeli forces began shelling the outskirts of Damascus. Israeli progress was halted by a surprise Iraqi and Jordanian attack into the IDF's flank, but even the combined Arab armies were insufficient to push the IDF out of Syria.

On October 22 the United Nations (UN) imposed a cease-fire on Egypt and Israel. Syria acceded to the cease-fire on October 23. U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger engaged in a series of diplomatic meetings in Syria and Israel, eventually brokering a long-term armistice agreement signed on May 31, 1974. Israel agreed to withdraw its forces to the post–Six-Day War border, which left Israel in control of the Golan Heights. Both sides also agreed to the establishment of a demilitarized zone policed by UN troops.

In 1976 Syria sent 40,000 troops into neighboring Lebanon to intervene in the Lebanese Civil War. This led to a 30-year Syrian presence in Lebanon, as Syria sought to impose internal stability while also pursuing its own interests. In 1982 Israel invaded southern Lebanon in an attempt to preempt terrorist attacks across the border, primarily those launched by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). During the first week of Operation PEACE FOR GALILEE, the Syrian Air Force lost 86 aircraft to the Israeli Air Force in the skies over Lebanon. Although the Syrian-Israeli border remained relatively quiet thereafter, the two nations effectively fought a proxy war in Lebanon as Syria funded and trained Lebanese and Palestinian fighters.

During the 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM), Syria participated on the side of the UN coalition, led by the United States. This was an abrupt departure from previous Syrian policy, especially considering that Syria had been allied with Iraq in three wars against Israel. Following the Persian Gulf War, Syrian president Hafiz al-Asad, in power since 1970, conducted discreet face-to-face negotiations with the Israeli government. The talks failed to produce a peace settlement, but the Israeli-Syrian border remained relatively peaceful and secure. When Asad died on June 10, 2000, he was succeeded by his son Bashar al-Asad, who has attempted to continue his father's lower-profile policy toward Israel.

Prior to the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Syria imported most of its military technology from the Soviet Union. As a reward for its participation in that war, Syria received financial assistance from several Arab states in the Persian Gulf, including Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Much of that funding was earmarked for military spending, in part to offset the costs of participation in the war. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, however, and the unwillingness of most Western governments to sell arms to Syria, that nation has experienced difficulty in procuring quality military hardware. Domestic manufacturing of conventional weapons in Syria remains limited primarily to small arms.

Syria currently fields one of the largest military forces in the world and the second-largest Arab force, behind only Egypt. The Syrian military is organized into the Syrian Arab Army, the Syrian Arab Navy, the Syrian Arab Air Force, the Syrian Arab Air Defense Forces, and the Police and Security Force. All Syrian men serve a compulsory 2 years in the Syrian military, beginning at age 18. The officer corps is highly politicized, with membership in the Baath Party being a virtual prerequisite for advancement to flag rank. Annually Syria spends approximately $1 billion on its military, representing almost 6 percent of its gross domestic product (GDP).

The Syrian Army consists of about 200,000 regular troops and 280,000 conscripts organized into seven armored and three mechanized divisions, a Special Forces division, and a Republican Guard division. Its 4,700 main battle tanks included 1,700 Soviet T-72s and 2,000 T-54/55s and T-62s. Many of the T54/55s are emplaced in hull-down static positions in the heavily fortified defensive zone between Damascus and the Golan Heights. Almost all of Syria's armored infantry fighting vehicles and armored personnel carriers are older Soviet BRDMs and BMP-1s. Syria also has significant numbers of field artillery pieces, including the 122-millimeter (mm) 2S-1 and 152-mm 2S-3.

The Syrian Air Force, established in 1948, has some 100,000 regular troops and another 37,000 reservists. Its 1,100 combat aircraft includes Mikoyan-Gurevich MiG-21s, MiG-23s, MiG-25, and MiG-29s and Sukhoi Su-24s. The air force also has some 90 attack helicopters, including Mil Mi-24s. The 65,000-strong Air

Defense Command fields some 25 air defense brigades, each with six surface-to-air missile (SAM) batteries, as well as about 4,000 antiaircraft guns ranging from 23-mm to 100-mm.

The Syrian Navy was established only in 1950. The relatively small force of 4,000 operates some 40 vessels, including 2 older Soviet diesel submarines and 22 missile attack craft. Syria has one of the most advanced unconventional weapons programs of all the Arab nations. Most intelligence assessments agree that Syria has developed, stockpiled, and weaponized a significant amount of chemical agents, including the nerve agents GB (sarin) and VX and the blister agent HD (mustard). Syria's biological warfare agents include anthrax, cholera, and botulism. Syria has a number of delivery options for its chemical weapons, including an arsenal of SAMs. In its pursuit of missile technology, Syria has been aided by shipments of weapons and technological assistance from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea), which in the 1990s supplied variants of the Scud-C missile, with a range of 300 miles, and the Scud-D, with a range of 430 miles.

Paul J. Springer and David T. Zabecki

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Asad, Bashar al-; Asad, Hafiz al-; Baath Party; Biological Weapons and Warfare; Chemical Weapons and Warfare; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Nations' Contributions to; Lebanon; Syria; United Arab Republic

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THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
MIDDLE EAST WARS

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THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
MIDDLE EAST WARS

The United States in the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Conflicts

VOLUME IV: T–Z

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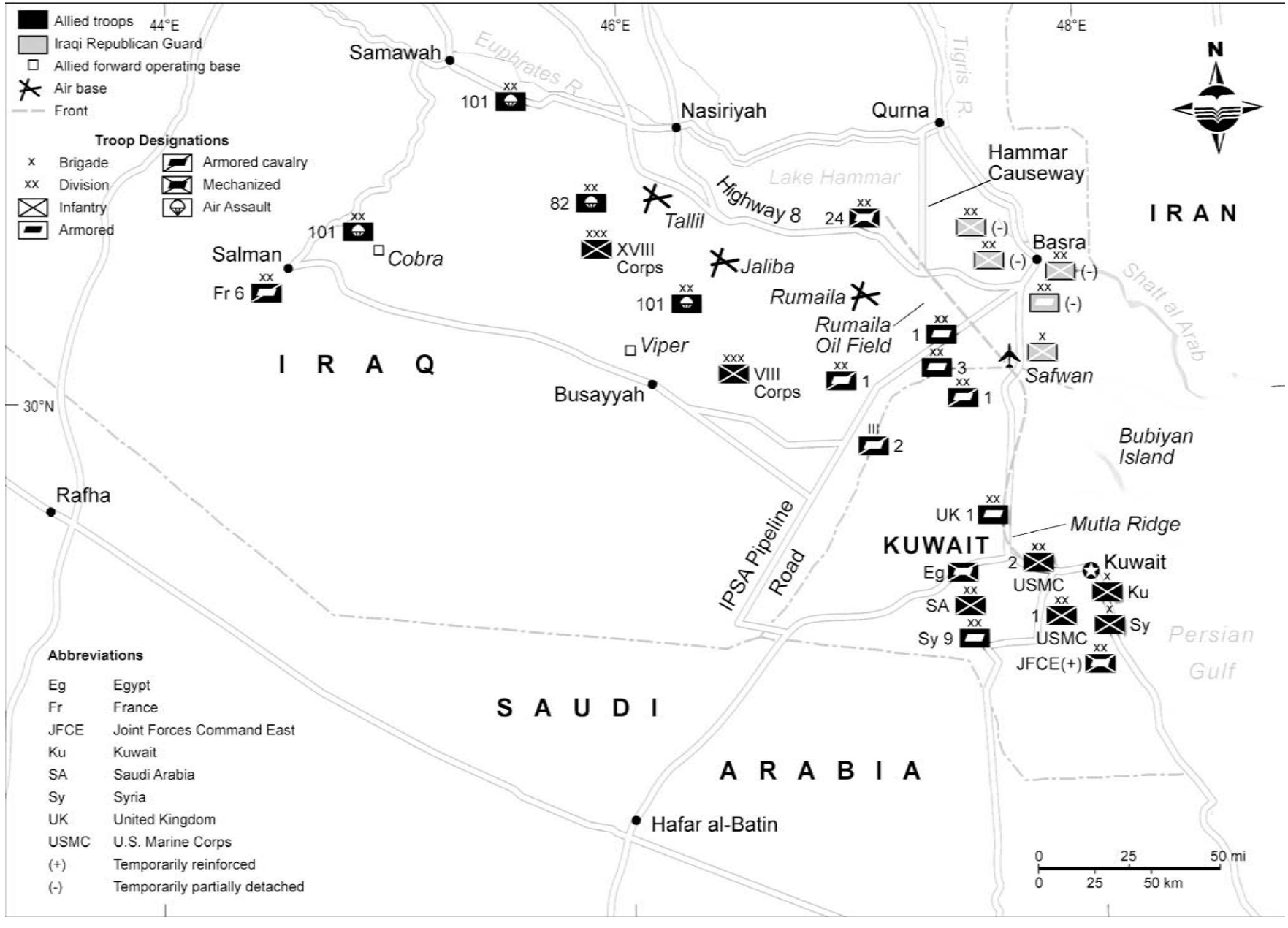
20°N
Masirah
OMAN
SUDAN
YEMEN
ERITREA
Sanaa
Arabian Sea
DJIBOUTI
ETHIOPIA
SOMALIA
0 50 100 mi
0 50 100 km
30°E
40°E
50°E
60°E

Topography of the Middle East

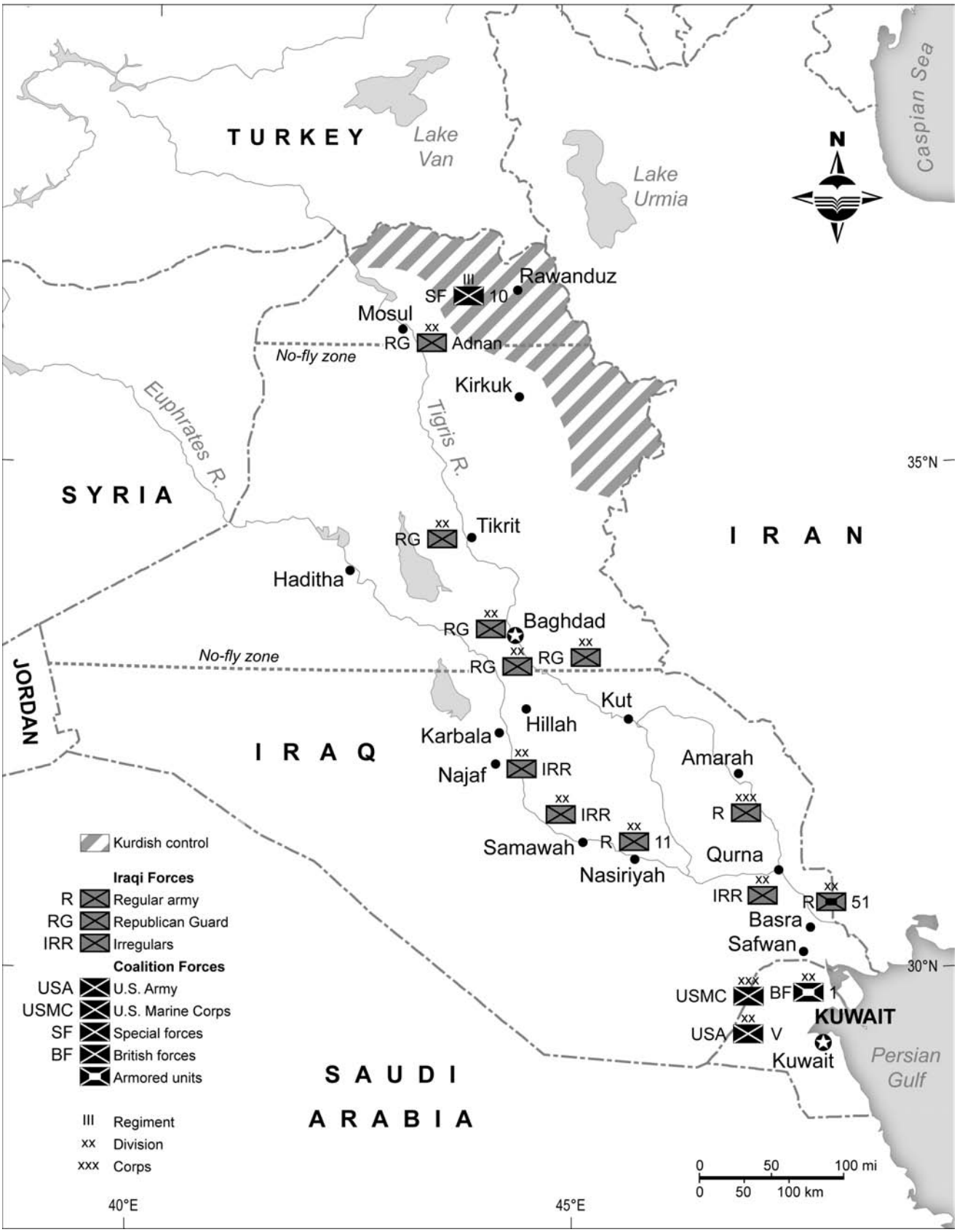
Coalition against Iraq, August 2, 1990–February 28, 1991

Troop Positions at the Close of Operation DESERT STORM



Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, 2001

Disposition of Forces on the Eve of the 2003 Iraq War



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40°E
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Bashur
Mosul
Arbil
SOF
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35°N
Bayji
Northern Oil Fields
SYRIA
Tikrit
I R A N
H1
Haditha
H2
Fallujah
Baghdad
Ramadi
JORDAN
H3
Rutbah
I R A Q
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Kut
VISOBS
SOF
Najaf
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VISOBS
Samawah
Qurna
Nasiriyah
Rumaila Oil Fields
Umm Qasr
Basra
30°N
Coalition Staging Bases
VISOBS
S A U D I
A R A B I A
Kuwait
Persian Gulf
KUWAIT
Coalition movements
Coalition air base
SOF Special operations forces
VISOBS Visual observers
0 50 100 mi
0 50 100 km

T

T-54/55 Series Main Battle Tank

Soviet-designed main battle tanks (MBT). As World War II was coming to a close, Soviet tank designers were looking ahead to replace the T-34 tank. Influenced by German tank engineering and the best features of American and British vehicles supplied through the Lend-Lease program, the Soviets developed the T-44 in 1944. This tank, with a new engine and a lower hull, suffered serious problems and saw virtually no combat action. The limitations of the T-44 were largely resolved by the large-scale introduction of the T-54 in 1951.

The T-54 was powered by an upgraded engine inherited from the T-34, giving it a road speed of just over 30 miles per hour (mph). The armament was a 100-millimeter (mm) gun using fixed ammunition with a rate of fire of four rounds per minute, while armor was improved in both thickness and design. By the end of 1951 the Soviets improved on the T-54, the improved tank being designated as the T-55. The primary upgrades in the T-55 were in its improved power plant. Except for minor external changes, the tank's overall appearance and dimensions were virtually the same as the T-54. Key advantages of the T-54/55 (hereafter referred to as the T-55) series included a low silhouette, ease in learning to operate, good overall speed, and low cost. However, maintenance could be difficult and the vehicle had a short operating life span. Additionally, the crew compartment was unusually cramped and ergonomically awkward.

T-55s were sent to Egypt to see limited combat service in the 1956 Suez Crisis. They saw more extensive service in each Arab-Israeli war afterward, bearing the brunt of the tank fighting in both the 1967 Six-Day War and the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War. They were also shipped in large numbers to Iraq, which received not only the Soviet version but also Chinese copies in the form of the Type 59s and 69s. While the Type 59 was virtually identical to the T-55, it did have significant modifications and improvements, particularly in increased passive armor protection. This increased the weight of the tank significantly and thus reduced performance, but the added armor enhanced the protection against conventional antitank weapons. However, against the depleted uranium ammunition of the American forces in both the Persian Gulf War of 1991 and the Iraq War (2003–), the extra armor proved insufficient.

At the start of the Persian Gulf War, the Iraqi Army had approximately 4,000 T-55 tanks of all types and configurations. These formed the bulk of the MBTs in the regular army being grouped in armored brigades as part of tank or mechanized divisions. Efforts were made to employ them en masse in the early days of the coalition offensive into Kuwait, but this met with disastrous results, mostly from coalition tank and helicopter forces. On February 25 during the second day of the coalition attack, the 50th Iraqi Armored Brigade of the 12th Armored Division, still equipped with 90 Chinese Type 59 tanks and having suffered few losses during the air campaign, came under fire by M1-A1 Abrams tanks of the 2nd U.S. Squadron of the 2nd Cavalry Regiment. In a matter of minutes, the Type 59 tanks and their supporting infantry carriers were transformed into burning wreckage, with the surviving crew members quickly captured.

One tactic attempted by Iraqi T-55 tankers was to use reverse slope positions to allow for close-combat engagements to negate the better standoff capabilities of coalition Abrams and Challenger tanks. Numerous point-blank tank battles occurred in the first two days of the coalition push into Kuwait, with the Iraqi tanks suffering enormous casualties. Iraqi tactical commanders attempted to engage in combined arms counterattacks but typically in small groups at company or battalion level, and their units were thus

A Soviet T-55 main battle tank. Large numbers of these were sold to the Iraqi armed forces. (U.S. Department of Defense)

destroyed in detail. Elements of the 52nd Iraqi Armored Division were also severely mauled by advancing British Challenger tanks from the 7th Armored Brigade, successors of the famed Desert Rats from World War II. In one engagement alone, British tankers and antitank missiles knocked out more than 40 T-55s with the loss of only one soldier killed. Such lopsided engagements were the norm during the 100-hour coalition offensive to drive Iraq from Kuwait, with the total loss of T-55 tanks being around 1,500.

During the Iraq War coalition forces again encountered large numbers of T-55s, but they never saw any large-scale concerted attack from these vehicles. Instead, the Iraqi commanders tended to scatter the tanks into small platoon or company-sized groups to support their infantry in prepared positions. Only on a few occasions did the Iraqis launch tank counterattacks and even then only at the platoon or company level. One significant effort occurred on April 6, 2003, at a place called Dabagah Ridge in northern Iraq. A group of American Special Forces held a piece of terrain that they called "The Alamo" against a concerted Iraqi attack led by a platoon of T-55s, followed by two platoons of mechanized infantry in armored carriers. Supported by artillery, the Iraqi force hoped to overrun the American position but was met by the devastating fire of the new Javelin antitank missile. The tanks were easily destroyed well before they could get into range, and the Iraqi infantry was driven back with heavy losses.

American tank crews saw clearly that the T-55s were no match for depleted uranium ammunition, with the sabot rounds doing what was called a through-and-through in which the round would fly completely through the T-55. If the crew compartment is penetrated, the resulting overpressures created upon entry and released upon exit kill every living thing in that compartment. American tankers developed the tactic of first damaging the T-55 with a sabot round and then following it up with high-explosive antitank (HEAT) rounds to cause the tank to explode, thus clearly indicating that it had been killed. Estimated losses of T-55s in the Iraq War are unavailable but would have been much higher than losses of T-62s.

While an excellent tank in its day, the T-55 is today largely obsolete. But since more than 100,000 of these tanks have been produced, upgraded versions, enhanced with improved armor and fire-control systems, will continue to see service with Middle East armies well into the next decade.

Specifications for the T-55 are:

Armament: 1 100-mm D10-T2S main gun with rate of fire of 4 rounds per minute; 1 7.62-mm coaxial machine gun
Ammunition main gun: 43 rounds
Armor: Turret front, 203-mm at 0 degrees; hull front, upper, 97-mm at 58 degrees

Tank and Infantry Fighting Vehicle Specifications

	Armament	*Ammunition Main Gun (rounds)*	*Armor*	*Crew/ Passengers*	*Weight (tons)*	*Length*	*Width*	*Height*	*Engine*	*Speed (mph)*	*Range (miles)*
BMP-1 infantry fighting vehicle	1 × 73-mm 2A28 smoothbore gun with rate of fire of 7–8 rounds per minute (rpm); 1 coaxial 7.62-mm machine gun	40	23-mm maximum	3/8	13.28	22'2"	9'8"	7'1"	V-6 diesel; 300 hp at 2,000 rpm	45	340
T-55 main battle tank	1 × 100-mm D10-T2S main gun with rate of fire of 4 rpm; 1 7.62-mm coaxial machine gun	43	Turret front: 203-mm at 0°; hull front, upper: 97-mm at 58°	4	35.43	21'2"	10'9"	7'10"	V-12 diesel; 580 hp at 2,000 rpm	31	310
T-62 main battle tank	1 × 115-mm U5-TS smoothbore main gun with rate of fire of 3–5 rpm; 1 × 12.7-mm machine gun; 1 × coaxial 7.62-mm machine gun	40	Turret front: 242-mm at 0°; hull front, upper: 102-mm at 60°	4	39.37	21'9"	10'10"	7'10"	V-12 diesel; 580 hp	31	280
T-72 main battle tank	1 × 125-mm 2A46 main gun with automatic loader, rate of fire of 8 rpm; 1 × 12.7-mm NSVT machine gun; 1 × 7.62-mm coaxial machine gun	45	Turret front: 280-mm at 0°; hull front, upper: 600-mm equivalent	3	43.80	22'10"	11'9"	7'2"	V-12 multifuel; 840 hp at 2,000 rpm	37	285

Crew: 4
Weight: 35.43 tons
Length: 21 feet, 2 inches
Width: 10 feet, 9 inches
Height: 7 feet, 10 inches
Engine: V-12 diesel, 580 horsepower at 2,000 rounds per minute
Speed: Road, 31 mph
Range: 310 miles

RUSSELL G. RODGERS

See also

Antitank Weapons; DESERT STORM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks; T-62 Main Battle Tank; T-72 Main Battle Tank

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T-62 Main Battle Tank

Soviet-designed main battle tank (MBT). The weaknesses of previous Soviet tank designs indicated that a newer vehicle with better armor and firepower was needed to defeat the latest tanks being developed in the West. Thus, the T-62 was fielded in 1961 as the replacement for the T-54/55 series tanks. In essence, it was little more than a marginal upgrade and in a number of ways was not much of an improvement over its predecessor. The primary innovation in the T-62 was in its main gun, being a smoothbore 115-millimeter (mm) capable of firing fin-stabilized sabot armor defeating and high-explosive antitank (HEAT) ammunition.

Because of the inclusion of the 115-mm gun, the ammunition became extremely bulky and difficult to handle. This caused Soviet engineers to develop a unique gunnery system for the tank. When the main gun was fired, the shell casing, instead of clattering to the floor as in most tanks of that time and thus becoming a hazard to the loader, would slide from the breech into a cradle. The gun would elevate automatically while the cradle would rock back to mechanically eject the casing through a small port in the top rear of the turret. This created a few interesting problems. The elevating of the gun took the gunner off of his target, forcing the commander to maintain acquisition instead of searching for other targets. When the casing was ejected, the commander pressed a detent on his controls, and the gun would realign back to the original target location. Of course, this assumed that neither the T-62 nor the enemy tank had since moved. This could cause serious problems in any tank-on-tank engagement.

The T-62's most vexing problems were automotive, and these would become almost legendary. Many Middle Eastern countries were not pleased with the T-62's performance and thus continued to use the older T-55 as their MBT until a better MBT was available. The T-62's engine tended to overheat in hot climates, and in desert operations this was a serious problem. It was not uncommon to see T-62 crews operating in combat with the rear deck doors open to allow better cooling of the power plant, which of course made the engine vulnerable to small-arms fire. Moreover, when the tank was turned violently, especially in loose sand, the sprockets tended to throw the track on the inside of the turn. This was a major problem, as violent turns to disrupt the aim of enemy gunners are one means of protection during combat.

Despite its problems, the T-62 was exported to nations including Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. The T-62 saw its most extensive combat service in the October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, in which 300 T-62s spearheaded Syria's attempts to exploit its early success in the Golan Heights. However, the problems of the T-62, noticeable in training, became even more acute in combat service, and thus it has never lived up to its advertised potential. When the 1991 Persian Gulf War began, Iraq still possessed 1,000 T-62s in its inventory, with most of them deployed in the Republican Guard divisions. As most of those units avoided combat, the T-62 saw little action.

However, some did see action, for one regular Iraqi Army division, the 10th Armored, had some T-62s assigned to its 17th Armored Brigade. While this brigade saw limited action, a few Iraqi battalions with T-62s saw more extensive action, such as the battalion defending at Objective Minden, a bit of lonely desert just west of the Iraqi-Kuwaiti border. These tanks, along with a host of other armored vehicles, were attacked by American AH-64 Apache helicopters from the 4th Battalion, 229th Aviation Regiment, during the night of February 26, 1991, causing many of the crews to simply abandon their undamaged vehicles, which were later captured intact by coalition forces. Another T-62 battalion was probably attached to the Tawakalna Division when it was deployed to delay the coalition advance through the desert late on February 26. This force initially delayed the advance of elements of the U.S. VII Corps but was eventually overrun. The actual number of T-62s lost was probably only around 250, but precise numbers are unknown.

The next chance for the T-62 to see combat action was in the Iraq War (2003–). Unlike in the Persian Gulf War, many actions in the Iraq War have been small unit-level affairs, with Iraqi

Soldiers of the 1st Afghan National Army (ANA) Armored Battalion stand in formation with their T-62 main battle tanks (MBTs) during their graduation ceremony at Polycharky, Afghanistan, during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in 2003. (U.S. Department of Defense)

commanders displaying significant difficulty in massing their forces for offensive action. Early in the campaign, a platoon of American M1-A1 Abrams tanks from B Company, 1–64 Armor, probing in the darkness toward Objective Liberty southwest of Nasiriyah encountered dug-in T-62s that lit up their thermal imagine sights. In a matter of two minutes the Abrams tanks had destroyed four T-62s and several other armored vehicles.

However, few T-62s were actually encountered, as American combat reports attest. For example, on April 3, 2003, the 2nd Brigade Combat Team, 3rd Infantry Division, reported destroying 33 T-72 and 19 T-55s but only 2 T-62s. Another element of the division, this time Task Force 2–69 Armor, engaged and destroyed several T-62s at Objective Custer, located at the northwest corner of Baghdad. Otherwise, few if any other T-62s were engaged or knocked out during the 40-plus days of heavy combat in Iraq. The dearth of combat service for the T-62 is indicative of the problems encountered when using this MBT. And while some Middle Eastern nations continue to deploy upgraded T-62s, their numbers are dwindling as they are being steadily replaced by the more effective T-72 or even by the older but more reliable and now upgraded T-55s. At one point in time the T-62 had a brief opportunity for enduring glory, that being during the Syrian drive into the Golan Heights in 1973. However, since then the tank has woefully underperformed.

The specification for the T-62A are:

Armament: 1 115-mm U5-TS smoothbore main gun with rate of fire of 3–5 rounds per minute, 1 12.7-mm machine gun, 1 coaxial 7.62-mm machine gun
Ammunition main gun: 40 rounds
Armor: Turret front, 242-mm at 0 degrees; hull front, upper, 102-mm at 60 degrees
Crew: 4
Weight: 39.37 tons
Length: 21 feet, 9 inches
Width: 10 feet, 10 inches
Height: 7 feet, 10 inches
Engine: V-12 diesel, 580 horsepower
Speed: Road, 31 mph
Range: 280 miles

RUSSELL G. RODGERS

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks; T-72 Main Battle Tank

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T-72 Main Battle Tank

Soviet-designed main battle tank (MBT). Competitive designs to replace the T-55 and T-62 resulted in the development of two new tank designs by the mid-1960s. These tanks, the T-64 and T-72, caused a considerable stir in Western defense establishments. The simpler and less expensive design of the two, the T-72, became the Soviets' export tank of choice.

The T-72 took some radical departures from previous Soviet tank designs. The crew was reduced to three men, with the loader being replaced with a mechanical system. This autoloader caused considerable problems during initial testing, but those issues were soon resolved. Once developed, the autoloader delivered a rate of fire of up to 10 rounds per minute for the new 125-millimeter (mm) smoothbore main gun. Ammunition for the main gun was stowed in a revolving basket on the turret floor and included fin-stabilized sabot, high-explosive antitank (HEAT), and standard high-explosive rounds.

The T-72 was also an automotive improvement over previous Soviet tanks. And while armor protection was still somewhat conventional, the improved power plant allowed more armor to be used, with up 600-mm of armor for the hull front.

The T-72 saw its combat debut in Southern Lebanon during the Israeli offensive known as Operation PEACE FOR GALILEE, launched in June 1982. Iraq also used the T-72 to good effect during the Iran-Iraq War of the 1980s. However, it was during the 1991 Persian Gulf War and the Iraq War (2003–) that the T-72 saw some of its most extensive tank-on-tank action.

During the Persian Gulf War, Iraq had approximately 1,000 T-72s, of which about 300 were the newer T-72M with thicker armor. These were mostly grouped in the Republican Guard divisions that were placed in operational reserve in northern Kuwait. As coalition forces plunged through the Iraqi defenses, the Iraqi Army began to pull out of Kuwait, and several Republican Guard divisions were detailed to provide a screen to the west of Kuwait to delay the advancing U.S. VII Corps. The Tawakalna Mechanized Division, supplied with 280 T-72s, occupied a poorly prepared screen over a 30-mile area when it was probed by American forces on February 29, 1991.

In several successive battles, including the now-famous one at 73 Easting on February 26, most of the Tawakalna Division's T-72s were destroyed. In one particular engagement, the 1st Armored Division's 1st Battalion, 37th Armor, shot up 24 T-72s with a loss of only 4 M1-A1 tanks, damaged by friendly fire. The Tawakalna's tankers did show some ability and courage in the fight, such as keeping their engines off to reduce thermal signatures and waiting for the American tanks to move through their positions to engage them in the flank. In one instance, a T-72 was able to knock out an M1-A1 and injure two of its crew at a range of 1,000 yards with a well-placed flank shot in the turret ring. However, better training and communications, not to mention numbers (the Tawakalna was outnumbered four to one), were clearly on the side of the American forces, allowing them to better coordinate their assets in a combined-arms fight.

The second major engagement involved T-72s of the Iraqi Medina Armored Division at a place later dubbed Medina Ridge on February 27. This Iraqi division had moved into hastily prepared positions just west of the Rumaila oil fields to protect a large Iraqi logistics center there. Elements of their 2nd Brigade were preparing lunch when they were surprised by the 2nd Brigade of the U.S. 1st Armored Division. Visibility was limited to 1,500 yards, but the M1-A1s' thermal sights allowed the Americans to spot the surprised Iraqis beyond this range. Crews from Lieutenant Colonel Steve Whitcomb's 2nd Battalion, 70th Armor, and Lieutenant Colonel William Feyk's 4th Battalion, 70th Armor, began to shoot up T-72s as if they were on a gunnery range, even as the Iraqis attempted to return fire by shooting at the M1-A1s' muzzle blasts. Some T-72s were destroyed as far off as 4,200 yards. In just over one hour, the Iraqi armored brigade had been destroyed, with more than 50 hulks of burning T-72s littering the desert. In many instances, the turrets had been blown off by the detonation of the ammunition on the turret floor caused by the incendiary splash of the American depleted uranium sabot rounds, dubbed "silver bullets" by the tankers. The total number of T-72s lost during Operation DESERT STORM was probably no more than 150, but the exact number is unknown.

The next serious engagement for the T-72 occurred in the Iraq War, but this time most were used in small groups rather than in larger formations, as in the Persian Gulf War. One tank-on-tank action occurred on April 3–4, 2003, when elements of the 3rd Infantry Division's 2nd Brigade Combat Team (BCT) were hit by a counterattack of the Medina Armored Division's 10th Armored Brigade just south of Baghdad at what Americans called Objective Saints. The Iraqis led with a company of T-72s, followed by mounted infantry. When three of the tanks were destroyed, killing the Iraqi brigade commander, the remainder of the brigade withdrew only to attempt a flanking maneuver, whereby American Abrams and Bradleys bagged another 15 T-72s and a number of

infantry carriers. The next day the 2nd BCT destroyed an additional 17 T-72s.

On April 3, 2003, troopers of the 3rd Squadron, 7th Cavalry, prepared to cover the flank of the 1st BCT near Objective Montgomery. What occurred later that day was probably the only large-scale T-72 counterattack mounted by the Iraqis during the war. A battalion-sized element from the Hammurabi Division was spotted by aerial reconnaissance, and the troopers moved out with their tanks to engage them. The Iraqi tankers had positioned themselves behind a berm to spring an ambush but were spotted there and were quickly engaged. In rapid succession the American tankers shot up the Iraqi T-72s, and in 15 minutes 20 hulks were burning at the top of the berm. No precise number of T-72s lost has been released, but the number destroyed during the drive to Baghdad was probably about 200.

Despite its performance in the Persian Gulf War and the Iraq War, the T-72 is overall a very good tank, but it has faired poorly when matched against combat forces with better-trained crews, more sophisticated communications, and massive logistical support.

Specifications of the T-72 M/S Shilden Export are:

Armament: 1 125-mm 2A46 main gun with automatic loader, rate of fire of 8 rounds per minute; 1 12.7-mm NSVT machine gun; 1 7.62-mm coaxial machine gun
Ammunition main gun: 45 rounds
Armor: Turret Front, 280-mm at 0 degrees; hull front, upper, 600-mm equivalent
Crew: 3
Weight: 43.8 tons
Length: 22 feet, 10 inches
Width: 11 feet, 9 inches with skirts
Height: 7 feet, 2 inches
Engine: V-12 multifuel, 840 horsepower at 2,000 rounds per minute
Speed: Road, 37 mph
Range: 285 miles; 342 miles with long-range fuel tanks

RUSSELL G. RODGERS

See also

Antitank Weapons; Baghdad, Battle for; Bradley Fighting Vehicle; DESERT STORM, Operation; Iran-Iraq War; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Medina Ridge, Battle of; M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks; 73 Easting, Battle of; T-62 Main Battle Tank

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Tactical Air-Launched Decoys

Air-launched preprogrammed glide decoy utilized in offensive military air campaigns to weaken enemy air defenses through creating false targets for surface-based and airborne defenses. Tactical air-launched decoys (TALDs) work by confusing and saturating enemy air defenses. In the 1970s the Brunswick Corporation first developed a line of glider-style radar vehicle decoys. Israel Military Industries (IMI) then pursued the design and in 1982 developed the Samson, the predecessor of the TALD. The IMI and the U.S. Air Force had originally worked jointly on the development of the tactical air device, but lack of funding forced the U.S. Air Force to end its involvement in the project. Four years later the IMI revealed the ADM-141 TALD, a preprogrammed vehicle that can imitate aircraft and lure enemy antiaircraft fire.

A demonstration of the IMI's decoy capabilities inspired the U.S. Navy to initially order 100 of these. The Samson gliders purchased by the U.S. Navy were carefully tested and evaluated, yielding positive results. Both Samsons and TALDs are vehicles that seek to overwhelm and inundate enemy radar. The decoys have the capacity to confuse and neutralize enemy air defenses, which in turn allows the opportunity for offensive strike aircraft to complete their missions. The navy's assessment was so encouraging that just two years later a second order was placed with IMI for an additional 1,000 Samsons and 1,500 new TALDs. In 1987 the TALD officially entered U.S. Navy service.

There are two variations of TALD vehicles. The ADM-141A (RF TALD) is equipped with emitters that emulate fighter radars and electronic countermeasures (ECM). The ADM-141B (Chaff TALD) carries 80 pounds of chaff—strips of metal foil or filings released into the atmosphere to inhibit radar detection and/or misguide radar-tracking missiles—released in increments of 40. At least 20 decoys at a time, with wings folded back, can be loaded on multiple ejector racks and carried like bombs on the McDonnell Douglas (now Boeing) F/A-18 Hornet, Grumman A-6E Intruder, Ling-Temco-Vought A-7 Corsair IIs, and Lockheed S-3 Viking.

TALDs can be launched from up to 40,000 feet or as low as 2,000 feet. From the higher altitude the decoy can travel at speeds of up to Mach .09. When launched at a lower altitude, TALDs travel at a slower speed. The glide range will also vary according to the launch altitude. Higher launches will allow the decoy to travel approximately 40 miles, while lower launches allow TALDs to

A U.S. Navy Grumman F-14 Tomcat is shown conducting a separation test of the tactical air-launched decoy (TALD), 1994. (U.S. Department of Defense)

glide about 2,000 feet. No matter the launch height, the vehicle can be preprogrammed to maneuver turns similar to fighter aircraft.

The TALD is a single-use nonpowered glide vehicle. It is superior to its predecessor, Samson, in that it is constructed with a square cross-section, allowing for an improved chaff-carrying capacity. In addition, the TALD is equipped with a more powerful active emitter and a more effective chaff distributor. Its digital flight control system is also more effective, as it can be preprogrammed with changeable speed profiles and multiple maneuver options. Each variation of TALD is equipped with different payloads to accommodate various missions.

Although still fairly new to the U.S. Navy's arsenal at the outbreak of Operation DESERT STORM in 1991, the TALD was integrated into the service's tactics during the first days of the war to support more than 2,400 coalition fixed-wing aircraft.

The war in Iraq began on January 17, 1991, when U.S. Army AH-64 Apache helicopters fired Hellfire missiles against Iraqi radar sites responsible for providing early warnings to the Iraqi air and missile defenses. This was followed by strikes by U.S. Air Force McDonnell Douglas F-15 Eagle aircraft against Iraqi Scud surface-to-surface missile positions, while allied bombers simultaneously targeted Baghdad. Other coalition objectives in the initial stages of the war included interceptor operations centers located throughout Iraq. The most urgent mission for allied invaders in the predawn hours of January 17 was to counteract Iraq's surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). Attempts to overpower the Iraqi air defense systems made up a large portion of the overall air campaign throughout DESERT STORM. Some of the most effective air equipment working to derail the lethal SAMs were the TALDs.

In the initial attacks against Iraqi forces, U.S. Navy and U.S. Marine Corps aircraft launched a series of TALDs. Within moments of their release, the Iraqis turned on their radars to track what they believed were U.S. strike aircraft. This action revealed their locations, making them vulnerable to attack. TALDs played a significant role in weakening Iraqi air defenses: the TALDs attracted heavy enemy fire, and the glider decoys released over the skies of Baghdad drew SAMs. The Iraqis believed that they were launching the SAMs against U.S. bombers but were in effect

wasting and exhausting the costly weapons on disposable decoys. In the first night of attacks, Iraqi forces firing SAMs not only squandered most of their important tactical defenses but also subsequently revealed their locations to coalition forces.

More than 100 TALDs were dropped over the Iraqi skies on the first day of the DESERT STORM campaign. The coalition combination of decoys and manned aircraft proved highly successful, as there were no coalition losses to SAMs. Air superiority was achieved by the end of the first day of operations. Subsequent phases in the air campaign, flown primarily by allied bombers and fighters, prepared the way for the advance by coalition ground forces. Within only 10 days, the Iraqi Air Force was declared neutralized.

Shortly after the conclusion of the war, the Brunswick Corporation began work on developing the improved tactical air-launched decoy (ITALD). The ADM-141C ITALD is able to travel without any external propulsion. A Teledyne CAE 312 turbojet powers the vehicle. Because it is self-propelled, the ITALD is able to fly a more accurate and realistic flight pattern. When launched at just 20,000 feet, the ITALD has more than twice the range of the ADM-141A or ADM 141-B. When launched at lower altitudes, the ITALD has the capability to ascend nearly 10,000 feet from its launch altitude. The ITALD was employed briefly at the beginning of the 2003 Iraq War (IRAQI FREEDOM) with the same results as in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, although by then Iraqi air defenses were not nearly as stout as they had been in 1991.

TARA K. SIMPSON

See also

Air Defenses in Iraq, Iraq War; Air Defenses in Iraq, Persian Gulf War; Aircraft, Electronic Warfare; Aircraft, Suppression of Enemy Air Defense; Antiaircraft Missiles, Iraqi; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; Missiles, Surface-to-Air

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Taguba, Antonio Mario

Birth Date: October 31, 1950

U.S. Army officer who was the author of a highly critical 2004 internal army report regarding detainee abuse at the Abu Ghraib Prison in Iraq. Antonio Mario Taguba was born on October 31, 1950, in the Sampaloc district of Manila in the Philippines. His father was a soldier in the Philippine Scouts and a survivor of the Bataan Death March. At age 11 Taguba immigrated with his family to the United States. After graduating from Idaho State University in 1972 and accepting an army commission through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC), he successfully completed training at the Armor Officer Basic and Advanced Course, the Army Command and General Staff College, and the Army War College. He later earned master's degrees in international relations, public administration, and strategic studies.

Taguba held a series of command assignments in Germany and Korea until as a colonel in 1995 he assumed command of the 2nd "St. Lo" Brigade of the 2nd Armored Division at Fort Hood, Texas. When the division was reflagged, the brigade became known as the 2nd "Warhorse" Brigade, 4th Infantry Division (Mechanized). Taguba was promoted to brigadier general in 1997, becoming only the second Filipino American to achieve the rank of general. He was subsequently appointed chief of staff of the U.S. Army Reserve Command at Fort McPherson, Georgia, and became deputy commanding general (south) of the First U.S. Army at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, in October 1998.

In early 2000 Taguba was appointed assistant division commander-forward, 24th Infantry Division (Mechanized), and later that year he became head of the U.S. Army Community and Family Support Center in Alexandria, Virginia, a social services operation for army families stationed around the world. The following year he was assigned as matériel systems analyst in the Office of the Army Chief of Staff at the Pentagon.

Taguba was promoted to major general in 2003 and was assigned as deputy commanding general of Third Army and of the Coalition Forces Land Component Command in Kuwait. Here he was regarded as a forthright, highly principled, and dedicated officer who gained the respect of his peers, superiors, and subordinates alike.

When photographs of prisoner abuse at Iraq's Abu Ghraib Prison became public in 2004, Taguba was asked to lead an investigation of the facility and the incidents but to limit its scope to the military police stationed at the prison. He quickly found evidence of involvement by intelligence agencies: the 205th Military Intelligence Brigade, commanded by Colonel Thomas Pappas, and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Taguba also came upon evidence that some of the generals at U.S. military headquarters in Baghdad, including Lieutenant General Ricardo Sanchez, who commanded U.S. Army forces in Iraq, had been aware of the abuses and did nothing to stop them. Taguba later stated that the military police "were being literally exploited by the military interrogators. . . . [T]hose kids were poorly led, not trained, and had not been given any standard operating procedures on how they should guard the detainees." He made his report to the Defense Department in May 2004, and that same month he testified to Congress about his findings.

Although Taguba's conclusions were strongly supported by enlisted soldiers and much of the American public, some high-ranking officials in the army and the George W. Bush administration took exception to General Taguba's highly critical conclusions.

Rather than leading to more detailed investigations of other cases of detainee abuse or involvement by other higher-ups, attention now turned on Taguba himself, with General John Abizaid, head of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), reportedly threatening Taguba by saying that Taguba himself would be investigated.

Taguba had been scheduled to rotate to Third Army headquarters at Fort McPherson, Georgia, in June 2004 but was instead ordered back to the Pentagon in a lateral assignment for a job in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs.

In January 2006 U.S. Army vice chief of staff General Richard Cody requested that Taguba retire within a year, this in apparent retaliation for his role in the investigation, which had in the meantime been leaked to the press. Taguba left the service on January 1, 2007. Since then, he has continued to press the case of purposeful malfeasance at Abu Ghraib.

In the preface to a 2008 report by Physicians for Human Rights, Taguba declared that "there is no longer any doubt as to whether the current administration has committed war crimes. The only question that remains to be answered is whether those who ordered the use of torture will be held to account." A bipartisan U.S. Senate report released in December 2008 confirmed that top administration officials, including Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, were indeed responsible for the abuse of prisoners held under U.S. control in Iraq and elsewhere.

Stephen Zunes

See also

Abizaid, John Philip; Abu Ghraib; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Sanchez, Ricardo S.

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Tai, Hashim Ahmad al-Jabburi al-
Birth Date: 1944

Iraqi general and minister of defense (1995–2003). Born in Mosul in northern Iraq in 1944, Sultan Hashim Ahmad al-Jabburi al-Tai entered the Iraqi Army. He graduated from the National Security Institute in Baghdad in 1975 and saw service in the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War. A close relative of Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein, Tai survived several purges conducted by the Iraqi dictator and commanded in succession two different brigades, three divisions, and two corps of the Iraqi Army. In 1988 he played a major role in the punitive al-Anfal Campaign against the Kurds of northern Iraq.

During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Tai was a lieutenant general and deputy chief of staff. He and Lieutenant General Salah Abbud Mahmud signed the cease-fire agreement that ended the war in February 1991.

Considered one of the more competent generals in the Iraqi Army, Tai was appointed minister of defense by Hussein in 1995. In the period leading up to the Iraq War, Hussein reportedly placed Tai under house arrest in order to prevent a possible coup d'état. U.S. authorities ranked him 27th on the list of most wanted former Iraqi officials.

After protracted negotiations, Tai surrendered to Major General David Petraeus on September 19, 2003, some six months after the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq. Reportedly, Tai was promised that his name would be removed from the list of 55 most-wanted Iraqi officials, thus protecting him from possible persecution. At the time, this concession was seen as an effort to defuse the Iraqi insurgency, many members of which were former Iraqi soldiers.

On June 24, 2007, however, Tai was sentenced to death by hanging for crimes against humanity. Although his execution was to be carried out on September 11, 2007, U.S. officials refused to surrender him to the Iraqi government.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Kurds; Kurds, Massacres of; Persian Gulf War, Cease-Fire Agreement; Petraeus, David Howell

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Taif Accords

Agreement made among Lebanese leaders at Taif, Saudi Arabia, that was to bring an end to the 25-year-long Lebanese Civil War, stabilize the Lebanese political scene, and force Israeli troops out of southern Lebanon. The Taif Accords (also known as the Taif Agreements, the National Reconciliation Accord, and the Document of National Accord) were signed on October 22, 1989, at Taif and ratified on November 4, 1989. The agreement was based in part on the 1985 Damascus Agreement, which was never implemented.

The Taif Accords were designed to decrease *ta'ifiyya* (sectarianism). The accords set forth the basis of the country itself and the role and duties of key officials. The document defines itself as a "coexistence charter." Section A defines Lebanese identiy as belonging to all and opposes identification on any other basis. Sectarianism is addressed in Section G, which calls for the abolition of

the practice of hiring and appointing individuals according to their religion and for an end to mention of their sect on the national identity card. The accords spell out the duties of the president, the prime minister, the Chamber of Deputies (the legislature), the ministers, the cabinet, and the courts. The agreement also decentralized the country administratively.

The Taif Accords could not be implemented right away, as fighting in Lebanon continued. The accords were also considered controversial due to the circumstances at the time they were formulated, when Lebanon was divided between two presidents, one defying Syrian influence and the other being the ally of the Syrians. Critics also claimed that the accords essentially legitimized the presence of Syrian troops in Lebanon (they would not be withdrawn until 2005) and thereby gave Damascus a considerable say in Lebanese affairs.

Not all Lebanese leaders accepted the Taif Accords, and President Michel Aoun, a Maronite Christian, rejected the agreement out of hand. He in fact called for the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies when the agreement was being negotiated, which detractors of the accords say made it an illegal document. While Syria understandably supported the agreement, Druze leaders also criticized it, declaring it too generous to Sunni Muslims in Lebanon. In the long run the accords were never entirely implemented, and the forced withdrawal of Syrian troops in 2005 rendered it partly moot.

In the political realm, the accords addressed the imbalance of representation in the Lebanese parliament by granting equal representation (50/50) to both Christians and Muslims. This overrode the old formula, which had given Christians a much larger representative proportion than their numbers should have yielded, by a 6 to 5 ratio. In this it reflected the new demographic realities of the country. The legislature was expanded from 108 to 128 seats, and the exact proportion of representatives was specified. The cabinet also was similarly divided equally between Muslims and Christians. The agreement also required the president (who must be a Christian) to designate the prime minister in consultation with the Chamber of Deputies.

To ensure that the civil war would be brought to a close, the accords also called for the disbanding of all national and non-national militias and the return of Lebanese evacuees to their point of origin. Most militias were indeed disarmed, although Hezbollah continued to operate within Lebanon, legally from a Lebanese perspective because of the continued occupation of southern Lebanon by Israel and its proxy Lebanese force. Finally, the agreement required a two-thirds vote among the Council of Ministers to alter the new governmental setup and provides for the protection of minority rights within Lebanon.

The Taif Accords also called for a redeployment of Syrian troops within Lebanon upon consultation with the Beirut government, although the Syrians effectively dictated such policies until they were finally forced out in 2005. Between 1990 and 2005 Damascus had an advisory role, or even the last word in certain disputes with the Lebanese government, and forced upon it a number of disadvantageous agreements. Implicit in the accords was the expectation that Syrian troops would gradually be withdrawn from Lebanon. The United States was a key player in a campaign to pressure the Syrians to withdraw from Lebanon. When this failed to occur within a reasonable time period, the international community condemned the continuing Syrian occupation. In May 2004 the George W. Bush administration invoked sanctions against Syria, in part because its policies were not in keeping "with the spirit of the 1989 Ta'if Accords." Syrian troops finally departed in April 2005 after the assassination of former Lebanese prime minister Rafic al-Hariri provoked mass demonstrations in Lebanon. Many Lebanese linked Hariri's murder to a conspiracy either launched by the Syrian government or at least carried out with its knowledge, although Damascus continues to claim that it had no connection to the murder.

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See also

Damascus Agreement; Fatah; Hezbollah; Lebanon; Lebanon, Armed Forces; Lebanon, Civil War in; Syria

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Taji Bunkers, Attack on

Start Date: January 17, 1991
End Date: February 27, 1991

Coalition air assault during the Persian Gulf War on Iraq's Taji bunkers that occurred between January 17, 1991, and February 27, 1991. The Taji bunkers were two specially fortified installations at the Taji airfield, located 15 miles northwest of Baghdad. They were used to shield Iraqi government communication and control facilities. Coalition air attacks on the bunkers early in the war failed to do much damage with conventional bunker-busting bombs, however. As a result, the U.S. Air Force developed a new bomb capable of penetrating the ground and reinforced concrete and destroying the bunkers, which occurred at the end of the ground offensive. The development of the weapon was one of the fastest in modern military history.

Before the Persian Gulf War began, the Iraqi government had begun to fortify sensitive facilities throughout the country. They were sheltered by steel-reinforced concrete and/or were dug deep into the earth. Special bunkers were prepared underground for Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein and his chief subordinates to protect them and to allow them to direct operations in the event of attack. Two of the most fortified Iraqi bunkers were Taji One and Taji Two. They were located 30 to 50 feet underground, with a

2-foot-thick slab of reinforced concrete. The bunkers covered approximately the same area as a U.S. football field and featured a series of hardened concrete cylindrical corridors eight feet in diameter. According to intelligence reports, a central corridor tube connected to living quarters, communications facilities, armories, and other areas necessary for living underground and controlling Iraq's armed forces. Reports indicated that the bunkers could house 1,200 Republican Guards for up to a month.

On the first night of the war, January 17, 1991, the Taji bunkers were attacked by Lockheed F-117 Nighthawk stealth aircraft with standard bunker-busting bombs. These were 2,000-pound GBU-27 precision laser-guided bombs, with a BLU-109 hardened steel warhead to break through earth and reinforced concrete. Although direct hits were made on the bunkers, the bombs were unable to penetrate them.

Air force planners had anticipated this development, however. At the end of October 1990, Lieutenant General Thomas Ferguson, commander of the Systems Command Aeronautical Systems Division, directed his team to develop alternatives that would be able to destroy reinforced bunkers deep underground. Eleven alternatives were developed, including the use of an unmanned Boeing 727 or 737 flying bomb. None were available before the air campaign began, however.

As the air campaign progressed, the engineers at the Air Force Development Test Center offered another alternative. They suggested a heavy bomb dropped from a Boeing B-52 Stratofortress from a high altitude, which would have sufficient kinetic energy to penetrate Iraqi defenses. To develop the weapon quickly, engineers would have to use many components that were already available. The idea was approved on February 1, 1991.

The first problem was finding a tube for the bomb's body that would be able to withstand the enormous forces of impact. A Lockheed engineer remembered that a number of 8-inch howitzer gun barrels had been stored by the U.S. Army when they were no longer needed. They would be capable of providing the tube for the bomb, and several of them were available at the Watervliet, New York, arsenal. Workers there immediately began to modify the barrels into bomb canisters. Engineers decided that the proposed original 6,500-pound bomb should be reduced to about 5,000 pounds so that it could be carried by General Dynamics F-111 Aardvark bombers or McDonnell Douglas/Boeing F-15 Eagle fighters. By February 11, work had begun on the first barrel. The barrels were cut down, the chrome inside the bore was removed, and machinists bored out the interior to a 10-inch diameter. One end of the tube was modified to allow the insertion of a BLU-109 warhead. On February 16 the first two modified barrels were delivered to Eglin Air Force Base in Florida to be converted into bombs.

Wind-tunnel testing on scale models had already indicated the bombs' aerodynamic characteristics, and tests that would have taken two years were either finished in a week or skipped entirely. The modified barrels were then fitted with laser-guidance packages at Eglin. One bomb was loaded with concrete, while the other was filled with 630 pounds of molten Tritonal explosive. The completed bombs weighed 4,700 pounds and were 13 feet long, with 2.25-inch-thick walls. After being carried on an F-111E to test how the bomb would handle in the air, both test bombs were flown to Tonopah Test Range in Nevada. On February 24, the first day of the ground war, the first bomb, loaded with concrete, was dropped to test the guidance system. It penetrated more than 100 feet into the ground. On February 26 the other bomb was loaded onto a rocket sled to test its penetrating power. That bomb penetrated 22 feet of steel-reinforced concrete and then traveled one-half mile beyond.

Two other bomb casings were delivered to Eglin on February 23. Engineers immediately loaded them with Tritonal and loaded them onto a Lockheed C-141 Starlifter for delivery to Iraq on February 27. The bombs were still warm from the explosives when they arrived. Within five hours of landing, the bombs had been loaded onto F-111s for delivery against the Taji bunkers. Because a cease-fire was imminent, Washington had ordered that no bombing occur after 5:00 a.m. in Iraq. But air force leaders were anxious to test the GBU-28 in combat while there was still time. They also wanted to send a message to Hussein that no refuge was safe from attack.

Original plans had called for four F-111s to deliver the two bombs against the Taji bunkers, but the force was reduced to two by February 27. The two bombers proceeded without escort to Taji in the predawn darkness. To develop sufficient kinetic energy for the GBU-28 to penetrate the bunkers, the F-111s had to turn on their afterburners. When they did this, the F-111 pilots knew the glow from the afterburners would light them up to any Iraqi air defenses in the area. They thus hoped to deliver their bombs and escape before being shot down. Each plane would use its own laser to guide its bomb onto the target. The other plane would follow and light the target with its laser if necessary.

When the F-111s arrived over Taji, the mass of structures made it difficult to find the bunkers. The first bomber was to attack Taji Two but failed to identify the correct target. Its GBU-28 fell into an open field. The aircraft then switched places and came around over Taji again to find the bunker. Captain Tom Himes was unable to find it on his radar on the first pass, and the two aircraft had to circle around again, in full view of the Iraqi defenses. Finally, Himes found Taji Two and dropped the bomb. The smoke from the explosion took nearly a minute to come to the surface because the GBU-28 had gone so deep. The two F-111s then escaped back to Saudi Arabia without damage.

According to intelligence reports, the attack on Taji Two was a complete success. The bunker was destroyed and most of those in it were killed. Some American planners had hoped that Hussein himself would have been inside, but such was not the case. The Iraqi leadership, however, understood that even the most fortified bunker was no guarantee of protection from attack.

The process of bringing the GBU-28 from planning stage to delivery in less than six weeks was unprecedented. Other GBU-28s followed, but they were not used in combat. They have been

replaced in the U.S. Air Force inventory by other penetrating bombs, especially thermobaric bombs.

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See also

Bombs, Precision-Guided; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; Thermobaric Bomb; United States Air Force, Persian Gulf War

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Takur Ghar, Battle of

Start Date: March 3, 2002
End Date: March 4, 2002

Military engagement fought between coalition forces and Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters that occurred on Takur Ghar Mountain in Afghanistan during March 3–4, 2002. The battle was part of the much broader Operation ANACONDA, an effort early in the Afghanistan War to drive Al Qaeda and Taliban forces from the Shah-i-Kot Valley and the Arma Mountains. Takur Ghar is a high mountain (approximately 10,500 feet) located in the Arma Mountains of southeastern Afghanistan. The peak is on the eastern border of the Shah-i-Kot Valley.

It was near the summit of Takur Ghar that fierce fighting between U.S. Special Operations Forces and Al Qaeda and Taliban soldiers took place. For the Americans, the battle proved the deadliest engagement of Operation ANACONDA. It saw three helicopter landings by U.S. forces on the mountaintop, each greeted by hostile fire.

Late on the evening of March 3, Lieutenant Colonel Peter Blaber of the U.S. Army's Delta Force was notified by Brigadier General Gregory Trebon, commander of TF-11, that two SEAL teams commanded by Lieutenant Commander Vic Hyder were to arrive in Gardez for immediate insertion into the Shah-i-Kot Valley. The two teams, known as Mako 30 and Mako 21, were to establish an observation point on or near the peak of Takur Ghar, which afforded a commanding view of the valley. Because of time constraints, however, the SEALS would have to be inserted by helicopter in order to reach the peak before daybreak. While the original insertion plan had suggested an insertion at a point some 1,400 yards east of the peak, the SEALs eventually decided upon an insertion on the peak itself.

The two teams boarded Razor 03 and Razor 04, two Boeing MH-47 Chinook helicopters, at 11:23 p.m. on March 3. However, Razor 03 experienced engine problems, and so two new MH-47s were dispatched to replace the original aircraft. The delay meant that the SEALs could not be inserted into the landing zone (LZ) east of the peak until 2:30 a.m. on March 4, which would not permit adequate time to reach the peak before dawn. Blaber was not notified that the SEALs were now planning to insert at the peak that night.

Meanwhile, a Lockheed/Boeing AC-130 Specter gunship reconnoitered the peak and saw no enemy activity prior to the landing. However, that plane was called away to support other troops before Razor 03 and Razor 04 could arrive at the LZ. At about 2:45 a.m. Razor 03 landed at the LZ and was struck by a rocket-propelled grenade (RPG). The damaged helicopter was able to lift off, but Petty Officer First Class Neil C. Roberts fell out of the open ramp. It is believed that he died from the fall, although his ultimate fate remains in question. Some reports suggested that he was taken alive by insurgents and later killed. Razor 03 subsequently attempted to return and retrieve him, but the damaged helicopter was forced to make a crash landing in the valley below, some four miles away. Razor 04 now returned to the peak to attempt to rescue Roberts, in the process inserting Mako 30. The team immediately came under small-arms fire, and U.S. Air Force combat controller Technical Sergeant John A. Chapman was killed; two SEALs were wounded. Mako 30 was forced off the peak and requested the assistance of the Ranger quick-reaction force (QRF) located at Bagram Air Base and led by Captain Nate Self.

The QRF consisted of 19 Rangers, a Tactical Air Control Party, and a 3-man U.S. Air Force special tactics team carried by two Chinooks, Razor 01 and Razor 02. Due to satellite communications difficulties, Razor 01 was mistakenly directed to the hot LZ on the peak of Takur Ghar. Because U.S. Air Force rules prohibited AC-130 aircraft from remaining in hostile airspace in daylight, the AC-130 support protecting Mako 30 had been compelled to leave before Razor 01 had reached the LZ. Further communications problems meant that the pilot of the AC-130 was unaware that Razor 01 was incoming. At approximately 6:10 a.m. on March 4, Razor 01 reached the LZ. The aircraft came under fire, and the right door minigunner, Sergeant Phillip Svitak, was killed by small-arms fire. An RPG then hit the helicopter, destroying the right engine and forcing it down. As the Rangers and special tactics team exited the aircraft, Private First Class Matt Commons (posthumously promoted to corporal), Sergeant Brad Crose, and Specialist Marc Anderson were killed.

The surviving crew and quick-reaction force took cover in a nearby hillock, and a fierce firefight began. Razor 02, which had been diverted to Gardez as Razor 01 was landing on Takur Ghar, returned with the rest of the quick-reaction force and Lieutenant Commander Hyder at 6:25 a.m. With the newly arrived men and close air support, the force was able to consolidate its position on the peak. An enemy counterattack around noon mortally wounded Senior Airman Jason D. Cunningham, a para-rescueman. The wounded were refused medevac during the daylight hours because it was unsafe to operate evacuation helicopters.

Fortunately, Australian Special Air Service soldiers had infiltrated the area undetected prior to the first helicopter crash. They

remained undetected in an observation post through the firefight and proved critical in helping to coordinate coalition air strikes to prevent the Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters from overrunning the downed aircraft.

At approximately 8:00 p.m. the QRF and Mako 30 were taken from the Takur Ghar peak. U.S. and Afghan sources reported at least 200 Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters killed during the initial assault and subsequent rescue mission. Although coalition forces eventually captured Takur Ghar, 8 U.S. soldiers were killed and several dozen were wounded.

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See also

anaconda, Operation; enduring freedom, Operation; enduring freedom, Operation, Initial Ground Campaign

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Taliban

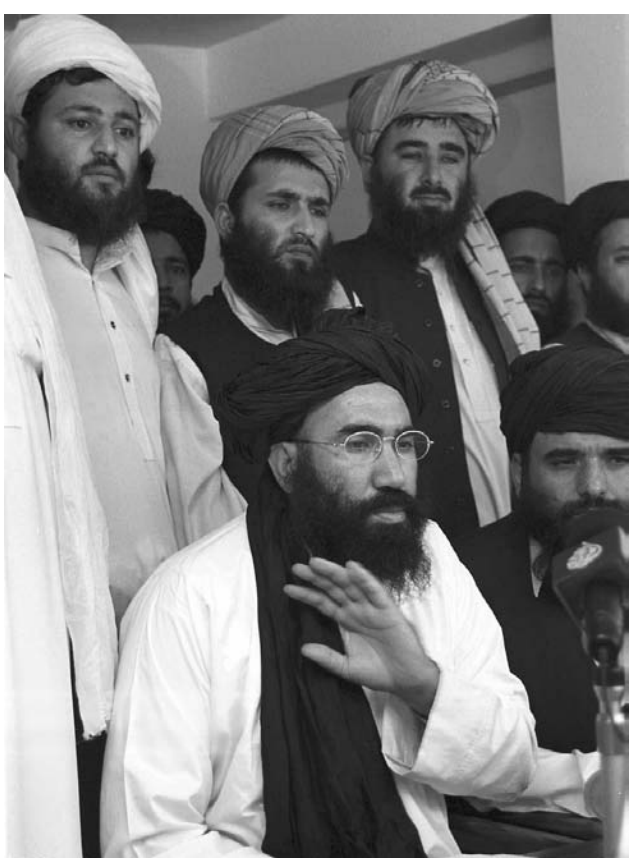
Political and religious movement begun in Afghanistan in the 1990s. The word "Taliban" means "students" and is an Arabic word used in many Muslim countries. In the mid-1990s, however, Afghan students studying in Pakistani madrasahs adopted the name for a political-religious movement that eventually established an Islamic government in much of Afghanistan.

When Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan in 1979, many young Afghan boys and other noncombatants fled the country and were lodged in refugee camps in Iran and Pakistan. During the 10-year Soviet occupation, more than 2 million refugees, mainly Pashtuns, found refuge in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province, especially the tribal areas. The province was also home to hundreds of madrasahs run by the Deobandi sect as well as to Wahhabi-influenced schools established by wealthy Saudi donors. Tens of thousands of Afghan and Pakistani boys thus received an Islamic education in these madrasahs.

Soviet forces departed Afghanistan in 1989, and Afghan communist forces met defeat in 1992, but civil war between rival mujahideen leaders erupted soon afterward. Much of the fighting pitted Pashtuns against ethnic Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Hazaras of northern and central Afghanistan. Pakistan, which hoped to establish lucrative trade routes with Central Asia, sought a strong Pashtun-dominated government to provide stability.

By the mid-1990s many refugee children were old enough to fight, and their strict Islamic education made them ideal recruits for the Taliban. The Taliban emerged in 1994 when Mullah Mohammed Omar led a small group of fighters in liberating several villages from local warlords. In late 1994 Pakistan enlisted the Taliban's support. Omar and approximately 200 fighters overran Spin Boldak and Kandahar and in the process captured many weapons, including tanks, artillery, and aircraft. Their success prompted thousands of Afghan and Pakistani students to join them. By early 1995 the Taliban controlled much of the Pashtun regions of the country.

Thereafter, the Taliban confronted better-organized non-Pashtun forces in northern Afghanistan. Both sides committed numerous atrocities, mainly against rival ethnic groups. Despite several defeats, the Taliban captured Herat in 1995, Kabul in 1996, Mazar-e Sharif in 1998, and Taloqan in 1999. By 2000 fighting had largely stalemated, with the non-Pashtun Northern Alliance bottled up in northeastern Afghanistan and portions of central Afghanistan, although it still controlled Afghanistan's United Nations (UN) seat. Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates were the only countries to recognize the Taliban government. Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and various Arab Gulf states also provided weapons to the Taliban, while India, Iran, Russia, and the Central Asian states supported the Northern Alliance.



Taliban ambassador to Pakistan Abdul Salem Zaeef (foreground, center) gestures during a news conference in Islamabad, Pakistan, on September 21, 2001. The Taliban rulers of Afghanistan refused to hand over terrorist leader Osama bin Laden and warned that U.S. attempts to apprehend him by force could plunge the whole region into crisis. The United States went to war with the Taliban in October for its role in harboring the terrorists believed responsible for the September 11 terrorist attacks. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Ironically, the United States initially leaned toward supporting the Taliban, but that changed after the Taliban offered sanctuary to the terrorist group Al Qaeda.

Widespread human rights violations by the Taliban provoked international condemnation, but the Taliban consistently ignored outside criticism. Its version of government was perhaps the harshest ever seen in the Muslim world. Women were virtually imprisoned in their homes, medieval-like Islamic punishment became routine for criminal offenses, and international aid organizations were expelled, with no attempt to provide for millions of destitute Afghans. The Taliban even went so far as to destroy priceless historical and cultural treasures such as the Buddhas of Bamyan, which they claimed were blasphemous to Islam.

The Taliban's downfall came following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the United States, when the Americans and other allies launched major military operations in support of the Northern Alliance in October 2001. The United States sought to topple the Taliban because it had failed to turn over Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden after the attacks and because it continued to give refuge to terrorists. Disenchanted Pashtuns rose up as well and established the Southern Alliance. Within weeks, most of the Taliban and foreign jihadists had fled to the tribal areas, where they found sanctuary.

The regions of southern Afghanistan and western Pakistan have historically resisted British, Afghan, and Pakistani control. Fearing internal consequences, the Pakistani government did not conduct sustained counterinsurgency operations there after the September 11 attacks. Consequently, the Taliban used the area to rebuild its forces. Although weakened, the Taliban remains a potent threat in the Pashtun regions of Afghanistan, and Pakistan and coalition forces continue to do battle with its fighters in Afghanistan. Since 2007 the number of Taliban-inspired attacks in Afghanistan has risen steadily, so much so that the United States and other coalition nations have had to expend more troops and resources to counter the Taliban resurgence. In the spring of 2009, however, with Pakistani national security threatened by Taliban advances and under heavy pressure from the United States, the Pakistani military commenced major offensive operations against Taliban-controlled areas of northwestern Pakistan.

Chuck Fahrer

See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; enduring freedom, Operation; Madrasahs; Omar, Mohammed; Pakistan; September 11 Attacks; Soviet-Afghanistan War; Taliban, Destruction of Bamiyan and Pre-Islamic Artifacts

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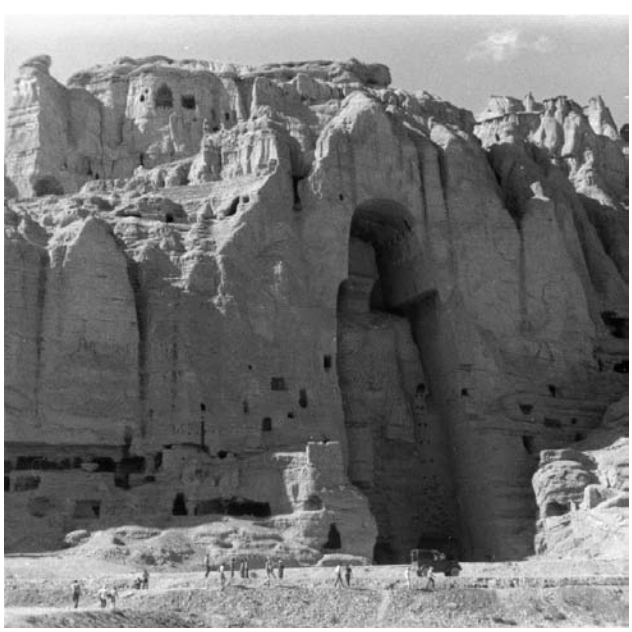
Taliban, Destruction of Bamiyan and Pre-Islamic Artifacts

The Taliban's decision to sanction the destruction of Afghanistan's cultural heritage, including the world's tallest-standing Buddhas—the Buddhas of Bamiyan—shocked and outraged many Afghans and international observers alike. The Taliban regime, which traced it origins to the early 1990s, was a right-wing Sunni Islamic fundamentalist movement that effectively ruled Afghanistan from late 1995 until late 2001. Following a campaign to crack down on un-Islamic segments of Afghan society by conservative Islamic clerics, the Supreme Court of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan issued a fatwa on March 1, 2001. This fatwa sanctioned the destruction of all pre-Islamic statues and idols in Afghanistan. Almost immediately, members of the Department for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice set about destroying much of the cultural treasures of Afghanistan's long and storied history.

Situated at the crossroads of ancient civilizations, Afghanistan experienced successive waves of migrating peoples, each leaving its religious and cultural imprint on the Afghan landscape. As trade along the Silk Road spread, Buddhist culture spread throughout Afghanistan and came to dominate political and religious life there until the 9th century. In consequence, Buddhist architecture and iconography dotted the landscape of Afghanistan. As Islam gradually displaced Buddhism in Afghanistan, Buddhist statues and paintings were ignored because Muslims are enjoined not to recognize idols or encourage idol worship. Afghanistan's cultural history remained undiscovered until the early 20th century, when archaeologists uncovered and brought to light some of the ancient cities along the Silk Road.



Bamiyan Province's giant stone Buddha. Despite international efforts to save it, the statue was destroyed on the orders of Afghanistan's Taliban government in March 2001. (UNESCO/F. Riviere)

Following its rise to power in September 1995, the Taliban sought to create a state based on its religious interpretation of Islamic governance. In accordance with its interpretation of Sharia (Islamic law), the Taliban implemented a ban on all forms of imagery, including television, music, and sports. The first steps in destroying Afghanistan's cultural heritage began with the systematic looting of archaeological sites under Taliban control. At the Greek city of Ai Khanoum in a remote area of northeastern Takhar Province, the plunderers, under financial agreements with ruling Taliban commanders, gouged out the surface with bulldozers and probed deeply through long tunnels. Beginning in 1996, attempts were also made to destroy ancient statues housed in the National Museum in Kabul as well as pre-Islamic artifacts stored in the Ministry of Information and Culture.

In 1997 a Taliban commander trying to seize the Bamiyan Valley declared that the Bamiyan Buddhas would be destroyed as soon as the valley fell into his hands. The resulting international outcry caused the Taliban leadership to prohibit the Buddhas' destruction and to promise that the cultural heritage of Afghanistan would be protected. In 1998, however, the smaller Buddha's head and part of the shoulders were blown off, and the face of the larger Buddha was blackened by burning tires.

It was not until the United Nations (UN) Security Council imposed economic sanctions on the Taliban in December 2000 that the Taliban decided to destroy the Bamiyan Buddhas altogether. In January and February 2001 the Taliban stepped up its efforts at destroying all pre-Islamic artifacts in Afghanistan. Invoking the Islamic prohibition against the depiction of living things, the Taliban destroyed more than a dozen Greco-Buddhist statues in the National Museum. On February 26, 2001, Taliban ruler Mullah Mohammed Omar announced that all pre-Islamic statues in the Taliban-controlled areas of Afghanistan were to be destroyed, and on March 9, 2001, members of the Taliban blew up the Buddhas of Bamiyan. A few months later, smaller Buddha statues in Falodi and Kakrak were also destroyed. The destruction of the Buddhas of Bamiyan especially drew international ire because of their immense size and cultural importance; also driving global outrage at the Taliban's actions was the coverage of the destruction on television that was seen across the globe.

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See also

Afghanistan; Fatwa; Omar, Mohammed; Taliban

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Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

Military insurgency waged against coalition and Afghan government forces by the Taliban beginning in 2002. The Taliban movement emerged in the chaos of Afghanistan in the mid-1990s, led in part by young religious scholars trained in religious schools on both sides of the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. The name "Taliban" is taken from the plural of the Arab word *talib* ("student"). The Taliban leadership is drawn from the Pashtun, the largest ethnic population in Afghanistan. Taliban leaders rely on support from the large Pashtun strongholds in Pakistan, including the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), and urban areas with large Pashtun populations (Karachi, Quetta). By the late 1990s the Taliban had established political control over more than 90 percent of Afghanistan, but because of its harsh Islamist rule—which included mass public executions, bans on music, and the destruction of ancient Buddhist religious statues at Bamyan—it was recognized diplomatically only by Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and the United Arab Emirates.

In the late 1990s the Taliban provided sanctuary and support for the Al Qaeda organization, which had aided them in their battle against the Soviets. They received in return not only financial contributions but also military leadership and trained troops. After Al Qaeda's terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, when the Taliban leadership refused to turn over those responsible, a coalition of forces headed by the United States actively intervened in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in December 2001 to aid the Northern Alliance in defeating the Taliban and drive it from power. By mid-2002, however, surviving Taliban leaders were regrouping and taking control in many locations and reestablishing themselves in others.

The insurgency and the revival of the Taliban as both a military and political force would not have been possible without chaos in Afghanistan and access to sanctuaries in neighboring Pakistan, particularly the vital logistics base of Quetta and the loosely governed areas of FATA. The Quetta *shura* (council) provides leadership for Taliban military and political efforts in Afghanistan. This base could not have been maintained without the support of Pakistani officials and former officials. Pakistan's military and intelligence services have been actively supporting militants in Afghanistan and Kashmir for almost 30 years and are skilled at providing assistance in ways that are difficult to link directly to official sources.

Taliban forces are composed of ethnic Pashtuns from Afghanistan and western Pakistan and include some Afghan refugees who were in Pakistan. There are also a small number of foreign volunteers. The Taliban are comprised of forces loyal both to Taliban leader Mullah Mohammed Omar and Tehrik-i Taliban-Pakistan (Pakistan Taliban, TTP). There is also a collection of allies and affiliated groups. The best-known allied forces include Al Qaeda, Hezb-i Islami (led by veteran militant Gulbuddin Hekmetyar), and the Haqqani network (led by Jalaluddin and Sirajuddin Haqqani). They have been funded largely by Afghanistan's drug

Members of the Taliban pose with AK-47 assault rifles and rocket-propelled grenades in Zabul Province, south of Kabul, Afghanistan, October 2006. (AP/Wide World Photos)

trade, particularly in Helmand Province, and contributions from the Muslim world, often collected as *zakat* (alms or charity) at mosques throughout the world.

Insurgent efforts are organized in three theaters straddling the Afghanistan-Pakistan border (the Taliban itself prefers to speak of five fronts, creating a separate Kabul region and an overall military commander). The eastern front includes portions of FATA and the NWFP on the Pakistan side and the Afghan provinces of Nuristan, Kunar, Laghman, and Nangarhar. Hezb-i Islami is active in this theater along with other allied groups including Lashkar-e Taiba, best known for the November 26, 2008, terrorist assault on Mumbai, India. The central or southeastern front extends from Bajaur in FATA down into Baluchistan on the Pakistani side and includes the Afghan provinces of Khowst, Paktia, and Paktika. The Haqqani network has been very active here, as have large numbers of foreign fighters. The southern front is primarily manned by Taliban forces and includes the Afghan provinces of Helmand, Kandahar, Oruzgan, and Zabol.

U.S. and multinational forces in Afghanistan have faced considerable difficulty operating against the Taliban and its allies, particularly when those forces are located on Pakistani soil. Pakistani military cooperation with the coalition has been most forthcoming in the FATA, where the TTP has waged operations against the Pakistani government, and much rarer in Baluchistan, where the Taliban central and southern fronts appear to enjoy considerable freedom of movement and logistic support.

The Taliban insurgency began making significant strides in 2003–2004 in traditional Taliban strongholds in southern Afghanistan, particularly in the vicinity of Kandahar and in Helmand Province. Taliban forces initially infiltrated across from bases in Pakistan but gradually developed base areas inside Afghanistan itself. The limits of the Taliban's capabilities, however, were demonstrated by its inability to disrupt the Afghan presidential elections in October 2004. Operations through the end of 2005 were governed mainly by the weather. Attacks peaked in December–January and then declined until March or April as full-time cadres retreated to Pakistan for the winter and local forces stood down. Since the winter of 2005–2006, however, winter operations have increased in number.

The Taliban's reach and influence grew sharply over the next few years. An increasing emphasis on creating parallel political

structures to compete with the Afgan government became apparent by early 2006, when Taliban leadership announced the appointment of separate political leaders for all districts. By 2006 the Taliban claimed to operate local judiciaries in numerous provinces in southern and southeastern Afghanistan. The surge in Taliban confidence and capability prompted an influx of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) troop reinforcements to assist the Afghan government, although differing levels of commitment and rules of engagement handicapped the overall counterinsurgency effort. A Taliban final offensive launched in 2006 ended indecisively. The Taliban had proved that it was much stronger than most analysts had suspected, but it also proved incapable of defeating the Afghan government or its coalition partners.

Taliban efforts increasingly targeted local police forces, allowing it to establish a more permanent local presence. In 2007 alone, more than 900 Afghan police were murdered. The Taliban also stepped up suicide attacks against Afghan and coalition forces, from 21 in 2005 to more than 130 in 2006 and again in 2007. The TTP and Taliban allies unleashed powerful attacks against the Pakistani government in the last six months of 2007, and fighting continued in the FATA throughout 2008. In late 2008 U.S. political and military leaders committed substantial reinforcements to the Afghan theater, and following his November 2008 election victory, President-elect Barack Obama was reportedly briefed that the Afghanistan-Pakistan border constituted the single most important security problem for his incoming administration. Obama had already pledged to reinvigorate the coalition effort to defeat the insurgency in Afghanistan, in part by increasing U.S. troop strength there. Upon taking office in January 2009, he began to put in place a strategy to decrease U.S. troop commitments in Iraq so that troops and resources could be redirected to Afghanistan.

There are many explanations for the resurrection of the Taliban as a powerful force in Afghanistan, despite its woeful record of governance when it held power from 1996 to 2001. First, the Taliban has been able to expand because of the inability of the current Afghan regime of Hamid Karzai to govern effectively compounded by the failure to develop effective local police and security institutions in the years after the Taliban's initial defeat. Second, there has been a lack of Pashtun participation in the Afghan regime. Third, there are close connections between the current Afghan government and first the United States and more recently NATO and other international forces, which delegitimize the Afghan regime in the eyes of the Afghan population. The continued presence of international forces in Afghanistan allowed the Taliban to portray itself as fighting against foreign occupation. Fourth, there was a shift of U.S. focus from Afghanistan to Iraq for Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, launched in March 2003. Fifth, some within the Pakistani Army and the Pakistani government wished to reinstall a Taliban government in Afghanistan. This accusation is made somewhat more credible by both persistent Pakistani efforts to encourage negotiations with the Taliban and the presence of thousands of Taliban fighters in Baluchistan, the NWFP, and the FATA. The United States and its coalition partners will have to wage a much larger struggle on a much larger front if they hope to defeat the resurgent Taliban. They will also have to engage the Pakistani government more aggressively to fight the Taliban insurgency in the border areas.

TIMOTHY D. HOYT

See also

Afghanistan; Al Qaeda; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Hekmetyar, Gulbuddin al-Hurra; Karzai, Hamid; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan; Omar, Mohammed; Taliban

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Tallil Airfield

A major Iraqi Air Force base located some 186 miles southeast of Baghdad in the Euphrates River Valley in southeastern Iraq near the city of Naziriah. Tallil was strategically placed to defend Highway 8, the main road from Baghdad to Kuwait that ran along the southern bank of the Euphrates.

Tallil Airfield was Iraq's second largest, encompassing some 9,000 acres, and served as one of the Sector Operations Centers (SOCs) for the Iraqi air defense system. Tallil was also known to have been a storage facility for chemical weapons and was a major target for the coalition's air campaign during the Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM) of January–February 1991. After the Persian Gulf War ended, the airfield was decommissioned. When Operation IRAQI FREEDOM began in March 2003, Tallil was an early objective. Soon after its capture, the airfield was placed back into operation and served as a major supply link for American and coalition forces.

Beginning in the late 1970s, Iraq constructed many airfields to serve its growing air force. The Iraqi Air Force included many modern aircraft, mostly from the Soviet Union and France. A total of 24 heavily fortified and defended airfields served as bases for the aircraft, with another 30 smaller dispersal airfields available.

Tallil was defended by surface-to-air missiles (SAM) and antiaircraft artillery (AAA), and hardened shelters were constructed to protect aircraft based there. These shelters had been designed and built by European contractors and met the standards established by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Tallil's facilities also included large numbers of hardened bunkers for storing different munitions to include bombs and air-to-air and

air-to-ground missiles. During the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War, Saddam Hussein's forces had used chemical weapons to weaken their Iranian opponents. Aircraft delivering these chemicals had flown from Tallil, where the weapons were apparently stored.

Finally, Tallil was known by coalition planners to house a major piece of the Iraqi air defense system. The Kari air defense system, developed by French engineers, was a centralized system that linked more than 400 observation posts and radar reporting stations across Iraq. The information was forwarded to 17 Intercept Operational Centers (IOCs) that were located in hardened facilities to protect them from attack. In turn, these centers passed information to four regional SOCs. The SOC for southern Iraq was located at Tallil. The SOC would pass information about air raids to the National Air Defense Operations Center in Baghdad and would relay orders from the central command to SAM and AAA batteries as well as to the IOC in its region. Interceptor aircraft would also be controlled from the ground by these centers. As an SOC, Tallil would play an important role in defending Iraq and would therefore be a prime target for early coalition attacks.

Before the air campaign against Iraq began on January 17, 1991, the Iraqi government began moving much of the Kari communications equipment from the hardened shelters at Tallil. They recognized that the SOC would be a prime coalition target and hoped thereby to reduce their losses.

On the first night of the coalition air campaign, Tallil was struck by Lockheed F-117 Nighthawk stealth bombers in an effort to knock out the SOC. Conventional raids followed over the next few days, attempting to destroy the aircraft based at Tallil and to disable the runways. Hussein ordered most of his aircraft to remain in their hardened shelters, hoping to preserve them until the war ended. Coalition forces then began to systematically destroy the shelters, including the ones at Tallil.

On February 24, 1991, the ground offensive began. The coalition's main effort was from western Saudi Arabia, where American, British, and French forces crossed into Iraq. Their objectives included advancing to the Euphrates to cut off Iraqi troops in Kuwait. Coalition forces were then to turn east and destroy the trapped Iraqi divisions, especially the Republican Guard units that were considered the most effective of Iraq's forces. Tallil was a major objective because it controlled Highway 8. On February 26 the American 24th Infantry and the 101st Airborne divisions occupied positions straddling Highway 8. One American brigade was sent west to capture Tallil, which was accomplished in short order. The war ended with a cease-fire two days later.

U.S. forces destroyed most of the munitions and facilities at Tallil. Special attention was paid to an S-shaped bunker that was identical to others used to store chemical weapons. Although chemical handling equipment was found at Tallil, no evidence

The remains of an Iraqi helicopter at Tallil Airfield after an allied attack during Operation DESERT STORM in 1991. (U.S. Department of Defense)

surfaced that chemical weapons were present at the time. Postwar investigations about whether American soldiers had been exposed to chemical weapons confirmed that none had been present at Tallil during the brief U.S. occupation. United Nations (UN) weapons inspectors also found no evidence of chemical weapons at Tallil. Before American troops withdrew, U.S. Air Force engineers used approximately 80,000 pounds of explosives to cut the runways and taxiways every 2,000 feet, making Tallil unusable as an airfield. Hussein did not try to restore the airfield after the war.

In March 2003 American forces quickly captured Tallil during the invasion of Iraq. Five days after its capture, the airfield had been almost fully restored and was being used for transport aircraft bringing supplies for the fighting troops and humanitarian aid for Iraqis. It continues in use, and there is some indication that the Iraqi government might once again commission it as an official Iraqi air base.

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See also

Air Defenses in Iraq, Persian Gulf War; Chemical Weapons and Warfare; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; Iran-Iraq War; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Ground Campaign; Kari Air Defense System

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Tammuz I Reactor

Iraqi nuclear reactor destroyed by Israeli aircraft in 1981 while in the final stages of construction. The Tammuz I reactor was also known as the Osiraq reactor. For years, the Iraqi government, especially under Saddam Hussein, had sought to acquire nuclear technology. It claimed that this effort was for peaceful purposes, but many governments, most notably Israel, surmised that the ultimate Iraqi goal was the production of nuclear weapons. Iraq's first foray into the nuclear field came in 1959, when it entered into an agreement with the Soviet Union to build a small five-megawatt research reactor near Baghdad. The project was completed in 1968, but its small size and close supervision by Soviet technicians frustrated Iraq's goal of acquiring a facility capable of producing weapons-grade plutonium by-products.

In light of this, Iraq began to look to other sources, notably France and Italy, for more sophisticated nuclear technology. After the 1973–1974 Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) oil embargo, Iraq's huge energy reserves gave it a powerful bargaining chip as it negotiated an agreement with France for nuclear technology. In 1978, a French-led consortium signed a formal agreement to construct a nuclear plant with the Iraqi government. The terms of the agreement stipulated that Iraq would provide France with oil at discounted prices and agree to large purchases of French military hardware in exchange for construction of a nuclear complex centered on a 70-megawatt nuclear reactor.

The fuel for the proposed reactor was to be 93 percent enriched (weapons-grade) uranium. The project was originally named Osiraq, an Iraqi derivation of the name of a similar reactor in France. However, the name was soon changed to Tammuz to commemorate the time of year in which the ruling Iraqi Baath Party came to power.

Italian firms would provide expertise in the extraction of weapons-grade plutonium from the reactor's spent fuel. As the reactor complex neared completion in 1980, the Israeli government embarked on a public information campaign designed to alert the world to the dangers of allowing Iraq to acquire nuclear technology. There were also indications by then that Israel had conducted several covert intelligence and sabotage missions against scientists and equipment associated with the program.

In September 1980, Iraq invaded neighboring Iran, triggering the eight-year-long Iran-Iraq War. One of the first Iranian Air Force targets was the Tammuz I reactor. A September 30, 1980, raid by Iranian bombers failed to inflict serious damage on the facility, but it did precipitate an evacuation of several hundred French and Italian workers and brought construction on the site to a standstill. By the spring of 1981, however, many of the technicians had returned, and work was proceeding with a target date for completion of the complex later that year.

With the goal of destroying the Tammuz I reactor, Israeli aircraft struck the site on June 7, 1981. The mission, more than a year in planning and rehearsals, involved 14 aircraft flying a 700-mile mission at extremely low altitudes. Battle damage assessment indicated that the reactor building was struck and completely destroyed by 14 bombs.

Iraqi attempts to rebuild Tammuz I in the 1980s were slowed by a diversion of resources to the war with Iran and a breakdown in negotiations with France for the reconstruction of the reactor. The Tammuz site was again heavily bombed by coalition aircraft in 1991 during the Persian Gulf War, after which there were no significant efforts to rebuild.

ROBERT M. BROWN

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; France, Middle East Policy; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Israel; Israel, Armed Forces; Nuclear Weapons, Iraq's Potential for Building

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Tank Landing Ships, U.S.

Amphibious assault vessels that transport tanks and other vehicles, landing their payloads directly on beaches by partially grounding their hulls and extending ramps or pontoon causeways from the bows.

The tank landing ship (LST) in the U.S. Navy followed a lineage extending from the original joint British-American design for LST-1 in 1942, which produced more than 1,000 landing ships, to the final LSTs of the *Newport* (LST-1179) class, built between 1966 and 1972, and serving well into the 1990s before decommissioning or transferring to other navies. Unremarkable in appearance, the tank landing ship resembled a small tanker with its minimal superstructure placed at the stern but presented a relatively high freeboard because of its rather shallow draft. The LST was the largest ship type with the landing craft–like ability to beach itself: a ballasting system pumped water rearwards within the ship, reducing the draft under the bow; the hull bottom was flattened to ease its sliding onto the sand.

Cargo capacity in this beaching mode was 500 tons; 10 heavy tanks or 20 medium tanks could be carried on the enclosed tank deck, which was equipped with a ventilation system to disperse vehicle exhaust outside the ship. Two large bow doors swung open to each side, allowing tanks and other vehicles to drive over an extended 50-foot ramp to the beach. To hold the beached position, it was necessary for the ship to maintain some measure of speed ahead; to withdraw from the beach, the engines were simply reversed and powered up accordingly.

As useful and vital as the bow doors were on the many earlier LSTs, they could withstand little pounding from passage through even moderate seas. The blunt bow with its shallow draft also made for difficult maneuvering in windy conditions and a painfully low speed, topping out between 10 and 12 knots. Indeed, many crews joked that LST stood for "large, slow-moving target."

Despite these shortcomings, many hundreds of these ships delivered ashore the troops, tanks, and vehicles necessary for successful U.S. amphibious operations in multiple theaters of World War II and on both Korean coasts during the Korean War (1950–1953). Scores of these sturdy and adaptable vessels were converted to repair ships, auxiliary troop carriers, hospital ships, torpedo boat tenders, commercial cargo ships, railroad locomotive transports, and even light aircraft carriers for artillery-spotting Piper Cubs operating during the Salerno, Anzio, and southern French landings in 1943 and 1944. A surprising number of the original LSTs were still operating in various navies or in civilian applications after 50 years of service.

The design of the 15 postwar Terrebonne Parish–class (LST-1156 through LST-1170, built between 1952 and 1954) included increased length (from 328 feet to 384 feet) and full load displacement (from 4,800 to 5,800 tons) over the LST-1 type. Diesel engines were increased from two to four, delivering an improved speed from around 10 knots to 15 knots, and variable-pitch propellers ensured better performance in backing away from the beached position. During the years 1970 and 1971, these LSTs were decommissioned from the U.S. Navy; 12 went on to serve in the navies of Spain, Venezuela, Turkey, Greece, and Peru.

The follow-on DeSoto County–class (LST-1171 through LST-1178) comprised seven ships constructed between 1956 and 1959 that were larger (length 442 feet; full load displacement 8,000 tons) and slightly faster, at 17 knots. Three of these ships were transferred to Italy and Brazil in 1972 and 1973; the remainder left U.S. service by 1989.

Another 10 years passed before the U.S. Navy would begin deploying a new class of LSTs, built to a striking and innovative design. These were the 20-ship Newport-class of LST-1179 through LST-1198, built by Philadelphia Naval Shipyard and National Steel in San Diego, California, during 1966–1972. Their dimensions were: length, 562 feet (including derricks); beam, 69.5 feet; and draft, 6 feet (forward), 17.5 feet (aft). Displacement was 4,793 tons (light) and 8,450 tons (full load). Speed was 22 knots (20 knots sustained). Crew complement was 253 (15 officers and 238 enlisted). The Newport-class LSTs could carry 430 troops. They also carried 4 LCVPs (Landing Craft, Vehicles, and Personnel) on davits; 23 AAVs (Amphibious Assault Vehicle) or 41 2.5-ton cargo trucks on the tank deck; and an additional 29 2.5-ton cargo trucks on their main deck. Cargo capacity was 17,300 square feet for vehicles; 2,000 tons cargo transport; and 500 tons cargo beaching capability. Armament included four 3-inch (76-millimeter) guns and one 20-millimeter Phalanx close-in-weapons system (CIWs).

This last class of U.S. Navy LSTs represented something of the final word on this ship type's development. The prominent bow doors that defined the three earlier iterations of the tank landing ship were now replaced by a ramp paid out by a twin derrick over the split upper bow, whose sharper aspect at the waterline easily permitted a sustained speed of 20 knots. This narrowed bow section also tapered forward below the waterline to a depth of only six feet, allowing for smooth beaching and extension of the 112-foot aluminum ramp, which was able to pivot from side to side. A bow thruster assisted in holding position as well as in slow-speed maneuverability. As it turned out, the ramp more often than not delivered vehicles to a causeway constructed from the pontoon sections stored along the sides of the hull. In another departure from the traditional LST configuration, the Newport class featured a centrally placed cluster of a superstructure block, LCVP davits, twin funnels, and two 10-ton capacity cranes. Because the main deck cargo area extended from the stern nearly to the bow, a tunnel through the superstructure allowed free passage of vehicles in either direction.

Not only capable of off-loading vehicles and cargo across the bow ramp, the Newport-class LST could also discharge AAVs into the water through a stern hatch and ramp apparatus, either while stationary or under way. For all their advances over previous LSTs, the Newport-class LSTs nonetheless were not an unqualified success in service. They proved expensive to build, and their

The tank landing ship USS *San Bernardino* (LST-1189) as the ship deploys to the Middle East to take part in Operation DESERT SHIELD, January 1991. (U.S. Department of Defense)

cargo-carrying quotient was actually smaller than the previous LST class. Still, these ships could easily keep pace with a modern amphibious force, efficiently discharging a variety of vehicles, and built into their design was the valuable commodity of considerable bunkerage (200,000 gallons) for both vehicle and aviation fuels.

As part of the massive amphibious buildup and subsequent availability that characterized Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, 10 of the 20 Newport class were on hand: the *Manitowoc* (LST-1180), *Peoria* (LST-1183), *Frederick* (LST-1184), *Schenectady* (LST-1185), *Cayuga* (LST-1186), *Saginaw* (LST-1188), *San Bernardino* (LST-1189), *Spartanburg County* (LST-1192), *La Moure County* (LST-1194), and *Barbour County* (LST-1195). Between October 1992 and September 1995, all but two ships were decommissioned. *La Moure County,* part of Naval Reserve Force from 1995, ran aground off Chile during a naval exercise in September 2000. Damage was so massive that the ship was deemed a constructive total loss, and the ship was eventually sunk as a target in July 2001. The *Frederick* was decommissioned in 2002 and transferred to Mexico that same year. Twelve Newport-class LSTs now serve in the navies of Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Taiwan, Malaysia, Australia, Spain, and Morocco.

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See also

Dock Landing Ships, U.S. and Coalition; United States Marine Corps, Persian Gulf War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Tanzimat

Start Date: 1839
End Date: 1876

Period beginning in 1839 and lasting until 1876 during which the Ottoman Empire attempted to reform its political, economic, educational, and civil institutions. Tanzimat (Turkish for "reorganization") was begun during the reign of Mahmud II (1808–1839),

driven by reforms from European-educated bureaucrats who occupied powerful positions within the Ottoman government. These officials were influenced by Western liberal thought, such as freedom of religion and nationalism, and they sought to implement these ideals into the decaying Ottoman system.

Following Mahmud's death in 1839 and the accession of his weak son, Abdulmecid (1839–1861), leadership of the Tanzimat passed to the grand vizier, Mustafa Rashid Pasha. On November 3, 1839, Rashid Pasha issued a royal decree in the presence of foreign dignitaries and Turkish officials. Known as the Hatt-i Sharif of Gulhane, the decree promised to all Ottoman subjects a secure life, the sanctity of private property, and honor, regardless of religion. The decree provided the reformers with a general framework in which to work. In 1856, the Hatt-i Humayan provided for universal military service, equal access to state employment, and equal educational opportunities to those living under Ottoman control. The National Law of 1869 later declared all Ottoman citizens equal, regardless of religion or ethnic background. The presence of European dignitaries at the issuing of the Hatt-i Sharif of Gulhane hinted at Europe's role in the reforms. Ottoman reformers believed that European pressure would help guide the empire through its reforms.

Mustafa Rashid Pasha spearheaded the early Tanzimat reforms through his leadership of the Council of Justice. The council worked to implement various provincial administrative and taxation reforms. These included the abolition of tax farming, uniform government collection of taxes, and state-sponsored internal improvements.

With Rashid Pasha's death in 1858, leadership of the Council of Justice passed to two of his students, Ali Pasha and Fuad Pasha. From 1869 to 1876, they oversaw the establishment of the new civil code, the Mejelle. Based on Sharia (Islamic law), the Mejelle codified Islamic law and removed individual interpretation from the process. New penal commercial codes were also introduced. To deal with disputes between Muslims and non-Muslims, a secular court known as the *nizame* was also established.

Tanzimat reformers also sought to extend educational opportunities to the people. The newly created Ministry of Education was created to oversee the establishment of secular schools. A number of schools of higher education were also founded, including the Civil Service School in 1859 and the Imperial Ottoman Lycée at Galatasaray in 1868. Graduates from these institutions helped form a class of political and administrative elite who dominated Turkish and Arab governments into the 20th century.

One of the key goals of Tanzimat was the promotion of the concept known as Ottomanism. By attempting to establish the equality of all of the state's citizens, the reformers believed that loyalty to the Ottoman state would emerge without consideration of race or religion. To encourage loyalty to the state, efforts were made to limit the power of the traditional religious groups. In the Imperial Rescript of 1856, power shifted from the Greek and Armenian Christian clergy to secular leaders. Non-Muslims were now included in military conscription, although they could pay for an exemption.

While Tanzimat reformers sought to eliminate a divided society by establishing equality, many Muslims saw their prominent social distinctions being stripped away. Out of the Tanzimat reforms emerged a group known as the Young Ottomans. Believing loyalty to the sultan and the empire was not enough to keep non-Muslim subjects from pulling away, the Young Ottomans supported the establishment of a popular constitutional government with its roots founded in Islam. The Young Ottomans' emphasis on Islam also gained the support of the Islamic *ulema.*

Throughout the Tanzimat period, however, the Ottoman Empire's financial situation steadily worsened. Reformers learned quickly that change costs money. Forced to borrow from European lenders during the Crimean War in 1854, reformers wasted the funds on weapons purchases and royal extravagances. In October 1854, the Sublime Porte declared the empire to be bankrupt. Financial collapse led to peasant rebellions, particularly in the Ottoman Empire's European territories. As the European powers attempted to solve these problems, the Tanzimat reforms sought one radical gesture to gain the support of Europe—the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. An opponent of constitutionalism, Sultan Abdulaziz was forced to abdicate on May 30, 1876. His successor, Murad V (1876), proved to be mentally unstable and reigned for only 93 days.

On August 31, 1876, Abdülhamid II (Abdul Hamid II) (1876–1909) assumed the throne and promised the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. More a statement of Ottomanism than a political document, the Constitution of 1876 established an elected chamber of deputies and an appointed senate. The equality of all Ottoman subjects was also reaffirmed. Power, however, remained concentrated in the hands of the sultan.

The Ottoman experiment in constitutional government was short lived. On April 24, 1877, Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire. As Russian forces advanced toward Constantinople, Sultan Abdülhamid II seized the moment of crisis to turn against the Tanzimat reforms. On February 13, 1878, parliament and the constitution were suspended. They would not reconvene until July 1908. With the suspension of the Constitution of 1876, the Ottoman Empire moved back to an absolute monarchy. Although viewed at the time as a failure, the reforms of the Tanzimat period laid the foundations for future reforms that would emerge during the Turkish Revolution and the founding of the Republic of Turkey in 1920.

Robert W. Malick

See also

Turkey, Role in Persian Gulf and Afghanistan Wars

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Task Force Normandy

At 2:38 a.m. on January 17, 1991, a joint military force, collectively named Task Force Normandy and consisting of U.S. Army and U.S. Air Force helicopters, paved the way for the opening of the air campaign for Operation DESERT STORM, which marked the beginning of the end of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. Elements of the U.S. Army's 1st Battalion, 101st Aviation Regiment, 101st Airborne Division, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Richard "Dick" Cody, and the U.S. Air Force's 20th Special Operations Squadron (SOS) of the 1st Special Operations Wing, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Richard L. Comer, participated in the operation to simultaneously destroy two Iraqi air defense radar sites some 25 miles inside the Iraqi border. It was imperative that the two sites be destroyed simultaneously, so as not to alert Baghdad that hostilities had begun. The successful destruction of the sites allowed 100 U.S. Air Force and coalition aircraft to fly, undetected, to their targets deep inside Iraq, including the capital city of Baghdad, a mere 22 minutes after the destruction of the radar sites.

The first of six rehearsals for the mission began on October 10, 1990, and ended with the last rehearsal on January 10, 1991, one week prior to the actual combat mission. The rehearsals focused on flying without communication, black out, visual signals, formations, drop-off, and formation link up. Each training scenario replicated the actual mission. The 101st employed nine uniquely configured Hughes/McDonnell Douglas/Boeing AH-64 Apache helicopters for the conduct of the mission. The U.S. Air Force's 20th SOS deployed four Sikorsky MH-53J Pave Low helicopters to accompany the AH-64s. The MH-53J was selected not only for its unique combat search and rescue (CSAR) capabilities, but also for its advanced terrain-following and terrain-avoidance radar system, which made it the ideal platform to use for this type of operation. The plan called for four Pave Lows to escort the Apaches into Iraq; then the army helicopters would destroy the radar sites with their Hellfire missiles. Armed with a 20-pound high-explosive antitank (HEAT) warhead, each missile required no further guidance after launch and could hit its target without the launcher being in line of site of the target.

Because the Apaches were not as technologically advanced as the Pave Lows, the crews came up with a creative way for the army helicopters to update their navigational systems. The air force crews strung together chemical lights and dropped them out the back of their aircraft at certain points. When the army helicopters flew over the lights, they then updated their own navigational systems. On the day of the actual attack, the MH-53Js used their Global Positioning System (GPS) receivers and terrain-following radars to move the attack force to within nine miles of the target, undetected and with pinpoint accuracy.

Each AH-64 was armed with 8 Hellfire missiles as well as 19 2.75-inch rockets and 7 Fleschette rockets. A Fleschette warhead contained 2,200 steel nails with fins on one end, resembling tiny darts. Additionally, each AH-64 carried 1,200 rounds for the 30-millimeter (mm) M230 Chain Gun under the aircraft's nose.

The task force was divided into two teams, Red and White, with each team consisting of four Apaches and two Pave Lows. The aircraft were located at Al Jouf, Saudi Arabia, days prior to the operation and departed from that outpost on January 17. During the mission, a total of 29 Hellfire missiles were fired from the army aircraft, with 22 hits, 4 misses, and 3 duds. Additionally, approximately 100 Fleschette rockets were fired and 4,000 rounds of 30-mm ammunition were expended. With their mission accomplished, both teams headed back to Saudi Arabia, dodging at least two heat-seeking SA-7 surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) and small-arms fire in the process. All elements of the task force returned safely back to home base.

This near-perfect mission opened a 20-mile wide corridor that was used by air force and coalition aircraft to begin the air campaign against Iraq. Later, at a press conference, U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf told the world that "Army AH-64 Apaches plucked the eyes of the Iraqi air defenses."

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See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Forces; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.

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Task Force Phoenix

American-led coalition task force of about 6,000 personnel, composed largely of Army National Guard soldiers, whose mission is to train and mentor the Afghan National Army (ANA) and Afghan National Police (ANP). The task force was organized in early 2003. The training is to ensure that the ANA and ANP can defend Afghan independence and national sovereignty against both foreign and

Afghan National Army (ANA) military police trainees undergo training at Kabul Military Training Center under Task Force Phoenix Headquarters Security Support Command supervision on June 4, 2007. U.S. Army soldiers of Task Force Phoenix have the mission to train and mentor the ANA. (U.S. Department of Defense)

domestic enemies. Task Force Phoenix, now encompassing 13 coalition nations, falls under the command of the Combined Security Transition Command–Afghanistan.

From the beginning of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOF) and coalition forces began the task of training an Afghan army. As a result of a conference in Bonn, Germany, in December 2001, the United States became the lead nation for training the army. In December 2002, the interim president of the Afghan Transitional Authority, Hamid Karzai, authorized the creation of a 70,000-strong ANA, which he intended to be a volunteer force encompassing all of the ethnic and tribal affiliations in Afghan society. In February 2008, the ANA was enlarged to 80,000. In August 2008, the target end-strength would be expanded to 120,000, to be built during the succeeding five years.

With the onset of the Iraq War in March 2003, the SOF was stretched too thin to continue training the ANA. In May 2003, an infantry battalion from the U.S. Army 10th Mountain Division formed Task Force Phoenix I and assumed the mission of training and mentoring the Afghan Army. Each subsequent rotation has been led by Army National Guard units.

Task Force Phoenix II, headed by the 45th Enhanced Separate Brigade of the Oklahoma National Guard, built the first corps command in the Afghan Army. Task Force Phoenix III became a multinational task force. Led by the 76th Infantry Brigade of the Indiana National Guard, it included coalition troops from France, the United Kingdom, Canada, Romania, Bulgaria, New Zealand, and Mongolia. Task Force Phoenix III helped the Afghans to establish four regional commands in Gardez, Kandahar, Herat, and Mazar-e Sharif, demonstrating that the authority of the Afghan central government extended throughout the country. The units deployed without full manpower and equipment, however, so Task Force Phoenix IV, under the command of the 53rd Infantry Brigade from the Florida National Guard, assisted with bringing these units up to full strength.

Coalition troops train with and deploy with Afghan Army units in embedded training teams. Task Force Phoenix V, commanded by the 41st Brigade Combat Team from the Oregon National Guard, expanded these teams. Task Force Phoenix V also assisted with creating command structures such as the Afghan National Army Training Command, a two-star divisional command, which assumed responsibilities for ANA training and education in July 2006, although Task Force Phoenix continues its oversight and mentorship missions.

Training duties are divided among the contributing nations within Task Force Phoenix. American personnel assist with basic and advanced infantry training for enlisted recruits and operate

the drill instructor school for noncommissioned officers. French Army and British Army personnel share duties training officers. Canada heads field training for enlisted personnel, noncommissioned officers, and officers. Other nations have assisted with field artillery training and other exercises.

In 2007, the mission for Task Force Phoenix expanded to include the training of the ANP. Task Force Phoenix VI, under the command of the 218th Heavy Separate Brigade from the South Carolina National Guard, assumed these new duties. Task Force Phoenix VII, led by the 27th Infantry Brigade Combat Team from the New York National Guard, continues this mission. A name change to Combined Joint Task Force Phoenix reflects the nature of the command, which includes coalition forces from 13 allied nations as well as personnel from the U.S. Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps.

Although Task Force Phoenix had trained more than 50,000 ANA troops by mid-2008, the ANA still lacked sufficient combat power and air support to operate independently, continuing to rely on the coalition for funding, equipment, and other support. In April 2008, the national police stood at 77,558 of the authorized 82,000 officers but lagged behind the ANA in its training and professionalism.

LISA M. MUNDEY

See also

Afghan National Army; Afghanistan; Combined Security Transition Command–Afghanistan; Karzai, Hamid; Office of Military Cooperation Afghanistan

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Task Group 323.2

Task group deployed to the Mediterranean Sea and formed by elements of the British Royal Navy on January 10, 1991, during Operation DESERT SHIELD. Task Group 323.2 was part of the United Kingdom's support for Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, code-named Operation GRANBY by the British. Task Group 323.2 was under the command of Commodore Christopher Craig.

Before Task Group 323.2 formed, the Royal Navy had already maintained a continued presence in the Persian Gulf but not in the Mediterranean Sea. During the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War, the Royal Navy launched Operation ARMILLA in order to protect British shipping interests and to provide a British presence in the Persian Gulf region. When Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990, the Royal Navy took on the additional task of enforcing United Nations (UN) sanctions against Iraq.

At the time of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, ARMILLA consisted of the Type 42–class destroyer HMS *York* and the Broadsword-class frigate HMS *Battleaxe* and the Leander-class frigate HMS *Jupiter,* supported by the Royal Fleet Auxiliary support ship *Orangeleaf.* These ships were later augmented by another Type 42–class destroyer: *Glouster.* By April 1991, the Royal Navy alone had carried out more than 3,000 challenges and 36 boardings in the Persian Gulf.

The *Ark Royal,* one of three British aircraft carriers, was deployed to the Mediterranean on January 10, 1991, to head Task Group 323.2. The Task Group then consisted of the Broadsword-class frigate *Sheffield* and the support ships *Olmeda* and *Regent.* Later, the task group would be augmented by the Type 42–class destroyers *Exeter* and *Manchester.* In late January 1991, the *Manchester* was called to the Persian Gulf and replaced in the Mediterranean by the Leander-class frigate *Charybdis.*

Despite pressure from the Americans to move Task Force 323.2 forward to the Persian Gulf, Britain's Ministry of Defense resisted, insisting that the group would perform the secondary—but important—mission of providing support to coalition forces and allied communication lines in the Mediterranean and reassuring Egypt, Turkey, and other states, should the conflict expand beyond the confines of Kuwait and Iraq. This approach seemed vindicated when Iraqi president Saddam Hussein tried to expand the war by launching Scud missiles at Israel in hopes that Israel would retaliate and the Arab coalition partners would then side with Iraq against Israel. Keeping an eye on Libya was another essential task, as coalition forces feared that Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi might provide assistance to Iraq. The British hoped that the presence of Task Group 323.2 would prevent this.

British naval historian Eric Grove also points out that the British decision not to move Task Group 323.2 too far forward reflected a predilection within the Ministry of Defense not to give the Royal Navy too large a role in Operation GRANBY, as it was unsure of its strategic role in the immediate post–Cold War world. Task Group 323.2 was thus limited to patrolling and interdiction duties. It was disbanded shortly after the end of the Persian Gulf War in February 1991.

ROBERT G. PRICE

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; GRANBY, Operation; United Kingdom, Navy, Persian Gulf War

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Television, Middle Eastern

Television is one of the major sources of information in the modern world. Television stations in the Middle East have played a significant role through the broadcasting and transmitting of information, not just to the nations in that region but to the rest of the world.

As in the West, television stations in the Middle East are regulated by governments, but there is more extensive control of it by government under state-centrism or state socialism. Still, a wide variety of programs can be found on television, especially with the advent of cable and satellite TV. These have brought about an explosion of new stations and viewpoints.

Television has played an important role in the major wars in the Middle East: the ongoing war between the Palestinians and the Israelis; Israeli wars in Lebanon (1978, 1982, 1993, 1996, 2006); the Lebanese civil war (1975–1990); relentless civil war in Sudan; and the Iran-Iraq War of 1980–1988. Additionally, the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the 2001 war against the Taliban in Afghanistan, and the 2003 Iraq War have all unfolded before television cameras.

In recent decades, technological developments and the expansion in global communications, together with the establishment of cable/satellite television, have made television in the Middle East a transnational phenomenon. This expansion has been best associated with the outbreak of the Persian Gulf War in 1991. Since then, a wide range of local and regional channels has been available by subscription in the Middle East. A major example is the Qatar satellite television channel Al Jazeera, which was launched in 1996 with a $150 million grant from the emir of Qatar. In the late 1990s, Al Jazeera became very popular in the Arab world yet was oddly ignored in the West. Al Jazeera set out to counter the formula of state-supported television and its one-sided news reportage. It built a reputation for exciting debates and strong disagreements in interviews and panels.

After September 11, 2001, Al Jazeera earned the ire of the U.S. government, when the Al Jazeera formula of endeavoring to present all sides of an issue came under fire as supporting terrorism. This occurred when Al Jazeera reported atrocities in Iraq and broadcast video statements of Osama bin Laden and other Al Qaeda leaders.

In contrast to Al Jazeera, the Saudi TV channel al-Arabiyya was established on March 3, 2003, and based in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Its primary focus is lighter entertainment, music, and dance videos. Its news coverage is influenced by the Western-allied UAE government. Alongside Al Jazeera and al-Arabiyya, there are several other Arab television channels that have facilitated a significant change in the media in relation to the Middle East. The most notable are: the LBCI (Lebanon), Future TV (Lebanon), Manar TV (Lebanon), Nile TV International (Egypt), Syria Satellite Channel (Syria), and Abu Dhabi TV (UAE).

There is now a wide range of Arab television stations broadcasting from the Middle East to other parts of the region and to the entire world. The importance of television is also seen in the coverage of the Middle East during wartime. Many Middle East channels compete to be among the first to broadcast from war zones and to send new and exclusive information to their audience. Moreover, continuously running news tickers became another way to broadcast the news around the clock, which allows an audience to follow news stories at any time. Beyond that, breaking news provides important supplements to a story when a war or a crisis is underway.

One of the problems of Middle Eastern television is that satellite television channels do not necessarily reach various sectarian communities equally. Viewers may choose to watch other channels or not to subscribe at all.

During the summer 2006 Israeli-Hezbollah War in Lebanon, there was another war underway between Arab satellite channels, which were essentially taking sides in their coverage of the conflict. Some Arab satellite stations have also clearly reflected their own politics, and some have shown biases both for and against the West. Al-Arabiyya has repeatedly sought to create undercurrents of bias during times of war. In this way, the Arabic television stations reflect the tendencies that Americans view on FOX television or, at the opposite extreme, on MSNBC.

Rami Siklawi

See also
Al Jazeera; Media and Operation DESERT STORM; War Correspondents

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Tenet, George John

Birth Date: January 5, 1953

Career U.S. government employee, intelligence officer, and director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) during 1997–2004. As CIA director, Tenet was heavily involved in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM and the decision to go to war with Iraq in 2003 (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). Born on January 5, 1953, in Flushing, New York, George John Tenet was raised in Little Neck, Queens, New York, and earned a bachelor's degree in 1976 from

Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) George Tenet testifies on March 24, 2004, before the federal panel reviewing the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon. Tenet resigned on July 11, 2004, shortly before the release of the 9/11 Commission report, which was critical of the CIA and its intelligence-gathering abilities. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Georgetown University in international relations. He received a master's degree from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs in 1978.

Tenet began work in the U.S. Senate in 1982 on various staffs, including that of Pennsylvania senator John L. Heinz III. From 1985 to 1988, he was a staff member for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and then served as its staff director from 1988 to 1993. That same year, Tenet was tapped to serve on newly elected President Bill Clinton's national security transition team. From 1993 to 1995 he served the Clinton White House as the National Security Council's senior director for intelligence programs. In July 1995, Tenet began serving as deputy director of the CIA, a post he held until he was nominated and confirmed as the CIA director in 1997. Although tradition has usually seen the CIA director replaced with the advent of a new presidential administration, in 2001 the incoming George W. Bush administration opted to keep Tenet in that post.

Tenet and the CIA had become aware of potential terrorist plots to attack the United States before September 11, 2001, especially by the militant organization known as Al Qaeda and its leader, Osama bin Laden. Despite his knowledge of such threats, Tenet was unsuccessful in his attempts to have either the Clinton or Bush administrations take concrete action against such groups. Following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, many observers blamed the failure to avert the attacks on the CIA.

In October 2001, an international force, led by the United States, launched Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan with the goal of capturing bin Laden, destroying the Al Qaeda terrorist organization responsible for the September 11 attacks, and removing the Taliban regime, a fundamentalist Muslim government in control of Afghanistan that had refused U.S. demands to move against Al Qaeda.

Tenet's CIA played a large role in the operational control of the war in Afghanistan. While largely successful in bringing down the Taliban and reducing the capabilities of Al Qaeda in Afghanistan, Tenet and the CIA were criticized for not capturing bin Laden. Tenet was also accused of authorizing torture as part of U.S. interrogation methods of captured Al Qaeda members during the

conflict. Although the CIA admitted the use of harsh interrogation techniques, Tenet denied any allegations that the CIA had authorized torture. Many American law experts disagreed with the CIA, however, and stated that the techniques did amount to torture.

The Bush administration, meanwhile, became increasingly concerned about Iraq's capability to produce and deploy weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). Tenet repeatedly attempted to convince Bush of the vast means available to Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein to attack his own people, neighboring countries, and other Iraqi enemies, such as the United States, with WMDs. In an exchange depicted in Bob Woodward's 2004 book *Plan of Attack,* Tenet persuaded Bush that he could convince the American people about the threat of WMDs. Indeed, he described the case regarding Iraq's possession of such weapons as a "slam dunk." Many observers have harshly criticized Tenet over the use of the phrase. Tenet has since stated that the term was taken out of context and that the words had "nothing to do with the president's decision to send American troops into Iraq." Tenet affirms that the decision to do so had already been made.

The apparent absence of WMDs in Iraq, which had been the initial and primary motivating factor in the invasion of Iraq, deeply embarrassed the Bush administration. As the insurgency in Iraq began by late 2003, legions of critics pointed to the glaring miscalculation of the presence of WMDs. This in turn seemed to feed the growing antiwar faction, both in Congress and among the general public. Under increasing fire, Tenet tendered his resignation as CIA director on June 3, 2004, citing "personal reasons" for his decision. He then went to work for a British defense technology company.

On December 14, 2004, President Bush awarded Tenet with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, which only stirred up more controversy. In April 2007, Tenet released his book *At the Center of the Storm: My Years at the CIA*. In it, Tenet unsurprisingly attempted to polish his image and also accused the Bush White House of having misconstrued his counsel as well as prewar intelligence. The book, however, has been sharply criticized by those inside and outside of the intelligence establishment who claim that the former CIA director misrepresented the facts. In 2008, Tenet became managing director of the boutique investment firm Allen & Company, based in New York City. He continues to sit on several corporate boards.

Gregory W. Morgan and Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Bush, George Walker; Central Intelligence Agency; enduring freedom, Operation; iraqi freedom, Operation; Nuclear Weapons, Iraq's Potential for Building; Taliban; Terrorism; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Terrorism

There is no settled definition of the word "terrorism." Most scholars and defense analysts believe that terrorism is a tactic rather than a philosophy or set ideology. History has shown that groups may employ terrorism at some times and not at others. There is an active debate about whether terrorism is the appropriate term solely for violence by nonstate entities, or whether state terrorism must also be included. Some consider terrorism to be acts or threats of violence, directed against noncombatants, to shock or achieve a change in a political status quo by indirect means. However, others label some actions against military or governmental personnel to be terrorist in nature when they do not comply with international law. Still others write about terrorism as a pathology wherein violence is the motivating force and not merely a means to an end. This approach is problematic as it could apply to individual pathological acts of violence as in recent cases of school shootings in Western countries. Terrorism may be employed for a wide variety of ideological, religious, or economic reasons.

Terrorism is also a tool in asymmetric conflict and a force magnifier. The impact of a small number of individuals committing terrorist actions can be huge, and even a large paramilitary or military force may seem ineffective in combating it, particularly if success is measured by the complete eradication of such incidents.

Numerous academic and governmental experts recognize the arguments over what constitutes terrorism and thus do not employ the term. Certainly there has been reaction to the U.S. government's application of the term in the Global War on Terror. "Violent extremism" has been used for many years in place of "Islamic terrorism" in the Muslim world and has begun to be used in the West in the last few years. Here, the focus is on the use, or relinquishment, of violence, rather than the movement employing it.

Some analysts date modern terrorism to the Russian anarchist organization Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) of the 19th century, which attempted, through assassinations, to overthrow the czarist regime. Their methods were adopted by anarchists throughout the world, and the decades leading up to World War I were marked by frequent assassinations, including that of U.S. President William McKinley in 1901. The assassinations of the Austrian archduke

Prominent Terrorist Organizations in the Middle East

Name	*Date Founded*
al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade	2000
Al Qaeda	1988
al-Zarqawi Network	2003
Fatah	1974
Hamas	1987
Hezbollah	1982
Kahane Chai	1994
Mahdi Army	2003
Palestine Liberation Front (PLF)	1959
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)	1967

Police forensics officers work through the remains of a bombed bus in the northern Israeli city of Haifa on March 5, 2003. A suicide bomber blew up the crowded bus, killing at least 15 people and wounding dozens of others. The attack ended a two-month lull in suicide bombings. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Franz Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie, in Sarajevo in June 1914 sparked the outbreak of World War I.

Terrorist activities occurred in the Middle East prior to World War I, but in most cases the group responsible for terrorist activities was either a state-controlled force that claimed to be acting in the interests of state security or engaged in war, or a militia or force fighting against the state or another organization. Examples include the genocide perpetrated by Turkish authorities against the Armenians and subsequent actions in recent years by Kurds against Turks in Turkey. Yet atrocities committed by Israeli forces in 1948 against Palestinians have often been excused as legitimate acts of war.

In numerous instances, colonial powers have been confronted by indigenous peoples employing asymmetric warfare tactics, and both have resorted to terrorism. For instance, in the conflict between Algerian nationalist groups and the French government and military, both sides engaged in acts of terrorism. The nationalist Front de Liberation Nationale (National Liberation Front, FLN) bombed crowded civilian locations frequented by Westerners as well as Algerians, and the French bombed residences in the Arab-inhabited *casbah* of Algiers and resorted to the torture of suspects in retaliation.

Terrorism by both Arabs and Jews against each other and by Jewish forces against the British mandate power occurred in Palestine in the 1930s. Following Israel's creation in 1948, Palestinian groups, some supported by neighboring Arab governments, began to launch military attacks against Israel. After Israel's victory in the 1967 Six-Day War and the rise of the Popular Movement in the refugee camps, Palestinian groups organized a wave of terrorist activities during 1969–1973. The political leadership of the movement then determined that these tactics brought too heavy an Israeli response and were detrimental to their cause, although they had served a purpose in focusing world attention on the plight of the Palestinians. In these same years, radical left-wing organizations in the United States such as the Weatherman and the Red Army in Europe and beyond (Japan) also engaged in acts of terrorism. Terrorism continued to be a major aspect of the Israeli-Palestinian confrontation and the inability to conclude an Arab-Israeli peace treaty but also as a response to Israeli military actions employing collective punishment against Palestinians or Palestinian communities.

Terrorist actions also appeared in Saudi Arabia. After the 1991 Persian Gulf War, extremists began preaching against U.S. military forces in Saudi Arabia, claiming that it was unconscionable for the Saudi government to allow Christian forces to determine the political responses of the Saudi government toward other Muslim governments and to operate from the peninsula where the holy cities of Mecca and Medina are located. Their objection was

chiefly regarding the presence of Western military forces; however, Saudi Arabia has long been home to a large expatriate community in its oil industry, and some extremists objected to their presence on Saudi soil as well.

On November 13, 1993, the Office of the Program Manager/Saudi Arabian National Guard (OPM/SANG) was badly damaged by a car bomb. Four Saudi nationals confessed and were executed on May 31, 1996. According to their confessions, they were veterans of jihads in Afghanistan, Bosnia, and Chechnya; they claimed that the Saudi rulers were apostates; and they were inspired by Islamic law to commit the attacks.

One month later, the Khobar Towers in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, were destroyed by a truck bomb, killing 19 U.S. servicemen in a plot carried out by Saudi Hezbollah. In 1996 and again in 1998, Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden announced a fatwa declaring that Muslims should attack U.S. personnel and interests around the world, drive U.S. forces from Saudi Arabia, remove the Saudi royal family and other apostate Arab regimes from power, and liberate Palestine. Of these goals, the most vital, and yet most unattainable, for bin Ladin was the removal of the Saudi royal family, and in fact his campaign against the United States is based on his analysis of U.S. government support for the Saudi royal family's hold on power. Bin Laden moved to various locations—Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Sudan, and then back again to Afghanistan—to plan his campaign.

The current War on Terror began with Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in Afghanistan, a month after the devastating September 11 attacks on the United States carried out by Al Qaeda. Objectives of the operation included removing the Taliban from power, destroying Al Qaeda's training camps, and killing or capturing its operatives. In 2002, the Taliban was partially defeated, but many Al Qaeda and Taliban members escaped and new recruits soon appeared, drawn from Afghanistan and the religiously conservative northwest region of Pakistan. These groups continue to attack North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) troops, Afghan government officials, and civilians. Suicide bombings, never before utilized in Afghanistan, became a regular occurrence. Taliban and Al Qaeda operatives (including bin Laden) operated with relative freedom in the northwest reaches of Pakistan and could easily slip back across the border into Afghanistan.

In 2003, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM spearheaded by the United States removed Saddam Hussein and his regime from power and liberated Iraq. However, more than 40 different groups of Sunni Muslims as well some Shiite militias opposed and began to fight the coalition forces. These included such groups as Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia, Ansar al-Islam, and others. They engaged in regular fighting but also used terrorist attacks, mainly suicide bombings, against U.S., coalition, and Iraqi forces and civilians in attempts to destabilize the country so that they might drive the United States and its allies from Iraq and take power.

Between 2003 and 2005, more than 500 suicide car bombings and vest attacks occurred. Targets included refineries, electrical stations, police stations, open-air markets, and even mosques. The insurgents' intent was to undermine the public's confidence that the government would ever be able to provide essential services and security. However, in 2006, Sunni sheikhs, with strong financial incentives from both Saudi Arabia and the coalition, formed alliances to fight against Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia and other violent Islamist groups. This strategy accompanied the Western insistence on a coalition troop surge that began in early 2007. Yet acts of terrorism increased in the spring of 2009 and targeted the sheikhs who had cooperated with the coalition forces. Other acts of terrorism with suicide and truck bombings continue to plague Afghanistan and now, increasingly, Pakistan as well.

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See also

Al Qaeda; Al Qaeda in Iraq; Ansar al-Islam; Bin Laden, Osama; Counterterrorism Strategy; Democratization and the Global War on Terror; Global War on Terror; Hamas; Hezbollah; Mahdi Army; September 11 Attacks; Taliban

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Thani, Khalifa bin Hamad al-

Birth Date: 1932

Emir of Qatar from 1972 to 1995 and a member of the ruling family of al-Thani. Born in Doha, Qatar, in 1932 (exact date unknown), Sheikh Khalifa bin Hamad al-Thani was the fourth son of Hamad bin Ali al-Thani of the ruling al-Thani dynasty. His grandfather Ali bin Abdallah al-Thani was emir from 1913 to 1949, during Britain's rule of Qatar, and his father was heir apparent before his death in 1947. Sheikh Khalifa received a traditional Islamic education from private tutors.

In the 1950s, Sheikh Khalifa held government posts in the ministries of security and education. In 1960, he assumed the role of minister of finance and petroleum affairs and was largely responsible for planning his country's economic development and modernization process. Officially recognized as deputy ruler and heir apparent to the throne of Qatar that same year, in 1960, Sheikh Khalifa was responsible for government planning, policy, and implementation.

In 1968, three years before Qatar gained independence from Britain, Sheikh Khalifa served as the first prime minister of the

Sheikh Khalifa bin Hamad al-Thani, emir of Qatar, delivers an address to the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) in 2008. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Provisional Federal Council, the forerunner of the United Arab Emirates (UAE). As such, he was influential in the establishment of the UAE, although Qatar became independent in September 1971.

Five months after Qatar became a sovereign nation, Sheikh Khalifa deposed his cousin Ahmad bin Ali al-Thani and assumed power on February 22, 1972. In addition to assuming the title of emir, Sheikh Khalifa retained his post as prime minister and immediately reorganized the government. In doing so, he oversaw enormous economic growth, supported by massive revenues from oil sales and other natural resources.

On April 19, 1972, Sheikh Khalifa amended the provisional constitution of Qatar and enlarged the advisory council. In addition, he cut the ruling family's allowance and increased spending on social services. After the price of oil increased dramatically beginning in 1973, Sheikh Khalifa initiated a wave of industrial development in areas such as fertilizer production, steel making, and petrochemicals. In 1976, he fully nationalized Qatar's oil industry.

Qatar fought as a part of the coalition mandated by the United Nations (UN) during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, and Qatari troops were among the first to engage Iraqi ground forces at the Battle of Khafji in order to liberate Kuwait. However, Sheikh Khalifa's involvement in the Persian Gulf War was somewhat limited; his son, Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa, who wielded considerable power, essentially led Qatar during the war crisis. Additionally, Sheikh Hamad was behind the 1992 bilateral Defense Cooperation Agreement, which allowed the United States access to Qatari naval and air facilities. In 1995, Sheikh Hamad, who had been the de facto ruler of Qatar for a number of years, deposed his father, Sheikh Khalifa, in a bloodless coup d'état. This ended the 23-year reign of the emir.

The United States and other Western states quickly recognized Sheikh Hamad as the new leader of Qatar. Sheikh Khalifa, meanwhile, toured Arab capitals, where locals greeted him with open arms. Yet his dreams of returning to power were short lived after his son gained a court order to freeze Sheikh Khalifa's bank accounts. Sheikh Khalifa lived in exile in France before returning to Qatar in 2004.

KIRSTY MONTGOMERY

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Qatar; United Arab Emirates

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Thatcher, Margaret
Birth Date: October 13, 1925

British politician and prime minister (1979–1990). Born in Grantham, Lincolnshire, on October 13, 1925, Margaret Hilda Roberts attended Kesteven and Grantham High School for Girls then read chemistry at Somerville College, Oxford, becoming president of the Oxford University Conservative Association. Upon graduation in 1947, she worked as a research chemist and in 1951 was called to the bar as a lawyer. In 1951 she married Denis Thatcher, a wealthy businessman.

After two failed attempts, in 1959 Margaret Thatcher won election to Parliament as the Conservative member for Finchley. In 1961 she was parliamentary secretary at the Ministry of Pensions and in 1970 secretary of state for education and science under Edward Heath until his government lost the 1974 election to Harold Wilson's Labour Party. The following year, Thatcher became the Conservative leader, the first woman to head either major British political party. After four years, during which she broke decisively with the centrist consensus on the mixed economy and welfare state that had dominated all British governments since 1945, she led her party to electoral victory over Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan in 1979. This was the first of three successive general election triumphs for Thatcher, the others occurring in 1983 and 1987.

As British prime minister—the first woman to hold that position—Thatcher used monetarist measures to moderate the prevailing high inflation of the 1970s, cut taxes dramatically, trim

Known as the "Iron Lady," Margaret Thatcher was Britain's first woman prime minister (1979–1990). As leader of the Conservative Party, Thatcher was a strong ally of U.S. president Ronald Reagan. (Corel)

back the welfare state, privatize many nationalized industries, and drastically curtail the power of labor in bitter confrontations with major trade unions. Far more ideological than her predecessors, she accepted double-digit unemployment rates and the consequent short-term political unpopularity as the inevitable price of such policies.

Stridently anticommunist in outlook, while still in opposition in 1976 Thatcher had assailed Soviet policies for opposing genuine détente through intervention in Angola and opposed any weakening of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Dubbed the "Iron Lady" by the Soviet press, she accepted the sobriquet with pride and worked to strengthen British defenses and repair strained relations with the United States. She consciously modeled herself on Winston Churchill, another maverick Conservative prime minister who supported tough foreign policies. Her uncompromising rhetoric, strong principles, and forceful personality soon made her a major international figure, admired by conservatives and often reviled by liberals.

Thatcher consistently backed NATO, endorsing the controversial 1979 decision to deploy nuclear-armed intermediate-range cruise missiles in Western Europe and replace Britain's Polaris submarine fleet with modern Trident II submarines. In doing so, she ignored protests, including the revival of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the encampment of protestors for several years outside the American air base of Greenham Common, Berkshire. Splits within the Labour Party over defense and British membership in NATO contributed to Thatcher's subsequent reelection victories.

While taking a tough line on defense and rearmament, initially Thatcher concentrated on economic and domestic issues, leaving her foreign secretary, Lord Carrington, responsible for handling such thorny issues as negotiating a settlement in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) in 1980 that replaced the state's breakaway white government with one dominated by Africans. From 1982, however, when against much advice she chose to send a military expedition to the South Atlantic to regain the British-controlled Falkland Islands after their seizure by Argentina, Thatcher became far more active in international affairs. She played a major part in negotiating the 1984 Joint Declaration whereby, against her own initial instincts, Britain agreed to return Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1997. Always somewhat suspicious of the European Community (EC), she did not withdraw Britain from membership but undertook hard bargaining to ensure that Britain's overall budgetary contributions to the EC declined substantially.

Thatcher privately considered Democratic President Jimmy Carter, in office when she first became prime minister, regrettably

weak and unrealistic in his early policies of seeking détente with the Soviet Union. After the December 1979 Soviet-backed coup in Afghanistan, Carter took a much tougher anti-Soviet line, an attitude Thatcher welcomed and encouraged. Britain supported the United States in imposing economic sanctions on the Soviet Union in retaliation. Thatcher also shared Carter's concern when a fiercely anti-American Islamic government overthrew the Shah of Iran in 1979, causing oil prices to soar dramatically. After a mob sacked the U.S. embassy in Tehran in 1979 and American diplomatic personnel working there were held hostage for more than a year, Thatcher sympathized but declined a request from Carter to impose a broad array of sanctions on Iran. When Iraqi-trained terrorists took over the Iranian embassy in London in April 1980, she authorized armed SAS (Special Air Service) personnel to attack the building, an operation that successfully released captives held hostage there. In September 1980 Iraq attacked Iran, beginning eight years of a brutal, stalemated war. Thatcher, whose main concern was to protect western shipping in the Persian Gulf and prevent the conflict from spreading to other Gulf States, dispatched British naval forces to patrol the region.

From early 1981, Thatcher worked closely with U.S. president Ronald Reagan, whose political views on both domestic and international issues coincided almost exactly with her own, and the two soon developed a warm friendship. Internationally, she almost always backed the United States, even when Reagan's fiercely antiterrorist and anticommunist policies toward such countries as Libya, Nicaragua, and Chile generated considerable domestic and foreign criticism. In retaliation for Libya's backing of international terrorist attacks on Americans, in April 1986 U.S. warplanes bombed targets in Libya. Thatcher strongly supported the operation, allowing the American aircraft to launch their raids from British bases. During Reagan's second term, the Iran Contra scandal revealed that the Reagan administration had secretly sold arms to Iran and illicitly funneled the proceeds to the Nicaraguan Contra rebels. Thatcher remained the president's staunch and loyal friend, fiercely rebuffing all suggestions that this episode and the subsequent investigation had crippled Reagan's domestic and international political effectiveness.

During the early 1980s, Thatcher's relations with Soviet leaders Leonid Brezhnev, Yuri Andropov, and Konstantin Chernenko were frosty. Meeting Mikhail Gorbachev in December 1983 shortly before he became Soviet Communist Party secretary, she quickly developed a rapport with him and urged Reagan to give credence to Gorbachev's calls for major reductions in nuclear and conventional forces as well as his attempts at economic reform. Interestingly, fearing that Gorbachev political survival was precarious and that more hard-line Soviet officials might well replace him, Thatcher was more cautious than Reagan in sanctioning such reductions, including the 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, and urged the Western alliance to proceed relatively slowly. She was therefore somewhat uncomfortable with the sweeping agreements that Reagan and Gorbachev reached at Reykjavik in 1986, a meeting that, like several others between Gorbachev and Presidents Reagan and George H. W. Bush, she did not attend.

Doubts over the effectiveness of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) system of antinuclear defenses that Reagan favored made Thatcher reluctant to dismantle both nuclear weapons and antinuclear defenses. Memories of German involvement in two world wars also led her to oppose unavailingly the unification of the German Democratic Republic (GDR, East Germany) and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, West Germany). In the late summer of 1990, she reportedly exhorted President George H. W. Bush to remain firm in opposition to the seizure of Kuwait by President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, pleadings that many believed contributed to Bush's decision to launch a war against Iraq the following year. Thatcher quickly dispatched British troops to the Persian Gulf as part of the international coalition that Bush put together. British troops and airplanes played a prominent part, second only to the United States, in the brief Persian Gulf War of 1991, in which coalition forces attained victory in a matter of days.

By then, however, Thatcher was no longer prime minister. In November 1990, Conservative opposition to Thatcher's domestic policies, especially the highly unpopular new poll tax, had created a rebellion within her own party that forced her from office. John Major replaced her as prime minister. Raised to the peerage as Baroness Thatcher, she then published several volumes of memoirs and speeches, made numerous public addresses, and somewhat ineffectively attempted to pressure her successors to follow her policies. She opposed any further strengthening of the European Union (EU) but strongly supported the continuation and enlargement of NATO. She also established a foundation to promote and encourage her free enterprise and antisocialist political views. In failing health by the early 21st century, in June 2004 she nonetheless insisted on attending her old friend Reagan's funeral and burial services, for which she had recorded a eulogy lauding his domestic and international achievements. Although her own country lacked the superpower status of the United States, much of her praise of Reagan's courage, determination, and political skills was equally applicable to Thatcher herself.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Gorbachev, Mikhail; Iran; Iran-Contra Affair; Iran-Iraq War; Iranian Revolution; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Kuwait; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Reagan, Ronald Wilson; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy

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Thermobaric Bomb

A bomb that uses atmospheric oxygen to multiply its explosive power. Generally, a thermobaric bomb produces an explosive cloud of vapor, which then ignites to produce a high-temperature explosive reaction. Thermobaric bombs have been in use among the world's militaries since the Vietnam War, but the methods needed to produce practical bombs have only recently been perfected. Large thermobaric devices can pack power comparable to tactical nuclear weapons. The weapons are also sometimes referred to as fuel-air explosives or vacuum bombs.

The physics behind a thermobaric bomb are relatively simple. An explosive mixture is packed inside a bomb casing. The mixture may be either liquid or solid. Early weapons used liquid fuels such as liquid oxygen or gasoline. Researchers have found that solid fuels work more efficiently and are significantly easier to store and maintain. Powdered aluminum is the most common solid fuel used today, but other elements can be used. Boron, silicon, titanium, magnesium, zirconium, carbon, and hydrocarbons are also employed. The fuel is often mixed with a small amount of an oxygen-rich compound to initiate a reaction. Ammonium perchlorate is commonly used.

When a thermobaric bomb is detonated, a small explosive charge ruptures the casing and the fuel is dispersed to form a cloud. The size and density of the cloud depend on weather conditions, such as humidity and wind. Researchers found that the cloud of fuel must be dense enough to set up a chain reaction, but not so dense that atmospheric oxygen is not present. After the cloud is created, a secondary explosive ignites it. The shock wave of the detonation ignites particles farther from the center, creating a larger shock wave, which can expand far beyond the limits of one produced by the same amount of conventional explosives. The temperature of the reaction may reach more than 5,000°F. Because the reaction consumes the oxygen in the area, a vacuum usually occurs in the center of the ignition, causing the remaining fuel particles and objects that have not been incinerated to be sucked into the reaction.

The effects of a thermobaric bomb can be enhanced in a number of ways. One is by having a mix of different sized particles in the fuel. Smaller particles ignite more rapidly, while larger ones burn more slowly and help to prolong the shock wave. Excessive amounts of fuel in the bomb can also cause more incendiary effects.

Human rights groups, such as Human Rights Watch, have condemned the use of thermobaric bombs because of the indiscriminate and widespread damage they can cause among noncombatants. The central zone of the detonation stretches for many meters because the fuel is dispersed. Anyone in the central zone would almost certainly die immediately because of heat-related injuries or overpressure that would cause internal injuries. Those farther from the center of the explosion would suffer severe burns and would likely die from the effects soon afterward.

The shockwaves from thermobaric bombs also react differently than those of conventional explosives. Normal shockwaves would be stopped by hitting a wall, such as a bend in a cave. Thermobaric shockwaves travel through twists and turns in caves and other enclosed locations. The thermobaric detonation also consumes the oxygen in enclosed locations, causing those inside to suffocate.

The reaction that occurs in a thermobaric bomb is similar to that found in silo explosions and some industrial accidents. Silo explosions result when fine dust from grain mixes with air in the enclosed area of a silo and is ignited by heat, electrical sparks, or some other source. The resulting shock waves usually destroy the silos and surrounding structures.

The first attempt to develop a thermobaric bomb was by the Germans in World War II. A fuel mixture of 40 percent liquid oxygen was mixed with 60 percent dry brown coal powder. A test explosion of 8 kilograms destroyed trees within a 600-meter (650-yard) radius of the detonation. The war ended before the Germans were able to employ their bomb in action.

By the 1960s, both the United States and the Soviet Union had developed workable thermobaric bombs. In Vietnam, the United States used massive fuel-air munitions with great effect. The U.S. Air Force dropped massive 15,000-pound so-called Daisy Cutter bombs to create cleared areas for helicopter landing sites. The bombs used an aerosol action to create a cloud of fine droplets of liquid fuel just above the ground. When it was ignited, the resulting shock wave would flatten the trees for hundreds of yards around the ignition center. Unlike conventional bombs, the thermobaric weapons would not leave craters that would prevent helicopters from using the site. When the effects of the bombs were studied, commanders realized that they could use such bombs to destroy minefields and, in certain cases, to attack North Vietnamese cave complexes. There were many drawbacks to these weapons, however. They were never intended to work in confined areas and were so large that deployment was difficult.

The Daisy Cutter was also used in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Uses included detonating minefields and destroying Iraqi trenches in the front-line defenses.

The Soviet Union developed smaller weapons during the 1960s, recognizing that thermobaric weapons can provide more power for the size than conventional weapons. Reportedly,

A BLU-118B thermobaric bomb ready for shipment at the Naval Surface Warfare Center, Indian Head, Maryland, on March 5, 2002. A thermobaric bomb was employed for the first time against Al Qaeda and Taliban forces in Afghanistan on March 2, 2002, during Operation ANACONDA. (AP/Wide World Photos)

the Soviets perfected artillery shells and shoulder-launched weapons that used thermobaric warheads. Rocket-propelled grenades (RPG) for individual soldiers were apparently used by Soviet forces during their border conflict with the Chinese in 1969. Reports of Soviet deployment of thermobaric weapons increased during the 1980s, when the Soviets employed them against the mujahideen rebels in Afghanistan. Russian forces also used thermobaric warheads against rebels in Chechnya. Reports from the fighting there compared the effects in an urban environment of one RPG with a thermobaric warhead to a conventional 152-millimeter artillery shell. The Russians have also developed a special weapons system capable of placing large numbers of thermobaric warheads onto a target. Known as the TOS-1 Buratino, it consists of a multiple rocket launcher on a T-72 tank chassis. The Buratino was used in Grozny during the Second Chechen War.

Other countries are known to have developed thermobaric weapons. Israel has fielded a fuel-air bomb for clearing minefields. The overpressure from the detonation either destroys or uncovers hidden mines quickly and effectively. The British are also believed to have thermobaric warheads, which can be delivered by weapons such as the Hellfire AGM-114N missile.

A new generation of thermobaric weapons was developed by the United States after the invasion of Afghanistan began in 2001. American planners quickly realized that the Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters would take cover in the many caves throughout the country. In October 2001, the U.S. Department of Defense ordered the acceleration of several projects that were being prepared as Advanced Concept Technology Demonstrations for use in the fighting there. A team of experts from all military services, the Department of Energy, and industry representatives took on the issue of dealing with hardened underground targets, including caves.

Work on the project began on October 11, 2001, and a prototype was ready on December 14, 2001. The solution developed by the team was a thermobaric bomb that could penetrate layers of rock and soil before exploding in an enclosed place. Known as BLU-118/B, the weapon consists of the same penetrating body used by the standard BLU-109 2000-pound bomb. Instead of high explosives, the weapon is filled with a newly developed

thermobaric explosive mixture. A delayed action fuse permits the bomb to penetrate before exploding. The original BLU-118 was a 500-pound napalm weapon used during the Vietnam War.

The first test in which the BLU-118B bomb was dropped on a target took place on December 14, 2002, on a Nevada test range. A laser-guidance system was fitted to the bomb and it was dropped on a cave target from a McDonnell Douglas/Boeing F-15 Eagle attack aircraft. The tests were considered a complete success, and 10 weapons were immediately prepared for use in Afghanistan.

In March 2002, U.S. and Afghan forces were in action in Operation ANACONDA against Taliban and Al Qaeda forces near the Pakistani border. On March 3, one of the thermobaric weapons was dropped against a cave in which Al Qaeda fighters were hiding. The weapon struck near or at the mouth of the cave. Although military authorities refused to comment on the weapon's effectiveness in this instance, they announced that the concept had been proven. If a thermobaric weapon exploded in a cave or enclosed underground area, almost anyone within would be incinerated or die of internal injuries.

Additional thermobaric weapons were developed for use by American forces. During the invasion of Iraq in March–April 2003, U.S. Marines reportedly used shoulder-launched rockets with thermobaric warheads against some targets. Thermobaric warheads have also been developed for 40-mm grenades and for the AGM-114N Hellfire missile.

Perhaps inspired by American success in developing thermobaric weapons, the Russians exploded the largest such weapon ever made in September 2007. Nicknamed the "Father of All Bombs," it used 14,000 pounds of thermobaric fuel mixed with powdered aluminum.

Reportedly, terrorists have attempted to develop thermobaric bombs. Some weapons have used aluminum powder to enhance the conventional explosives also used. In 1983, the bomb that destroyed a barracks used by U.S. Marines in Lebanon was believed to have been enhanced by an explosive gas such as propane. The 1993 attack on the World Trade Center included three tanks of hydrogen in an attempt to create a more powerful blast. On September 21, 2008, a truck bomb that damaged the Islamabad Marriott Hotel included aluminum powder, which produced an extremely powerful explosion.

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See also

Al Qaeda; ANACONDA, Operation; BLU-82/B Bomb; Bombs, Cluster; Taliban; World Trade Center Bombing

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TIGER, Operation
Event Date: December 1990

Alternate plan developed by the U.S. Marine Corps Warfighting Laboratory at Quantico, Virginia, regarding the employment of marines in Operation DESERT STORM, the liberation of Kuwait. Marine Corps commandant General Alfred Gray instigated the planning as an alternate to the plan taking shape in Saudi Arabia under the direction of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf. Gray and a number of other senior Marine Corps officers were concerned about what they considered to be the high risks of a CENTCOM plan that would send the marines against the most fortified portion of the Iraqi defensive line.

Apprehensive about potential heavy marine casualties, Gray sent Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney a paper in which he proposed that the marines be utilized instead to open a "second front." Under this plan, urged on Gray by Lieutenant General Robert F. Milligan, commanding marine forces in the Pacific, the marines would attack Iraq from Turkey, Syria, western Jordan, or the Red Sea.

Gray's suggestion of an alternate land approach was dead on arrival. There was no likelihood of the marines being permitted to mount an attack from Turkey or Syria. Although both nations were part of the international coalition against Iraq, their military cooperation in it was strictly limited. A scenario involving Jordan was even less likely. Not a coalition member, Jordan had a large Palestinian population and was moreover one of the few nations supporting and supplying Iraq; U.S. policy was aimed at isolating Iraq in so far as was possible, and bringing Jordan into the fighting would only expand the battle front. Nothing, therefore, came of Gray's paper.

At the same time, Gray charged Marine Corps planners at Quantico, Virginia, to produce alternatives to the planned frontal assault on the Iraqi positions in southern Kuwait. Major General Matthew P. Caulfield headed this "Ad Hoc Study Team." The result of its labors was Operation TIGER, planning for which was completed at the end of December 1990.

TIGER was to be an amphibious operation. Although the opportunities for a landing from the Kuwaiti–Saudi Arabia border north to the Faw peninsula were limited, Caulfield believed that an amphibious assault would allow the marines to turn the Iraqi positions along the Kuwaiti border with Saudi Arabia. While the U.S. Army VII Corps turned Iraqi positions from the west, the marines would accomplish the same in the east, driving on Iraq's second largest city, Basra. Caulfield and marine planners believed that once Basra was taken, the entire Iraqi position to the south would collapse. At the time the plan was developed, Schwarzkopf had five marine divisions ashore and two afloat. Caulfield's plan would have seen these numbers reversed.

Gray had his reservations about the plan, but he allowed it to be sent to CENTCOM. Colonel Martin R. Steele, deputy director of the Warfighting Laboratory, carried the plan to the Gulf to be given to Lieutenant General Walter E. Boomer and to Vice Admiral Stanley Arthur, respectively the senior U.S. Marine Corps and U.S.

Navy officers. The plan was not to go directly to Schwarzkopf, who would not take kindly to a plan developed by Quantico less than a month before the start of the war. For the plan to have any hope of success, both Boomer and Arthur would have to endorse it and take it to Schwarzkopf.

Gray himself went to the theater at the end of December and received a briefing in which he was informed of the CENTCOM plan to send the 1st Marine Division north from eastern Saudi Arabia in a head-on attack against the most heavily fortified portion of the Iraqi defenses between the Wafra forest and where the Kuwaiti-Saudi border angles sharply to the northwest. Once a gap had been pried open, the 2nd Marine Division was to follow and engage the Iraqi mechanized forces immediately behind the fortified line. The Marine Corps had never before attempted to breach an enemy line on this scale. The Iraqis had sowed thousands of mines in the area, and little mine-clearing equipment was available, which would force one division to attack behind the other. Gray protested, calling the plan "another Tarawa" (in reference to the bloodbath experienced by the marines during their first major Pacific assault in November 1943 during World War II).

Gray then met privately with Schwarzkopf and expressed his reservations with the CENTCOM plan. He also sought to replace General Boomer. Schwarzkopf was surprised and upset that the Marine Corps commandant would want to change the battle plan and make an important personnel shift on such short notice, and he then met privately with Boomer, who pronounced his confidence in the CENTCOM plan. Schwarzkopf then rejected Gray's requests. Operation TIGER would not implemented.

As it turned out, Boomer's understanding of the realities on the ground regarding the Iraqis was correct. Although a number of marines were kept aboard ship and a naval task force was moved north in the Gulf in an apparent amphibious assault, it was only a feint designed to hold Iraqi coast defense units in place and keep them from reinforcing to the south.

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See also

Arthur, Stanley; Boomer, Walter; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Gray, Alfred M., Jr.; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.

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Tigris and Euphrates Valley

An area of the Fertile Crescent largely occupied by present-day Iraq and referred to, in English, as the "cradle of civilization" because it was the birthplace of the world's earliest cultures. It is known in Arabic as *al-bilad al-rafhidhayn* ("land of the two rivers"; i.e., Mesopotamia). From the times of the Sumerians and Babylonians to the present, both the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers have been dammed to control flooding and harnessed for irrigation and hydroelectric power. For more than six millennia, they have been essential to the environmental, economic, and political makeup of the Persian Gulf region.

The Tigris River (Nahr al-Dijlah), the second largest river in Southwestern Asia, is 1,180 miles long; it arises in the Taurus Mountains of eastern Turkey, flows through Turkey and Syria, and joins the Euphrates River in southern Iraq at Qurna. The two rivers then form the Shatt al-Arab waterway, which empties into the Persian Gulf. By the time it reaches the Shatt al-Arab, 70 to 80 percent of the flow of the Tigris River has been diverted. Because the Tigris has been prone to flooding, which inundates large areas and collapses levees, both the Turkish and Iraqi governments have built dams and a diversion channel to control the problem.

The Euphrates (Nahr al-Furat), the longest river in Southwestern Asia at 1,730 miles, also has its origins in the highland regions of eastern Turkey, where its two major tributaries, the Murat and the Kara Su rivers, join. It flows through deep canyons and narrow gorges to Syria and, after joining with two more tributaries, it enters Iraq, where it joins with the Tigris. The river annually floods, caused by snow melting in the mountains of northeastern Turkey. The Euphrates, Greek for "fertilizing" or "fruitful," is one of the four rivers that Westerners believe flowed from the Garden of Eden, as detailed in the biblical book Genesis. It provided the water that led to the flowering of the Sumerian civilization in the fourth millennium BCE, and its river valley formed the heartland for the later empires of Babylonia and Assyria. For centuries, the river separated the Roman and Persian Empires. As the crossroads for trade between Egypt, India, and China, the Tigris-Euphrates River Valley has distinct geographical and political implications. The region has been subject to numerous invasions and controversies over the use of its waterways.

The valley's ecosystem of marshlands formed over thousands of years, but after Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's rise to power in the late 1970s, the ecology of the Tigris-Euphrates river system and salt marshes suffered greatly. It is estimated that up to 90 percent of the marshes and 60 percent of the wetlands were destroyed by Iraqi government policies. In the 1990s, Hussein's government water-control projects drained the marsh areas to gain military access to the region and to drive out the rebellious native Marsh Arabs, leaving only about 10,000 people. Dykes and dams were built that diverted the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates around the marshes, causing the vegetation and water that fed the surrounding soil and many of the native wildlife and their habitats to disappear. The drainage policy was reversed by the new Iraqi government following the 2003 Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq, and roughly half of the marshes have now been restored, but whether they will fully recover is uncertain.

Lush, green fields in Iraq. Despite popular stereotypes of sand dunes and Bedouin tents, Iraq's geography is quite varied. The country's agricultural heart is the fertile zone between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. (Steve Dutch, University of Wisconsin-Green Bay)

Controversy over water rights and use of the rivers remains. Since 1990, Turkey's Southeastern Anatolia Development Project has built 22 dams and 19 power plants. The Turkish government hopes that by the end of its development on the two rivers nearly 2 million hectares of land will be irrigated. Syria in 1993 completed the Tabaqah (Euphrates) Dam, to form a reservoir for irrigating cotton, but it and other dams have diverted much-needed water to Iraq. Building dams was not a priority during Hussein's regime, but Iraq now has seven dams in operation. Iraq is now concerned that construction of huge hydroelectric plants and dams along the two rivers by both Turkey and Syria will affect the social and economic stability of the region.

Gary Kerley

See also
Marsh Arabs; Shatt al-Arab Waterway

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Tikrit

City in north-central Iraq, known primarily as the birthplace of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein and also as a center of the Iraqi resistance that began after the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq in 2003. The city is also the home of one of Hussein's many elaborate presidential palaces, known popularly by Iraqis as the Birthday Palace. Tikrit is located approximately 90 miles north-northwest of Baghdad along the Tigris River. It serves as the administrative seat of Salahuddin Province. In 2002, prior to the Iraq War, it had a population of 550,000 people. Because of the war and the prolonged insurgency that has been centered in and around Tikrit, the city has lost a significant amount of its population, but the actual size of the exodus is not now known.

Tikrit is an old city; the first written references to it occurred in the early seventh century CE. In its earliest known history, it was known as Tagrit. The great 12th-century Muslim military leader Saladin (Salah-al din Yusuf ibn Ayyāb) was born in Tikrit. He fought Crusader forces under King Richard I of England to a standstill and captured Jerusalem in 1187. In September 1917, during World War I, Tikrit was overrun by British forces in the course of an offensive against the forces of the Ottoman Empire. A somewhat nondescript city, Tikrit gained great importance after Saddam Hussein's rise to power in the late 1970s, as he was born there on April 28, 1937. Hussein remained fiercely loyal to his Tikriti tribe (Al bu Nasir), centered in and around Tikrit, and many of his top advisers and government administrators came from that city. Hussein believed that he could trust only those from his own family or tribe. For the same reason, many of the commanders in Hussein's vaunted Iraqi Republican Guard also came from Tikrit.

Most coalition commanders believed that Hussein would seek refuge in Tikrit during an invasion of Iraq, so the city became the scene of great military concentration as soon as the Iraq War began in March 2003. Tikrit came under almost immediate and heavy aerial bombardment designed to flush out Hussein, his followers, and elements of the Republican Guard who might have sought a safe haven in the city. In April 2003, a contingent of several thousand U.S. marines and coalition forces descended on the city, accompanied by more than 300 armored vehicles, to secure it and search for any Hussein hold-outs. The city was taken with almost no resistance, but Hussein was nowhere to be found. Nevertheless, once Hussein had left Baghdad, presumably just before the invasion of Iraq began, he is believed to have fled to the vicinity of Tikrit, where he was sheltered and hidden by supporters and relatives. On December 13, 2003, U.S. forces found Hussein hidden in a small, underground bunker in a small town just outside Tikrit.

The Iraqi insurgency, meanwhile, has heavily involved Tikrit, located in the northern part of what has been called the Sunni Triangle. It has provided many insurgent fighters and has been the scene of numerous bombings and ambushes against coalition troops. By 2007, Tikrit had been partially pacified, and the U.S. Army, working with Iraqi officials, has begun to institute economic reforms in the area designed to improve education and increase job opportunities. A textile mill, the profits from which will help fund a vocational school, was already up and running by the end of 2007.

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See also

Hussein, Saddam; Iraqi Insurgency; Republican Guard

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Tikriti, Hardan al-

Birth Date: 1925
Death Date: March 31, 1971

Prominent Baath Party leader and Iraqi Air Force general. Hardan Abd al-Ghaffar al-Tikriti was born in Tikrit in 1925, the son of a police officer. Like many other men of modest backgrounds from Tikrit, he joined the military and then the Baath Party. As a member of the Iraqi Air Force, Tikriti attended the Flight and Staff Academy in Baghdad and officially joined the Baath Party in 1961. He was an active Baath Party member and, as an officer who had reached the rank of brigadier general in the Iraqi Air Force by 1963, he was an extremely well-placed party member. After the Baath Party took control in Iraq with the 1963 coup, Tikriti assumed command of the Iraqi Air Force. He was a key member of the government, serving as a member of the National Council on the Revolutionary Command.

When Abd al-Salam Arif took over the government later that year, Tikriti and other moderate Baathists, such as Ahmed Hasan al-Bakr, sided with him, and Arif moved against other members of the Baath Party. As a reward for his support, Tikriti was given the post of minister of defense, which he held until 1964 when Arif began to ease Baathists out of his regime altogether. Tikriti's real power base had rested on the air force, but he was no longer its commander, and in March 1964 Arif felt secure enough to remove Tikriti as minister of defense.

Tikriti then became an active participant of the 1968 coup that ousted Arif. The coup proceeded without violence, and Tikriti was charged with informing Arif that he was to be relieved of power. He persuaded Arif to step down and withdraw to London, had a cup of tea with him, and personally escorted him to the airport.

After the coup, a Revolutionary Command Council headed the new regime with Ahmed Hasan al-Bakr as its chairman and the head of state. Tikriti regained his old positions as minister of defense and commander of the air force, but he also held the posts of deputy prime minister and deputy commander in chief and chief of staff. These posts effectively made Tikriti one of the most powerful men in Iraq and officially Bakr's second in command. The other prominent member of the council was Saddam Hussein, deputy chairman of the council for internal security and secretary general of the Baath party. All three men—Bakr, Hussein, and Tikriti—were from Tikrit. Bakr and Hussein, however, began to conspire against Tikriti because he had the strongest support among the military.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, members of the Baathist government constantly jockeyed for position because they all recognized that the existing coalition would not last. Tikriti's conflicts with the minister of the interior, Salih Madhi Ammash, led to the dismissal of both men, and both were given the vice presidential posts. Ammash was backed by Saddam Hussein and the more civilian-oriented Baathists in his conflict with Tikriti, but the removal of both men opened up key ministries in the government

that ultimately benefited Saddam Hussein. As both Ammash and Tikriti were military men, Hussein saw them as threats. Hussein was creating a new system of party apparatchiks attached to army commands who would report directly to him.

As Hussein's power grew, Tikriti's position became tenuous, and he received harsh criticism for his opposition to the use of an Iraqi brigade located in Jordan to support Palestinians against the Jordanian government in the Black September uprising of 1970. Tikriti's opposition was based on the relative weakness of the force and the potential danger of capture. Even so, his stance was pictured as disloyalty and served as a pretext to remove him from his government positions on October 15, 1970. This was part of a larger process that saw purges throughout the Iraqi government of men who had strong links to the military. These purges ultimately affected Bakr himself, while Hussein and the men from the security apparatus loyal to him continued to rise.

Recognizing Hussein's growing power, Tikriti chose to step down peaceably. He received the post as Iraqi minister to Algeria, but the Algerians refused to recognize his credentials as they had no interest in siding with one Iraqi faction over another. Rather than returning to Iraq, where he now had no position and no power, Tikriti went to Kuwait hoping for a change in Iraqi politics. He did not live long in Kuwait, however; he was shot and killed in Kuwait City on March 31, 1971. His demise has been attributed to Hussein.

MICHAEL K. BEAUCHAMP

See also

Arif, Abd al-Salam; Bakr, Ahmad Hassan al-; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990

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Tillman, Patrick Daniel

Birth Date: November 6, 1976
Death Date: April 22, 2004

U.S. Army Ranger and professional football player. Tillman's April 2004 death in Afghanistan provoked a national controversy after it appeared that government officials had tried to hide the fact that he was a victim of friendly fire. Patrick Daniel Tillman was born in San Jose, California, on November 6, 1976. A natural-born athlete and a bright student, Tillman earned a football scholarship to Arizona State University in 1994, where he excelled as a linebacker and student, graduating in 1998 with a 3.8 grade point average. Voted the Pacific-10 Conference's Defensive Player of the Year for 1998, Tillman entered the National Football League (NFL) draft and became the 226th pick for that year. He began playing for the Arizona Cardinals that fall, playing the position of safety. In his first year, he started in 10 of the 16 games of the 1998–1999 season, an impressive feat for a rookie player. Tillman approached the game with gusto and was chosen by *Sports Illustrated* for its all-pro team for 2000.

Army corporal and former NFL star Pat Tillman in a 2003 military photo. Tillman's death in Afghanistan in 2004 from friendly fire was deliberately covered up by army authorities. (AP/World Wide Photos)

Moved to enlist in the army after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, Tillman completed the 2000–2001 season and joined the army in May 2002, along with his brother Kevin, a professional baseball player. In so doing, Tillman gave up a promising football career, a salary of more than $500,000 per year, and a pending contract that would have netted him $3.6 million over the succeeding three years.

Tillman and his brother wanted to become Army Rangers, and they completed the Ranger Indoctrination Program in the autumn of 2002 and were assigned to the 75th Ranger Regiment at Fort Lewis, Washington. Tillman was then deployed with his unit to Iraq, where he participated in the opening invasion of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM in March and April 2003. He returned to the United States and subsequently graduated from the U.S. Army's Infantry Center's Ranger School before deploying to Afghanistan in early 2004 with the rank of specialist.

The circumstances surrounding Tillman's death remain shrouded in controversy and mystery. While on patrol on April 22,

2004, Tillman was killed by three bullet wounds to the forehead. When family members were contacted by Department of Defense officials regarding Tillman's death, they were told that he had died from "hostile fire," meaning that he had been felled by enemy combatants. Because of Tillman's high-profile professional football career, his death generated much publicity. Indeed, he was the first professional football player to die in combat since 1970. The national media reported Tillman's death as a result of hostile fire.

However, more than a month after Tillman's death, on May 28, 2004, the Pentagon again contacted the family to say that Tillman had been the victim of friendly fire. The Tillman family, rightly outraged, believed that they had been lied to in an effort to cover up wrongdoing in the army and to protect army honor. Further, many have argued that the army's long delay in notifying the family of the true circumstances of Tillman's death was a way to take the spotlight off the death of a well-known and popular sports figure. Others have intimated that Tillman's criticism of the George W. Bush administration's handling of the war in Iraq and the War on Terror also was a factor in the botched cover-up. Complicating matters was the army's inexplicable failure to gather and hold on to crucial forensic evidence that might have shed more light on Tillman's death. The media turned the strange tale into a national phenomenon, and many Americans saw in it yet another reason to criticize Bush administration policies. Indeed, the growing insurgency in Iraq had already laid bare the shortcomings of Pentagon postinvasion planning and execution there.

Investigative reports seemed to confirm that the army knew from the beginning that Tillman's death was not the result of hostile fire. One report has alleged that some of Tillman's peers destroyed his uniform and body armor in an effort to hide evidence of a friendly fire incident. Those involved have been dismissed from the army. The cover-up also involved high-level army officials, who were accused of lying to the Tillman family and the American public.

Under great pressure, the inspector general of the Department of Defense opened an official investigation into Tillman's death in August 2005. That triggered a criminal investigation, conducted by the army, to determine if Tillman's death could be classified as negligent homicide. After an allegedly exhaustive investigation, in March 2007 the army ruled Tillman's death an "accident" due solely to friendly, not hostile, fire. Also in 2007, the U.S. House of Representatives held hearings on the matter, which compelled the Pentagon and White House to release hundreds of pages of documents. Mostly press clippings, the documents provided by the White House provided no new information, and indeed White House officials refused to release other documents, citing "confidentiality" concerns. The Tillman family remains unconvinced of the army's findings.

Promoted posthumously to the rank of corporal, Tillman was also awarded posthumously the Silver Star and the Purple Heart.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also
Friendly Fire

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Tomahawk BGM-109 Land Attack Missile

Long-range, all-weather, subsonic cruise missile, used by the U.S. Navy during Operation DESERT STORM, in various military operations in the 1990s, and during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. General Dynamics began development of the long-range, all-weather, subsonic Tomahawk Land Attack Missile (TLAM), which is essentially an advanced ground-launched cruise missile (GLCM), in 1972. It was designed as a medium- to long-range missile to be fired from a submerged submarine. Production commenced in 1980. Because of corporate divestitures and acquisitions, Raytheon now makes the vast majority of the Tomahawks, although McDonnell Douglas manufactures some as well. The operational versions include the unitary conventional land attack TLAM-C, the bomblet-dispensing land attack TLAM-D, the nuclear land attack TLAM-A and TLAM-N, and the Tomahawk antiship missile.

The GLCM, an early version of the Tomahawk, could carry a tactical nuclear weapon. In the early 1980s, the United States deployed GLCMs to various bases in Western Europe to counter the numerical superiority of the Warsaw Pact. In 1987, U.S. president Ronald Reagan and Soviet general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty by which both countries agreed to destroy their intermediate-range nuclear weapons and transporter-launchers. Most nuclear-capable Tomahawks were thus scrapped.

The Tomahawk, which usually carries a 1,000-pound warhead, is stored and launched from a pressurized canister that protects it during transportation. Four recommissioned Iowa-class battleships, several nuclear-powered cruisers, and the Virginia- and some Spruance-class destroyers used Armored Box Launchers (ABL) to store and protect the launch canisters. The ABL used gas pressure to eject the missile from the storage tube, and the missile's engine ignites after it exits the end of the tube. After the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the U.S. Navy decommissioned its ABL-equipped ships. Other surface ships and some submarines use the Vertical Launch System, derived from the launch tubes of submarine-launched ballistic missiles, which uses gas pressure to eject the missile from the canister. Other submarines use water impulse to eject their Tomahawks horizontally from a torpedo tube. The newer Los Angeles–class submarines use the Capsule Launch System. When the missile exits the water, a solid-fuel booster ignites for the first few seconds of airborne flight. After the missile transitions to cruise flight, its

A BGM-109 Tomahawk Land Attack Missile (TLAM) is launched toward a target in Iraq from the U.S. Navy guided-missile cruiser *Mississippi* during Operation DESERT STORM, January 1991. (U.S. Department of Defense)

wings unfold for lift, the air scoop is exposed, and a turbofan engine takes over to fly the missile to its target.

The missile, which weighs 3,200 pounds, flies at about 550 miles per hour and can maneuver like a radar-evading fighter plane while it skims 100 to 300 feet above the surface. Over water, the 18.3-foot long (20.5 feet with launcher) missile uses inertial guidance or the NAVSTAR Global Positioning System to follow a preset course. After crossing the shoreline, Terrain Contour Matching uses an on-board altimeter that measures the height from the TLAM to the ground to determine if the missile is in the right spot and makes any needed corrections if it does not match the prestored height. After the Tomahawk closes in on its target, the Digital Scene Matching Area Correlation system uses a computerized image of the flight path that is downloaded into the TLAM before launch to match against the actual image of the terrain below the missile in flight. If the pictures do not match, it will correct itself and then finish its mission, producing a claimed accuracy of about 10 meters (about 11 yards).

During Operation DESERT STORM, the U.S. Navy launched 297 Tomahawks, mostly during daylight, from the cruiser USS *San Jacinto* in the Red Sea, attack submarines *Pittsburgh* and *Louisville,* and the battleships *Missouri* and *Wisconsin.* The Tomahawks hit 242 targets, which included surface-to-air missile sites, command and control centers, radar installations, electrical power facilities, and Iraq's presidential palace. The Tomahawks had their drawbacks, however, as they were less flexible and considerably more expensive than most conventional systems. Also, they had a smaller warhead, required a lengthy targeting process, and could not be retargeted after launch.

In the 1990s, President Bill Clinton employed Tomahawk cruise missiles as a primary military response to achieve political objectives and avoid unnecessary American military casualties. In January 1993, the United States fired 40 Tomahawks into Iraq after Iraq moved surface-to-air missile launchers into the southern no-fly zone. In June 1993, the United States launched 25 Tomahawks against the headquarters building of the Iraqi General Intelligence Service, which had been implicated in a series of car bombings and assassinations. During Operation DELIBERATE FORCE, in September 1995, the United States launched 13 missiles at Serbian positions, coercing Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic to agree to negotiations to end ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. In September 1996, 44 Tomahawks struck targets in central Iraq in retaliation for an Iraqi offensive against the Kurds. After the August 1998 car bombings of the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania by Al Qaeda terrorists, the United States fired perhaps as many as 95 Tomahawks at Al Qaeda terrorist camps in Afghanistan and at a medical plant in Sudan (Operation INFINITE REACH). In December 1998, the United States launched over 300 Tomahawk missiles at targets in Iraq.

Although the Tomahawk attacks had mixed political and military results, they did allow Clinton to employ force without risk to American lives in preventing further ethnic cleansing in the Balkans and in countering global terrorism.

During Operation ALLIED FORCE in 1999, designed to force Serbia to cease ethnic cleansing of Kosovo, nine U.S. Navy surface ships and submarines off the Balkan coast fired Tomahawks at targets in Serbia. The cruise missiles destroyed nearly 50 percent of the fixed target list in key categories, including the Serbian Army and police headquarters. These missiles sustained the air campaign in the first couple of weeks, when aircraft with laser-guided bombs could not find targets because of bad weather.

Since March 2003 and the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq, the U.S. Navy has also expended many Tomahawks, essentially exhausting its stock of the weapons. A new Tactical Tomahawk will not reach the fleet in significant numbers at least until 2010. With the absence of future operational expenditures and the retirement of the remaining Tomahawk Block III missiles beginning in 2013, the U.S. Navy is under pressure to develop a new cruise missile to meet its operational requirements in the next decade.

ROBERT B. KANE

See also
Cruise Missiles, Employment of, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; INFINITE REACH, Operation; Missiles, Cruise

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Tonga

Small, constitutional monarchy located in the South Pacific that contributed a troop contingent to the Iraq War from 2004 to 2008. With a 2008 population of about 120,000 people, two-thirds of whom live on the principal island of Tongatapu, Tonga encompasses an archipelago of islands with a total land area of just 289 square miles. The island chain stretches nearly 500 miles north to south and is located south of Samoa and about one-third of the way from Hawaii to New Zealand. The only South Pacific island chain to avoid colonization by outside powers, Tonga joined the Commonwealth of Nations in 1970, chiefly as a measure to secure it defenses during the Cold War; before that, Tonga had concluded a protectorate agreement with the British for the same reason. King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV ruled until his death in 2006; he was succeeded by his son, King George Tupou II.

Tonga's monarchy is revered throughout the tiny nation, and unlike many European monarchies, it follows a strict line of lineal succession and has featured both male and female monarchs. The nation's political system is quite liberal and offers free education and health care to all citizens. There is virtually no heavy industry in Tonga; the majority of its income is derived from agricultural exports and a large number of Tongans who live abroad (mainly in New Zealand, Australia, and the United States) and remit part of their incomes to family members in Tonga. The tiny country has historically enjoyed close relations with the industrialized powers of the West, and for that reason its foreign policy has been pro-American and pro-British. The Tonga Defence Services (TDS) has military cooperation agreements with both New Zealand and Australia and a similar agreement with the U.S. military, which periodically trains its personnel. For these reasons, Tonga dispatched a 55-man troop detachment to the Iraq War in late 2004.

The TDS, which maintains a standing force of only 450 people, dispatched men from its Royal Marines unit. In Iraq, the Tongan personnel chiefly performed security and support functions for other coalition troops. On December 5, 2008, the Tongan Royal Marines left Iraq, presumably for good. The Tonga contingent suffered no casualties during its deployment.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also
IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; New Zealand, Role in Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Wars

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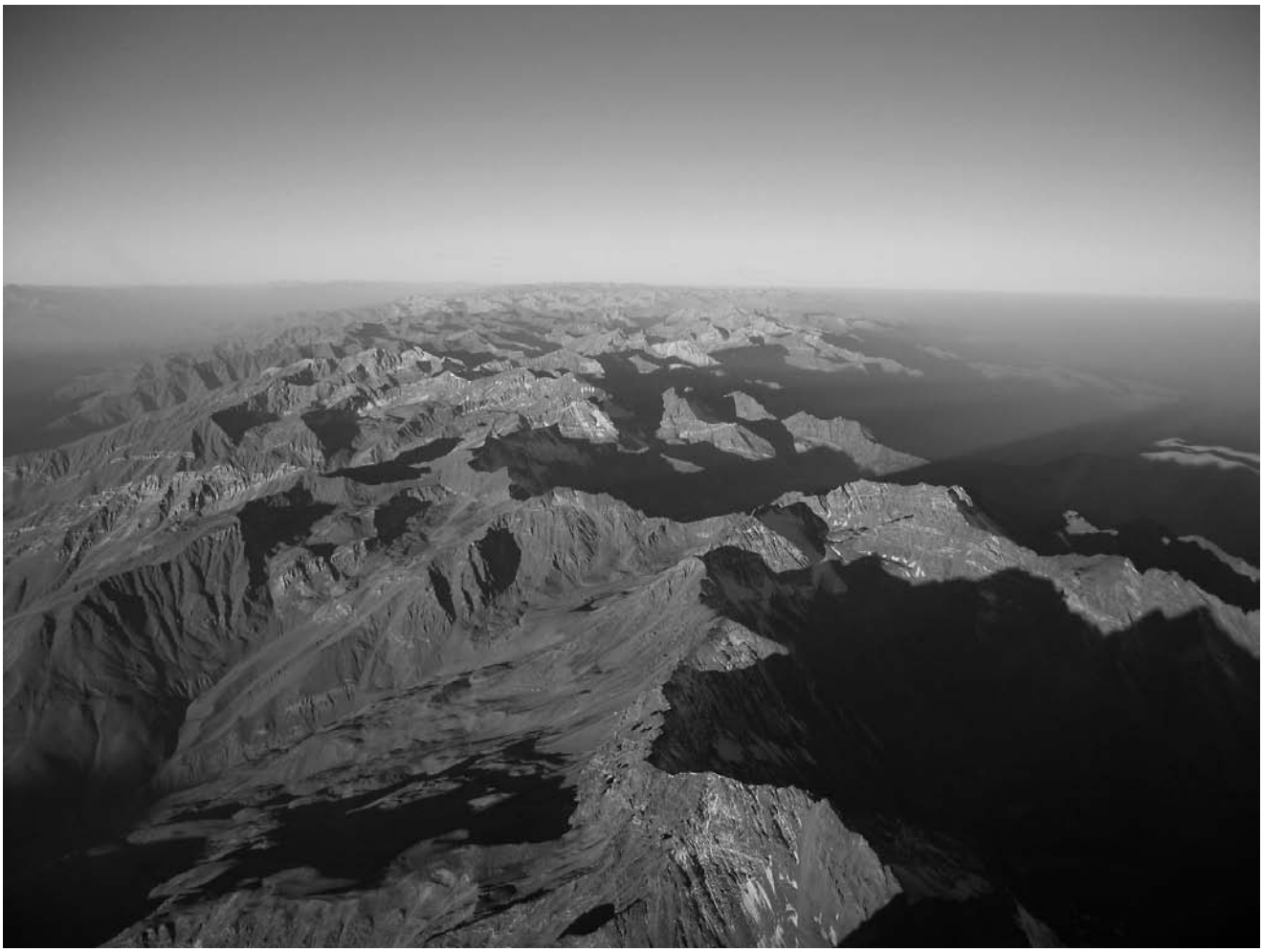
Topography, Afghanistan

Located in south-central Asia and studded with high mountains and foreboding steppes and plateaus, Afghanistan is strategically located at the crossroads of Asia and the Middle East. It is bordered by Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan to the north, Iran to the west, and Pakistan to the east and south. More than 50 percent of its entire border is shared with Pakistan, the majority of which is comprised of rugged mountains and highlands. These areas have been the traditional dwelling place and training locale for the terrorist group Al Qaeda, which was responsible for the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the United States. The long (1,640 miles) and sometimes impenetrable border with Pakistan has often been the focal point of U.S. and coalition-led raids against Al Qaeda, Taliban fighters, and other insurgents. Despite the rugged terrain and harshness of the climate, however, the border has proven to be quite porous, much to the dismay of the United States, and tracking down terrorists, including Al Qaeda ringleader Osama bin Laden, has been difficult, if not impossible.

With an area of 252,772 square miles, Afghanistan is sparsely populated, with a total population of less than 32 million. The mountainous regions and high-altitude highlands are the least populated areas of the country. One of the most mountainous nations in the world, Afghanistan is home to the Hindu Kush mountain range, a subrange of the Himalayas, which soars above much of the Afghani-Pakistani border region. The highest peak in Afghanistan is Noshaq, which soars almost five miles above sea level at 24,557 feet. Just 12.3 percent of Afghanistan's land mass is currently used to sustain permanent agricultural pursuits. Much of the country is unsuitable for crops because of high mountains, lack of water, and poor, rocky soil. There are four major rivers in Afghanistan: the Amu, Hari, Kabul, and Helmand rivers.

In general, Afghanistan is a dry, continental climate with cold winters and hot summers. In the mountainous regions, snow cover can be year-round; in the low plains and deserts in the south and southeast, however, there is very little rainfall and summer temperatures are torrid. The Sistan Basin, located in southeastern Iran and southwestern Afghanistan, is one of the driest areas on the globe. The large plains of the north and west have the most consistently mild climate of all the nation's regions. In the south and southwest, floods and droughts are most frequent, while the



The Hindu Kush Mountains north of Bagram Air Base in Afghanistan. (Dennis5514/Dreamstime.com)

Hindu Kush Mountains and other ranges are often shrouded in deep snow and clouds and frequently have subzero temperatures at the higher elevations.

Afghanistan is located on active fault lines, so periodic and devastating earthquakes do occur. In a May 1998 earthquake centered northeast of the Hindu Kush Mountains, as many as 4,000 people were killed, and an estimated 125 villages were partly or totally destroyed. Afghanistan is resource and mineral-rich, although few of its resources have been exploited. Among the significant deposits to be found here are copper, zinc, iron ore, silver, gold, uranium, chromite, salt, and other minerals. It is believed that there are plentiful oil and natural-gas reserves in the north, although these have remained largely untapped because the nation has been under foreign occupation and/or civil war for almost 30 years.

Afghanistan's wildly varied and often harsh climates, rugged terrain, and high mountains make it a very difficult place in which to prosecute a war. The Soviets discovered this during their long and fruitless 1980–1988 occupation, and American and coalition forces have found this to be the case since 2001. Indeed, many U.S. Army Special Forces and Ranger teams have carried out missions on horseback, because some areas are virtually unreachable by any other means. As well, Afghanistan is landlocked, which means that anything going into the country must be flown in or trucked in overland.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Afghanistan; Afghanistan, Climate of; Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Taliban

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Topography, Kuwait and Iraq

Kuwait, which encompasses just 6,969 square miles (a bit smaller than the state of New Jersey), is a Middle Eastern nation that lies in the northwestern corner of the Arabian Peninsula. It borders Saudi Arabia to the south, Iraq to the west and north, and the Persian Gulf to the east. Despite its small size, it boasts a 120-mile sea

The Dokan River in Sulaimaniyah, Kurdistan, in northern Iraq. (iStockPhoto)

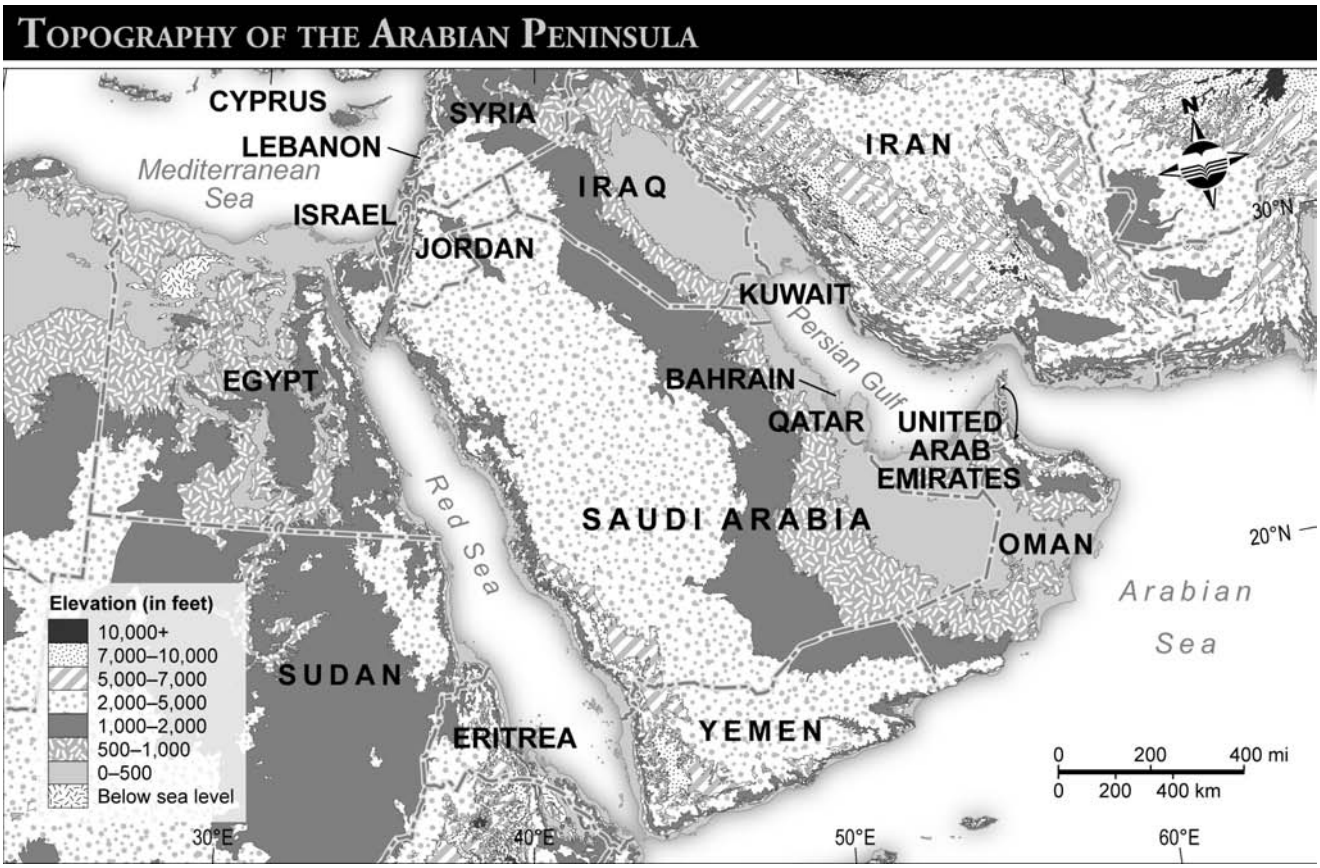
coast and has nine off-shore islands, including Bubiyan, the largest island, which encompasses 333.2 square miles.

Kuwait is essentially flat desert, which slopes gradually down from the extreme west of Shigaya and Salmi (the highest areas of the nation, about 950 feet above sea level), east to the Persian Gulf. Between west and east are a series of shallow valleys and very low hills, including Kura al-Maru, Liyah, Shagat al-Jleeb, and Afris. The southeastern portion of the country is entirely flat, with the notable exception of Ahmadi Hill, which is approximately 450 feet above sea level. A desert region that receives very little rainfall, Kuwait has no mountains and is the only nation in the world that does not have any natural lakes, reservoirs, or rivers. Fresh water is a precious commodity and is supplied mainly via limited underground supplies, neighboring countries, and, increasingly, by large desalinization plants along the coast. Because of Kuwait's relatively flat topography and lack of surface water or mountains, the area has traditionally been a crossroads for nomads and a gathering place in which to do business and conduct trade. That same topography, however, makes the small nation vulnerable to invasion, such as the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990.

There are approximately 2.4 million people living in Kuwait, the vast majority of whom live in and around the coastal capital at Kuwait City. Less than 1 percent of Kuwait's landmass is used for agriculture, as the region's torrid climate and lack of rainfall render permanent agricultural pursuits very difficult. Because of lack of vegetation and a lack of rainfall, Kuwait is subject to raging sandstorms, especially in June and July, when high temperatures average 107°F to 114°F in most of the country.

Kuwait is home to the world's fifth-largest known petroleum reserve, which dominates the economy. Eighty percent of the government's revenue is derived from oil sales, which make up nearly 95 percent of the country's exports. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, when Iraqi forces set ablaze hundreds of Kuwaiti oil wells as they retreated into Iraq, they unleashed an environmental catastrophe. Soot and huge lakes of oil rendered a sizable portion of southern and southeastern Kuwait virtually uninhabitable. Even today, more than 5 percent of Kuwait's landmass is covered by a semiliquified asphaltlike coating, rendering it virtually impossible to traverse.

With a landmass of 169,234 square miles (slightly larger than California) and a population of 29.3 million, Iraq is far more varied topographically than its neighbor Kuwait. It boasts a number of large cities, and the population is far more evenly distributed than that of Kuwait. Iraq occupies the northwestern portion of the Zagros mountain range, the eastern edge of the Syrian Desert, and the northwestern part of the Arabian Desert. It is bordered by



Kuwait to the south, Saudi Arabia to the south and west, Syria to the northwest, Turkey to the north, and Iran to the east. Nearly land-locked, Iraq's only access to the Persian Gulf is in the far southeastern part of the country, near the Iranian and Kuwait border. The Shatt al-Arab Waterway, on the Iraqi-Iranian border, is also a key access point to the Persian Gulf.

Mainly a desert climatologically, Iraq nevertheless has varied weather and seasons. It has several large surface water supplies, including lakes and reservoirs. Its two main river systems are the Tigris and Euphrates, which bifurcate the country roughly in the middle and parallel each other. Between the two rivers is rich, fertile, arable land in which many of Iraq's farming activities take place. The far northern part of Iraq is quite mountainous, especially near the Turkish and Iranian borders. Steppes and highland yield to mountain ranges as high as 13,000 feet above sea level. Agriculture is possible here at the lower elevations, and rainfall tends to be highest in this region. In the south and southeast, near the delta of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, the land is punctuated by large marshes, which Iraqi president Saddam Hussein attempted to eradicate in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The vast deserts in the south and southwest of the country are relatively flat and feature a classic desert environment, with scarce rainfall, torrid summers, and brief, cool (and sometimes rainy) winters. Located in the central part of Iraq, Baghdad, the capital, has a population of about 7 million people and has a modified desert climate; summers are long and blisteringly hot, but the winters are cooler and wetter than those in the southern desert regions.

The most sparsely populated areas of Iraq are in the southern and southwestern deserts, where pastoral nomadic tribes chiefly reside. About 12 percent of Iraq's landmass in currently taken up by agriculture. The nation is home to the word's second-largest known oil reserves (behind only Saudi Arabia), although it is estimated that there remains a vast amount of oil in Iraq that has not been tapped. Other natural resources are notably absent in any significant amounts in Iraq. Except in the northeast, Iraq is subject to periodic, seasonal sandstorms that can reduce visibility to less than a tenth of a mile. In the planning for Operations DESERT STORM and IRAQI FREEDOM, U.S. military planners had to take into account the possibility of such storms. Both invasions were set for late winter and early spring to avoid the intense heat of Iraqi summers.

PAUL G. PIERPAOLI JR.

See also

Kuwait; Middle East, Climate of; Shatt al-Arab Waterway

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Tora Bora

Mountainous and geographically remote region of eastern Afghanistan located directly north of the Afghan-Pakistan border and running more than 15 miles through the White Mountains. Tora Bora means "black dust." Although Tora Bora formally denotes a region of Afghanistan, it is commonly associated with the fortified cave complex used by mujahideen fighters in the war against the Soviet Union in the 1980s and Al Qaeda and the Taliban during the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in late 2001. It was also the scene of a U.S. cruise missile raid in August 1998.

An area with a largely undocumented military history, the Tora Bora region possessed ties to unconventional military forces dating back at least to the early 1900s. The poorly developed infrastructure and complex logistical supply chains leading to the region offered guerrilla forces refuge from direct action. An area with peaks in excess of 14,000 feet that is often buffered by extreme weather, Tora Bora has a geographic suitability heightened by its immediate proximity to neighboring Pakistan.

During the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan (1979–1989), the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) contributed substantially to the fortification and militarization of Tora Bora. Contributing war matériel, weapons, and advisory services, the CIA used Tora Bora as a training and logistics hub. The remoteness of the region enhanced the ability to train, equip, and deploy forces outside of Soviet-controlled areas. Tora Bora also served the mujahideen throughout the Soviet occupation and remained uncompromised through the Soviet withdrawal.

In the 1990s, Tora Bora again became an area of significance as the Taliban turned the military complex there into a training and housing area for jihadists. Osama bin Laden, the Saudi-born leader of the terrorist group Al Qaeda, also used Tora Bora as a training camp and base of operations. Although it was connected to many terrorist acts throughout the 1990s, Tora Bora escaped direct action until 1998. In reprisal for the August 7, 1998, U.S. embassy bombings in Tanzania and Kenya, which had been perpetrated by Al Qaeda, President Bill Clinton ordered cruise missile strikes against alleged terrorist camps in Tora Bora. These strikes were part of Operation INFINITE REACH (August 28, 1998), which witnessed the bombing of both Tora Bora and targets in Sudan. However, the operation resulted in only limited tangible impact to camp operations in Tora Bora.

These actions aside, the December 2001 pitched battle between U.S.-led coalition forces and the combined Taliban/Al Qaeda forces will likely define Tora Bora's history for the foreseeable

Afghan anti-Taliban fighters pray in front of their tank, overlooking the White Mountains of Tora Bora in northeastern Afghanistan, on December 10, 2001. (AP/Wide World Photos)

future. Following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, President George W. Bush deployed military forces to Afghanistan in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. Beginning in November 2001, coalition forces systematically destroyed Taliban and Al Qaeda units throughout Afghanistan in all but the most remote regions. As part of a final effort to avoid annihilation or surrender, Taliban and Al Qaeda forces understandably converged on the Tora Bora region for refuge.

Supported by substantial air power that relied heavily on precision-guided weapons, the U.S.-led coalition conducted military actions against the units defending Tora Bora for much of December 2001. With the assistance of Afghan troops, U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOF) led a focused and decisive campaign against the Tora Bora defenders. In less than two weeks, the coalition had secured the Al Qaeda complex and surrounding areas. Bin Laden, however, was never found and, as of this writing, remains at large.

Former CIA officer Gary Berntsen, who had charge of the CIA effort to capture or kill bin Laden, claimed in his book *Jawbreaker* (2005) that his group had pinpointed bin Laden's location in Tora Bora and that, had the military personnel Berntsen requested been committed, bin Laden would not have escaped.

The U.S. operations against Tora Bora in late 2001 represented the first effective integration of precision airpower in support of SOF in a full-scale and independent military operation. Most analysts agree that the decision to rely heavily on poorly trained and inadequately equipped Afghan allies rather than committing larger numbers of U.S. special operations forces permitted the Al Qaeda leadership to escape. This called into question the feasibility of combined operations by advanced Western military forces with Developing-World partners. Finally, questions remain about the feasibility of conducting direct action against an enemy that lacks both a geographic and political epicenter.

SCOTT BLANCHETTE

See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Bush, George Walker; Clinton, William Jefferson; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; INFINITE REACH, Operation; Soviet-Afghanistan War; Taliban

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Torture of Prisoners

Torture is generally defined as the deliberate infliction of pain, whether physical or psychological, on a victim or a prisoner for a variety of purposes. In wartime, torture has historically been most commonly used as an interrogation technique to extract intelligence information from prisoners of war (POWs) in a rapid fashion. Otherwise, it has been used as a punishment and method of dehumanization. This has been particularly true in the various recent Middle East wars. Torture has also been routinely employed to achieve propaganda advantage, as in securing confessions or testimonials denouncing the policies of their own government.

Torture is banned by international law as a fundamental violation of human rights, whether inflicted on enemies or one's own population. It is specifically banned by the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions (1929 and 1949), as well as the United Nations Convention against Torture (1987). Torture nonetheless remains a disturbingly common aspect of contemporary conflicts, and not only in the Middle East. Beyond wartime, the United Nations Convention against Torture regards capital punishment as well as many of the sanctioned legal punishments in Iran, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Pakistan, and under the Taliban to be torture.

Torture was long an established part of judicial procedure to extract confessions and was regularly employed, for example, during the Spanish Inquisition. Only in the past two centuries have there been concerted efforts to ban torture and establish penalties for its use.

There is an ongoing debate over what constitutes torture by nations that do not conform to international standards. Some nations have regularly employed drugs to extract information from prisoners and interrogators have routinely used sleep deprivation, enforced positions, light and sound bombardment, harassment, beatings, waterboarding, removal of teeth and fingernails, confinement in extremely small spaces, severe cold, and electric shocks to secure what they seek. In the United States, some police departments and law enforcement agencies had, even prior to September 11, 2001, assaulted detainees.

Amnesty International reported that more than 150 nations routinely employed torture in the period 1997 to 2000. Clearly, it remains a prominent human rights issue into the 21st century.

In the Middle East, a region that contains numerous totalitarian regimes as well as religious strife, torture has played a role in internal security, warfare, and in struggles between political movements. Israel has long used assault, sleep deprivation, enforced bodily positions, electric shock (more recently forbidden), and other "coercive interrogation" methods when questioning suspected Palestinian terrorists. Although the Israeli Supreme Court ruled that all torture was illegal, allegations of degrading and inhuman treatment of Palestinian detainees continue to be leveled against Israeli authorities. Likewise, the government of Saudi Arabia claims that torture is against Islamic law, but there is ample evidence that the Saudi regime continues to employ torture, particularly against domestic prisoners. In addition, the punishments of lashing, beheading, and amputation are considered torture by the United Nations (UN), but Saudi Arabia does not accept this position. Similar evidence of the routine use of torture in interrogations of suspects has been documented in Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria.

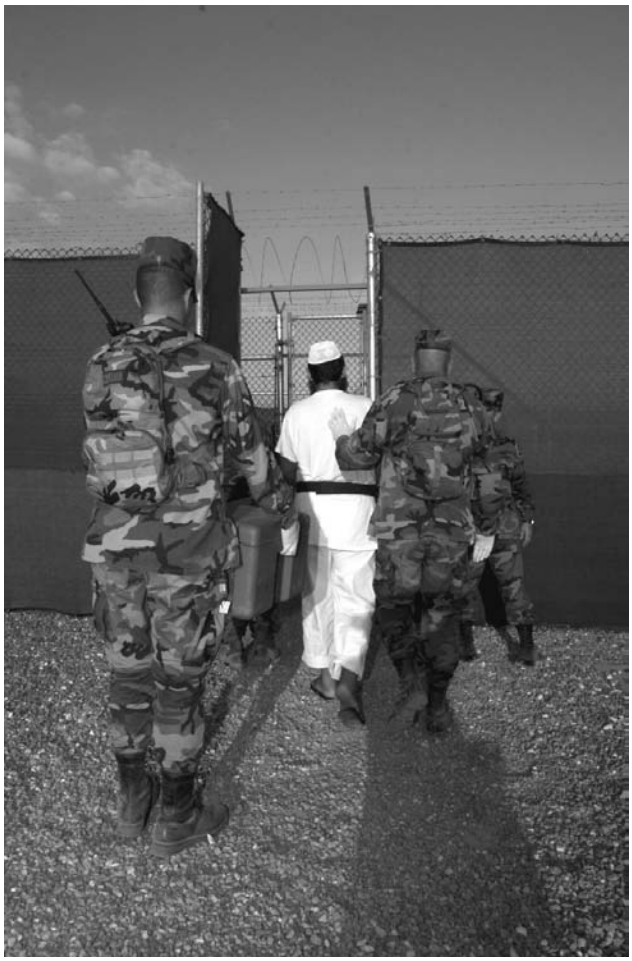
During the Israeli-Arab War of 1948–1949, the 1967 Six-Day War, and the 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, each side accused the other of torturing POWs. There is strong evidence that prisoners were subjected to physical beatings and other forms of punishment to discover useful information and that many were killed. During the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), both belligerents were accused of torturing prisoners. Sometimes, the torture was designed to elicit information for tactical use on the battlefield; more often, however, the torture was for purely sadistic reasons, to punish an enemy.

In the 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM), captured coalition pilots were paraded before international news cameras showing signs of physical injuries. Upon their release, American pilots reported that they had been beaten by their Iraqi captors, who demanded that they renounce their religious beliefs in favor of Islam and that they sign statements admitting to war crimes.

During the U.S.-led Global War on Terror (from 2001), American military forces have been repeatedly accused of torturing suspected terrorists to obtain information about planned attacks on U.S. targets. In particular, human rights advocates have accused U.S. authorities of employing inhumane and degrading treatment against detainees at the Guantánamo Bay Naval Base in Cuba. This included severe beatings, waterboarding, sleep deprivation, and sensory deprivation. The detainees also claimed that they received threats of bodily harm and were humiliated sexually and forced to remain in uncomfortable positions for prolonged periods. Despite international condemnation, the United States has refused to release the majority of the prisoners held at Guantánamo Bay, has yet to charge them with a particular crime, and has not opened the facility to international observers or the media. After his administration took office in January 2009, President Barack Obama directed that the Guantánamo Bay facility be closed within a year. However, as of April 2010 it remains open, and its closure does not seem imminent.

In 2003, after the U.S.-led Operation IRAQI FREEDOM began, allegations of torture perpetrated by U.S. military personnel began to surface. These first concerned the infamous Abu Ghraib prison in Baghdad. Abu Ghraib had served as a major detention facility under the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein, and unspeakable offenses had been committed there against opponents of the regime and other prisoners. After U.S. forces took Baghdad in April 2003, they began using the prison to hold suspected terrorists and members of the Iraqi military. In April 2004, the prison came to the public's attention when photographs of naked prisoners, some hooded and attached to electrical wires, were published in a variety of media sources. An internal U.S. Army investigation determined that some guard personnel, led by Army Specialist Charles Graner, had instigated the mistreatment of prisoners without official sanction. A number of the individuals were charged and brought to trial. Others, such as those in authority, saw their military careers ended because of the scandal.

By mid-2005, there was mounting evidence that the United States had indeed engaged in torture in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Guantánamo, and rumors circulated concerning torture at the secret detention facilities believed to be in Jordan, Morocco, Eastern Europe, and elsewhere. This prompted a public outcry as well as protests from Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, and even the UN. On December 30, 2005, President George W. Bush signed legislation passed by Congress that banned the torture of detainees, although critics pointed out that the president can still approve such tactics by using his broad powers as commander in chief. The law was enacted after an acrimonious fight between the Bush administration and many members of Congress, at the time controlled by his own Republican Party.



An Afghan detainee is escorted to a security cell at the U.S. detention facility at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, May 9, 2003. Guantánamo has held suspected Al Qaeda members since 2001 and has been widely criticized by human rights organizations for holding the prisoners without formal charge. (U.S. Department of Defense)

On June 12, 2008, the U.S. Supreme Court dealt the Bush administration a severe blow when it declared that suspected terrorist detainees at Guantánamo Bay may petition U.S. civilian courts to release them. The *Boumediene v. Bush* case essentially gave enemy combatants the right to file a writ of habeas corpus in a U.S. court. Just a few weeks later, on June 23, a Federal appeals court struck down the Bush administration's classification of detainees at

Guantánamo as "enemy combatants." Many argued for the closing of the Guantánamo detention facility, including some within the Bush administration, and the decision to do this by the Obama administration received the endorsement of the commander of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), General David Petraeus. The disposition of the prisoners at Guantánamo remains the principal stumbling block. Thus, some claim that the Yemeni prisoners, who constitute a large number of those held there, should not be returned to Yemen. The concern is that an indigenous movement linked to Al Qaeda is known to be active there.

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See also

Abu Ghraib; Coercive Interrogation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Iran-Iraq War; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Prisoners of War, Persian Gulf War

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Transportation Security Administration

U.S. government agency created in 2001 designed to oversee the safety of American ports, freeways, railroads, mass transit systems, buses, and airline terminals. The Transportation Security Administration (TSA) was established on November 19, 2001, by the Aviation and Transportation Security Act, which was a reaction to the September 11, 2001, terror attacks against the United States. Because the September 11 attacks were all carried out via commercial jetliners, the U.S. Congress and the George W. Bush administration acted quickly to shore up airline and airport security and also sought to secure other potential transportation venues from possible terrorist attacks.

The TSA concentrates most of its efforts on air security and employs the most workers for that purpose. The TSA has become ubiquitous in all U.S. airports, and the flying public is well versed in the standard safety procedures that all airline passengers must submit to before boarding commercial aircraft. There are currently no standardized safety steps involved for privately owned aircraft. At its peak in 2003, the TSA employed about 60,000 transportation security personnel; that number has dwindled to as low as 42,000 in recent years.

Prior to the promulgation of the TSA, airport security was a highly decentralized affair with only nominal oversight by the federal government. Before November 2001, airport security was entrusted to private security companies hired by: an individual airline; an individual terminal within a given airport; or the operator of an airport (sometimes a municipality, a county, or even an independent airport authority). Although some private security companies are still under contract to conduct airport security, they are all closely supervised by the TSA. Airport and airline security before 2001 was spotty and often depended on the initiative of individual airports or airlines. The result was a lack of overall coordination and lax and inconsistent procedures, which the September 11 terrorist hijackers were able to exploit.

The TSA has tried, with some success, to standardize security checks at the 450-plus airports around the country and to tighten restrictions on passengers and cargo/baggage to lessen the likelihood of another airborne terrorist attack. In addition to screening

Employees of the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) use wands to screen passengers as they pass through the security checkpoint in the main terminal of Denver International Airport, September 11, 2002. (AP/Wide World Photos)

passengers and conducting random background checks, the TSA is also responsible for scrutinizing all checked baggage and cargo that is loaded into the holds of commercial airplanes.

It took the TSA quite a while to attain the technology and manpower to check baggage and cargo, which elicited concerns that the agency's efforts were hollow ones, as virtually anyone could have rigged a piece of checked luggage or another piece of cargo with an explosive device. That has since been rectified. Until December 1, 2003, the TSA also administered the Federal Air Marshal Service, which places undercover but well-armed air marshals aboard random flights to discourage hijackers or other in-air troublemakers. The Air Marshal Service was transferred to the U.S. Bureau of Immigration and Customs Service on December 2, 2003. It has since been transferred back to the aegis of the TSA. Some have complained that there are far too few air marshals to detour would-be terrorists, but that is subject to debate since the exact number of them employed is classified information. The TSA also administers the Federal Flight Deck Officer Program, which empowers and trains pilots to carry firearms in the cockpit of an airplane to thwart would-be hijackers.

The TSA is also charged with administering security programs for other modes of transportation as well as securing ports, railroads, and highways. Its efforts in these areas are much less well known and in fact appear to take a backseat to air security. There has been much concern in recent years, for example, over the safety of America's ports, where security has heretofore been lax or nonexistent. Only fairly recently has the TSA begun implementing tougher security regulations in cargo ports, where it has begun to place radiation- and explosive-detecting devices that scrutinize all cargo coming in and out of port. It is unknown what, if anything, the TSA has done to secure rail lines and public transit systems, although the need to keep such measures classified may explain the lack of information.

The TSA began as an arm of the U.S. Department of Transportation, but on March 1, 2003, it fell under the administrative aegis of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, a newly created, cabinet-level agency charged with preventing terrorist attacks and responding to natural and man-made disasters. The TSA's current budget is about $7.8 billion per year, the majority of which is spent on airline and airport security. Some have derided the agency for its sometimes lax and uneven security procedures, which have included the failure to detect weapons and bombs in baggage or on the person of an air traveler. At the other extreme, the specter of elderly people being subjected to body searches has angered many. Some civil rights groups have charged the TSA with Orwellian tactics that violate basic human rights, like the use of "Behavior Detection Officers," who scrutinize passengers in security lines and single out people they deem "suspicious." As one might expect, these officers often single out many passengers with Middle Eastern or Muslim names or appearances. Despite these problems, however, most Americans have accepted the TSA as the price to pay for increased security during an age of terrorism.

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See also
September 11 Attacks; United States Department of Homeland Security

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Troop Surge

See Surge, U.S. Troop Deployment, Iraq War

Truman, Harry S.

Birth Date: May 8, 1884
Death Date: December 26, 1972

U.S. senator (1935–1944), vice president (January–April 1945), and president (1945–1953). Born in Lamar, Missouri, on May 8, 1884, Harry S. Truman worked as a bank teller and farmer before seeing combat in World War I as an artillery captain in France. He then opened a clothing store in Kansas City, but it soon failed, leaving him with large debts. He won an election to be a county judge in 1922 with the backing of nearby Kansas City's political Pendergast Machine, and his record of efficiency and fair-mindedness earned him considerable respect. A Democrat, in 1934 he won a seat in the U.S. Senate, where colleagues appreciated his hard work, modesty, and amiability. Reelected in 1940, he earned national prominence during World War II as chair of a Senate committee investigating corporate waste, bureaucratic incompetence, contractor fraud, and labor abuse in defense industries.

Truman was the surprise choice to be the vice presidential candidate on President Franklin D. Roosevelt's successful 1944 reelection ticket. Truman had no international experience when he assumed the presidency upon Roosevelt's sudden death in April 1945. Truman closely guarded his authority and took actions that were decisive and at times impulsive. This was especially true in foreign affairs, where he immediately faced the challenge of emerging discord with the Soviet Union.

In July and August 1945 Truman and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin met at the Potsdam Conference but did not reach agreement on any major issues. While there, Truman received word that the test explosion of an atomic bomb had succeeded, although he made only an ambiguous reference about this to Stalin. Truman subsequently ordered atomic attacks on two Japanese cities in August. His justification was to save American lives, but he may have also used Hiroshima and Nagasaki to intimidate the Soviets and prevent them from occupying portions of northeast Asia. Although the Soviets did enter the war in the Pacific just before

Harry S. Truman succeeded to the presidency on the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt on April 12, 1945. Truman's presidency was marked by important foreign policy decisions, including the Truman Doctrine, U.S. recognition of Israel, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the U.S. military intervention in Korea. (Harry S. Truman Presidential Library)

Japan surrendered, Truman rejected Stalin's request to participate in the occupation of Japan.

Meanwhile, Truman struggled to end the civil war in China between the Guomindang (Nationalists) and the communists under the leadership of Mao Zedong. Late in 1945 Truman sent General George C. Marshall to negotiate a cease-fire and a political settlement, which never took hold. Marshall returned home in early 1947, became secretary of state, and advised Truman to disengage from China. By then, Truman had decided to initiate what eventually became the strategy of containment against the Soviet Union.

Truman's containment policy had implications not only for Europe and Asia but also for the Middle East. In 1946 he applied pressure via the United Nations (UN) to force the Soviets to withdraw from Iran. Clearly, the president worried about Soviet influence in the region and knew that the Middle East must remain aligned with the Western powers because of its vast oil reserves. The president's Truman Doctrine speech in March 1947 called for U.S. aid to any nation resisting communist domination. Congress then approved Truman's request for $400 million for Greece (to suppress a communist insurgency) and Turkey (to check Soviet advances). A proposal in June 1947 to help Europe avert economic collapse and keep communism at bay led to the Marshall Plan, an ambitious and successful endeavor that helped reconstruct Western Europe's war-torn economy.

Truman broke with his predecessor's policies on the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Unlike Roosevelt, Truman had been on record since 1940 as a supporter of a Jewish homeland in the Middle East. By 1947 the British were under pressure to leave Palestine as pro-Zionist attacks against their assets in the area increased. That same year the UN, acting on a British proposal that Truman favored, passed a resolution calling for the division of Palestine into two states. In the spring of 1948 British troops began to leave Palestine as neighboring Arab nations began massing troops along the border, poised to prevent the permanent establishment of a Jewish state following Britain's departure.

On May 14, 1948, the State of Israel declared its independence. Truman was under considerable pressure not to recognize Israel. Most of his advisers, including Secretary of State Marshall, believed that doing so would jeopardize U.S. interests and invite the enmity of Arab nations. Nevertheless, Truman recognized the State of Israel just 11 minutes after it had announced its statehood.

Fighting had already broken out between Arabs and Jews in Palestine in reaction to the UN partition, which the Arab world flatly rejected. The creation of Israel sparked the outbreak of a full-scale war that pitted the Israelis against Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq, and Lebanon. Jewish forces managed to blunt the offensives into Israel, but the Truman administration did not intervene in the conflict. Instead, it pushed aggressively for a cease-fire through the UN. In March 1949 negotiations resulted in the declaration of a cease-fire and the drawing of temporary borders to separate the Jews from the Arabs.

Truman's decision has received much scrutiny. Some have argued that his decision was the product of crass political motives and the influence of Jewish lobbying groups that were heavily Democratic. Others have said that Truman was bought by influential lobbyists. None of these allegations pass history's litmus test, however. What moved Truman principally was humanitarian concern for hundreds of thousands of refugees. He also believed that the 1917 Balfour Declaration was valid. In the end, while Truman's decision genuinely seemed to be the product of pragmatic and humanitarian motives, it nevertheless paved the way for a new approach to U.S. policymaking in the Middle East.

Stalin's reaction to Truman's pursuit of containment greatly intensified the Cold War, beginning early in 1948 with the communist coup in Czechoslovakia. The Soviets then blockaded West Berlin to force U.S. and British abandonment of the city, but Truman ordered an airlift of food and supplies that compelled Stalin to restore access one year later. Countering the Soviet threat led to the 1949 creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and a U.S. commitment of military defense for Western Europe. Truman sent U.S. troops and huge amounts of military assistance across the Atlantic, but he refused to execute a similar policy in China. This led to charges that he had allowed disloyal American diplomats to undermine the Nationalists and lose China

after the communists triumphed in October 1949. The Soviet explosion of an atomic bomb that September only increased popular anxiety in the United States. As fears of internal subversion grew, Truman appeared to be soft on communism when Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, an obscure Wisconsin Republican, charged that 205 communists worked in the U.S. State Department.

Early in 1950 Truman approved development of a hydrogen bomb, but he initially refused to approve National Security Council Paper 68 (NSC-68), which called for massive rearmament. When North Korea attacked South Korea in June, Truman, after brief hesitation, committed U.S. troops there because he believed that Stalin had ordered the invasion and that inaction would encourage more expansionist acts. Truman then ordered military protection for Jiang Jieshi's regime on Taiwan and greater support for the anticommunist efforts of the British in Malaya and the French in Indochina. Even before UN forces commander General Douglas MacArthur halted the initial invasion, Truman approved the plans for a follow-up offensive into North Korea that eventually provoked Chinese intervention. Truman's controversial decision to recall MacArthur in April 1951 for making public statements regarding policy that had not been cleared by the White House was highly unpopular and his public approval rating dropped to one of the lowest yet recorded. However, Truman's decision won acclaim from most military observers and European allies, and the president weathered the storm.

Armistice talks began in July 1951 but deadlocked in May 1952 after Truman refused to force the repatriation of communist prisoners of war (POWs). Unable to end the Korean War, he initiated steps to deter communist expansion on the other side of the world by implementing NSC-68, strengthening NATO militarily, and approving the initial steps that would lead to the rearming of West Germany. Truman left office in January 1953 and returned to Independence, Missouri, to write his memoirs and oversee the building of his presidential library. Truman died on December 26, 1972, in Kansas City, Missouri.

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See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Balfour Declaration; Israel; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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Tsouli, Yunis

See Irhabi 007

Tunisia

North African nation. The Republic of Tunisia, an overwhelmingly Sunni Muslim nation, covers 63,170 square miles and had a 2008 population of 10.384 million. Tunisia borders Algeria to the west, Libya to the south, and the Mediterranean Sea to the east and north. Until the late 19th century, Tunisia had been dominated by various larger powers as well as Arab and Berber dynasties. In 1881, the French signed an agreement with the bey, the local Tunisian ruler, establishing a French protectorate. Tunisian society and culture was greatly affected by the long period of French colonial rule, which did not officially end until 1956.

Following World War II, a strong nationalist movement in Tunisia engaged in a protracted struggle against French colonial rule. On March 20, 1956, following arduous, delicate, and behind-the-scenes negotiations, an independence protocol was signed by representatives of the French and Tunisian governments. On July 25, 1957, the Tunisian Constituent Assembly ousted the bey, Muhammad VIII al-Amin, who was sympathetic to France and had long been unpopular. It also declared the formation of the Tunisian republic and elected Habib Bourguiba as president.

Bourguiba, who would rule until 1987, was decidedly pro-Western and modernist in his outlook and foreign policy. He also maintained cordial communications with Israeli officials, although this was not made public until years later. In discussions of common interests and subsequent public statements, Bourguiba made known his opinion that Arab states should accept the existence of Israel and pertinent United Nations (UN) resolutions as a condition for solving the Palestinian problem. Bourguiba also shocked his people by declaring that the fasting month of Ramadan was detrimental to national production and was shown on television with some others drinking orange juice as a demonstration that fasting was not required.

Bourguiba's efforts to transform Tunisia into a modern, democratic state had the backing of the majority of young, Westernized Tunisian intellectuals. His main political support came from the well-organized Neo-Destour Party, which he had founded in 1934 and which constituted the country's chief political force. The Bourguiba administration was very tolerant of its Jewish citizens, always distinguishing between the unpopular policies of the state of Israel and the Jewish population living in the country. Bourguiba was not without political rivals, however. Early in his presidency, he was strongly challenged by Salah ben Youssef, who leaned toward Egypt and Pan-Arabism, and who championed the continuation of Tunisia's ancient Islamic traditions. The people of Tunisia remain sharply divided in outlook between the rural and urban populations. A strongly religious outlook found expression in the Tendence Islamique (Islamic Tendency) political movement, which opposed Bourguiba.

But Tunisia has almost always aligned itself squarely with the West and has been considered a strong American ally. During the June 1967 Six-Day War, for example, Bourguiba refused to sever relations with the United States over its support of Israel, despite

President Dwight D. Eisenhower and his host, President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, left, during a visit by the U.S. president, at Bourguiba's palace in Tunis, December 17, 1959. (AP/Wide World Photos)

considerable pressure to do so from other Arab states. Tunisia also faced hostility from Egypt's leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser, with whom Bourguiba often found himself at odds, even going so far as to briefly sever diplomatic relations in October 1966.

In spite of his support of Western-style democracy, Bourguiba nevertheless exerted strong, centralized authority. The economy was closely controlled by the government, and as Tunisian Islamist movements strengthened, especially after the late 1970s, the administration in Tunis increasingly relied on censorship, illegal detentions, and other decidedly undemocratic schemes to smother radicalism.

Tunisia's stance on Israel has been marked by contradictory and paradoxical policies. These reflect Tunisia's shared experience of struggle against colonialism and general support by the Tunisian people for Arab nationalism and the Palestinian cause. For instance, Tunisia supported the October 1973 Egyptian-Syrian attack on Israel (sparking the Yom Kippur/Ramadan War) and sent close to 1,000 combatants to fight, despite historically urging a diplomatic solution to Arab-Israeli conflicts. Although Tunisia distanced itself from the Middle East's continued problems throughout the rest of the decade, from 1979 to 1989 Tunis served as the headquarters of the Arab League when the organization suspended Egypt's membership and abandoned Cairo following President Anwar Sadat's peace agreement with Israel.

In 1982, Tunisia allowed the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) to move its leadership and fighters from Beirut to Tunis after Israel's invasion of Lebanon. On October 1, 1985, Israel killed 68 Palestinians and injured many more in the bombing of a Palestinian compound in a Tunis suburb. The bombing was Israel's response to the murder of three of its citizens in Cyprus for which the PLO claimed responsibility. On April 16, 1988, Israeli commandos assassinated the PLO's second in command, Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad), at his home in Tunis.

Bourguiba's heavy-handed rule and frail health combined to bring about his ouster on November 7, 1987. He had declared his intent to execute leaders of the Tendence Islamique, which would have made them martyrs and caused uproar in Tunisia. General Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali carried out a bloodless coup, declaring Bourguiba medically senile and succeeding him as president. Under Ben Ali's tenure, Tunisia has taken a moderate, nonaligned stance in its foreign relations.

Following the Oslo Accords, and the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority, the PLO departed from Tunis and returned to the West Bank and Gaza. Domestically, the Tunisian government has sought to diffuse rising pressures for a more open political system while at the same time dealing with increased Islamist militant or political movements and growing anti-Western sentiments. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Tunisia declined to support the international coalition arrayed against Saddam Hussein's Iraqi forces then occupying Kuwait. There was a considerable public outcry in many Arab countries, and not only Tunisia, against support of the coalition. Ben Ali's government viewed the conflict not as one of liberation but rather as one for the control of Middle Eastern oil. The Tunisian government chose not to override its population's sentiment, in contrast to some of its Arab neighbors, who did participate in the coalition.

In April 1996, Tunisia followed the lead of Morocco and opened a liaison office in Tel Aviv to strengthen cultural ties to Israel, especially with respect to Jewish tourism. While the rise of Israel's conservative Likud Party strained emerging Tunisian-Israeli relations over the next several years, on February 6, 2000, Tunisia's secretary of state met with the Israeli foreign minister in Tel Aviv, marking the first ever visit of such high-ranking officials. On October 20, 2001, Tunisia severed relations with Israel and closed its liaison office, claiming flagrant Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights that had sparked the Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada.

The 21st century has witnessed a cooling of relations between Israel and Tunisia. At the 2002 Arab summit in Beirut, President Ben Ali supported the peace plan that called for an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital and the return of all occupied territories. In 2004, Ben Ali won a fourth five-year term. Meanwhile, Ben Ali strengthened his ties to the United States and the West, voicing support for the post-2001 War on Terror and likening it to his own battle to fight Islamic radicalism at home.

While Tunisia did not participate in Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM, the Ben Ali regime cooperated with the George W. Bush administration's efforts to stymie international terrorism; in February 2004, Bush publicly thanked Ben Ali for his support of antiterrorism activities while the Tunisian president was on a state visit to Washington, D.C.

MARK SANDERS

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arab Nationalism; Egypt; Global War on Terror; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Palestine Liberation Organization

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Turkey, Role in Persian Gulf and Afghanistan Wars

Turkey is a Eurasian nation covering 300,948 square miles of territory. Strategically located both in Europe and Asia Minor, European Turkey borders Greece and Bulgaria to the east and north; in Asia Minor it shares common borders with Georgia to the northwest; Armenia and Iran to the east; and Syria and Iraq to the south. Turkey's 2008 population was estimated to be 75.8 million people.

The Turkish government is a representative parliamentary democracy with a president, elected by popular vote, as head of state. Executive power is invested in the prime minister, elected by parliament. In recent years, three political parties have vied for power. The largest of these by far is the Justice and Development Party, followed in order of magnitude by the Republican People's Party and the Nationalist Movement Party.

A secular republic with no official religion since the days of its great leader Kemal Ataturk, Turkey is nonetheless 99 percent Muslim, with three-quarters of these Sunni. More than half of its Muslim population attends prayer services regularly. In recent years, the rise of religion, specifically Islam, in Turkish politics has been a matter of concern to many Turks as well as to the West. The Turkish Armed Forces number more than 1 million in five services branches. This makes it the second largest military in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) after only the U.S. Armed Forces. The country also has compulsory military service.

Turkey has been generally pro-Western in its foreign policy orientation and has enjoyed close ties with the United States since World War II. It has been a member of NATO since 1952; it joined the European Union (EU) in 2004.

Turkey was among the 34-member international coalition that helped to expel Iraqi forces from Kuwait in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, although it provided no ground troops to the effort. It dispatched two frigates to the Persian Gulf and was heavily involved in basing coalition forces on its military bases, including air assets. The Turkish government also allowed overflights of its air space when the air war began in January 1991.

Despite its limited participation in the Gulf War, Turkey did benefit from the crisis. Having fought an insurgency against militant Kurds in southern Turkey that had killed thousands of Turks since the mid-1980s, the Turkish government was relieved by the outcome of the war in that Iraq continued as a unitary state and did not break into separate states to include an independent Kurdish nation laying claim to Turkish territory. At the same time, Turkey suffered economically, at least in the short term. By November 1990, rigid enforcement of the economic blockade against Iraq had cost Turkey an estimated $3 billion in revenues, chiefly from shutting down an oil pipeline through the country. This was offset somewhat later by U.S. loan and aid guarantees.

In the aftermath of the war, Turks came to resent the phobia expressed by many Americans and West Europeans toward its Muslim identity and what it perceived as a lack of support for Ankara's efforts to stamp out demands for autonomy by its Kurdish minority (20 percent of the country's overall population) in southern Turkey. This was evident in Operation STEEL CURTAIN in March 1995, when Turkey sent 35,000 troops into the Kurdish zone of northern Iraq in an effort to trap several thousand guerrillas and halt cross-border raids by the Marxist Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK). The PKK had been fighting for more than a decade in southeastern Turkey to establish a separate Kurdish state. More than 15,000 people had been killed since 1984, and Turkey mounted the military campaign in an effort to wipe out the movement.

In the immediate aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, Turkey voiced support of the United States and the so-called War on Terror. It offered airspace and refueling rights as the U.S.-led coalition began operations against Afghanistan's Taliban regime in October 2001. Beginning in 2002, Turkey dispatched troops to the International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF). The number of Turkish troops committed to Afghanistan has risen steadily since that time. At the start of 2009, the deployment numbered some 1,700 personnel. In early 2009, Turkey took command of the ISAF for the second time. Many of the Turkish troops are responsible for security in and around Kabul (Turkey also leads the Kabul command). Turkish troops are also active in the Wardak Province, in east-central Afghanistan. Since Turkey increased its presence in Afghanistan, public opinion has remained ambivalent about the nation's mission there.

The United States had counted on active Turkish cooperation in the 2003 Iraq War that ousted Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein from power, but the Turks balked at the last minute despite strong financial incentives, in part because public opinion was strongly opposed to the war and in part because of concerns of the possible breakup of Iraq and the creation of a Kurdish state. This decision by the Turkish government denied the United States a secure northern base of operations for the U.S. Army 4th Infantry

U.S. and coalition military personnel unload two UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters from a C-17 Globemaster that had flown from Insurlik Air Base in Turkey to Kabul International Airport, Afghanistan, in support of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Division and forced a recasting of the Anglo-American coalition's military plans, severely straining relations between the United States and Turkey.

In February 2008, Turkish military forces launched an incursion into northern Iraq, to again punish the PKK, which had been targeting Turks and Turkish forces in the southern part of the country. The brief punitive incursion, which lasted just eight days, had been preceded by Turkish air strikes against PKK targets beginning in December 2007. Both the Iraqi and U.S. governments voiced their displeasure with the incursion, terming it "counterproductive" to the stabilization of Iraq. The number of PKK fighters killed in the skirmish is subject to debate, but it is believed that as many as 550 died. Since February 2008, there have been numerous clashes between Turkish and Kurdish forces along the Iraqi-Turkish border. Turkey continues to cast a watchful eye on the future of Iraq and, because it is so strategically important geopolitically, much of the rest of the world continues to watch Turkey as well.

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See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; International Security Assistance Force; Kurdistan Workers' Party; Kurds

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Turki, Battle of

Start Date: November 15, 2006
End Date: November 16, 2006

Battle on November 15–16, 2006, fought by American and Iraqi Army units against a well-organized group of Sunni militants with alleged ties to al-Qa'ida fi Bilad al-Rafhidayn (al-Qa'ida in the Land of the Two Rivers, or Al Qaeda in Iraq) insurgent organization. The fighting extended over a 40-hour period, with most of it occurring in Turki, in Diyala Province, about 25 miles south of Forward Operating Base Caldwell. U.S. soldiers involved in the battle were from the 82nd Airborne Division's 5th Squadron, 73rd Cavalry; the Iraqi soldiers were part of the 1st Brigade, Iraqi 5th

Division. The insurgent group had been using Turki as a training camp and fought back fiercely in the course of a 40-hour battle. American air strikes played a key role in the battle.

On November 12, Lieutenant Colonel Andrew Poppas, the operation's commander, spotted a potential insurgent hideout while on an aerial reconnaissance mission. He then dispatched a small unit to investigate. An ambush of coalition forces on November 15 began the battle. The insurgents were well organized and armed. Instead of the usual hit-and-run attacks, these insurgents held their ground and fought in place, apparently as a result of their training at Turki. Only when Poppas called in air strikes extending over nearly 12 hours were the coalition and Iraqi forces able to fight their way forward through a considerable network of trenches and canals that had been built or fortified by the insurgents. The intense, close-combat engagement saw at least 72 insurgents killed and 20 others captured. Two Americans were killed in the fighting.

During a subsequent sweep of the area, an insurgent weapons cache complex was uncovered containing six smaller caches, a number of them in underground bunkers. They contained more than 400,000 rounds of small-arms ammunition; 15,000 rounds of heavy machine-gun ammunition; 5 mortar bipods; 3 heavy machine guns; 3 antitank weapons; 2 recoilless rifles; and numerous mortar rounds, grenades, flares, and assorted artillery rounds. The combined U.S.-Iraqi force also seized a quantity of materials for making improvised explosive devices (IEDs), including batteries, cellular phones, blasting caps, explosives, propaganda materials, and a large amount of American money.

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See also

Al Qaeda in Iraq; Iraqi Insurgency

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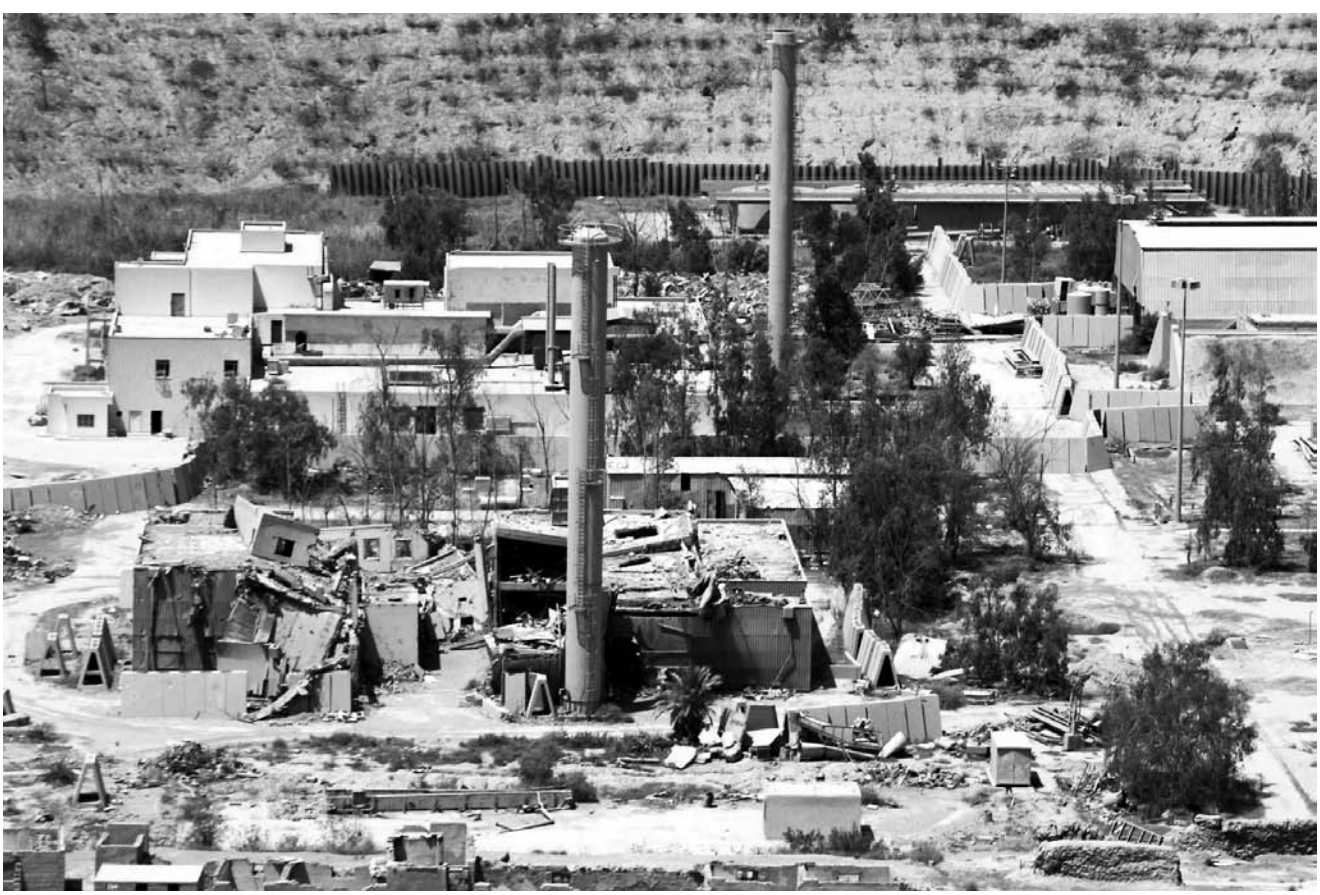
Tuwaitha Nuclear Facility

Iraqi nuclear site and, prior to the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the centerpiece of Iraq's nuclear ambitions. Tuwaitha was part of the Baghdad Nuclear Research Facility, located about 12 miles southeast of Baghdad. Tuwaitha was home to the Osiraq (Tammuz 1) nuclear reactor, which the Israeli air force bombed and destroyed in 1981. It is believed that the Iraqis had achieved up to 95 percent



An aerial photo of the destroyed Iraqi nuclear facility in Tuwaitha, some 30 miles southeast of Baghdad, on June 5, 2003. (AP/Wide World Photos)

uranium enrichment at Tuwaitha, higher than at any of its other nuclear sites. During Operation DESERT STORM, many facilities at Tuwaitha sustained heavy damage during coalition air strikes. Tuwaitha, which encompasses 23,000 acres and was surrounded by a 4-mile-long earthen berm nearly 160 feet high, was also home to the Iraqi Nuclear Commission.

As the most important of Iraq's nuclear facilities, Tuwaitha was a sprawling facility that contained research-grade nuclear reactors, plutonium-separation and waste-processing facilities, uranium-research and metallurgy labs, neutron-initiator development facilities, and other nuclear-related research laboratories. Significant amounts of industrial and nuclear waste were also stored in and around Tuwaitha, including a waste site containing several thousand acres. Just outside the Tuwaitha complex, the Iraqis had built a manufacturing plant where insulators and magnetic coils were produced to aid in their nuclear programs. The Iraqis had also built a biological weapons laboratory at Tuwaitha.

It is estimated that coalition bombing in 1991 destroyed only about 20 percent of Iraq's nuclear development facilities. Although damage at Tuwaitha was fairly extensive, it was largely limited to facilities run by the Iraqi Nuclear Power Commission and administrative offices. Damage to the reactors was not complete, and the main reactor, built after the Osiraq bombing, had been shut down before the war began. The Iraqis reported mild nuclear contamination after the air strikes on Tuwaitha, although it was closed for only a few days before reopening.

As part of the cease-fire agreement and United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 687 following DESERT STORM, Iraq was obliged to open Tuwaitha and other nuclear facilities to international inspections to be conducted by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The IAEA conducted numerous inspections and in the process removed all known stores of highly enriched uranium and plutonium located at Tuwaitha. By 2002 the inspections had quarantined Iraq's low-grade enriched uranium and natural and depleted uranium in locked storage facilities on-site.

During Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, which began in March 2003, there was some controversy surrounding the IAEA's attempts to keep the Tuwaitha facility from contributing to further nuclear weapons development. Specifically, fault was found with the decision to store any nuclear materials there instead of shipping them out of the country to ensure that they did not fall into the wrong hands. Tuwaitha, like many parts of Iraq, in particular the areas in and around Baghdad, was subject to widespread looting in the immediate aftermath of the coalition invasion. Unprepared for such problems, coalition forces were ill equipped to handle this situation. Apparently, looters infiltrated the Tuwaitha nuclear facilities and made off with much material, although it is not known for sure exactly what they took. In April 2003 U.S. Marines, who were attempting to secure Tuwaitha, claimed that they had discovered a secret cache of nuclear material and related facilities. The IAEA denied the claims, alleging that its inspectors had checked every inch of Tuwaitha and could not have overlooked such a thing. The media claimed that the facilities were in fact not new or previously undiscovered. Instead, it seemed probable that looters had broken seals placed on the material by the IAEA, making it appear as if the goods had never been inventoried. If this was indeed the case, then it cannot be known what potentially dangerous materials may have been carted off.

U.S. forces quickly took control of Tuwaitha after the looting and began to decontaminate it, with the assistance of U.S. civilian contractors. After extensive cleanup efforts, coalition forces turned over control of Tuwaitha to the Iraqi Ministerial Guard on October 7, 2003. It was the first change-of-command to take place in the aftermath of the invasion. By 2004 the Iraqis had outlined an ambitious plan to use the facilities at Tuwaitha for scientific—but not nuclear—purposes, including water, agriculture, and petrochemical endeavors. The rebuilding at Tuwaitha was not being funded by coalition authorities, but rather by the Development Fund for Iraq, established by the UN. The reconstruction efforts have been estimated to cost as much as $30 billion.

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See also

International Atomic Energy Agency; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Nuclear Weapons, Iraq's Potential for Building; United Nations Security Council Resolution 687

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Ukraine, Role in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

Eastern European nation and former Soviet republic. Independent since 1991, Ukraine's 2008 population was estimated to be 45.995 million people. The nation covers 233,089 square miles and is bordered by Belarus to the north; Russia to the north, northeast, and east; the Sea of Avov and the Black Sea to the south; Moldova and Romania to the southwest; and Hungary, Slovakia, and Poland to the west. Ukraine is a federated republic with a semipresidential political system. The president, who is popularly elected, is head of state; the prime minister, selected by parliament, is head of government. The principal political parties/coalitions include: Party of Regions; Yuliya Tymoshenko Bloc; Our Ukraine/People's Self Defense; and the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU).

Ukraine emerged as a significant supporter of the U.S.-led coalitions in Afghanistan and Iraq. In 1994 Ukraine joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)'s Partnership for Peace Program and subsequently deployed peacekeeping troops as part of the alliance's peacekeeping missions in the Balkans. Following the September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States, the Ukrainian government supported Operation ENDURING FREEDOM as a means to improving relations with the United States and the West, while providing a balance to Russian influence. Ukraine granted the United States and its coalition partners overflight rights during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, but initially limited sorties to cargo and logistical aircraft, not combat missions.

Following the 2004 Orange Revolution, which brought pro-Western President Viktor Yushchenko to power, Ukraine increased its security cooperation with the United States. In May 2007 Ukraine deployed a small medical team (10 personnel) as part of the NATO-led International Security Assistance

A Ukrainian soldier with his 7.62-mm PKM light machine gun atop a BRT-80A armored personnel carrier in Kut, Iraq, during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, August 2003. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Force– Afghanistan (ISAF). Most of the Ukrainians were stationed as part of the Lithuanian-led provincial reconstruction team in the Ghor region, but one medical officer was also deployed to Kabul. The Ukrainians provided medical support and assistance for local hospitals and clinics.

In 2003 Ukraine dispatched to Iraq 450 soldiers from a unit that specialized in nuclear, biological, and chemical warfare. The troops did not take part in combat operations. Relations between Ukraine and the United States were strained by the revelation that Kiev had supplied the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein with an air defense system prior to the U.S.-led invasion. In August 2003 Ukraine deployed a mechanized brigade to Iraq. The Ukrainians were deployed as part of the Polish-led Multi-National Force in the south-central region of Iraq, where they undertook general security missions and humanitarian operations. A small staff contingent was also deployed at coalition headquarters in Baghdad. The troops were sent first to Kuwait for training and to acclimatize.

Ukraine's peak strength in Iraq was 1,650 troops, making it the sixth-largest coalition troop contributor. Ukrainian forces generally served six-month rotations. Kiev also offered logistical support, including transport. In return for its support, Ukrainian companies were awarded a series of contracts to supply the Iraqi military with weapons, vehicles, and other supplies.

Although Yushchenko increased Ukraine's participation in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, among his campaign pledges was a promise to withdraw Ukraine's troops from Iraq. Participation in the coalition was unpopular domestically, especially after Ukrainian casualties mounted. (Through 2008, 18 Ukrainian soldiers were killed in Iraq, and more than 30 were wounded or injured.) The country's troop strength was dramatically reduced in December 2005. Between 2005 and 2008, Ukraine maintained about 40–50 troops in Iraq. These troops provided training for Iraqi security forces. The government also participated in the NATO-led training mission in Iraq, beginning in March 2005. It sent 10 soldiers as part of the operation. In total, about 5,000 Ukrainian troops served in Iraq. Ukraine withdrew its remaining forces in December 2008.

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See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Afghanistan

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Umm Qasr

Iraqi port city located on the Faw (Fao) peninsula in the southern part of the country. The city sits astride the Khawr Abd Allah estuary, which leads directly into the Persian Gulf. Umm Qasr is separated from Kuwait by a small inlet. Until the 1991 Persian Gulf War, when it was destroyed, a bridge spanned the inlet, linking the two nations.

Umm Qasr is strategically important because it is one of the Iraqis' few access points to deep water. Over the last half century, its importance has only increased as successive Iraqi regimes sought to invest in it as an alternative to the Shatt al-Arab waterway, which borders on Iran, Iraq's perennial adversary.

Over the centuries, Umm Qasr has mainly been a fishing enclave, but it has also served military purposes. In 325 BCE, Alexander the Great landed there when he undertook the conquest of Mesopotamia. During the World War II years, the city was used as a port in which American Lend-Lease supplies were dropped as they made their way to the Soviet Union. In early 1950 Iraqi King Faisal II invested heavily in Umm Qasr to rebuild and modernize its port facilities. After Faisal was overthrown in 1958, the new Iraqi government created a naval base at Umm Qasr; the city remained the chief headquarters for the Iraqi Navy until the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

In 1961, Iraqi leader Abd al-Karim Qasim accelerated the port city's development in an effort to end Iraqi reliance on the Shatt al-Arab waterway. By 1967 the city's new port facilities, including a new rail line that linked Umm Qasr with Baghdad and Basra, were completed. The new port had been constructed largely by a consortium of companies from Lebanon, West Germany, and Sweden.

Umm Qasr came under attack during the 1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War, but the port itself never fell into Iranian hands, even though the Faw peninsula was largely occupied in 1986. The Iranians were not dislodged until 1988. Umm Qasr was at the center of Iraqi-Kuwaiti tensions that led to war in 1990. Both nations claimed sovereignty over the inlet that provides access to the port, and disputes over control of two nearby islands also fed Iraqi and Kuwaiti mutual ill will. Umm Qasr was bombed heavily during Operation DESERT STORM in 1991, and after the conflict Kuwait gained control over the access inlet. The Iraqi government refused to recognize the change, however.

Between 1992 and 2003, Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein further built up the port at Umm Qasr and redirected much ocean-going commerce to it. This was done to punish the port city of Basra, which had been at the epicenter of antigovernment rebellions that followed the Persian Gulf War. By early 2003 Umm Qasr had an estimated permanent population of some 40,000 people.

During the 2003 Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), coalition forces targeted Umm Qasr as one of their first and primary targets. Between March 21 and March 25, 2003, British Royal Marines, the U.S. 15th Marine Expeditionary Unit, and Polish GROM (Operational Mobile Reaction Group) fought against an unexpectedly stout Iraqi resistance in and around Umm Qasr. The port was finally secured on March 25, and thereafter coalition forces used it as a transshipment point for vast

amounts of humanitarian aid to the Iraqi people after the fall of Hussein's regime.

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See also

Basra; DESERT STORM, Operation; Faw Peninsula; Iran-Iraq War; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Shatt al-Arab Waterway; Umm Qasr, Battle of

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Umm Qasr, Battle of

Start Date: March 21, 2003
End Date: March 25, 2003

First military engagement of the 2003 Iraq War (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). The Battle of Umm Qasr unfolded in and around the Iraqi port city of Umm Qasr, located in the southern part of the country on the Faw (Fao) peninsula, on March 21–25, 2003. The port at Umm Qasr, which is Iraq's only deep-water port, is very close to Kuwait; indeed, only a small inlet separates the two nations.

Taking control of Umm Qasr was one of the coalition's first military objectives during the opening days of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. American and British commanders knew that seizing the city and port would deny the Iraqis any way of challenging the naval blockade. More importantly, they also hoped to secure the port as the base for a large humanitarian mission, whereby tons of food, medicine, clothing, and other supplies would be moved into Iraq once Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's regime had been toppled.

The Umm Qasr offensive, which involved the 15th U.S. Marine Expeditionary Unit, British Royal Marines, and integrated units from Poland's Operational Mobile Reaction Group (GROM), moved toward Umm Qasr overland from Kuwait and through the very southern edge of Iraq. The operation began on March 21, 2003. Coalition forces were confident that the port and surrounding city could be taken quickly and with little resistance. As a convoy of about 20 coalition vehicles lumbered toward Umm Qasr, the Iraqis peppered it with small-arms fire. They then opened up with mortar fire, taking the allies by surprise. The Americans called in British artillery support from northern Kuwait, not far from the border. While some shells hit Iraqi positions, others fell perilously close to U.S. Marine units, who were forced into a hasty withdrawal. After regrouping, the coalition forces called for M1-Abrams tanks, which then punched through Iraqi defensive positions.

U.S. marines fighting in Umm Qasr, Iraq, on March 23, 2003. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Many of the Iraqi defenders were members of Hussein's elite Republican Guard, who resorted to guerrilla-style tactics to keep coalition forces off balance. Some were disguised in civilian clothing and would hold up white flags. When coalition forces approached, they would scurry into foxholes and bunkers and open fire. The Iraqi resistance at Umm Qasr was unexpectedly stout, and some critics have claimed that coalition forces took the Iraqi threat too lightly and were thus ill prepared for a protracted fight there.

After more determined fighting on the part of the Iraqis, coalition forces made use of Bradley fighting vehicles and had intended on calling in Cobra attack helicopters to help root out resistance in and near the port. The Bradleys arrived, but the Cobras did not, as there had been insufficient time to organize a mission. On March 25 the port was declared free of Iraqi opposition, but sporadic and pitched fighting continued to occur in the old city of Umm Qasr.

Not until the first few days in April had all of Umm Qasr been pacified. Meanwhile, coalition minesweepers, U.S. Navy SEALS, and even trained dolphins began the laborious task of clearing the port waters and approaches of mines. Navy personnel made an unsettling discovery when they found a number of Iraqi civilian boats rigged with mines and explosive devices, making the minesweeping operation all the more difficult. The first ship to make it into port was the British RFA (Royal Fleet Auxiliary) *Sir Gallahad.*

The Battle of Umm Qasr gave pause to many coalition commanders and strategists who had believed that securing the port city would be a quick and easy affair. Fortunately, subsequent operations went more or less according to plan, but the battle proved that no operation, however well planned, can proceed successfully without proper intelligence and preparation.

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See also

IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Umm Qasr

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Underway Replenishment Ships

Support ships capable of transferring fuels, stores, and munitions to other vessels while under way at sea via connecting cables and hoses or by means of helicopters equipped for ship-to-ship cargo delivery.

The technique for underway replenishment (UNREP) was developed primarily by the U.S. Navy, beginning as early as World War I. The focus initially was on the transfer of fuel: heavy sacks of coal early on, then oil pumped through hoses, followed by the development of the means to transfer crates of ammunition, foodstuffs, and dry goods. For the transfer of diesel fuels, the receiving ship sometimes took up a station astern of the oiler, which trailed a hose; however, weather permitting, the side-by-side approach soon had the most adherents.

Techniques became more established, transfer gear became standardized, and the optimum matching speeds for alongside operations were determined, as were the most effective yet safest distances to be maintained between different types and sizes of ships during connected replenishment (CONREP). Underway replenishment is a demanding and exacting process that keeps ships on station for weeks on end, and it can be carried out in all but the very worst weather conditions. The added use of the helicopter for vertical replenishment (VERTREP) extends the resupply capability to ships some miles distant from the supply ship, in addition to those alongside.

The U.S. Navy's first purpose-fitted UNREP ships were the more than 30 fleet oilers of the Cimarron (AO-22) class, built during World War II. The last of these, the *Caloosahatchee* (AO-98) and *Canisteo* (AO-99), served until 1989, followed by the similarly long-serving Mispillion (T-AO-105) and Neosho (T-AO-143)-classes. These ships were followed by a new Cimarron (AO-177) class, which led to the present-day Henry J. Kaiser (T-AO-187)–class, built in the late 1980s and 1990s and operated by the Military Sealift Command (MSC). When operating with an aircraft carrier battle group (CVBG), fleet oilers are routinely accompanied by both combat stores ships (AFS) and ammunition ships (AE) in order to supply the full range of necessary supplies to the squadron.

An outgrowth of the seagoing support network required by the carrier battle group was the development of the fast combat support ship (AOE), which combines the resources of oiler, combat stores ship, and ammunition ship in a single hull. First explored by the U.S. Navy in 1954 aboard the replenishment oiler *Conecuh* (AOR-110), a former German fleet supply ship rerigged for UNREP of fuels, stores, and munitions, this concept reached full expression in the new Sacramento (AOE-1) class, which joined the fleet in 1964. Very similar was the design of the Wichita (AOR-1) class of replenishment oilers, seven ships built between 1968 and 1976 that were smaller, less capable versions of the AOE and that ultimately were decommissioned in the late 1990s.

The T-AO-187 Henry J. Kaiser class of 16 ships (launched during 1985–1995) was similar to the earlier 7-ship Cimarron II (AO-177)–class, commissioned during 1981–1983 and decommissioned in 1998–1999. Dimensions were length, 677.5 feet; beam, 97.5 feet; draft, 36 feet; displacement, 9,500 tons (light) or 40,700 tons (full load); and cargo, 26,500 tons. Speed was 20 knots. Range was 6,000 nautical miles at 20 knots. Complement was 80 civilians and 204 enlisted.

The 7 ships of the AOR-1 Wichita class were launched during 1968–1974 and decommissioned during 1993–1996. Dimensions were length, 659 feet; beam, 96 feet; and draft, 33 feet. Displacement was 12,500 tons (light) or 41,350 tons (full load). Cargo capacity was 175,000 barrels of fuel, 600 tons of munitions, 200 tons of dry stores, and 100 tons of refrigerated stores. Speed was 20

The fast combat support ship USNS *Bridge* (T-AOE-10) conducts underway replenishment of the guided-missile cruiser USS *Cowpens* (CG-63) in the Pacific Ocean, August 29, 2009. (U.S. Department of Defense)

knots. Range was 10,000 nautical miles at 17 knots or 6,500 nautical miles at 20 knots. Complement was 461 (26 officers and 435 enlisted). Armament included one North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Sea Sparrow launcher and two 20-millimeter (mm) Phalanx CIWS.

Combat stores ships are also combined-duty auxiliaries; they each bring together the functions of a stores ship, a stores issue ship (AKS), and an aviation stores ship (AVS). They supply dry and refrigerated stores, spare parts, and a variety of cargo for UNREP to the fleet. Two classes of this dedicated type have been active in the U.S. Navy since the 1960s.

The first is the T-AFS-1 Mars class of seven ships. Launched during 1963–1969, three ships are in MSC active service, and four are in reserve. Dimensions are length, 580 feet; beam, 79 feet; and draft, 24 feet. Displacement is 9,200 tons (light) or 16,070 tons (full load). Speed is 21 knots, and range is 18,000 nautical miles at 11 knots or 10,000 nautical miles at 20 knots. Complement is 432 (28 officers and 404 enlisted); MSC, 136 civilian; or 26 navy (4 officers and 22 enlisted). The ships have two Boeing Vertol UH-46 Sea Knight helicopters.

The T-AFS-8 Sirius class of three ships, launched during 1966–1967, remains MSC active. Dimensions are length, 523.25 feet; beam, 72 feet; and draft, 25.5 feet. Displacement is 9,010 tons (light) or 16,792 tons (full load). Speed is 19 knots with a range of 27,500 nautical miles at 12 knots or 11,000 nautical miles at 19 knots. Complement is 103 civilian and 26 navy (4 officers and 22 enlisted). The ships carry two UH-46 Sea Knight helicopters.

AEs in the U.S. Navy have a ship-type lineage that extends back to the 1920s with the commissioning of the first purpose-built pair, the *Pyro* (AE-1) and *Nitro*. A far cry from the present-day UNREP standard, the early ammunition ships offloaded their cargo to stationary barges for transfer to the warships that would visit their solitary anchorage, generally at a safe distance from the rest of the task force or fleet. The UNREP of ammunition and stores was born of necessity in early 1945, during the U.S. Pacific Fleet's advance on Iwo Jima, and subsequently was refined after the war, particularly as the *Conecuh* (AOR-110) proved the viability of the new role of a replenishment oiler in Atlantic fleet operations.

By the era of Operation DESERT STORM, two classes of ammunition ships operated with the U.S. Navy: the aging Suribachi (AE-21) class from the 1950s and the newer and significantly advanced Kilauea (AE-26) class. In the mid-1980s five additional ammunition ships were planned, but by the early 1990s preference was given to the construction of the Supply (AOE-6) class of fast combat support ships. The specifications of the Suribachi and Kilauea classes follow.

The Canadian replenishment ship HMCS *Protecteur* participated in the U.S.-led coalition during the Persian Gulf War. Canada's participation in the conflict was the first offensive combat operation for that country since the Korean War. (U.S. Department of Defense)

The five ships of the AE-21 Suribachi class were launched during 1956–1959 and were decommissioned during 1993–1997. Dimensions are length, 512 feet; beam, 72 feet; and draft, 29 feet. Displacement is 10,000 tons (light) or 17,450 tons (full load). Speed is 20 knots, and range is 12,000 nautical miles at 15 knots and 10,000 nautical miles at 20 knots. Complement is 346 (21 officers and 325 enlisted). The ships are armed with four 3-inch (76-mm) guns and four .50-caliber machine guns.

The seven ships of the AE-26 Kilauea class ships were launched during 1967–1972. Six are active MSC, and one was decommissioned in 1990. Dimensions are length overall, 564 feet; beam, 81 feet; and draft, 28 feet. Speed is 22 knots with a range of 18,000 nautical miles at 11 knots and 10,000 nautical miles at 20 knots. Complement is 125 civilian and 26 navy (4 officers and 22 enlisted).

UNREP ships taking part in the U.S. naval component of DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM were the Sacramento-class fast combat support ships *Sacramento* (AOE-1), *Seattle* (AOE-3), and *Detroit* (AOE-4); the Wichita-class replenishment oilers *Kansas City* (AOR-3), *Savannah* (AOR-4), and *Kalamazoo* (AOR-6); the venerable Mispillion (T-AO-105)-class fleet oiler *Passumpsic* (T-AO-107); the Neosho-class fleet oilers *Neosho* (T-AO-143), *Hassayampa* (T-AO-145), and *Ponchatoula* (T-AO-148); the Cimarron-class fleet oilers *Cimarron* (AO-177) and *Platte* (AO-186); and the Henry J. Kaiser–class fleet oilers *Joshua Humphreys* (T-AO-188), *Andrew J. Higgins* (T-AO-190), and *Walter S. Diehl* (T-AO-193). All of the combat stores ships of the Mars class were on hand: the *Mars* (AFS-1), *Sylvania* (AFS-2), *Niagara Falls* (AFS-3), *White Plains* (AFS-4), *Concord* (AFS-5), *San Diego* (AFS-6), and *San Jose* (AFS-7). Two of the three Sirius-class ships also participated: the *Sirius* (T-AFS-8) and the *Spica* (T-AFS-9).

The ammunition ships *Suribachi* (AE-21) and sister-ship *Haleakala* (AE-25) joined the operations, as did the *Kilauea* (T-AE-26), *Santa Barbara* (AE-28), *Mount Hood* (AE-29), *Flint* (AE-32), *Shasta* (AE-33), *Mount Baker* (AE-34), and *Kiska* (AE-35).

Replenishment ships from non-U.S. navies that participated in DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM were the Italian Navy's replenishment oiler *Stromboli* (A-5327), the Royal Navy's fleet oiler RFA *Orangeleaf* (A-110), the Royal Netherlands Navy's fast combat support ship *Zuiderkruis* (A-832), the replenishment oiler *Durance* (A-629) of the French Navy, the logistics support ship *Sao Miguel* (A-5208) of the Portuguese Navy, the Canadian Armed Forces' operational support ship HMCS *Protecteur* (AOR-509), and the Royal Australian Navy's replenishment oiler HMAS *Success.*

UNREP replenishment naval units have also been active in Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM, supporting forces as the need arises. The U.S. naval component again has

predominated, but the international contribution has been significant. From October 2001 to June 2002 and again from late 2002 on, the logistical needs of up to five CVBGs in the region were met by a leaner naval support network; many of the replenishment ships available a decade earlier had left service, challenging the new combat support ships of the Supply (AOE-6) class as they supplemented their siblings of the Sacramento class and proving the U.S. Navy's wisdom in developing flexible multirole replenishment ships in the 1990s and beyond. During the early phase of ENDURING FREEDOM, the Henry J. Kaiser–class fleet oiler *John Ericsson* (T-AO-194) and Mars-class combat stores ship *Niagara Falls* (T-AFS-3) joined the veteran combat support ships *Sacramento* (AOE-1), *Camden* (AOE-2), *Seattle* (AOE-3), and *Detroit* (AOE-4) as well as the *Supply* (AOE-6), *Arctic* (AOE-8), and *Bridge* (AOE-10) of the follow-on Supply-class ships in supporting the U.S. CVBGs. The Canadian support ship HMCS *Protecteur* was again on hand for replenishment duty, as were the French replenishment oiler *Marne* (A-630) and the Italian Navy's replenishment ship *Etna* (A-5326). Japan in 2001 dispatched a rotating group of its destroyers to the Indian Ocean in support of ENDURING FREEDOM's counterterrorism activities, accompanied in turn by the fast combat support ships *Towada* (A-422), *Tokiwa* (A-423), and *Mashuu* (A-425), but this naval presence was withdrawn in 2007.

Stationed in the region as Operation IRAQI FREEDOM got under way along with the CVBGs present were the U.S. combat stores ships *Sirius* (T-AFS-8) and *Spica* (T-AFS-9), the ammunition ship *Mount Baker* (T-AE-34), and the fleet oilers *Henry J. Kaiser* (T-AO-187), *Walter S. Diehl* (T-AO-193), and *Kanawha* (T-AO-196). The fast combat support ships *Camden* (AOE-2), *Rainier* (T-AOE-7), and *Arctic* (T-AOE-8) were also in theater along with units from other navies, including the sizable Royal Navy's Task Group 2003, among whose components were the combat store ships RFA *Fort Rosalie* (A-385) and RFA *Fort Austin* (A-386) and the fleet oiler RFA *Orangeleaf* (A-110), operating in rotation with other coalition and U.S. Navy support ships as both ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM continue to move forward.

The unique naval aspects of Operations DESERT STORM, ENDURING FREEDOM, and IRAQI FREEDOM are illustrative of the importance of UNREP to the accomplishment and sustained viability of such large-scale military undertakings. Battle groups gathered around aircraft carriers, battleships, or amphibious command or assault ships would lose both focus and momentum without the flexibility and independence afforded them by forward-deployed UNREP.

GORDON E. HOGG

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; Fast Combat Support Ships; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; Military Sealift Command; Support and Supply Ships, Strategic; United States Navy, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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United Arab Emirates

Middle Eastern federated state located in Southwest Asia along the southeastern Arabian Peninsula and bordered by the Persian Gulf to the east, Oman to the south, and Saudi Arabia to the west. Previously known as the Trucial States until 1971, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) is a federation of seven emirates: Abu Dhabi, Ajman, Fujayrah, Sharjah, Dubai, Ras Khaymah, and Umm Qaiwain. The UAE is 32,278 square miles in area, or just slightly larger than the U.S. state of South Carolina, and has an altitude ranging from sea level to 3,200 feet and a tropical and subtropical desert climate. The primary UAE commodity and export is oil. The current population is estimated at 4.6 million people, about 50 percent of whom are South Asian (including many Pakistanis, Indians, and Sri Lankans), 42 percent of whom are Amirati Arab and Iranian, and 8 percent others. Islam is practiced by 96 percent of the population; the remaining practice Hinduism, Buddhism, and varying denominations of Christianity. Owing to perpetually abundant oil revenues, the UAE is a prosperous and relatively wealthy nation with a per capita income of about $37,000 per year, making it a significant draw for foreigners from other parts of the region.

Beginning in 1853, Great Britain forced the separate emirates of the area to sign truce treaties to prevent conflicts between the emirates, reduce piracy in the Persian Gulf, and eliminate their participation in the slave trade. From the British perspective, keeping the peace among the emirates was crucial to controlling their colonial empire on the subcontinent. In 1892 the British and the emirates negotiated another treaty that tightened the bonds between the two. The sheikhs agreed not to cede territory to any other nation or enter into commercial arrangements or other venues of exchange with foreign governments without London's consent. In return, the British pledged to protect the emirates from outside aggression. In 1968 Great Britain announced its intent to allow the former treaties with the emirates to lapse. On December 2, 1971, the emirates created their own federation, the UAE. Politics in the UAE are tightly controlled by the ruling sheikhs, and there are no political parties. The presidency and the post of prime minister are both hereditary positions, and members of the

The skyline of Dubai, United Arab Emirates (UAE). (Monkey Business Images/Dreamstime.com)

Supreme Council and the Council of Ministers are all chosen by the leaders of the seven emirates.

During the Iran-Iraq War of 1980–1988 the UAE staked out a studiously ambivalent position toward the conflict. This was partly because its government sought to eschew entanglements with foreign powers, but it was also because the nation profited handsomely from the war. UAE oil revenues rose dramatically as those of Iran and Iraq flagged. In late July 1991, however, when Iraqi forces were threatening to move against Kuwait, the UAE was among the first nations to recommend joint military action to deter Iraqi aggression. Indeed, the week prior to the August 2, 1990, Iraqi invasion of Iraq, the U.S. and UAE air forces engaged in a joint air-refueling exercise meant as a warning to Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein.

When Operation DESERT STORM, the coalition effort against Iraq, commenced in January 1991, the UAE contributed several hundred troops to the fight. The UAE also provided air support and permitted U.S. military aircraft to bomb Iraqi positions from its air fields. By mid-1991 the UAE had given or pledged as much as $6 billion to foreign nations that had waged the war against Iraq. Six UAE soldiers died during the Persian Gulf War.

The UAE has traditionally eyed Iran with trepidation since the 1979 revolution there that brought a fundamentalist Islamic republic to power. Relations between the two nations have remained tense, and disputes over control of several islands in the Persian Gulf have only added to the atmosphere of mistrust. Since its formation in 1971, the UAE has maintained generally good relations with the West and, in particular, with the United States. After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the United States, the UAE sharply condemned such violence and has been a steady and reliable partner in the Global War on Terror. In the immediate aftermath of the attacks, the UAE government promptly severed diplomatic ties with the ruling Taliban government in Afghanistan.

In terms of the Iraq War that began in March 2003 (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), the UAE initially allowed U.S. and coalition troops access to its military facilities to prosecute the war. The UAE also contributed troops (as many as 20,000) to protect Kuwait in the event that Hussein moved against that country at the beginning of hostilities. However, as the war in Iraq dragged on, the UAE's support for it waned. The UAE joined a growing number of nations that condemned the ongoing conflict. In June 2008, the UAE's foreign

minister visited Iraq, the first such visit by a high-level official from a Persian Gulf nation since 2003. There he announced that the UAE would soon be sending an in-residence ambassador to Baghdad.

WYNDHAM WHYNOT

See also

Afghanistan; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Iran; Iran-Iraq War; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; September 11 Attacks, International Reactions to; Taliban

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United Arab Republic

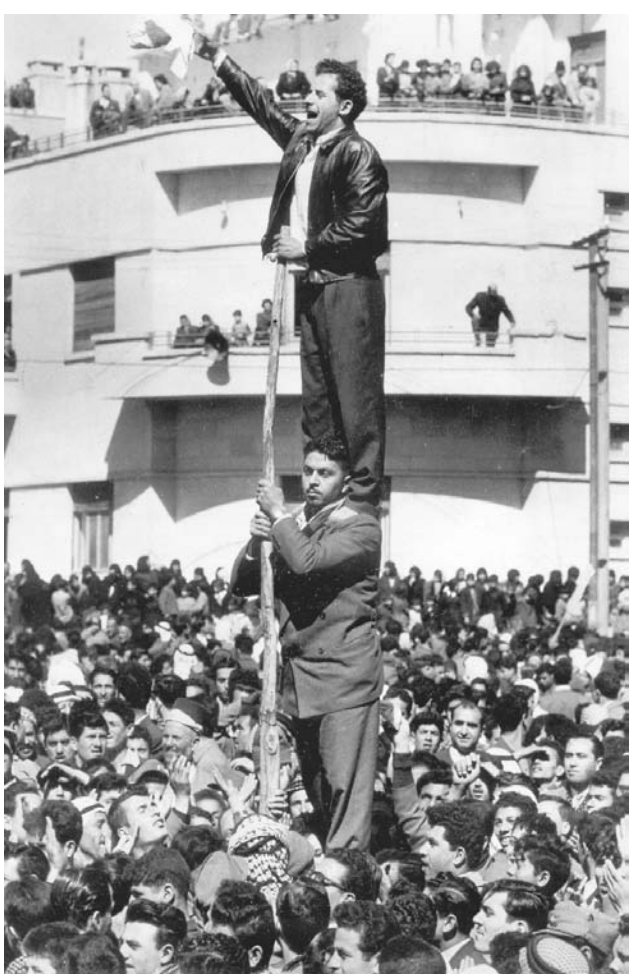
Political union between Egypt and Syria that commenced on February 1, 1958, and ended on September 28, 1961. By late 1957 there was considerable interest in Arab unity. In the case of Syria and Egypt, the motivation was chiefly ideological—with ruling elites in both countries dedicated to Arab unity, social revolution, and Third Worldism in foreign affairs—and secondarily political. Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser had always supported Arab unity and Arabism. He made references to these in many addresses, and such pronouncements only grew with the 1956 Suez War. Nasser stressed pride in Arab origin, political cooperation, and unity when he declared that "the Arab nation is one nation."

On November 18, 1957, in Damascus, the Syrian parliament, dominated by the Baath Party, met jointly with a visiting Egyptian delegation and called for a Syrian-Egyptian federation. The Syrian prounion Baathists were apparently prompted by the growing influence of a different political faction within their own party in Syria. These leaders believed that Syria would benefit from the union, which would also destabilize their enemies within the military and competing political leaders in Syria.

Nasser was at first reluctant for a variety of reasons, including the sharp contrast in the two countries and their political and social configurations. Egypt's authoritarian military government differed sharply with Syria's multiparty parliamentary system. Nasser responded to the Syrian overture by insisting that any union would have to be a unitary rather than a federal state and that Syria would have to dissolve its political parties. The ruling group of Baathists accepted Nasser's conditions including the elimination of all political parties, which he regarded as symbols of internal division and a potential political threat.

The union was formally approved by resolutions in both national parliaments and became official on February 1, 1958. The new unitary state was known as the United Arab Republic (UAR). In the new state, the president held the bulk of the power. He had executive authority, assisted by executive councils in the Egyptian and Syrian regions. Between these and the president there would be four vice presidents, two from each region. Legislative authority would be in the hands of an assembly appointed by the president. At least half of the assembly members were to be selected from the existing Syrian and Egyptian parliaments. At an unspecified future date a new constitution would be adopted, confirmed by a plebiscite.

On February 21, 1958, both the Egyptian and Syrian regions voted nearly unanimously for the union and for Nasser as its president. On March 5 Nasser proclaimed the provisional constitution in effect. Society would be organized along the lines of social solidarity and a planned economy according to principles of social justice. Political parties were abolished. In their place was a National Union, the principles behind which the president would define. Nasser then appointed the first UAR cabinet and the two regional executive councils.



A crowd of enthusiastic Syrians gathers to greet Gamal Abdel Nasser in Damascus following the proclamation of the United Arab Republic (UAE), February 26, 1958. Nasser was the president of the new union. (AP/Wide World Photos)

On March 8 Yemen entered into a formal arrangement with the UAR, with the new entity to be known as the United Arab States. Although there was a Supreme Council of the heads of the member states—in sharp contrast to the UAR—in the United Arab States, each state retained its own form of government and, in most cases, maintained separate diplomatic representation abroad. In effect, the United Arab States was a very loose-knit organization, with Yemen largely going its own way. No doubt prompted by these developments, only weeks after the establishment of the UAR, Iraq and Jordan announced the formation of their own federation.

In foreign affairs and in his regional radio communications, Nasser claimed that the Arab peoples supported the doctrine of Arab solidarity and that it was their governments that were preventing Arab unity. Tensions immediately developed between the UAR and a number of Arab states with which there were already strains, such as Saudi Arabia, and where the governments feared Nasserists among their own population, as in Tunisia and Lebanon. Then, in the late spring of 1958, Camille Chamoun, who was opposed to Nasser, began a political struggle in Lebanon. Chamoun's foes protested, and he complained to the United States that Nasserists were threatening to take over the country. This came on the heels of a coup attempt against Jordan's King Hussein, who had other enemies as well. This possibility was stymied by the arrival in Jordan of British paratroopers, which widened the chasm between Nasserists and pro-Westerners.

In internal developments, the UAR never worked out as Nasser had hoped. By the time of the union, Nasser had firmly consolidated his rule in Egypt. There were, however, strong elements, especially among the established political figures in Syria, that resented the union with Egypt. There was also opposition among the growing numbers of Communist Party members in Syria, as Nasser had outlawed their party both in Egypt and in Syria.

To his credit, Nasser recognized the areas of Syrian reluctance regarding the UAR and at first pursued a deliberate, slow approach. For example, Syria was allowed complete economic autonomy in the first two years of the union. After about a year, however, Nasser did begin to eliminate certain Baath Party members from positions of leadership. In place of the multiparty system, he established the same National Union that existed in Egypt.

Two years after the UAR was established, Nasser did finally move, with fateful results, in the economic sphere to bring Syria in line with Egypt as far as its economic policies were concerned. In a number of speeches he stated that the UAR meant a commitment to the goals of Arab socialism. In November 1958 he introduced agrarian reform in Syria. At the same time, those in Syria who opposed the union reasserted themselves. They gained support because of the heavy-handed actions of certain Egyptian officials in Syria and because the Syrians found themselves outnumbered by Egyptians in the new mixed government. At the same time, as Nasser sought to play an increasingly active role on the world stage, he involved the UAR in a host of matters that had no direct advantage to the people of either country.

In July 1961 Nasser met this growing Syrian discontent with a number of wide-sweeping decrees that were intended to socialize the UAR and were aimed primarily at the elements of the old regime in Egypt and non-Egyptian residents of that country. Among these were the nationalization of banks, insurance companies, and hundreds of large businesses and economic enterprises; controlling government stock interest in large corporations; new income taxes that ranged up to 90 percent for the highest incomes; and new real estate taxes. These decrees took Egyptians as well as Syrians by surprise. The crowning blows came, however, when Nasser abolished the three-cabinet system in favor of a single cabinet for the UAR, sweeping aside the last vestiges of local autonomy, and introduced a common currency for both regions.

In reaction, on September 28, 1961, the Syrian military seized power in Damascus in a coup carried out without great bloodshed. The new leaders immediately announced the separation of Syria from Egypt. Although the new government's leaders expressed their support for Arab unity, they also insisted that this be based on equality rather than the dominance of one national entity over another. They also claimed that they sought socialism.

On learning of the coup Nasser at first ordered Egyptian paratroopers into action, but within hours he countermanded this and insisted that the Egyptian military in Syria surrender. According to journalist Muhammad Haykal, Nasser's longtime friend, Nasser intuitively knew that it was pointless to force an unwanted union, as it would undermine his desire to represent popular will. However, in later public pronouncements Nasser blamed the coup on "reactionaries" and "agents of imperialism."

The breakup of the UAR was greeted with great relief not only by Syria but also by the other Arab states of the region, especially Jordan. Jordan, Turkey, and Iran immediately recognized the new Syrian government.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Arab League; Arab Nationalism; Baath Party; Egypt; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Pan-Arabism and Pan-Arabist Thought; Syria

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United Iraqi Alliance

Iraqi Shia political coalition created in 2004 in preparation for the 2005 elections held in Iraq and led by Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim of the Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council. The United Iraqi Alliance (UIA) is

Results of the December 2005 Iraqi Legislative Election

Party	Total Votes	% of Votes	Legislative Seats Received
United Iraqi Alliance	5,021,137	41.2%	128
Democratic Patriotic Alliance of Kurdistan	2,642,172	21.7%	53
Iraqi Accord Front	1,840,216	15.1%	44
Iraqi National List	977,325	8.0%	25
Iraqi National Dialogue Front	499,963	4.1%	11
Other	1,415,818	9.9%	14

a coalition of numerous political parties and groups and is generally Islamist in outlook and agenda. Nearly all the affiliated groups are Shiite, but there are a number of independent Sunni members as well.

The two most prominent parties in the alliance are Hakim's Supreme Islamic Iraqi Council (formerly Supreme Council for the Iraqi Revolution) and the Islamic Dawa Party, represented by Nuri al-Maliki, who is currently the Iraqi prime minister. Other important parties include Ahmed Chalabi's Iraqi National Congress, which quit the coalition prior to the December 2005 elections. Numerous adherents of the militant cleric Muqtada al-Sadr are also involved in the alliance. Iraq's senior Islamic cleric, Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Husayn al-Sistani, has apparently also given his unspoken blessing to the political coalition.

The UIA enjoyed a strong showing in the January 2005 nationwide elections, capturing slightly more than 4 million votes, or about 48 percent of the total. The election gave the alliance 140 seats, a majority of the 275 seats in Iraq's National Assembly. Notably, 40 seats of the 140 won by the UIA were held by women. The election triumph was especially savored by members of the Islamic Dawa Party, many of whom had been living in exile in Syria since the Saddam Hussein regime had banned the group and persecuted its adherents beginning in 1980. Indeed, the UIA has significant ties to Iran, which has led to concerns among some Iraqis and also U.S. leaders.

In March 2005 the UIA permitted representatives of the Iraqi Turkmen Front, which represents Iraq's Turkmen minority, to join. In all, the UIA counts some 20 political parties and caucuses among its ranks, having lost several prior to the December 2005 elections, which seated a permanent 275-member National Assembly. Although the UIA won more votes than the January 2005 elections, turnout was higher, so the net gain was reduced. In that election, the UIA captured 5.021 million votes, or 42 percent of the total, giving it 128 seats. This represented a drop in UIA power within the National Assembly, although the UIA still enjoyed the distinction of being the ruling coalition. In 2006 after months of tense talks and false starts, a national unity government was formed via a power-sharing arrangement among the UIA, the Iraqi Nationalist List, the Iraqi Accord Front, and the Kurdistani Alliance. Maliki was chosen to represent the coalition as prime minister.

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See also

Chalabi, Ahmed Abd al-Hadi; Hakim, Abd al-Aziz al-; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Maliki, Nuri Muhammed Kamil Hasan al-; Sadr, Muqtada al-; Sistani, Sayyid Ali Husayn al-; Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council

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United Kingdom

Island nation located off the northwestern coast of continental Europe encompassing 94,526 square miles. Although the United Kingdom is a single state, it is composed of four entities: England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. The United Kingdom also has numerous overseas possessions. With a 2009 population of 60.944 million people, the United Kingdom is a constitutional parliamentary monarchy. The monarch is the head of state, while the prime minister is the head of government. Queen Elizabeth II has reigned as Great Britain's monarch since 1952. The nation's two main political parties are the Labour Party (a left-center party) and the Conservative Party (a right-center party). During the 1991 Persian Gulf War the Conservatives held power and helped form a strong Anglo-American response to Iraqi aggression. During the subsequent wars in Afghanistan and Iraq the British were similarly committed to maintaining a strong military alliance with the Americans, but this time under a Labour government.

When Iraqi forces seized and occupied the emirate of Kuwait in August 1990, British prime minister Margaret Thatcher reportedly exhorted President George H. W. Bush to remain firm in opposition to this, pleadings that many believed contributed to Bush's decision to launch a war against Iraq the following year. Thatcher quickly dispatched British troops to the Persian Gulf as part of the international coalition that Bush put together. Thatcher's successor, John Major, who replaced her as premier in November 1990, made considerable efforts to win public and parliamentary support for a war that many feared would be lengthy, costly, and inconclusive. Labour and Liberal Social Democratic Party leaders supported him, and only 57 members of Parliament, mostly Labour leftists, voted against it on January 15, 1991. British ground forces, aircraft, and ships played a prominent part, second only to the United States, in the brief Persian Gulf War of early 1991 in which coalition ground forces attained victory in a matter of days after an opening aerial bombing campaign lasting several weeks. Major basked in the credit for this outcome, marred only by subsequent revelations that friendly fire from U.S. forces had been responsible for a number of British casualties during the conflict.

British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, with President George H. W. Bush looking on, speaks to reporters in Washington, D.C., on August 7, 1990, following an Oval Office meeting with the president on the situation in the Persian Gulf. (AP/Wide World Photos)

The Persian Gulf War left Saddam Hussein in power, as coalition forces refused to intercede to assist domestic uprisings against his rule by dissident Iraqi Shiites and Kurds. Throughout the 1990s, Britain joined the United States in supporting comprehensive economic sanctions against Iraq, and British and American airpower maintained a no-fly zone in northern Iraq, effectively protecting local Kurdish breakaway governments. In retaliation for assorted Iraqi noncooperation and unfriendly acts, aircraft from both powers also repeatedly bombed Iraqi targets of military value. These low-level hostilities provoked occasional parliamentary and other protests in Britain, focusing particularly upon the impact of continuing sanctions on Iraqi children and other civilians, but aroused no serious opposition. Britain also supported 1998 bombing raids by U.S. aircraft on factories and training camps in Sudan and Afghanistan associated with the radical Islamist group Al Qaeda in response to car bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

When Al Qaeda terrorist operatives attacked the United States by hijacking four civilian jetliners on September 11, 2001, and mounting suicide attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon building in northern Virginia, Britain joined other North Atlantic Traty Organization (NATO) allies in supporting the United States. British troops were prominent in the war that the U.S.-led coalition launched in November 2001 against the Taliban government and Al Qaeda forces in Afghanistan, a conflict in which apparent victory was quickly attained. Maintaining military and political control proved a far more elusive goal. In late 2008 British and U.S. troops in Afghanistan and the military forces of the new Afghan government headed by Hamid Karzai still encountered substantial opposition from revived Taliban units, many of which seemed to be operating from havens in the mountains of neighboring Pakistan, a country supposedly allied with NATO.

Many critics argued that one reason for the continuing conflict in Afghanistan was the decision, spearheaded by U.S. president George W. Bush and British prime minister Tony Blair, to invade Iraq in March 2003. This new campaign, undertaken without the sanction of the United Nations (UN) and against strong opposition from several major powers, including Russia, China, France, and Germany, diverted resources in the form of troops and matériel from the ongoing struggle in Afghanistan and also absorbed much of the attention of British and American policy makers, leaving little to spare for the earlier war.

Whereas international and popular opinion had largely supported the war in Afghanistan as a justifiable response to the September 11 attacks on the United States, the invasion of Iraq aroused far more misgivings. In early 2003 public demonstrations against the anticipated war took place in the United States itself and across Europe, including Britain.

British prime minister Tony Blair addresses the House of Commons in London on March 19, 2003. In his speech, Blair urged the members of Parliament to support the use of force in Iraq. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Blair demonstrated a strong personal commitment to overthrowing Hussein, arguing passionately that both the personal brutality of his rule and what Blair claimed were Iraq's increasingly successful moves to develop chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) made the forcible removal of Hussein essential to international security. Blair faced strong opposition from members of his own Labour Party, many of whom rejected his rationale for war including former foreign secretary Robin Cook, who resigned in protest as leader of the House of Commons. In March 2003 Blair won a parliamentary majority in favor of war, including most of the Conservative Party, while some 135 Labour members voted against him. Broader public support for the war was at best lukewarm.

As with Afghanistan, overthrowing the existing regime in Iraq proved easier than maintaining control of the country or establishing a stable new indigenous government. By the end of May 2003 Hussein had been driven from power. (He was captured late that year, put on trial, and executed in December 2006.) To the embarrassment of the British and American governments, no WMDs—the stated justification for the war—were found. Official discomfiture in both countries was compounded by public revelations in May 2003 that Blair and his advisers, like the Bush administration, had massaged or trumped up intelligence data so as to greatly exaggerate the strategic threat from Iraq to its neighbors and others. The suicide in July 2003 of David Kelly, a scientist in the British Ministry of Defense suspected of leaking this information to the media, added to this controversy, which the January 2004 report of a public inquiry headed by Lord Hutton failed to resolve.

In the absence of WMDs, British and American leaders sought to justify the war by highlighting the numerous atrocities and abuses of human rights for which Hussein's regime had been responsible and celebrating their own intention of establishing a functioning democracy in Iraq. Yet the establishment of political order proved highly problematic, and the situation degenerated into something approaching civil war, with Shia, Sunni, and Kurdish groups each supporting their own militias and using great brutality against their opponents. The methods that the U.S. government employed to prosecute the war in Iraq and, more generally, the Global War on Terror also tarnished its public image

internationally. Revelations that American troops had abused Iraqi prisoners at Abu Ghraib, the illegal rendition and detention without trial of terror suspects sometimes on what appeared to be flimsy grounds to a camp in the U.S. military base of Guantánamo in Cuba and in other locations, and the readiness of Bush administration officials to endorse the use of torture and dehumanizing tactics all undercut claims by the British and American governments that they were defending human rights and democratic values. Seeking to conciliate an ally, the United States eventually released several Britons held at Guantánamo, but the damage had been done. Within Britain and around the world, popular and elite anti-Americanism soared dramatically.

After the initial victory in Iraq in 2003, British forces occupied the area around the city of Basra until September 2007, when over U.S. military opposition Gordon Brown, who had replaced Blair as prime minister the previous June, ordered them withdrawn and their mission switched to training indigenous Iraqi forces. Until then these troops had suffered a steady toll of casualties, with 176 dead and perhaps between 2,000 and 4,000 seriously wounded between 2003 and 2008. Brown was widely believed to have been a far less enthusiastic supporter than Blair of the war in Iraq. Before becoming prime minister, Brown had suggested that "mistakes" had been made in Iraq and that at some indefinite future date these would require a full-scale public inquiry. Once he took power, Brown verbally reaffirmed his commitment to the Anglo-American alliance and to stabilizing Iraq, but he also made it clear that he gave a higher priority to maintaining control of Afghanistan, where Britain had a substantial military presence, and to combating homegrown and international terrorism. It remained unclear just how long Brown envisaged deploying British forces in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Brown's emphasis on the continuing threat from terrorism reflected Britain's own experiences since 2001. By the 21st century, some 1.5 million Britons, approximately 2.8 percent of the population, were Muslims. At least some of these were highly responsive to the appeals of Al Qaeda and other radical Islamic groups, and several British nationals were captured fighting with Al Qaeda forces in Afghanistan. On July 7, 2005, 4 young British Muslim suicide bombers detonated explosive devices in the London Underground and the bus system, killing 56 people and injuring 700. A similar set of coordinated bombings was apparently planned for later in the month but failed because of defective bombs, and police arrested the would-be perpetrators. In July 2007 shortly after Brown took office, there were several unsuccessful attempts to explode car bombs in central London. Later that month car bombers attacked Glasgow Airport, killing 1 of the attackers and injuring several bystanders. The individuals responsible were not foreign infiltrators, although some of their contacts extended abroad to Jordan, Saudi Arabia, India, and Australia. Not all of these proved to be terrorist-related incidents, however.

British responses to such developments varied. The Blair and Brown governments sought to reach out to moderate Islamic leaders while keeping close surveillance on those imams who preached radical Islamic tenets and on their congregations. Feminists disliked conservative Muslim interpretations that subordinate women and were apprehensive that allowing British courts to listen to or be influenced by explanations of Sharia (Islamic law) to adjudicate domestic issues among believers would deprive Muslim women in Britain of the protection of the law. British artists and intellectuals expressed real concern that fears of provoking protests or even physical attacks from fundamentalist Muslims inhibited playwrights, writers, filmmakers, and others from producing work that might be thought critical of Islam.

In 1989 Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Iran's spiritual and political leader, had declared a fatwa against the British author Salman Rushdie, claiming that his recent novel *The Satanic Verses* blasphemed against Islam and that Rushdie was therefore an apostate. The novelist went into hiding for several years, and at least two of his translators in other countries were attacked. Sales of Rushdie's books soared with this scandal.

As Brown faced both an international economic crisis and what was likely to be a tough reelection campaign, the outlook for Britain's future Middle Eastern policies remained murky. The British military intervention in Iraq had proved unpopular with the British public and had become a major political liability, albeit one that Brown was trying to reduce by withdrawing forces from the country. Afghanistan, although less in the news, had the potential to become a lengthy and perhaps equally intractable commitment. It was also questionable whether Western countries could prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons unless they were willing to use military force for that purpose.

British leaders also faced the problem of dealing with a serious threat of terrorism without alienating Britain's Muslim community or compromising traditional British liberal ideals. In addition, Britain had to resolve the dilemma of what constituted the acceptable limits of multiculturalism and how far, in the cause of respecting religious or traditional values and beliefs, a society should be prepared to go in tolerating intolerance.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

Blair, Tony; Brown, James Gordon; Major, John Roy; Thatcher, Margaret

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United Kingdom, Air Force, Iraq War

The United Kingdom's Royal Air Force (RAF) played a significant role during Operation TELIC (the British contribution to Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). Commanded by Air Vice Marshal Glenn Torpy, Royal Air Force composite squadrons in Iraq included elements from squadrons based at RAF Marham, RAF Leeming, RAF Leuchars, RAF Coltishall, RAF Cottesmore, RAF Waddington, RAF Benson, RAF Brize Norton, RAF Lyneham, RAF Kinloss, and RAF Odiham. These squadrons operated Panavia Tornado F3, Panavia Tornado GR4, Sepecat Jaguar, and Boeing/British Aerospace AV-8B Harrier II combat aircraft; McDonnell Douglas/Boeing C-17 Globamaster II and Lockheed C-130 Hercules transport aircraft; and Vickers-Armstrong VC-10 aerial tankers. Helicopters operated by the RAF included the Boeing CH-47 Chinook heavy transport, the Aérospatiale Puma medium-lift transport, and the Westland Lynx attack helicopter. Finally, the RAF deployed the RAF Regiment to protect its air stations in the Gulf region. In all, of the 46,000 British troops to participate in the initial stages of Operation TELIC, 8,100 served in the Royal Air Force.

In comparison to the 1991 Persian Gulf War, during which a sustained air campaign of 34 days preceded the ground offensive, the plan for Operation IRAQI FREEDOM was a simultaneous launch of ground and air attacks. Popularly known by the completely inadequate misnomer of "shock and awe," the aim of these attacks was for the American and British air forces to blitz Iraq with precision weapons from the air to destroy key leadership, command-and-control, and military targets, while ground forces raced to Baghdad to topple the government.

The campaign began just after 1:00 a.m. on March 20, 2003, when the American air commander Lieutenant General Michael "Buzz" Moseley launched a pair of Lockheed F-117 Nighthawk stealth bombers to attack a target in Baghdad's downtown area, where Iraqi president Saddam Hussein and his sons, Uday and Qusay, were purportedly meeting. Following this initial attack, throughout the day of March 20, through the night of March 20–21, and throughout the day of March 21, air efforts focused on aiding allied troops who had by this time crossed into Iraq.

On the night of March 21–22 the full fury of the allied bombing campaign was launched. In all, 1,500 British and American

A Royal Air Force GR4 Tornado of the 12th Bomber Squadron in flight over Iraq, September 3, 2008. (U.S. Department of Defense)

missions were flown that night, 700 of which were by strike aircraft, and approximately 1,000 targets were hit. This firepower was augmented by the coalition naval component; British and American vessels at sea also launched 500 cruise missiles before dawn on March 22. Yet throughout these first two days and nights of the campaign, commanders placed several restrictions on bombing targets. The bridges across the Tigris and Euphrates were not destroyed, as these would be needed by the rapid advance of American and British troops. Likewise, much of the Iraqi communications infrastructure was left untouched because allied war leaders needed Iraqi troops to receive word that their political leadership had fallen. Finally, the electricity grid sustained little damage out of fear that destroying it would make postwar stability and recovery harder to accomplish. On the night of March 22–23 British and American aircraft flew 800 strike sorties, followed by an additional 1,500–2,000 sorties over the next 48 hours. On March 25 a *shamal* blew in, causing a fierce sandstorm that lasted for three days, yet still the air attacks continued unabated, with sorties rising to 2,000 in each 24-hour period.

Over this time, the attacks shifted from preplanned targets to targets of opportunity, particularly against Iraqi ground forces deployed in the defense of Baghdad. By April 4, 85 percent of all allied air attacks were focused on Iraqi ground units. The fall of Baghdad and the end of the conventional war in Iraq followed shortly thereafter. On April 8 the Iraqi Republican Guard units defending the city dispersed into smaller units, and by April 11 all Iraqi forces within the environs of Baghdad had been eliminated. In total, from March 20 to April 12 the British and American air forces flew 36,275 sorties, of which 14,050 were strike sorties. The RAF lost no aircraft to enemy fire or suffered any casualties from Iraqi guns. Tragically, however, one RAF Tornado was shot down by an American Patriot missile in a friendly fire incident, killing both crew members. Only a small number of RAF personnel and equipment remained in Iraq after mid-June 2003.

Benjamin Grob-Fitzgibbon

See also
United Kingdom

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United Kingdom, Air Force, Persian Gulf War

Operation granby, the British code name for the 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operations desert shield and desert storm), saw the deployment of more than 7,000 Royal Air Force (RAF) troops to the Persian Gulf region. Indeed, almost all of the 89,000 personnel serving in the RAF at the time were in some way involved with the conflict. British aircraft included at least 100 fixed-wing aircraft and 27 support helicopters. Commanded first by Air Vice Marshal Ronald Andrew Fellowes "Sandy" Wilson and then, after November 17, 1990, by Air Vice Marshal William (Bill) Wratten, the RAF served effectively alongside the U.S. Air Force throughout the conflict.

When Iraq failed to heed the deadline of January 15, 1991, imposed by the United Nations (UN) to withdraw all Iraqi troops from Kuwait, coalition forces began final preparations for an attack against Iraq. Just before 3:00 a.m. local time on January 17, the air attacks began. The immediate task was to destroy the Iraqi air defense system, which within a few hours had been made ineffective. RAF Panavia Tornado GR1 aircraft took part in the first strikes. By dawn that same day the RAF had flown 352 sorties and attacked 158 separate targets.

Following the destruction of the Iraqi air defenses, the thrust of operations changed to the suppression of Iraqi air operations, the destruction of Iraqi air capability, and the neutralization of key Iraqi command and control centers. By January 25 this mission had also been achieved. After that date no further Iraqi aircraft got off the ground, with the exception of aircraft that fled to Iran on the day the ground operations began on February 24.

The RAF played an important role in these operations, as its Tornados carried the JP233 runway-cratering bomb, a weapon unlike anything the U.S. Air Force could deploy. On January 25 coalition air forces shifted their focus from keeping Iraqi aircraft on the ground to systematically destroying them while they sat in their shelters. All told, 375 Iraqi aircraft shelters were destroyed along with 141 aircraft inside. The following day, January 26, just nine days into the campaign, the allied commanders declared complete air supremacy and no longer considered the Iraqi Air Force a threat.

Following the attainment of coalition air superiority, the RAF's runway-destroying capability was de-emphasized. The British Tornados and other aircraft were therefore tasked with concentrating on a variety of other targets, from Iraqi radar sites and oil refineries to ammunition depots and logistical storehouses. The RAF also began to engage in other air operations, such as the flying of noncombat transports and tankers in Iraqi airspace and the carrying out of reconnaissance flights. Such operations continued for another four weeks until Sunday, February 24, when after 34 days of the air campaign the ground war began with two simultaneous invasions of Kuwait. Within 100 hours the war was over, and the forces of Iraq had surrendered. The RAF operated in a supporting role throughout the 100 hours of ground combat.

The RAF also deployed to the theater Boeing 707/320 Sentry AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System) aircraft, Sepecat Jaguar GR3 fighters, Vickers VC10 and Lockheed L-1011 Tristar (air-to-air refueling) aircraft, Lockheed C-130 Hercules (transport) aircraft, BAE Harrier GR7 light-attack aircraft, and Aérospatiale Puma and Boeing CH-47 Chinook helicopters.

In the course of the air and ground campaigns, RAF aircraft delivered more than 3,300 tons of ordnance, including more than 100 JP233 aircraft denial weapons, some 6,000 1,000-pound

bombs, more than 100 antiradar missiles, and nearly 700 air-to-ground rockets. RAF helicopters flew nearly 900 sorties, the Tanker Force offloaded more than 14,300 tons of fuel, and the Air Transport Force moved more than 55,000 tons of freight.

During the war, eight RAF crew members lost their lives, three of whom were killed in training; the remaining five were killed in action. Six aircraft, all Tornados, were also lost in combat. Of these, 2 are thought to have been inadvertently flown into the ground in darkness and poor visibility, 1 was destroyed by the premature explosion of a bomb it carried, and 3 were downed by Iraqi surface-to-air missiles. Because of their low-flying tactics, the RAF lost 1 Tornado for every 80 sorties, compared to American losses of 1 aircraft for every 750 sorties. The Persian Gulf War was a considerable success for the RAF, but the war was not without cost.

Benjamin Grob-Fitzgibbon

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; United States Air Force, Persian Gulf War

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United Kingdom, Army, Iraq War

The British Army was the second-largest force contributor, behind the U.S. Army, to the anti–Saddam Hussein coalition during the 2003 Iraq War (2003–). The British military operation during the Iraq War was code-named Operation TELIC. The British Army began deploying units to the region in anticipation of the conflict in January 2003, ultimately deploying some 26,000 soldiers for the invasion of Iraq. The British ground force was centered on the 1st Armoured Division, which included the 7th Armored Brigade, the 16th Air Assault Brigade, and the 102st Logistics Brigade in addition to various infantry, artillery, medical, and support units. The division was commanded by Major General Robin Brims. Royal Air Force air marshal Brian Burridge was the British national contingent commander, and British Army major general Peter Wall was his chief of staff.

The British forces were placed under the operational control of the U.S. I Marine Expeditionary Force (I MEF). The I MEF was the eastern column of the two-prong coalition advance into Iraq. Once the ground invasion began on March 22, the main elements of the I MEF advanced toward Baghdad, while the British forces, along with most of the Australian and Polish troops, undertook operations in the southeastern portion of Iraq, including first the capture of the Faw (Fao) peninsula and the strategic port of Umm Qasr in an operation in support of Special Air Service (SAS) units and Royal Marine commandos. The division then advanced and captured the airport outside of Basra, Iraq's second-largest city, four days after the start of the invasion.

After instituting a loose blockade, on April 6 British forces launched a three-prong attack on Basra itself and captured the city after meeting light resistance. By the end of the day British forces had secured their main objectives. In an effort to minimize looting and lawlessness, officers conducted a series of negotiations with local and tribal leaders to craft an interim security agreement for Basra.

The British then assumed command of the Multi-National Force Southeast, which included their own ground units as well as contributions from a range of other states. The force endeavored to maintain security for the region around Basra in the face of a growing insurgency. As a result of the frequency of roadside bombings and mine damage, Britain purchased and deployed new armored patrol vehicles and personnel carriers.

The British also participated in the coalition program to train Iraqi security personnel, including more than 22,000 police officers.

A member of a British Army sniper team of the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment (Black Watch), Basra, Iraq, in September 2004. (U.S. Department of Defense)

British forces served as advisers to Iraqi units through transition teams, which remained with the national troops during security operations. Meanwhile, the British Ministry of Defense began to withdraw its own forces from Iraq. By May 2003 British Army forces had been reduced to 18,000. A series of rotations replaced the British 1st Armoured Division with the British 3rd Infantry Division in July 2003. Through 2004 and 2005 the British Army maintained about 8,500 troops in Iraq but began to reduce its force presence over the next several years, so that by the end of 2008 only about 4,100 troops remained. On April 30, 2009, British prime minister Gordon Brown announced the end of British combat operations in Iraq and a phased withdrawal of the remaining British forces there. By July 28, 2009, all remaining British troops had left Iraq and been redeployed to Kuwait after the Iraqi government rejected a request to extend their mission in a training capacity.

In 2005 additional troops were deployed to provide security for Iraqi national elections. Also in 2005, the British began to transfer control over basic training for military recruits to the Iraqi National Army, and British forces began to turn over military facilities to their Iraqi counterparts. Through 2006, additional provinces were turned over to Iraqi security forces.

British forces conducted a number of exercises with Iraqi forces, including Operation SINBAD from September 2006 to March of 2007. SINBAD was designed to provide security to more than 550 infrastructure projects in Basra and to dislodge antigovernment militias in the region. British troops have also participated in operations outside of their area of responsibility, such as Operation FARDH AL QANOON in which two battalions served alongside Iraqi forces in security sweeps in Baghdad.

In 2007 British forces withdrew from their last major post within Basra, creating a security vacuum that led to renewed fighting between Shiite militias. An offensive by the Iraqi Army to displace the militias failed. Nonetheless, the transfer of control meant that all four southern provinces within the scope of operations of the British had been handed over to the Iraqis.

British participation in the Iraq War was controversial among the public, who increasingly supported the withdrawal of forces after 2003. In December 2008 British prime minister Gordon Brown announced that the majority of British troops would be withdrawn from Iraq through 2009, leaving only approximately 400 troops who would continue to participate in training missions. During Britain's involvement in Iraq, 179 military personnel had been killed, and 3,598 had been wounded or injured.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Friendly Fire; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Multi-National Force–Iraq; Special Air Service, United Kingdom; Special Boat Service, United Kingdom; United Kingdom, Air Force, Iraq War; United Kingdom, Marines, Iraq War; United States

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United Kingdom, Army, Persian Gulf War

The British Army was the second-largest contributor to the U.S.-led coalition that liberated Kuwait during the Persian Gulf War. When the administration of U.S. president George H. W. Bush began to assemble the anti–Saddam Hussein alliance during Operation DESERT SHIELD, the British government was one of the first nations to pledge military support. However, the British Army was still in a Cold War posture, and there had not been a significant overseas deployment since the 1982 Falkland Islands War. This created a range of logistical challenges for army officials who had centered their plans and capabilities on the European theater and the country's North Atlantic Treaty Organization's obligations.

The first unit deployed by the British Army for Operation GRANBY, the British code word for the defense of Saudi Arabia and the subsequent liberation of Kuwait, was the 7th Armoured Brigade (the "Desert Rats" of World War II fame), commanded by Brigadier Patrick Cordingley, that had been stationed in Germany. The unit numbered some 12,000 troops. It was initially attached to the U.S. Marine I Expeditionary Force (I MEF). In November 2000 the British government made the decision to increase Britain's force contributions. A new formation, the British 1st Division, was established. It included the divisional headquarters, originally based in Germany; the 4th Armoured Brigade; and elements of other units from the British Army of the Rhine. The units deployed to the Persian Gulf fielded the newest and best equipment in the British Army, including the Challenger main battle tank (MBT). In addition, the 7th Armoured Brigade was transferred from the I MEF to the British 1st Division. The British division itself was attached to the U.S. VII Corps and numbered some 28,000 troops with 15,000 vehicles, including 2,600 armored vehicles. This figure included 221 Challenger MBTs, 316 Warrior infantry fighting vehicles (IFVs), and significant quantities of artillery to include 16 new multiple-launch rocket systems. Other support and logistics units as well as special operations forces and Royal Marine commandos brought total ground forces personnel to about 43,000.

Lieutenant General Peter de la Billiére was assigned to command British ground troops and as overall commander of British forces in the region. The commander of the 1st Armoured Division was Major General Rupert Anthony Smith. The British operations during DESERT SHIELD and the later DESERT STORM were designated Operation GRANBY in honor of a military hero from the Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

The 1st Armoured Division and its support units were deployed to the west of the main coalition supply centers. Consequently, a

A British soldier carrying an L85A1 rifle on patrol with Kurdish children in Zakhu, northern Iraq, in 1991. The soldier was part of Operation PROVIDE COMFORT, a multinational effort to aid Kurdish refugees in southern Turkey and northern Iraq. (U.S. Department of Defense)

significant logistics infrastructure had to be developed to supply the considerable quantities of food, fuel, and supplies that the division consumed each day. Meanwhile, battle groups that included mechanized infantry were organized around each of the two main armored brigades. Through December 2000 and early January 2001, the units undertook a series of training exercises to improve unit cohesion and to acclimatize the soldiers and equipment to the desert conditions.

In planning for the ground invasion of Kuwait, VII Corps was tasked with making a rapid advance into Kuwait and destroying the main armored and mechanized units. VII Corps was then to veer to the east and cut off the retreat of other Iraqi units, including elite Republican Guard divisions. The British were assigned as the eastern unit of the advance, and VII Corps would pivot around the British troops once they secured their objective.

Once the attack began on February 24, 1991, the British worked to protect the flank of the advance. The division's two battle groups advanced rapidly, although they lacked close air support due to inclement weather. There had been concerns among senior commanders over the ability of the Challenger MBTs to operate in the hot, dusty environment, but British armor performed well; however, the division lost about 10 percent of its vehicles to mechanical failure.

British forces routed elements of the Iraqi VII Corps and two armored brigades in a 100-hour drive that was punctuated by a succession of engagements. British troops destroyed or captured more than 200 Iraqi MBTs and more than 500 IFVs and other vehicles. The British also took more than 7,000 Iraqi prisoners. British forces reached their objective, the principal road north through Kuwait into Iraq, on February 28, although coalition forces were unable to prevent the retreat of the Republican Guard divisions into Iraq. British ground forces suffered 19 dead and 10 wounded. Nine of those killed died during a friendly fire incident when a U.S. aircraft mistakenly attacked a convoy of Warrior IFVs on February 26.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Cruise Missiles, Employment of, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Logistics, Persian Gulf War; Special Air Service, United Kingdom; Special Boat Service, United Kingdom; United Kingdom, Air Force, Persian Gulf War; United Kingdom, Marines, Persian Gulf War; United States; Vehicles, Unarmored

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United Kingdom, Marines, Iraq War

The United Kingdom's Royal Marines played a vital role during Operation TELIC (the British contribution to Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). Royal Marine forces in Iraq included the Headquarters 3th Commando Brigade, the 40th Commando, the 42th Commando, the United Kingdom Landing Force Command Support Group, the Commando Logistic Regiment Royal Marines, the 29th Commando Regiment Royal Artillery, the 539th Assault Squadron Royal Marines, the 9th Assault Squadron Royal Marines, the 59th Independent Commando Squadron Royal Engineers, and the 131st Independent Commando Squadron Royal Engineers (Volunteers). Elements of the following units were also present in Iraq: the 45th Commando, the Headquarters Commando United Kingdom Amphibious Forces, the 20th Commando Battery Royal Artillery, the Fleet Protection Group Royal Marines, the 4th Assault Squadron Royal Marines, the Royal Marines Band Service, and the Royal Marines Reserve City of London, Scotland, Bristol, Merseyside and Tyne. Finally, the following units served as attachments with the Royal Marines during Operation TELIC: C Squadron, the Queen's Dragoon Guards; C Squadron, the Royal Scots Dragoon Guards; and 18th Squadron Royal Air Force.

British forces engaged in Operation TELIC, including Royal Navy, British Army, Royal Marines, and Royal Air Force, numbered some 46,000 troops, of whom 4,000 were Royal Marines. The British ground component, including the Royal Marines, was contained within the 1st Armoured Division, which was comprised of the 7th Armoured Brigade (the famed "Desert Rats" of the Persian Gulf War), the 16th Air Assault Brigade, and the 3rd Commando Brigade Royal Marines, the latter of which had the U.S. Marine Corps' 15th Marine Expeditionary Unit attached to it. Led by Brigadier Jim Dutton, the 3rd Commando Brigade was tasked with spearheading an amphibious assault on the Faw (Fao) peninsula in southern Iraq, securing the port of Umm Qasr, and assisting in the seizure of the Basra, Iraq's second-largest city.

The amphibious landing of the 3rd Commando Brigade on the Faw peninsula was the most ambitious operation undertaken by the Royal Marines since the 1982 Falklands War, complicated by the fact that unlike in the Falklands, the landing would be opposed. The first Royal Marines to enter Iraq, spearheaded by Bravo Company, 40th Commando, left Kuwait by helicopter on the night of March 20, 2003, landing on the Faw (Fao) peninsula less than an hour later. They were soon joined by the remaining companies of 40 Commando, and were supported by artillery fire from British and American units stationed on Kuwait's Bubiyan Island, as well as from three British frigates and one Australian frigate positioned in the Persian Gulf. In addition, the 40th Commando fired more than 5,000 mortar rounds in the initial assault to help secure its positions. The 40th Commando's immediate purpose was to secure the southern Iraqi oil fields and oil infrastructure to prevent Iraqi forces from setting them alight, as they had done in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. While the 40th Commando was engaged in this task, the 42nd Commando was airlifted to positions north of 40th Commando to form a block that would prevent any Iraqi forces from moving south to engage the 40th Commando.

Following the successful seizure of the oil fields, the 40th Commando moved to secure the Iraqi banks of the Shatt al-Arab waterway, which flows along the border with Iran. The 42nd Commando moved into the port city of Umm Qasr seized earlier by U.S. marines, which they soon opened up to vital humanitarian aid. By March 30 each of these tasks had been completed. The entirety of the 40th Commando—together with L Company, 42nd Commando; C Squadron, the Queen's Dragoon Guards; and C Squadron, the Royal Scots Dragoon Guards—then embarked on Operation JAMES, a 19-hour battle involving both Lynx attack helicopters and Challenger II main battle tanks whose purpose was to secure the town of Abu al Khasib on the approach to Basra.

From there the Royal Marines moved into Basra itself, seizing control of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's summer palace. By April 6, just over two weeks after the first marines of the 40th Commando had landed on Iraqi territory, Basra had fallen. The Royal Marines had succeeded in their task, taking and holding the 60-mile coastline of the Faw peninsula and opening up the port and cities of Umm Qasr, Abu al-Khasib, and Basra. Following these operations, the 3rd Commando Brigade left Iraq in June 2003. As of December 2008, there had been 12 rotations of British forces in Iraq (Operations TELIC II through TELIC XIII). The Royal Marines, however, played no great role in these deployments, in large part having deployed to Afghanistan instead. All British troops had departed Iraq by the end of July 2009. In all, the Royal Marines suffered 11 fatalities during the period of British involvement in Iraq.

BENJAMIN GROB-FITZGIBBON

See also

Basra; Basra, Battle for; Faw Peninsula; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Shatt al-Arab Waterway; Umm Qasr; Umm Qasr, Battle of

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Murray, Williamson, and Robert H. Scales Jr. *The Iraq War: A Military History.* Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2005.

United Kingdom, Marines, Persian Gulf War

British Royal Marines in the Persian Gulf War did not take part in the ground war of February 1991. However, a small contingent of 24 marines from K Company, 42nd Commando, did deploy as a detachment with the Royal Navy in the Persian Gulf for raiding suspect shipping. The majority of British Royal Marines participated in Operation HAVEN, part of Operation PROVIDE COMFORT that was a coalition humanitarian operation conducted in northern Iraq from April 18 to July 15, 1991. British participation numbered

nearly 5,000 Royal Marines and included the 3rd Commando Brigade led by Brigadier Andrew Keeling as well as elements from the 40th Commando and 45th Commando. The 3rd Commando Brigade was also supported by the 29th Commando Royal Artillery, the 3rd Commando Brigade Air Squadron, the 59th Independent Commando Squadron, the Royal Engineers, and the Commando Logistics Regiment. Royal Marine Commando Forces were attached to the U.S. Marine Corps 24th Marine Expeditionary Unit (Special Operations Capable) and worked alongside American Special Forces and reconnaissance groups.

After the Persian Gulf War officially ended on February 28, 1991, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein turned the remainder of his armed forces against factional uprisings in both northern and southern Iraq. After quelling the Shiite revolt in southern Iraq, Hussein turned his attention to the Kurdish people in the mountainous regions of northern Iraq. Hundreds of thousands of Kurds fled to the mountains across the border into Turkey, with Iraqi armed forces and special police in pursuit. Expansive media coverage of the starving and freezing Kurdish people led both President George H. W. Bush and the United Nations (UN) Security Council to take action. On April 5, 1991, the UN adopted Security Council Resolution 688, requesting military-conducted humanitarian and security operations in northern Iraq. A coalition force led by the United States, which included 30 other nations and numbered nearly 20,000 troops, assembled in Silopi, Turkey, to administer aid to the suffering Kurds.

On April 18, 1991, the British Royal Marine Commando Forces commanded by Major General Robin J. Ross joined Operation PROVIDE COMFORT as part of a ground contingent named Joint Task Force Bravo. Even as coalition forces and Royal Marines amassed in Silopi, Turkey, the Kurdish people refused to come down from the mountains without key towns in Iraq declared secure. U.S. lieutenant general John M. Shalikashvili, overall commander of PROVIDE COMFORT, ordered Iraqi military and special police forces in the town of Zakho, Iraq, to vacate. On April 21, 1991, Joint Task Force Bravo crossed the Iraq-Turkey border into Zakho in order to secure the area. The British 45th Commando, Royal Marines, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Jonathon Thompson, cleared Zakho on April 25, 1991. The U.S. commanders chose the 45th Commando for this mission because of the unit's recent experience with urban combat in Northern Ireland.

A small number of Kurds reluctantly returned to Zakho, while the majority remained in the mountains of Turkey, relying on coalition provisions for their survival. The reason for the lack of movement on the part of the Kurds was a fear of Iraqi Special Police in their towns across the border. To quell this fear, on April 29, 1991, General Shalikashvili ordered the start of Operation GALLANT PROVIDER, which designated Joint Task Force Bravo to expand the security area. By May, international forces and U.S. marines secured numerous towns en route to Dohuk, Iraq, the mission objective. Leaving Zakho secure, the 45th Commando assaulted and secured Amadiyah and proceeded toward Sirensk, Iraq, where the brigade overran and took control of an important airstrip. Moving southwest, the 3rd Commando Brigade encountered the Iraqi 36th Infantry Division, which offered little resistance and slowly departed the town of Batufa.

On May 17, 1991, the 29th Commando Regiment, Royal Artillery, prepared to lay siege to Iraqi forces in Dohuk, Iraq, as coalition forces converged on the town. Fortunately the Kurds and Iraqis came to an agreement on May 18, allowing many of the Kurds to return to their homes. For the next two months British Royal Marines maintained a presence outside the towns they had secured, including Kakho, Sirensk, Batufa, and Amadiyah. In July, brief skirmishes broke out in Amadiyah between British forces and local Kurdish rebels. General Shalikashvili calmed the situation by consulting Kurdish leaders who were concerned over rumors of the coalition departure. The rumors were true, as Operation PROVIDE COMFORT ended on July 15, 1991. Coalition forces and Royal Marines completed their mission, which had provided nearly 750,000 Kurds with humanitarian support and security in their return to their Iraqi homes.

COLIN M. COLBOURN

See also

Hussein, Saddam; Kurds; PROVIDE COMFORT, Operation; Shalikashvili, John Malchese David

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United Kingdom, Middle East Policy

Until 1914 the United Kingdom was, on the whole, content to exercise only informal influence in the Middle East. Only the small Crown colonies of Aden and Cyprus (acquired in 1839 and 1878, respectively) were British in a strictly legal sense. The emirates along the southeastern coast of the Arabian Peninsula, from Qatar in the Persian Gulf to Muscat and Oman, were bound to Britain by defensive treaties. Aden, important to Britain with its port and fueling capacity, was actually under the rule of the British government of India, and Britain held protectorates over western Aden and eastern Aden. British leaders perceived the strongest area power, the moribund regime of the Ottomans, more as a dependent satellite than as an adversary and therefore enjoyed British protection from predatory neighbors such as czarist Russia.

The major exception to this hands-off approach was Egypt, occupied in 1882 in response to a nationalist coup and thereafter

incorporated into the British imperial sphere under the veil of a puppet monarchy. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the old route from Europe to the Indies via the Cape of Good Hope had become obsolete, and with the majority of traffic passing through the canal being of British registry, London deemed it a vital British interest to defend the maritime artery running through the Strait of Gibraltar to Port Alexandria and from there along the Red Sea corridor to Aden and the long transoceanic voyage to India. The security of this line of communications and transportation remained one of the core components of Britain's foreign policy, and control of Egypt's Canal Zone, which was eventually to become the world's largest military base, was thought crucial to imperial defense. The British, who had originally promised only a short-term intervention to stabilize Egypt's faltering government and secure the extensive financial assets owned by European investors throughout the country, made periodic noises about leaving when conditions allowed. But with each passing year, the occupation grew more permanent.

An accident of geography made Egypt crucial to British interests, and an accident of geology would make the Middle East as a whole the geopolitical key to the 20th century. The otherwise economically worthless deserts of Arabia sat atop the world's largest reservoirs of crude petroleum, the energy resource that would eventually replace coal as the most critical strategic resource on the planet. The long-term significance of this was already becoming clear before the outbreak of World War I. In 1911 Winston Churchill, at the time First Lord of the Admiralty, took the critical step of beginning the changeover of the Royal Navy from coal to more efficient oil-burning engines. Three years later he seized the prescient opportunity of buying a government majority shareholding in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which was busy exploiting its newly drilled fields in what is today southwestern Iran. By 1945 the economic and military implications of the Middle East's oil reserves would come to dominate the region's political fortunes.

Britain's traditional approach to Middle Eastern affairs ended in October 1914 when the Ottoman Empire's leaders took that country into World War I on the side of the Central powers. Britain declared Egypt a formal protectorate and launched an extensive military effort across the eastern Mediterranean and the Fertile Crescent. The war there began badly for the British. An ambitious but poorly executed naval effort to force the Dardanelles followed by the landing of an expeditionary force on the Gallipoli Peninsula, both in 1915, ended in ignominious evacuation, and there was another humiliating failure in Mesopotamia the following year when an Anglo-Indian expeditionary force moving up the Tigris and Euphrates was besieged and forced to surrender at Kut. But in early 1917, following reinforcement and a change of command, the Mesopotamian advance recovered its momentum, reaching and capturing Baghdad. British troops under Lieutenant General Sir Edmund Allenby launched a successful offensive from Egypt into Palestine, breaking the stubborn Ottoman line of resistance at the Third Battle of Gaza. Allenby entered Jerusalem on December 11, 1917, the first Christian general to seize the city since the Crusades. The following year, the Ottoman Empire imploded.

Britain's victory in World War I created new regional opportunities but also problems in the Middle East. In May 1916 Foreign Office envoy Mark Sykes had drawn up with his French counterpart François Georges Picot a plan to divide the former Ottoman territories in the Middle East. Britain would directly control Mesopotamia, France would control Lebanon and much of southern Anatolia, and the rest of the region would be carved up into informal spheres of European control. This, however, contradicted a promise already made by the high commissioner in Egypt to the sharif of Mecca, Hussein ibn Ali, that if the Arab chieftains revolted against Ottoman rule, the British would sponsor an independent Arab state in the Middle East at the end of the war. To complicate things further, in 1917 Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour had announced in his famous declaration that a postwar homeland would be established for the Jewish people in Palestine.

The final result was an untidy compromise. As a consequence of the Paris Peace Conference at the end of the war, Britain and France were awarded a number of mandate colonies under the auspices of the League of Nations. France received control over Syria and Lebanon. Britain received three mandate territories. Two of these, Iraq and Transjordan, were parceled out to the Hashemite princes Faisal and Abdullah, respectively, as consolation for the failure to create a Pan-Arab state. Palestine, the third mandate, became the responsibility of the Colonial Office in London. Kuwait, at the mouth of the Mesopotamian delta, was detached from Iraq and declared a direct British protectorate.

The propping up of this shaky inheritance proved to be one of the British Empire's most intractable security problems of the 1920s onward. Nationalist feelings, both Arab and Zionist, had been permanently stirred up across the region by the rhetoric of Wilsonianism at the Paris peace talks, and tempers were flared with the widespread belief that the colonial powers had betrayed legitimate national aspirations for their own selfish benefit. A popular revolt in Iraq during 1920–1922 was suppressed by the innovative (although later controversial) employment of military aircraft in so-called aerial policing by the Royal Air Force (RAF). In the spring of 1919, urban riots against British rule in Egypt led to a general uprising in which British troops killed hundreds of protestors. Although the protectorate was formally abandoned and a state of Egyptian independence declared in 1922—later modified by the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936—Britain retained control of key political and economic aspects of the country's life, and this transparently quasi-colonial situation continued to offend Egyptian national pride.

The situation in Palestine was, if anything, even worse. Britain was committed to the stewardship of a Jewish national homeland in the mandate, although the level of political autonomy that it would enjoy was not defined, and Britain insisted that "the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities" had to be left undisturbed, a demand that was easier to make than

Sir Herbert Samuel, Emir Abdullah ibn Hussein, and Sir Wyndham Deeds at Emir Abdullah's camp at Amman, Jordan, April 1921. During these meetings, Samuel, British high commissioner, proclaimed Emir Abdullah the ruler of Transjordan, then a British mandate. (Library of Congress)

enforce. Jewish immigration quickly became the dominant issue. More than 100,000 Jews arrived in Palestine from Europe during the 1920s, and there were large transfers of land ownership as these migrants bought property from absentee landlords, displacing the Arab tenants who had traditionally worked the fields and orchards. As the resentment of the Arab fellahin (peasants and agricultural laborers) grew, the British authorities attempted to alleviate the tension by introducing immigration quotas. This angered Jewish residents and did little to heal the growing sectarian divide across the mandate.

Sporadic armed conflict between the two communities simmered until, in August 1929, 67 Jews were murdered by rioters in Hebron. This shocking event eroded what little confidence Jewish leaders had in a binational compromise future for the region and led to the rapid expansion of the paramilitary Jewish self-defense force known as Haganah. For their part the British continued their increasingly unsuccessful policy of keeping the peace, trying to favor neither side and thereby alienating both. A British inquiry into the Arab riots, the Shaw Commission, acknowledged that previous government statements about the future of the mandate had been unhelpfully vague and contradictory, with politicians too eager to tell each community what it wanted to hear. But the subsequent 1930 Passfield White Paper could only suggest new and ultimately ineffectual restrictions on future Jewish land purchases.

The failure of Britain's efforts at de-escalation became clear in the spring of 1936, when a full-scale Arab revolt broke out across Palestine in protest against continuing Jewish immigration and land purchase. More than 20,000 British security troops spent three years suppressing the rebellion (often in unofficial cooperation with Haganah) in a counterinsurgency that was marked by often brutal policing tactics and the suspension of civil liberties. During the revolt the remaining economic ties between the Arab and Jewish communities were mostly severed, hampering the chance of any reconciliation between the two factions. Although in 1939 the revolt petered out, its containment did nothing to resolve the fundamental tensions that still plagued the mandate's political life.

Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's government sought an opportunity to bring a final negotiated end to the conflict. Its first proposal was an Arab-Jewish summit, the 1939 St. James Conference, but this proved a failure because Arab representatives refused to even recognize the negotiating legitimacy of their Jewish counterparts. Forced to come up with a settlement of its own, Chamberlain's administration drafted a new White Paper later that year. It promised the creation within 10 years of an independent Palestinian state, to be jointly governed by Arabs and Jews. More significant for the short term, however, it limited future Jewish immigration into the mandate to 75,000 people for the next 5 years.

The White Paper infuriated Jewish settlers while failing to satisfy Arabs, and it was only the outbreak of World War II that forestalled a more vigorous reaction to the White Paper's proposals. Given the virulent anti-Semitism of Nazi Germany, mainstream Jewish organizations in Palestine were understandably willing to freeze the dispute for the duration of the war, although more extreme terrorist cells such as Lohamei Herut Israel (also known as Lehi or the Stern Gang) refused to abandon their struggle. In 1944 Lehi would assassinate Lord Moyne, the resident minister in Cairo and one of the most senior British officials in the region.

Britain faced multiple challenges to its military power in the Middle East during the war. An Italian army invaded Egypt in the autumn of 1940, and although this assault was expelled in a spectacular counteroffensive into Libya the following year, the fortunes of the desert war would soon be dramatically reversed in favor of the Axis by the arrival of the German Afrika Korps. Behind the front line, sedition openly flourished. In May 1941 British troops returned to Iraq (which had received independence nine years earlier) when a pro-German cabinet overthrew King Faisal II's government, headed by the regent Abd al-Ilah, and this performance repeated itself in Vichy-held French Syria a few weeks later and, in cooperation with the Soviet Union, in Iran in August. In July 1942 at a particularly desperate moment in the battle against German general Erwin Rommel, Egypt's King Farouk was ordered at gunpoint to dissolve his government and appoint a premier

Arab prisoners are guarded by a British soldier in the Old City of Jerusalem in the British mandate of Palestine, October 26, 1938, during the Arab Revolt against both British rule and Jewish settlement in Palestine. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

more accommodating toward British interests. Not until 1943 were North Africa and the Middle East secured by the Allies.

In 1945 the incoming Labour Party prime minister Clement Attlee and his foreign secretary, Ernest Bevin, faced the paradox that while the diplomatic importance of the Middle East had never been greater and Britain's nominal control over the region never stronger, the country was far less capable of exerting imperial authority than it had been before the war. According to the map, Britain's assets were impressive. Not only did it control a swath of occupied territory from Egypt to Iran, but the clearing out of Italian dictator Benito Mussolini's African colonies had left Britain in control of former Italian Somaliland, Eritrea, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica. Only the vast and empty Arabian Desert, ruled since 1927 by the Wahhabist House of Saud, remained—at least to some extent—outside the British orbit.

Britain's finances and manpower had, however, been exhausted by six years of war. The United States was now quite clearly the much stronger of the two powers, and it was evident to everyone—including Arab nationalists restless for greater autonomy and a fairer share of oil revenues—that the British Empire was on the decline. But Bevin refused to submit to despondency. In a September 1945 memorandum, he laid out his plan for a revitalized imperial role in the Middle East. While recognizing that gunboat diplomacy and informal rule through pliable puppet monarchs was no longer a feasible strategy, he proposed a new and more equitable set of partnerships that were to be based on British-funded economic development and Cold War defense cooperation. Bevin saw the Middle East as the keystone of his anti-Soviet strategy, with the Suez Canal base securing oil shipments to the West and long-range bomber airfields in Palestine threatening the Soviet Union's southern flank in the event of war.

Bevin's plans were bold but ultimately unrealistic. Insofar as Palestine in particular was concerned, they ignored the fact that the war had completely changed the character of Jewish politics in Europe. The Nazi so-called Final Solution had killed an estimated 6 million Jews and left at least 250,000 survivors of Hitler's death camps stranded in refugee facilities across the continent. Many of these displaced persons (DPs) sought to immigrate to Palestine in defiance of the White Paper quotas, and although British troops succeeded in intercepting and detaining many of them, the war-weary public back in the United Kingdom had little stomach for the distasteful spectacle of its soldiers imprisoning recent survivors

of the Holocaust in new prisons. World sympathy for the DPs was strong particularly in the United States, where the new president, Harry Truman, was under pressure to use the enhanced diplomatic leverage of the United States to change British policy in Palestine.

Britain's ability to maintain control of the region was also under pressure. Toward the end of the war Jewish militant groups such as Irgun Tsvai Leumi (National Military Organization) had restarted their paramilitary campaigns against mandate rule, and a vicious insurgency campaign broke out that culminated in the July 1946 bombing of the King David Hotel, the British military headquarters in Jerusalem, in which 91 people died. In a period of rapid postwar demobilization and a dire manpower shortage at home, it was difficult to justify the presence of large numbers of British personnel in a province that looked increasingly headed toward civil war.

The Labour government's main political initiative was the 1946 Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, which proposed the creation of a single binational state and the immediate entry of 100,000 Jewish DPs into Palestine. Although Attlee's administration was much more enthusiastic about the former recommendation than the latter the administration cautiously welcomed the committee's findings, but President Truman torpedoed the delicate negotiation process when he made a blunt statement implying that the larger immigration quota was the only significant element to the report. Britain's determination to find a binational solution to Palestine came to an end the following February when, beleaguered by the mounting violence in the mandate, Attlee's government announced that it was referring the problem back to the United Nations (UN). In November 1947 the UN voted for partition, a vote on which the United Kingdom abstained. The following May, Britain abruptly withdrew its last remaining personnel from the mandate, precipitating the outbreak of the first Arab-Israeli war, the Israeli War of Independence (1948–1949). Britain expected the Arab League to win this conflict and would no doubt have welcomed the emergence of an independent Palestinian entity from the postmandate wreckage, but any chance of such a scenario was ruined by the poor military showing of the Arabs in the war.

The creation of the State of Israel in May 1948 greatly complicated Britain's subsequent Middle East policy. Recognition that the Jewish state was—however imperfectly—the region's only practicing democracy, a powerful anti-Soviet bastion, and a valued client of the United States had to be balanced against the British desire not to inflame Arab sensibilities elsewhere. Cold War Anglo-Israeli relations were characterized by periods of cooperation interspersed with diplomatic prickliness, with Tel Aviv critical of what it saw as Britain's too-cozy attitude toward the Arabs and with London frustrated by the Israeli failure to settle the Palestinian question once and for all.

The 10 years that followed the end of World War II saw Britain's gradual withdrawal from many of its formal Middle East suzerainties. Nevertheless, it sought to retain key advisory links with the successor states, particularly with regard to oil exploration and defense issues. The success of this policy was mixed. In March 1946 the Transjordanian mandate was peacefully abolished, and two years later Emir Abdullah was declared monarch of the new Kingdom of Jordan. That same year Britain negotiated the Treaty of Portsmouth, an attempt to define its ongoing security relationship with Iraq, particularly with regard to the retention of RAF bases there. The treaty failed, however, to appease Iraqi nationalists and was never ratified by Baghdad. Worse than this disappointment was the 1951 crisis in Iran, when populist prime minister Mohammad Mossadegh nationalized the assets of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC), which forced a tense standoff with the British government. The crisis was relieved only when Mossadegh was toppled from office through the covert actions of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Britain's Secret Intelligence Service (MI6). British Petroleum (BP), a reconstruction of the AIOC, retained a 40 percent share in Iranian oil production in the postcrisis settlement, but the net result was Iran's shift into an American rather than exclusively British sphere of influence, a pervasive theme of the postwar period.

That increasing U.S. involvement in Middle Eastern affairs might not always be in Britain's best interests was illustrated by the rise to power of Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt following the 1952 officers' coup that dethroned King Farouk. London initially hoped to find in Nasser a more willing partner than Farouk, conceding an October 1954 treaty with Nasser that finalized the cession of the Suez base and offering to help fund the Aswan High Dam project.

However, in 1955 when Britain organized the anti-Soviet Baghdad Pact—also known as the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO)—with Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan, an outraged Nasser denounced the agreement as neoimperialist and sought a rearmament deal with the Soviet Union. British prime minister Anthony Eden then followed the U.S. lead in withdrawing British assistance for the Aswan High Dam project. Egypt promptly nationalized the Anglo-French Suez Canal Company as compensation. Secret negotiations followed among Israel (already involved in an undeclared sniping war with Egypt) and the aggrieved British and French, and a plan was concocted to invade Egypt and unseat Nasser. Israel would invade the Sinai peninsula, giving the European powers the excuse to intervene and seize the Canal Zone as neutral peacemakers. Because Nasser's refusal to accept this intervention was more or less guaranteed, the expeditionary force would then have a legal pretext to crush the Egyptian regime.

Israel duly attacked on October 29, 1956, and a few days later a mainly British amphibious force supported by strong airpower assaulted Port Said. Although militarily successful, the invasion was a diplomatic disaster for Britain, and when the Soviet Union threatened to intervene on Nasser's side, President Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration used its financial muscle to force the British into a cease-fire and a humiliating evacuation. The Suez Crisis was the last occasion in which Britain attempted a unilateral military solution to a Middle Eastern crisis and marked the collapse of Britain's already-tottering prestige in the region. During

the crisis, CENTO proved ineffective in advancing British interests. As early as 1959, Iraq had dropped out of the organization following its republican revolution, and the pact was unable to influence the course of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

With the winding down of Britain's military presence in Jordan and the granting of independence to Kuwait in 1961, the only remaining remnants of empire were now along the Arabian shoreline. The old garrison town of Aden had, with the loss of Suez, become Britain's primary defense base in the Middle East, and although London recognized that its days as a Crown colony were numbered, it was determined that any successor state should be friendly toward British interests. In January 1963 Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's government united Aden and the old Yemeni protectorate into the Federation of South Arabia (FOSA), which was promised independence within five years. However, terrorist resistance by the Egyptian-backed National Liberation Front prevented a peaceful transition of power, and after a fruitless campaign to pacify civil unrest, British troops abandoned the territory in November 1967. The failure to retain the Aden bridgehead coupled with parlous financial problems at home (set off in part by the rise in international oil prices after the 1967 Six-Day War) necessitated a comprehensive British defense review. This resulted in the decision to withdraw all remaining British forces east of Suez by the end of 1971. The political consequence of this decision for the Middle East was the reorganization of Britain's old Persian Gulf protectorates. Thus, they transformed themselves into the United Arab Emirates (UAE), and Qatar and Bahrain (which could not agree on a unified constitution with their UAE neighbors) became independent polities.

The end of empire did not of course end Britain's relationship with the Middle East. As one of the West's principal oil importers and a major supplier of advanced technology, Great Britain inevitably continued to display a strong interest in regional affairs. Although after the Suez debacle Britain no longer sought a leading role in the Arab-Israeli conflict, its position as a permanent member of the UN Security Council gave its opinions inherent significance. In general, Britain followed the lead of the United States throughout the remainder of the Cold War. But bearing in mind Britain's historical ties with the Arabian Peninsula, Britain was less publicly emphatic in its support of Israel.

Until 1990 the story of Britain's military disengagement from the region followed a clear and consistent narrative. This was rudely reversed, however, with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. Great Britain actively contributed to all of the U.S.-led multinational operations that followed it, including Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. Britain also took part in the various airborne policing campaigns of Iraq in the 1990s including Operation DESERT FOX, an air campaign launched in December 1998 designed to destroy suspected sites where weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) were allegedly being developed.

After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, Britain stood closely with its ally across the Atlantic and fully supported the operations to rid Afghanistan of the Taliban regime. An initial force of nearly 6,000 British troops was sent to Afghanistan, with the deployment stabilizing at about 5,500 troops after 2002. In 2007 the British government increased its troop commitment to Afghanistan to nearly 9,000; by the beginning of 2009 there were about 8,300 troops, most of whom were in Helmand Province. Subsequent to the Afghanistan War, the unseating of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's regime in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (2003–)—given the more prosaic title Operation TELIC by British forces—included direct involvement of British troops. As many as 45,000 British troops were on hand for the March 2003 invasion of Iraq. In September 2007 British troops withdrew from their last base in Basra to an airport garrison on the outskirts of the city, and by the end of 2008 there were approximately 4,200 troops remaining in Iraq. All British troops were withdrawn from the country by the end of July 2009. Britain also maintained a substantial air and naval presence throughout the Persian Gulf area, an epilogue that would have seemed bizarre to those witnessing the lowering of the last Union Jacks in the region 35 years earlier.

A British Army Viking amphibious combat vehicle waits to refuel, Helmand Province, Afghanistan, September 2, 2008. (U.S. Department of Defense)

ALAN ALLPORT

See also

Anglo-Iraqi Treaty; Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Baghdad Pact; Balfour Declaration; DESERT FOX, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Eisenhower, Dwight David; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Faisal II, King of Iraq; France, Middle East Policy; Hussein, Saddam; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Suez Crisis; Sykes-Picot Agreement; Truman, Harry S.; United Kingdom; United States, Middle East Policy, 1917–1945; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present; World War I, Impact of; World War II, Impact of

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United Kingdom, Navy, Persian Gulf War

Based in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), the British Royal Navy had been operating in the Persian Gulf region for 10 years prior to the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq on August 2, 1990. This posture allowed the Royal Navy to react quickly when hostilities seemed imminent. Captain Anthony McEwen was initially in command of Royal Navy forces in the Gulf from the start of the crisis until September 1990; Commodore Paul Haddocks took over from McEwen and served from September until December. Commodore Christopher Craig then took command of Royal Navy forces in the Gulf from December 1990 until March 1991, at which time Operation DESERT STORM had ended.

The British presence in Saudi Arabia also provided headquarters facilities in Riyadh, and these facilities would form the foundation of the coalition's command structure as Operation DESERT SHIELD was initiated in the late summer of 1990. British warships participating in the Persian Gulf War included the Royal Navy frigates HMS *Battleaxe, Brilliant, Brave, Brazen, Jupiter,* and *London.* The destroyers HMS *Cardiff, Gloucester,* and *York* were also deployed. In addition, the hospital ship *Argus,* the tanker *Orangeleaf,* and the submarines *Opposum* and *Otus* were deployed, as were four mine countermeasure ships. The Royal Navy deployed a total of 12,500 personnel to the Persian Gulf.

The Royal Navy had four primary missions assigned to it by the coalition. The first was maritime interception operations; these were mandated by United Nations (UN) resolutions passed in response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, which stipulated that any unauthorized cargo found to be headed to or from Iraq was to be stopped and confiscated. Second, the Royal Navy participated in antisurface operations against the Iraqi Navy. Third, it engaged in antiair operations against Iraqi aircraft and missiles fired at coalition ships. Finally, the Royal Navy provided countermine vessels to sweep for and eliminate the mines in the Persian Gulf.

During the conflict, the UAE provided air fields to resupply Royal Navy units with supplies and spare parts. To prevent the buildup of magnetic fields during a long sea voyage, the engines for the mine countermeasure vessels were flown into the theater. Through February 28, 1991, 137 commercial vessels had been chartered by the British government to move 300,000 tons of cargo to the Kuwaiti theater of operations.

In the face of an almost nonexistent submarine threat from the Iraqi Navy, the Royal Navy offloaded most of its antisubmarine weapons from its ships and used the empty space to house antiaircraft countermeasures to defend against surface-to-surface missiles that the Iraqi Air Force had in its inventory.

The Royal Navy also deployed helicopters in the Gulf to provide an extended area of detection beyond the ships themselves. These Westland Sea Lynxes were armed with Sea Skua antiship missiles. The Sea Skua is a radar-guided missile with a 45-pound explosive warhead. However, as the missiles reached the Gulf, their guidance systems were modified to be able to detect smaller patrol craft. First used in the 1982 Falklands War, the Sea Skua proved to be an efficient weapon in the Persian Gulf.

The Sea Skua was first employed in combat on January 29, 1991, when a U.S. Navy Seahawk helicopter detected 17 small boats and called for Royal Navy assistance. In response, the *Brazen, Gloucester,* and *Cardiff* dispatched Sea Skua–armed Sea Lynx helicopters. Twelve of the small craft, identified as Iraqi Navy units, were damaged by the helicopters, and four of the boats were sunk by Royal Navy missile fire. Later that same day, another Iraqi vessel was sunk by helicopters from the *Cardiff.*

With the success of the air campaign against the Iraqi Air Force that commenced in January 1991, the threat from air attack was markedly reduced by the time the ground war began in February. The missile threat still remained a constant concern, however. On February 25, 1991, two Iraqi Silkworm antiship missiles were fired at the U.S. battleship *Missouri.* The *Gloucester,* providing escort for the *Missouri,* detected the in-bound missiles and fired two Sea Dart surface-to-air missiles to intercept them. The Sea Darts destroyed one of the missiles, while the other fell into the sea. In the end, the Royal Navy suffered no ships lost in the course of the action.

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See also

Aircraft, Helicopters; Aircraft, Helicopters, Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Iraq, Navy; Mines, Sea, Clearing Operations, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Minesweepers and Mine Hunters; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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United Kingdom Forces in Afghanistan

United Kingdom military forces were involved in Afghanistan from the very beginning of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM in October 2001, and with the exception of the United States, they provided the largest number of personnel to the coalition forces there. During the initial aerial attacks in October 2001, British Royal Navy submarines fired Tomahawk missiles against Taliban and Al Qaeda locations, and Royal Air Force aircraft provided both reconnaissance and refueling aircraft to support U.S. attack aircraft. U.S. aircraft flew missions from the British base at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean.

In November 2001 Royal Marine commandos helped to secure the airfield at Bagram, and a 1,700-person battle group, including marine commandos, deployed to eastern Afghanistan to disrupt Al Qaeda forces and their terrorist infrastructure. These forces, code-named Task Force Jacana, destroyed enemy bunkers and caves and provided humanitarian aid to the civilians of the area until the forces withdrew in July 2002.

With the military rout of the Taliban and Al Qaeda, the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) was created in December 2001 to continue to assist the Afghan Transitional Government. The British played a major role in the negotiations to create ISAF under the authority of United Nations (UN) Security Council resolutions. British major general John McColl was the first head of this group, which consisted of forces from 16 nations. Britain also provided the headquarters and many of the supporting forces for ISAF as well as the brigade headquarters and an infantry battalion. The number of British forces in ISAF reached a peak of 2,100; however, all except approximately 300 were deployed to other operations after the command of ISAF was transferred to Turkey in the summer of 2002. In August 2003 the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) took over ISAF, and Britain again became a dominant element in the command.

From the beginning, British forces engaged in training the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) to prepare them to take over security for their own country. Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs), which used civilians and small numbers of military troops to support development programs in cooperation with Afghan authorities, were the primary element in this effort. The

A Royal Marine sniper team returns enemy fire during combat at Lakari Bazaar, Afghanistan, July 19, 2009. (U.S. Department of Defense)

first PRT was established at Mazar-e Sharif, in northern Afghanistan, in May 2003, and a smaller PRT followed at Meymaneh. Germany and the Netherlands added PRTs in the north in 2004, while Britain provided the bulk of troops for a quick reaction force (QRF), based in Mazar-e Sharif, to protect the PRTs. The Meymaneh PRT was transferred to Norway in September 2005, and the Mazar-e Sharif team was transferred to Sweden in March 2006. This allowed Britain to move its forces to southern Afghanistan to engage in a more direct combat role.

In September 2004 Britain deployed six Boeing/British Aerospace McDonnell Douglas AV-8B Harrier strike aircraft to Kandahar to support ENDURING FREEDOM operations in the southern part of the country, and British forces were involved in ISAF operations as PRTs were expanded into western Afghanistan in 2005. In May 2006 Britain established the headquarters of the Allied Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC) in Kabul and led the ISAF as it expanded operations into the challenging areas of the south and east, where insurgency forces were strongest.

In early 2006 Britain dispatched an air assault brigade and supporting elements, an original total of 3,300 military forces, to Helmand Province in southern Afghanistan. With further deployments in 2006 and 2007 the military force totals in the area reached 7,300 personnel targeted against the increasing insurgency in southern Afghanistan. In December 2007 Prince Harry, third in succession for the British throne, was secretly deployed to Afghanistan as a frontline soldier. He served for 10 weeks until his presence was discovered and reported by the media. Fearing that his presence would subject all those serving with him to greater risk of terrorist actions, the young prince was recalled in March 2008.

In June 2008 the ISAF stood at 53,000 forces supplied by 43 nations. The British commitment to ISAF was 8,380 personnel engaged in a wide range of air, land, and training missions. By the end of 2009, 245 British military personnel had died in Afghanistan.

JOE P. DUNN

See also

Afghanistan; Diego Garcia; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; International Security Assistance Force; Provincial Reconstruction Teams, Afghanistan; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

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United Nations

The international organization inaugurated in 1945 at the conclusion of World War II that has played an important role in modern Middle East conflicts since 1990. The United Nations (UN) is the successor organization to the League of Nations, which was itself the product of a preceding global conflagration, World War I. Both the League of Nations and the UN were founded upon the principles of maintaining international peace and the political and territorial sovereignty of their member nation-states. The UN Charter specifically attempted to create an organization that could eradicate war, promote the fundamental human rights, establish a means by which international law could be implemented and enforced, and improve the economic and social conditions of people around the world. To achieve these aims, the UN Charter outlined the creation of six principal bodies: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice (ICJ), and the Secretariat (the administrative organ).

The General Assembly presents an at-large forum for all member states to discuss and debate any issue relevant to the UN Charter. The General Assembly refers matters that require action for the preservation of international peace to the Security Council. Only in rare circumstances does the General Assembly have the authority to take concrete steps to enforce peace.

The Security Council consists of 5 permanent members—France, the People's Republic of China (PRC), the Soviet Union (Russian Federation after 1991), the United States, and the United Kingdom—and 10 nonpermanent revolving members selected to represent regions of the world and elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms. Because of its mandate to maintain international security and peace, particularly through the use of sanctions and military force, the Security Council is among the most important of UN organs. The Security Council has repeatedly exercised its authority under Chapter VII of the UN Charter to force states to comply with its demands. This was demonstrated by the numerous resolutions passed on the matter of Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait and subsequent resolutions passed to force Iraq to comply with UN demands and abide by the 1991 Persian Gulf War cease-fire agreement. Most importantly, the Security Council sought to dismantle Iraq's nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons programs by means of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM), and the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC). The Security Concil also played an important role in authorizing the use of force in the 1991 Persian Gulf War via Resolution 678. It did not, however, explicitly authorize the March 2003 Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq.

The ECOSOC is composed of 54 elected members, serving for terms of three years, is charged with the tasks of coordinating the efforts of UN agencies, overseeing the relationship between the General Assembly and nongovernmental organizations, and studying international humanitarian, economic, and social matters. One such area of ECOSOC concern in the Middle East (among many) has been the status of women in Afghanistan prior to and following the U.S.-led removal of the Taliban government from power in the autumn of 1991. Another area of concern for the body has been domestic affairs in Iraq both before and after the Persian Gulf War, including the status of Iraqi minorities such as the Kurds.

The United Nations (UN) headquarters building in New York City. (Corel)

The Trusteeship Council no longer has an active agenda, having fulfilled its directive to oversee the process of self-determination of several League of Nations and UN trust territories.

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is supervised by 15 justices, elected by an absolute majority in the Security Council and the General Assembly to serve nine-year terms. The ICJ delivers judgments in disputes between and among states and proffers advisory opinions. Recently, for instance, the ICJ held that the Israeli security fence in the West Bank was illegal. Overall, the impact of the ICJ on world affairs is rather insignificant given the fact that it averages fewer than two decisions per year and because it has not established a record of solving violent international conflicts. Nevertheless, disputes over territorial sovereignty have been brought before the court, such as the case between Bahrain and Qatar that concluded in 2001.

The Secretariat consists of the office of secretary-general and associated staff. The secretaries-general, of whom there have been eight since 1945 including the current leader, Ban Ki Moon, is by far the most prominent UN official. The preceding leaders of the UN during the Middle East wars were Javier Pérez de Cuéllar (1982–1991), Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1992–1996), and Kofi Annan (1997–2006). Among the many responsibilities of the

office, the secretary-general serves as the chief administrative officer of the UN, with the exception of the ICJ. This authority places the administrator in an important position to affect UN policy. Given the fissure within the international community over the 2003 invasion of Iraq, Secretary-General Annan encouraged nations to unite and, if necessary, to reform the UN, noting at the same time that the Global War on Terror must be tempered with tolerance. Since the advent of the Global War on Terror and the George W. Bush administration, the United States has had a rocky and contentious relationship with the UN. Indeed, the United States has openly criticized the body as well as the secretary-general.

Among many other missions in which they have been involved worldwide, UN peacekeeping forces were engaged in a 12-year-long commitment to the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) in which their forces supervised a demilitarized zone between Iraq and Kuwait.

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See also

Annan, Kofi; Bolton, John Robert, II; Boutros-Ghali, Boutros; Pérez de Cuéllar, Javier; United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Commission; United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission; United Nations Security Council Resolution 661; United Nations Security Council Resolution 678; United Nations Security Council Resolution 687; United Nations Security Council Resolution 1284; United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441; United Nations Security Council Resolution 1483; United Nations Special Commission; United Nations Weapons Inspectors

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United Nations Assistance Mission for Afghanistan

Start Date: March 28, 2002
End Date: Continuing

United Nations (UN) mission launched on March 28, 2002, to help in the reconstruction and economic development of Afghanistan. The United Nations Assistance Mission for Afghanistan (UNAMA) was created in response to UN Security Council Resolution 1401 and was designed to support the December 2001 Bonn Agreement. In addition to upholding the tenets of the Bonn Agreement, UNAMA was charged with supervising humanitarian relief, recovery, and reconstruction programs in Afghanistan. To support the Bonn Agreement, UNAMA is also tasked with helping the government of Afghanistan achieve a stable democratic process,

Local Afghan election officials and United Nations (UN) personnel transport ballot boxes from the recent national presidential election to a waiting helicopter, September 2004. (U.S. Department of Defense)

providing strategic and political counsel to Afghani leaders, and aiding in the elimination of illegal drug cultivation and trade.

UNAMA is housed within the UN's peacekeeping operations division and maintains approximately 1,300 personnel, of whom almost 80 percent are Afghan nationals. UNAMA is headquartered in Kabul, with more than a dozen regional offices throughout the country. Since 2002, UNAMA has been headed by four special representatives of the secretary-general: Lakhdar Brahimi (2002–2004), Jean Arnault (2004–2006), Tom Koeings (2006–2007), and Kai Eide (2008–). The secretary-general is aided by two deputies, who supervise political and economic/social development issues. As part of its mission, UNAMA played a central role in national elections in 2004 and 2005. In an attempt to ensure that the Afghani government evolves into a stable, effective governing force on its own, UNAMA has not taken an active role in policy making, instead acting as an arbiter and counselor when needed.

UNAMA has come under physical attack on several occasions by extremists who deplore a Western presence in Afghanistan. In 2003 the Kandhar office was bombed, resulting in the death of a UN worker. In 2004 three UN officials charged with supervising elections were kidnapped and held for more than a month. Sporadic violence and attempted violence against UNAMA personnel have occurred throughout the nation, and the incidents began to increase in number as the Taliban insurgency gained ground in 2007. On October 28, 2009, suicide bombers attacked a guesthouse in Kabul, killing 5 UN employees and 3 other people in a furious two-hour battle. This led to the relocation of some 600 of its 1,100 staffers in the country to safer locations and temporary withdrawal of the remaining 500 from the country.

The Afghani government took the lead in elections scheduled for 2009 and 2010, which proved controversial amid allegations of voter fraud and corruption on the part of the Hamid Karzai regime, but UNAMA monitored the process and provided the Kabul government with support upon request. On March 20, 2008, UN Security Council Resolution 1806 extended the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Afghanistan for an additional year, until March 23, 2009. The UNAMA's mission was similarly extended in March 2009 and March 2010, thereby moving forward its mandate until March 2011. It is likely that UNAMA's mission will be extended beyond that, thanks to the continuing Taliban insurgency, the U.S. troop surge that began in January 2010, and ongoing instability within the Karzai administration.

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See also

Afghanistan; Bonn Agreement; Karzai, Hamid; International Security Assistance Force; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan; United Nations

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United Nations Draft Resolution

United Nations (UN) Security Council draft resolution sponsored by the United States, the United Kingdom, and Spain that attempted to lay the legal foundation for an invasion of Iraq. The three governments circulated two versions of the draft resolution, on February 24 and March 7, 2003. The crucial difference between the documents can be found in the final paragraphs that relate to the proposed reactions of the Security Council relevant to Resolution 1441, which had been adopted on November 8, 2002.

The significance of Resolution 1441 lay not only in its declaration that the government of Iraq was in violation of its responsibilities to comply fully with previous Security Council resolutions, particularly Resolution 687, but also that it presented Iraq with a final chance to fulfill its obligations or be in danger of suffering "serious consequences."

Of utmost importance to the Security Council was that Iraq dismantle its nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons programs as well as limit its ballistic missile production to those with a maximum range of 100 miles or less. Contained within Resolution 1441 was the protocol that the Security Council reconvene to decide what actions would be required should Iraq fail to abide by the resolution. The U.S. government assured the Security Council at the time that Resolution 1441 did not contain any "hidden triggers" for military force in the face of noncompliance. Thus, when and if Iraq was found to be in further material breach of Resolution 1441, protocol dictated a new resolution to justify further action against Iraq. It was in this context that the Spanish-, U.S.-, and British-sponsored draft resolutions were presented in February and March 2003. They were designed to be the official follow-up to Resolution 1441.

The February 24 version of the draft resolution was concise and to the point: Iraq had not utilized the final opportunity to meet the demands of the Security Council as specified by Resolution 1441. The expanded version of March 7 stipulated that Iraq had until March 17, 2003, to conform to its obligations, at which time it would be considered in material breach. The marked transformation between the two draft resolutions can only be understood when viewed in conjunction with initiatives undertaken by some of the other permanent members of the Security Council.

On February 24, 2003, the representatives of France, Russia, and Germany submitted a memorandum to the Security Council president. They indicated that military intervention should be reserved as a final option to be used only when all peaceful measures had been exhausted. In their opinion, three issues suggested that the time for war had not yet come. First, no firm evidence had been produced to demonstrate that Iraq was still in possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). Second, weapons inspections via the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) had only recently hit their stride and were then progressing well and without Iraqi hindrance. Third, Iraq had been recently cooperating, albeit reluctantly, with UN inspection teams.

On March 5 the ministers for foreign affairs of France, Germany, and Russia submitted another letter to the Security Council. In no uncertain terms, they notified the council that their representatives would veto any draft resolutions that attempted to enforce Iraqi acquiescence through military force. They raised the issue in anticipation of a forthcoming Security Council meeting on March 7, at which time delegates were to debate the necessity of using force against Iraq and the need for a second resolution to supersede Resolution 1441 and authorize war.

While the British, Spanish, and American delegates hoped for the eventual adoption of its March 7 draft giving Iraq until March 17 to comply, the People's Republic of China (PRC) became one of several nations to assert that a new resolution was unnecessary and that Resolution 1441 should be allowed to run its course. Due to lack of support, the draft resolution was withdrawn. Thereafter, the March 2003 invasion of Iraq was justified, so it was argued, by Resolution 1441. That is, Resolution 1441 found Iraq in material breach of Security Council resolutions, thereby nullifying the cease-fire of Resolution 687 (April 3, 1991), and renewing the authorization for war contained in Resolution 678, passed in November 1990. The UN openly rejected this reasoning, and Secretary-General Annan subsequently proclaimed as "illegal" the military invasion of Iraq led by the United States and the United Kingdom.

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See also

United Nations Security Council Resolution 678; United Nations Security Council Resolution 687; United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441

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United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

A specialized agency of the United Nations (UN) formally established in 1946. Comprised of 166 member nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) promotes international collaboration through the dissemination of knowledge as well as multilateral cultural, educational, and scientific exchanges. The primary goal of UNESCO is the encouragement of peace by appealing to the common welfare of all nations.

The highest governing body of UNESCO is the General Conference, which is composed of representatives of all member nations and meets every two years. The Executive Board, composed of 58 representatives of member states, prepares the program for the General Conference and convenes two or three times a year. The organization is administered by the Secretariat, which is headed by the director-general and the director of the Executive Office.

There are 5 regional UNESCO coordinators. They oversee Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific, the Arab states, and Europe and North America. Within these 5 regions are 14 subregional offices. There are also national commissions in most member states to help integrate UNESCO's work with the work of individual member states.

UNESCO sponsors programs to spread literacy, provide adult education, and encourage universal primary education. These services particularly emphasize support for disabled people and women as well as the role of literacy in rural development. UNESCO routinely sends experts to member nations on request to advise them on educational matters and also provides educational fellowships and grants, with priority going to rural residents of developing nations that are UNESCO members.

UNESCO operates programs at the international, regional, subregional, and national levels that emphasize the use of science and technology in aiding developing countries and also promotes collaboration between industrialized countries. International-level

Members of the provincial reconstruction team and representatives of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) visit the Nabu Temple in the ancient city of Kalhu, now known as Nimrud, Iraq, on November 19, 2008. Nimrud is a candidate to become a protected UNESCO World Heritage site. (U.S. Department of Defense)

programs have encouraged intergovernmental collaboration in environmental sciences and natural resources research, established cooperation between developed and underdeveloped nations in the computer sciences, and worked with the world scientific community in all the basic sciences. UNESCO also develops cooperative agendas at the regional and subregional levels. At the national level, the organization sends experts on request to advise member nations on matters involving science and technology and organizes training and research programs. In addition, UNESCO has services encouraging study and research in the social sciences.

The organization's cultural heritage program has three parts. First, UNESCO promotes the application of international conventions on the protection of cultural properties and artifacts. Second, UNESCO helps member states preserve and restore cultural monuments and sites. Third, UNESCO operates training programs for museum managers, preservationists, archivists, and archaeologists.

UNESCO also promotes the international flow of information. To this end, the organization provides advisory services and assists member nations in developing training programs in communications, public information, media services, computer technology, and the like.

In the Middle East, UNESCO maintains offices in Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Ramallah (a Palestinian city in the West Bank), Morocco, and Qatar. UNESCO's programs for Israel fall under its Europe and North America region. UNESCO has worked constantly and diligently to promote peace in the region by promoting mutual cooperation and dialogue between the Israelis and Arabs. Because many of the nations in the Middle East are considered developing nations, UNESCO has played a prominent role in education and poverty-mitigation efforts. UNESCO has also worked closely with nations such as Egypt to preserve their rich cultural past. Natural resource programs meanwhile have helped to increase crop irrigation in the arid region, lessen the impact of seasonal flooding and erosion, and manage precious freshwater supplies. In 1993 the organization awarded its Félix Houphouët-Boigny Peace Prize to Israel's Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres and to Yasser Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in recognition of the progress made at the 1993 Oslo Accords. In 2005 UNESCO helped to establish the Israeli-Palestinian Science Organization, a nongovernmental multilateral endeavor that brings Palestinian and Israeli researchers and scientists together.

Since the overthrow of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's regime in 2003, UNESCO has kept a high profile in that nation, working with U.S. and coalition partners and the Iraqi government to rebuild the country and its cultural, social, and educational foundations. UNESCO has helped strengthen the Iraqi press, has sponsored water projects, has advised the Iraqi government on ways to build and revitalize its educational institutions, has guided its cultural heritage programs, and has consistently sought to safeguard a democratic regime in the war-torn nation.

UNESCO has also been deeply involved in post-Taliban Afghanistan. There UNESCO has sought to sponsor programs to eradicate poverty, improve health care, construct educational infrastructure, and advise the Afghani government. Because so much of Afghanistan's cultural heritage had been destroyed, especially by the Taliban regime, UNESCO has engaged in myriad projects to safeguard that nation's cultural heritage and reconstruct its past from the fragments left behind by more than two decades of unrest and civil war.

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See also

Afghanistan; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; United Nations

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United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Commission

Observation and peacekeeping mission established by United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 689, passed on April 9, 1991, and designed to enforce the Persian Gulf War cease-fire and to ensure the peaceful coexistence of Iraq and Kuwait. The United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Commission (UNIKOM) accomplished its mission by monitoring the demilitarized zone (DMZ) between Iraq and Kuwait. UNIKOM was terminated on October 6, 2003.

Initially authorized to accommodate 300 international military and civilian personnel, UNIKOM's strength was greatly increased in February 1993 to 3,645 personnel after a series of border incidents at the DMZ. Two years later, in February 1995, UNIKOM's strength was reduced to 1,187 personnel. UNIKOM's troop strength fluctuated greatly during its mandate, and in October 2003 when its mission was declared complete, it consisted of just 4 official military observers and 131 civilian support staff. During its 12-year duration, which cost the UN an estimated $600 million, UNIKOM suffered 18 casualties (8 military personnel, 5 military observers, 4 international civilian staffers, and 1 local civilian staffer).

UNIKOM, like the Persian Gulf War coalition, was a broad-based international collaborative effort. The 36 participating nations included Argentina, Austria, Bangladesh, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, France, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria,

Norway, Pakistan, the People's Republic of China (PRC), Poland, Romania, the Russian Federation, Senegal, Singapore, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Not all nations provided military personnel or equipment, but all contributed at least some civilian personnel or military and medical support equipment and staff. There were seven force commanders during UNIKOM's mission and four chief military observers. In the spring of 1991, to provide security while UNIKOM was being organized and ramped up, five infantry companies, under UN control, were diverted from UN peacekeeping missions in Lebanon and Cyprus to the DMZ. They were withdrawn by the end of June 1991.

The DMZ was approximately 125 miles long, and UNIKOM's operations included patrols, observation points, and inspection units. UNIKOM was aided in these operation using both ground and air assets. Much of the DMZ was uninhabited, which made patrolling it somewhat easier. Initially, UNIKOM personnel were not empowered to physically prevent confrontations in the DMZ, and the UN personnel were unarmed. After a series of incidents in the DMZ, however, UNIKOM was given limited authority to prevent small-scale violations in the DMZ on February 5, 1993; three mechanized infantry battalions were now authorized. In April 1993 an additional mechanized infantry battalion from Bangladesh was deployed to the DMZ to support UNIKOM's mandate. At the same time UNIKOM was tasked with greater observation and inspection operations, which included roadblocks, vehicle inspections, and checkpoints. UNIKOM, which was headquartered at Umm Qasr, Iraq, also patrolled the waterways in and around the Faw (Fao) peninsula. Umm Qasr was located within the DMZ.

From February 1993 to the end of UNIKOM's mandate in 2003, the DMZ remained relatively calm. The mission maintained close working relations with the governments of both Iraq and Kuwait, and made frequent reports to the UN. On March 17, 2003, in anticipation of the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq, the UN ordered its UNIKOM personnel to leave the DMZ. A small office was established in Kuwait City so that UNIKOM could close its operations in the region. Most UNIKOM personnel returned to their home nations, and only a small administrative staff was left in Kuwait City. UNIKOM's mandate was declared a success, and UNIKOM was disbanded on October 6, 2003. In the last months of UNIKOM's existence, it helped facilitate humanitarian aid to Iraqis after the fall of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's regime.

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See also

Faw Peninsula; Umm Qasr; United Nations

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United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission

United Nations (UN) weapons-inspection regime created by UN Security Council Resolution 1284, passed on December 17, 1999. The United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) took up the work of the previously disbanded United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM), which had been tasked with verifying Iraq's compliance with post–Persian Gulf War agreements mandating the destruction of all Iraqi weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). More specifically, UNMOVIC's mandate was to ensure the identification and destruction of any biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons as well as missiles with a range greater than approximately 100 miles.

UN secretary-general Kofi Annan named Swedish diplomat Hans Blix to head UNMOVIC as executive chairman. Blix, who had been chairman of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) from 1981 to 1997, served with UNMOVIC from March 1, 2000, to June 30, 2002. In addition to Blix, the UN appointed 16 individuals who helped Blix conduct inspections and compile verification facts.

Unlike UNSCOM, its predecessor agency, all of UNMOVIC's inspectors and employees were UN employees. This was done to quell concerns that the inspections were politically motivated or being unduly influenced by individual nation-states. The staff included scientists, analysts, engineers, operational planners, and, of course, seasoned weapons inspectors. Headquartered in New York City, UNMOVIC was divided into four operational segments: training and technical support, information, planning and operations, and analysis and assessment. Every three months the executive chairman was obliged to present a report to the UN Security Council on UNMOVIC's findings and actions in Iraq.

As it turned out, UNMOVIC proved to be as controversial as UNSCOM. Although Blix chided Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's government for playing "cat-and-mouse" games in regard to its cooperation with UN weapons inspectors, Blix's reports to the Security Council concluded that UNMOVIC had not found any illicit WMDs in Iraq. This ran counter to the George W. Bush administration's claims, however, which asserted that Iraq did indeed have WMDs. Before long the United States concluded that UNMOVIC was ineffectual and had not revealed findings of WMDs to stave off an invasion of Iraq.

On November 8, 2002, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1441, which essentially allowed Iraq one final opportunity to cooperate fully and unconditionally with weapons inspectors and to explain contradictions in its verification process. UNMOVIC inspectors returned to Iraq that same month but were unable to unearth any credible evidence of illicit WMDs programs in Iraq. The Bush administration dismissed UNMOVIC's reports, alleging that it had evidence of WMDs in Iraq and that UNMOVIC was being pressured by the UN and the international community not to divulge evidence of WMDs in order to avoid a showdown with the Iraqis.

A United Nations (UN) weapons inspector checks a tank, thought to contain chlorine, at the al-Rashid station for water purification in Baghdad, Iraq, February 8, 2003. (AP/Wide World Photos)

On the eve of the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq in March 2003 UNMOVIC evacuated the country, still claiming that Iraq had disarmed appropriately. UNMOVIC continued to operate in those areas it was able to influence thereafter, but after the invasion its actions were largely completed. UNMOVIC's mandate lapsed on June 29, 2007, per UN Security Council Resolution 1762.

Many in the UN and the international community did not support the March 2003 invasion of Iraq. They further believed that the United States and Great Britain had purposely tried to sabotage and discredit UNMOVIC to help justify the war against Iraq. Blix was absolutely furious over the contretemps, and in a February 2004 report to the Security Council he admitted that Iraq should have been more forthcoming with weapons inspectors since 1991 but also maintained that UNSCOM and UNMOVIC had accomplished the task of ridding Iraq of WMDs. That same month during a television interview in Great Britain, Blix pointedly asserted that the United States and Britain had purposely overemphasized the threat of Iraqi WMDs to justify their invasion. In the end no WMDs have been located in Iraq, even after years of searching by perhaps thousands of members of the occupation forces in Iraq. Blix claims that the United States so mistrusted him that his home and office were bugged.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Blix, Hans; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; United Nations Security Council Resolution 1284; United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441; United Nations Special Commission; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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United Nations Security Council Resolution 661

Resolution adopted by the United Nations (UN) Security Council on August 6, 1990, four days after the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait, which imposed a wide array of economic

sanctions against Iraq. Resolution 661 had a much more substantial impact on Iraq than the council's preceding Resolution 660, passed on August 2, which had condemned the actions of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's government and had demanded the removal of its troops from Kuwait. Indeed, Resolution 661 set in place a series of protocols that would affect Iraqi foreign relations and domestic affairs for more than a decade. In fact, the country remains under its effects even in the wake of the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq and the subsequent demise of the Baathist regime in 2003.

In 1990 the UN Security Council consisted of representatives from Canada, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Finland, Malaysia, Romania, Yemen, and Zaire, in addition to the five permanent members of France, the United Kingdom, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China (PRC). All voted in favor of Resolution 661, with the exception of the representatives of Yemen and Cuba, who abstained. The purpose of the resolution was to impose economic sanctions on Iraq until it fully complied with Resolution 660 by removing its troops from Kuwaiti territory. But as time progressed, it became the means by which the Security Council attempted to force Iraq into abandoning its biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons programs.

The resolution specifically urged all countries to impose a rigorous trade embargo on Iraq that prohibited the importing of any products and commodities from Iraq and occupied Kuwait. It also severely limited the exportation of items to Iraq, as well as the transfer of funds unless they were for medical or humanitarian purposes.

The Security Council committee responsible for the implementation of the embargo considered Resolution 661 unprecedented in terms of its severity. These sentiments were later echoed by U.S. Representative to the UN John Bolton in an address to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee on April 11, 2005. He asserted that firmness by the United States in 1990 had helped bring about the sweeping sanctions against Iraq.

Kuwait was released from the sanctions imposed by Resolution 661 on March 2, 1991, but Iraq continued to be bound by them because of its failure to adhere to additional Security Council resolutions, especially Resolution 687, which principally demanded that the Iraqi government destroy its biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons matériel, along with its longer-range ballistic missiles. Despite Iraq's lack of compliance, even after the 1991 Gulf War, the Security Council was moved by the worsening humanitarian situation in Iraq to inaugurate in 1995 the Oil-for-Food Programme, which permitted the government to export petroleum products to generate funds for humanitarian purposes.

Both the Oil-for-Food Programme, which had generated approximately $30 billion in humanitarian aid, and the Security Council committee established by Resolution 661 were dismantled shortly after the 2003 Iraqi invasion. The Security Council Resolution 1483, which outlined these developments, marked an end to the importation and exportation restrictions established by Resolution 661, with the exception of arms sales. The importation of weapons into postwar Iraq was permitted solely for the purposes of the Iraqi Coalition Provisional Authority.

Resolution 661 continued to affect Iraqi exports long after Hussein was removed from power, and as recently as April 30, 2008, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security implemented an import restriction on any item of cultural heritage originating from Iraq unless documentation could be provided to verify that the materials were legally exported prior to August 6, 1990, the date upon which Resolution 661 was adopted.

Jason R. Tatlock

See also

Iraq, Sanctions on; United Nations; United Nations Security Council Resolution 678; United Nations Security Council Resolution 1483

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United Nations Security Council Resolution 678

Resolution adopted by the United Nations (UN) Security Council on November 29, 1990, nearly four months after the invasion and occupation of Kuwait by the military forces of Iraq. Resolution 678 presented the Iraqi government with an ultimatum, literally "a pause of goodwill," to comply wholly with the UN resolutions passed since the August 2, 1990, invasion of Kuwait or face any measures deemed appropriate, including military intervention, by the UN member states working with the Kuwaiti government. The deadline for compliance was January 15, 1991.

Of utmost importance to Resolution 678 was the demand that Iraq withdraw its troops to their August 1 positions within the internationally recognized borders of Iraq, a demand previously established by Security Council Resolution 660, passed on August 2, 1990. Resolution 678 dealt with additional matters brought forth by the various resolutions preceding Resolution 678 and enumerated therein, such as the condemnation of Iraqi efforts to modify the population demographics of Kuwait by forced emigration and the obliteration of the authentic civil records established by the Kuwaiti government (Resolutions 677 and 670), the demand that Iraq treat Kuwaiti and third-state nationals humanely in accordance with international conventions and desist from taking hostages (Resolutions 674, 667, and 666), the disapproval of Iraq's treatment of diplomatic missions and their properties in Kuwait (Resolution 667), the insistence that Iraq allow and assist third-state nationals in their departure from Iraq and Kuwait (Resolution 664), the condemnation of Iraq's exportation of petroleum (Resolution 665) in the face of a trade embargo (Resolution 661),

and the stipulation that the government of Iraq repeal its official declaration of the annexation of Kuwait (Resolution 662).

In 1990 the UN Security Council was composed of the 5 permanent members—the People's Republic of China (PRC), the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and France—as well as 10 nonpermanent members: Canada, Colombia, Cöte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Finland, Malaysia, Romania, Yemen, and Zaire. Resolution 678 was passed by a vote of 12 to 2 (Yemen and Cuba were opposed), with 1 abstention (China). In the 11 previous resolutions concerning Iraq and Kuwait that precipitated Resolution 678, Yemen and Cuba were routinely the only nations to abstain or vote negatively. China's abstention was a departure from its characteristic approval of resolutions associated with the Iraqi-Kuwaiti conflict and should be scrutinized against the backdrop of Chinese foreign policy following the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests, which had significantly marred China's image on the world stage. Had China vetoed Resolution 678, it would have most likely exacerbated its already strained relations with the United States, a sponsor of the resolution. Nevertheless, an abstention allowed China to maintain its previous policy regarding foreign conflicts, which held that they should be settled principally by peaceful means and not by external military intervention.

As for Yemen, it too opposed the use of force and advocated that sufficient time be allowed for the economic sanctions passed in Resolution 661 to take effect. Indeed, the Yemeni delegate, Abdullah Saleh al-Ashtal, labeled Resolution 678 the "War resolution." The Cuban representative, Malmierca Peoli, agreed, considering it tantamount to providing a blank check to the U.S. military and allied forces.

Resolution 678 not only served as the international justification of the 1991 Persian Gulf War but also seemed to justify further military action against Iraq. It, together with Resolution 687 (April 3, 1991) and Resolution 1441 (November 8, 2002), which in a similar fashion to Resolution 678 presented Iraq with one last chance to comply with the dismantling of its alleged weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) program, served as the justification for the March 2003 Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq. Many UN members, including permanent Security Council members, rejected the use of Resolutions 678 and 687 to justify the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

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See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; United Nations; United Nations Security Council Resolution 661; United Nations Security Council Resolution 687; United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441

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United Nations Security Council Resolution 687

United Nations (UN) Security Council resolution passed on April 3, 1991, that formally established the conditions of the Persian Gulf cease-fire and stipulated the postwar conditions for Iraq. The measure passed with 12 votes for and 1 against (Cuba). Ecuador and Yemen abstained. In the UN Charter, the member states agreed to "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state." Article 41 of the UN Charter, however, empowers the UN Security Council to decide when and if armed force may be employed by a member state or states. In November 1990 Security Council Resolution 678 had authorized member states to use "all necessary means" to restore international peace and security after Iraq's August 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

Security Council Resolution 687, passed after coalition forces had driven the Iraqi Army from Kuwait, welcomed the restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty and declared a formal cease-fire with certain conditions. These conditions included comprehensive economic sanctions on Iraq; respect for Iraq's boundary with Kuwait and its foreign debts; the payment of reparations by Iraq to persons, corporations, and governments injured by the war against Kuwait; and internationally supervised destruction of Iraq's chemical and biological weapons and related stocks and facilities, its facilities or materials for use in developing nuclear weapons, and its long-range missiles.

On October 31, 1998, Iraq stated that it would no longer comply with UN weapons inspectors verifying its compliance with Resolution 687. Iraq claimed that the inspection process had been infiltrated by U.S. intelligence agencies. The UN weapons inspectors later reported that this had occurred but that Iraq had been effectively disarmed by 1998 in any event. Security Council Resolution 1205 of November 5, 1998, condemned Iraq's noncooperation and reaffirmed the Security Council's commitment to enforce Resolution 687. The next month the United States and Great Britain, claiming that Iraq's noncompliance revived their authority to enforce Resolution 678, bombed Iraqi air defense installations, facilities believed to be linked to prohibited weapons, Iraqi Republican Guard bases, presidential palaces, and other regime strongholds.

On November 8, 2002, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Security Council Resolution 1441, finding Iraq in "material breach" of its disarmament obligations under Resolution 687 but giving it a "final opportunity" to comply before facing "serious consequences" to be determined by the Security Council, which remained "seized of the matter." The United States argued in the Security Council on March 27, 2003, after the Anglo-American

invasion of Iraq had begun, that Iraq's material breach of Resolution 687 had revived the authority to use force under Resolution 678. President George W. Bush informed the U.S. Congress that apart from the right of the United States to self-defense under the UN Charter, Resolution 678 authorized the use of force against Iraq, just as it had in 1998. The British representative defended the war in the Security Council as a coalition action "to enforce Security Council decisions on complete Iraqi disarmament." In a report to the British Parliament, Lord Peter Goldsmith, attorney general for England and Wales, stated that Resolution 687's cease-fire provisions suspended the authorization for the use of force conditional on Iraq eliminating its weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) but that Iraq's "material breach of Resolution 687 revive[d] the authority to use force under Resolution 678." In private advice to British prime minister Tony Blair, however, Goldsmith commented that "a reasonable case can be made" that the authorization to use force in Resolution 678 could not be revived without a further Security Council resolution.

Many UN members refused to accept that the war was supported by Security Council resolutions. The French representative characterized the 2003 intervention as lacking a UN mandate and as a violation of Resolution 687's guarantee of Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The representative of the Russian Federation argued that the war violated Security Council resolutions, threatened a humanitarian disaster, and came just as Iraq was cooperating anew with UN weapons inspectors. The Chinese representative agreed. The representative of India called the war "unjustified and avoidable." The European Union's statement stressed Iraq's "territorial integrity, sovereignty, [and] political stability" but also endorsed the "full and effective disarmament of Iraq."

After the fall of the Saddam Hussein regime in April 2003, a series of Security Council resolutions modified the economic sanctions regime imposed by Resolution 687. Most notably, Resolution 1483 called upon the United States and Great Britain to restore the security of Iraq in compliance with the Geneva Conventions and other applicable international law, abolish the economic sanctions with the exception of certain arms sales, and reaffirm Iraq's disarmament obligations under Resolution 687.

Hannibal Travis

See also

United Nations; United Nations Security Council Resolution 678; United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441; United Nations Security Council Resolution 1483; United Nations Weapons Inspectors; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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United Nations Security Council Resolution 1284

Resolution adopted by the United Nations (UN) Security Council on December 17, 1999. Resolution 1284 established the UN Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC), reaffirmed the mission of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and charged both with overseeing Iraqi compliance with previous Security Council resolutions, most notably 687, which had gone into effect on April 3, 1991. Although not all Security Council members endorsed the final draft of Resolution 1284, the council generally recognized the need for a resolution of its kind in light of the fact that UN inspections had been

Selected United Nations Security Council Resolutions Related to Iraq, 1990–2003

Resolution Number	*Date*	*Title*	*Voting Results*			
			Yes	*No*	*Abstention*	*Nonvoting*
661	August 6, 1990	On Sanctions against Iraq	13	0	2	0
678	November 29, 1990	Authorizing Member States to Use All Necessary Means to Implement Security Council Resolution 660 and All Relevant Resolutions	12	2	1	0
687	April 3, 1991	On Restoration of the Sovereignty, Independence and Territorial Integrity of Kuwait	12	1	2	0
1284	December 17, 1999	On Establishment of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC)	11	0	4	0
1441	November 8, 2002	On Decision to Set up an Enhanced Inspection Regime to Ensure Iraq's Compliance of Its Disarmament Obligations	15	0	0	0
1483	May 22, 2003	On Lifting Economic Sanctions on Iraq Imposed by Resolution 661	14	0	0	1

inactive in Iraq for a year, after having been withdrawn because of Iraqi intransigence.

UNMOVIC, which replaced the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) created by Resolution 687, was specifically tasked with monitoring Iraq's compliance with the restrictions enumerated in paragraphs 8–10 of that same resolution. Therein the Iraqi government was informed of the necessity to destroy, remove, or render harmless its biological and chemical weapons and related matériel, as well as any ballistic missiles capable of traveling more than 100 miles. Paragraphs 12–13 of Resolution 687 further outlined the requirements for Iraq to shut down its nuclear weapons program under observation of the IAEA; Resolution 1284 reiterated the agency's role in this regard.

At the time Resolution 1284 was approved, the Security Council was composed of delegates from Argentina, Bahrain, Brazil, Canada, Gabon, Gambia, Malaysia, Namibia, the Netherlands, Slovenia, and the five permanent member states (People's Republic of China [PRC], France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States). Eleven nations voted in favor of the resolution while four abstained (France, China, the Russian Federation, and Malaysia).

The Chinese government's misgivings over the final draft of the resolution revolved around two issues. First, it believed that the resolution did not adequately provide incentives to encourage Iraqi compliance by specifying the process through which UN sanctions would be suspended. Second, it asserted that a consensus had not been reached by the council members, which might therefore undermine UNMOVIC's authority. China underscored the second matter to emphasize its disapproval of the actions of certain council members, particularly the United States and Great Britain, who had ostensibly undertaken unilateral military action in Iraq (Operation DESERT FOX in 1998) and who had imposed a no-fly zone in Iraq without council approval. Echoing similar sentiments concerning illicit unilateral maneuvers, Russia chose to abstain, rather than veto, the draft resolution. It did so because only some of its former objections had been addressed. Thus while Russia gave its limited approval, it nevertheless warned that it would not stand idly by if attempts were made to impose the resolution with force. France was concerned with the ambiguity surrounding the process by which sanctions would first be suspended and then lifted.

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See also

DESERT FOX, Operation; International Atomic Energy Agency; United Nations; United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission; United Nations Special Commission; United Nations Weapons Inspectors

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United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441

Resolution passed by the United Nations (UN) Security Council on November 8, 2002, declaring the Iraqi government noncompliant with previous UN demands to disarm and granting it a final chance to comply or face unspecified consequences. The resolution was unanimously supported by all 15 members of the Security Council at that time: Bulgaria, Cameroon, People's Republic of China (PRC), Colombia, France, Guinea, Ireland, Mauritius, Mexico, Norway, the Russian Federation, Singapore, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Resolution 1441 reiterated the need for the Iraqi government to comply with previous Security Council resolutions going back to 1991 by dismantling its chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons programs and long-range ballistic missiles. The resolution found Iraq to be "in material breach of its obligations," specifically because of its failure to work with UN weapons inspectors in the removal, destruction, or rendering harmless of its weapons of mass destruction and accompanying matériel as per Resolution 687 (1991). The most significant element of the new resolution was its somewhat vague ultimatum, which represented Iraq's "final opportunity" to conform to Security Council demands.

The discussion and debates that ensued following the adoption of Resolution 1441 centered on the potential use of force in bringing about Iraqi compliance. At the time, the U.S. UN ambassador John Negroponte accentuated the fact that the final version of the resolution included neither "hidden triggers" nor "automaticity" concerning military action. He indicated, furthermore, that should Iraq fail to abide by Resolution 1441, the next step would be for the Security Council to determine the appropriate course of action, as outlined in the new resolution. He also stated that should the Security Council shirk its responsibilities, the resolution did not preclude member states from taking matters into their own hands to protect themselves and the world from the threat posed by Iraq. Indeed, the United States had already laid out this scenario on September 12, 2002, when President George W. Bush addressed the UN General Assembly. British UN delegate Sir Jeremy Greenstock, whose government cosponsored Resolution 1441 with the United States, shared this position.

Several members of the council, particularly France, China, and Mexico, were pleased by the removal of any language of automaticity that had existed in an earlier draft of the resolution. They were further buoyed by the process in which additional measures against Iraq would be taken, which required the agreement of the Security Council only after ascertaining the existence of a breach of Resolution 1441. Nevertheless, the Security Council seemed well aware that war was looming on the horizon and that this was one final chance for a peaceful conclusion to the standoff.

Certainly there existed by this time a deep-seated frustration with U.S. and British military actions against Iraq. The Russian Federation, for example, condemned what it considered unilateral

Members of the United Nations (UN) Security Council vote on November 8, 2002, on the U.S.-backed resolution calling for weapons inspections in Iraq. The resolution passed unanimously, 15–0. (AFP/Getty Images)

moves by these countries in attempting to force Iraqi compliance in 1998's Operation DESERT FOX, which saw air strikes against selected Iraqi targets. Resentment over the air strikes was not limited to members of the council, however. According to a report published by the U.S. State Department in 1998, 154 antiwar protests occurred worldwide, mostly in Europe, in response to that operation.

Resolution 1441 was not intended to serve as an official pretext for war with Iraq, but it surely played a significant role in the lead-up to the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq in March 2003, which toppled the Iraqi regime. The United States, United Kingdom, and Spain sponsored two failed resolutions—one on February 24, 2003, and another on March 7—that would have declared Iraq in material breach and that gave it until March 17 to return to compliance or face military action. The drafts failed to garner adequate support and were withdrawn. In fact, there existed a demonstrable urgency in the 4,717th meeting of the Security Council on March 11, 2003, for Iraq to meet the requirements of Resolution 1441, at which time it was noted by the delegate from Singapore that Iraq had only a few days to comply before facing dire consequences.

Shortly thereafter, on March 19, 2003, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM began. In its wake, the British delegation argued to the Security Council on March 27, 2003, that Resolution 1441 had authorized the use of force, in conjunction with resolutions 678 and 687. The American perspective was presented in a much more nuanced fashion. The United States asserted that authorization for war came directly from Resolution 678, which had justified the use of force in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. The cessation of those hostilities had been contingent upon Resolution 687, which demanded the dismantling of Iraq's chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons programs. Resolution 1441 found Iraq in material breach of such obligations. Thus, the 1991 cease-fire was null and void, and Resolution 678 was, by default, still in effect. From this perspective, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM was essentially a continuation of the Persian Gulf War.

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See also

DESERT FOX, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Negroponte, John Dimitri; United Nations; United Nations Draft Resolution; United Nations Security Council Resolution 678; United Nations Security Council Resolution 687

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United Nations Security Council Resolution 1483

Resolution adopted by the United Nations (UN) Security Council on May 22, 2003, that recognized coalition forces in Iraq as the legitimate governing and peacekeeping authority of the nation, called for the establishment of a transitional Iraqi governing council, and ended the economic sanctions against Iraq. Resolution 1483 was approved some two months after the start of the Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq. At the time, the Security Council consisted of Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Spain, and the Syrian Arab Republic, as well as the permanent members (People's Republic of China [PRC], France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States). All voted for the resolution with the exception of the Syrian delegation.

In a subsequent meeting of the council, the Syrian representative explained that he would have likely voted favorably on the resolution had there been more time to consider the draft resolution. Syria's tentative approval was not to be misconstrued, however, as supportive of an "illegitimate war" against, and foreign occupation of, Iraq. It is clear that Syria would have preferred that Resolution 1483 not recognize the legality of the Coalition Provisional Authority, which oversaw postwar Iraq and was chiefly under British and American control.

The primary importance of Resolution 1483 was that it ended almost 13 years of international economic sanctions against Iraq. Following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, UN Security Council Resolution 661, adopted on August 6, 1990, had virtually sealed off Iraq from the rest of the world, banning the exportation of Iraqi goods and the importation of foreign products into Iraq, except for those items deemed necessary for medical and humanitarian purposes. The Oil-for-Food Programme, which had begun in 1995, eased certain of these restrictions, as specified in Resolution 986. As its name implies, Iraqi petroleum products could be exported to generate funds that would alleviate worsening humanitarian conditions in Iraq. When Resolution 1483 lifted the trade embargo, the Oil-for-Food Programme was thus no longer necessary and was terminated.

The resolution further outlined the required monetary and procedural protocols that would bring an official end to the Oil-for-Food Programme. Most importantly, monies generated by the program, minus administrative costs, were to be transferred to the newly established Development Fund for Iraq, an account that would be overseen by the Coalition Provisional Authority. Subsequent petroleum and natural gas revenues were to be placed in the account as well, to be utilized not only in rebuilding Iraq and providing for its humanitarian needs, but also for its disarmament and to fulfill its obligations under Resolution 687 (1991). That resolution had demanded that Iraq compensate foreign governments, individuals, and businesses for any financial or environmental harm caused by Iraqi aggression against Kuwait.

In addition to terminating the Oil-for-Food Programme, Resolution 1483 also disbanded the UN committee established by Resolution 661 to supervise the embargo against Iraq. In keeping with the desire of Security Council members to have the UN play a pivotal role in postwar Iraq, Resolution 1483 also established the office of the Special Representative for Iraq, who was tasked with several endeavors. These included the coordination of reconstruction and humanitarian efforts between the UN and nongovernmental organizations; the promotion of the return of displaced persons and refugees; the support of the creation of a democratically elected Iraqi government at the national and local levels as well as the reinvigoration of the civilian police; the facilitation of initiatives to reform the Iraqi legal system; and the safeguarding of human rights.

On May 23, 2003, Secretary General Kofi Annan informed the Security Council that he intended to appoint Sergio Vieira de Mello as his special representative for Iraq for an initial four-month term. During his brief tenure, Vieira de Mello, who was also serving as UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, died, together with 21 other people, including 14 other UN workers, during a terrorist attack on the Baghdad headquarters of the UN on August 19, 2003. Such a large-scale, targeted attack was unprecedented in the history of UN peacekeeping missions.

Jason R. Tatlock

See also

Annan, Kofi; Iraq, Sanctions on; United Nations; United Nations Security Council Resolution 661

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United Nations Special Commission

Organization established pursuant to United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 687, adopted on April 3, 1991. The United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) was tasked with overseeing, together with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the inspection of Iraqi weapons programs to ensure compliance with UN resolutions calling for the dismantling of that nation's weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). Although the IAEA and UNSCOM cooperated in fulfilling their individual mandates, the IAEA was specifically responsible for investigating Iraq's nuclear capabilities, while UNSCOM was responsible for biological, chemical, and long-range missile armaments. Swedish diplomat Rolf Ekéus headed UNSCOM from 1991 to 1997, while Richard Butler headed it from 1997 to 1999. UNSCOM was disbanded in 1999 and replaced by the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) under the authority of Resolution 1284, adopted on December 17, 1999.

UNMOVIC was authorized in an attempt to reinvigorate the UN monitoring program with the goal of achieving Iraq's full

compliance with Security Council demands. The need for a new approach was evident, for not only were weapons inspections stalled for a year (since 1998), but UNSCOM was widely perceived as biased and ineffectual, as was made evident at the meeting in which Resolution 1284 was adopted. At that time, the Chinese delegation intimated that any entity replacing the "infamous" UNSCOM must, unlike UNSCOM, operate with objectivity, impartiality, transparency, and accountability. Indeed, for the Russian Federation, the military force used by the United Kingdom and the United States against Iraq in December 1998 (Operation DESERT FOX) was both unilaterally conceived and erroneously justified by citing an inaccurate report given by Executive Chairman Butler, which had suggested that Iraq had not fully cooperated with weapons inspectors. China, moreover, went so far as to entertain the possibility that Butler had been complicit in preparing inaccurate reports that could then be utilized in an attempt to rationalize the use of force. In rebutting such allegations of impropriety, specifically as put forth by Russia in addressing the Security Council on December 16, 1998, Butler was later to argue that his conclusions about Iraqi noncompliance in his December 15 report were inescapable.

A significant difference between UNSCOM and UNMOVIC was that the organizational structure of the new investigative unit would have greater accountability and less room for unilateral movement by the executive chairperson. Butler would find these modifications problematic, but ostensibly they made UNMOVIC less susceptible to political manipulation. Certain of the key changes stipulated that the UN secretary-general would have direct charge of the commission; the appointed chairperson would require Security Council approval before assuming the post; a college of commissioners, made up of politicians rather than weapons experts, would be consulted prior to the implementation of significant policy alterations; and all personnel would be UN employees.

To be sure, UNSCOM fell victim to political infighting and global power politics, which the Iraqis were all too eager to exploit. Charges were leveled on more than one occasion—by Iraq and other UN nations—that UNSCOM was being undermined by sabotage aimed at destroying the regime of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein. Hussein specifically charged that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had infiltrated UNSCOM, which was his justification for denying UNSCOM personnel access to certain government facilities, including the Baath Party headquarters in Baghdad.

UNSCOM was not terribly popular inside the UN either. In December 1998 Butler declared the Iraqi regime uncooperative, which triggered Operation DESERT FOX on December 16–19, 1998, a punitive bombing raid against Iraqi military targets carried out by U.S. and British naval and air assets. UNSCOM remained virtually nonoperational until December 1999, when UNMOVIC was formed.

Despite its controversial nature, UNSCOM accomplished much in its eight-year tenure. Of note was its ability to quickly implement an unprecedented weapons inspection and disarmament program when nothing of its kind had existed before. Within two months of its inception, UNSCOM had already begun inspections and was quite successful in overseeing the destruction of much illicit weapons material and equipment. Examples of the demolition of Iraq biological, chemical, and long-range missile programs overseen by UNSCOM included the destruction of 48 missiles, together with 20 tons of illicit fuel and 56 stationary missile launch sites; the eradication of 38,537 chemical munitions and chemical weapons agents totaling 690 tons; and the dismantling of the Hakam biological weapons plant and equipment from similar facilities at Manal and Safah. Hakam especially was a significant facility where such deadly biological agents as anthrax and botulinum toxin had been produced.

Immediately following the adoption of Resolution 1284 in 1999 and the consequent conclusion of the mandate of UNSCOM, the American delegation at the Security Council highlighted the important accomplishments of executive chairmen Ekéus and Butler. The former was lauded for his work in building UNSCOM from scratch; the latter was credited with sustaining UNSCOM's mission in the face of an increasingly uncooperative Iraq. What is more, both men played a key role in uncovering previously unknown weapons programs, which included biological weapons and a program to produce VX gas.

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See also

Biological Weapons and Warfare; Chemical Weapons and Warfare; DESERT FOX, Operation; International Atomic Energy Agency; United Nations; United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission; United Nations Security Council Resolution 687; United Nations Security Council Resolution 1284; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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United Nations Weapons Inspectors

Following the Persian Gulf War of 1991, the United Nations (UN) Security Council authorized a team of weapons inspectors to rid Iraq of all its weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), which included biological and chemical weapons as well as all materials related to nuclear weapons development. As a condition for the cessation of hostilities against Iraq in the Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM) following the coalition forces' liberation of Kuwait, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 687 on April 3, 1991. This called for the creation of the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) to inspect and disarm Iraq's WMDs as well as all its missiles with a range greater than 90 miles.

From 1991 to 1999 UNSCOM was charged with enforcing UN Resolution 687. In 1999 a successor to UNSCOM came into being.

Iraqi citizens demonstrate their support for President Saddam Hussein as United Nations (UN) weapons inspectors enter a technology institute in Baghdad, Iraq, February 27, 2003. (AP/Wide World Photos)

It was known as the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Committee (UNMOVIC) and was in Iraq from December 2002 to March 2003. Although Iraq repeatedly sought to conceal the extent of its WMDs program and also resisted cooperating fully with UNSCOM by, for example, denying inspectors access to certain sites, UNSCOM nevertheless engaged in significant disarmament activities. However, the sheer size of the country of Iraq, the technically complex nature of disarmament, and repeated Iraqi deception and resistance to UNSCOM efforts make it hard to know precisely the extent of success. For its part, Iraq accused UNSCOM of spying and of being a puppet of the United States and Israel.

In late 1998 UNSCOM withdrew from Iraq in the face of renewed Iraqi resistance and imminent punitive American and British air strikes in December. For the next four years, there were no weapons inspectors operating inside Iraq. This, of course, prompted concerns that Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein had secretly renewed his WMDs program.

Beginning in 2002, U.S. president George W. Bush demanded that Iraq comply with UN resolutions and disarm once and for all or face an invasion. On November 8, 2002, UN Security Council Resolution 1441 declared that Iraq was in violation of Resolution 687. It denounced Iraq's "omissions or false statements" with respect to its WMDs stockpiles and offered Iraq "a final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations." In December 2002 in the face of an imminent American and British invasion of Iraq, Hussein agreed to allow UN weapons inspectors back into the country; however, they were withdrawn in March 2003 just before the beginning of the Iraq invasion (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM) on March 20, 2003.

The head of UNMOVIC, Hans Blix, a Swedish diplomat, reported to the UN on March 7, 2003, that Iraq had not provided sufficient documentary evidence to account for its WMDs stockpiles and missiles. He expressed doubt as to whether Iraq had fully agreed to disarm. Unlike the United States, Britain, and Spain, however, a majority of members of the Security Council, including France, China, and Russia, opposed any resolution authorizing an attack or invasion of Iraq on this basis. The Americans, supported by Britain and Spain, denied that any additional UN resolution was necessary to authorize the use of force against Iraq. Indeed, they cited UN Security Council Resolution 686 of November 29, 1990, which authorized any UN member to use "all necessary means" to "restore international peace and security to the Persian Gulf Region." The three nations also pointed out that the Iraqis had violated 16 UN resolutions and in 12 years had failed to

disarm. Based on the October 11, 2002, authorization by the U.S. Congress to use force against Iraq, the United States, along with Britain, commenced Operation IRAQI FREEDOM on March 20, 2003.

In the aftermath of the invasion, the Iraqi Survey Group was unable to find any WMDs. Several reasons have been advanced for this. The most obvious explanation is that Iraq had ceased its program sometime before 2003. Indeed, one of Saddam Hussein's sons-in-law, Hussein Kamal, who had charge of Iraq's WMDs program, made this claim repeatedly and with extensive detail upon defecting to Jordan in 1995, but U.S. and British intelligence agents doubted his veracity even though he, unlike other defectors, did not make efforts to secure personal financial gain. Indeed, he returned to Iraq and was killed. Upon being captured in December 2004, Saddam Hussein apparently also told American interrogators that Iraq no longer had WMDs. U.S. officials also considered the veracity of his comments problematic.

Other explanations for the absence of WMDs rest on sheer speculation and have never been verified but remain popular in certain political circles. For example, although no evidence exists to prove this claim, some critics of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM claim that the Bush administration knew Iraq had halted its WMDs program but lied to the American people to justify the invasion and regime change. Other critics of the war, mostly Democrats but some Republicans as well (most of whom had voted for the war), have since argued that Bush was misled by faulty intelligence, which was driven by the need to provide evidence to support the war rather than by a balanced appraisal of the true situation on the ground. They have concluded that the Bush administration presented only that evidence that supported its own conclusions. The U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee issued two reports in 2004 and 2006 documenting Bush administration intelligence failures regarding Iraq.

Finally, some observers believe that Iraq hid its remaining WMDs stockpiles or shipped them to Iran and/or Syria. It is highly unlikely that Iraq would ever ship such stockpiles to Iran. Although no conclusive evidence has been put forth to support this claim, its supporters cite the fact that Russian truck convoys left Iraq for Syria and other countries as coalition forces invaded. Those who support this theory also make the claim that Russia was assisting Hussein's WMDs program development.

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See also

Blix, Hans; Bush, George Walker; DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Nuclear Weapons, Iraq's Potential for Building; United Nations; United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission; United Nations Security Council Resolution 687; United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441; United Nations Special Commission; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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United Services Organization

Large privately funded nonprofit organization that provides entertainment and other nonmilitary amenities to American soldiers, sailors, marines, and air personnel. Although best known to Americans for its broadcasting of Bob Hope's United Services Organization (USO) shows for American troops in Vietnam, the USO story began with its efforts to entertain American troops during World War II.

The USO was founded early in World War II (1941) through the joint efforts of the Salvation Army, the YMCA, the YWCA, and several other groups. USO centers on military bases sponsor numerous social events for soldiers and provide a welcoming environment for individual soldiers seeking a respite from military

Comedian and actor Robin Williams greets a member of the U.S. Army 4th Infantry Division stationed at Kirkuk Air Base, Iraq, in December 2003. Williams was part of a United Services Organization (USO) tour. (U.S. Department of Defense)

duties. Certainly best known for its work during World War II, by 1944 the USO had more than 3,000 centers around the globe. During that war, the USO provided celebrity entertainment involving more than 7,000 performers in more than 420,000 performances. The entertainers most closely identified with USO "shows for the troops" were the singing group the Andrews Sisters and the comedian Hope.

With the beginning of the Korean War in 1950 a smaller and reorganized USO eventually opened 24 centers in Korea and Japan, and the USO again sponsored many entertainment events for the troops. Once more, Hope was a staple of USO shows.

During the Vietnam War the USO opened its first center in Saigon in September 1963. In 1965 the USO began to expand its services throughout the Republic of Vietnam (ROV, South Vietnam). At the height of the war, in the late 1960s, the USO was operating 18 centers in South Vietnam and 7 in Thailand. U.S. entertainers performed more than 5,000 USO shows in Vietnam during the war. With the final withdrawal of American troops in 1972, USO activities in Vietnam ceased as of June 1972.

Entertaining the troops continued to be a USO priority, and the USO was active during the 1991 Persian Gulf War as well as Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM. Since 2002 the USO has opened facilities in Afghanistan, Iraq, Qatar, and Kuwait and also in the Denver International Airport to help welcome home troops returning from the front. Beginning in 2008 the not-for-profit USO began receiving donations from primary and secondary schools around the United States. In 2006 the USO organized 56 celebrity entertainment tours to 25 countries, including Iraq and Afghanistan. Well over 100 celebrities and musical groups have performed under USO auspices since 2001, including Aerosmith, Ben Affleck, Drew Carey, Cedrick the Entertainer, the Dallas Cowboys Cheerleaders, Robert De Niro, Hootie and the Blowfish, and many others. USO celebrity entertainment shows continue to be effective morale boosters and are an important part of USO efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan. Increasing use of the Internet and e-mail in the United States during the late 1990s mandated that USO centers provide e-mail access to soldiers serving in the Middle East.

Other current but less well-known USO activities continue to operate out of the approximately 130 USO centers around the world. Among these, Operation Enduring Care helps meet the recovery needs of injured service members and their families through the operation of lounge areas in hospitals and medical facilities. Enduring Care also provides support for funeral escorts, mortuary personnel, and honor guards serving fallen troops. In addition, the USO solicits contributions to provide care packages and phone cards to service personnel abroad. Newer initiatives include welcome centers for returning troops at major airports; the operation of Mobile Canteens bringing refreshments, books, and other leisure items to remote military stations in the Middle East; and the creation of a Family Support fund to aid military families suffering hardships from deployment of a service member.

GAYLE AVANT

See also
ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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United States

North American country encompassing 3.539 million square miles. The continental United States is bordered by Canada to the north, the Atlantic Ocean to the east, the Gulf of Mexico and Mexico to the south, and the Pacific Ocean to the west. Two of the 50 states, Alaska and Hawaii, are separated from the continental United States. Alaska is bordered by Canada to the east, the Pacific Ocean to the south, the Bering Straits and Russia to the west, and the Arctic Ocean to the north, and Hawaii is surrounded by the Pacific Ocean. The United States also has several Caribbean Sea territories, including Puerto Rico, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and several Pacific Ocean territories (the northern Mariana Islands, Guam, and American Samoa plus several uninhabited islands in the Pacific Ocean). The 2008 population of the United States was approximately 304.228 million. The nation is a representative democracy dominated by two principal political groups, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party.

In November 1988 Republican vice president George H. W. Bush defeated Democratic challenger Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis in that year's presidential election. During his tenure as president, Bush had to deal with the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union and its client states, and several military conflicts, including the U.S. invasion of Panama (Operation JUST CAUSE, between December 20, 1989, and January 31, 1990) and the 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM). The former campaign was quick and successful and resulted in few U.S. casualties. Less than nine months later, the United States faced a major foreign policy and military decision regarding how to respond to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990. Fearing that Iraqi forces would continue advancing into Saudi Arabia, the Saudi government requested U.S. military assistance, laying the groundwork for the Persian Gulf War.

Within three days, U.S. rapid deployment forces had been deployed to Saudi Arabia, and additional U.S. and coalition troops followed in what came to be known as Operation DESERT SHIELD. The operation, sanctioned by the United Nations (UN), would include a coalition of 34 nations including the United States, which provided the bulk of the military forces. By January 2001 the United States had some 543,000 troops in place in the Persian Gulf.

Many Americans, including experts on the region, opposed Bush's decision to send troops to the Middle East, and a small but persistent American antiwar movement formed. Despite receiving widespread publicity, the antiwar movement gained little

support from the general public, especially after the U.S. Congress approved of military operations against Iraq on January 12, 1991. The small but vocal antiwar movement was dealt further blows by Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's unsuccessful propaganda efforts and the early military successes during the war. After an intensive bombing campaign that began on January 17, 1991, ground operations, beginning on February 24, took approximately four days before Iraq surrendered and agreed to pull out of Kuwait. American and coalition casualties were remarkably few. U.S. and select coalition forces remained in the region, however, to prevent Iraq from violating the no-fly zones in the northern and southern parts of Iraq and to ensure that it abided by UN resolutions.

Bush's foreign policy and military successes were offset by a deep downswing in the American economy. The country faced a serious recession, with the unemployment rate rising from 5.4 percent in 1989 to 7.6 in 1992, an election year. America's gross domestic product (GDP) remained flat at 3 percent per year, and the Dow Jones Industrials registered a modest growth of slightly more than 1,000 points throughout Bush's tenure.

In November 1992 Democratic candidate William J. Clinton defeated Bush's reelection bid. Clinton used Bush's inability to improve a weakening economy to overcome the Bush administration's highly successful prosecution of the Persian Gulf War. After the November 1992 election and before he left office in January 1993, Bush sent U.S. troops to Somalia to back a UN-supported operation to provide military protection to international groups providing humanitarian assistance there.

American forces arrived in Somalia on December 9, 1992, and other UN peacekeeping forces soon followed. The immediate humanitarian mission was a success. President Clinton kept U.S. forces in Somalia, however, shifting their focus toward the UN's new goal of creating a stable government in Somalia. Somali clans quickly opposed these nation-building efforts and battled U.S. and UN forces; the most well-publicized battle was the Battle of Mogadishu of October 3–4, 1993, a perceived American defeat that increased public calls to withdraw American forces. Clinton ordered a gradual but relatively quick removal of U.S. forces, and the last ones departed in March 1995.

Stung by criticism over the Somalia operation, Clinton became wary of employing U.S. military forces, especially ground troops, in areas peripheral to U.S. interests. Clinton was thus reluctant to intervene in the Rwanda genocide and initially in the Balkans, yet he did respond militarily to some terrorist acts perpetrated against

William Jefferson "Bill" Clinton, flanked by his daughter Chelsea and wife Hillary Rodham Clinton, takes the oath of office as president of the United States from Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist on the west steps of the Capitol in Washington, D.C., January 20, 1993. (AP/Wide World Photos)

the United States and used limited military force to continue to patrol Iraq's no-fly zones. The August 7, 1998, bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania resulted in retaliatory cruise missile attacks against suspected terrorist havens in Sudan and Kenya. President Clinton eventually permitted U.S. troops to operate in Bosnia in cooperation with its NATO allies. U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher achieved a significant breakthrough with Bosnia's warring factions when he was able to get the warring parties to sign the Dayton Accords on December 15, 1995. On October 12, 2000, Al Qaeda–linked terrorists used a small boat to launch a suicide attack against the Arleigh Burke–class Aegis-equipped guided-missile destroyer USS *Cole* (DDG-67) in Yemen.

Clinton's domestic policies suffered early setbacks over a controversial promise to issue an executive order to allow homosexuals to serve openly in the military, which was not carried out, and over certain cabinet-level and administration appointments. Opposed by Republicans in Congress, Clinton was forced to make compromises to enact his legislative agenda. Despite his successful implementation of a new workfare program in an attempt to reduce the number of people on welfare and passage of the Family Medical Leave Act of 1993, his health care program failed to pass. Nevertheless, the U.S. economy improved markedly during Clinton's tenure. Unemployment declined to a low of 4 percent by 2000, and the GDP rose to a high of 4.5 percent per annum growth in 1999. Stock markets benefited greatly during the 1990s, especially tech stocks, which dramatically rose in value. During Clinton's eight years in office, the Dow Jones Industrials rose by almost 8,000 points.

Throughout his two terms, Clinton was plagued by various scandals surrounding him, his wife, and his associates. Congressional investigations and an independent Department of Justice investigation eventually resulted in the U.S. House of Representatives voting to impeach Clinton in December 1998 on charges of perjury and obstruction of justice resulting from his affair with Monica Lewinsky, a young White House intern. On a party line vote, the U.S. Senate failed to convict Clinton, however, and he remained in office.

The 2000 and 2004 presidential elections were among the closest elections in U.S. history. Republican candidate George W. Bush, governor of Texas and the son of President George H. W. Bush, narrowly defeated Democratic vice president Al Gore in the 2000 election. In the tightly contested 2004 election, Bush's victory over Massachusetts Democratic senator John Kerry came down to the state of Ohio.

The horrific events of September 11, 2001, changed America's foreign policy and many aspects of America's domestic policy as well. On February 26, 1993, terrorists attempted to destroy New York City's World Trade Center (WTC) with a truck bomb, but the attack failed. On September 11, 2001, Al Qaeda terrorists hijacked four aircraft and successfully flew two of the planes into the WTC, destroying both towers and several nearby buildings. Another jet slammed into the Pentagon; the fourth one crashed in a Pennsylvania field after passengers attempted to regain control from the hijackers. In response to the attacks, Congress passed the Patriot Act in October 2001, giving the federal government sweeping powers to monitor potential terrorist activities at home and abroad.

After determining Al Qaeda's responsibility for the attacks and after Afghanistan's Taliban regime refused to extradite certain Al Qaeda personnel and meet other requirements, Bush initiated Operation ENDURING FREEDOM on October 7, 2001. U.S. and allied forces proceeded to launch a series of offensive strikes against Taliban and Al Qaeda forces and camps. Bush received broad-based support for this effort, and his approval ratings remained high.

In 2002 NATO, other allied nations, and the United States joined forces as the UN-sanctioned International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan (ISAF) to provide military forces for nation building, humanitarian efforts, and peacekeeping efforts. As of January 2010, both ENDURING FREEDOM and the ISAF are still operating in Afghanistan. The American-led efforts in Afghanistan came under increasing criticism, however, as a Taliban-led insurgency began to emerge in late 2005. Many critics blamed the Bush administration's decision to go to war with Iraq in 2003 for the failure to arrest the growing insurgency in Afghanistan.

In addition to ENDURING FREEDOM, Bush called for a Global War on Terror. U.S. foreign and military policy now focused on eliminating or curtailing terrorist operations throughout the world. Numerous countries have allied themselves with the United States in the Global War on Terror but with decidedly mixed results.

In late 2002 Bush persuaded Congress to support military action against Iraq, leading him to initiate Operation IRAQI FREEDOM (March 20–May 1, 2003), a ground and air invasion against Iraq. He did so, however, without UN sanction when France and Russia exercised their UN Security Council veto power. The Bush White House used questionable intelligence to make the case that Saddam Hussein had to be unseated because he had weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), which were never found. The Bush administration also alleged that Iraq had connections with Al Qaeda, an allegation never proven although thousands of Islamic extremist Al Qaeda insurgents in Iraq subsequently fought against coalition forces during the occupation. The invasion did, however, remove Saddam Hussein from power and provide the people of Iraq with a chance to establish the country as the Middle East's first Muslim country democracy.

The American antiwar movement opposed the move toward war and gained far greater traction than it had during the brief Persian Gulf War. As the Iraqi insurgency took hold and as U.S. and coalition casualties quickly mounted beginning in 2004, Bush came under harsh criticism for his decision to go to war and the way in which the war was being waged. As the increasing number of American deaths and casualties in combat operations and the increased cost of the war became clearer, approval ratings for Bush and the Republicans in general began to fall. As of the end of 2009, the total estimated cost of military operations and occupations in Afghanistan and Iraq were estimated to be $1.05 trillion. For fiscal year 2010, the U.S. government will allocate more money

to the Afghanistan War than the Iraq War, the first time that has happened since the Iraq War began in 2003. The Iraq War also sharply increased anti-American sentiment in the entire Islamic world, and while there were no other terrorist attacks on the United States during Bush's presidency, the war led to heightened Islamic extremism abroad.

On domestic issues, Bush was able to get several measures passed by Congress, including temporary tax cuts; the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001; the Medicare Prescription Drug, Improvement, and Modernization Act; and the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002. Despite these modest successes, the American economy began facing tremendous headwinds during Bush's tenure. The Bush administration's efforts to reverse the economic downturn were unsuccessful.

The U.S. unemployment rate gradually rose, and the stock market saw a drop of more than 2,000 points between July 2001 and March 2003. During this same period, GDP growth dropped below 2 percent per year, with some improvement between 2004 and 2008. Although the stock market made some significant gains after 2003, as economic weaknesses became apparent the stock market underwent significant turbulence by mid-2008. The Bush administration had also turned record budget surpluses in 2001 when it had taken office into record budget deficits by 2007.

Despite the political shift at the executive and legislative levels toward the Republican Party at least through the 2004 elections, mounting popular discontent with Bush's decision to invade Iraq in 2003 and his administration's conduct of the war led to a dramatic shift of political power back to the Democrats in the 2006 midterm elections. Democratic candidates won 232 seats in the House of Representatives and 49 seats in the Senate. Two independent candidates, who stated that they would vote with the Democratic Party, also won Senate seats, thus giving the Democrats a 51 to 49 majority. This gave control of both houses of Congress to the Democrats.

The Democrats' limited majority in Congress prevented them from meeting some of their legislative objectives, especially the removal of U.S. forces from Iraq. However, since the 2006 elections, the U.S. economy suffered significant and troubling disruptions. From its record high in October 2007, the stock market began a relatively slow decline until October 2008, when the market began to gyrate wildly, sometimes plummeting hundreds of points in a single session; the overall trajectory, however, was sharply downward. This stock market meltdown wiped out trillions of dollars of investments, which forced consumers to curtail spending and employers to shed hundreds of thousands of jobs. Making matters far worse, the 2008 financial crisis caused further uncertainty. Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, many Americans became homeowners by agreeing to either subprime mortgages or adjustable rate mortgages. These mortgages allowed individuals with lower credit scores and with limited income to buy houses with initially low mortgage payments and with little or no money down. Eventually the mortgage rates increased as the price of homes began to fall.

Traders on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE). The NYSE is located on Wall Street in New York City and is the oldest and largest stock exchange in the United States. (Corel)

When interest rates crept up mortgage payments were readjusted upward, and many individuals were unable to refinance or to pay the increased costs of their loans. Housing foreclosure rates increased, and financial institutions began taking huge financial losses. The government-sponsored enterprises Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, which worked in the secondary mortgage market and provided funds for mortgage lenders, were placed into government conservatorship. Other financial institutions and investment firms also faced significant financial problems; some, such as Washington Mutual, were placed under federal receivership, while others, such as Wachovia Bank, were bought by other firms before they failed. Congress's first attempt at passing a financial bailout plan failed, but after some compromises a $770 billion dollar plan was passed in early October 2008. The act put the government in the position of owning a significant interest in several banks.

Increased discontent with America's continued military presence in Iraq and a serious reversal in the U.S. economy had a significant impact on the 2008 presidential campaign and election. Although multiple candidates ran for both the Republican Party and the Democratic Party, initial favorites Senator Hillary Clinton (D-N.Y.) and former Republican New York mayor Rudy Guiliani lost their respective party's nominations. Senators John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Senator Barack Obama (D-Ill.) became their party's presidential nominees, with McCain using his status as a former prisoner of war and a "maverick" and Obama pledging to bring change.

Ironically, although most believed that the Iraq War would be the biggest campaign issue in 2008, the worsening economy and Bush's botched attempts to forestall economic collapse trumped all other issues. Obama's campaign energized his party, and he gained significant support among younger voters and the African

American community. On November 4, 2008, Obama handily won the presidential election, and the Democratic Party increased its control in Congress.

It seems clear that the Republicans were fighting an uphill battle, with an unpopular war in Iraq, a frustrated and inconclusive war in Afghanistan, and an economy that was in a virtual free fall during the second half of 2008. Between 2001 and 2008, Bush saw his approval ratings drop steadily and then precipitously, from record highs after the September 11 attacks to record lows as he left office. In late 2008 some polls showed his approval rating at just 24 percent, almost as low as Harry Truman's 22 percent in 1952 and tying Richard Nixon's 24 percent rating when he resigned in disgrace as a result of the Watergate scandal in 1974.

The Obama administration and Democrats in Congress moved quickly to place the U.S. economy on safer footing and to stanch the hemorrhaging of the financial institutions and automobile industries by passing a massive $787 billion stimulus package, which was rejected by all but a handful of congressional Republicans. As of mid-2010, the effects of the stimulus bill remain somewhat questionable, as the unemployment rate still hovered around 9.7 percent. The economy began a tepid recovery in the last quarter of 2009, which was accompanied by a steadily rising stock market, leading some economists to believe that the economy might pick up steam in the last half of 2010. Meanwhile, the Obama administration reported record deficits at the end of 2009, the result of profligate spending by the Republicans during 2000–2008, and the same by Democrats beginning in 2009.

During the summer of 2009, an increasingly acrimonious debate enveloped the nation over pending health care reform, which had been a key part of Obama's legislative agenda. As Republicans and right-wing radio and television personalities spread disinformation about the pending reform, the American public became confused and less willing to support health care legislation. Meanwhile, the White House's initial hands-off attitude toward the issue caused the president's popularity to fall precipitously. By early 2010, many had declared the Democrats' health care reform moribund. Nevertheless, Obama and the Democratic leadership in Congress secured passage of a sweeping health care reform bill in March 2010, although not a single Republican in either house of Congress voted for it.

Internationally, the Obama administration has enjoyed moderate success to date. Efforts to engage the Iranian leadership over Iran's nuclear program brought no breakthrough, largely because of the intransigence of the Iranian government. Efforts to jumpstart the Palestinian-Israeli peace process had been similarly stymied by events largely out of America's control. Israeli-American relations reached a nadir in early 2010 after Israel announced controversial plans for building settlements in contested territory. On a positive note, Obama completed a nuclear arms reduction deal with the Russians in April 2010 and has made a major and largely successful effort to repair relations with American allies and the Islamic world, which had been severely strained under the previous administration. After a thorough review, the Obama administration also ordered a major increase of 30,000 troops in Afghanistan, part of its heightened effort there coinciding with the drawdown of U.S. forces from Iraq.

Wyndham Whynot

See also

Antiwar Movements, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Clinton, Hillary Rodham; Clinton, William Jefferson; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Global War on Terror; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; McCain, John Sidney, III; Obama, Barack Hussein, II; Terrorism; United States, Middle East Policy, 1917–1945; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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United States, Middle East Policy, 1917–1945

Until World War I, the interests and involvement of the United States in the Middle East were limited and small-scale. Between the world wars, American oil companies, backed by successive administrations, sought to compete against the British and French for Middle Eastern petroleum concessions. During World War II, the quest to prevent seizure of Middle Eastern strategically vital oil reserves was a major factor underlying the growing U.S. military and diplomatic presence in the region. During World War II American officials collaborated with both British and Russian forces in Iran, but once hostilities had ended, escalating tensions with the Soviet Union meant that the Near and Middle East soon became a theater for Cold War conflicts and rivalries.

Until the early 20th century, official U.S. involvement in the Middle East was patchy and sporadic. The most notable undertakings were two naval wars in the very early years of the 19th century to eradicate the threat that the Barbary privateers of the North African state Morocco and neighboring Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli, semi-independent provinces of the Ottoman Empire, posed to American maritime commerce with the Mediterranean. Both ended in a U.S. victory.

During the 19th century, American dealings with the Near and Middle East were largely private, primarily educational or commercial. In 1866 Presbyterian missionaries established the Syrian

Protestant College, which later became the American University in Beirut. Other American universities and colleges were founded in Cairo and Istanbul. American businessmen also traded with the region. By the early 20th century, American diplomats sought to ensure that the Ottoman Empire and Morocco granted their country's nationals trading privileges as favorable as those that had been accorded to European nations through the capitulatory treaties.

Under President Theodore Roosevelt, a strong proponent of an assertive U.S. international posture, in 1906 American resentatives played a leading role at the Algeciras Conference, which mediated a dispute between France and Germany over the status of Morocco, effectively making the sultanate a French protectorate. Roosevelt's belief in the forthright defense of American interests was also demonstrated in 1904, when a wealthy Greek-American resident in Tangier, Ion Perdicaris, was kidnapped by Raisuli, a Moroccan bandit. To domestic acclaim, Roosevelt dispatched seven battleships and a force of marines to Morocco, demanding that country's government ensure the safe delivery of "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead." Eventually, Perdicaris was released.

World War I brought enhanced, though still limited, American interest in the Middle East. Before 1914, American oil companies showed little interest in competing with European firms for the right to develop Middle Eastern petroleum sources. The war itself created new uncertainties in the region, promoting Arab nationalism and bringing the final end of Ottoman rule over the areas then known as Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Arabia (present-day Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Israel, Saudi Arabia, and the Arab emirates, as well as the province of Armenia). In late 1914 Ottoman Turkey joined the Central Powers, allied with Germany and Austria-Hungary against Great Britain and France. The latter two powers therefore encouraged Arab revolts against Ottoman rule, making somewhat ambivalent pledges to recognize the rule of Hussein ibn Ali, the high-priest or sharif of the Islamic territory of the Hedjaz, and his three sons, Ali, Feisal, and Abdullah, over Mesopotamia and Arabia. Britain and France also made secret agreements with each other envisaging the territorial division of Mesopotamia and Palestine between their two empires. In addition, in November 1917 the British government issued the Balfour Declaration, promising Jews a national home, although not a state, in Palestine.

When the United States entered World War I in April 1917, the country initially declared war only on Germany, leaving the proclamation of a formal state of hostilities with Austria-Hungary until December 1917 and refraining entirely from any declaration of war against the Ottoman Empire. In 1918 President Woodrow Wilson, rather to the distaste of diplomats in the State Department, endorsed the Balfour Declaration in principle, but at the subsequent Paris Peace Conference he made no great effort to press for the establishment of a Jewish homeland. Wilson distrusted the major Allied powers, Britain, France, and Italy, and deplored what he perceived as their eagerness to extend their own colonial holdings by annexing former colonies and other territories that had belonged to the Central Powers before 1914. The president particularly distrusted the secret treaties and agreements the Allies had concluded with each other regarding the disposition of territories once controlled by the enemy powers.

In an effort to pressure the Allies into accepting liberal war aims, in January 1918 Wilson publicly stated that the U.S. government would only support a peace based on the Fourteen Points, idealistic and wide-ranging diplomatic principles that envisaged a nonpunitive postwar settlement, and that included national self-determination and autonomous development for lands that had been part of the Ottoman Empire prior to 1914. Britain and France responded by stating publicly that they would establish indigenous governments in these areas, regimes that would, nonetheless, be expected to accept the tutelage and guidance of more advanced nations.

American distaste for imperialism was nonetheless responsible for the creation of the mandate system at the Paris Peace Conference, whereby former colonies of the defeated powers were essentially annexed by the victors and placed under the ultimate jurisdiction of the new League of Nations. The British mandate eventually comprised present-day Iraq, Transjordan (now Jordan and the Right Bank occupied by Israel), and Palestine (now Israel), while the French controlled what is now Syria and Lebanon.

In practice, the British and French negotiated this division of the Ottoman spoils with each other, and the League of Nations mandates simply ratified their spheres of influence arrangement. In the early 1920s, Britain established monarchies in Iraq and Jordan, each ruled by one of Hussein's sons, and during the 1930s these regimes won increasing autonomy from British supervision. In 1919 and 1920 the Allies hoped to induce the United States to join the League of Nations mandatory states and accept a comparable tutelary role over Armenia, but the American government declined the invitation.

The influence of the European powers extended far beyond the Near East and Levant. The French controlled Morocco and Tunisia and regarded Algeria as an integral part of France. The British also controlled Aden and dominated Egyptian affairs. They had a maritime presence and exerted influence over the various sheikhdoms and emirates of the Gulf region, and they exchanged the promise of military protection for an alliance with Saudi Arabia. The British and Russians each sought to influence Iran and Afghanistan in what was known as the Great Game.

Between the world wars, the U.S. government held largely aloof from developments in the Middle East, declining to take any position on the situation in Palestine, where growing Jewish immigration and determined Zionist demands for the establishment of a Jewish state met official British resistance and provoked rising Arab resentment, leading to violent riots on numerous occasions. American interests remained largely commercial, with the State and Commerce departments both eager to exert pressure to encourage and facilitate access by American oil companies to the Middle East's vast petroleum resources. By the early 1930s American oil companies were beginning to explore the possibility of developing oil concessions in the Persian Gulf area. The Turkish

Petroleum Company, later renamed the Iraq Petroleum Company, a consortium that included some American oil companies, had a monopoly on exploration in much of the region, and within this grouping only British nationals could develop oil concessions in the small Persian Gulf emirates.

In 1932 Standard Oil of California (SOCAL), a firm outside the consortium that had already broken into this closed shop on oil exploration by establishing a subsidiary—albeit one including a British member on its board—in the small sheikhdom of Bahrayn (Bahrain), a British quasi-protectorate, applied for an exploratory oil license in the neighboring independent kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Seeking to improve the terms offered him, King Abdul Aziz encouraged the Iraq Petroleum Company to compete for the concession, and SOCAL eventually outbid its rival. The American firm obtained a 60-year contract granting it exclusive oil exploration and drilling rights on 360,000 square miles of eastern Saudi Arabia and a preferential option on an adjoining region, territory whose ownership Saudi Arabia still disputed with the neighboring emirate of Kuwait. The SOCAL-Saudi agreement was the first major oil concession negotiated by U.S. business in the Middle East.

In 1936 SOCAL merged with the Texas Company (Texaco), and the two established the California Texas Oil Company (CALTEX), acquiring 50 percent interests in each other's operating subsidiaries. The discovery of large quantities of oil in Saudi territory in 1938 brought the negotiation one year later of a new agreement with Saudi Arabia, with the king obtaining higher royalties in exchange for a substantial expansion of the California Arabian Standard Oil Company (CASOC)'s exclusive concession.

With a major war by then imminent in Europe, one that would almost certainly involve the Middle East, Saudi and other Middle Eastern oil fields were seen as a vital strategic prize, an asset for which the powers and governments on both sides in the impending conflict were likely to compete. Such concerns soon led to an Allied takeover of Iran, in which the U.S. government acquiesced. During the 1930s, Shah Reza Pahlavi I of Iran, who resented the fact that the British-dominated Anglo-Iranian Oil Company controlled most of Iran's oil revenues and industry, favored Nazi Germany and staffed much of his government with German advisers. From September 1939 Germany was at war with Great Britain, and in June 1941 German dictator Adolf Hitler's forces also invaded the Soviet Union, which shared a border with Iran. Russia then became a British ally. Anglo-Russian competition for influence over Iran dated back more than a century, but for the war's duration the two nations cooperated there, as they had in the early 20th century, when they divided Iran into spheres of influence. Seeking both to deny Iran's oil reserves to Germany and to protect Soviet oil fields in the nearby Caucasus, in summer 1941 both British and Soviet officials demanded that the shah expel the 2,000 Germans then resident in Iran. When he refused, military forces of the two Allied powers jointly occupied Iran, replacing the pro-German shah with his youthful son, Shah Reza Pahlavi II. Russian forces controlled the north, and the British the south, of the country.

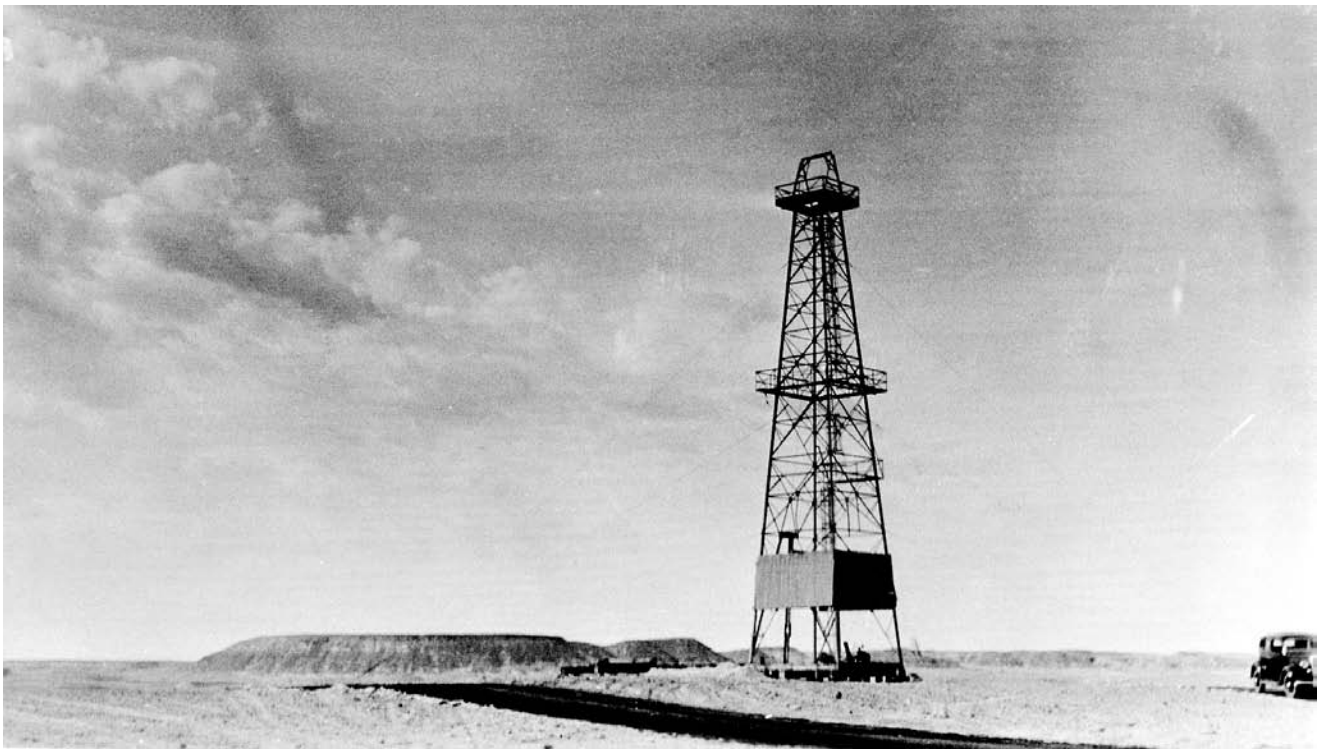
Iranian nationalist elements feared that the foreign occupation might easily become permanent. Seeking to alleviate such concerns, and Britain's case also impelled by anxieties that, if no agreement to the contrary were concluded, Soviet troops might well remain in place when the war was over, in January 1942 the three powers concluded a treaty of alliance against Germany. This permitted British and Soviet armed forces unrestricted use of Iranian military facilities. Although Iranian nationalists resented the alliance, which was forced on them, at their insistence this agreement included clauses whereby both Britain and the Soviet Union pledged to respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and political independence of Iran. In addition, it provided that both British and Russian occupying forces would leave no later than six months after hostilities had ended. The treaty went into effect on February 1, 1942.

The Franklin D. Roosevelt administration welcomed this situation and quickly dispatched a military mission to Iran. Besides seeking to deny Iran's vital oil fields to Germany and Italy, the U.S. government had strong logistical reasons for doing so. By late 1941 Soviet Russia had become a major recipient of U.S. lend-lease wartime aid, and after Pearl Harbor the two nations were formally allied in war against Germany. Large quantities of lend-lease supplies destined for Russia were delivered by sea to Iran and sent on northward by rail through the Caucasus. The first task of the U.S. military mission was to expedite such shipments, in part by liaising with the Soviet forces occupying the north of Iran. Thousands of U.S. servicemen arrived in Iran as part of the Persian Gulf Command, established for this purpose.

Within the U.S. State Department, moreover, the small and close-knit team of Middle Eastern experts began to develop more ambitious schemes for U.S. involvement in the region, viewing Iran as a potential test case for their country's ability to encourage democracy and social and economic reforms in developing nations, as envisaged under the Allied Atlantic Charter of August 1941. The United States could, they believed, promote beneficial social and political change in such nations, its ability to do so enhanced by the fact that it was free from the taint of imperialism and colonialism that made British intervention so unpopular. Such benevolent U.S. involvement in Iran would also check the expansion of communist Soviet influence in the north of the country. An expanded American role in Iran would further enable the United States to provide better protection for its existing oil interests in Saudi Arabia and possibly even help it to gain a new stake in Iran's own British-dominated oil industry.

As early as 1939 Shah Reza I had attempted to entice the United States into taking more interest in his country and acting as its patron against other great powers by offering oil concessions to American firms. For similar reasons a sizable group of Iranian politicians, including the young shah, encouraged the growing American interest in their country, which they viewed as a means of countering both British and Russian influence.

In August 1943, Secretary of State Cordell Hull recommended to President Roosevelt a policy of enhanced U.S. involvement in



An oil well in Bahrain, Arabia, in December 1940. (Bettmann/Corbis)

Iran, aimed at building up that country under American patronage, guidelines Roosevelt accepted. Toward the end of the year, at the Tehran Conference, Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States all affirmed their commitment to maintaining Iran's postwar independence and territorial integrity. This switch to a proactive U.S. policy toward Iran marked an important long-term turning point in American involvement in the Near and Middle East. From early 1943 assorted missions, often poorly coordinated, of American experts attempted to guide and direct the wholesale reform of the Iranian military, police, and finances, together with the political and agricultural systems.

In early 1943 the U.S. government also began to demonstrate new and growing interest in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In April 1942 the U.S. State Department appointed a resident vice-consul in Jeddah, a post he combined with chargé d'affaires, the first occasion on which the United States possessed a physical diplomatic presence in Saudi Arabia. Even so, during 1941 and 1942 the U.S. government turned down suggestions by CASOC that it should give the kingdom official economic aid under the lend-lease program. Within the Washington bureaucracy, however, it was not just State Department diplomats who perceived the Middle East as an area of growing significance to the United States. Wartime secretary of the Navy Frank Knox and his deputy and successor, James V. Forrestal, later to be the first secretary of defense, both considered the region's oil resources a major strategic interest that the U.S. military should be prepared to secure and defend.

Matters changed at the beginning of 1943, when the American government began to deliberate whether it might be able to buy out CASOC's Saudi concession and use it as a strategic military and naval oil reserve. In March 1943 the U.S. State Department declared that Saudi Arabia was eligible for lend-lease aid on unusually generous terms. As another indication of growing official American interest in Saudi Arabia, in April 1943 the American mission in Jeddah was upgraded to a legation with a resident minister.

Official U.S. interest in Saudi Arabia continued to expand, culminating in the negotiation by the Defense Department in early August 1945 of an agreement for the construction of an American air base at the Saudi town of Dhahran, a facility that could be used if necessary to afford military protection to American oil interests in the kingdom. The new American interest in Saudi Arabia provoked friction with the British government, whose officials perceived this as an encroachment on a previously British sphere of influence. The British could not, however, come close to matching what the United States could offer Saudi Arabia in terms of economic and military aid and so had to acquiesce in growing U.S. involvement with the kingdom. American officials themselves admitted that the generous budgetary aid for 1945 they offered the Saudi government was a major factor in the successful negotiation that summer of the Dhahran air base agreement, which was subsequently repeatedly renewed. In the early 21st century, Dhahran still functions as a major air base in the Middle East.

By early 1944, concern about future access to international oil supplies was sufficiently strong to impel the State Department to seek to formulate guidelines for American international policy on oil. These envisaged ensuring American access on equal terms to

Soviet premier Joseph Stalin, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, and British prime minister Winston Churchill meet at the Soviet Embassy during the Tehran Conference, November 28–December 1, 1943. (Library of Congress)

oil supplies; conserving the Western Hemisphere's oil resources and discouraging exports of these outside the Western Hemisphere; and facilitating U.S. access to and development of Middle Eastern oil reserves, if necessary by negotiating an understanding with Great Britain to ensure maximal exploitation of these resources. U.S. officials were anxious to prevent the transfer of any American-owned Middle Eastern oil concessions to nationals of other countries and to encourage Americans to cultivate such concessions to their full potential.

State Department officials also thought it desirable that European needs for oil be met from Middle Eastern rather than Western Hemisphere sources, effectively enabling the United States to retain its hemispheric oil supplies for its own use. The April 1944 guidelines gave striking proof that the U.S. government was fully conscious that petroleum was a valuable and essential international commodity, one that was vital to the effective functioning of their country's civilian and military economies, and that State Department officials were determined, in the interests of national security, to encourage American business interests to obtain and develop to their own and their country's maximum advantage as large a share as possible of global petroleum reserves.

American officials' eagerness to facilitate such access to Middle Eastern oil reserves contributed to growing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. As it became clear that the conclusive defeat of Germany, their common enemy, could be anticipated in the near future, the most important controlling factor underlying their wartime alliance, the need to destroy Hitler's regime, became ever more irrelevant. In Iran, relations between the two countries became increasingly strained from late 1944 onward, when an Iranian offer of oil concessions in the north of the country to American companies brought Soviet protests and occupying Russian troops banned Anglo-American forces from their zone of Iran and tightened their own control over the area. The independence promised Iran under the Tehran declaration seemed increasingly in jeopardy, even more so after late 1945, when the Soviet Union backed separatist forces in establishing an

independent Soviet Socialist Republic in Iran's northern province of Azerbaijan, and encouraged a similar separatist movement in Kurdistan, setting up a puppet state there in early 1946.

By the end of World War II, the U.S. government had already demonstrated its determination to acquire a long-term stake in securing Middle Eastern oil reserves, resources that American officials considered valuable from both the economic and strategic perspectives. American diplomats cherished hopes that, under their own country's aegis, a benign form of guidance and direction would replace both Russian- and British-style imperialism in much of the Middle East. By late 1945, the impact of such policies was particularly apparent in U.S. dealings with Saudi Arabia, where military commitments underpinned substantial and growing American oil concessions, and Iran, where Soviet and American interests were coming into direct conflict and the stage was already set for a major early Cold War confrontation.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

France, Middle East Policy; Middle East, History of, 1918–1945; Oil; Saudi Arabia; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

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United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present

Before World War II, American involvement in the Middle East was limited. World War II, however, encouraged nationalist forces in the Middle East, thereby weakening the British and French imperial position there. It also brought an enhanced American economic and military presence in the region, as the United States stationed troops in Iran and in 1945 acquired long-term air base rights at Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. By the time the war ended, the American government sought continuing control of the region's strategically vital oil resources. These ambitions sometimes provoked friction and tensions between the United States and its Western allies, Britain and France, two imperial powers in decline that often resented growing American economic and military might. Even more significantly, these ambitions quickly brought the United States into conflict with the Soviet Union, and the Middle East was soon perceived as an important theater of Cold War rivalry.

From the late 1940s onward, successive American and Soviet governments competed not just to control Middle Eastern petroleum resources but also to gain international support and ideological loyalty from the patchwork of predominantly Muslim states across the area stretching from North Africa, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf to Afghanistan and Pakistan. As a rule, relatively conservative monarchical or authoritarian regimes leaned toward the United States, while radical nationalist governments tended to align themselves with the Soviets. U.S. support for the creation of the Jewish state of Israel in 1948 and increasingly close ties between those two countries further complicated American relations with Arab states throughout the region, most of whom deeply resented the existence of Israel.

The erosion of the position of European powers in the Middle East led both American and Soviet officials to seek to expand their own influence in the region. One of the earliest Cold War crises erupted over Iran. In 1941 the British and Russians had overthrown that country's Nazi-oriented monarch, Shah Reza Pahlavi I, and jointly occupied Iran, seeking to deny its oil resources to Germany and to safeguard supply routes to the Soviet Union. Both countries pledged that their forces would leave Iran within six months of the ending of hostilities in World War II.

In autumn 1945, Soviet officials backed separatist forces in establishing an independent Soviet Socialist Republic in Iran's northern province of Azerbaijan and encouraged a similar separatist movement in Kurdistan, setting up a puppet state there in early 1946. American and British forces withdrew on schedule in early 1946, but the Soviets announced their intention of retaining at least some troops in the north of the country, precipitating one of the earliest crises of the developing Cold War. The United States used the forum of the new United Nations (UN) organization to endorse Iranian demands for complete Soviet withdrawal.

After complicated maneuverings between Iranian politicians and Soviet representatives, the Soviets withdrew their forces in exchange for promised oil concessions in northern Iran. With the backing of American advisers, in late 1946 Iranian prime minister Qavam es-Sultanah, who had in the interim successfully negotiated with the United States a substantial package of military, economic, and cultural support, reneged on this bargain, and shortly afterward Iranian forces successfully overturned the Azerbaijani and Kurdish republics.

This episode contributed to growing American distrust of Soviet designs on the Middle East. Simultaneous Soviet demands that the Turkish government accord the Soviet Union special rights over the Dardanelles Straits, which was the only passage for Russian naval and commercial vessels from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, further confirmed such suspicions. American officials encouraged the Turkish government to refuse these Soviet demands and reinforced their stance by dispatching an American naval squadron to the Mediterranean.

In early 1947 the British government announced that economic difficulties meant that it could no longer continue to provide military or financial assistance to the governments of Greece, then fighting a communist insurgency, and Turkey, raising the specter that Soviet power might move in to fill the vacuum left by Britain's departure. This crisis became the occasion for President Harry S. Truman to announce in February 1947 what became known as the Truman Doctrine, a wide-ranging pledge that the United States would provide assistance to any state threatened by internal or external communist subversion. The geographical proximity of Greece and Turkey to shipping routes along which much Middle Eastern oil was transported alarmed policy makers in Washington and encouraged the United States to provide aid. Both Greece and Turkey subsequently received extensive economic assistance under the Marshall Plan, announced later in 1947. In 1952 the two states simultaneously became members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), tying them firmly into western defensive alliances.

The American quest for reliable and stable long-term allies in the Middle East itself proved more problematic. One added complication was American support for Israel, which became heavily dependent on American aid, both governmental and private. President Truman's personal inclinations were largely responsible for American endorsement of the new state, a policy that, for strategic and diplomatic reasons, the State Department and the Defense Department both attacked. Most Arab states, whether

Turkish fishermen in the Sea of Marmara use nets made possible by Marshall Plan aid from the United States, 1951. (National Archives)

conservative or radical, fiercely opposed Israel's very existence. Israel's military success in gaining and retaining previously Arab territories in several brief but bitter and hard-fought wars, in 1948–1949, 1956, 1967, and 1973, only deepened Arab resentment. Hostility toward Israel was widespread and intense in Arab countries, Turkey, and Iran, making it difficult and even personally hazardous for Middle Eastern leaders to moderate their stance and seek compromise with Israel.

In 1981, for example, a cell of a radical Islamist group assassinated President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, who with strong encouragement from U.S. president Jimmy Carter had negotiated a peace agreement with Israel two years earlier. Repeated American and other outside efforts to broker a final and permanent peace settlement and modus vivendi between Israel and its Arab opponents, including Palestinians from territories seized by Israel in the recurrent Arab-Israeli conflicts, became almost standard fixtures of the late 20th- and early 21st-centuries international diplomatic arena but were at best only partially successful. Almost invariably, they fell victim to extremist forces on both sides. Although a Palestinian state eventually came into existence on lands Israeli forces had taken in the various wars, throughout the first decade of the 21st century several key issues still remained unresolved, provoking bitter divisions among Israelis, Palestinians, and the broader Arab community.

The two countries that became the strategic linchpins of American alliance policy in the Middle East were Saudi Arabia and Iran, which together with Iraq possessed the bulk of the region's oil reserves. Under Saudi pressure, in 1950 ARAMCO (Arabian-American Oil Company) renegotiated its royalty agreement with the Saudi government so that each party received 50 percent of the profits. In 1951, Saudi Arabia signed a mutual defense agreement with the United States, and from then on a permanent American Military Training Mission was based in the kingdom. Saudi governments upgraded their military forces and placed lucrative armaments orders with American defense companies, goods they paid for with the proceeds of oil sales. In return for loyal support from the conservative Arab kingdom, for decades U.S. governments consistently overlooked the absence of democracy and disregard for international human rights standards that characterized the Saudi regime. The strong ties that the United States developed with this and other authoritarian Middle Eastern governments meant that the Americans were often perceived as representing illiberal forces opposing change and as the successors to European imperialists.

Such views were reinforced by the close American relationship with another monarchical regime, that of Iran. In 1951, the Iranian government announced its intention of nationalizing the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company; the British, who controlled the refineries, withdrew their technicians and blockaded all exports of Iranian oil, provoking severe economic difficulties within Iran. The government headed by Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadegh stood firm, and eventually, after an abortive attempt to replace him by the young shah, Reza Pahlavi II, declared a national emergency and took control of the Iranian military. In alliance with radical Muslims and the nationalist, leftist Tudeh Party, in 1952 Mossadegh implemented nationalist reforms, especially in agriculture, and broke diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom. Britain turned to the United States for assistance, characterizing Mossadegh as a radical who was turning toward communism and steering Iran into the Soviet orbit.

The administration of Republican president Dwight D. Eisenhower, which took office in January 1953, proved sympathetic to the British and authorized the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to spend up to $1 million removing Mossadegh. CIA agents in Tehran spread rumors and disinformation and in some cases acted as agents provocateurs. Economic problems intensified, and Mossadegh suspended parliament and extended his emergency powers. The CIA sought to persuade the indecisive young shah to dismiss Mossadegh, while Mossadegh urged the monarch to leave the country. Eventually, in 1953, the shah dismissed Mossadegh, but the latter refused to step down from office, and the shah took refuge in Italy. Major promonarchy and antimonarchy protests were held throughout the country, as Iranians of all political stripes assumed that before long Mossadegh would declare Iran a republic and himself head of state.

Promonarchy forces, heavily funded by the CIA, gained the upper hand, however, and Iranian tanks and troops entered Tehran and besieged the prime minister's residence until Mossadegh surrendered. He was subsequently placed under house arrest, then put on trial for treason and sentenced to three years in prison. General Fazlollah Zahedi, one of the military leaders who arrested Mossadegh, became prime minister, and the shah resumed power.

From then until the shah's overthrow in 1979, he would be a key U.S. ally in the Middle East. The shah soon reached an agreement with the British and Americans, under whose terms the foreign oil companies still made substantial profits and large amounts of Iranian oil once more flowed to world markets. These revenues, together with several billions of dollars in American military and economic assistance, enabled the shah to modernize his country and make it a strong military state. The 1953 coup also represented the first occasion when the CIA was instrumental in successfully ousting another government. The success of this undertaking subsequently emboldened CIA director Allen W. Dulles and other agency officials to try to orchestrate comparable operations against several other foreign governments U.S. leaders found unpalatable—in Guatemala, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Chile.

In addition to its Iranian alliance, the United States attempted to persuade other Middle Eastern states to collaborate against potential Soviet expansionism. In 1955 American diplomats encouraged the establishment of the Baghdad Pact, a grouping of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, and Britain, which established a military liaison with the United States. The objective was to erect a bastion of anticommunist states along the Soviet Union's

The shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the president of the United States, Richard Nixon, and his wife Pat Nixon in 1969. (National Archives)

southwestern frontier. The alliance was originally known as the Middle Eastern Treaty Organization (METO). After Iraq, the only Arab member, withdrew in 1958 in the aftermath of a revolution led by the leftist and Moscow-oriented Baath Party, the United States joined as a full member and the grouping became the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). The organization proved largely ineffective in preventing the spread of Soviet influence in the Middle East. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Soviet Union simply bypassed the CENTO states to develop close military and economic ties with Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Somalia, and Libya, establishing bases in Egypt, Somalia, and Yemen.

Although the United States sought to portray its own policies as representing a break with the earlier Western imperialism many Arab nationalists deeply resented, these efforts were not particularly successful. American dealings with Egypt during the 1950s demonstrated that, even when the U.S. government tried to dissociate itself from European colonialism, its policies often proved unconvincing and failed to win over skeptical opponents. In 1952 Gamal Abdel Nasser, a young military officer, became president of Egypt. He was determined to reverse decades of Western-inflicted humiliation in the Arab world and to overthrow Israel. In 1955 Nasser sought and obtained arms for this purpose from the Soviet bloc, whereupon the United States withdrew promised economic assistance for a major hydroelectric project, the Aswan Dam. Nasser then announced his intention to nationalize the Suez Canal, then still under British and French control, and to use canal revenues to finance the dam project.

Against American advice, in October 1956 the British, French, and Israelis jointly attacked Egypt, defeating its army, whereupon Nasser blocked the canal. The British, French, and Israelis thought a major Egyptian military setback would cause the Egyptian population to rise up and overthrow President Nasser. Fearing a major oil crisis, permanent Middle Eastern instability, and the further strengthening of both radical nationalism and Soviet influence, Eisenhower demanded that the invaders withdraw their forces, threatening to cease financial support for the beleaguered British currency should they refuse to do so. The crisis left Nasser more popular than ever before not only in Egypt but also in the broader Arab world and the Third World.

During the Suez Crisis, the Soviet Union also threatened to use nuclear weapons against the invaders unless they withdrew. Fearing that this move presaged enhanced Soviet interest in the region, in January 1957 Eisenhower sought congressional authority both to increase economic and military aid to anti-Soviet Middle Eastern states and to deploy American military forces in the region if necessary to oppose overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by international communism. Arab states immediately condemned the Eisenhower Doctrine. Under its auspices

the United States intervened in both Lebanon and Jordan in 1958. The negative responses by the United States to the Arabist trend in the Middle East and U.S. interventions convinced some that the United States was a conservative power wedded to the status quo. Throughout the 1960s, the military-based republican governments in the Middle East tended to turn to the Soviet Union or the Eastern bloc for assistance.

In June 1967, a swift preemptive strike by Israel destroyed the Egyptian Air Force on the ground and initiated a new Arab-Israeli War, which ended in a stunning Israeli victory. The outcome was seen as a terrible defeat by the entire Arab world, and it created a new wave of misery for the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza, who now passed under direct Israeli military rule. The war demonstrated conclusively to the Arab world the unshakeable U.S. support for Israel over the interests of the Palestinians.

The 1967 Arab defeat had far-reaching effects. It encouraged the growth of radical movements who were opposed to the existing Arab governments and willing to engage in acts of terrorism and airline hijackings outside the region. It also discouraged moderate support for state-led Arabism. U.S. Middle East policy makers did not appear to appreciate the profound malaise in the region over the 1967 defeat.

From the early 1970s onward, the United States was forced to respond to dramatic changes in the configuration of power in the Middle East. In October 1973, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq launched a surprise attack on Israel. By the second week, Israeli forces had largely reversed early Arab successes, leaving Israel's military supplies heavily depleted. The U.S. government resupplied Israel, a move the Arab states deeply resented. In response, Arab members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), led by Saudi Arabia, cut back on oil production, quickly leading oil prices to quadruple. These policies stoked gathering inflation throughout the Western world, contributing to a major economic downturn that lasted throughout the 1970s. American inability to persuade OPEC, several of whose members were U.S. clients or allies, to moderate its policies contributed to a growing sense that American power was in decline. During the 1960s and 1970s, moreover, Arab states largely obtained control of their own oil industries, either, as with Saudi Arabia, through negotiations with American and other foreign firms or, where more radical states such as Libya or Iraq were concerned, through outright seizure and nationalization.

Developments in the late 1970s greatly disturbed the stability of overall U.S. strategy in the Middle East. A key American ally lost power, the shah of Iran, while Soviet military policies in Afghanistan and the Horn of Africa seemed to herald a menacing expansion of Soviet power in the region. Although Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi had tried to modernize his country, his authoritarian policies, persecution of opponents, and the social disruptions caused by his reforms eventually alienated many Iranians and were among the reasons why in late 1978 and early 1979 a large-scale Islamic revolution ended his rule and changed the entire basis of the government in Iran. In a surprising action, radical Iranian students stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran on November 4, 1979, to protest past American support for the ousted shah, especially his admission to the United States for medical treatment. They captured 52 Americans and held them hostage. In April 1980 U.S. military forces mounted an ineffectual rescue attempt in which eight American servicemen died. The entire episode was widely regarded as a major national humiliation for the United States. The hostage crisis was not ended until the inauguration of Republican president Ronald Reagan in January 1981, when the Iranians released the hostages in return for a previously negotiated agreement that the U.S. government would unfreeze blocked Iranian economic assets.

In November 1979, another American ally was shaken when 500 armed Islamic fundamentalists seized the Grand Mosque of Mecca. They had hoped to capture King Khalid and his officials, who were supposed to have been at prayer, but instead many others were taken hostage. The incident showed that religious militancy was not confined to Iran, for the hostage takers led by Juhayman al-Utaybi refused to give up. Blood could not be shed in the Grand Mosque, but eventually a fatwa was issued that permitted the use of force. The official tally from the incident was 255 dead and another 560 injured before the Grand Mosque was secured.

In Afghanistan, meanwhile, in late December 1979 a Soviet-backed palace coup replaced one leftist president with another. Soviet ground forces and paratroopers promptly entered the

An Iranian protester sets fire to a U.S. flag, while other demonstrators give a clenched-fist salute, during an anti-American protest in Tehran on November 5, 1979, the day after students stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran and took its personnel hostage. (AP/Wide World Photos)

country, the beginning of a decade-long war in which 15,000 Soviet troops and almost 1 million Afghans died. In addition, since 1977 many thousands of Soviet and Cuban troops had been stationed in Ethiopia, supporting that nation in a war with neighboring Somalia over the disputed Ogaden territory. Top American officials interpreted these developments as evidence of a systematic effort to enhance Soviet influence in territories bordering the Middle East and to take advantage of the regional destabilization caused by recent events in Iran. These developments, together with skyrocketing oil prices and high inflation and unemployment, contributed to a growing sense of malaise and American impotence in international affairs.

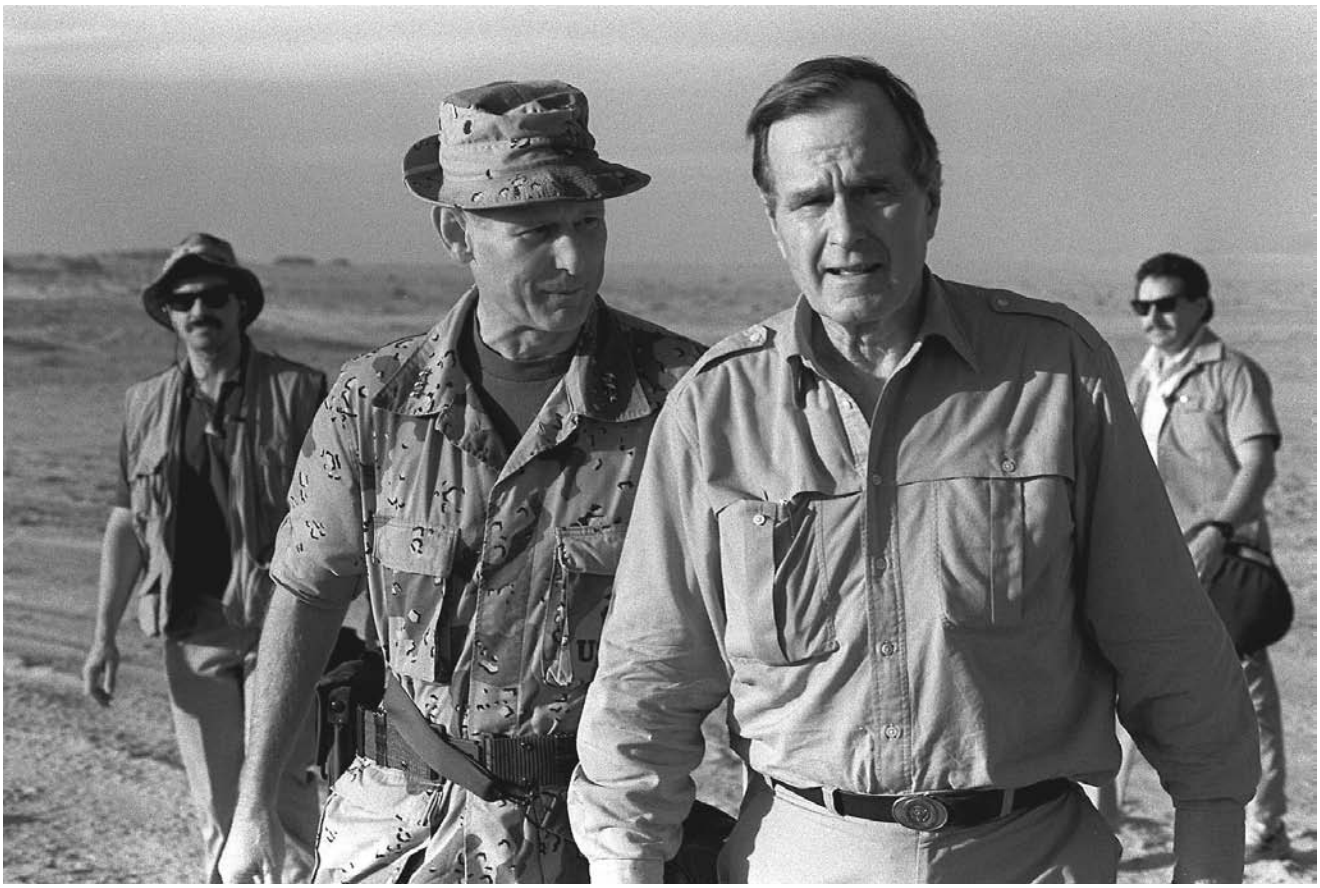
President Jimmy Carter responded by proclaiming in his January 1980 State of the Union address that "business as usual" with the Soviet Union was no longer possible and that the United States would take all measures necessary to defend the Persian Gulf. The president moved to reinstitute containment policies, demanded annual 5 percent increases in military spending, proposed that young American men be compelled to register for a potential draft, and moved to create a Persian Gulf rapid deployment force. He also called for energy policies that would make the United States less dependent on foreign oil. Carter's speech, which effectively reiterated the 1957 Eisenhower Doctrine, also marked a definite break with his earlier efforts toward Soviet-American détente and disarmament, inaugurating several years of deep ideological and strategic antagonism between the two superpowers.

Throughout the 1980s, the Carter and Reagan administrations provided substantial financial support and equipment for the Afghan mujahideen, a collection of Islamist resistance groups that conducted guerrilla warfare against occupying Soviet forces. The United States also offered neighboring Pakistan funding, logistical backing, and personnel to establish and run military training camps for the mujahideen. Pakistani special forces quietly took part in the war, and their British and American counterparts were also believed to be quietly involved. The war proved a lengthy, expensive, and ultimately unwinnable morass for the Soviet Union. In 1985 a new Soviet president, Mikhail Gorbachev, came to power. Gorbachev quickly moved to initiate new policies intended to moderate decades of Cold War hostilities and bring about rapprochement with Western powers. He removed Soviet forces from the Horn of Africa. In March 1988 he also announced that all Soviet forces would be withdrawn from Afghanistan within 12 months. Although Soviet forces left Afghanistan on schedule, bitter civil war continued in Afghanistan. In the later 1990s, the country fell under the control of the radical Islamic Taliban, which allowed it to become a haven for anti-Western Muslim terrorist groups.

Following the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran and ensuing U.S. embassy hostage crisis, relations between the United States and Islamic Iran remained hostile. The American government imposed an embargo on all commercial and financial dealings with Iran by U.S. citizens; air traffic was suspended; and most other contacts entirely or largely halted. In September 1980, President Saddam Hussein of Iraq began a major war against neighboring Iran, seeking to settle long-standing border disputes between the two states and to make Iraq the regional hegemon. The war soon stalemated, and for several years the two countries were bogged down in bloody stalemate. During this conflict, the United States leaned toward Iraq, and Hussein was able to purchase military supplies from the United States and other Western powers. In 1982 the United States normalized diplomatic relations with Iraq, which had been broken ever since the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. In 1987 and 1988, American naval forces in the Persian Gulf, deployed there in an effort to protect oil tankers from attack by either belligerent, skirmished repeatedly with Iranian vessels. In July 1988 an American cruiser, the *Vincennes,* shot down an Iranian passenger jet, killing 290, an incident for which the U.S. government later paid Iran almost $132 million in compensation but never apologized.

American policy was nonetheless not entirely consistent. Officials in the Reagan administration, which had publicly stated that it would not pay any ransom to secure the return of American hostages, secretly offered to sell Iran badly needed weaponry. Any monies received were to be used to support operations by American-backed antigovernment Contra guerrillas in El Salvador, thereby evading a ban the U.S. Congress had recently imposed on the use of any American government funds for this purpose. The release of American hostages would also constitute part of the purchase price. After these dealings became public in late 1986, Reagan administration officials defended them on the grounds that their contacts and negotiations with relatively moderate Iranian officials had increased the probability that more conciliatory and less anti-American political forces would eventually come to power in Iran. The Iran-Contra scandal, as it became known, was nonetheless a major political embarrassment for the Reagan administration, casting doubt on its good faith and competence as well as its stated hard-line attitude on terrorism.

The Iran-Iraq War finally ended in 1988 with no decisive victory on either side. Both countries suffered heavy losses of manpower in a war each found economically debilitating and destructive. Believing that this step would not encounter serious opposition, in August 1990 Saddam Hussein sent his forces into, and annexed, neighboring Kuwait, a small, wealthy, and oil-rich state allied with the United States. Hussein's action alarmed other rich but militarily weak Arab states nearby, notably Saudi Arabia. This was the first major international crisis since the proclamation earlier that year of the ending of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States. U.S. president George H. W. Bush was instrumental in forging an international coalition, including the NATO powers, Saudi Arabia, and Japan, committed to expelling Iraqi forces from Kuwait and in winning a UN resolution authorizing such action. Hussein attempted to win support from other Arab states by proclaiming his intention of attacking Israel should coalition forces invade, but only the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) supported his efforts. Launched in January



Lieutenant General Walter F. Boomer, commanding general of the 1st Marine Expeditionary Force, accompanies President George H. W. Bush following the president's arrival at the division's Combat Operations Center (COC) in Saudi Arabia, November 1990. (U.S. Department of Defense)

1991, Operation DESERT STORM ended quickly and successfully as Hussein's troops were swiftly driven from Kuwait and pushed back into Iraqi territory.

Bush and his advisers soon decided to halt the invasion of Iraq, however, as they did not wish to deal with the challenges that overthrowing Hussein was likely to bring in its train, and they therefore left the weakened dictator in power but subject to confining UN sanctions and restrictions. Although the United States directly encouraged separatist Kurds in northern Iraq and Shiite Muslims in the south to rise up against Hussein's regime, they received no support from coalition forces, and Hussein's military brutally suppressed the revolts, using poison gas against the Kurds and killing tens of thousands of rebels.

Addressing Congress shortly after the Persian Gulf War had ended, a triumphant Bush promised aid to the Middle East. He then proclaimed that the ending of the Cold War had made it possible for the UN to function as its founders had originally intended, so that there was a very real prospect of a new world order, one in which freedom and respect for human rights would find a home among all nations. Critics charged that Bush envisaged that the United States would use its unrivaled military and economic might to dominate the new world order in its own interests. During the 1990s, the principal focus of U.S. international policy was economic, as the American government concentrated on what was termed globalization, liberalizing trade and investment practices and promoting the spread of free market norms.

President William (Bill) Clinton made energetic although only partially successful efforts to reach a permanent resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli impasse, but otherwise, the Middle East attracted only sporadic attention. Despite criticism from humanitarian organizations, throughout the 1990s UN sanctions on significant trade with Iraq remained in place, although a program whereby Iraqi oil was exchanged for food was eventually initiated. British and American warplanes bombed potential military targets and enforced no-fly zones in southern and northern Iraq, permitting the Kurds there to enjoy virtual autonomy.

With the ending of the Cold War, the overarching principle of American foreign policy could no longer, as in the past four decades, be the containment of communism. The Reagan administration saw a new enemy in radical Islam.

Harvard University political scientist Samuel P. Huntington claimed global conflict was inevitable. Basing his ideas on those of historian Bernard Lewis, he suggested that international fault lines would now correspond with differing belief and value systems, such as the Western Judeo-Christian tradition, Islam, and Confucianism, and that major clashes among these civilizations must be

anticipated. Many unfamiliar with the Middle East belatedly seized on Huntington's thesis following the events of September 11, 2001.

An Islamic revival had, meanwhile, shaken the Arab world, fueled in part by the shock of the defeat at the hands of Israel in 1967 but also driven by the failure of nationalist non-Islamist movements. The Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979 was simultaneously Islamist and nationalist. The new Iranian leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, was hostile to the United States because he and many other Iranians feared that the United States might intervene to reverse the revolution. Certainly the U.S. government opposed the concept of an Islamic government, characterizing it as a medieval theocracy. In Afghanistan, however, throughout the 1980s equally conservative Muslim mujahideen guerrilla forces battling the Russian occupiers received substantial American economic and military aid, which came to an end once the Soviets had left.

During the 1990s, Islamic rebels battled Russian rule in Chechnya, but partly due to the failure to reach a comprehensive Israeli-Palestinian settlement, something many Muslims believed was primarily due to American bias toward Israel, militant Islamic antagonism focused increasingly on the United States. As the Soviet-Afghanistan War wound down in the late 1980s, certain Islamic mujahideen groups involved in that conflict founded a new organization known as Al Qaeda; its objective was to continue the jihad, or holy war, on other fronts. The most prominent figure in this group, Osama bin Laden, who came from a wealthy Saudi family, used his own financial resources to support its undertakings and could also tap heavily into other Arab sources of funds.

Official Saudi support for American operations during the 1991 Persian Gulf War deeply angered bin Laden, who deployed his organization not just against the United States but also against the Saudi government and other Middle Eastern nations, including Egypt, who were close American associates. Bin Laden issued public proclamations, or fatwa, demanding the expulsion of all foreign troops from Islamic lands and the overthrow of Middle Eastern governments that acquiesced in their presence. Al Qaeda personnel, expelled from Saudi Arabia, found refuge first in Sudan and then in Afghanistan, where a radical Islamic regime, the Taliban, took power in 1996. During the 1990s Al Qaeda claimed responsibility for several terrorist assaults on prominent American targets at home and overseas, including a 1993 truck bomb attack on the World Trade Center in New York, simultaneous 1998 car bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya, Nairobi, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and a 2000 suicide attack on the American destroyer USS *Cole* in Yemen. In response, the Clinton administration declared Al Qaeda a terrorist organization, and in summer 1998 reacted to the embassy bombings with air strikes on Al Qaeda training camps in Sudan and Afghanistan.

In January 2001, President George W. Bush, eldest son of the president who had launched the first Gulf War, took office. In the areas of diplomacy and defense, Bush appointed numerous top officials associated with a predominantly Republican think tank venture, the New American Century project. Many of these individuals, including Bush's influential vice president, Richard B. Cheney, a former secretary of defense, believed that the United States had been mistaken in not overthrowing Saddam Hussein in 1991 and had publicly called on Clinton, Bush's predecessor, to drive the Iraqi president from power. They argued that Hussein, who in 1998 expelled UN inspectors charged with monitoring his weapons programs, was determined to regain regional hegemony by developing chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). Since these ambitions posed a long-term threat to U.S. strategic interests, New American Century affiliates argued that their country would be morally and legally justified in taking preemptive action to overthrow him and preclude this potential danger.

The Bush administration also sought to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons, an ambition clearly cherished by the Iranian government, which, though now rather more secular in character than during most of the 1980s and 1990s, was nonetheless decidedly anti-American. Initially, the Bush administration accorded combating international terrorism a much lower priority.

The events of September 11, 2001, when two dozen Arab Islamic extremists associated with Al Qaeda hijacked four American airliners and used these to launch suicide attacks on the World Trade Center towers in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., brought a dramatic change, as the president publicly declared an expansive Global War on Terror. Al Qaeda claimed responsibility for the attacks, in which almost 3,000 civilians died, giving the American public a novel sense of vulnerability to terrorist threats. Bush called on the Taliban government of Afghanistan, which had provided bases and training camps for thousands of Al Qaeda operatives, to surrender bin Laden and his top advisers, but Mullah Mohammed Omar, the Afghan leader, refused as this would violate tribal and Islamic ethics. In October 2001, the United States and Britain, in collaboration with the forces of anti-Taliban Afghan Northern Alliances warlords, began military hostilities against Afghanistan. By the end of the year they had overthrown the Taliban government and driven Al Qaeda into the rugged mountains of the Afghan-Pakistan border, although coalition forces failed to capture bin Laden.

Afghan representatives subsequently held a traditional Loya Jirga assembly, which chose a Pashtun aristocrat, Hamid Karzai, as Afghanistan's new president. The new leader publicly committed his country to democracy and sought to implement wide-ranging social and economic reforms. Militarily, his regime nonetheless remained heavily dependent on British and American troops, and its authority did not extend far beyond Kabul, the Afghan capital. In 2006 a resurgence by Taliban forces threatened to destabilize the country, a development that many observers blamed on the failure of the U.S. government to concentrate on winning complete victory in Afghanistan. As the last year of Bush's presidential term began, the situation in Afghanistan remained precarious, with many expecting further Taliban territorial gains. One plausible explanation for the diversion of American resources

Four soldiers and a sailor help carry an injured worker from the Pentagon to an ambulance after a hijacked airliner crashed into the building. Military personnel from the Pentagon and nearby Fort Myer played a vital role in rescuing and treating injured personnel. (U.S. Army)

from Afghanistan was the eagerness of the Bush administration at all costs to return to its earlier agenda and launch a second war against Iraq, which began in 2003.

Throughout 2002, Bush administration officials made the case that Iraq represented the greatest and most pressing international threat to American interests, making it vital to overthrow Saddam Hussein before he could inflict long-term strategic damage on the United States. In his January 2002 State of the Union address, the president proclaimed that the three most dangerous external enemies for the United States were Iraq, Iran, and North Korea, who, he declared, constituted an "axis of evil." With support from British prime minister Tony Blair but over strong opposition from such long-term European allies of the United States as France and Germany, and to great skepticism from Russia and China, the Bush administration pressured the UN Security Council to endorse resolutions stating that Iraqi weapons programs had equipped that country with formidable armaments whose possession put it in breach of earlier UN demands and constituted ample justification for an outside invasion designed to topple Hussein's government. UN weapons inspectors failed to unearth any quantities of such weaponry and many foreign governments doubted whether Iraq actually held appreciable stockpiles of banned armaments. Subsequent revelations suggested that Bush and his top advisers, together with their British counterparts, doctored intelligence reports to make it appear that Iraq had acquired far more in the way of stored weapons and production capabilities than was really the case. Supporters of an invasion, notably Vice President Cheney, also claimed that close ties existed between Al Qaeda and other terrorist organizations and Hussein, alleging that the Iraqi president had in some way been involved in the September 11, 2001, attacks. No information tied the Iraqi president to these attacks and Al Qaeda links were at best tenuous.

Ignoring all internal and external protests and misgivings, the Bush administration eventually proclaimed its determination

to move unilaterally against Iraq even if it proved impossible to obtain a UN resolution specifically authorizing this undertaking.

Leading American supporters of war within the administration, notably Paul Wolfowitz, deputy secretary of defense, believed in addition that an invasion of Iraq would give the United States an ideal opportunity to remake the entire Middle East. From this perspective, war against Iraq came to seem almost a magic bullet, an exercise in transformational diplomacy that would recast the whole region. They argued that, by removing Hussein and replacing him with a democratic government, one that would bring Iraq the benefits of peace, prosperity, and economic development, the United States would encourage the contagious democratization of all the remaining Middle East. The belief was that the creation of a progressive, stable, flourishing, and affluent Iraq would so impress other states in the region that they would, practically automatically, seek to establish similar governmental systems themselves, almost painlessly inaugurating a benign era of American-led peaceable economic growth and forward-looking social development throughout the Middle East.

On March 20, 2003, an American-led allied coalition force, to which the British contributed by far the second most sizable contingent, launched a full-scale invasion of Iraq. Military victory was quickly attained, as coalition forces took Baghdad and other major Iraqi cities and toppled statues of Hussein. Major looting and disorder marred the allied triumph, an early indication that coalition forces might have more trouble maintaining civil control than they did winning battles. On May 1, 2003, Bush declared an end to major combat, standing on an American aircraft carrier deck before a banner declaring, "Mission Accomplished." In December 2003, American forces finally captured Hussein, who eventually stood trial and was executed three years later.

U.S. officials soon discovered, however, that it was far easier to overthrow Hussein's government than to restore peace, order, and stability to Iraq, let alone to establish a democratic government capable of exercising authority and acceptable to all parties in Iraq. Deep ethnic, religious, and political fissures divided the country. While Hussein's regime had been largely secular in outlook, his rule had relied primarily on the country's Sunni Muslim element, while the majority of the Iraq population, who were Shia Muslims, had been largely excluded from power. In addition, the Kurds of the north sought autonomy, if not outright independence, and had no wish to be controlled by a government based in Baghdad, the Iraqi capital. In mid-2003 occupying forces disbanded the largely Sunni armed forces, so that by default much power on the ground was exercised by various militia groupings, predominantly Shiite but also Sunni organizations. For several years, large areas of Iraq were in a state of virtual civil war, characterized by suicide bombing attacks against military, civilian, and religious targets, murders, kidnappings, and torture. No foreigners, whether soldiers or civilians, could count on being personally secure, nor could any Iraqis, even in the supposedly most protected areas of Baghdad.

The toll of Iraqi dead and injured was exponentially higher than the casualty figures for the coalition forces, but even those continued to rise inexorably, belying official U.S. claims of success. Only 138 U.S. soldiers were killed in Iraq before Bush declared the end of major combat; by the end of 2009, 4,370 had died.

What was supposed to be a splendid little war, bringing maximum results at minimum costs, swiftly metamorphosed into a grim quagmire, and it became ever more unclear how the United States could extricate itself from this entanglement. A brief moment of optimism after December 2005, when elections were held in Iraq under the political constitution accepted earlier that year, quickly dissipated, as it became clear that members of most ethnic groups had voted for candidates from their own groups and Iraq remained bitterly politically divided, with no genuine consensus emerging among the competing parties. Violence escalated, and the government of Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki was widely perceived as lacking the strength and authority to control and pacify the country.

Bush administration officials alleged that Al Qaeda units had infiltrated into Iraq and charged the Syrian and Iranian governments with supporting Shiite militia forces within Iraq in an effort to promote their own political influence in the country. As casualties continued to rise, with no convincing exit strategy in sight, popular support for the war fell dramatically among the American public and politicians, and in the November 2006 midterm elections George W. Bush's Republican Party lost control of both houses of Congress.

Media revelations, illustrated with dramatic photographs and video footage, that American soldiers had savagely abused Iraqi captives held in Abu Ghraib prison and other facilities, circulated widely around the world, discrediting the Bush administration's claims that the Iraqi intervention was designed to uphold human rights and other liberal principles. Throughout the Arab and Muslim world, distrust and antagonism toward the United States soared dramatically. More broadly, the tactics the U.S. government embraced in pursuit of the Global War on Terror inflicted enormous damage on the country's international reputation.

Massive antiwar demonstrations occurred across Europe and in much of Asia. Even states that had been allies of the United States began to reconsider their support for the war. Several nations that had initially been part of the American-led international coalition and that had intervened in Iraq withdrew or reduced their forces. In Spain, the new government that won elections in March 2004, shortly after 191 Spaniards died and almost 2,000 were injured in terrorist bombings of train stations in Madrid, quickly announced that all Spanish troops would leave Iraq. The Labour politician Gordon Brown, who replaced the strongly prowar Tony Blair as British prime minister in July 2007, likewise embarked on a program of gradual British troop withdrawals.

By then, the U.S. government had announced a new strategy in Iraq. In December 2006, an independent bipartisan commission headed by James A. Baker III, former secretary of state during the first Iraq war, issued a report urging that the United States

A protest rally against the Iraq War in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The poster is a caricature of U.S. secretary of state Condoleezza Rice. (Shutterstock)

should seek to stabilize the situation in Iraq. Its recommendations included increasing temporarily American military forces in Iraq, allowing Iraqi civilian and military officials and forces to take increasing responsibility for running the country themselves, providing greater aid for training and equipment that would enhance their ability to do so, leaving occupying forces only in support roles, and working in collaboration with the UN, the European Union, and other regional governments, including those of Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Syria, to restore and maintain order in Iraq. The Baker Report also urged a renewed effort to bring about a permanent Palestinian-Israeli peace settlement, a recommendation that Bush and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice sought to implement in late 2007 and early 2008.

The Bush administration did announce a troop surge in January 2007, and by the end of that year the military situation in Iraq had immensely improved, as moderate Shiite and Sunni forces began to gain some authority, so that full-scale civil war seemed less probable. In general, violence and suicide bombings had decreased by late 2008 but unfortunately resumed in the spring of 2009.

Close cooperation with Iran, the region's most substantial Shiite Muslim power, whose relative strength was much enhanced by the weakening of neighboring Iraq and Afghanistan, its former rivals and counterweights, proved more problematic. Ever since taking office, Bush administration officials had sought to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons but had only succeeded in obtaining ambiguous commitments from Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. In July 2007, the U.S. Congress passed resolutions condemning covert Iranian military involvement in Iraq, authorizing the use of American force against Iran if deemed necessary to halt its nuclear program. Such strained relations rather precluded close Iranian cooperation with the United States and its allies over Iraq. U.S. ambassador to Iraq Zalmay Khalilzad (2005–2007) encouraged communication between Iraq and Iran, for he believed that the two neighbors could deal productively with such issues at border disputes and pilgrim traffic to Islam's holy cities. Afghan president Hamid Karzai has also said that his government is seeking a positive relationship with Iran, and he has requested that the United States not involve Afghanistan in its anti-Iran policies.

As the American presidential elections approached ever closer in 2008, Middle Eastern policy was in flux. The situation was yet further complicated in the last days of December 2007 by the assassination of former Pakistani prime minister Benazir Bhutto, who recently returned to her country after a decade of exile to contest impending democratic elections there. In Pakistan, a military government headed by former army chief President Pervez Musharraf had held power since 1999. After September 11, 2001, the U.S. government had dropped its earlier objections to Musharraf's

authoritarian regime, and Pakistan had become a leading ally in the Global War on Terror, especially with U.S. efforts to extirpate Al Qaeda and its leaders.

Militant Muslim elements nonetheless enjoyed substantial political influence in much of Pakistan and were believed to be responsible possibly with the connivance of some Pakistani security officials for Bhutto's death. Following her assassination, riots and disorder convulsed much of Pakistan, bringing fears that a major American ally and regional strategic partner was itself in serious jeopardy of destabilization. Soaring oil prices added still another twist, since a large proportion of the world's petroleum reserves were located in the Middle East. In January 2008 Bush appealed to Saudi Arabia to use its influence in OPEC to reduce the cost of oil, but the response of Saudi officials was unenthusiastic.

As top U.S. politicians competed for the Republican and Democratic presidential nominations in 2008, their preferred strategies for approaching the Middle Eastern situation and especially the still-continuing American occupation of both Iraq and Afghanistan remained somewhat vague and unspecific. Most American presidential candidates stated that they sought the withdrawal of most if not all American troops from Iraq and Afghanistan but that they would endeavor to accomplish this objective while leaving governments friendly to the United States in power in those countries, so as to safeguard American interests there.

The Barack Obama administration announced in early 2009 that it would send thousands of additional troops to Afghanistan, an indication that U.S. and NATO operations in that country would intensify in the near future. The situation in Iraq has greatly stabilized, but the Obama administration admits that even when most U.S. forces are eventually withdrawn, a residual force of several thousand will remain indefinitely.

Priscilla Roberts

See also

United States, Middle East Policy, 1917–1945

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United States, National Elections of 2000

A highly controversial election that pitted Republican George W. Bush, the son of President George H. W. Bush, against Democrat and incumbent Vice President Albert (Al) Gore. The 2000 election, held on November 7, was one of the closest in U.S. history and was not decided until December 12. The election stalemate occurred in the state of Florida, where the result came down to a margin of fewer than 1,000 votes (out of more than 6 million cast statewide), triggering a long and arduous recount process. Without Florida, which carried 25 electoral votes, neither candidate had the requisite 270 electoral votes needed to win. The election was settled in Bush's favor when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled 5 to 4 to reverse a Florida Supreme Court ruling ordering a third recount of the state's ballots (Bush already had won the initial vote count and each of the first two recounts by slim margins).

Despite numerous problems reported concerning defective and misprinted ballots and alleged irregularities at polling stations in a few south Florida counties, Bush's 537-vote edge in Florida secured him the election victory. Gore won more of the popular vote (48.4 percent to Bush's 47.9 percent) with an overall margin of 543,000 votes. This is an unusual, but not unique occurrence in American presidential elections. In the election of 1876, for example, Democrat Samuel J. Tilden won the popular vote by more than 250,000 votes (51 percent, a clear majority of the popular vote, unlike Gore's 48.4 percent), but lost the election to Republican Rutherford B. Hayes. An even more outrageous result occurred in the 1824 presidential election, in which Democrat Andrew Jackson not only received the highest number of popular votes (41.3 percent) but also won the largest tally of electoral votes (99). However, since the popular and electoral votes were split among four presidential candidates, Jackson's 99 electoral votes were not a majority. The decision went to the House of Representatives, which elected John Quincy Adams, a vote largely engineered by Speaker of the House Henry Clay, who had also been one of the four presidential candidates in the election and Jackson's bitter opponent. Adams appointed Clay his secretary of state, a move many consider a quid pro quo for his manipulation of the House vote. The Bush-Gore election of 2000 was contentious and controversial, but hardly unprecedented in American presidential elections.

The election engendered bitter indictments by many Democrats, who claimed that Bush had "stolen" the election and was thus an "illegitimate" president. Many slammed the U.S. Supreme Court for its ruling to stop the third recount and even pointed to the fact that Florida's governor at the time was Bush's brother, Jeb. Republicans countered that it was the Supreme Court's ruling that prevented Gore from "stealing" an election he had already lost in the original vote count and two recounts, pointing to the fact that nearly all of the judges on Florida's Supreme Court that had ordered the third vote recount had been appointed by Florida's former Democratic governor, Lawton Chiles.

In the House of Representatives, the Republicans lost two seats but retained their 221–212 majority over the Democrats,

Protesters hold signs and flags in front of the U.S. Supreme Court building in Washington, D.C., December 11, 2000. The court upheld an appeal by George W. Bush to stop the recount of presidential ballots in Florida in the 2000 election. (AP/Wide World Photos)

who gained one seat. In the Senate, the elections were a wash, with the Republicans losing four seats and the Democrats gaining four. This resulted in a 50–50 tie, with the Republicans controlling only with Vice President Dick Cheney's tie-breaking vote. In late spring, the Democrats gained control of the Senate by a 51–49 seat margin when Republican senator Jim Jeffords left the Republican Party and began caucusing with the Democrats. Just 11 states held gubernatorial elections, and all except 1 state house remained with the party holding power before the elections. The only change in control came in West Virginia, where a Democrat defeated an incumbent Republican governor.

The 2000 campaign focused mostly on domestic issues and did not center on U.S. military or foreign policy. Nor did it deal in any great measure with U.S. involvement in the Middle East. The two campaigns, as well as the national media, focused on subjects such as morality, family values, tax cuts, and education. Bush and Gore disagreed over how best to use the U.S. military in the Middle East and around the world, with Bush, somewhat ironically as it turned out, eschewing what he termed the "nation-building" of the Clinton years. Furthermore, although terrorism had become a growing threat throughout the 1990s, the topic received little attention during the 2000 presidential election. Also, neither candidate spoke much about national security, as most voters were not preoccupied with the topic at the time.

During the campaign, Bush and Gore debated one another about the effects of economic sanctions against Iraq. On August 6, 1990, the United Nations (UN) Security Council had adopted Resolution 661 at the urging of the United States, which imposed economic sanctions on Iraq. U.S. leaders hoped that the sanctions would make life uncomfortable for the Iraqi people and encourage them to overthrow President Saddam Hussein. William Jefferson (Bill) Clinton, the U.S. president from 1993 to 2001, and Gore, his vice president, fully supported the economic sanctions against Iraq despite pressure from left-wing groups in America and around the world that believed that the sanctions had caused the death of hundreds of thousands of Iraqi civilians. During the presidential campaign, Gore continued to support the economic sanctions against Iraq. Bush also supported them but criticized the Clinton administration for not keeping the economic sanctions as tight as they could be.

Bush also accused the Clinton administration of allowing Iraq to break its post–Persian Gulf War agreements. During the 1990s, Iraq continued to violate UN Resolution 687, adopted following the 1991 Persian Gulf War, which declared a formal cease-fire in the war and demanded the eradication of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). During that time, UN weapons inspectors uncovered some discrepancies in reporting by the Iraqi government on their nuclear program. Despite the attempts of the

inspectors and the Clinton administration, it was feared that Iraq was still hiding possible resources of its nuclear program. Bush condemned the Clinton administration for not being more forceful in its effort to stop the Iraqi weapons development programs. Gore insisted that the Clinton administration had indeed maintained the sanctions, but that, as president, he would go further in curtailing Iraq's development of weapons. He did not elaborate on how the United States would accomplish that.

While Gore seemed to favor stronger action against Iraq for its refusal to comply with UN and U.S. demands, Bush's rhetoric against Iraq was even more forceful. Both Bush and Gore urged increased support for leaders of the Iraqi opposition in their attempts to oust Hussein. Gore, however, did not pledge direct U.S. help to remove the Iraqi dictator. Bush also spoke out against Clinton's 1998 decision to discontinue air strikes against Iraq, which were designed to injure the country's ability to continue to produce alleged WMDs. While Gore also opposed the aborting of the air strikes, he remained subdued in his opposition and did not speak out openly against Clinton's decision. Because of Gore's equivocal stance on Clinton's policies, Bush was viewed as the candidate who was more likely to use the U.S. military when he thought necessary.

Gore and Bush also disagreed on the proper role of the U.S. military. Bush accused the Clinton administration of cutting back on military budgets and cutting personnel levels while refusing to outline clear objectives for U.S. forces that were sent overseas. During his campaign, Bush was joined by retired four-star generals H. Norman Schwarzkopf and Colin Powell and blasted the Clinton administration for "neglecting" the military. Gore countered Bush's attacks by confirming current American military strength, which was stronger than any other nation's military.

Gore and Bush also opposed one another regarding the use of U.S. troops overseas. During the first presidential debate, Bush stated that he "would be very careful about using our troops as nation builders." Gore challenged Bush's statement, saying that the United States was the sole world power and therefore, the U.S. military should not shy away from "going in anywhere." Pointing to atrocities in places such as Bosnia and Kosovo that had taken place in the 1990s, Gore contended that the U.S. military should intervene in certain situations, such as stopping genocide.

Other than these rather vague positions on foreign and military policies, neither candidate made any grand statements about the use of force against Iraq or any other nation for that matter. And the subject of terrorism was barely mentioned in 2000. The nation was at peace, the economy was in the midst of one the greatest booms it had ever known, and most Americans felt secure, both at home and abroad.

After the close election that showed a divided electorate, Bush had little in the way of a popular mandate. Although the Republicans controlled Congress, the Bush administration knew that it had to move cautiously and incrementally, choosing first to take on the much-vaunted tax cuts that Bush had promised as a candidate. Indeed, prior to the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States, Bush was viewed by many Americans as overly cautious and usually inarticulate. That all changed, however, after September 11. Bush's rapid and decisive decisions in the days and weeks after the disasters earned him much praise and respect, even from many Democrats, all of whom now lined up behind the president in a show of American solidarity. By March 2003, the Bush administration, which previously had shown little interest in initiating decisive action in the Middle East or addressing terrorism, had initiated two wars in the region and the Global War on Terror.

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See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Clinton, William Jefferson; Enduring Freedom, Operation; Global War on Terror; Gore, Albert Arnold, Jr.; Hussein, Saddam; Iraq, History of, Pre-1990; Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; Iraq, Sanctions on; Iraqi Freedom, Operation; Terrorism; United Nations Security Council Resolution 687; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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United States, National Elections of 2004

The 2004 U.S. national elections selected a president and vice president as well as members of both the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate. In large measure, the elections were seen as a litmus test for the incumbent George W. Bush administration and its handling of foreign and national security policy, particularly the Global War on Terror and the Iraq War, which had begun in March 2003. The Democratic field of potential nominees going into the 2004 primaries was unusually large. The contenders included: former Senator Carol Mosely Braun; retired General Wesley Clark; former Governor Howard Dean; Senator John Edwards; former House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt; Senator Bob Graham; Senator John Kerry; Representative Dennis Kucinich; Senator Joseph Lieberman; and the Reverend Al Sharpton. Bush was not seriously challenged for the Republican Party nomination, so he remained the presumptive nominee during the entire campaign. Bush also decided to retain sitting Vice President Dick Cheney as his running mate.

Former Vermont governor Howard Dean was an early favorite and front-runner, and his scathing denunciation of the 2003 Iraq invasion and the botched postwar occupation effort was the centerpiece of his campaign. He also ran as a populist, which gave him plenty of ammunition to attack the Bush administration's economic policies and its failure to alleviate serious problems in

Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry, left, listens to President George W. Bush during their presidential debate in Coral Gables, Florida, on September 30, 2004. Debate moderator Jim Lehrer is at center. (AP/Wide World Photos)

the American health insurance system. Dean, however, was perhaps too strident and too leftist for mainstream Democrats, and he faired poorly in the January 2004 Iowa caucus, finishing a distant third, behind Kerry (the winner) and Edwards (a close runner-up). As the primaries progressed into the late winter and early spring, the many Democratic hopefuls systematically dropped out of the race as Kerry won an impressive string of state primaries. By March, Kerry, a U.S. senator from Massachusetts, had all but sewn up his party's nomination.

In early July, Kerry chose North Carolina senator John Edwards as his vice presidential running mate. Edwards had been a challenger for the presidential nomination and was a highly photogenic politician, although his experience in politics was relatively short-lived. The Democratic Convention went off without a glitch in Boston later in the month, and the two men emerged to begin their campaign against the Bush-Cheney ticket. It would prove to be a difficult fight.

Kerry's main election platform included opposition to the Iraq War, health care concerns, an uneven economy, and the evaporation of well-paying jobs in the United States. Kerry also accused the Bush administration of having tarnished the image of the United States abroad by its flawed rationale for war in Iraq and its prosecution of the Global War on Terror in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks. Bush, meanwhile, capitalized on his handling of the post–September 11 environment, arguing that his policies had kept the nation safe, the proof of which could be found in the fact that no other terrorist attacks had occurred since then. He strongly defended his decision to go to war in Iraq and claimed that getting rid of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein was an important component of the Global War on Terror. Both implicitly and explicitly, the Bush camp suggested that a United States under a Kerry presidency would be less safe both at home and abroad. Because the economy at that point was still relatively sound, Bush and Cheney defended their economic policies, which had included large tax cuts for wealthy Americans and soaring budget deficits.

Kerry and Edwards attempted to use the growing unpopularity of the Iraq War and Bush's sagging popularity to whip up antiwar sentiment, but they were never entirely successful. The war at that point was still supported by a majority of Americans, and the Republicans tried to turn the tables by suggesting that the nation

should not change presidents in the midst of a war, especially when the alternative was portrayed as indecisive. The Bush campaign labeled Kerry as a "flip-flopper" and used the senator's own words against him, particularly Kerry's bizarre backpedal that claimed he had been "for the war before [he] was against it." The Bush campaign used character assassination and innuendo to try to convince voters that Kerry could not be trusted with issues such as national security and foreign policy. The Kerry campaign was sometimes slow to react to such attacks, and its responses were not entirely effective.

A series of damaging television ads that began running in the late summer of 2004 also hurt Kerry's campaign. Sponsored by a conservative group known as the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, the ads were an attempt to denigrate Kerry's Vietnam War experience and cast serious doubt on his character and fitness to serve as president. The Bush campaign claimed that it had nothing to do with the ads, but it did nothing to disclaim them, either. Kerry did not respond quickly or forcefully enough to them, which made him appear weak and indecisive. By late September, the Republicans and other Kerry detractors had done a credible job of portraying him as an effete Massachusetts liberal who was not in the mainstream of U.S. politics.

Kerry scored well in the first presidential debate held on September 30, 2004. He came across as articulate, knowledgeable, likable, and decisive. Bush, on the other hand, who could never be accused of eloquence, came across as sullen, defensive, testy, and out of touch. His periodic scowls and body language did little to help his poor performance. Bush fared better in the last two debates, however.

In the end, the nation was spared a repeat of the contentious outcome of the 2000 election, when Bush eked out a close but clear win in both the popular vote and the Electoral College. Bush captured 50.7 percent of the popular vote to Kerry's 48.3 percent. The Bush-Cheney ticket garnered 286 electoral votes, while Kerry-Edwards captured 251. In the House of Representatives, the Republicans picked up three additional seats, while the Democrats lost two. In the Senate, the Republicans picked up four new seats, and the Democrats lost four.

Just two years later, in the midterm 2006 congressional elections, however, the Republicans lost control of both houses of Congress. And by 2007, President Bush's approval rating dropped into the low 30 percent range, a rating only slightly higher than the lowest approval ratings notched by presidents Harry Truman (22 percent in 1952), Richard Nixon (24 percent in 1974), and Jimmy Carter (28 percent in 1979). Clearly, support of the Iraq War and the general direction of U.S. foreign and domestic policy slipped badly in the months after the 2004 elections.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Global War on Terror; Kerry, John Forbes; Swift Boat Veterans for Truth; United States, National Elections of 2000; United States, National Elections of 2006; United States, National Elections of 2008

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United States, National Elections of 2006

Important midterm congressional elections that saw the Republican Party lose control of both houses of Congress. The November 2006 U.S. elections were held amid wide—and growing—public dissatisfaction with the Iraq War and the George W. Bush administration in general. Since 2004, the Iraq insurgency had become far more widespread and pernicious, claiming the lives of a considerable number of U.S. servicemen as well as Iraqis, both civilians and soldiers. Many commentators and experts feared publicly that Iraq was quickly descending into civil war. The Bush administration had been either unwilling or incapable of reversing the Iraqi decent into chaos and refused to undertake a fundamental change in its Iraq policy, which by 2006 was under fire from both Republicans and Democrats. Even retired generals had by now gone on record as opposing the way in which the conflict was being waged. The Democrats used the 2006 elections as a litmus test for the Iraq War, promising the American people that they would force changes in the nation's Iraq policy; many hinted that they would compel the White House to agree on a timetable for the removal of U.S. troops from Iraq and would insist that the timetable be upheld, regardless of the conditions on the ground.

The war in Iraq was not the only campaign issue in 2006. Many Americans were also chagrined by the high cost of waging the war and the Bush administration's profligate spending, which had turned record budget surpluses in 2001 into the country's largest budget deficits in history by 2006. Certainly, the Republicans' unwillingness to increase taxes to pay for the war or enact spending cuts was a clear indication that they had entirely abandoned fiscal conservatism, which had been a guiding principle of Republican governance for nearly 100 years.

In 2006, Republicans in Congress appeared to the average voter to be out of touch not only when it came to fiscal policy and the war in Iraq but also in regard to growing signs that the economy was slowing down. By the autumn of the year, President Bush's approval ratings had plummeted, and his unpopularity proved to be a considerable drag on Republicans running for reelection that year.

The stakes were high for the Democrats in 2006. If they managed to wrest control of Congress from the Republicans, they would control the legislative branch completely for the first time

House Democratic leader Nancy Pelosi of California celebrates at an election-night rally on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C., on November 7, 2006. After taking control of the House of Representatives and the Senate in the elections, Democrats unanimously selected Pelosi as the first woman Speaker of the House on November 16, 2006. (AP/Wide World Photos)

since 1994. They would also be in a position to force changes in Bush administration policies, or at least block any new initiatives with which they disagreed.

In the end, the Democrats' sweep of both the House and Senate was larger than even what many Democrats were predicting. The Democrats gained 31 seats in the House while the Republicans lost 30. This gave them a 233–202 advantage. While their majority was not large enough to block Republican initiatives entirely, it certainly made the Republicans' legislative agenda much harder to implement. As a result of the election, the House elected its first female Speaker of the House, Democrat Nancy Pelosi. The Democratic victory in the Senate was not nearly as dramatic but nonetheless gave the Democrats a razor-thin majority there, too. The Democrats picked up 5 seats while the Republicans lost 6. The Democrats ended up with a 51–49 advantage, which included two independents who caucused with the Democrats. The Democratic sweep in 2006 extended to the state level as well, as no incumbent Democratic governor was unseated by a Republican. Indeed, the Democrats gained six governorships in the contests.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

United States, National Elections of 2004; United States, National Elections of 2008; Wilson, Valerie Plame

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United States, National Elections of 2008

The 2008 U.S. national elections built on the previous momentum of the Democratic Party, which had swept the off-year 2006 legislative elections by gaining control of both houses of Congress. The November 4, 2008, elections resulted in more Democratic seats gained in Congress and, more important, saw the election of Democrats Barack Obama and Joseph Biden to the presidency and vice presidency, respectively. Obama was the first African American to achieve the nation's highest office and was the first Democrat to sit in the White House since President Bill Clinton (1993–2001). The election was certainly one of the most important in U.S. political history, for not only did it shatter racial barriers but it also resoundingly repudiated the Republican Party and witnessed massive voter turnout, especially among young voters, who cast their ballots overwhelmingly for the Obama/Biden ticket. Only the passage of time would tell the true magnitude of the election, but many pundits had already begun to speak of a fundamental realignment of political power in America, akin to those seen in 1896, 1932, and 1980.

Obama won the presidency by a comfortable margin over his Republican opponent, Senator John S. McCain III. He captured 52.9 percent of the popular vote compared to McCain's 45.7 percent. Obama's margin of victory in the Electoral College was even more impressive: 365 votes to McCain's 173. Obama carried every northeastern state from Minnesota and Iowa in the west to Maine and Virginia in the east. He also carried North Carolina and Florida in the South, two states that had recently trended Republican in presidential contests. In the far west, Obama carried California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, Colorado, and New Mexico. McCain did well in the Deep South and in the sparsely populated states of the Plains and the West.

In Congress, Democrats increased their majorities in both the House and Senate. Republicans lost 21 seats, and the Democrats

Results of the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election

Name	*Party*	*% of Popular Vote*	*Electoral Votes*
Barack Obama	Democratic	52.92%	365
John McCain	Republican	45.66%	173
Ralph Nader	Independent	0.56%	0
Bob Barr	Libertarian	0.40%	0
Cynthia McKinney	Green	0.12%	0
Other	—	0.34%	0

Barack Obama is sworn in as the 44th president of the United States by Chief Justice John Roberts in Washington, D.C., January 20, 2009. Obama's wife Michelle holds the Bible on which President Abraham Lincoln took his oath of office. (U.S. Department of Defense)

gained an equal number. This resulted in a total of 251 seats for the Democrats and 178 seats for the Republicans, giving the Democrats a 76-seat advantage. In the Senate, the Democrats increased their seats by 8, giving them 59 (including 2 independents who caucused with the Democrats). The Republicans lost 8 seats, holding just 41 after the elections. This gave the Democrats an 18-seat majority.

It is clear that many congressional Democrats rode into power on Obama's coattails, because public opinion polls just prior to the elections showed widespread and deep voter disapproval of Congress, which had been controlled by the Democrats since January 2007. Thus, the Democratic gains may well have had more to do with President George W. Bush's unpopularity and Obama's wide appeal than voter interest in Democratic congressional candidates per se.

Obama ran a masterful, nearly flawless campaign. It was tightly organized, almost always on message, and remarkably free of gaffes and slipups. But it was Obama's awe-inspiring money raising that made the biggest difference. His campaign managers harnessed the power of the Internet in ways that McCain never could. Most of the money raised was through small, individual, online contributions. When the election was over, Obama had heavily outspent his opponent and had raised more money than any political candidate in U.S. history.

Most lauded Obama's choice in August 2008 of longtime Democratic senator Joe Biden to be his running mate. Biden had run for the Democratic presidential nomination but had failed to garner sufficient support and had dropped out and thrown his support to Obama. In the Senate since the 1970s, Biden had much experience in Washington, knew the ins and outs of Congress, and filled in Obama's acknowledged lack of experience in foreign and military affairs.

McCain, who had become the presumptive nominee of his party well before Obama had secured his party's nomination, was also a Senate stalwart, having served in that capacity since 1987. A naval officer and Vietnam War hero, he had spent more than seven years as a prisoner of war (POW) and had endured significant torture. Few questioned his foreign policy or military bona fides, but his consistent support of the Iraq War hurt his chances among the many Americans who opposed the war. McCain's campaign was not well managed; it could not stay focused on key topics for very long, and McCain and others in his campaign were prone to verbal and political gaffes. His choice of the mostly unknown Sarah Palin as his vice presidential running mate likely

handicapped his campaign, although it did garner intense media coverage, which up until Palin's nomination was dominated by the Obama candidacy. Palin's performance in news interviews dealing with her knowledge of foreign policy was comical. She projected no solid policy message other than the far-right Republican values that alienated many Americans. Vice presidents may stay in the background, but with an older presidential candidate in John McCain, whose age and health were issues, Palin seemed more of a liability than an asset.

It is a noteworthy fact that as late as June or July 2008, both candidates had been focusing largely on the Iraq War, the Global War on Terror, the Afghan War, and other national security and foreign policy imperatives. All those subjects were seen as McCain strong suits. That began to change, quickly, in August and September. The U.S. economy began to deteriorate at a dizzying pace in the late summer and early fall, precipitated by an ongoing housing crisis, an emergent subprime mortgage fiasco, and a string of spectacular bank and investment house failures. The George W. Bush administration moved haltingly and clumsily to steady the economy but to little avail. Even a massive government stimulus package failed to stop the slide. As the stock market swooned, unemployment skyrocketed, and housing prices collapsed, many Americans were convinced that neither McCain nor the Republicans could be trusted to make things right. The economic crisis played into Obama's hands, and within weeks the campaign was focused not on the Iraq War or national security but on economic security. This helped both the Democratic Party at large and the Obama campaign in particular.

Obama's rise to power can be viewed as a combination of the novelty of his message, appeal to youth, sustained opposition to many of George W. Bush's foreign and domestic policies, obviously keen intellect and masterful speaking, and well-organized campaign, as well as the precipitous decline of the U.S. economy.

Obama had his work cut out for him, for when he assumed office in 2009, the economy continued to move steadily downward. Ironically, an orderly withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq and shifting of emphasis to Afghanistan, which had been one of his early pledges, seemed comparatively easy compared to the intractable economic problems facing the nation.

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See also

Antiwar Movements, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; Biden, Joseph Robinette, Jr.; Bush, George Walker; McCain, John Sidney, III; United States, National Elections of 2004; United States, National Elections of 2006

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United States Agency for International Development, Afghanistan

The principal U.S. government organization that supervises and distributes American foreign aid to Afghanistan, which began in earnest after the Taliban regime was toppled during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (2001). The genesis of the Agency for International Development (AID) can be found in the 1947 Marshall Plan and President Harry S. Truman's Point Four Program of 1949. Both of these programs systematized U.S. foreign assistance in the post–World War II era.

The actual agency was created by the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act, passed by the U.S. Congress in September of that year. The act stipulated the establishment of an umbrella organization for U.S. foreign economic assistance and led to the creation of the AID on November 3, 1963. Since then, the AID has distributed hundreds of billions of dollars around the world and has served as a unifying organization that brings together almost all U.S. financial, technical, and economic development programs under one broad banner.

The AID has weathered periodic reforms measures and much criticism that it is a bureaucratic leviathan that wastes money that could be otherwise channeled to other purposes. However, it continues on, more than 45 years after its creation, as the premier U.S. foreign assistance agency. The AID receives its guidance from the U.S. secretary of state, whose job it is to ensure that AID's aims and programs are consonant with American foreign policy goals and mandates established by the U.S. Congress.

The Agency for International Development has played a central role in economic development and reconstruction in Afghanistan. Wracked by almost a quarter-century of war, foreign occupation, and violence, Afghanistan's population was desperately poor when the Taliban regime fell in late 2001. Indeed, more than 50 percent of its population lived below the international poverty level, and its civic, economic, and governmental institutions were practically nonexistent. Working in tandem with U.S. military planners in Afghanistan, in 2001 AID was asked to create a comprehensive program to create economic growth in the country, support and encourage representative government, and help establish educational and governmental entities that would enhance Afghanistan's labor market and mitigate the influence of poverty and extremism. Clearly, AID's lofty objectives are meant not only to ameliorate Afghans' living conditions but also to make it a less attractive haven for terrorists.

Road construction has been a major AID goal. This activity has helped the Afghan economy by promoting increased trade, moving laborers to viable labor markets, and even improving the health care delivery system. To date, more than 1,000 miles of roads have been built using AID funds and technical expertise.

Providing electricity to more people has also been a concern of the AID. In 2008, no more than 15 percent of Afghanistan's population has access to electricity. Because nearly 80 percent of the Afghan population is rural (and most are engaged in agriculture),

U.S. AID-supported educational programs in Afghanistan have renovated classrooms and provided new textbooks and supplies. They have also supported the education of girls, which was opposed by the Taliban. (U.S. Agency for International Development)

the electrification of the nation is key to invigorating the economy and providing its citizens with opportunities to improve their financial lot.

The AID is involved in countless endeavors in Afghanistan, working with the rural poor, local, regional, and national business enterprises, and the national government. Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) are currently helping AID funnel resources and technical personnel into the areas that are most needy. The PRTs also help to ensure that AID funds are not mismanaged or diverted to purposes not sanctioned by the agency. Educational reforms since 2001 have witnessed the building of some 675 schools throughout the country. The AID has also helped to build or rebuild 670 medical clinics, furnished millions of dollars of badly needed medicine, and has trained or lent thousands of health care workers to Afghanistan.

In 2007, AID spent $1.008 billion in Afghanistan; that amount has remained relatively constant, with the total expenditure slated to increase slightly to $1.054 billion in 2009.

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See also

Afghanistan; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Global War on Terror; Provincial Reconstruction Teams, Afghanistan; Taliban

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United States Agency for International Development, Iraq

Principal U.S. government organization that supervises and distributes American foreign aid to Iraq, which began in 2003 shortly after Operation IRAQI FREEDOM overthrew the Saddam Hussein regime. The genesis of the Agency for International Development (AID) may be found in the 1947 Marshall Plan and President Harry

A Kurdish farmer tends his crop in northern Iraq in 2007. U.S. AID workers helped to form a farmers' association with the aim of giving farmers ownership of their land. (U.S. Agency for International Development)

S. Truman's 1949 Point Four Program. Both of those programs systematized U.S. foreign assistance in the post–World War II era.

The U.S. Congress created the Agency for International Development with the passage of the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act. The act mandated the establishment of an umbrella organization for U.S. foreign economic assistance, which led to the creation of the AID on November 3, 1963. Since then, the AID has distributed hundreds of billions of dollars of aid around the world and has served as a unifying organization that brings together almost all U.S. financial, technical, and economic development programs under one broad banner.

Over the years, the AID has weathered periodic reform initiatives and considerable criticism that it is a bureaucratic leviathan that wastes money that could be channeled to other purposes. Nevertheless, it continues on, more than 45 years after its creation, as the premier U.S. foreign assistance agency. The AID receives its guidance from the U.S. secretary of state, whose job it is to ensure that AID's aims and programs are consonant with American foreign policy goals and mandates established by the U.S. Congress.

The postwar reconstruction of Iraq, a primary mandate for the AID, represents the single largest U.S. foreign aid initiative since the Marshall Plan. Among the AID's chief missions in Iraq are economic reconstruction and growth, the reinvigoration of health care and educational systems, the support of democratic institutions, the provisioning of humanitarian aid to homeless and displaced persons, and the rebuilding and upgrading of critical infrastructure, to include sewage treatment plants, electrical generation facilities, and water treatment systems. All of these activities are meant to foster representative democracy, internal security, and economic independence. Clearly, the ongoing Iraqi insurgency has made it quite difficult for AID to achieve its goals; the continuing presence of large numbers of U.S. and coalition troops in the country has also been a challenge for AID officials.

AID workers have been working with former Iraqi government officials, retraining them and readying them to take over various governmental functions. They have also been working with provincial and municipal government officials in an attempt to ensure that basic services are met at the local and regional level. AID is also working closely with the Central Bank of Iraq and the Ministry of Finance, helping them implement effective budgetary and cost-tracking measures.

From 2003 to 2006, AID added 1,292 megawatts of electricity to Iraq's electric grid, bringing electrical service to hundreds of thousands of people. AID has also rebuilt or expanded 19 water treatment plants, bringing potable water to 3.1 million Iraqis who heretofore had no access to clean water. AID improvements to sewage treatment facilities have brought modern sewage service to at least 5.1 million Iraqis. In health care, AID has also provided many improvements. In 2005 alone, almost 98 percent of all Iraqi children were vaccinated against childhood diseases. In education, AID has built, rebuilt, or refurbished thousands of schools and has developed programs to ensure that all Iraqis have access

to educational institutions, from elementary level to university. In cities and towns hard hit by fighting, AID is working in tandem with other international agencies and multinational corporations to revitalize local economies.

In 2007, AID spent $1.959 billion on all programs in Iraq; in 2009 the budget was substantially less, closer to $1.49 billion. The amount of AID funds spent in Iraq since 2003 is approaching $10 billion; the United States spent $13.5 billion (albeit in 1950 dollars) on the Marshall Plan (1947–1952), which helped reconstruct all of Western Europe. Currently, there are no plans to dismantle AID in Iraq, and so considerably more money will likely be spent in the years to come. Clearly, the continuing insurgency in Iraq has hampered AID efforts to reconstruct the country, and it is anyone's guess how much money has been wasted trying to rebuild a nation that remains at war with itself.

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See also

Iraq, History of, 1990–Present; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Iraqi Insurgency

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United States Air Force, Afghanistan War

The U.S. Air Force (USAF) has provided logistical, strategic, and tactical air support in the Afghanistan War, designated Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, since the conflict began on October 7, 2001. The air force continues to provide support, now including advisory efforts, for American and coalition forces in Afghanistan. Before Operation ENDURING FREEDOM commenced, the USAF constructed the Combined Air Operations Center (CAOC) in Saudi Arabia (moved to Qatar in 2003) as the command and control center for all air operations. The CAOC monitors all air operations, provides intelligence, and relays target information to airborne aircraft. During the first six weeks of the war, Lieutenant General Charles F. "Chuck" Wald served as commander, U.S. Central Command Air Forces (CENTAF), in charge of all air forces under U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM).

On the first day of the conflict, Lieutenant General Wald ordered USAF aircraft to destroy Al Qaeda and Taliban radar systems, command facilities, surface-to-air missile sites, armored vehicles, airfields, and any enemy personnel to ensure complete American air superiority over Afghanistan. The success of the opening bombing campaign allowed American and allied Northern Alliance ground troops to capture the cities of Kabul and Mazar-e Sharif, forcing Al Qaeda and Taliban forces into a hasty retreat toward the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. In November 2001 Lieutenant General T. Michael Moseley succeeded Lieutenant General Wald as commander of U.S. CENTAF, a position he retained until August 2003. Immediately, Moseley commanded the USAF to help seize the city of Kandahar, the last remaining Taliban stronghold. After the Taliban fled from Kandahar, USAF focus turned to the Tora Bora region, a mountainous region in eastern Afghanistan with a complex network of caves where U.S. CENTCOM officials believed Taliban and Al Qaeda leaders, including Osama bin Laden, were hiding. The USAF bombed the Tora Bora region relentlessly for three weeks beginning in late November, yet bin Laden and other priority targets managed to escape into Pakistan.

As 2002 began the USAF, along with the entire U.S. military contingent, switched to a more defensive strategy, aiming to protect Afghan civilians and the emerging American-supported government. Moreover, the air force continued to provide logistical, strategic, and tactical air support when needed. In January and February 2002, Al Qaeda operatives began to assemble in the Shah-i Kot Mountains near the Pakistan-Afghan border. As part of Operation ANACONDA, the USAF provided crucial air support for the combined U.S. Army/Special Operations Forces and indigenous Afghan contingent that successfully pushed the enemy into Pakistan.

Although U.S. forces largely succeeded in driving the enemy out of Afghanistan in late 2001 and early 2002, the following months and years witnessed the evolution of a Taliban insurgency, fueled by the political developments and progress of the new Afghan government. From 2003 to the present, reacting to the renewed Taliban insurgency, USAF and coalition aircraft annually increased the number of close air support sorties in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. In August 2003 Lieutenant General Walter E. Buchanan III took over U.S. CENTAF duties, remaining in the position until February 2006.

U.S. ground forces have relied heavily on USAF close air support to achieve tactical objectives. As part of the counterinsurgency effort in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, air force aircraft routinely attack enemy gun emplacements, bunkers, and any insurgents that hinder the tactical objectives of U.S. ground forces. During the spring and summer months of 2003, as the Iraq War was under way, the air force offered strategic and tactical air support to fend off thousands of Taliban insurgents in southeastern Afghanistan.

Since the spring of 2003, the Taliban insurgency has continued to hamper U.S. forces. In 2008, for the first time since the beginning of the Iraq War in 2003, the number of USAF air strikes in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM surpassed those in Iraq. Moreover, in 2008 there were more close air support sorties flown in Afghanistan than in Iraq, a testament to the increasing insurgency problem in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM.

Lieutenant General Gary L. North, U.S. CENTAF commander (changed to USAFCENT [United States Air Forces Central] in March 2008) since February 2006, has added an advisory role for

A U.S. Air Force F-15E Strike Eagle takes off from Bagram Air Base in Afghanistan on a morning patrol mission. (U.S. Air Force)

the USAF in Afghanistan. Indeed, the air force has continued and will continue to provide air support in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, yet since late 2006 many U.S. airmen have also engaged in training the Afghan Air Corps (AAC). The USAF has begun to prepare the Afghan airmen to conduct their own future air operations in conjunction with indigenous forces. In mid-2007, the USAF's Air Education and Training Command began predeployment advisory training for advisers en route to train the AAC. This advisory effort will prove a long and arduous process, as the USAF will remain in theater until the AAC and indigenous land units receive adequate training.

Currently, the USAF has increasingly embraced the use of unmanned aircraft in intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance missions. Throughout 2008 and early 2009, Afghan president Hamid Karzai pleaded with U.S. officials to reduce the number of civilian casualties from air strikes, which undermine the government's ability to win support from of the Afghani people. Accordingly, the USAF has increased its use of unmanned drones, using advanced technology to locate targets and help distinguish friendly personnel from the enemy.

The air force has utilized a vast array of aircraft during Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. As of April 1, 2008, USAF had undertaken nearly 194,000 sorties in support of ENDURING FREEDOM. Figures released in early 2009 reveal that 27,558 USAF personnel were serving in Afghanistan and Iraq. From the beginning of the Global War on Terror in 2001 through the end of 2009, 347,080 USAF personnel had served in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the USAF had suffered 43 killed-in-action (KIA) casualties in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM.

JOHN SOUTHARD

See also

ANACONDA, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation, U.S. Air Campaign; Moseley, Teed Michael; United States Central Command

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United States Air Force, Iraq War

The participation of the United States Air Force (USAF) in the Iraq War, designated Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, began on March 20, 2003. The USAF has provided logistical, strategic, and tactical air support for U.S. and coalition forces since the beginning of the conflict. The USAF utilized the Combined Air Operations Center (CAOC), which U.S. forces had established at the beginning of the Afghanistan War, dubbed Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, in 2001. The CAOC, originally stationed in Saudi Arabia and moved to Qatar in 2003, monitors and controls all air operations in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM and Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. Moreover, the CAOC provides intelligence and relays target information to airborne aircraft. During the first five months of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, Lieutenant General T. Michael Moseley served as commander, U.S. Central Command Air Forces (CENTAF), giving him command of all air forces under the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM).

Much of the air force's efforts on the first two days of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM focused on ground support for forces moving into Iraq from Kuwait. In addition, the USAF bombed command and control targets (communication sites, artillery, surface-to-air missile sites, air-defense command centers, air-traffic-control facilities, and airfields) throughout Iraq. From late March 21 through March 22, USAF aircraft also heavily bombed the Iraqi capital of Baghdad. The initial bombing campaign, referred to as shock and awe, was aimed at ousting Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's Baath regime from power. Yet, the Iraqi government did not submit to the initial air assault. U.S. CENTCOM and U.S. CENTAF deemed many Iraqi command and control targets off limits for fear of civilian casualties, and so air strikes had limited initial effectiveness in toppling Hussein.

By early April, USAF aircraft had begun to focus more on close air support for U.S. ground forces making their way toward Baghdad, demolishing any infantry, gun and artillery emplacements, tanks, and armored vehicles that hindered the coalition advance. Simultaneously, the USAF continued to provide strategic air support in and around Baghdad, which fell to coalition forces on April 9–10, 2003. Soon after the end of the conventional aspect of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, which was marked by the capture of Baghdad, Iraqi insurgents quickly organized, thus hindering the coalition's ability to create and maintain security in the country. The return of sovereignty to the new Iraqi government in June 2004 prompted a shift in air force strategy toward one that emphasized counterinsurgency and security.

From August 2003 to February 2006, Lieutenant General Walter E. Buchanan III served as commander of U.S. CENTAF, thus placing him in control of the air force component of the counterinsurgency in Iraq. The USAF increased its employment of unmanned aircraft for intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance missions, during which the remote-controlled drones searched for insurgent activity in Iraq. Moreover, the air force increased the number of "on call" close air support missions, during which aircraft remain airborne and wait for orders to strike a target near the respective area of responsibility. The Iraqi insurgents have thrived on quick, covert tactics, and the "on call" aircraft offer a timely response to often unexpected attacks on American and coalition ground forces or Iraqi civilians.

In late 2003 U.S. CENTCOM established the Multinational Security Transition Command–Iraq (MSTC-I) to develop Iraqi security personnel. Two years after the establishment of MSTC I, the USAF assumed responsibility of training and developing the

Airmen load a CH-47D Chinook heavy-lift helicopter into the cargo bay of a C-5 Galaxy at Joint Base Balad, Iraq. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Iraqi Air Force (IAF), a task still being carried out. In early 2009 newly elected U.S. president Barack Obama announced plans to draw down American forces in Iraq, heightening the need to quickly train Iraqi military and security personnel.

In February 2006 Lieutenant General Gary L. North assumed command of U.S. CENTAF (changed to USAFCENT [U.S. Air Forces Central] in March 2008). While tasked with continuing to provide close air support for U.S. and allied forces and bolstering the IAF, U.S. airmen have seen an increase of security positions on the ground. Throughout the war, the USAF has always provided base defense, but beginning in 2006, U.S. airmen have also provided convoy protection.

As the Iraqi insurgency persisted throughout 2006, President George W. Bush announced in early 2007 that U.S. forces would see a troop surge of additional soldiers and marines to Iraq. Thus, throughout 2007 and 2008 the USAF tripled the number of airmen that performed ground support duties for the U.S. Army and Marine Corps. In addition to convoy security, USAF personnel performed explosives forensic analysis and police duties in Iraqi cities. Yet the increase in grounded airmen did not translate to a decrease in air support. The year of the surge resulted in the most close air support sorties flown since the start of the insurgency in 2003. Moreover, the USAF has persisted throughout the conflict in bombing insurgent strongholds and safe houses, bomb-making facilities, and weapons stockpiles.

U.S. CENTCOM officials reported a decrease in insurgent activity in 2008 after the surge took hold. The addition of U.S. forces pushed the insurgents into open areas, offering easier targets for USAF aircraft, which explains another reason for the increase in close air support sorties in 2007. Throughout 2008 and early 2009, Iraqi ground forces have conducted operations with help from coalition airpower, including the USAF.

The USAF has utilized a vast array of aircraft during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. As of April 1, 2008, the Air Force had flown nearly 353,000 sorties in support of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. As of early 2009, the USAF reported 48 deaths in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

In early 2009, 27,558 USAF personnel were serving in Iraq and Afghanistan. Since the beginning of the Global War on Terror in 2001, 347,080 USAF personnel have served in Iraq and Afghanistan.

JOHN SOUTHARD

See also

Bush, George Walker; Iraq, Air Force; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Air Campaign; Moseley, Teed Michael; United States Air Force Air Combat Command

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United States Air Force, Persian Gulf War

Perhaps the most telling comment on the organization and operation of the U.S. Air Force (USAF) in the Persian Gulf War is that it differed significantly from that of the Vietnam War, when enemy territory was divided into six "packages" and mission profiles were determined by geography as much as by enemy resistance.

This is not to say that the organization of the forces employed in the Persian Gulf War was a carefully thought-out plan. It was instead an admirable, if often ad hoc, series of arrangements to meld procedures, doctrines, and availability into a single, unified air-war plan. The key to the success of this sometimes off-the-cuff execution was the early establishment of the Joint Forces Air Component Commander (JFACC) by General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, U.S. commander in chief of Central Command (CENTCOM). Schwarzkopf reported to President George H. W. Bush through the secretary of defense and selected Lieutenant General Charles A. Horner as JFACC. Horner was commander, Ninth Air Force, and commander of U.S. Central Air Force, reporting to Schwarzkopf. Horner had also commanded U.S. CENTCOM Forward in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, so was well positioned for his tasks. (Curiously, there was no separate JFACC staff.)

The establishment of JFACC meant that, for the first time in history, U.S. air forces were largely under a single control, a vast improvement over the administration of air assets during the Vietnam War. Horner was able to exercise close tactical control by the daily issuance of the Air Tasking Order (ATO), which coordinated the available forces, assigned targets, and established schedules, routes, and all other important aspects of warfare, including the vital element of aerial refueling.

The ATO often took as many as 40 hours to prepare and ranged from as few as 200 to more than 800 pages. Air force communications were slowed by it, and the problem was compounded because the navy and the remotely located Boeing B-52 Stratofortress wings did not have the advanced technology required. Where necessary, hard copies of the ATO were hand-carried as a substitute.

In essence, JFACC would first apportion combat effort, then allocate it. Apportionment is the determination and assignment of the total expected effort by percentage (or priority) that should be devoted to the various air operations and/or geographic areas for a given period of time. Allocation translates the apportionment into the required number of sorties by specific aircraft types. Thus a decision made to take out a certain set of radar

Two U.S. Air Force F-15C Eagle fighter aircraft of the 33rd Tactical Fighter Wing and a Royal Saudi Air Force F-5E Tiger II fighter aircraft during a mission in support of Operation DESERT STORM. The aircraft were armed with AIM-9 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles. (U.S. Department of Defense)

stations would be determined by apportionment, while allocation would determine the actual aircraft and weapons to be employed in the mission.

On an organization chart, Schwarzkopf's ultimate authority was shown with a solid line, with Horner's tactical control illustrated by a parallel dotted line. In practice, Horner's decisions went out to the six major elements: the air forces of Central Command Air Force (CENTAF), Army Central Command (ARCENT), Central Command Navy (NAVCENT), Central Command Marines (MARCENT), Central Command Special Operations (SOCCENT), the Joint Task Force Proven Air Force (JTFPF), as well as to various smaller coalition air forces. Horner, as noted, commanded CENTAF, while ARCENT was commanded by Lieutenant General John Yeosock, NAVCENT by Vice Admiral Henry H. Mauz Jr., and MARCENT by Marine Lieutenant General Walter E. Boomer. Colonel Jesse Johnson commanded SOCCENT, which was tasked with the vital combat search-and-rescue task. The JTFPF was commanded by Major General James L. Jamerson, who was also the USAFE (United States Air Forces in Europe) deputy chief of staff for operations. The JTFPF composite force had 20 General Dynamics/Grumman F-111E Ravens, 24 General Dynamics F-16C Fighting Falcons, 10 McDonnell Douglas F-15 Eagles, and 4 Boeing KC-135 Stratotankers from the Strategic Air Command (SAC).

The command relationship of the CENTAF and JFACC was again combined in their administration of the four basic divisions of aircraft types and one composite unit, the JTFPF. Fighter aircraft were assigned to the 14th Air Division (P) commanded by Brigadier General Buster Glosson. Early Warning (EW) and Command, Control, and Communications (C3) aircraft were assigned to the 15th Air Division (P), commanded by Brigadier General Glenn H. Proffitt II. Military Airlift Command (MAC) aircraft were assigned to the 16th Air Division (P), commanded by Brigadier General Edward E. Tenoso, while Strategic Air Command (SAC) aircraft were assigned to the 17th Air Division (P), commanded by Brigadier General Patrick P. Caruana. Geography and ships dictated that the navy and marine air units have an even more complex command relationship, which is beyond the scope of this entry.

The air force mustered 1,404 aircraft for the February 24, 1991, DESERT STORM assault. The navy and marine corps provided 684 aircraft, while foreign air forces contributed 731, for a grand total of 2,819. U.S. aircraft flew from 28 different locations surrounding the combat area, and would execute 117,131 sorties.

Given the overwhelming striking power of U.S. forces, it is probable that even significant changes in the exact details of its organization would have made little difference in the ultimate outcome of the war. This is true, however, only because of the

Casualties, by Branch, in the U.S. Armed Forces during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM

	U.S. Air Force	*U.S. Army*	*U.S. Marine Corps*	*U.S. Navy*	*Total*
Serving in theater	70,741	271,654	90,866	151,081	584,342
Killed in action	20	96	22	5	143
Died of wounds	0	2	2	0	4
Nonhostile deaths	15	126	44	50	235
Wounded in action	9	354	92	12	467
Total casualties	44	578	160	67	849

flexibility inherent in the manner in which command and control was exercised, and because of the incredible support supplied by both tanker and transport aircraft.

The command and control was orchestrated through an amazing combination of satellites, ground stations, airborne command posts, and reconnaissance planes. The already overaged and overworked tanker force proved to be the glue that held all the operational and organizational components together. Some 300 tankers (almost one-half of the USAF tanker fleet) flew 15,000 sorties, refueled 46,000 aircraft, and delivered 700 million pounds of fuel. It should be pointed out that every one of these elements—tankers, airborne command posts, giant transports, and satellite systems—had been criticized at one time or another by the media and Congress as "billion dollar boondoggles."

WALTER W. BOYNE

See also

Boomer, Walter; Bush, George Herbert Walker; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Air Campaign; Horner, Charles; Mauz, Henry H., Jr.; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; Yeosock, John J.

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United States Air Force Air Combat Command

U.S. Air Force command that provides combat air forces to the U.S. Air Forces Europe (USAFE), Air Forces Central Command (AFCENT), and Pacific Air Forces (PACAF). The Air Combat Command (ACC) is the Air Force component of the U.S. European, Central, and Pacific Commands. ACC also serves as the air component to U.S. Northern and Joint Forces Commands and augments forces to the Southern and Strategic Commands. The ACC organizes, trains, equips, and maintains combat-ready air forces for rapid deployment and employment outside the United States. It operates fighter, bomber, reconnaissance, battle-management, and electronic-combat aircraft; provides command, control, communications, and intelligence systems; and conducts global information operations. The command also ensures the readiness of strategic air defense forces to protect the U.S. homeland.

After the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union by the early 1990s, senior U.S. defense planners concluded that the Cold War–era U.S. military structure was not suited to the post–Cold War world. They believed that a global nuclear war seemed far less likely and that U.S. military forces would increasingly be called on to participate in smaller-scale regional contingencies and humanitarian operations.

Furthermore, the actual use of air force combat aircraft since the late 1960s had blurred the long-standing distinction between the Strategic Air Command (SAC) and Tactical Air Command (TAC), originally created in September 1947. By 1965, the term "strategic" had become linked to SAC's nuclear deterrence mission, while the term "tactical" had become associated with TAC's nonnuclear operational missions in conjunction with ground and naval forces. However, during the Vietnam War, SAC's strategic Boeing B-52 Stratofortress bombers most often performed tactical missions, such as interdiction and close air support, and its Boeing KC-135 Stratotankers regularly air refueled the tactical aircraft conducting missions over Southeast Asia. Additionally, TAC's tactical fighter aircraft carried out strategic bombing of targets in North Vietnam. Operation DESERT STORM in early 1991 further blurred the distinction between the two terms with the increasing use of precision-guided (smart) weapons, which gave tactical aircraft the ability to achieve strategic results.

After the Persian Gulf War, senior air force officials reexamined roles and missions. General Merrill A. McPeak, air force chief of staff (October 1990–October 1994), envisioned a streamlined air force that would eliminate unnecessary organizational layers. The vice chief of staff, General John M. Loh (June 1990–March 1991), thinking about the strategic-tactical distinction for some time, discussed his ideas with General McPeak and air force secretary Donald B. Rice about restructuring the major commands. After he assumed command of TAC on March 26, 1991, Loh continued to examine this issue. General George L. Butler, the commander of SAC, also supported change. These three generals led the effort to integrate the assets of SAC and TAC into a single operational command.

After reviewing numerous options, senior planners agreed to a major reorganization of the air force. The new Air Mobility Command (AMC), Scott Air Force Base, Illinois, would consolidate air force airlift and most refueling aircraft into one organization. The new Strategic Command, Offutt Air Force Base, Nebraska, would receive operational control of the air force's and navy's strategic nuclear forces to conduct the former SAC's nuclear deterrence mission.

On June 1, 1992, following the official inactivation of TAC, the air force activated the new ACC at Langley Air Force Base, Virginia, with Loh as the commander. The new command became responsible for providing combat-ready forces for deterrence and air combat operations. Upon activation, ACC assumed control of all fighter resources based in the continental United States, all bombers, reconnaissance platforms, battle management resources, and intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). Furthermore, ACC received some tankers and Lockheed C-130 Herculeses in its composite, reconnaissance, and certain other combat wings.

ACC underwent additional organizational and mission changes. On February 1, 1993, the air force realigned the Air Rescue Service to the AAC, which became the U.S. Air Force Combat Rescue School later that year on July 2. On July 1, 1993, the 58th and 325th Fighter Wings, respectively, McDonnell Douglas F-16 Eagle and F-15 training units, located at Luke Air Force Base, Arizona, and Tyndall Air Force Base, Florida, transferred to the Air Education and Training Command. On the same day, the Twentieth Air Force, six ICBM wings, one ICBM test wing, and the ICBM training wing, and F. E. Warren Air Force Base, Wyoming, transferred to the Air Force Space Command. On October 1, 1993, all AMC C-130s transferred to ACC, and all ACC KC-135 tankers except those at Mountain Home Air Force Base, Idaho, transferred to AMC.

Since its creation, ACC units and personnel have participated in numerous combat operations throughout the world. In Southwest Asia, the command provided forces for Operations NORTHERN WATCH and SOUTHERN WATCH, 1992–2003, to deter Iraqi aggression after the Persian Gulf War, and in October 1994 deployed forces to counter the buildup of Iraqi troops near the Kuwaiti border. ACC also provided trained forces for Operations ENDURING FREEDOM, which began in October 2001, and IRAQI FREEDOM, which began in March 2003. ACC also provided forces for counterdrug operations, including Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS), reconnaissance and fighter aircraft, and radar and connectivity assets.

The command supported numerous humanitarian operations throughout the 1900s: PROVIDE PROMISE, humanitarian relief to Sarajevo, Bosnia, July 1992–March 1996; DENY FLIGHT, the no-fly zone against Serbian air attacks on Bosnian civilians, April 1993–December 1995; PROVIDE COMFORT from Incirlik Air Base, Turkey, relief to Kurdish inhabitants of northern Iraq threatened by the Iraqi government, April–July 1991; GTMO at Naval Base, Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, aid to Haitian refugees, November 1991–June 1993; SAFE HAVEN, relief for Cuban refugees, September 1994–February 1995; RESTORE HOPE, relief supplies to for famine-affected Somalia, December 1992–May 1993; and SUPPORT HOPE, United Nations (UN) humanitarian relief for victims of the Rwandan civil war, July–August 1994.

Since 1991, sweeping changes in the military policy of the United States have imposed on ACC force structure reductions and greater flexibility. The command's forces continue to perform a variety of missions, including support to international peacekeeping operations, humanitarian needs at home and abroad, and protection of American interests around the globe.

ROBERT B. KANE

See also

United States Air Force, Afghanistan War; United States Air Force, Iraq War; United States Air Force, Persian Gulf War; United States Central Command

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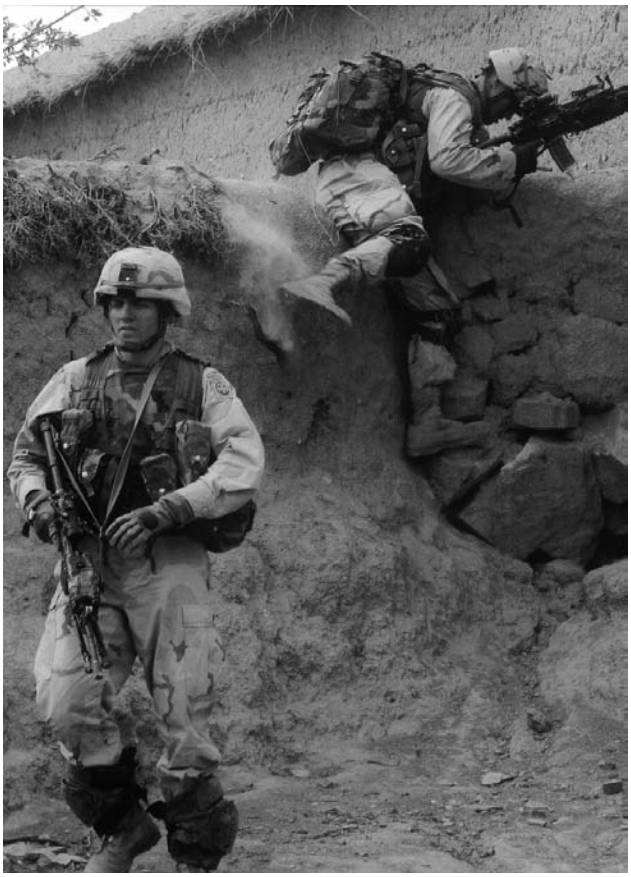
United States Army, Afghanistan War

The U.S. Army has provided the largest portion of troops and matériel to the war in Afghanistan (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM), which was the target of U.S. and coalition forces after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks against the United States. Within months of the October 2001 invasion, the Taliban regime of Afghanistan had been ousted by the army, marines, air force, and navy units operating with allied units and local (Northern Alliance) Afghan forces. The 5th Special Forces Group was the first unit to operate inside the country with the Northern Alliance, a group of mainly Tajiks and Uzbeks who opposed the Taliban.

A public affairs unit and individual soldiers of the 82nd Airborne Division arrived in theater in October 2001. In June 2002 the division's headquarters and the 3rd Brigade arrived, with the 1st Brigade replacing the 3rd in early 2003. The 1st Brigade would also deploy in April 2005. In 2004 the 1st Battalion, 505th Parachute Infantry Regiment, deployed to Afghanistan to provide security for elections being held there. Elements of the 3rd Brigade of the reorganized division were sent to Afghanistan in early 2007, mainly for engineering and support service.

Units of the 10th Mountain Division and 101st Airborne Division conducted Operation ANACONDA (March 2002), the first major battle since Tora Bora in December 2001. The 101st Airborne was the first conventional unit to be deployed after the attacks of 9/11.



Two members of the U.S. Army's 504th Parachute Infantry, 82nd Airborne Division, search for weapons caches during a sweep of an Afghan village. (U.S. Army)

After heading to Iraq (in three separate deployments), the 101st Airborne's 4th Brigade headed back to Afghanistan in early 2008.

In March 2004 the 3rd Brigade, 25th Infantry Division, rotated to Afghanistan, the first major unit of that division to take part in the Afghanistan War (the 2nd Brigade had deployed to Iraq one month earlier). In March 2005 the 173rd Airborne Brigade (as Task Force Bayonet) was sent to four provinces in southern Afghanistan, including Kandahar. In February 2007 the 173rd Airborne Brigade returned to Afghanistan to replace the 3rd Brigade, 10th Mountain Division, this time in eastern Afghanistan. During the Battle of Wanat in July 2008, a platoon of the 173rd defeated hundreds of insurgents during a dramatic attack on the 173rd's base.

In February 2009 the 10th Mountain Division's 3rd Brigade (Task Force Spartan) moved back to eastern Afghanistan and occupied some places where coalition forces had never had a strong presence. Replacing the sparsely dispersed 101st Airborne Division, Task Force Spartan was responsible for Wardak and Logar provinces. With environmental conditions dominating these underdeveloped regions, Task Force Spartan reflected the army's newest drive for increased flexibility. For instance, several divisions had been reorganized into brigade combat teams to increase flexibility in counterinsurgency operations. By 2009 most army units had considerable experience in combat plus the necessary cultural education needed for counterinsurgency in Afghanistan, since working with the local population was key to rooting out militants. For instance, the 3rd Brigade, 1st Infantry Division, upon deploying to the Maywand district of Kandahar Province, reported a lack of dialogue with the populace. After engaging in construction projects (demonstrating a permanent presence), the population gained trust in the army, and with that the 3rd Brigade could begin to disrupt the resurgence of the Taliban, which was using the district for supplies and narcotics.

Units of the army were also engaged in training Afghan security forces, ultimately for the purpose of providing the United States with an exit strategy. Units of the 3rd Brigade, 1st Infantry Division, located in the northeast, were training locals to the point that they could train their own peers. This mission also provided for a closer connection between the army and local Afghanis for increased efficiency against militants.

As of January 24, 2009, the army had suffered 341 hostile deaths and 151 nonhostile deaths in Afghanistan, for a total of 492, about six times less than army losses in Iraq. Wounded-in-action casualties accounted for 1,880, with another 340 less seriously wounded, for a total of 2,220, about 10 times less than in Iraq. However, as the U.S. Army prepared to shift its focus from Iraq to Afghanistan in early 2009, higher battle casualties were expected in Afghanistan, especially for the army, which carries the brunt of the coalition responsibilities.

Dylan A. Cyr

See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; enduring freedom, Operation; enduring freedom, Operation, Initial Ground Campaign

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United States Army, Iraq War

In the Iraq War (2003–), the U.S. Army deployed more personnel and matériel than any of the other U.S. armed services or those of its allies within the coalition. The ground forces involved were smaller than what most military commanders recommended, however, considerably increasing the risks if the coalition encountered unexpected obstacles. Since 2001 the all-volunteer U.S. Army typically had numbered some 500,000 active-duty soldiers in 10 divisions, with another 500,000 in the Army National Guard and the U.S. Army Reserve. With decreases in army strength since the end of the Vietnam War, and particularly since the end of the Cold War in 1991, reservists and National Guardsmen had taken on a greater

U.S. Army soldiers clear an island in the Tigris River in Iraq on March 26, 2005. (U.S. Department of Defense)

role. Army ground forces were organized as follows: divisions of some 20,000 personnel each; brigades of up to 4,000 individuals each; battalions (800), companies (200), and platoons (30).

U.S. Army general Tommy Franks, commander of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), had overall command of U.S. and coalition forces during the invasions of both Afghanistan and Iraq. Following Franks in command of U.S. forces in Iraq have been U.S. Army generals Ricardo Sanchez (June 2003–2004), George W. Casey (2004–2007), David Petraeus (2007–2008), and Raymond Odierno (2008–).

Overall commander of the land component (U.S. Army, U.S. Marine Corps, and coalition forces) in the March–April 2003 invasion of Iraq was U.S. Army lieutenant general David McKiernan, commander of the Third U.S. Army/U.S. Army Forces Central Command. Total army strength in the invasion force was some 55,000 men formed into V Corps in Kuwait, under Lieutenant General William Scott Wallace. He controlled two divisions, part of a third, and a fourth on its way. Engineer (to include bridge-builders), supply, and other units were available to be attached to the combat forces as required. The logistics element included some 2,500 trucks that would support the units moving north into Iraq toward Baghdad.

The lead element of V Corps was the 3rd Infantry Division (Mechanized). Known as the "Rock of the Marne," the 3rd Division was commanded by Major General Buford C. Blount III and numbered some 18,000–20,000 men. Its major offensive element consisted of some 170 Abrams tanks and 200 Bradley Fighting Vehicles, with close air support from Apache Long Bow tank-killing helicopters and Black Hawk transport helicopters. It also had a brigade-sized artillery unit. The 3rd Infantry Division led the invasion of Iraq from Kuwait. Its mission was to drive north from Kuwait to the west of the Euphrates River and the I Marine Expeditionary Force.

After the invasion started, the 3rd Infantry Division was joined by the 101st Airborne Division and a brigade of the 82nd Airborne Division, which had the mission of securing objectives short of the Iraqi capital of Baghdad. The 101st Airborne Division, known as the "Screaming Eagles," numbered about 20,000 men and was the army's only air assault division. Commanded by Major General David Petraeus and organized as light infantry, it deployed 275 helicopters.

The 2nd Brigade Combat Team of the 82nd Airborne Division, known as the "Falcon Brigade," numbered about 4,000 paratroopers commanded by Colonel Arnold Neil Gordon-Bray. Its mission and that of the 101st was to provide security to bases and supply routes on the way to Baghdad.

The 173rd Airborne Brigade, based in Vicenza, Italy, parachuted into northern Iraq on March 26. Commanded by Colonel

William C. Mayville, its mission was to tie down Iraqi troops there and prevent them from reinforcing to the south, as well as to secure the Kurdish areas there, especially Kirkuk and Mosul. To accomplish this, the 173rd conducted a combat jump (Operation NORTHERN DELAY) to secure Bashur Airfield in northern Iraq. Once this was accomplished, McDonnell Douglas C-17 Globemaster aircraft carried out history's first combat air landing of main battle tanks. Troops of the Special Operations Command, comprising the 75th Ranger Regiment, the 5th Special Forces Group, and the 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment, were to secure key bridges and operate in the Iraqi desert to cut routes to Syria and occupy areas that might be suitable for the firing of Scud missiles.

Only as the invasion came to an end did the 4th Infantry Division, which had been scheduled to invade northern Iraq from Turkey but had failed to receive permission from the Turkish government for this plan, begin arriving in Kuwait. Commanded by Major General Raymond L. Odierno, it possessed the most up-to-date equipment. The 4th Infantry Division was the army's first digitized division, with its commanders able to track the movement of its vehicles on the battlefield. The fact that it had only begun its movement to Kuwait by March 19, 2003, probably served to mislead Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein into believing that the invasion was still some time off.

Army casualties in the fighting reflect their larger proportionality of personnel in Iraq. As of January 3, 2009, a total of 4,212 Americans had died in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, with 3,394 of these combat related. Most of the American casualties in IRAQI FREEDOM occurred after the end of the initial invasion of Iraq and the toppling of the Hussein regime at the end of April 2003. The army accounted for 2,455 of those deaths and another 604 from nonhostile deaths, equaling 3,059 of 4,212. The army's total wounded was 21,354 out of a U.S. total of 30,934. Of the army's wounded, 7,139 required medical air transport, signifying serious wounds. In 2009 the army was preparing to refocus its efforts in Afghanistan while slowly drawing down in Iraq.

DYLAN A. CYR AND SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Blount, Buford, III; Franks, Tommy Ray; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Ground Campaign; Iraqi Insurgency; Mayville, William; McKiernan, David Deglan; Petraeus, David Howell; Scud Missiles, U.S. Search for during the Persian Gulf War; United States Army Reserve; United States Marine Corps, Iraq War; Wallace, William Scott

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United States Army, Persian Gulf War

The Iraqi invasion on August 2, 1990, prompted the United States government to send military forces to the Persian Gulf region to thwart a potential Iraqi invasion of Saudi Arabia. The first force to arrive in the region was the 82nd Airborne Division. November 1990 brought a further increase in ground support, when on November 8 President George H. W. Bush announced that the VII Corps would be transferred from Germany to the Persian Gulf. The buildup of U.S. and coalition forces in the region was dubbed Operation DESERT SHIELD. Because the Iraqi government did not meet the demands of the United Nations (UN) to abandon Kuwait by the January 15, 1991, deadline, the aerial bombing campaign that opened Operation DESERT STORM began on January 17, 1991. The ground assault against Iraqi troops in Kuwait and Iraq began on February 24.

The command responsibilities of the coalition fell to two men: General H. Norman Schwarzkopf and Saudi Arabian lieutenant general Khalid ibn Sultan ibn Abd al-Aziz al-Saud. Khalid commanded all coalition Arab forces. Schwarzkopf, as commander in chief of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), had overall charge of coalition operations in the war with Iraq. Serving beneath him was Lieutenant General John J. Yeosock of the U.S. Army Forces Central Command (ARCENT), who also commanded the U.S. Third Army. Below Yeosock was Lieutenant General Frederick M. Franks Jr., who commanded the VII Corps. Lieutenant General Gary E. Luck commanded the XVIII Airborne Corps. Supporting these combat forces was a vast theater structure, including but not limited to the 22nd Support Command under Major General William Gus Pagonis.

Just prior to the commencement of the ground war, there were approximately 527,000 American soldiers in the Persian Gulf region, of whom nearly 35,000 were women. The entire personnel strength of Third Army totaled 333,565 troops. The battle strength of VII Corps alone, which included the 1st and 3rd Armored Divisions, the 1st Infantry Division, the 1st Cavalry Division, and the 2nd Cavalry Regiment, among other units, numbered 146,321 soldiers. The battle strength of the XVIII Airborne Corps, which included the 82nd and 101st Airborne Divisions, and the 24th Infantry Division (Mechanized) among other units, numbered 116,040 soldiers.

Moving the required supporting manpower and equipment to drive entrenched Iraqi forces from Kuwait proved a daunting task. Commercial airliners as well as ships were chartered to help in the logistics effort. Between August 1990 and February 1991, nearly 500,000 soldiers and 600,000 tons of supplies were flown into the theater of operations. In addition, 3.4 million tons of supplies and equipment along with 6.1 million tons of fuel were shipped to the Persian Gulf by sea. Much of the equipment in

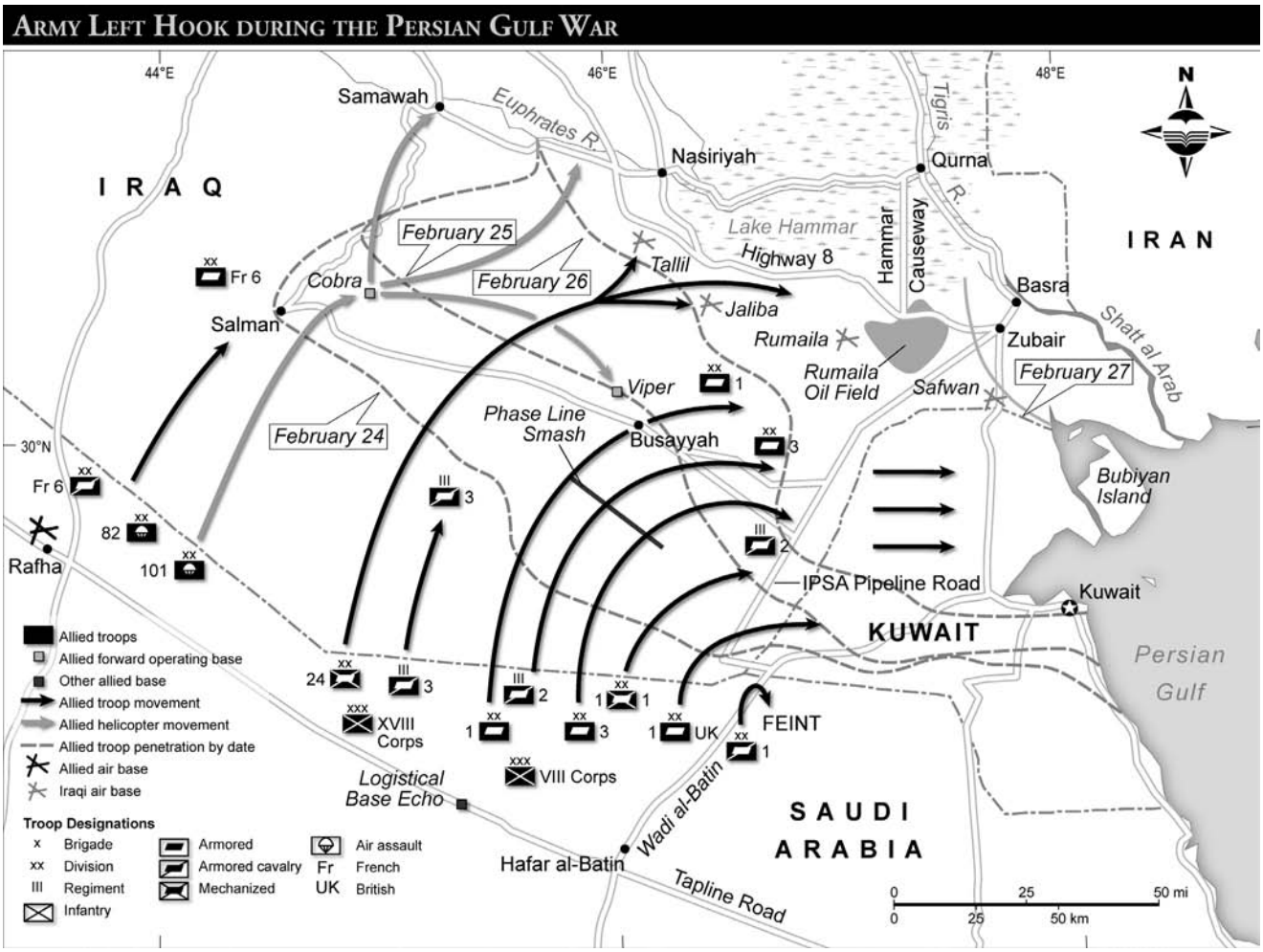
U.S. Army UH-60A Black Hawk helicopters and one AH-64A Apache helicopter, second from right, take off during Operation DESERT SHIELD, August 1990. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Europe was transported via train, barge, and convoy to European ports of debarkation. As complicated as this may seem, moving the matériel from the ports in Saudi Arabia to the inland tactical assembly areas (TAA) was equally as, if not more, difficult. There was a single road that ran from the ports to the TAAs, in which individual tanks, strapped to tractor-trailers, traveled distances of up to 300 miles. This is not to mention the transport of other vital equipment the soldiers needed to perform their missions, let alone such necessities for life as food and water. In all, it took nearly 12 weeks to assemble all the necessary resources.

Filling the gaps in the various divisions was also a complicated undertaking. Some of this was alleviated by the use of reservists, who were mobilized between August 1990 and January 1991. Of the 227,800 mobilized reservists, 47 percent were deployed to the Persian Gulf, serving predominantly in logistics roles. To help bridge language barriers, the Kuwaiti Army recruited Kuwaiti students studying in the United States to be integrated into the numerous combat divisions. For instance, in the VII Corps there were 35 such interpreters, distributed to ensure at least one per division.

Upon the commencement of hostilities, the main objective of the Third Army was to advance from the west of Kuwait and envelop the Iraqi force positioned in Kuwait, thus avoiding the bulk of Iraqi defense positions to the east in the theater. The XVIII Airborne Corps was to protect the western flank and rear of the advancing VII Corps, which was to bear the brunt of the assault and deliver the decisive blow to the Iraqi Army. As part of its objectives, the XVIII Airborne Corps was tasked with cutting off the main supply road between Baghdad and Kuwait, which would prevent supplies and reinforcements from reaching the Iraqi forces as well as thwart any attempt of an Iraqi retreat via that route. This task went to the 101st Airborne Division, while one brigade of the 82nd Airborne, along with the French 6th Light Armored Division, covered the flank and rear of the 101st, thus creating a screen. The 24th Infantry Division, along with the 3rd Armored Calvary Regiment, also under the command of the XVIII Airborne Corps, was designated to take the key bridge crossing the Euphrates River just west of the town of Nasiriyah.

The attack of VII Corps began by a diversionary advance up the Wadi al-Batin corridor by the 1st Calvary Division, after which the main assault was led by the 1st Armored Division and the 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment. The first objective was the logistics center of Busayyah, which was ultimately taken by the 1st Armored Division. Near this point, approximately 60 miles into Iraq, VII Corps turned east toward Kuwait to pursue its premier objective, the Iraqi Republican Guard. General Franks's concept was to concentrate his forces to defeat the renowned soldiers. However,



prior to this plan being executed, the Iraqi 12th Armored Division and the Republican Guards Tawakalna Division, in concert with smaller units, tried to withdraw from Kuwait. The division slammed into the 2nd Armored Cavalry, and on February 26, in the midst of a sandstorm, the two sides engaged in one of the most intense battles of the conflict. On February 27 coalition forces entered Kuwait while the 1st Armored Division battled the Iraqi Republican Guard in the Battle of Medina Ridge, in Iraq. Later that day the war was over; Kuwait was liberated, and the Iraqis had agreed to a temporary cease-fire.

As with any war, new technology influenced the way the U.S. Army fought in the Persian Gulf. This was the first major conflict utilizing the Global Positioning System (GPS), which proved invaluable. However, there were not enough GPS devices to be fixed on all of the combat vehicles. In the case of the VII Corps alone, there were only approximately 3,000 GPS devices for the 40,000-plus vehicles. As a result, the GPS devices were distributed to principal commanders and vehicles.

Another new form of technology utilized by the U.S. Army was tactical satellite telephones. These devices gave commanders in the middle of the desert the ability not only to reach their superiors in the United States or Europe, but also to communicate with other army personnel within the Persian Gulf region. Additionally, the capabilities of the personal computer and electronic mail, more commonly known as e-mail, were also put to use. This further enabled staff officers at every echelon of command to communicate with one another and their superiors.

The U.S. Army also utilized new weapons, such as the Patriot missile. Although originally intended to strike against enemy aircraft, the Patriot was modified and utilized as an antimissile system. Ultimately, this system possibly shot down as many as 70 percent of the Iraqi Scud missiles launched into Saudi Arabia and 40 percent of those launched at targets in Israel. (These figures still remain hugely controversial, however.) The Abrams M1A1 tank, equipped with a 120-mm gun, was the primary tank used by the U.S. Army in this war; however, the 2nd Brigade of the 1st Infantry Division went into battle with the older Abrams M1, equipped with a 105-mm cannon. Also used was the then-new Abrams M1A1 HA (abbreviated "HA" for heavy armor), although not on the scale of its predecessor. Despite M1A1's superiority to the Soviet-built Iraqi T-72 tank, its poor gas mileage slowed the advancing American forces.

Other new combat vehicles included the M2 Bradley Infantry Fighting Vehicle and the M3 Bradley Cavalry Fighting Vehicle.

Other heavy combat vehicles were also used, such as the M9 Armored Combat Earthmover. The typical combat soldier was also equipped with either an M-16A1 or M-16A2 rifle.

Fortunately, actual American battlefield casualties paled in comparison to initial estimates, which had projected that nearly 1,500 soldiers would be killed in action and another 8,500 wounded. In reality, the U.S. Army and Marines combined suffered 122 battle-related deaths, of which 35 were due to friendly fire. In addition, there were 131 noncombat-related fatalities. Of this total, 15 American women in uniform lost their lives in the Persian Gulf. Approximately 450 American soldiers were officially declared wounded in combat, with 72 labeled as friendly-fire accidents. The U.S. Army turned in a stellar performance during Operation DESERT STORM, proving that the post–Cold War U.S. military establishment could defeat a stout foe with great mobility, speed, and decisiveness. The army's performance also seemed to put to rest the so-called Vietnam Syndrome.

ROB SHAFER

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; Franks, Frederick Melvin, Jr.; Luck, Gary Edward; Saud, Khalid ibn Sultan ibn Abd al-Aziz al-; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; Vietnam Syndrome; Yeosock, John J.

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United States Army National Training Center

U.S. Army training installation located at Fort Irwin, California. Fort Irwin and the National Training Center (NTC) are located approximately 37 miles northeast of Barstow, California, in the High Mojave Desert, about midway between Los Angeles, California, and Las Vegas, Nevada. The NTC serves as the army's foremost combat training facility, and it is used largely to ready U.S. military personnel to wage war in harsh desert environments. Fort Irwin is a sprawling facility, covering some 1,000 square miles, and has an average daily population of 16,000–20,000 people. It is home to approximately 5,000 active-duty personnel and their dependants. In addition, some 3,500 civilians work full-time on the post, most of whom are contractors of various sorts and teachers.

Fort Irwin began its modern history as an antiaircraft range in 1941, although by 1944 it had been inactivated and placed on reserve status. In 1951, during the Korean War, Fort Irwin reopened as an armored combat training area. Its location in the desert and the sparse population of the surrounding areas made it an ideal location for this type of training. In 1971 the post was again inactivated, and for a number of years it was used as a training facility for National Guard units. In 1979, when the army decided to establish the NTC, Fort Irwin was selected, thanks to its relatively remote location and desert climate that approximates the climate of the Middle East. Once established, the NTC became—and remains—the U.S. Army's best and most prestigious training area.

The army currently bases the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment at the NTC as the official opposing force for those units rotating through Fort Irwin for training. In the past, it has also used infantry and airborne divisions as the opposing force. Naturally, there is a focus on armored warfare doctrine and maneuvers, but thousands of infantry soldiers have also been trained here, honing their skills in desert warfare. In 1993 the army built an elaborate training facility on the post for military operations in urbanized terrain. After the September 11, 2001, terror attacks, the army has shifted the NTC's focus to counterinsurgency operations, first in reaction to the war in Afghanistan, and later to Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. Thousands of American soldiers serving in Afghanistan and Iraq have received training at the NTC.

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See also

Counterinsurgency; United States Army, Afghanistan War; United States Army, Iraq War; United States Army, Persian Gulf War

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United States Army Reserve

The U.S. Army Reserve (USAR) has its origins in U.S. Senate Bill 1424, passed on April 23, 1908, that created the Medical Reserve Corps. Four years later, the Regular United States Army Reserve was established. The National Defense Act of 1916 further established the Reserve Officer Corps, the Enlisted Reserve Corps, and the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC). The U.S. Army Reserve Command (USARC) was activated on October 1, 1992, and 95 percent of all USAR units belong to this command.

The USAR served essentially as a strategic reserve force until the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991. The

post–Cold War environment and the Global War on Terror, which began after the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States, required that the USAR be transformed into an operational force. By the end of the 1990s, the USAR was providing almost 40 percent of the army's combat support and combat service support units. More than 92 percent of these units were assigned specific missions in the army's war plans. The validity of concentrating support missions in the USAR has been witnessed by its performance in the Middle East wars since 1990.

President George H. W. Bush, for example, obtained congressional approval to mobilize the reserve component forces of all the services for Operations DESERT STORM and DESERT SHIELD (1990–1991). On August 22, 1990, just 20 days after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, he authorized the secretary of defense to order reserve component units and individuals to active duty pursuant to Title 10, U.S.C. 673b. The air war began in January 1991 with 504 USAR units totaling 49,860 personnel.

Also, 20,920 individual ready reserve soldiers (IRRs), individual mobilization augmentees (IMAs), and 1,000 retirees volunteered or were also ordered to active duty during DESERT STORM. On February 24, 1991, the ground campaign began with 640 USAR units totaling 83,741 personnel. In total, more than 84,000 USAR intelligence, logistics, transportation, medical services, and construction personnel participated in the Persian Gulf War.

In the immediate aftermath of the September 11, 2001, attacks, the 77th Regional Support Command established Emergency Operations Centers to provide support requested by the New York City police and fire departments, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The provisioning of such support by the USAR is required by Department of Defense Directive 3025.1, Military Support to Civilian Authorities. Just 72 hours after the attack, the 311th Quartermaster Company (Mortuary Affairs) from Puerto Rico began searching for human remains in the Pentagon and surrounding area. Within weeks of the attack, between 1,500 and 1,600 USAR soldiers in intelligence, military police, and logistics had been called to active duty to support Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. By March 2002 that number had risen to 8,800. At the end of 2001, 9,020 U.S. Army Reserve soldiers had been called up under the September 14, 2001, partial mobilization. Of these, 7,384 were monthly drilling reserve soldiers in 273 Troop Program Units (TPUs). The remaining 1,636 were IMAs and IRRs. There were also approximately 2,000 Active Guard Reserve (AGRs) personnel supporting missions on a daily basis.

Prior to Operation ANACONDA (March 1–18, 2002) in Afghanistan, the 911th Forward Surgical Team supported the 10th Mountain Division. USAR Public Affairs soldiers deployed with the 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault). USAR engineer soldiers improved the airport at Kandahar, and USAR medical personnel treated casualties transported to Bagram Air Base. USAR Civil Affairs soldiers repaired and built infrastructure to assist the Afghanis recover from nearly 22 years of war. The USAR's 75th Division (Training Support) assisted in training the Afghan National Army. The 345th Military Intelligence Detachment assisted the Coalition Forces Land Component Command (CFLCC) in intelligence collection and targeting of Taliban and Al Qaeda forces and individuals.

Operation IRAQI FREEDOM began on March 20, 2003, and has included many USAR forces. Most of the USAR units deployed in support were combat service support units that conducted port operations, maintenance, supply, and fuel operations. The 7th U.S. Army Reserve Command, based in Germany, mobilized and deployed 19 of its 22 units, and its commanding general was detailed as the director of the U.S. Army Europe Deployment Operations Center, responsible for planning and managing the movement of 33,000 soldiers and all their equipment from Europe to the Persian Gulf area of operations. The 459th Engineer Company built bridges across the Diyala and Euphrates rivers to support the I Marine Expeditionary Force's advance on Baghdad in April 2003. The 98th Division (Institutional Training) deployed to Iraq in late 2004 to assist the Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq (MNSTC-I) in training the new Iraqi Army and was the first USAR unit to do so.

By the end of 2003 the USAR had mobilized 2,322 units, and 71,587 USAR solders were serving on active duty for the Global War on Terror (Operation NOBLE EAGLE) and Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM. From September 11, 2001, to October 2004, the USAR provided 36 percent of the army combat service support capability, 13 percent of the medical forces, and 27 percent of the engineer capabilities required for Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM. In 2004, 1,615 units were mobilized. In 2005, 1,869 units were mobilized. Since September 11, 2001, the USAR has mobilized more than 180,000 personnel to combat terrorism around the world and to defend the U.S. homeland against terrorist attacks. More than 56,000 of them have deployed multiple times. As of December 19, 2009, there were 31,516 Army Reserve Soldiers activated for Operations NOBLE EAGLE, ENDURING FREEDOM, and IRAQI FREEDOM.

DONALD R. DUNNE

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Global War on Terror; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; September 11 Attacks; United States Army, Afghanistan War; United States Army, Iraq War; United States Army, Persian Gulf War; United States Marine Corps Reserve; United States Navy Reserve

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United States Central Command

One of 10 unified U.S. combatant commands responsible for U.S. military planning regarding 27 nations, stretching from the Horn of Africa through the Persian Gulf states to Central Asia. The U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) has its primary headquarters at MacDill Air Force Base in Tampa, Florida, and a forward headquarters at Camp al Sayliyah, Qatar, to handle the demands of operations in Iraq and the Middle East.

The Ronald Reagan administration established CENTCOM on January 1, 1983, to deal with growing instability in the Middle East following the Islamic Revolution in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, both in 1979. Policy makers were worried that the Soviet Union or one of its client states would invade oil-producing nations and deprive the Western powers of access to this vital resource. CENTCOM was built from the assets of the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force (RDJTF). Its first commander was General Robert C. Kingston. The original intent was that CENTCOM would not be based in the region but instead rely on political allies to provide facilities on an as-needed basis. As such, CENTCOM to this day is not assigned combat units but instead consists of five component commands that are assigned forces from their parent service as the mission requires. These include the U.S. Army Forces Central Command (ARCENT), U.S. Central Command Air Forces (USCENTAF), U.S. Marine Forces Central Command (USMARCENT), U.S. Naval Forces Central Command (USNAVCENT), and U.S. Special Operations Command Central (SOCCENT).

CENTCOM engaged in its first combat mission in August 1990 when Iraqi president Saddam Hussein ordered his armed forces to invade Kuwait. In Operation DESERT SHIELD, CENTCOM commander

CENTCOM (United States Central Command) commander General Tommy R. Franks and his deputy, Lieutenant General John P. Abizaid, listen to a briefing on the progress of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM at CENTCOM's forward headquarters in Qatar. (CENTCOM Public Affairs)

General H. Norman Schwarzkopf supervised the deployment of forces to Saudi Arabia to deter Hussein from advancing into Saudi Arabia. With a broad international consensus and the assistance of Saudi Arabia's logistics facilities, in Operation DESERT STORM, CENTCOM led the invasion of Kuwait and Iraq in February 1991 with a nine-division multinational force. The Iraqi Army was ejected from Kuwait in short order, but President George H. W. Bush decided to terminate the war without toppling the Hussein regime. For the next 12 years, CENTCOM contained Hussein's power by maintaining a permanent ground presence to the south of Iraq and enforcing no-fly zones in the north and south of the country.

Since the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, CENTCOM has become the central front in the Global War on Terror. In the late autumn of 2001, CENTCOM successfully toppled the Taliban government in Afghanistan as part of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM to destroy the Al Qaeda organization. Two years later, in March 2003, CENTCOM launched Operation IRAQI FREEDOM and ended the rule of Saddam Hussein. To support further stabilization and counterterrorism operations in these countries and the region as a whole, CENTCOM operates several joint and multinational subordinate commands: Multi-National Force–Iraq (MNF-I), Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq (MNSTC-I), Combined Forces Command Afghanistan, Combined Joint Task Force–Horn of Africa, and Joint Task Force Lebanon.

On February 7, 2007, the U.S. Army announced that a U.S. Africa Command (USAFRICOM) would be organized and take responsibility for CENTCOM's African portfolio, which had included Djibouti, except for Egypt. Almost all of Africa had been under European Command (EUCOM), however. EUCOM retained both Israel and Turkey.

Among CENTCOM's more notable commanders have been U.S. Army general Schwarzkopf (November 1988–August 1991), Marine Corps general Anthony Zinni (August 1997–July 2000), U.S. Army general Tommy R. Franks (July 2000–July 2003), and U.S. Army general John P. Abizaid (July 2003–March 2007). In March 2007 Admiral William Fallon assumed command, the first naval officer to hold that position. He resigned in March 2008 following public remarks that were seen as critical of the George W. Bush administration's position regarding possible hostilities with Iran. Fallon was replaced by acting commander army lieutenant general Martin Dempsey. U.S. Army general David Petraeus was confirmed by the U.S. Senate in July 2008 and assumed command that September.

JAMES E. SHIRCLIFFE JR.

See also

Al Qaeda; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Fallon, William Joseph; Global War on Terror; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Petraeus, David Howell; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.

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United States Coast Guard, Iraq War

From the very outset of Middle East operations, the U.S. Coast Guard's training and experience in these and other maritime activities played an important part in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. Late in 2002, coast guard headquarters alerted various units in the service's Pacific Area (PACAREA) and Atlantic Area (LANTAREA) for possible deployment to the Middle East. From November 2002 through January 2003, these units began activation activities for an expected deployment in early 2003. In January, PACAREA's first major units deployed to the Persian Gulf, including the high-endurance cutter *Boutwell* (WHEC-719) and the oceangoing buoy tender *Walnut* (WLB-205). Their responsibilities included maritime interdiction operations (MIO), and the *Walnut,* in conjunction with members of the Coast Guard's National Strike Force, would lead possible oil-spill containment operations.

LANTAREA provided many units of its own, sending the high-endurance cutter *Dallas* (WHEC-716) to the Mediterranean to support and escort Military Sealift Command shipping and coalition battle groups in that theater of operations. It also sent four 110-foot patrol boats (WPBs) to Italy with support personnel and termed their base of operations Patrol Forces Mediterranean (PATFORMED) and sent a set of four WPBs to the Persian Gulf with a Bahrain-based command called Patrol Forces Southwest Asia (PATFORSWA).

The service also activated Port Security Units (PSUs) and law enforcement boarding teams (LEDETs), which had each proven successful in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. LANTAREA sent PSU 309 (Port Clinton, Ohio) to Italy to support PATFORMED while PACAREA sent PSU 311 (San Pedro, California) and PSU 313 (Tacoma, Washington) to Kuwait to protect the Kuwait Naval Base and the port of Shuaiba, respectively. LEDET personnel initially served on board the WPBs and then switched to navy patrol craft to perform MIO operations.

At 8:00 p.m. on March 19, 2003, coalition forces launched IRAQI FREEDOM. By the time hostilities commenced, all coast guard units were manned and ready. On March 20, personnel from PSU 311 and PSU 313 helped secure Iraq's offshore oil terminals. On March 21, littoral combat operations began and the 110-foot *Adak* served picket duty farther north than any other coalition unit along the Khor Abd Allah waterway. The *Adak* captured the first Iraqi maritime prisoners of the war, whose patrol boat had been destroyed upstream. On that same day, the *Adak* participated in the capture of two Iraqi tugs and a mine-laying barge.

Once initial naval operations ceased, coast guard units began securing port facilities and waterways for the shipment of humanitarian aid to Iraq. On March 24, PSU 311 personnel deployed to the Iraqi port of Umm Qasr, and four days later the 110-foot *Wrangell* led the first humanitarian aid shipment to that port facility. In addition to their primary mission of boarding vessels in the northern Persian Gulf, Coast Guard LEDET teams secured the Iraqi shoreline from caches of weapons and munitions. Buoy tender *Walnut,* the original mission of which included environmental

The U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Adak*, a 110-foot patrol boat homeported in Highlands, New Jersey, patrols the North Arabian Sea off the coast of Iraq on March 6, 2003. The *Adak* was one of four such coast guard patrol boats in the Persian Gulf in support of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. (U.S. Coast Guard)

protection from sabotaged oil facilities, surveyed and completely restored aids to navigation markers for the shipping lanes leading to Iraq's ports.

On May 1, President George W. Bush declared an end to formal combat operations in Iraq; however, within a year the Coast Guard suffered its first and only casualty of IRAQI FREEDOM. On April 24, 2004, terrorists navigated three small vessels armed with high explosives toward Iraq's offshore oil terminals. During this attack, the navy patrol craft *Firebolt* intercepted one of the suspicious watercraft, and members of LEDET 403 and navy crewmen proceeded toward the suspicious vessel in a rigid-hull inflatable boat (RHIB). Terrorists on board the small vessel detonated their explosive cargo as the RHIB approached, overturning the boat and killing LEDET member Nathan Bruckenthal and two navy personnel. Bruckenthal was the first Coast Guardsman killed in combat since the Vietnam War, and he received full military honors in funeral services at Arlington National Cemetery.

During Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, the Coast Guard performed the same vital functions that have long represented its core missions, such as in-shore patrol, MIO operations, and port security operations. The PSUs performed their port security duties efficiently despite the fact that their units were split up between three separate port facilities and two oil terminals. The WPBs operated for many hours without maintenance in waters too shallow for any major navy assets and served as the coalition fleet's workhorses in boarding, escort, and force protection duties. The personnel of PATFORMED and PSU 309 demonstrated that Coast Guard units could serve in areas that lacked any form of Coast Guard infrastructure. PATFORSWA performed its support mission effectively even though the Coast Guard had never established such a support detachment. Fortunately, *Walnut* never had to employ its oil spill capability, but it proved indispensable for MIO operations and aids to navigation (ATON) work on the Khor Abd Allah waterway. The *Dallas* and *Boutwell* provided logistical support and force protection and MIO operations with their boarding teams.

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See also

Military Sealift Command; United States Coast Guard, Persian Gulf War; United States Navy, Iraq War

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United States Coast Guard, Persian Gulf War

Units and personnel of the U.S. Coast Guard and its predecessor services have served with distinction in every major American

conflict since the founding of the United States, and the Persian Gulf War operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM proved no exception to this rule. The Coast Guard provided essential support for naval and land-based military operations that the U.S. Navy was unable to undertake. These Coast Guard activities focused on, but were not limited to, marine safety, vessel boarding, port security, and environmental protection operations.

During Operation DESERT SHIELD, which began in August 1990, Coast Guard operations served largely to ensure the safe conduct of military shipping to the Persian Gulf and enforcement of United Nations (UN) sanctions in the theater of operations. Within days of the August 2, 1990, invasion of Kuwait by Iraqi forces, President George H. W. Bush ordered the deployment of U.S. military forces to Saudi Arabia in DESERT SHIELD. By August 10, Coast Guard Marine Safety Offices (MSOs) had mobilized personnel to inspect the nearly 80 Ready Reserve Fleet (RRF) vessels activated for sea duty. MSOs throughout the nation also instituted a flexible merchant marine manning and licensing program to expedite the movement of RRF vessels. In addition, Coast Guard MSOs became responsible for port security detachments at port facilities within their respective areas of responsibility. This major effort involved overseeing security for port facilities and supervising the loading of explosives and hazardous material on board Military Sealift Command vessels bound for the Persian Gulf.

By August 16, 1990, U.S. forces initiated maritime interdiction operations consistent with UN sanctions. At the request of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Coast Guard committed 10 four-person law-enforcement boarding teams (LEDETs) to serve with U.S. maritime interception forces. Within two weeks of instituting maritime interdiction operations, a Coast Guard LEDET had boarded its first Iraqi-flagged vessel. In addition, the commandant of the Coast Guard designated a seven-man liaison staff to serve as Operational Command for Coast Guard forces, such as the LEDETS, that were deployed to the theater of operations.

The Persian Gulf War set many precedents for Coast Guard military operations. On August 22 President Bush authorized the call-up of reservists in support of military operations. A total of 950 Coast Guard reservists were called to active duty, and more than 500 of them were members of the Coast Guard's newly formed Port Security Units (PSUs). PSU 303 (Milwaukee, Wisconsin) became the first such unit deployed overseas when it was stationed at Dammam, Saudi Arabia. On September 22, PSU 301 (Buffalo, New York) was deployed to Jubail, Saudi Arabia, and on November 14, PSU 302 (Port Clinton, Ohio) deployed to Bahrain.

On January 16, 1991, the commencement of Operation DESERT STORM altered Coast Guard operations at home and abroad. It increased the level and tempo of the MSOs' activities as they stepped up land-based security patrols around key military and commercial waterfront facilities and enforced waterside security zones to defend against terrorist attacks. Overseas, the Coast Guard's LEDET personnel helped clear Iraqi oil platforms, securing 11 such platforms and aiding in the capture of 23 prisoners.

With the added threat of environmental warfare carried out by Iraqi forces the Coast Guard assumed yet another unprecedented mission, that of environmental protection in a war zone. On February 13, 1991, two Coast Guard Beechcraft HU-25A Falcon jets, equipped with oil-detection equipment, flew from Air Station Cape Cod to Saudi Arabia. They were joined by two Coast Guard Lockheed HC-130 Hercules cargo aircraft, which transported spare parts and support packages. The Falcons were deployed for 84 days, providing daily updated surface analysis of the location, condition, and drift projections of spilled oil to the Coast Guard–led U.S. Interagency Assessment Team.

On February 28 coalition offensive operations ceased, and on April 11 the UN declared a formal cease-fire ending the Persian Gulf War. On April 21, when coalition naval forces entered Kuwait's Mina Ash Shuwaikh Harbor, they selected a Coast Guard tactical port security boat from PSU 301 to lead the way. This event symbolized how the numerically small Coast Guard forces played an important role in military operations. The MSOs ensured a nearly 100 percent ready rate of RRF vessels, and LEDET personnel either led or supported 60 percent of the 600 boardings. A total of nearly 1,000 Coast Guard reservists were called to active duty for DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, and two-thirds of them served in the first successful overseas deployment of PSUs. Coast Guard aviation units deployed in theater mapped more than 40,000 square miles of the Persian Gulf, while their aircraft maintained a readiness rate of nearly 100 percent. There were no Coast Guard fatalities during the conflict.

WILLIAM H. THIESEN

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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United States Congress and the Iraq War

In October 2002, five months prior to the March 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq, the U.S. Congress granted President George W. Bush unprecedented war-making authority regarding Iraq. The resolution stated, incorrectly as events on the ground later showed, that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) that posed a threat to U.S. national security and that Iraq served as a base for the Al Qaeda terrorist network. With the support of the leaders of

Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.), flanked by House majority whip James E. Clyburn (D-S.C.), left, and Rep. Patrick Murphy (D-Pa.), right, meets reporters on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C., on March 23, 2007, after a sharply divided House approved an Iraq funding bill that included a timetable for bringing U.S. troops home. (AP/Wide World Photos)

both parties, the House of Representatives adopted the resolution on October 10, 2002, by a vote of 296 to 133, and the Senate passed the resolution the following day by a vote of 77 to 23.

Critics of Operation IRAQI FREEDOM noted how experts who questioned claims that Iraq still had WMDs or ties to Al Qaeda were largely prevented from expressing their views at congressional hearings. Also silenced were those who challenged administration claims of Iraqi links to Al Qaeda or raised concerns about potential instability and armed resistance following a U.S. occupation of Iraq. It was subsequently learned that few members of Congress had actually read some of the more detailed and nuanced government intelligence reports that questioned the presence of WMDs in Iraq and that country's link to Al Qaeda. Virtually all Republicans and many Democrats were apparently convinced that authorizing the use of force was necessary to defend American interests. Some Democrats likely supported the resolution as part of a political calculation. That is, if the war were successful, they did not want to be on record as having opposed a popular war. If they voted to authorize the use of force, and the war proved to be unsuccessful or unpopular, it was assumed that voters would be more prone to blame Bush and the Republicans rather than the Democratic members of Congress who had supported him. Others claimed later that they assumed the Bush administration would use the resolution as a tool to bluff down Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, short of war.

International legal scholars, as well as Secretary General of the United Nations (UN) Kofi Annan, asserted that the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq was a violation of the UN Charter. That document prohibits war except for self-defense or when authorized by the UN Security Council. Thus, the congressional vote has been widely interpreted as a bipartisan rebuke of the post–World War II consensus against wars of aggression and an endorsement of American unilateralism.

The majority of Democrats, as well as some Republicans, later expressed regrets over their votes, although in most cases this did not take place until early 2006, when public opinion polls began showing a majority of the American public expressing opposition to the war. Exit polls in the midterm 2006 elections showed that such opposition was the single most important factor in repudiating the Republicans and electing a Democratic majority in Congress. Democratic lawmakers were then subjected to increasing pressure by their constituents to challenge the Bush administration's Iraq War policy.

In previous decades, Congress had shown a willingness to eliminate funding for unpopular overseas U.S. military operations over the objections of the executive branch, but the leadership of the new Democratic majority largely rejected that option. Instead, in 2007 there were several unsuccessful attempts to link supplemental appropriations to specific timetables for a phased withdrawal

from Iraq. Democrats also called for precise benchmarks to be met by the Iraqi government, as well as other attempts to assert legislative influence over the war. Some of the more liberal legislators continued to raise moral and legal issues.

However, most of the growing number of congressional opponents emphasized concerns about whether the war was actually winnable, or whether the United States had become embroiled in a civil war among competing Iraqi factions formerly held in check by Hussein's ruthless regime, but let loose by the U.S. invasion. This thinking became increasingly apparent as a number of traditionally hawkish legislators with close ties to the military, such as Democratic representative John Murtha, began pushing for a U.S. withdrawal in late 2006. By the summer of 2007, even fairly hawkish Republicans, like Virginia senator John Warner, Indiana senator Richard Lugar, and Kentucky senator Mitch McConnell, were advocating a fundamental change of course in Iraq. While stopping short of advocating an immediate withdrawal of troops, these senators made it clear that the Bush administration had to change its policies in Iraq. The apparent success of the 2007–2008 troop surge and revised U.S. counterinsurgency strategy in Iraq, as well as the change in American administration, has tended to temper, if not eliminate, congressional criticism. In the spring of 2009 there was a rise in violence in Iraq. However, the new Barack Obama administration had already announced its intent to shift the focus of U.S. combat actions to Afghanistan, a move that many congressional critics of the Bush administration had previously called for.

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See also

Al Qaeda; Annan, Kofi; Bush, George Walker; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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United States Congress and the Persian Gulf War

Prior to the beginning of hostilities in Operation DESERT STORM, and during the implantation of Operation DESERT SHIELD from August 1990 to January 1991, the U.S. Congress played an active role in oversight of the growing crisis with Iraq. Iraq invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990, and annexed that small nation. This action provided Iraqi president Saddam Hussein with major additional oil revenues and greater maritime access to the Persian Gulf. It also posed a threat to Saudi Arabia, a key U.S. ally in the region.

President George H. W. Bush responded to Hussein's action with an executive order imposing an embargo on Iraq and freezing its assets. On August 2, both the House and Senate voted unanimously to impose sanctions against Iraq. Bush also ordered the deployment of U.S. troops to Saudi Arabia to prevent an Iraqi invasion there, beginning Operation DESERT SHIELD, which eventually included an international coalition of 30 nations providing varying modes of military support. Another 18 nations provided nonmilitary support.

As passed by Congress in 1973, the War Powers Resolution requires presidents to consult with Congress before directing the military to engage in hostile activity; submit a written report to Congress within 48 hours of the introduction of U.S. forces into hostilities; and withdraw forces within 60 days (with a provision for an additional 30-day extension). Initially, the Bush administration did not report on the situation to the Congress as a whole because, technically, there were no hostilities. The only member of Congress informed of the initial deployment was Senator Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

President Bush was wary about seeking a vote from Congress authorizing the use of force. Part of this reluctance stemmed from political issues, for the Democrats controlled both houses of Congress. Yet beyond that there was persistent talk about the so-called Vietnam Syndrome, which allegedly had rendered the U.S. government hesitant to engage in any major confrontation out of fear that it might turn into another Vietnam War–like quagmire.

The Bush administration carried this burden quite seriously. During a White House meeting with senior Republican congressional leaders shortly after the Iraq invasion, Bush advised them of his intent. Congressman Mickey Edwards (R-Ohio), chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee, advised the president that he was constitutionally bound to secure a congressional mandate for war. Administration officials, such as Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, later stated that the administration would have pressed forward regardless of how Congress voted.

With the congressional midterm elections approaching on November 6, 1990, the president carefully considered the best time to request a vote. Eventually, he waited until after the elections to ask for the vote requesting authority from Congress to employ force. Some suggested that Bush deferred out of respect for Congress and to avoid making the vote an election issue. Others, however, believed that he feared public opinion against the war might manifest itself in Republican election losses.

After Bush had ordered more troops to the region in November, 45 members of Congress, led by Congressman Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), filed a lawsuit (*Dellums v. Bush*) charging that Bush had violated Article I of the Constitution and the War Powers Resolution. The judge in the case ruled against Dellums, arguing that the dispute was not ready for judicial attention.

On November 29, 1990, the United Nations (UN) approved a resolution authorizing the use of military force to expel Iraq from Kuwait, setting a deadline for January 15, 1991, for Saddam Hussein to withdraw his forces from Kuwait. This made Bush's request

Political Makeup of the U.S. Congress during the Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars

			House of Representatives			*Senate*		
	Congress	*Term*	*Democratic*	*Republican*	*Other/Vacant*	*Democrat*	*Republican*	*Other/Vacant*
Persian Gulf War	101st	January 3, 1989–January 3, 1991	261	174	0	55	45	0
	102nd	January 3, 1991–January 3, 1993	270	164	1	57	43	0
Iraq War	107th	January 3, 2001–January 3, 2003	209	222	4	50	49	1
	108th	January 3, 2003–January 3, 2005	205	229	1	48	51	1

far more palatable to the Congress. With the new Congress having been sworn in, the House and Senate set the vote on authorization of the use of military force for January 12, the first such vote taken since the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution on August 7, 1964, during the Vietnam War.

After debating for three days, the House voted 250 to 183 to authorize force if necessary. The Senate faced two measures. The first, Senate Joint Resolution 1 (S. J. Resolution 1), sponsored by Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Maine) and Senator Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), called for continuing economic sanctions against Iraq. The second, S. J. Resolution 2, was a straight yes or no vote on the use of force. Given the expected close vote, at least one senator bartered for his vote. Senator Al Gore (D-Tenn.) told the Republican leadership that he would support their position if they gave him special time to speak on the floor of the Senate. He believed that the Democrats would support the vote if they provided him with special floor time. The Republican leadership accepted his offer. Not surprisingly, S. J. Resolution 1 was defeated 46 to 53. The following vote, S. J. Resolution 2, authorizing the use of force, was approved 52 to 47 with the defection of several Democratic senators. Gore had delivered on his promise.

On January 16, 1991, coalition forces began the air attacks against Iraq in Operation DESERT STORM. Following the commencement of hostilities, a House and Senate resolution supported the president's action; there were no votes against the resolution. This was merely rhetorical window-dressing, but it did show in good faith congressional support for Bush and the war effort. The brevity of the war and its quick and unequivocal victory kept congressional meddling at bay and seemed to suggest that the Vietnam Syndrome had been laid to rest.

CLAUDE G. BERUBE

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Cheney, Richard Bruce; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Vietnam Syndrome; War Powers Act

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United States Coordinating and Monitoring Mission

Start Date: June 2003
End Date: January 2004

The United States Coordinating and Monitoring Mission (USCMM) was part of the peace initiative known as the Road Map to Peace in the Middle East. Established in June 2003 by the administration of President George W. Bush, the initial task of the USCMM was to test the hypothesis that both sides in the conflict were ready to take the hard steps necessary to achieve a two-state solution and a stable peace. The experience of the USCMM proved that this was an invalid assumption for both the Palestinian and Israeli sides in 2003 at the height of the Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada.

The chief of the USCMM was Ambassador John Wolf, the assistant secretary of state for nonproliferation. He assumed the USCMM mission while retaining his portfolio in the Nonproliferation Bureau. Wolf reported directly to both Secretary of State Colin Powell and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice. Wolf's chief of staff was Joseph Pritchard. Wolf was also assisted by a political adviser, an economic adviser, an intelligence adviser, and a police adviser. Initially there was no military representation on the USCMM. Recognizing the need for military expertise in dealing with the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and the multitude of Palestinian security organizations, Wolf, through the State Department, requested the assignment of a general officer to serve as the senior security adviser.

The USCMM established its operating base at the U.S. consulate in West Jerusalem. The U.S. embassy in Tel Aviv was the official U.S. policy mission to the Israelis. The U.S. consulate in Jerusalem, which unlike any other American consulate in the world reported directly to the State Department and not to an embassy, was the official policy mission to the Palestinians. In 2003 the USCMM was the only official U.S. element that talked to both sides.

In early August Wolf returned to Washington for the visits by Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian prime minister Mahmoud Abbas. On August 10 Major General David T. Zabecki and his executive officer, Major Kevin Mills, joined the USCMM in Jerusalem. For the first several weeks Zabecki was also assisted by Colonel Philip J. Dermer, a former foreign policy adviser to Vice President Richard Cheney. Although Zabecki worked for Wolf,

Palestinian foreign minister Nabil Shaath, right, shakes hands with U.S. Middle East envoy John Wolf during their meeting in the West Bank town of Ramallah on June 17, 2003. (AP/Wide World Photos)

he also reported directly to the Joint Staff in Washington (J-5) through the director for strategic plans and policy.

One of the major security challenges was the 11 or more Palestinian security organizations, each one its own little feudal fiefdom, reporting to different masters and competing for power with one another as well as with the various militant groups. Another challenge was the initial truce, or *hudna,* that had been called unilaterally by Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad—but not the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades and other militant groups—for a 45-day period. Israel continually accused the Palestinians of using the relative calm of the *hudna* to regroup and rearm in preparation for future attacks. The Palestinians accused Israel of exploiting the *hudna* to expand settlements and outposts and to hunt down militant leaders. Finally, the Israelis claimed that outside actors, including Iran, Syria, and Hezbollah in Lebanon, were expending significant efforts and resources to defeat any possibility of peace and stability between the Israelis and Palestinians.

Wolf initially established a plan based on a matrix of nine spheres on which the USCMM would continually evaluate Israeli and Palestinian performance. He called these spheres "baskets." The Israeli baskets included Palestinian quality of life in the occupied territories, Israeli settlements and outposts, Palestinian prisoners, and Palestinian National Authority (PNA) revenues. The Palestinian baskets included PNA institutional reform, incitement, and security performance, which meant bringing the militant groups under control. The shared basket between the two sides was security cooperation, which focused on the phased handover of West Bank cities to Palestinian security control. Progress in resolving the issues in the baskets was used as a gauge of political will, with the idea that additional monitoring assets would be committed as the performance on both sides produced concrete results.

To support the expanded monitoring, Zabecki and Dermer developed a plan to field five monitoring teams of two monitors and one translator each to engage both sides daily in the field. At

any given time two teams would work in the West Bank, one team would work in the Gaza Strip, one team would be used for rapid response to any breaking incident, and one team would be off duty but available as a reserve. The plan called for the monitors to be recruited from retired military or State Department personnel with extensive experience in the region. Until the teams could be recruited, trained, equipped, and fielded, Zabecki, Dermer, and Mills, plus Colonel Roger Bass and Lieutenant Colonel Warren Gunderman of the U.S. Military Attaché's Office in Tel Aviv, conducted numerous monitoring missions in the occupied territories to test out the monitoring procedures and to establish USCMM presence and freedom of movement.

Wolf returned to Washington briefly on August 16. At a meeting at Israeli Ministry of Defense headquarters in Tel Aviv on August 19, Major General Giora Eiland, the IDF chief of J-5, briefed Zabecki on the basic outline of a meeting he was to have with his Palestinian counterparts in the West Bank that night to negotiate the final details for the handover of several cities to Palestinian security control. That was one of the most hopeful signs of progress that the USCMM had seen so far. At about 9:30 p.m., however, as Eiland was en route to his meeting, a Palestinian suicide bomber blew up a bus in Jerusalem, killing 23 and wounding 136. Eiland turned around before reaching his destination. On August 21 an IDF helicopter strike killed Hamas leader Ismail Abu Shanab in Gaza. Shortly thereafter, Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad called off the *hudna.* (Hamas reinstated a *hudna* later in 2004.)

Wolf returned to Jerusalem on August 20 and attempted to keep both sides talking to each other. On August 26 Wolf and Zabecki met with Palestinian minister for state security Muhammad Dahlan in Gaza to discuss what to do with three arms-smuggling tunnels in Rafah and a number of Qassam rockets that had been seized by Dahlan's Preventive Security Organization (PSO). Just as Wolf and Zabecki were leaving Gaza, the IDF launched an air strike into Gaza City in an attempt to kill another Hamas leader. The presence of the two senior members of the USCMM inside Gaza at the time of the strike was a blow to the mission's credibility with the Palestinians.

Wolf continued to work relentlessly on the senior political leadership on both sides, especially on issues related to the exact route of Israel's West Bank security barrier. Zabecki continued to work with the IDF and the wide range of various Palestinian security figures. On August 28 Zabecki, Bass, and Mills were conducting a reconnaissance mission inside Gaza when they received reports of a Qassam rocket firing that almost hit the main power plant at Ashkalon. Leaving the strip, the monitors proceeded to the impact site to assess the damage, which was negligible. On September 3 Zabecki met with military intelligence officers at the IDF's Southern Command headquarters in Beersheba to discuss various options to help Dahlan's PSO deal with the Rafah tunnels.

A major decline in the USCMM's prospects for any real success began on September 6 with the resignation of Abbas as Palestinian prime minister, following his long-running dispute with Yasser Arafat. No other Palestinian leader had the trust and credibility with both the Israelis and the Americans, not Abbas's successor, Ahmed Qurei, and certainly not Arafat himself, with whom the Americans and Israelis had long refused to deal. Nonetheless, the USCMM continued to push forward. On September 13 Mills and Pritchard returned to Washington to conduct initial interviews for members of the monitoring teams. On September 23 Zabecki flew to Germany to interview the lead candidate to be the operations officer of the monitoring teams.

On September 24 a USCMM convoy was fired on in Gaza in the vicinity of Beit Hanoun while police adviser John Collins was visiting Palestinian police stations. Three members of Palestinian Islamic Jihad were later arrested and charged. Wolf, meanwhile, was recalled to Washington on September 25 while the U.S. government continued to assess the developing situation with the new Qurei government.

Zabecki returned to Jerusalem on October 1. Maintaining daily phone and e-mail contact with Wolf, Zabecki continued to work the circle of security contacts on both sides and develop the plans to field the monitoring teams. On October 6 Qurei issued a statement that his government would not clamp down on the Palestinian militant groups, further decreasing the chances that Wolf would return to Jerusalem anytime soon.

On October 15 Zabecki, Mills, and Pritchard were conducting a reconnaissance mission in the West Bank's Jordan Valley when at 10:15 a.m. they received a report that a U.S. diplomatic convoy in Gaza had been hit by a roadside improvised explosive device. The convoy had been carrying personnel from the embassy in Tel Aviv to interview Fulbright Scholarship candidates in Gaza. The attack occurred at nearly the exact same point where the USCMM convoy had been attacked almost three weeks earlier. This time three American security guards, John Eric Branchizio, John Martin Linde, and Mark Thaddeus Parsons, were killed in the blast. A fourth guard, Oscar Inhosa, was seriously wounded. Upon receiving the report, the USCMM team broke off its mission and immediately returned to Jerusalem. Despite all sorts of pronouncements from various Palestinian leaders, no one was ever brought to justice for the attack. Many Palestinian newspapers immediately accused the Mossad of conducting the attack.

The USCMM mission was now all but dead. From that point on Zabecki had no more official contact with Palestinian security officials and only pro forma contacts with the IDF. On October 20 the United States informed the Israeli government that Wolf would not be returning to the region for the time being. After a final outbriefing at IDF headquarters in Tel Aviv on October 30 with Eiland and his deputy, Brigadier General Eival Gilady, Zabecki, and Mills departed Israel on November 1 and returned to their home base in Heidelberg, Germany. The remaining members of the USCMM left within days. For the next two months all the members of the USCMM remained on standby, assigned to the mission and ready to return should the situation change. As late as January 5, 2004, Secretary of State Powell told the *Washington Post* that Wolf might

be sent back to the region. On January 23 the Defense Department withdrew General Zabecki from the mission.

David T. Zabecki

See also

Abbas, Mahmoud; Arafat, Yasser; Dahlan, Muhammad Yusuf; Hamas; Improvised Explosive Devices; Intifada, Second; Rice, Condoleezza; Sharon, Ariel; Wolf, John Stern

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United States Department of Defense

A department of the administrative branch of the U.S. federal government that coordinates and supervises all agencies and functions relating directly to national security and the U.S. military services. The headquarters of the Department of Defense is the Pentagon, constructed in 1943 in Arlington, Virginia, just across the Potomac River from Washington, D.C. The Defense Department's Pentagon staff includes political appointees (some, such as the secretary of defense, requiring congressional confirmation) who are normally replaced when presidential administrations change, career civilian civil servants who are not political appointees and therefore provide long-term continuity, and uniformed military service members assigned to serve a tour on the Defense Department staff.

The Defense Department has six major components: the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Defense Department Staff; the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) and the Joint Staff; the military service departments (departments of the army, navy, and air force); the 10 unified combatant commands; the defense agencies (including the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, the Missile Defense Agency, the Defense Acquisition Agency, and the Defense Threat Reduction Agency); and the Defense Department field activities (including the Department of Defense Dependent Schools, and the Defense Human Resources Activity). The Defense Department also operates several joint service schools, including the National Defense University in Washington, D.C.; the Armed Forces Staff College, in Norfolk, Virginia; and the Uniformed Services University of the Health Services.

Until the Defense Department was created in 1947, the Department of War and the Department of the Navy organized, trained, and planned the commitment of the country's land and naval forces. The U.S. Army and the U.S. Navy operated separately, and the secretary of war and secretary of the navy were equal cabinet-level positions. The U.S. Marine Corps was and remains under the Navy Department. Although it came under operational control of the Navy Department during wartime, in peacetime the U.S. Coast Guard, another uniformed, armed sea service, belonged to the Department of the Treasury (later under the Department of Transportation and, today, under the Department of Homeland Security). In 1907 the U.S. government established the first military aviation service, the Aeronautical Division of the Army's Signal Corps, which, over time, grew in size and complexity to equal that of the navy and army. Known as the Army Air Corps before World War II and, after March 1942, as the Army Air Forces, it became an independent branch as the U.S. Air Force at the Defense Department's creation in 1947.

After the Civil War, the growth of U.S. military forces and increasing U.S. global interests resulted in a growing need for greater cooperation between the army and the navy. The coordination between the two services during the 1898 Spanish-American War was dismal at best. In response, President Theodore Roosevelt established the Joint Army and Navy Board in 1903 to plan "joint" operations (i.e., military actions involving two or more different services) and resolve problems between the two services. The Joint Board, however, had little authority and limited ability to influence the secretaries of war and the navy. Interservice coordination problems and rivalries continued through World War I. Following that war, the Joint Board was reorganized and expanded, and in 1935 it was renamed the Joint Action Board of the Army and Navy; yet it still had little real authority or influence.

Immediately after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the 1941 Arcadia Conference between President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British prime minister Winston Churchill established the Combined Chiefs of Staff as the supreme military body for strategic direction of the Anglo-American war effort ("combined" operations are those involving two or more different nations). Although the British already had a well-established Chiefs of Staff Committee, the United States had no such body. As a result, the United States established the JCF in 1942, but it was an unofficial body that operated throughout the war without official legislative sanction. The functional chairman of the World War II JCS was Admiral William D. Leahy in his capacity as the chief of staff to the president. In December 1944 Leahy became the first American officer promoted to five-star rank.

The World War II JCS proved a successful concept in coordinating the actions of all U.S. military services fighting a global war. On December 19, 1945, three months after World War II ended, President Harry S. Truman proposed the creation of a unified Department of National Defense in a speech to Congress. Between July 1946 and July 1947, Congress and the White House debated the shape and authority of a unified national military establishment. Congress finally passed the National Security Act (NSA), which Truman signed on July 26, 1947, creating the National Military Establishment.

One of the most wide-ranging pieces of legislation in American history, the 1947 act also created a secretary of national defense as a cabinet-level position; established the JCS as a formal

The Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, houses the Department of Defense. Built during World War II, it is the world's largest office building and approximately 25,000 people work there. (Library of Congress)

body; established the Department of the Air Force and the U.S. Air Force as a separate service, co-equal to the U.S. Army and U.S. Navy, under the secretary of the air force; renamed the War Department the Department of the Army; established the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the National Security Council (NSC); and established the unified joint commands (today called the unified combatant commands). An amendment to the act in 1949 changed the name of the National Military Establishment to the Department of Defense; downgraded the secretaries of the army, navy, and air force to noncabinet-level positions and made them directly subordinate to the secretary of defense; and established the position of chairman of the JCS. General (promoted in 1950 to General of the Army) Omar N. Bradley was the first JCS chairman.

The new National Military Establishment began operations on September 18, 1947, with former Secretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal as the first secretary of defense. Since the 1947 and 1949 acts, Congress has passed additional laws that have given the secretary of defense more authority over the three military branches, further defined the role of the JCS and the chairman of the JCS as military advisers, and clarified the lines of command of the president, the secretary of defense, the service secretaries, and the service chiefs of staff.

Perhaps the single biggest change introduced in 1947 was the establishment of the joint commands and the removal of the service secretaries and the service chiefs from the operational chain of command. The chain of command ran, and still runs, upward from the joint combatant commanders directly to the National Command Authority (NCA), which consists of the secretary of defense and the president. The joint combatant commands became the key link between the military and the civilian political leadership. The service secretaries and the service chiefs have support and administration roles only. The service secretaries and chiefs of staff are responsible for organizing, equipping, and training their respective services, and providing forces to the joint combatant commanders. It is the combatant commanders who fight the wars and conduct military operations. The JCS and the chair of the JCS had no direct command authority; they were advisers only.

The Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986, signed into law by President Ronald Reagan on October 1, 1986, is the most current law that defines the command structure and organization of the Department of Defense. This act reworked the command structure of the U.S. military, introducing the most profound and sweeping changes to Defense Department since its establishment in 1947. Goldwater-Nichols reemphasized that the operational chain of command runs from the president and the secretary of defense to the combatant commanders, who command all military forces within their area of responsibility.

Goldwater-Nichols strengthened the position of the chairman of the JCS, as well as established the position of vice chief of the JCS. Previously, all primary members of the JCS, the service chiefs and the chairman, were designated equally as military advisers to the president and secretary of defense. Therefore, the unanimity this policy required among the chairman of the JCS and service chiefs often resulted in their advice on any subject being watered-down pap of dubious value, lest any single service take offense. Goldwater-Nichols, however, made the chairman the principal military adviser to the NCA, and, by law, the highest-ranking military officer in the United States. Therefore, under Goldwater-Nichols, the chairman was designated as the final arbiter for all JCS actions, essentially rectifying the previous situation in which a single service could veto an action it considered detrimental to its own parochial interests. This has eliminated many of the negative effects that interservice rivalry had exerted in the past.

Goldwater-Nichols also designated the chair of the JCS as the communications link for the passage of orders from the NCA to the combatant commanders. The chair, however, has no authority to issue orders to the commandant commands.

Goldwater-Nichols also contains provisions that have firmly embedded "jointness" within all of the military services. It provides for the routine assignment of military personnel to joint-duty positions throughout their careers, and requires their education in Defense Department joint professional development schools as part of their career development and progression. It also mandates that officers reaching general officer/flag officer rank must have served in a joint assignment (or must serve in a joint assignment immediately upon promotion to general officer/flag officer rank). Coordinated procurement procedures allow the various military services to share such technological advances as stealth and smart weapons quickly and provide other ancillary benefits—such as the interoperability of radios between services, heretofore a major operational problem. The joint implementation of new technology is also intended to facilitate the joint development of operational doctrine, although much work remains to be done more than 20 years after Goldwater-Nichols.

The first real test of Goldwater-Nichols was the 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM). The realigned organizational structure did not function exactly as intended, but it was a vast improvement over previous wars. U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf had clearer access to the intent of the NCA, and chairman of the JCS General Colin Powell exercised greater coordination and control over the planning process than any previous chair. The coordination of all aerial assets in the theater was far from perfect, but the lessons of DESERT STORM resulted in improvements during the Iraq and Afghanistan wars.

The combatant commanders of the unified commands are the war fighters who actually conduct U.S. combat operations. The combatant commander, always a four-star general or flag officer, can come from any of the services. As of 2009 there are 10 Unified Combatant Commands, six regional and four functional. The six regional commands are the U.S. Northern Command, responsible for the defense of North America; U.S. Central Command, responsible for Egypt through the Persian Gulf region into Central Asia; U.S. European Command, responsible for Europe, Turkey, and Israel; U.S. Pacific Command, responsible for the Asia-Pacific region; U.S. Southern Command, responsible for South and Central America; and U.S. Africa Command, established in 2008, responsible for Africa excluding Egypt.

The four functional commands are the U.S. Special Operations Command, which provides special operations for all military services; U.S. Joint Forces Command, which supports other commands as a joint-force provider (for example, joint-force planning and training/education); U.S. Strategic Command, which oversees the strategic deterrent forces (the air force's nuclear-armed bombers and intercontinental ballistic missiles, and the navy's sea-launched nuclear-armed ballistic missile submarines) and coordinates the use of Defense Department's space assets; and the U.S. Transportation Command, which provides global mobility of all military assets for all regional commands.

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See also

Goldwater-Nichols Defense Reorganization Act; Joint Chiefs of Staff; United States Air Force Air Combat Command; United States Central Command; United States European Command; United States Special Operations Command; United States Transportation Command

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United States Department of Defense, Military Reform, Realignment, and Transformation

By the late 1980s, the approaching end of the Cold War brought with it an opportunity to reform and realign the U.S. Department of Defense. The Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986, Public Law 99–433, was the single most sweeping change to the Department of Defense since its establishment by the National Security Act of 1947. Most significantly, Goldwater-Nichols strengthened the position of the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) and eliminated ambiguities in the command structure and the chain of command; required greater coordination and interaction of the military services with the objective of improving "jointness"; restructured career management patterns for officers to require greater qualification and experience in serving on joint staffs and in joint operations; and mandated greater coordination across the services in the procurement of weapons, equipment, and technology. More than 20 years later, Goldwater-Nichols still has not quite lived up to all its initial expectations, but the resulting improvements in operational efficiency and effectiveness have nonetheless been significant.

The end of the Cold War also seemed to be ushering in an era of increased security and therefore a decreased need for defense spending, hyped by the media as the so-called peace dividend. Congress pursued that prospect in 1989 when it authorized Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney to appoint an independent Base Realignment and Closure Commission (BRACC). The commission prepared a phased plan for closing, reorganizing, or realigning military facilities and functions in the continental United States to eliminate excess capacity. In June 1990 Cheney provided Congress with a broader plan to reform the U.S. armed forces for the emerging realities of the post–Cold War era.

Cheney's plan called for a 25 percent decrease in the size of the armed forces; overseas bases would be consolidated or closed. New capabilities would allow the armed forces to deploy directly from realigned domestic bases to meet foreign crises. On August 2, 1990, President George H. W. Bush announced his support of the proposal. That very same day, Iraq launched its invasion of Kuwait.

The resulting Persian Gulf War demonstrated both the strengths and weaknesses of the Cold War U.S. military. While easily victorious, U.S. forces required months to prepare and deploy for combat (Operation DESERT SHIELD). The one-sided victory owed much to the availability of secure staging areas in Saudi Arabia and Iraq's failure to interfere with the assembling multinational force. Military planners could not count on such luck in the future.

Regional conflicts like the Persian Gulf War, peacekeeping missions, and counterterrorism operations appeared more likely than major warfare in the early 21st century, especially after the December 26, 1991, dissolution of the Soviet Union. President Bush released a new national military strategy in January 1992 that approved Cheney's concepts but amounted to only a reduction in size, rather than a major realignment, of the Department of Defense. In March 1993 the new administration of President William J. Clinton launched a review of American armed forces and strategy "from the bottom up," planning a more comprehensive series of reforms.

Secretary of Defense Leslie (Les) Aspin released the *Report on the Bottom-Up Review* in October 1993. Its contents guided American policy through 1999, moving the Defense Department further from its Cold War orientation. The review identified five basic threats to U.S. security for the foreseeable future: proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs); crises caused by the aggression of a major regional power; conflicts inspired by religious or ethnic animosity, subversion, or state-sponsored terrorism; dangers to democracy and reform in the former Warsaw Pact or elsewhere; and potential dangers from economic failure within the United States. It called for further reductions in all of the armed forces, using prepositioned supplies and improved mobility to maintain overseas capabilities despite continued declines in overseas basing.

The review assumed the existence of an ongoing change in warfare, a so-called Revolution in Military Affairs that would facilitate the planned reforms. According to this theory, advances in information technology and other recent developments introduced capabilities that could radically transform warfare. New operational and tactical concepts could exploit those capabilities. Reform of the procurement system, together with introduction of commercial practices and civilian technologies, theoretically would reduce the cost and speed the acquisition of new military hardware. Those same factors would extend the promise of these reforms into the wider administration of the Defense Department.

Some pundits even went so far as to tout what appeared to be "the changing nature of war." Many military historians and serious students of war, however, counterargued that the fundamental nature of war was not changing, and in fact never changed. Although the tools, the mechanics, the weapons, and the tactics of warfare were undoubtedly changing, and at a breathtaking pace, war itself still remained at its foundation, as Clausewitz defined it, "an act of force to compel an enemy to do our will." Despite the trappings of technology, war is and will remain an ugly, brutal business that involves killing people, or credibly threatening to do so.

The so-called Revolution in Military Affairs became a favored buzzword of politicians and uninformed journalists, but other than that has remained largely a myth. The last time there was a true revolution in military affairs was the introduction of nuclear weapons in August 1945. Everything since then has been an incremental evolution, although at times the slope of that evolution curve has been steep, indeed.

Each of the services launched its own initiatives to support the reforms ordered by the *Bottom-Up Review.* At the same time,

Cold War stockpiles and a steady decline in the size of the military allowed the services to take a procurement holiday. Very little new equipment needed to be purchased as the services expended existing matériel reserves and continued to operate equipment from the 1980s or earlier.

Future plans were coordinated through a series of Quadrennial Defense Reviews, building on the work of the *Bottom-Up Review,* and further rounds of base realignments and closures. Developing from the initial 1988 base realignment authorization, BRACC procedures sought to reduce political influence over the sensitive issue of closing bases. They did so by requiring congressional approval or disapproval of realignments proposed by the Defense Department's independent commission in a single vote, rather than on a case-by-case basis.

Service initiatives and planning for new equipment to exploit the presumed revolution in military affairs continued through the 1990s. In 1996 the JCS released *Joint Vision 2010,* describing how the individual services would continue their reform efforts and prepare for the approaching 21st century.

Army chief of staff General Eric K. Shinseki announced his intention to begin fully implementing planned reforms soon after taking office in June 1999. The Army Transformation Plan was a three-tracked process, based on the requirement to transform while at the same time maintaining the capability to operate effectively across the entire spectrum of military operations. During the initial phases of transformation the bulk of the army would be based on what was called the Legacy Force, which would still require sustainment and capitalization in future years. The Interim Force, based on newly organized Brigade Combat Teams and new weapons systems, such as the wheeled Stryker interim armored vehicle, would bridge the gap between the Legacy Force and the Objective Force, and serve as a test bed. The Objective Force was the end-state of the army transformation process. Based on the concept of the digitized battlefield, the technological component of the Objective Force was called Future Combat Systems (FCS). Introduced in 2003, FCS was the army's principal modernization program until May 2009, when Pentagon and army officials announced the cancellation of the FCS vehicle-development program.

The U.S. Air Force pursued a similar goal, reorganizing into Air Expeditionary Forces in January 2000. The U.S. Marine Corps described its intent to move beyond traditional amphibious operations into expeditionary warfare in the 2001 publication *Expeditionary Maneuver Warfare.* The U.S. Navy released *Sea Power 21,* its own vision for a future based on the revolution in military affairs, in 2002.

By the time Donald Rumsfeld became secretary of defense in January 2001, all the services had under way well-thought-out transformation programs that had been in development for years. Nonetheless, Rumsfeld immediately seized ownership of the transformation issue as if he had invented it, and dismissed as largely irrelevant all the transformation efforts in progress to that point. Rumsfeld, who had previously served as secretary of defense during the Gerald Ford administration (1975–1977), often seemed to operate as if he were unaware of the profound changes to the Department of Defense wrought by the 1986 Goldwater-Nichols Act. By any measure, the Pentagon establishment Rumsfeld took over in 2001 was a far cry from the one he had last led in 1977; yet, his apparent presumption that nothing substantial had changed in a quarter century proved immediately disruptive.

Rumsfeld especially made a point of dismissing the army's efforts, branding the service as a Cold War, obsolete, heavy tank–obsessed relic, even though the Stryker light armored vehicle was already in development and a little more than a year away from delivery.

Rumsfeld and his advisers were enamored by the prospects of all the emerging technology, despite the fact that most of it was still untested and that history clearly shows that no military technology ever works exactly as envisioned when first introduced. In the months before the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Rumsfeld championed the theory that ground forces were now obsolete in modern warfare, and that future wars could be prosecuted successfully by a combination of airpower and high technology. Just days before September 11, Rumsfeld was widely expected to announce the elimination of two army divisions.

The initial quick and stunning victories in Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003 seemed at first to vindicate Rumsfeld and his faith in the new theories. But then reality settled in, as the lingering insurgencies in both countries brought forth requirements for ground forces that grew steadily. As history has shown consistently throughout the 20th century, ground simply cannot be held and controlled solely from the air. Consequently, the U.S. Army and U.S. Marine Corps, inadequately manned for the increased global missions they were called upon to undertake, became increasingly burdened with a crushing load of personnel rotations in and out of the various combat zones. As General Shinseki warned during his retirement speech on June 11, 2003, "Beware a 12-division strategy for a 10-division army."

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See also

Aspin, Leslie, Jr.; Cheney, Richard Bruce; desert storm, Operation; Shinseki, Eric Ken; Stryker Brigades; United States Department of Defense

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United States Department of Homeland Security

Federal cabinet-level agency established on November 25, 2002, with the passage of the Homeland Security Act of 2002. Created in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) marked the largest restructuring of the federal government since the end of World War II. The DHS commenced operations on January 24, 2003, and brought together approximately 180,000 federal employees and 22 agencies into a cabinet-level department. The DHS was created to prevent terrorist attacks within the United States, reduce the vulnerability of the United States to terrorism, and minimize the damage from, and speed the recovery after, terrorist attacks.

Homeland security within the United States was traditionally viewed as a state concern, interpreted by the Constitution as related to public health and safety. The federal government historically focused on national security while leaving local and state governments responsible for these types of domestic concerns. However, as federal power has increased in relation to the states, so has the role of the federal government in homeland security matters.

Until the war years of the 20th century, the federal government largely took a secondary role to state governments in homeland security issues. One notable exception to this trend rests with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. This organization was tasked with providing flood protection for the nation through such legislation as the Flood Control Act of 1936, in addition to a range of other disaster-related roles. During the Cold War, homeland security took on a truly national role with the creation of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization in the early 1950s. Commonly referred to as the Civil Defense Agency, this body gave the federal government a major role in preparing the domestic population for nuclear attack. Other notable federal interventions into domestic homeland security include the Office of Emergency Preparedness, established in 1961, and the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), established in 1979.

With the end of the Cold War, the federal government increasingly focused on homeland security. The rising threat of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and terrorism prompted the national government to take on an even greater role in homeland security. Presidential Decision Directive/National Security Council (PDD/NSC) document 39 of June 21, 1995, and PDD/NSC 63 of May 22, 1998, both reflected the increased federal focus in protecting domestic populations and resources from terrorist attacks. The National Defense Panel of 1997 called for the federal government to reform homeland security. The panel's recommendations included the need to incorporate all levels of government into managing the consequences of a WMD attack or terrorist activities. Similar findings were made by the Hart-Rudman Commission (the U.S. Commission on National Security/Twenty-First Century) in January 2001. The commission recommended a cabinet-level agency to combat terrorism.

After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, the George W. Bush administration undertook significant reforms to promulgate the earlier recommendations. Bush established the Office of Homeland Security (OHS) under the direction of former Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge on October 8, 2001, through Executive Order 13228. The goals of the OHS involved coordinating homeland security efforts among the various federal, state, and local government agencies, and the development of a comprehensive homeland security strategy. However, the new body had no real budgetary or oversight authority, and its ability to accomplish its goals was limited. The principal strategy for DHS was developed in the July 2002 National Strategy for Homeland Security White Paper and the earlier October 24, 2001, U.S. Patriot Act. Legislative authority was granted for the formation of DHS on November 25, 2002, through the Homeland Security Act.

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., DHS became the 15th cabinet department within the federal government. It was tasked to serve as the coordinating body for the 87,000 different jurisdictions within the United States. The DHS consists of four major directorates: Border and Transportation Security, Emergency Preparedness and Response, Science and Technology, and Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection.

In the area of border and transportation security, the U.S. Custom and Border Protection agency and the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement service were established. Other agencies transferred into this directorate include the Federal Protective Service, Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, Transportation Security Administration, and the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center. The Emergency Preparedness and Response section was created when the Homeland Security Act transferred the following agencies into the DHS: FEMA; the Strategic National Stockpile, Office of Emergency Preparedness, Metropolitan Medical Response System, and the National Disaster Medical System, all transferred from the Department of Health and Human Services; Domestic Emergency Support Team, from the Department of Justice; National Domestic Preparedness Office, from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI); and the Integrated Hazard Information System, from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA). In addition, the Department of Energy's Nuclear Incident Response Team can operate from DHS during emergencies. To facilitate Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection, the act transferred to the DHS the Critical Infrastructure Assurance Office, from the Department of Commerce; Federal Computer Incident Response Center; the National Communications System, from the Department of Defense; the National Infrastructure Protection Center, from the FBI; and the National Infrastructure Simulation and Analysis Center, including the energy security and assurance program, from the Department of Energy. To deal with science and technology issues, the Homeland Security Act transferred from the Department of Energy various programs relating to the nonproliferation of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons and research; the Environmental

The U.S. Department of Homeland Security national operations center. (U.S. Department of Homeland Security)

Measurements Laboratory; and the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. All functions relating to the Department of Defense's National Bio-Weapons Defense Analysis Center and the Plum Island Animal Disease Center were also transferred to the DHS.

In addition, the U.S. Coast Guard and the U.S. Secret Service were transferred into DHS. The Coast Guard is the primary agency for maritime safety and security. In addition, the Coast Guard's long history of interdiction and antismuggling operations bolstered the ability of the DHS to protect the nation's maritime boundaries. The Secret Service is the lead agency in protecting senior executive personnel and the U.S. currency and financial infrastructure. Under the DHS, the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services was formed to replace the Immigration and Naturalization Service. A fifth directorate, Management, is responsible for budget, facilities, and human resource issues.

In addition to the key directorates and agencies, DHS operates a number of other offices. The Office of State and Local Government Coordination serves as the primary point of contact for programs and for exchanging information between DHS and local and state agencies. The Office for Domestic Preparedness assists state and local authorities to prevent, plan for, and respond to acts of terrorism. The Office of the Private Sector facilitates communication between DHS and the business community. The Privacy Office of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security minimizes the dangers to, and safeguards, the rights to privacy of U.S. citizens in the mission of homeland security. The Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties provides policy and legal guidance on civil rights and civil liberties issues. These agencies were created to allay the fears and concerns of civil libertarians and ensure that the DHS does not violate the nation's civil liberties. The National Infrastructure Advisory Council provides advice to security agencies on protecting critical information systems. The Interagency Coordinating Council on Emergency Preparedness and Individuals with Disabilities ensures the consideration of disabled citizens in disaster planning.

DHS relies on other branches of government to fulfill its mission of protecting the U.S. homeland. Tasked with a largely preventive role, investigative responsibility continues to primarily rest with local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies, including the FBI. While DHS employs many of its own analysts, the majority of its intelligence-collection efforts are conducted outside of the department by other members of the intelligence community. Some called for the DHS to incorporate the FBI and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) into a single intelligence clearinghouse within the department. However, the two were left as autonomous entities. In order to aid states, the DHS provides funding in the form of grants and targeted expenditures to states, localities, and private bodies, including research centers.

The military also maintains a role in homeland security, chiefly through its Northern Command. The Northern Command plays a role in homeland defense as well as domestic airway security. The military currently maintains the largest capability for chemical, biological, and nuclear incident response, as well as personnel augmentation during domestic emergencies, most notably through federalization of the National Guard. One example of this type of federalization occurred with the deployment of the National Guard to bolster airport security following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.

Former governor of Pennsylvania Tom Ridge was appointed the first secretary of Homeland Security and oversaw the creation of the OHS and its conversion into a cabinet-level department. By 2004 the DHS had grown to 183,000 employees with an annual budget of $36.5 billion. Ridge resigned on November 30, 2004, to pursue a career in private industry. He was replaced by Michael Chertoff on February 15, 2005. By 2008 DHS had more than 207,000 employees, and its yearly budget was approximately $45 billion. On January 21, 2009, Janet Napolitano became the third secretary of Homeland Security, assuming her duties as a cabinet member of the Barack Obama administration.

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See also

Bush, George Walker; Chertoff, Michael; September 11 Attacks; September 11 Commission and Report; Terrorism; Transportation Security Administration; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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United States European Command

One of 10 U.S. unified combatant commands and authority offices established on August 1, 1952. Located in Stuttgart, Republic of Germany, it oversees all of the U.S. military forces in Europe. EUCOM consists of U.S. Army Europe (USAREUR), U.S. Air Forces Europe (USAFE), U.S. Naval Forces Europe (NAVEUR), U.S. Marine Forces Europe (MARFOREUR), and U.S. Special Operations Command Europe (SOCEUR). Currently EUCOM's area of responsibility covers more than 20 million square miles and more than 50 countries, including all European states as well as Iceland, Turkey, and Israel. It was the lead command for actual and potential operations during the Cold War and the conflict in Kosovo in the late 1990s. It was also the chief command for U.S. air forces flying in operations during the 1991 Persian Gulf War and the enforcement of the northern no-fly zone in Iraq (1997–2003) leading up to the U.S. invasion of Iraq in March 2003. In addition to commanding over all U.S. military forces in Europe, the commander of EUCOM also serves as the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SACEUR) for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The combat power of EUCOM is formed around the U.S. Seventh Army, the U.S. Sixth Fleet, and the U.S. Third Air Force. Headquartered in Heidelberg, Germany, Seventh Army makes up the ground component of EUCOM. The naval component, the Sixth Fleet, patrols the Mediterranean Sea, covers Europe and NATO's southern flank, and provides protection to shipping in the Mediterranean Sea. The Third Air Force is based at Ramstein Air Base. The Southern European Task Force and its 173rd Airborne Brigade based in Vicenza, Italy, were until recently USAREUR's principal combat force south of the Alps. In December 2008 the Southern European Task Force (SETAF) became the army component of U.S. Africa Command.

EUCOM's special operations component, SOCEUR, is headquartered at Patch Barracks in Stuttgart-Vaihingen, Germany. Forces under SOCEUR include the 352nd Special Operations Group of the U.S. Air Force, based at Royal Air Force Mildenhall in the United Kingdom; the 10th Special Forces Group, a U.S. Navy SEALs unit; Naval Special Warfare Unit 2 in Germany; and other U.S. Army Special Forces elements. EUCOM also has command and control over American nuclear forces in Europe.

The first U.S. commander in chief Europe (USCINCEUR) was General Matthew B. Ridgway, former commander of the U.S. Eighth Army and the U.S. Far East Command during the Korean War (1950–1953). In 1954 EUCOM moved to a French army base (Camp des Loges) west of Paris and then to Patch Barracks, Stuttgart, Germany, in 1967, where it remains today. The troop strength of EUCOM has varied greatly over the years and has depended on the current world politico-military situation. In the 1950s and 1960s, U.S. military personnel in Europe went from 120,000 to more than 400,000 at the peak during the Cold War. Likewise, U.S. Air Forces in Europe grew from 35,000 to 136,000 personnel, and the Sixth Fleet went from 20 ships to more than 40.

The constant tension with the Soviet Union during the Cold War kept EUCOM constantly on alert and often active. Its forces participated in various American-only, joint allied, and NATO military exercises and provided military and humanitarian assistance, disaster relief, peacekeeping support, civilian evacuation, and other missions to a variety of countries throughout its theater of operations. During periods of the Cold War, EUCOM was responsible not just for Europe but also for parts of the Middle East and Africa theaters. In 1983, U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) took over from EUCOM responsibility for the Middle East except for Israel, Syria, and Lebanon. At the same time, EUCOM was assigned responsibility for sub-Saharan Africa. In March 2004, responsibility for Syria and Lebanon was transferred to CENTCOM.

After the Cold War ended, EUCOM took its airborne command post off alert. In 1990–1991, the command began to provide forces to CENTCOM for Operation DESERT STORM. It also provided forces for operations in the Balkans as well as support against terrorist attacks in its theater after the attacks of September 11, 2001, as part of the Global War on Terror (2001–present). EUCOM has furnished forces and logistical support to the war in Afghanistan as part of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM (beginning in October 2001) and in 2003 for Operation IRAQI FREEDOM.

Since 1990, EUCOM has had eight commanders, all of whom also served as SACEUR: U.S. Army general John Galvin (1987–1992); U.S. Army general John Shalikashvili (1992–1993); U.S. Army general George Joulwan (1993–1997); U.S. Army general Wesley Clark (1997–2000); U.S. Air Force general Joseph Ralston (2000–2003); U.S. Marine Corps general James L. Jones (2003–2006); U.S. Army general Bantz J. Craddock (2006–2009); and U.S. Navy admiral James Stavridis (2009–).

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See also

Shalikashvili, John Malchese David; United States Central Command

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United States Marine Corps, Afghanistan War

Beginning with air strikes on October 7, 2001, the U.S. and coalition invasion of Afghanistan (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM) was the military response by the United States to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, after the refusal of the Taliban government of Afghanistan to hand over members of the Al Qaeda terrorist organization. On December 20, 2001, the United Nations (UN) established the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) for internal stability and reconstruction, especially around the capital, Kabul. The ISAF was taken over by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in August 2003, while some U.S. forces operated independently.

For the initial invasion, coalition special forces augmented local forces (Northern Alliance) set against the Taliban, and neither army nor marine regular units were used in a significant role. Eventually, marines saw service. On November 25, 2001, marines were airlifted south of Kandahar, the first coalition stronghold. However, the Iraq War, which began in 2003, absorbed the attention of the marines until years after both invasions. Typical marine rotations in Afghanistan lasted seven months.

Throughout 2002 and early 2003, small marine units (L Company, 3rd Battalion, 6th Marine Regiment, plus a security force and a security guard battalion) were stationed in Kabul to provide security. By May 2003, most available marine units were serving in Iraq. In March 2004, the marines were back in Afghanistan operating as part of Combined Joint Task Force 76. Including the 2nd Battalion, 8th Marines and the 22nd Marine Expeditionary Unit, the marine elements (about 2,200 strong) were ordered to help provide security for the first Afghan election. Other elements of the 6th Marines and marine helicopter units also operated in Afghanistan. By mid-2004, there were about 4,200 marines and 10,000 army soldiers out of 20,000 allied personnel in the country.

Part of the marine contribution to U.S. Special Operations Command (USSOCOM), beginning in the late 1980s, included the 2nd Marine Special Operations Battalion. Totaling 2,500 marines

An Afghan child waves to a member of the 5th Marine Regiment as he patrols in the Nawa District of Helmand Province in southern Afghanistan on October 28, 2009. (U.S. Marine Corps)

and serving in Helmand Province in 2007, the 2nd Marine Special Operations Battalion focused on counterinsurgency, information warfare, and reconnaissance, as well as direct action.

Negative attention came to the Marine Corps on March 4, 2007, in the form of what came to be known as the Shinwar Massacre, a still-disputed shooting of Afghani civilians by marines firing from moving vehicles. A company of marines claimed that they were ambushed, while the Afghan Commission and even U.S. commanders concluded that excessive force had been employed. The company was pulled from Afghanistan and returned to Camp Lejeune, North Carolina.

In spring 2008, Iraq veterans of the 24th Marine Expeditionary Unit were deployed to Afghanistan. About 2,200 marines served as a mobile force in southern Afghanistan. Other units were sent to patrol the Pakistani border. Deploying concurrently with the 24th Marine Expeditionary Unit was the 2nd Battalion, 7th Marines, with the mission of training the Afghan National Security Forces. Both units served for seven months before being relieved in 2009 by the Special Purpose Marine Air-Ground Task Force–Afghanistan, consisting of about 2,200 marines drawn from across the corps, from North Carolina to Okinawa, with helicopter and logistics components. Designed to bridge the gap until the deployment of a significantly larger number of marines, it operated in Fara and Helmand provinces. Combat in Afghanistan was difficult—punctuated as it was by strong winds, sweltering temperatures, and omnipresent sand. Cleaning the sand from equipment became a constant necessity.

In early 2009, as the new Barack Obama administration prepared to shift thousands of military personnel from Iraq to Afghanistan, there was talk that a great many of these would be drawn from the Marine Corps, a course of action urged by Marine commandant General James Conway.

Unlike the Iraq War, with inconsistent casualty rates over the duration of the war and an eventual decline after the 2007 troop surge, the war in Afghanistan had witnessed a continual increase in casualties. By the end of 2009 the United States had sustained in Afghanistan a total of 936 deaths, with 137 of these being marines. U.S. wounded totaled 4,769, with the marines accounting for 856.

Dylan A. Cyr

See also

Afghanistan, Coalition Combat Operations in, 2002–Present; Enduring Freedom, Operation; Enduring Freedom, Operation, Initial Ground Campaign; International Security Assistance Force; United States Marine Corps Reserve

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United States Marine Corps, Iraq War

U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) commander and U.S. Army general Tommy Franks controlled all coalition forces in the invasion of Iraq. Overall command of the Combined Forces Land Component Command (U.S. Army, U.S. Marine Corps, and coalition forces) in the March 2003 invasion was vested in U.S. Army lieutenant general David McKiernan, who simultaneously commanded U.S. Third Army/U.S. Army Forces Central Command. The U.S. Army contributed the V Corps of Third Army, of which the largest single unit was the 3rd Infantry Division. As the 3rd Infantry Division drove north from Kuwait toward Baghdad west of the Euphrates River, its marine corps equivalent, the I Marine Expeditionary Force (MEF), paralleled it to the east through the Iraqi heartland. The mission of the I MEF was to cross the Tigris and support the 3rd Infantry Division by threatening Baghdad from the east.

U.S. Marine Corps structure for the Iraq War resembled that of the 1991 Persian Gulf War. The I MEF of some 60,000 men was led by Lieutenant General James Conway. It was centered on the 1st Marine Division, a veteran unit of the 1991 Gulf War now commanded by Major General James Mattis that included three infantry regiments and one artillery regiment (each similar in size to an army brigade). Each infantry regiment had three infantry battalions. The 1st Marine Division also had two battalions of Abrams tanks. In addition to the 1st Marine Division, Conway controlled the II Marine Expeditionary Force, known as Task Force Tarawa (TFT), under Brigadier General Richard Natonski. It consisted of an infantry regiment and two marine expeditionary units (MEUs). Conway also had the 3rd Marine Aircraft Wing, commanded by Major General James Amos, and the British 1st Armoured Division. In all, the U.S. Marine Corps ground-force element numbered 4 infantry regiments, 2 artillery regiments, 3 reconnaissance battalions, 2 tank battalions, a service support group, and the 3 marine aircraft groups numbering about 400 aircraft.

The marines lacked the punch of the 3rd Infantry Division. Heavy marine air support somewhat offset this in the form of Sea Knight helicopters, Sea Cobra helicopters, Super Stallion helicopters, AV-8B Harrier IIs, and F/A-18 Hornet aircraft, but the marines also would have to face the major units of the Iraqi Army, while the 3rd Infantry Division was able to skirt most of these to the west and thus advance more rapidly on Baghdad.

Waves of deserters fled following air strikes or upon learning of the approach of the coalition ground force. The first major Iraqi resistance occurred in Nasiriyah, a junction over the strategic Euphrates River, where TFT was engaged during March 23–29. TFT's success in clearing and holding open what became known as "Ambush Alley" allowed the I MEF to push north. The weather turned poor with the arrival of a *shamal,* or northerly wind, that brought on a heavy sandstorm. The 3rd Infantry Division now stalled on the west side of the Euphrates on March 26. While the I MEF could continue, thanks to air-based refueling and paved roads, it was intended to support the 3rd Infantry, not vice versa, so both divisions waited until March 30 to continue the advance.

Major Rick A. Uribe, a forward air controller assigned to the 23rd Marine Regiment, coordinates close air support as aircraft ordnance impacts in Fallujah, Iraq, November 9, 2004. (U.S. Marine Corps)

On April 5 the 3rd Infantry Division reached Baghdad, and on March 7 and 8 the marines attacked the capital from the southeast. In the advance, cooperation was excellent between marine air and ground forces. The iconic tearing down of Saddam Hussein's statute in Firdaws Square was accomplished by marines on April 9. Major combat operations were declared at an end on May 1.

The real war for coalition forces had only just begun. All three MEFs, plus the 4th Marine Division (reserves), would begin regular rotations in Iraq in the spring of 2004, beginning in Iraq's largest province, Anbar, west of Baghdad. Subsequently, the marines have served throughout Iraq, with the First Battle and Second Battle of Fallujah as their most prominent actions. The marines engaged in counterinsurgency warfare for the first time since Vietnam.

U.S. Marine Corps and marine reservist fatalities, as of January 3, 2009, totaled 1,008 (including such categories as accident, homicide, and self-inflicted). In comparison, the U.S. Army, Army Reserves, and National Guard collectively suffered 3,059 fatalities, while the U.S. Navy and Naval Reserves saw fewer than 100 deaths, making active marines the second hardest hit in terms of fatalities (marine reservists totaled fewer than 150 fatalities). Marines wounded in action by early January 2009 totaled 8,550, with many more thousands wounded due to nonhostile actions and medical issues.

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See also

"Ambush Alley"; Amos, James F.; Baghdad, Battle for; Conway, James Terry; Fallujah, First Battle of; Fallujah, Second Battle of; Fedayeen; Franks, Tommy Ray; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Ground Campaign; McKiernan, David Deglan; Nasiriyah, Battle of; *Shamal;* United States Marine Corps Reserve

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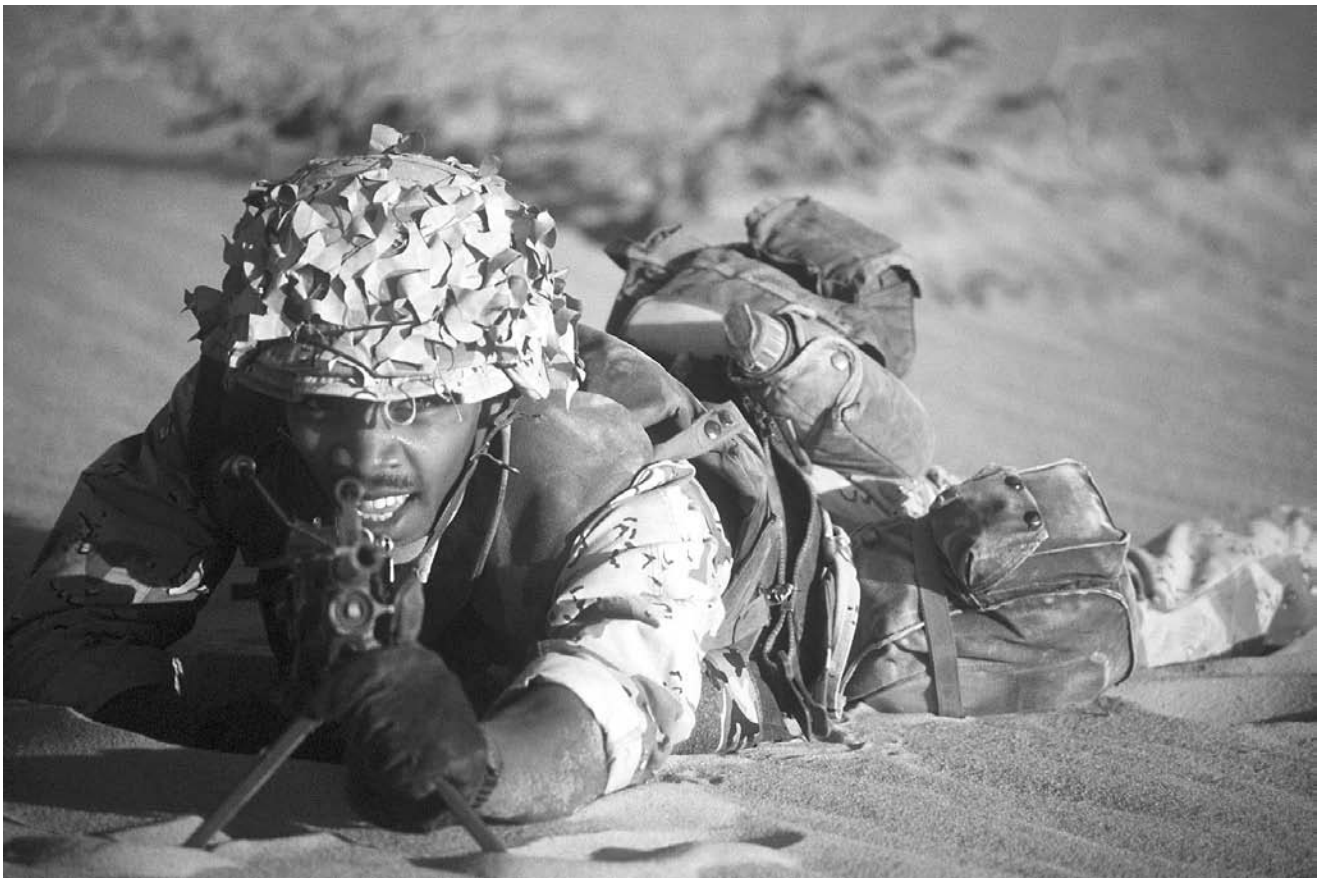
United States Marine Corps, Persian Gulf War

The U.S. Marine Corps played a leading role in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, which saw the largest deployment of the corps since World War II. Desert warfare had been an integral part of training for most marine units, as they regularly trained at the Marine Corps Air Ground Combat Center, the world's largest marine base, at Twentynine Palms, California. Also, the Mojave Desert, near Camp Pendleton, home of the 1st Marine Division, provided regular desert training. The marine corps had sought to incorporate aviation and service support in a closer relation with combat components, in what was known as Marine Air-Ground Task Forces (MAGTF), organized into marine expeditionary units (MEUs), marine expeditionary brigades (MABs), or marine expeditionary forces (MEFs). Since the late 1980s the marine corps fielded three MEFs, commanded by a lieutenant general. Each MEF typically consists of one division, one aircraft wing, one logistics group, one expeditionary brigade, and one to three expeditionary units. An MEF, however, is a very flexible organization, and units can be attached or detached as the mission requires. The usual total strength of an MEF is about 50,000 personnel, with 18,000 being in the marine division.

Two MEFs participated in the Persian Gulf War: I MEF, containing the 1st Marine Division; and II MEF, centered on the 2nd



A marine takes aim at a target with his M249 light machine gun during Operation DESERT STORM, January 1991. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Marine Division. Receiving its deployment order on August 3, 1990, the I MEF departed for Saudi Arabia in mid-August while the II MEF deployed in December. The 1st Marine Division's 1st and 2nd Tank battalions in Saudi Arabia were the first U.S. tank units ready for operations. The 3rd Marine Air Wing and 1st Force Service Support Group also arrived early on, highlighting the marines' new focus on air, ground, and service coordination. Stationed on Okinawa and parts of Hawaii, III MEF remained ready for combat but did not deploy as a whole, although several of its units were attached to I MEF.

About 22,000 marine reservists served in support and service units, out of the total 40,000 marines available under the Selected Marine Corps Reserve, the unit-based portion of the reserves. The 4th Marine Division was the heart of Marine Reserves and provided units and individuals where needed. Originally, support units were inadequate, and the reservists made up the difference. Marines arrived piecemeal in Saudi Arabia during Operation DESERT SHIELD, their specific task being the defense of Jubail and the surrounding area.

Lieutenant General Walter Boomer, commander of Marine Forces Central Command (CENTCOM) and I Marine Expeditionary Force, had charge of the 90,000 marines in theater. Boomer was directly subordinate to CENTCOM commander U.S. Army general H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander in chief of all coalition forces. Major General James M. "Mike" Myatt commanded the 1st Marine Division of the 1st, 3rd, 4th, and 7th Marine regiments, and the 11th Marine Artillery Regiment. Major General William Keys commanded the 2nd Marine Division of the 6th and 8th Marine regiments, and the 10th Marine Artillery Regiment, along with Colonel John Sylvester's 1st ("Tiger") Brigade of the U.S. Army's 2nd Armored Division, with M1A1 Abrams tanks. It was attached to the 2nd Marine Division to provide extra armor firepower believed necessary to deal with Iraqi T-72 tanks.

Major General Harry W. Jenkins commanded the II Marine Expeditionary Force afloat. Comprising the 4th and 5th Marine Expeditionary Brigades and the 13th Marine Expeditionary Unit, it served the important function of tying down Iraqi coast defense forces to prevent them from being sent south against the invading coalition forces moving north into Kuwait. The option of an amphibious assault remained open until it was clear that the Iraqi ground forces were rapidly collapsing. Had the assault occurred, it would not have been against the heavily defended and mined Kuwaiti coastline, but to the north, up the Shatt al-Arab waterway, against Iraq's second largest city of Basra.

In the planning for the ground campaign, Boomer anticipated that the marines would reach Kuwait within three days of the beginning of the attack. The marines planned for a breakthrough assault rather than Schwarzkopf's notion of a pinning attack that

would draw in the Iraqi elite Republican Guard divisions and allow the armor-heavy U.S. Army units constituting the left hook of the offensive to block the Iraqi escape in a deep envelopment. The net effect of this action was to drive the Iraqis rapidly in the direction they needed to move if they were to escape the projected coalition trap.

Indeed, this is what occurred. In the actual ground attack, the 1st and 2nd Marine divisions and allied Arab forces who were to be accorded the honor of entering Kuwait first, broke through the Iraqi coastal defenses in a matter of a few hours, rather than being hung up for the 18–24 hours Schwarzkopf had anticipated. This forced CENTCOM to launch its left hook of VII Corps to the west of the marines somewhat early. By the fourth day of the war, marine and Arab forces had largely overrun the territory of Kuwait. Marine equipment losses in DESERT STORM were negligible. Personnel casualties totaled 23 killed and 92 wounded.

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See also

Boomer, Walter; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; Keys, William Morgan; Myatt, James Michael; Republican Guard; Shatt al-Arab Waterway; United States Marine Corps Reserve

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United States Marine Corps Reserve

The U.S. Marine Corps Reserve, or Marine Forces Reserve (either MFR or MARFORRES), is the reserve element of U.S. Marine Corps, the land combat component of the U.S. Navy. The MFR's mandate is to provide unit augmentation and regular reinforcement to active, deployed Marine forces. Reservists are encouraged to be volunteers. Although the capacity of the institution could handle large numbers of drafted recruits, that has not occurred since the Vietnam War.

The MFR's main combat component is the 4th Marine Division, headquartered in New Orleans, but it has units across much of the United States. Reservists are divided into two categories: Selected Marine Corps Reserve (SMCR), which includes those assigned to reserve units; and the Individual Ready Reserve (IRR), which consists of individual reservists not assigned to units.

During the Cold War, the MFR plus the National Guard and the U.S. Army Reserve (both Army) held to their traditional roles as a force-in-reserve, meaning that, in the case of war, they would provide augmentation through combat and combat service support. Mobilization would be expected in the duration of months. Reservist marines would serve one weekend per month plus another two weeks, usually in the summer, to total the traditional 39 days of yearly service.

During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, mobilization occurred in days and weeks, instead of months, and the MFR was deployed in concurrence with active units from early on. The short duration of the war, however, limited the experience of the MFR, but its role retained its importance at the strategic level. However, the potential of the reserve in an operational capacity was now apparent. The Reserve Components of all the services proved themselves in both Operation DESERT SHIELD (defending Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in 1990) and Operation DESERT STORM (liberating Kuwait in 1991). Similarly, the MFR proved itself after the commencement of the Global War on Terror (2001–present), triggered by the attacks of September 11, 2001.

The active units of the Marine Corps and the U.S. Army became overly burdened with two separate but concurrent conflicts in the Middle East: the Afghanistan War (2001–present) and the Iraq War (2003–present). The continuance of guerrilla warfare in both Afghanistan and Iraq, despite initial coalition success in traditional warfare, continually drained active marine and army units. In response, the U.S. Department of Defense came to utilize the MFR and National Guard in a new active role in its Middle Eastern conflicts.

With this fundamental change toward an active and less traditional reserve role, the MFR had its mandate reconstituted in October 2008. The new roles of the reserve were divided into maintaining its strategic role while developing its operational expertise, plus supporting military and civilian authorities engaged in homeland defense. Underlying these roles was the conceptualization of the MFR as one component of the Total Force Policy, meaning that active and reserve forces required more integration and should be conceptualized as one, divided only by specialties of function. The reserves were considered to be "the will of the American people" in that as a part-time force the men and women were still civilians and not career soldiers.

In the mid-1970s, after the Vietnam War, then-chief of staff of the U.S. Army general Creighton Abrams believed that increased utilization of reservists would bring the American people to the fight. Many observers believe that the Abrams Doctrine has been completely vindicated by the recent experiences since 1991. For comparison, 3,000 reservists of all services were called up for duty in Vietnam while 267,300 reservists operated in Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. By October 2008, the Afghanistan War and the Iraq War had seen 650,000 reservists enter active duty,

Members of the Marine Corps Reserve prepare to enter and clear a house in "Combat Town" at Camp Pendleton, California, on June 19, 2008. Role players, dressed as Iraqi insurgents and armed with AK-47 rifles that fire simulated paintball rounds, add realism to the urban operations training. (U.S. Marine Corps)

making the MFR and the two reserve forces of the army essential to both wars. Their volunteer ethos reflected a direct involvement of the American people in the Global War on Terror. Furthermore, the Department of Defense believed that as civilians first, many reservists brought advanced civilian skills that complemented the active forces. For Afghanistan and Iraq, the Defense Department envisioned that each reservist would be mobilized for one year and demobilized for five years, a one-to-five "deployment-to-dwell" ratio (regular marines are expected to be on a one-to-two ratio).

U.S. conflicts in the Middle East have had the effect of drastically increasing the importance of both the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve and the U.S. Army's National Guard, philosophically supported by the need to invest the "people" into the wars. This shift was institutionally supported because, without a mandatory draft, regular active units needed more manpower.

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See also

United States Army Reserve; United States Navy Reserve

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United States National Guard

A reserve component of the U.S. armed forces designed to augment regular forces in times of war or crisis. The National Guard, which consists of the U.S. Army National Guard and the U.S. Air Force (Air) National Guard, falls under both state and federal control. The jurisdictional distinctions are often referred to as Title 10 and Title 32, respectively. As part of a Vietnam War–era restructuring called the Total Force Policy, the National Guard has played an important and evolving role in the military operations of the United States, particularly in the Middle East. For 2008, the authorized strength of the Army National Guard was 351,300 personnel; the Air National Guard's authorized strength was 106,700 personnel. By early 2009, the Army National Guard had 366,009 personnel, or 102 percent of authorized strength. For the same period,

the Air National Guard had 107,679 personnel, or a surplus of 979 personnel over the authorized strength.

After the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1991, Arabic-speaking Army National Guard translators were some of the first guardsmen to volunteer for duty, as regular units such as the 82nd Airborne Division were deploying to the Middle East for Operation DESERT SHIELD. These army guardsmen became the vanguard for thousands more serving in combat, combat support, and combat service missions. Ultimately, some 37,500 Army National Guardsmen were deployed to the Persian Gulf, to join field artillery brigades that directly supported attacks by coalition forces against Iraqi forces in Kuwait when ground operations for Operation DESERT STORM began in February 1991.

The Air National Guard deployed 5,200 guardsmen to the Persian Gulf. They flew reconnaissance, supply, and combat missions. Air National Guard tanker crews also refueled thousands of aircraft during aerial refueling operations; airlifters hauled more than 100,000 tons of cargo in the combat theater, and Air National Guard Lockheed Martin F-16 Fighting Falcon fighters and McDonnell Douglas RF-4C Phantom II reconnaissance aircraft flew 4,000 sorties and dropped thousands of tons of ordnance on Iraqi positions. Significantly, neither the Army National Guard nor the Air National Guard suffered any combat casualties during the Persian Gulf War.

Following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, National Guard participation in the Middle East escalated in what became the largest deployments overseas for the guard since World War II. As a result of military cutbacks during the 1990s, guard troops, particularly combat and combat support ground troops, were in high demand as active-duty planners anticipated military needs in what became the Global War on Terror, Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, and Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. Many of the changes that had made the rapid deployment of Army National Guard troops possible occurred in the 1990s. With the creation of separate enhanced brigades and brigade combat teams that could be readied for combat in 90 days, billions of dollars of modern equipment had been placed with these units in the years prior to 2001.

Thus, when Operation IRAQI FREEDOM was launched in March 2003, some 3,700 Army National Guardsmen were among coalition elements invading Iraq. Guard participation in the conflict reached a high point of 50,000 personnel in late 2005, with eight combat brigades in Iraq. In addition, National Guard units provided approximately 40 percent of the combat service and combat support units during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, performing essential quartermaster, maintenance, water purification, ordnance disposal, and military police tasks. Almost all of the Reserve Component medical assets are in the U.S. Army Reserve (USAR). The peak number of Guardsmen serving in Afghanistan reached 11,000 by the end of 2009 as the U.S. military shifted focus from Iraq to Afghanistan.

A member of the Florida Army National Guard bids good-bye to his family before deploying in Operation DESERT SHIELD, the largest overseas deployment of Guardsmen since the Korean War. (U.S. Army)

In a significant change from the 1991 Persian Gulf War, thousands of female National Guard personnel were deployed in the Global War on Terror. By 2006, a total of 13,000 Army National Guard and 5,500 Air National Guard female personnel had been sent overseas, mostly to Iraq. Many of these women served in combat support roles and participated in direct combat actions against the enemy; several were awarded the U.S. Army's Combat Action Badge. Sergeant Leigh Ann Hester of the Kentucky Army National Guard was awarded a Silver Star when her military police unit was ambushed near Baghdad. By 2006, nine female guard soldiers had been killed in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. Female National Guard medics served on the front lines in Afghanistan as well, earning the respect of Afghan National Army soldiers.

The National Guard also participated in nonconventional military missions associated with the Global War on Terror. Soldiers of the National Guard's 19th and 20th Special Forces Groups were some of the first guardsmen to see combat in Operation ENDURING FREEDOM and took on important tasks, such as training the Afghan Army. The Air National Guard contributed its own special operations forces to the Global War on Terror. Units included the 193rd Special Operations Wing of the Pennsylvania Air National Guard and the 280th Combat Communications Squadron of the Alabama Air National Guard.

National Guard deployments have not been without problems, as guard and regular army units continued their long-running friction. The regulars often criticized the National Guard's lack of training and intimated that guardsmen could not handle the stress of "full spectrum warfare." The army often made the situation worse by transferring guard equipment to active-duty units. Over time, these problems were resolved, however. Lengthy deployments and repeated deployments have also exacted a toll on the individual guardsmen's families and livelihood.

From 2001 to 2007, more than 250,000 guardsmen were deployed to Southwest Asia; this represented 15 percent of U.S. troops deployed to Afghanistan and 7 percent of U.S. soldiers deployed in Iraq. At the end of 2008, the National Guard Bureau reported that 432 guardsmen had been killed in action in the Afghan and Iraq wars.

SHAWN FISHER

See also

Afghan National Army; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Global War on Terror; Hester, Leigh Ann; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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United States Navy, Afghanistan War

The September 11, 2001, terror attacks found significant U.S. naval units within striking range of Afghanistan. On the afternoon of September 11, the aircraft carrier *Enterprise* (CVN-65) was steaming south from the Strait of Hormuz, nearing the end of a deployment to the Persian Gulf, when it received a change in orders. The ship was to reverse course and proceed to the North Arabian Sea—further orders were to follow. There the *Enterprise* joined the battle group centered on the Nimitz-class carrier *Carl Vinson* (CVN-70). The *Carl Vinson* had just reported as the forward deployed naval element of the Fifth U.S. Fleet (Vice Admiral Charles Moore, commanding) of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM). This multicarrier taskforce was designated CTF-50.

Half a world away in Yokosuka, Japan, meanwhile, staff officers of the U.S. Seventh Fleet were responding to classified messages from Hawaii and Washington about the feasibility of a sortie (short-notice steaming) for all or part of the Japan-based carrier *Kitty Hawk* battle group to the Indian Ocean to support contingency operations against the Taliban and the Al Qaeda terrorist organization in Afghanistan. On October 1, 2001, the *Kitty Hawk* sailed from Yokosuka with only a stripped down contingent (about 20 aircraft) from its air wing (CVW-5). Nearly simultaneously with these events, the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit (MEU) of the Wasp-class *Bataan* Amphibious Readiness Group (ARG) reembarked their ships. They had been conducting an exercise in Egypt when their new orders arrived calling on them to transit the Suez Canal and proceed at best speed to join the *Enterprise* and *Vinson* groups in the North Arabian Sea.

From this point, events moved quickly. Beginning on October 7, the opening day of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, the U.S. war against the Taliban and Al Qaeda, the *Enterprise* and *Vinson* launched the first of many carrier strikes each day against targets inside Afghanistan. These included Al Qaeda training camps, mechanized forces, radar sites, and military infrastructure. The beginning of the operation also saw British and other U.S. warships launch 50 Tomahawk Land Attack Missiles (TLAMs) at similar targets. After a week-long aerial bombardment, the Taliban's command and control, air defense, and military infrastructures were largely in tatters. Clearly, the Taliban leadership had not banked on the United States being able to project power so far inland from naval and air assets.

Later in October, the *Kitty Hawk* arrived to serve as a forward operating base for special forces and their helicopter support. On October 19, special forces began to launch raids deep into Afghanistan from the *Kitty Hawk.* By this time, the *Enterprise* battle group had been relieved by the carrier *Theodore Roosevelt* battle group, which had deployed from Norfolk, Virginia, on September 19.

Not long after the arrival of the *Kitty Hawk,* the *Bataan,* 26th MEU's command ship, arrived to join the *Peleliu,* a Tarawa-class amphibious assault ship, in the Persian Gulf. The *Peleliu*'s 15th MEU had come directly from operations in the Persian Gulf after September 11. Operation ENDURING FREEDOM now settled into its decisive phase, with navy and air force close air and interdiction missions supporting special operations troops assisting the Northern Alliance and other indigenous opponents of Al Qaeda and the Taliban regime. The navy's biggest challenge during this phase, when there were no air bases yet established for U.S. forces inside or even close to Afghanistan, was the extreme distances of the missions being flown from the ships. Air force tankers helped, but often navy air crews also used their own organic tanker assets to get to the fight, in the form of the Lockheed S-3 Viking antisubmarine jet fitted with refueling packages and extra fuel tanks.

Naval air assets perhaps had their most profound success supporting the special forces team assigned to assist Hamid Karzai's anti-Taliban forces in capturing Kandahar. Guided bombs from navy planes helped blunt a Taliban counteroffensive against Karzai's forces at the Battle of Tarin Kot on November 15, 2001. By December 7, Karzai's forces had seized Kandahar, the major objective of operations in that region of Afghanistan.

Meanwhile, the follow-on forces necessary to hold Kandahar were on their way from the sea. On November 25, 2001, marine

A U.S. Navy F/A-18C Hornet is launched from the aircraft carrier *Carl Vinson* in a strike against Al Qaeda terrorist training camps and military installations in Afghanistan on October 7, 2001, as part of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. (U.S. Department of Defense)

forces from Combined Task Force 58 (CTF-58), mostly the 15th MEU, seized an advanced operating base code-named Camp Rhino south of Kandahar that included an airstrip. They had come directly from the *Peleliu* and *Bataan* amphibious groups in the North Arabian Sea. The 15th MEU arrived at Kandahar on December 13 and took over security of the airfield.

Navy ships continued to rotate in and out of the theater as the Taliban regime collapsed and U.S. and coalition forces secured various regions of the country. On December 16, the Nimitz-class carrier *John C. Stennis* battle navy had flown more than 4,000 aircraft sorties in support of ENDURING FREEDOM. The need for naval forces was rapidly diminishing as the U.S. Army and the national contingents of other nations began to arrive in greater numbers to take over operations in-country. On January 29, 2002, the marines at Kandahar were relieved by elements of the U.S. Army's 101st Airborne Division.

Navy airpower continued to play a key role in Afghanistan into the spring of 2002, especially during Operation ANACONDA, but after this point major naval air operations drew down. Navy special forces units, or SEALs, had played a substantial role from the beginning of ENDURING FREEDOM. The SEALs were integrated into the joint special operations taking place throughout the country; however, continuing problems with command and control, among other things, played a role in the deaths of several SEALs during the hard-fought battles in the rugged mountains of the Shahikot region during Operation ANACONDA in March 2002.

Another navy element that became involved in Afghanistan relatively early and stayed on for several years consisted of the patrol and reconnaissance aircraft squadrons. These aircraft were based at a number of locations in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf and were among the first responders, initially providing support to the carriers in the North Arabian Sea. Once they obtained overflight clearance into Afghan airspace (flying through Pakistan), they provided critical signals intelligence and electro-optical support—especially to special forces. Later, they continued to provide both reconnaissance and base security using infrared and other electro-optic sensors.

Operation ENDURING FREEDOM could not have come at a more propitious time for the Navy. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, prior to September 11, had reportedly looked at various proposals in his plans to transform the U.S. military. One of these included a proposal to drop the Navy's aircraft carrier strength from 12 to 8. After ENDURING FREEDOM, these plans were rejected outright because of the role played by carrier assets in the fighting. On the down side, the seemingly—and illusory—easy victory in Afghanistan with these light forward-deployed naval, marine, and special forces may have taught the George W. Bush administration the wrong lessons about how to prosecute military operations during

the Global War on Terror. These may have, ironically, adversely affected force levels for the upcoming campaign in Iraq, Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, which have been roundly criticized as too scant. The war in Afghanistan, now essentially a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) conflict, continues to this day, with Navy involvement primarily coming from air support, construction battalions (SEABEEs), SEALs, and Navy personnel serving as members of Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs).

JOHN T. KUEHN

See also

Bush, George Walker; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Karzai, Hamid; Provincial Reconstruction Teams, Afghanistan; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

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United States Navy, Iraq War

Nearly uncontested by the Iraqi Navy, U.S. sea power functioned in a variety of roles in support of the ground offensive during Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. U.S. naval operations amply demonstrated the impact of enhanced interservice coordination and technological advancements made since the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

The U.S. Navy deployed five carrier battle groups headed by the *Theodore Roosevelt* (CVN-71), *Harry S. Truman* (CVN-75), *Kitty Hawk* (CV-63), *Abraham Lincoln* (CVN-72), and *Constellation* (CV-64) and three amphibious ready groups to join coalition forces that executed Operation IRAQI FREEDOM during March–April 2003. The *Nimitz* (CVN-68) battle group was already en route for a normal deployment as the Pentagon prepared for war. In total 63,000 sailors, 83,000 marines, 84 warships, and nearly 800 navy and marine aircraft participated in the conflict under the direction of Vice Admiral Timothy Keating of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM).

As hostilities commenced, Navy SEALS, in conjunction with British and Polish commandoes, seized Iraq's offshore oil platforms and key pumping stations. Mine-clearing operations, including the use of trained dolphins, opened the Khor Abd Allah waterway far enough to reach the port of Umm Qasr, which would prove critical in the distribution of humanitarian aid. Iraqi forces were unable to inflict any casualties through mines, suicide boats, or antiship missiles.

On the night of March 21, 2003, in keeping with the completely misguided plans to shock and awe the enemy with U.S. firepower, surface vessels and submarines fired nearly 400 Tomahawk cruise missiles into Iraq, targeting command and communications centers principally. By the end of the following month, more than 800 Tomahawks had been fired by U.S. naval assets. Los Angeles–class attack submarines supplied one-third of those strikes, in a display of their growing versatility in the post–Cold War era. With an independent, inertially guided navigation system and a range of up to 1,500 miles, the Tomahawk was an ideal weapon, providing excellent first-strike capability against radar and command and control facilities.

During the war, naval airpower reflected a revolution in efficiency and capability as navy and marine aircraft registered more than 13,000 sorties during March–April 2003. Practically all ordnance delivered was precision-guided, which has not been the case during Operation DESERT STORM. Indeed, nearly all naval aircraft could deploy inertial- and satellite-guided all-weather bombs with 2,000-pound payloads known as Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAMs). As with the other services, the Navy benefited from the growing use of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) to downlink real-time video surveillance for targeting data.

Operations were further enhanced by the digitization of the air tasking order (ATO), which had previously been physically delivered to carriers to specify mission assignments. The Grumman EA-6B Prowler carried augmented self-protection jamming pods to facilitate its electronic warfare mission. The newest version of the McDonnell Douglas (now Boeing) F/A-18 Super Hornet was also available for combat use. Other navy and marine aircraft in theater included the Grumman F-14 Tomcat, Sikorsky CH-53 Sea Stallion, Boeing CH-46 Sea Knight, Grumman E-2C Hawkeye, McDonnell Douglas AV-8B Harrier, Sikorsky HH-60H Seahawk, and the Lockheed S-3 Viking.

Surface warfare operations also improved, thanks to the addition of a highly versatile platform. The Arleigh Burke–class of guided missile destroyers joined the Ticonderoga-class of cruisers in featuring the Aegis weapons system to upgrade the navy's long-range strike capability and air defense network. Their phased array radars provided rapid threat prioritization and the ability to track up to 100 targets simultaneously.

Spared much of a naval threat, maritime personnel in some cases performed beyond their typical parameters. For example, navy explosive ordnance disposal teams helped clear improvised explosive devices (IEDs) from Iraqi roadsides. The P-3 Orion patrol aircraft, long a mainstay of antisubmarine operations against the former Soviet Union, performed surveillance and intelligence gathering above Iraq.

As of the end of April 2003, there were 4 navy combat and noncombat deaths and 65 marine fatalities. Although the navy performed its missions admirably, planners noted several lessons learned in anticipating future conflicts. For instance, while carriers can substitute for air bases in regions where the United States has little forward presence, future designs will have to accommodate more planes and higher sortie rates. Also, several aircraft classes,

Sailors assigned to Riverine Squadron 1 in riverine patrol boats on the Euphrates River, Iraq, in November 2007. (U.S. Navy)

including the F-14, EA-6B, E-2C, and S-3, are aging and/or have strenuous maintenance requirements. In addition, some sort of arsenal ship with long-range missile strike capability could obviate the need for slower bombers, such as the North American/Rockwell/Boeing B-1B Lancer and Boeing B-52 Stratofortress, which could be vulnerable against an adversary with a more capable military.

Jeffrey D. Bass

See also

Iraq, Navy; United States Marine Corps, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War; United States Navy Reserve

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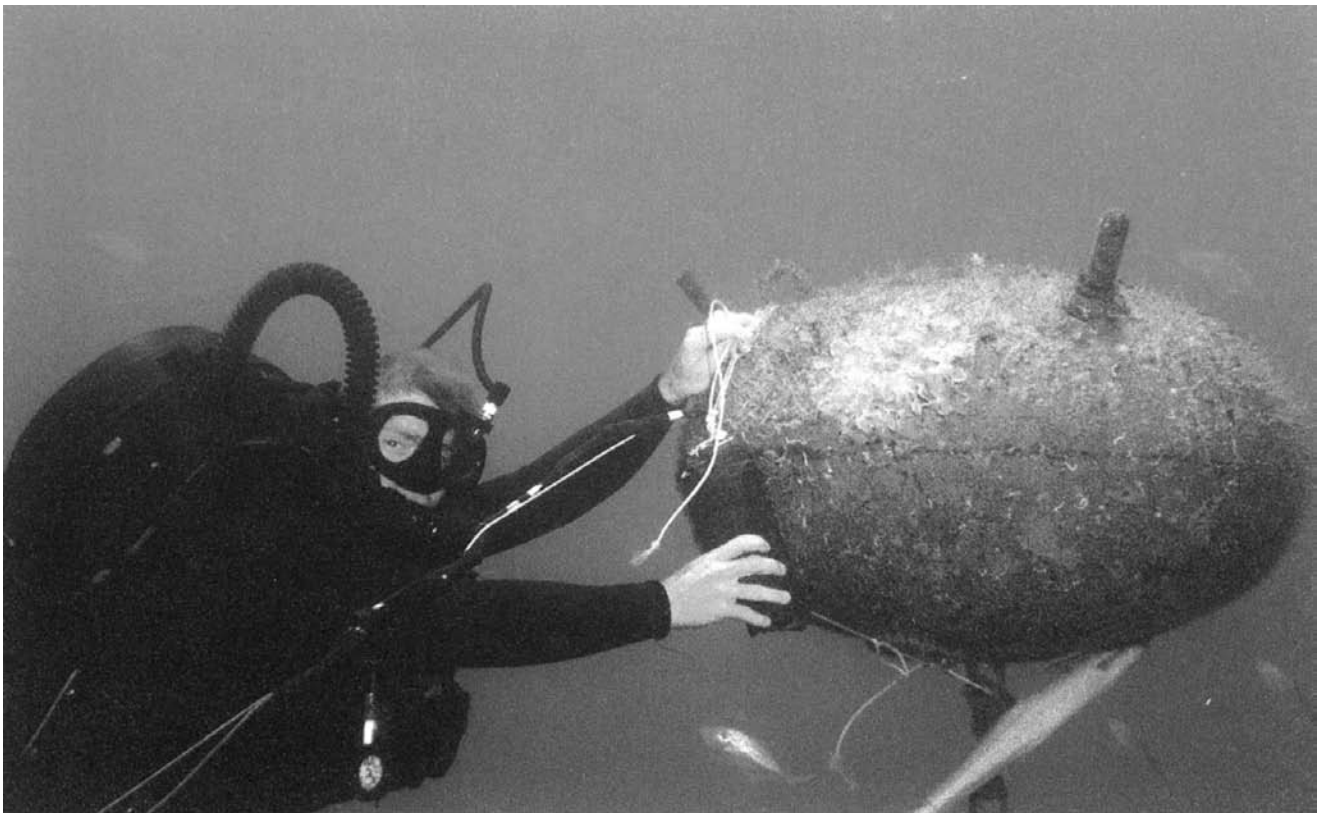
United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

The U.S. Navy provided a highly versatile instrument of war to the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Indeed, naval units achieved maritime supremacy, contributed to air supremacy, and carried out the deception that convinced the Iraqis that a major amphibious assault was about to occur, which ensured that Iraqi coastal defense forces did not join other Iraqi units to the south.

The U.S. Navy furnished to the coalition forces of DESERT STORM more than 100 warships and 450 aircraft, including 6 carrier battle groups. The carriers *Theodore Roosevelt* (CVN-71), *America* (CV-66), *John F. Kennedy* (CV-67), and *Saratoga* (CV-60) operated out of the Red Sea while the *Midway* (CV-41) and *Ranger* (CV-61) patrolled the Persian Gulf. A total of 300,000 naval personnel and 18,000 marines were deployed under the command of Vice Admiral Stanley Arthur. On January 17, 1991, the beginning of the air war, U.S. naval forces (including at least two Los Angeles–class attack submarines) launched more than 100 Tomahawk (TLAM) cruise missiles at Iraq, targeting primarily air defense facilities and command and control centers. Also taking part were the Iowa-class battleships *Missouri* (BB-63) and *Wisconsin* (BB-64).

By the conflict's end, the navy had launched nearly 300 Tomahawk cruise missiles as part of a battle plan that relied heavily on precision-guided munitions. Tomahawks utilized an independent, inertially guided navigation system to travel up to 1,500 miles. During the war, the *Bunker Hill* (CG-52), a Ticonderoga-class cruiser, conducted the first firing of a Tomahawk using the Vertical Launch System (VLS), designed for rapid and sustained



A diver from Detachment B, Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) Mobile Unit 6, attaches an explosive charge to an Iraqi mine in the Persian Gulf on January 1, 1991. While operating with the U.S. Mine Countermeasures Group, Detachment B divers recovered or destroyed 40 Iraqi mines in the Persian Gulf and off Kuwait. (U.S. Navy)

operations against multiple targets. Each carrier battle group included Ticonderoga-class cruisers with the Aegis weapons system featuring phased array radar capable of threat prioritization and tracking up to 100 targets simultaneously. Never before had warships gone into harm's way with equipment so capable of coordinating defense against air, surface, and subsurface platforms.

Navy and Marine Corps aircraft flew nearly 30,000 sorties, some 35 percent of U.S. total, to hit targets as much as 700 miles away. The Grumman EA-6B Prowler provided electronic countermeasures for all coalition forces. Once enemy radar installations were jammed, attack aircraft, such as the Grumman A-6 Intruder, utilized high-speed, antiradiation missiles (HARM) to destroy the sites. The navy joined in the prosecution of the air war through its four stages: elimination of Iraqi strategic capabilities; neutralization of air defenses in Kuwait; isolation of the field army in Kuwait; and support of the coalition ground offensive. Although the Iraqi Air Force rapidly dispersed to avoid combat, several McDonnell Douglas (now Boeing) F/A-18 Hornets from the *Saratoga* used Sidewinder missiles to down two Soviet-made MIG-21s. Northrop Grumman E-2C Hawkeyes maintained continuous monitoring and air traffic control for the theater of battle. The conflict also saw the first employment of the Sikorsky HH-60H Seahawk rescue helicopter for a combination of medical evacuations, search and rescue, and logistical support. The remaining Navy and Marine Corps aircraft in use were the Grumman F-14 Tomcat, McDonnell Douglas A-4 Skyhawk, and the McDonnell Douglas AV-8B Harrier.

The Persian Gulf War placed an emphasis on minesweeping not seen since World War II, as the Iraqis had been laying mines in international waters both before and during the conflict. Several Avenger-class minesweepers were transported via a floating dry dock for use in the Persian Gulf in conjunction with British and German vessels. These fiberglass-sheathed ships sported a remotely piloted mine neutralization system that included sonar, video cameras, cable cutters, and a detonating device. Paths were cleared for possible invasion routes and to facilitate naval gunfire missions. Nevertheless, the *Tripoli* (LPH-10), an Iwo Jima–class amphibious assault ship, and the Ticonderoga-class cruiser *Princeton* (CG-59) were damaged by mines and rendered temporarily out of action. By mid-March 1991, coalition forces had removed more than 200 mines from the waters near Iraq.

The small Iraqi navy of gunboats, minesweepers, and patrol craft proved inconsequential. By February 2, all Iraqi Silkworm antiship missile sites as well as vessels with missile capabilities had been eliminated.

The U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf served as a crucial diversion to mask the main assault by armored forces marshaling on

Iraq's western flank. Marines from Amphibious Readiness Group (ARG) Alfa seized the Kuwaiti island of Umm al Maradim in part to heighten the impression of a forthcoming landing. The *Wisconsin* and *Missouri* alternated positions in providing dramatic pyrotechnics with their 16-inch shells against Iraqi positions in Kuwait, sometimes with the help of unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs). Even after the main ground attack commenced, Marine helicopters and Navy warships continued feinting seaborne attacks to tie down roughly 80,000 enemy personnel before the coalition strategy became clear. Battle-related and noncombat fatalities totaled 14 for the U.S. Navy and 50 for the Marine Corps.

JEFFREY D. BASS

See also

Arthur, Stanley; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Coalition Naval Forces; United States Central Command; United States Marine Corps, Persian Gulf War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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United States Navy Reserve

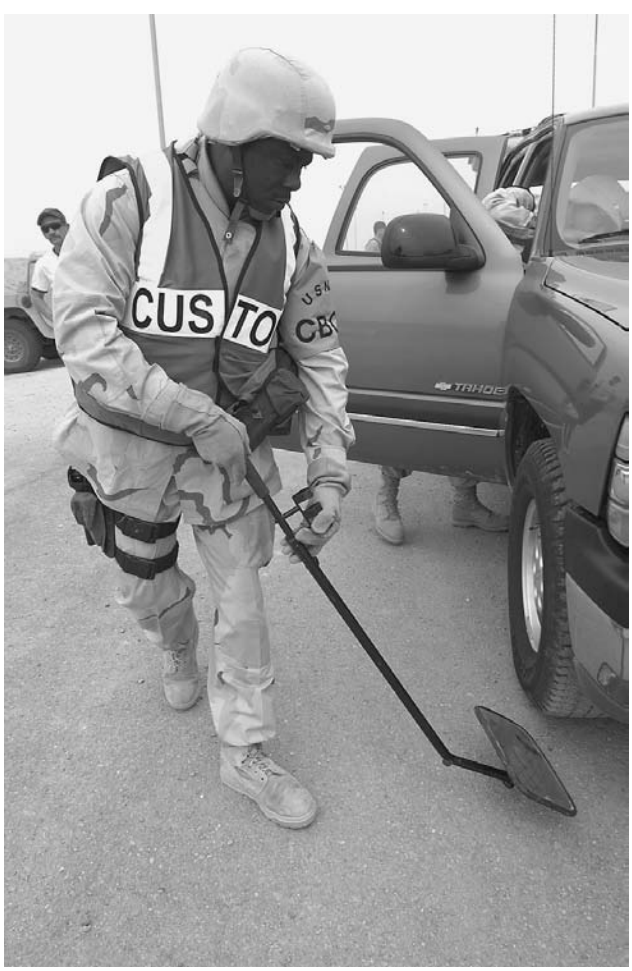
The U.S. Navy Reserve (USNR), until 2005 known as the U.S. Naval Reserve, has been used in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the Afghanistan War, the Iraq War, and the Global War on Terror. The primary mission of the USNR, founded in 1915, is to provide mission-capable units and personnel to support the full range of naval operations during peacetime and war. In recent conflicts in the Middle East, the USNR has fulfilled this mission in a variety of capacities.

In August 1990, when Iraqi forces invaded and occupied Kuwait, the USNR numbered 123,000 personnel. These reservists fell under the broad categories of being involved in medicine, construction, aviation, cargo handling, military sealift, ship augmenters, as well as others not assigned to these principal tasks. Reservists were deployable as units or as individual augmenters to active-duty organizations.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait triggered the largest overseas U.S. military deployment since the Vietnam War. Operation DESERT SHIELD, from August 1990 to January 1991, and Operation DESERT STORM, from January to February 1991, relied significantly on naval forces for combat power and logistics to achieve the liberation of Kuwait. Naval reservists provided critical augmentations to the force as a whole. A total of 21,000 reservists were activated in support of DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. Of this number, almost half were medical personnel. These personnel performed a number of duties, the most significant of which was "backfilling" navy medical facilities in the United States after active-duty personnel had been deployed to the Middle East on two hospital ships and several ashore treatment facilities.

The large coalition force footprint on the ground in Saudi Arabia also necessitated the construction of a significant support infrastructure. In support of this effort, more than 1,000 Navy Reserve Construction Battalion (SEABEE) personnel were deployed to the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) area of responsibility. Two SEABEE battalions constructed two 6,600-foot runways, a large helicopter-operating base, 12 military support routes (MSR) to facilitate marine forces deployment, and more than 900 other construction projects in support of ground forces.

Navy reservists also contributed significantly to the massive sealift effort, the largest since World War II, which enabled the



A member of the U.S. Navy Reserve conducts a security check on the underside of a vehicle near the border between Kuwait and Iraq in 2005. (U.S. Navy)

deployment of more than 4 billion pounds of cargo and 9 billion pounds of petroleum products by 215 ships over a distance of some 12,000 miles. A number of units were involved in this effort. Approximately 400 navy reservists augmented Military Sealift Command (MSC) staffs around the world in their mission of coordinating ship onloads, transits, and offloads and constituted more than 60 percent of the MSC staff. Some 645 navy reserve cargo handlers supported loading and unloading operations in the United States, Europe, and the Middle East. In the CENTCOM area of responsibility, 200 navy reservists assigned to reserve Mobile Inshore Undersea Warfare (MIUW) units provided protection to cargo offload operations with a combination of advanced electronic sensors and armed security forces.

In the decade between the end of DESERT STORM and the attacks of September 11, 2001, navy reserve personnel strength declined to approximately 80,000 people. However, during both Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM, the navy reserve force provided capabilities to campaign efforts in a number of capacities. Activation of navy reserve personnel in response to the September 11 attacks began in mid-September 2001, and by early 2009, 40,000 navy reserve personnel had been called to duty for varying durations, both for ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM.

Accompanying the first U.S. Marine Corps units into Afghanistan in November 2001 were 56 USNR SEABEES, who provided critical airstrip maintenance services in the early stages of operations in that country. Subsequently, several thousand USNR SEABEES have deployed to both Afghanistan, in support of ENDURING FREEDOM, and to Iraq and Kuwait in support of IRAQI FREEDOM. SEABEE accomplishments in the initial stages of IRAQI FREEDOM in 2003 included the construction of enemy prisoner of war (POW) holding areas, repair of critical runways, maintenance of main supply routes in southern Iraq, and construction of a large pontoon bridge across the Tigris River.

Navy reserve aviation units have also contributed to ENDURING FREEDOM/IRAQI FREEDOM. U.S. Navy logistics squadrons regularly deploy detachments of one to two transport aircraft, crews, and maintainers to the CENTCOM area of responsibility to support personnel and equipment movement in support of naval operations. USNR Helicopter Combat Support Special Squadrons have also conducted several deployments supporting combat search and rescue and Naval Special Warfare operations. And in a first since the 1950–1953 Korean War, a reserve strike fighter squadron was fully integrated with an active carrier air wing, flying more than 200 combat sorties in 2003 in Iraq.

Finally, as in DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, USNR provided niche capabilities typically not found in the active force but essential to smooth logistics flow into CENTCOM. Units included cargo handling battalions for ship and aircraft offload, MIUW units to conduct surface and subsurface monitoring, inshore boat units to patrol critical waterways, and customs battalions to inspect shipping.

While comprising only a small percentage of the total force deployed in support of Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM, the unique capabilities possessed by the USNR make it a potent tool in these campaigns.

ROBERT M. BROWN

See also

ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; United States Navy, Afghanistan War; United States Navy, Iraq War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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United States Special Operations Command

Unified command responsible for the conduct of all unconventional warfare missions undertaken by the U.S. military. U.S. Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) was activated on June 1, 1987, and is headquartered at MacDill Air Force Base, Florida. It is one of the 10 unified commands in the U.S. military structure.

USSOCOM was established in response to the failure of Operation EAGLE CLAW, the 1980 attempt to free Americans taken hostage from the U.S. embassy in Tehran by Iranian revolutionaries. The preparations for and execution of EAGLE CLAW were impeded by serious problems with cross-service command and control, coordination, funding, and training. Action analysis of the failed operation led to the establishment of the Special Operations Advisory panel and the 1st Special Operations Command in 1982. In 1983, further movement to consolidate Special Operations Forces (SOF) was led by Senator Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.). By 1984 the U.S. Congress created the Joint Special Operations Agency, but it had no operational control. Later in 1984, Senator Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), Senator William Cohen (R-Maine), and Representative Dan Daniel (D-Va.) convinced Congress to take a more active role.

Over the next two years, Congress studied the uses and funding of SOF. Senators Nunn and Cohen introduced a bill calling for a joint military operation for SOF and an office within the Department of Defense to oversee it. This organization was to be commanded by a four-star general. The Nunn-Cohen Act was signed into law in October 1986. With the dissolution of the U.S. Readiness Command, USSOCOM was created and approved for operations by President Ronald Reagan on April 13, 1987.

The first Commander in Chief Special Operations Command (USCINCSOC) was General James J. Lindsay, who served from 1987 to 1990. He was followed by General Carl W. Stiner (1990–1993), General Wayne A. Downing (1993–1996), General Henry H. Shelton (1996–1997), General Peter J. Schoomaker (1997–2000), General Charles R. Holland (2000–2003), General Bryan D. Brown (2003–2007), and Admiral Eric T. Olsen (2007–present).

USSOCOM draws its manpower from all branches of the U.S. Armed Forces. Its two original members were the U.S. Army and the U.S. Navy. Army elements include the 75th Ranger Regiment, U.S. Army Special Forces, 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment, 4th Psychological Operations Group (Airborne), 95th Civil Affairs Battalion (Airborne), and Special Operations Support Command (Airborne). Navy elements include SEALs, Special Warfare Combatant-Craft Crewman, and Seal Delivery Vehicle Teams. The U.S. Air Force special operations units came under USSOCOM in 1990, including the 1st Special Operations Wing, the 27th Special Operations Wing, the 352nd Special Operations Group, the 353rd Special Operations Group, the 919th Special Operations Wing (U.S. Air Force Reserve), and the 193rd Special Operations Wing (Air National Guard). In 2005, the Pentagon authorized the addition of U.S. Marine Corps elements to USSOCOM, which included the Marine Special Operations Battalion, Marine Special Operations Advisory Group, and Marine Special Operations Support Group.

To handle highly classified missions requiring swift action, possible hostage rescue, and counterterrorism, USSOCOM also contains the Joint Special Operations Command consisting of 1st Special Forces Operational Detachment–Delta, Naval Special Warfare Development Group, Intelligence Support Activity, and 24th Special Tactics Squadron. Each service maintains its own command and training regime.

Since its inception, USSOCOM has played a major role in U.S. military actions. It provided forces for the safe navigation of the Persian Gulf (Operation EARNEST WILL) and the capture of Panamanian president Manuel Noriega (Operation JUST CAUSE). As world attention shifted more to the Middle East, USSOCOM again was asked to lead the way. For Operation DESERT STORM, SOF led the invasion of Iraq with strategic intelligence and by locating Scud missile sites. In the Global War on Terror, SOF and USSOCOM have won more battles, ranging from overthrowing the Taliban in Afghanistan to leading the search for Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, to providing counterterrorism operations in Iraq.

SHAWN LIVINGSTON

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; EARNEST WILL, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Global War on Terror; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; JUST CAUSE, Operation

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United States Transportation Command

One of 10 U.S. Department of Defense unified military commands. The United States Transportation Command (USTRANSCOM) was established in 1987. Its mission statement calls for USTRANSCOM "to provide air, land and sea transportation to the Department of Defense both in time of peace and in time of war."

USTRANSCOM grew out of the need for the U.S. military to develop a comprehensive military transportation system. This was particularly evident in the 1978 command post exercise, Operation NIFTY NUGGET. Serious deficiencies discovered in NIFTY NUGGET led to the creation the next year of the Joint Deployment Agency (JDA), with its headquarters at MacDill Air Force Base, Florida. The JDA, however, did not have authority for the integration of deployment procedures, and following authority granted under the Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986, President Ronald Reagan issued orders on April 18, 1987, for the establishment of the unified transportation command. U.S. Air Force general Duane H. Cassidy was its first commander.

USTRANSCOM headquarters is at Scott Air Force Base, Illinois. The command consists of three service components: the U.S. Air Force Air Mobility Command (AMC), the U.S. Navy Military Sealift Command (MSC), and the U.S. Army Surface Deployment and Distribution Command (SDDC). In carrying out its mission, USTRANSCOM has access both to military and commercial resources. The AMC is located at Scott Air Force Base. Its assets include the Boeing C-17 Globemaster III, Lockheed C-5 Galaxy, and Lockheed C-130 Hercules transport aircraft and the Boeing KC-135 Stratotanker and McDonnell Douglas KC-10 Extender aircraft for aerial refueling. Additional aircraft are available if required through the Civil Reserve Air Fleet, commercial aircraft that are available to transport both men and matériel in times of national crisis. The MSC is headquartered in Washington, D.C., and has access to both Fast Sealift and Ready Reserve Force ships. If necessary, the MSC can also rent space on commercial ships. The MSC has three primary roles: surge sealift, to move unit equipment to any point in the world; prepositioned sealift (this comes under USTRNASCOM once the ships are released into the common-user fleet); and sustained sealift, to maintain U.S. forces deployed overseas. The SDDC is headquartered at Scott Air Force Base, but its Operations Center is at Fort Eustis, Virginia. The SDDC has a presence in 24 ports around the world. In an average year, the SDDC supervises the movement of some 3.7 measurement tons of ocean cargo, 500,000 personal property relocations, 600,000 domestic freight shipments, 72,000 privately owned vehicles, and 518,000 passengers. Among its assets are 10,000 containers and 1,350 railroad cars.

USTRANSCOM operations run the gamut from military to humanitarian missions. During 1995, for example, USTRANSCOM supported 94 Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) exercises and 76 humanitarian missions. At the same time it was supporting Operations JOINT ENDEAVOR in the former Yugoslavia, PROVIDE COMFORT in Turkey, and SOUTHERN WATCH in Iraq. Over a seven-month period in

An MH-60S Seahawk helicopter from Helicopter Sea Combat Squadron (HSC) 25 flies near the U.S. Navy guided-missile destroyer *Mustin* during a vertical replenishment with the aircraft carrier *George Washington* on October 25, 2009, in the Pacific Ocean. HSC-25 was deployed aboard the Military Sealift Command dry cargo ship USNS *Alan B. Shepard*. (U.S. Department of Defense)

the run-up to the 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT SHIELD) and during the war itself (Operation DESERT STORM), USTRANSCOM delivered to the Persian Gulf area some 504,000 personnel as well as 3.7 million tons of dry cargo and 6.12 million tons of petroleum products. In recent years USTRANSCOM has been especially busy supporting the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq (Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM, respectively). Since October 2001, USTRANSCOM and its coalition partners have moved more than 2.2 million personnel and 6.12 million short tons of cargo.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Military Sealift Command; PROVIDE COMFORT, Operation; Sealift Ships; SOUTHERN WATCH, Operation; Support and Supply Ships, Strategic; United States Air Force, Afghanistan War; United States Air Force, Iraq War; United States Air Force, Persian Gulf War; United States Army, Afghanistan War; United States Army, Persian Gulf War; United States Navy, Afghanistan War; United States Navy, Persian Gulf War

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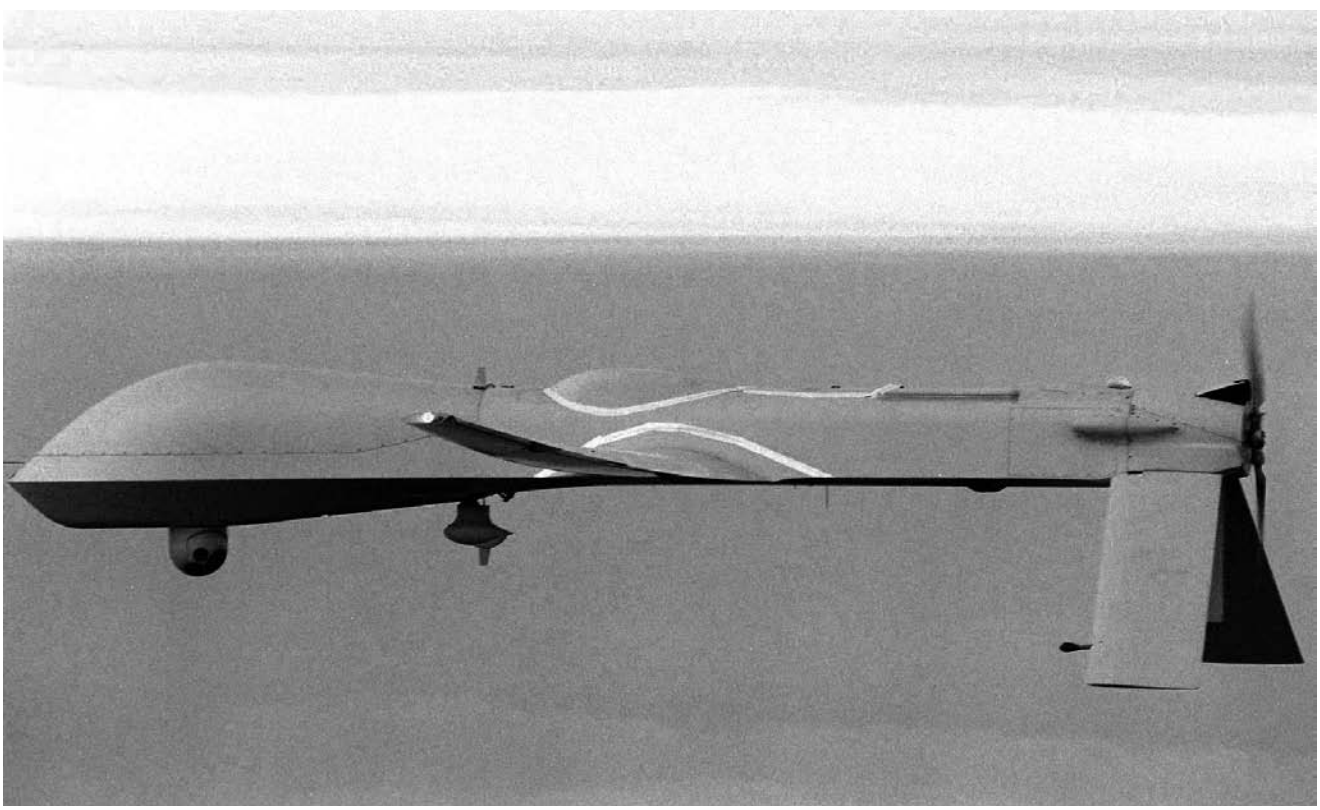
Unmanned Aerial Vehicles

Unmanned aircraft flown by remote control and formerly known as remotely piloted vehicles (RPVs), unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) have evolved into powerful aerial reconnaissance, surveillance, and strike platforms. Although the U.S. Air Force employed AQM-34 Drones for high-risk aerial reconnaissance missions during the Vietnam War, those units were quickly retired after the conflict, and postwar funding cuts prevented any new unmanned aerial reconnaissance systems entering service. Israel subsequently pioneered RPV development, and the U.S. government became interested in using RPVs by the late 1980s. Now RPVs are an integral part of the battlefield enviornment.

The success of Israeli UAV operations over Lebanon in the early 1980s convinced the U.S. Navy to examine unmanned aircraft for artillery spotting and to provide a UAV capability for the U.S. Marine Corps. Pioneer RPVs were then acquired and embarked first aboard the Iowa-class battleship *Iowa.* Pioneer short-range UAVs saw their first operational employment during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM from the Iowa-class battleships and amphibious warfare ships when they flew more than 300 combat reconnaissance missions. The best-known instance of their use came when the battleship *Missouri* used its Pioneer to direct devastatingly accurate fire from its 16-inch guns against the Iraqi defenses of Faylaka Island near Kuwait City. When the battleship *Wisconsin* sent its Pioneer over the island shortly thereafter, the defenders used handkerchiefs, undershirts, and other objects to signal their surrender. DESERT STORM demonstrated the advantages of an RPV over aircraft and space-based reconnaissance systems. The foremost of these was their ability to linger over a target, providing comparatively long-term surveillance of the area. They were also cheaper than aircraft, and their loss to accident or enemy fire did not imperil a pilot and aircrew. Over the next decade, Pioneers flew some 14,000 flights and supported every major U.S. military operation.

Buoyed by the success of RPVs in Operation DESERT STORM, America's intelligence agencies and military services accelerated the development of far more capable unmanned aerial platforms. As these entered operational testing, their greater capabilities and expense drove their sponsors to introduce the designation UAV to distinguish them from their earlier, more primitive counterparts. The primary difference was in the control system. RPVs are radio-controlled from within line of sight of the vehicle, while UAVs can be programmed to fly autonomously along a planned route, utilize satellite links that enable their operators to control them from thousands of miles away, or perform a mix of manual and autonomous operations. Stealthy and equipped to provide instantaneous and nearly continuous transmission of their collected information, UAVs have been a critical component of all major U.S. military operations since 1994 but most especially during the Global War on Terror.

All U.S. military services now operate UAVs, and their missions have expanded from reconnaissance and strike to communications relay and even tactical logistics support to units in the field. The Pioneer RPV, which entered service in 1985, has now been supplanted by a vast array of UAVs ranging from the long-range Global Hawk to the hand-launched RQ-11 Raven. The RQ-1 Predator is the best known of the UAVs in service during America's later Middle Eastern conflicts. First entering service in 1995, the Predator has a 40-hour endurance and is equipped to provide near-real reporting from a wide variety of sensor packages, including elecro-optical, infrared, and radar imaging and electronic signals (ELINT) monitoring. Flying at an operational



A Predator unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) on a simulated aerial reconnaissance flight off the coast of southern California on December 5, 1995. (U.S. Department of Defense)

altitude above 26,000 feet, its sensors can monitor an area the size of New York City.

The Predator is most famous for its use in Hellfire missile strikes on terrorist leaders, their compounds, and entourages as part of the Global War on Terror. Developed in 2002 to ensure the rapid engagement of terrorists as opportunities arise, each strike-configured Predator carries two Hellfire air-to-surface missiles. The Predator can maintain station for 24 hours over an area 500 nautical miles from its launch point. The latest version of the Predator, the MQ-1, has a more extensive sensor suite, greater range and endurance, and higher operating ceiling. Media claims suggest that Predator strikes have killed hundreds of Taliban and Al Qaeda operatives from November 2001 into 2010 and that the number of these strikes is increasing.

Less well known but more extensively employed are the U.S. Army's FQM-151 Pointer and RQ-1 Raven short-range tactical UAVs. Weighing in at 9 and 4.5 pounds, respectively, the Pointer and RQ-1 enable special operations units and tactical ground commanders to scout the route ahead for enemy forces and improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and look behind or over buildings and blocking terrain features. The Pointer entered service with Special Forces Command in 1989 and first saw action in DESERT STORM. It has a 90-minute endurance, is hand launched, and can be controlled by an operator using a laptop. Essentially a scaled-down Pointer, the Raven has an 80-minute endurance, but microminiaturization enables it to have similar sensor capabilities. More importantly, it can be carried in a standard army backpack. Employed extensively in Iraq and Afghanistan, it is credited with saving hundreds of soldiers' lives by exposing insurgent ambushes, IEDs, and other dangers. Both UAVs cruise at 40–50 miles per hour (mph), employ autonomous and manual flight control, and link infrared or electro-optical imagery back to the operator. The Pointer's better high-altitude performance has led to its extensive use in Afghanistan.

The RQ-5 Hunter Joint Tactical UAV entered service in 1993 and conducts reconnaissance for army divisions and corps. Employed alone, it can conduct surveillance up to 120 miles (200 kilometers) from its ground-control station. That can be extended to 165 miles (300 kilometers) if a second Hunter is used to relay the link signals. It cruises at 118 mph and has a two-hour endurance at 75 miles (125 kilometers) from its launch point. The BQM-147A Dragon drone fulfills a similar function for expeditionary warfare units such as the U.S. Marine Corps Expeditionary Forces and the U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne and 101st Air Assault divisions. The 89-pound Dragon entered service in 1993 and has a 2.5-hour endurance. As with the RQ-5, it operates at an altitude of 3,000–5,000 feet and can be controlled manually, can operate autonomously, or can use autopilot with manual override.

America's longest-ranged UAV is the RQ-4 Global Hawk, which has intercontinental range, operates at altitudes above 50,000 feet, and can remain in the air for more than 42 hours. It carries electronic signal monitoring and infrared, electro-optical, and radar-imaging sensors. The Global Hawk entered service in 2002 and is operated by the U.S. Air Force's 11th and 15th Strategic Reconnaissance wings. All of its collected information can be disseminated in real time via satellite links. It can be flown manually or autonomously or via autopilot with manual override. Its operators use satellite links to maintain contact with the UAV, but it can be programmed to return to base or divert fields if it loses contact.

UAVs now constitute an integral component of all U.S. security operations from the military through to the Coast Guard and Border Patrol. The U.S. Navy is testing the use of UAVs from submarines, including those that are submerged, and aircraft carriers down to patrol craft. Microminiaturization and high-tech data links and computer systems promise to give the smallest tactical units reconnaissance capabilities beyond that imagined for major field forces 100 years ago. Future systems coming on line include the MQ-8B Fire Scout, which will enter service in 2010, and UAVs even smaller than the Raven are expected to enter service by 2012. Science fiction's reconnaissance probes have become a battlefield reality.

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See also

Aircraft, Reconnaissance; Al Qaeda; Antiaircraft Guns; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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Uqair, Treaty of

Treaty signed on December 22, 1922, between Kuwait and Najd (present-day Saudi Arabia) that set a boundary between the two states and established a neutral zone of approximately 2,000 square miles to the south of Kuwait. The boundary was officially delineated in a 1969 treaty that divided the neutral zone between the two nations. Oil reserves that lie within the zone continue to be divided between the two states, both onshore and offshore.

By the early 18th century, various Arab tribesmen had settled Kuwait. Although officially ruled by the Ottoman Empire out of Basra, in reality the Kuwaitis enjoyed wide discretion over their own affairs and were ruled by local merchant tribal elites connected to the pearl industry, the most important member of which was the al-Sabah family.

Meanwhile, the British, fearful of German and Russian encroachment into the area, had created a system of alliances with states of the Persian Gulf to protect their links to India, a royal

colony. Given this goal, the British were largely uninterested in matters of internal governance in the Persian Gulf, making them ideal allies for ruling families in the region.

Under Sheikh Mubarak the Great, who ruled from 1896 to 1915, the al-Sabah clan began to create its own independent power base, and it was increasingly able to raise taxes on the merchant class thanks in large part to its relationship to the British. The British soon began engaging in agreements with the al-Sabah family, giving it gunboats even though Kuwait was officially under Ottoman suzerainty. In 1899, Kuwait signed an agreement not to receive any foreign ambassadors without British permission. Thus, Kuwait came to enjoy almost de facto independence, largely pursuing its own foreign policy guided by British—and not Ottoman—interests. In 1913 the Ottoman Empire was compelled to recognize this state of affairs officially with the Anglo-Ottoman Convention, which recognized the al-Sabah family as independent Ottoman governors within their region.

With the breakup of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I, Kuwait continued to maintain close ties with the British and existed as a sheikhdom, albeit one under official British protection. The nebulous nature of Kuwaiti authority invited challenges to the limits of its power, however. Indeed, Kuwaiti sheikhs claimed authority well beyond their capital city, but they largely lacked the ability to enforce that authority. Kuwait nevertheless remained an important entrepöt in the region. Various tribes in the area pledged allegiance to Kuwait, and caravans routinely crossed the sheikhdom to Basra and other cities.

Kuwait was frequently subject to raids by Wahhabi Bedouins out of neighboring Nejd, operating under the authority of Abdul Aziz ibn Abdul Rahman ibn Saud. The capital city was too fortified to raid successfully, but Saudi forces chose other targets. These Bedouins made a profitable living raiding caravans and nearby Kuwaiti allied tribes, weakened Kuwaiti authority, and did serious damage to the economy. Ibn Saud argued that Kuwait had no claims beyond the city, and his control of the desert made this effectively true.

The Kuwaitis had powerful allies in the British, however. In 1920, Saud's forces defeated a Kuwaiti force in the disputed territory south of Kuwait's capitol. Later that year, in October, the Wahhabis besieged the fortified town of Jahra and in this battle the Kuwaitis defeated Saud's forces by holding out without giving in. The local merchants now convinced the al-Sabah family to call on the British, who provided support with planes, armored cars, and offshore gunboats. The Saud forces subsequently withdrew.

Given these struggles between British Arab allies and Ibn Saud, the British High Commissioner from Baghdad, Sir Percy Zacariah Cox, successfully negotiated the Treaty of Uqair, settling the land issue by establishing a neutral zone. Late in 1922, Cox traveled to the fortified town of Uqair in present-day eastern Saudi Arabia, where he met with Ibn Saud and the British political agent to Kuwait, Major John More, heard their cases, and established a neutral zone between the two powers while granting Kuwait authority well beyond the city itself. The agreement was signed on December 22. That Cox met with Saud representing himself and a fellow countryman representing Kuwait is telling, in that Kuwait was effectively operating under British suzerainty. The border between Iraq and Kuwait, however, would not be more firmly established until 1932, and it was not codified until 1969. Kuwait would retain its sheikhdom and connection to the British, not becoming fully independent until 1961.

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See also

Ottoman Empire; Saudi Arabia; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy

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V

Vehicles, Unarmored

Unarmored vehicles have played a major role in the transport of troops and in other logistical functions since the introduction of the internal combustion engine in the years before the beginning of World War I. The nations involved in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the 2001 invasion of Afghanistan, and the 2003 Iraq War employed a range of such vehicles. Many models were slightly modified versions of vehicles available on the commercial market, while others were designed and purpose-built to military specifications.

Unarmored military vehicles were divided into five broad categories. First, all countries used some form of light reconnaissance vehicle based loosely on the four-wheel drive U.S. Jeep. These scout vehicles were capable of high speed and could carry four to six soldiers or a small amount of cargo. They could also be armed with machine guns or light antitank or antiaircraft weapons. Second, there were light cargo trucks, which typically had the capacity to carry up to two-and-one-half tons cross-country or twice that load on improved roads. These were often six-wheeled and had the ability to carry either troops or cargo. Third, there were medium cargo trucks that had the ability to move up to five tons and were usually six-to-eight wheeled. Fourth, there were the heavy cargo trucks, which could handle more than seven tons, and carry tanks and other armored and tracked vehicles. Heavy trucks were typically six-to-ten wheeled. Fifth, and finally, there was a range of specialized vehicles that included ambulances, amphibious vehicles, water carriers, and communications vehicles, among others.

Like other nations in the Middle East, Iraq utilized the UAZ 69 (also commonly known as the GAZ 69), the popular Russian version of the venerable U.S. Jeep. The UAZ 69 was a four-wheel drive vehicle that came in several models, including a one-quarter-ton version for light cargo. It performed well off road and in the region's desert terrain. Iraq utilized a variety of foreign-made transport and supply trucks. Many of these were customized to adapt to the heat and harsh climate of the area. However, Iraq did not have the variety of specialized unarmored vehicles that Western countries typically possessed. When Iraqi forces overran Kuwait in August 1990, they captured a number of Kuwaiti vehicles, including the British-made Cargocat. The one-and-one-half-ton vehicle was specifically designed for the desert, and Iraqi forces confiscated scores for their use.

During the Persian Gulf War, coalition air superiority allowed the U.S.-led allies to effectively target and destroy much of Iraq's transport capability. Approximately half of Iraq's unarmored military vehicles were destroyed during the war. After the Persian Gulf War, sanctions prevented Iraq from acquiring new vehicles or parts for their existing fleet. Consequently, the military's transport arm was seriously eroded as soldiers were forced to cannibalize vehicles for replacement parts. The result was that Iraq's transport arm had limited capabilities prior to the Iraq War, and those assets were degraded quickly once combat began as trucks and other vehicles were targeted by coalition aircraft, drones, and ground units. Once the Saddam Hussein regime had fallen in April 2003, Iraqi insurgents increasingly utilized civilian vehicles, especially four-wheel drive pickup trucks, to conduct quick attacks on coalition forces. However, the vehicles proved vulnerable to ground fire and were easy to track; insurgents therefore shifted tactics by using roadside bombs and other improvised explosive devices (IEDs).

The Taliban initially used a broad assortment of unarmored vehicles, including Soviet-era trucks and civilian vehicles pressed into military service, often with improvised armaments. During Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, allied aircraft and ground units were able to effectively destroy most of the Taliban's ground limited

Members of an Egyptian ranger battalion give a demonstration for visiting dignitaries during Operation DESERT SHIELD. The soldiers standing are holding SA-7 Grail surface-to-air missiles (SAMs). (U.S. Department of Defense)

transport. Unmanned aerial drones were increasingly deployed after the fall of the Taliban in December 2001 to monitor vehicle traffic and to undertake attacks. By the 2003 winter campaigns, motorcycles had become an increasingly important vehicle for the Taliban and other insurgents concurrent with the change in tactics to increased terrorist strikes, including bombings and targeted assassinations.

The United States and its allies employed both general-purpose and highly specialized vehicles in both Iraq and Afghanistan. At the heavy end of the spectrum were vehicles such as the U.S. M-1070 Heavy Equipment Transport System (HETS). This behemoth weighed more than 41,000 tons, and with its trailer could handle a payload of 140,000 pounds, including hauling the M-1 Abrams main battle tank.

In addition to general cargo and transport trucks, the United States employed the High-Mobility Multi-Purpose Wheeled Vehicle (commonly known as the "Humvee" or "Hummer"). These four-wheel drive vehicles were much larger than the M-151 model Jeeps they replaced. They had a two-and-one-half-ton load capacity, could carry up to eight troops in addition to its two-person crew, and had a range of 300 miles. Humvees could be armed with several weapons systems, including light or heavy machine guns, antitank and antiaircraft missiles, and small howitzers. They could also be lightly armored. Humvees had excellent climbing capabilities, and they could traverse grades of more than 25 degrees and ford water more than two feet deep. They also proved quite reliable in the desert. The United States eventually deployed more than a dozen different Humvee models. During the Persian Gulf War, the United States used approximately 20,000 Humvees, and in the Iraq War, it deployed more than 10,000 of them, making the Humvee the most widely used U.S. vehicle in both conflicts.

The British version of the Humvee was the Land Rover 90 or the 110 (later succeeded by the Defender and then the "Snatch" Land Rover, which was lightly armored). The Land Rovers came in a variety of models, and like the Humvee could be armed and configured to undertake a variety of roles. The smaller wheelbase of some of the Land Rovers made them better-suited to urban combat, especially during the Iraq War and the Iraqi insurgency (some U.S. units, including special operations forces, used the Land Rovers instead of the Humvees).

While the Humvees, Land Rovers, and other unarmored vehicles performed well in the initial phases of combat in both Iraq wars and in Afghanistan, the increasing use of IEDs revealed substantial problems with the vehicles. Insurgents in Afghanistan and Iraq quickly realized that the unarmored vehicles were vulnerable to mines, IEDs, and shoulder-fired rocket-propelled grenade

(RPG) launchers. Unarmored transport and supply vehicles were particularly vulnerable to mines and IEDs, but, because of their extensive use, Humvees and other light vehicles were the most common targets of insurgent attacks.

Through 2008, more than 1,500 Humvees had been destroyed or seriously damaged in Afghanistan and Iraq, with more than 400 U.S. service personnel killed in the attacks (almost 10 percent of total casualties). Among the British in Afghanistan and Iraq, casualties from attacks on Land Rovers accounted for one-eighth of total casualties. Land Rovers had less off-road capability than their U.S. counterparts, especially in the mountainous terrain of Afghanistan, and this forced them to remain on roads more frequently.

The U.S. and British governments were criticized for reacting too slowly to improve the armor and other protection afforded troops in light vehicles. In 2004, coalition allies in both theaters began to increase the protection in unarmored vehicles. Many troops improvised, adding ad hoc light armor to their vehicles by welding plates on the exterior or by attaching Kevlar vests to the surface areas of the Humvee. Such modifications seriously eroded the capabilities of the vehicles, as the engines and suspensions were not designed for the extra weight. The United States began reinforcing Humvees in theater with the FRAG Kit 5, which added additional armor to the door and floors of the vehicles with minimal performance sacrifices. Meanwhile, the Department of Defense dramatically increased its purchases and deployments of lightly armored versions of the Humvees, ordering an additional 2,000 of the armored models. The lightly armored Humvees weighed about 1,000 pounds more than their older counterparts and required a more powerful engine (and at $180,000 each, cost about twice as much as the unarmored versions). These vehicles could withstand a small mine or IED up to about 12 pounds and provided marginally effective protection against small-arms fire. They were still extremely vulnerable to RPGs and larger mines or IEDs. Furthermore, insurgents began to use particularly powerful bombs with shaped charges that were dubbed explosively formed penetrators (EFPs), which could easily destroy lightly armored Humvees.

Concurrent with the effort to increase armor, U.S. defense officials also increased the deployment of anti-IED devices. Most of these systems involved electronic radio-frequency jammers to prevent the detonation of IEDs. In 2007, IED use peaked, with more than 2,800 devices either detonated by insurgents or discovered by coalition forces in Iraq. The U.S. and its allies in Afghanistan and Iraq have also begun to deploy more armored vehicles with capabilities similar to those of reconnaissance and light cargo or transport vehicles. Meanwhile, the United States has plans to replace the Humvee with a new vehicle by 2012.

Tom Lansford

See also

Armored Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; High Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicle; Improvised Explosive Devices; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; United Kingdom, Army, Iraq War; United Kingdom, Army, Persian Gulf War; United States Army, Afghanistan War; United States Army, Iraq War; United States Marine Corps, Afghanistan War; United States Marine Corps, Iraq War; United States Marine Corps, Persian Gulf War

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Veterans Benefits Improvement Act of 1994

Federal legislation authorizing the secretary of veterans affairs to grant disability compensation to qualified veterans of the 1991 Persian Gulf War suffering from chronic disabilities associated with undiagnosed illnesses, including Gulf War Syndrome (GFS). The act was signed into law on November 2, 1994, by President Bill Clinton and marked the first time in U.S. history that the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) was given permission to provide disability compensation to veterans for undiagnosed illnesses. Since the passing of the act, more than 3,700 Persian Gulf War veterans have received disability compensation under its provisions.

In addition to expanding the number of veterans able to receive disability compensation, the Veterans Benefits Improvement Act of 1994 included other requirements, such as the establishment of a standard procedure for completing medical evaluations of Persian Gulf War veterans, a requirement that the VA evaluate the medical status of all immediate family members of veterans, and the launching of a program that provides veterans with easy access to current information on available benefits. The act also added more details to the process of applying for loans through the VA.

The Veterans Benefits Improvement Act of 1994 was passed in response to the medical establishment's inability to diagnose symptoms and illnesses of thousands of veterans returning home from the Persian Gulf area during 1990–1991. Soldiers deployed to the Persian Gulf were reporting symptoms at a much higher rate than those who had not deployed there. Persian Gulf War illnesses still lack complete understanding. The existence of Gulf War Syndrome has not been positively confirmed, but recent studies have confirmed that almost 30 percent of Persian Gulf War veterans suffer from chronic multisymptom illness (CMI). After the examinations of thousands of Persian Gulf War veterans with undiagnosed illnesses, a list of common symptoms was compiled to explain medically unexplained symptoms (MUS).

Army sergeant Stephen Miller holds up a picture of his wife Bianca and son Cedrick during a hearing before the Senate Veterans Affairs Committee on Capitol Hill, August 5, 1994. The committee hears testimony from veterans and their families who believe birth defects and reproductive problems were caused by service-connected exposure to chemicals and radiation during Operation DESERT STORM. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Research continues on the mysterious illnesses suffered by Persian Gulf War veterans. In particular, researchers are studying the health effects of the many dangerous substances to which these veterans were exposed. Anthrax, Sarin nerve gas, and depleted uranium are only a few examples from the list of substances. Some of the most common symptoms of Gulf War Syndrome (or CMI) are fatigue, headaches, joint pains, muscle pains, respiratory disorders, and difficulty sleeping. Research also shows that Persian Gulf War veterans are at a greater risk for depression, anxiety, and substance abuse.

Unless dishonorably discharged or injured or made ill as a result of misconduct, all veterans injured in the line of duty during active service during wartime or peacetime are eligible for disability compensation. However, veterans have only until December 31, 2011, to file for disability compensation under the Veterans Benefits Improvement Act. The degree of disability affects how much each veteran receives. A veteran may be classified as 1 percent to 100 percent disabled. The maximum compensation that Persian Gulf veterans can receive for undiagnosed illnesses is slightly more than $2,000 a month, for complete (100 percent) disability.

Wounded soldiers are surviving at higher rates than ever before due to improvements in military medicine. So far, almost 300,000 Persian Gulf War veterans have applied for compensation and medical care. The Afghanistan War and the Iraq War have significantly increased the number of veterans needing assistance from the VA. As with those of the Persian Gulf War, many veterans of the Afghanistan and Iraq conflicts suffer from unexplained illnesses and will be covered under the Veterans Benefits Improvement Act of 1994.

Since the act will benefit the veterans of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the United States government and the VA face a serious struggle in the years ahead. With the expectation of 750,000 claims, the VA must increase its budget if it hopes to provide quality care to veterans. The VA is still struggling to process claims from the Persian Gulf War and will require billions of additional dollars to provide medical care to the veterans of the later wars.

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See also

Clinton, William Jefferson; Gulf War Syndrome

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Veterans Health Care Act of 1992

Comprehensive veterans health care legislation sponsored by Representative Gillespie V. "Sonny" Montgomery (D-Miss.), and passed by Congress on October 6, 1992. President George H. W. Bush signed the act into law on November 4, 1992. The Veterans Health Care Act of 1992 (Pub. L. 102–585; 106 Stat. 4943) consisted of eight titles implementing a variety of new programs within the Department of Veterans Affairs (DVA) to improve health care services for eligible American veterans of the 1991 Persian Gulf War as well as previous wars.

The Persian Gulf War sparked a flurry of legislative proposals in Congress in 1991 and 1992 to address veterans benefits. This was in large part the result of the patriotic fervor and resurgence of respect for American military personnel engendered by the conflict. In 1991 alone, close to 100 veterans bills were proposed in Congress that year. The major piece of legislation enacted in March 1991, the Persian Gulf Conflict Supplemental Authorization and Personnel Benefits Act of 1991, otherwise known as the Gulf Act, recognized the conflict as a full-fledged war. This provided opportunities for the majority of the 697,000 Persian Gulf War veterans to participate in certain existing insurance, pension, educational, medical, unemployment, and other federal benefits programs enjoyed by veterans of previous U.S. wars.

The United States military personnel involved in both phases of the war, Operation DESERT SHIELD and Operation DESERT STORM, included a comparably higher percentage of reservists and National Guard troops (17 percent) and women (7 percent) than in previous American conflicts. More than 90 percent of Persian Gulf War veterans experienced service in a combat zone for the first time. Although combat was relatively limited during the war, additional factors compounded the stress levels and health concerns of U.S. troops. These included family and employment strains precipitated by abrupt calls to active duty for reservists and National Guardsmen; environmental exposure to smoke from oil-well fires; harsh desert conditions; hazards related to various military occupational specialties; vaccinations and fears of chemical and biological warfare emissions; and the emotional impact of instantaneous television war coverage on troops and their families. All played a part in heightening the potential psychological and physical health concerns within the United States military.

In light of these issues and in addition to the Gulf Act, Congress began passing pieces of legislation upon the conclusion of Operation DESERT STORM in the spring of 1991 to address specifically veterans health issues related to posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and various environmental exposures. But not until the following year did a more comprehensive health care package appear. The Veterans Health Care Act of 1992 was designed to improve and expand health care services to both Persian Gulf War veterans and other American veterans.

In recognition of the service of female Persian Gulf War veterans and a growing percentage of women serving in the military overall, Title I of the act provided for a counseling program to assist women veterans suffering from trauma associated with sexual assault and harassment while serving in the military, as well as additional women's health care and medical services. Another major provision of the act, Title VII, authorized the implementation of a Persian Gulf War Veterans Health Registry within the DVA to capture data for future research and assessments on health issues and illnesses related to service during the war. Linked to this registry within Title VII were provisions providing health examinations and consultations to veterans requesting help.

Additional titles tightened health care sharing arrangements between the DVA and the Department of Defense in order to expand services to veterans and their beneficiaries; revised nursing pay rates within the DVA to retain nurses and encourage recruitment; enacted drug-pricing reforms to reduce prescription drug costs for federal and nonprofit hospitals and clinics serving veterans; permitted federal grants to states to construct nursing home facilities for disabled and elderly veterans; expanded access of disabled veterans to medical treatment and care in non-DVA facilities; and applied federal judicial misconduct procedures to the Court of Veterans Appeals. The act served as an important foundation for subsequent legislation to improve health care benefits and resolve health-related issues for all American veterans.

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See also

Environmental Effects of the Persian Gulf War; Gulf War Syndrome; Persian Gulf War Veterans Health Registry; Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder; Veterans Benefits Improvement Act of 1994

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Vietnam Syndrome

A term used to claim that the widespread American opposition to the Vietnam War (1965–1973) had resulted in pacifist and isolationist sentiments that restricted the ability of American leaders to engage U.S. forces in future military operations overseas. Following the successful conclusion of the 1991 Persian Gulf War, which was won quickly and with few casualties by coalition forces, many U.S. policy makers concluded that the Vietnam War Syndrome had been vanquished.

Opposition to the Vietnam War took several forms. Initially, it emerged among a small minority of pacifists who opposed virtually all wars and a minority who saw the Communist-led guerrilla movement as a legitimate national liberation struggle.

The antiwar movement later became widespread among college students. Opposition to the war later expanded to include many Americans who had initially supported the war but then turned against it following the widespread casualties, psychological damage to American troops, and the corrupt and ineffective nature of the regime in Saigon supported by the United States. By 1968, concerns mounted that the war—justified or not—was unlikely to result in a U.S. victory, and polls for the first time showed that a majority of Americans from across the political spectrum opposed the conflict. Popular frustration mounted as American combat operations continued for an additional five years.

Following the U.S. exit from Vietnam, subsequent polls revealed that while a solid majority of Americans still supported the use of military force if necessary to defend the national security interests of the United States, there was unprecedented skepticism regarding U.S. military operations in the developing world. In this instance, there were questions regarding the actual threat posed by the alleged enemy to U.S. national security, the ability of the United States to prevail in such a conflict, and the morality and legality of the intervention. This led Congress to pass new restrictions on presidential war-making authority, including the War Powers Act of 1973, the suspension of funding for U.S. military involvement in Angola's civil war in 1976, and strict limitations on direct military involvement in El Salvador's civil war during the 1980s.

Since the United States remained committed to "containing" the Soviet Union throughout the nearly half-century-long Cold War (1946–1991), restrictions on the use of force to pursue containment was problematic for Washington policy makers who tended to perceive the successes of any left-wing, Marxist or communist regime anywhere in the world—whether backed by the Soviet Union or not—as a direct challenge that must be met. Critics of congressional restrictions on the use of military force argued that all traditional elements of national power—economic, political, and military—should be available to the president. Yet, the wrenching experience of Vietnam left many in Congress—and the American public in general—loath to giving presidents a free hand in introducing U.S. troops into any situation that might draw the country into "another Vietnam."

An initial response to the Vietnam Syndrome came in the form of the Kissinger and Nixon doctrines. The Kissinger Doctrine, named for Henry Kissinger, national security adviser and secretary of state, is referred to in the Middle East as the Pillars Policy. The idea was to bolster strong allies in the Middle East, primarily Israel and Iran, and in a more secondary or indirect fashion, Saudi Arabia. They were to receive aid and military assistance. Some refer instead to the Nixon Doctrine, named for U.S. president Richard Nixon, by which the United States would help build up the military capabilities of developing world surrogates, such as Iran, to enable them to intervene in regional conflicts so as to minimize the potential for American involvement. Both of these policies underwent strain when the Shah of Iran's government fell and with Iran's 1979 Islamic Revolution. It was not clear if there was another "pillar" in the region to promote America's interests.

The Nixon and Kissinger doctrines were gradually replaced by a new one, known as the Weinberger Doctrine (later known as the Powell Doctrine, for its chief proponent General Colin L. Powell during his tenure as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff [1989–1993]). The doctrine associated with President Ronald Reagan's secretary of defense from 1981 to 1987, Caspar Weinberger (whose military aide was Colin Powell), reemphasized direct U.S. military intervention, but with a number of caveats based on presumed "lessons learned" from Vietnam: commit U.S. troops only when American or allied vital national interests are at stake, and only when supported by the American public and Congress; establish in advance of troop commitments clear political and military objectives; commit troops wholeheartedly and with the clear intention of winning; use force appropriate to the threat, but generally apply overwhelming force to shorten the length of the conflict and minimize American casualties; and use force only as a last resort. Powell generally adopted all of the Weinberger Doctrine principles, although he added the development of an "exit strategy" to Weinberger's caveats.

The quick and decisive U.S. military victories in Grenada in 1983, Panama in 1989, and the 1991 Persian Gulf War against Iraq all followed, more or less, the prescriptions of the Weinberger/Powell Doctrine, and proved relatively popular with the American public. Indeed, in the wake of the Persian Gulf War, many claimed that the stunning application of U.S. military power had finally released America from the Vietnam Syndrome. Similarly, while the naval intervention in the Persian Gulf in 1987–1988 (Operation EARNEST WILL) and the air war against Serbia in 1999 were not without controversy, minimal American casualties allowed these military campaigns to move forward without much concern regarding public opinion.

By contrast, the 1982–1984 intervention in Lebanon and the 1992–1994 intervention in Somalia—which raised popular concerns about American casualties, the prospects of success, and the nature of the operation—appeared to have rekindled, albeit on a much smaller scale, public criticism over U.S. military intervention in the developing world. The William J. Clinton administration in particular was loath to put U.S. troops in harm's way in the wake of public outcry after the Mogadishu fiasco, in which U.S. troops were slain in the Somali capital. Restrictions placed on U.S. troops during Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY, the American intervention in Haiti during 1994–1995, witnessed U.S. troops being largely isolated from the Haitian population in so-called Kevlar Zones (named after the material used to make American helmets and flak jackets) lest American forces sustain any casualties at all.

Despite misgivings about waging a war against Afghan tribesmen who had previously defeated Soviet forces with American support, concerns about an overreliance on air power, and the failure to eliminate the Taliban and their Al Qaeda allies, the U.S.-led war in Afghanistan beginning in October 2001 (Operation

ENDURING FREEDOM) was widely supported as a strategic necessity and a morally and legally justifiable response to the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States.

By contrast, the growing unpopularity of the war in Iraq, which began in March 2003 (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), raised many of the same concerns that 30-plus years earlier had resulted in the Vietnam Syndrome. Indeed, the grim war toll in Iraq raised the specter of a possible "Iraq Syndrome" that would have a similar impact on U.S. policy in the decades to come. Whether an Iraq Syndrome will affect the exercise of national power by the new Barack Obama administration remains to be seen. President Obama's announcement in early 2009 that he intended to increase U.S. troop strength in Afghanistan by approximately 17,000 seemed to indicate that, at least in the case of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, military force remained an option.

STEPHEN ZUNES

See also

Al Qaeda; Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Clinton, William Jefferson; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Kissinger, Henry Alfred; Nixon Doctrine; Powell, Colin Luther; Powell Doctrine; Reagan Administration, Middle East Policy; September 11 Attacks; Taliban; Weinberger, Caspar Willard

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VIGILANT RESOLVE, Operation

See Fallujah, First Battle of

VIGILANT WARRIOR, Operation

Start Date: October 8, 1994
End Date: December 8, 1994

A U.S.-led military operation to deter potential Iraqi military action against Kuwait. Initiated on October 8, 1994, Operation VIGILANT WARRIOR ended on December 8. In the aftermath of the 1991 Persian Gulf War, coalition armed forces responded to a series of provocations by the Iraqi regime of President Saddam Hussein by increasing troop levels in the region as a deterrent to further aggression. Through 1993, however, U.S. forces in the region declined as the William J. Clinton administration sought to reduce military deployments and use United Nations (UN) sanctions and weapons inspections, along with enforcement of the northern and southern no-fly zones, to contain Hussein's regime.

In September 1994, Iraqi forces began to move toward the Kuwaiti border. By October 8, two armored Iraqi Republican Guard divisions were located south of the 32nd Parallel, where the southern no-fly zone began. This increased the number of Iraqi military forces near Kuwait from 50,000 to 71,000 men. One of the units, the elite Hammurabi Division, moved to within 12-and-one-half miles of the Kuwaiti border and deployed its artillery in that direction.

The Iraqi provocation was based on a variety of factors. First, Hussein had endeavored to rebuild his military in the aftermath of Iraq's defeat in the Persian Gulf War; the deployment of forces was a test of the capabilities of his forces. Second, Hussein sought to test the Clinton administration, which seemed to be increasingly preoccupied with the crisis in Bosnia and the potential for military action there. Third, the deployment was a warning to anti-Baathist elements in the southern areas of the country, especially among the predominately Shiite population of the region. It was also a warning to other opponents of the regime that the Iraqi military remained a potent force. Fourth, the deployment was an effort to test the will of the international community in maintaining economic sanctions.

Saddam Hussein had engaged in an unsuccessful diplomatic effort over the previous year to remove UN economic and military sanctions, which were crippling his nation. He had undertaken limited cooperation over the past year with the UN weapons inspections regime and gained some support from China, France, and Russia to end the sanctions. The Iraqi leader believed that a show of strength would prompt the international community to revise the sanctions regime rather than face the prospect of escalation and another war.

In response, the Clinton administration reacted quickly, both militarily and diplomatically. Operation VIGILANT WARRIOR was initiated on October 8, 1994. Army and marine units, including the I Marine Expeditionary Force (MEF), were put on alert, and air and naval units were ordered to the region. More than 1,800 additional U.S. troops were in Kuwait within five days of the Iraqi troop movement. In total, more than 156,000 U.S. troops were put on alert for possible deployment to Kuwait. Headquarters units, including that of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), were deployed to the Persian Gulf for the first time since 1991. Meanwhile, the United States worked to gain passage of a UN resolution calling for the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from the Kuwaiti border.

On October 15, 1994, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 949, which called on the Iraqi regime to withdraw its forces to their positions as of September 20, 1994, forbade any additional military buildup in the southern areas of the country, and condemned any aggressive or hostile acts toward Kuwait or other neighboring countries. It also called upon Iraq to expand its cooperation with ongoing UN weapons inspections. The Clinton administration was thus able to convince China, France, and Russia of the necessity of continued containment of Iraq.

Through October, the buildup of U.S. forces continued. An aircraft carrier battle group, centered on the *George Washington,*

Sergeant David Compton organizes 82-mm mortars during Operation VIGILANT WARRIOR in Oswesat, Iraq, February 19, 2006. The purpose of this air assault operation was to capture suspected terrorists and to capture or destroy their ordnance supplies to deter a planned raid on Abu Ghraib Prison in Baghdad. (U.S. Department of Defense)

steamed to the region, as did an amphibious ready group. In all, 20 additional U.S. naval vessels sailed to the Gulf. Two brigades of the army's 24th Mechanized Infantry Division were dispatched to Kuwait, as were elements of the 101st Airborne Division and special operations forces. Finally, the air force sent 275 additional aircraft to the area. In all, more than 28,000 additional personnel, including 2,000 marines, were deployed. The deployment of forces occurred rapidly, surprising the Iraqis, who were also preparing to move an additional division to the south.

Operation VIGILANT WARRIOR took advantage of lessons learned from the Persian Gulf War and from prepositioned equipment and facilities at Camp Doha, Kuwait. The air force airplanes flew more than 2,000 strategic lift sorties during the course of a single month, bringing in 21,000 troops and more than 9,000 tons of weapons and supplies. In addition to the 58 M-1 Abrams main battle tanks (MBTs) and 122 Bradley infantry fighting vehicles (IFVs) sent as part of the 24th Division, there were 116 Abrams and 122 Bradleys prepositioned in Kuwait, awaiting only crews and minor maintenance to make them combat ready. These and other weapons were left in Kuwait and maintained so that a brigade deployed to Kuwait would immediately be able to use the weapons and equipment. Although there were substantially fewer forces than in Operation DESERT STORM, the coalition soldiers were in defensive positions and enjoyed both air and naval superiority. In addition, had combat commenced, the United States could have rapidly increased its forces.

As the troops came into Kuwait, the United States launched a series of military exercises that included both U.S. and select coalition forces. The missions included air, land, and sea activities. The training missions were designed to test the ability of incoming troops to be quickly acclimated and to be ready for combat operations. The exercises were also meant to deter the Iraqis by demonstrating the capabilities and resources of the allied forces. Finally, the training efforts provided the coalition forces opportunities to practice joint and combined operations. VIGILANT WARRIOR confirmed that the U.S. military had achieved significant improvements in strategic airlift and interservice communications.

One challenge that emerged from the operation was the strain that the deployment placed on available strategic lift. Because the reserves were not activated and only limited assets were brought in from outside of the theater, planners realized that current operational plans had a flaw: they were designed for a major deployment, similar to DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. Pentagon plans had not envisioned a small or medium-sized deployment and had to be revised to address possible future contingencies.

During the operation, the United States had minor support from other coalition partners. The United Kingdom dispatched the destroyer *Cardiff* and frigate *Cornwall,* and it sent six additional fighter aircraft and an airborne refueling tanker to the region. The British also more than doubled their ground forces to 1,000 men with the deployment of an additional battalion along the Kuwaiti border. France dispatched the destroyer *Georges Leygues.* In addition to the American, British, and French troops, the United Arab Emirates provided one mechanized infantry battalion, and the allies had two Kuwaiti armored brigades, one mechanized infantry, and one motorized cavalry. Six members of the Gulf Cooperation Council, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates, granted the United States overflight permissions and offered the use of facilities in the event of war.

Even as U.S. and allied troops were being deployed, Hussein announced his intention to withdraw the additional forces he had put in place. However, there was little or no movement, and Clinton publicly repudiated the Iraqi assertions that they had begun to pull back. It was not until October 18 that the Republican Guard divisions began their withdrawal. On October 20, the United States and the United Kingdom issued separate but similar warnings to Iraq that they would enforce Resolution 949, including the use of military force if necessary. By the end of October, the Iraqi divisions had retreated north of the 32nd Parallel. U.S. redeployments began simultaneously. U.S. troops were taken off alert, and the bulk of forces that had been deployed were returned home by the end of November. Operation VIGILANT WARRIOR officially ended on December 8, 1994.

In an effort to deter future ploys by Iraq, the Clinton administration decided to increase its deployments in the region and maintain 5,000 ground troops and at least 120 aircraft in theater. As a result of VIGILANT WARRIOR, the U.S. military increased its predeployment resources in the area so that the army had equipment for eight battalions prepositioned in Kuwait. The United States also increased its exercises in the region so that there were at least two operations per year in Kuwait. Nonetheless, in August 1995, Hussein again moved forces toward Kuwait, leading to Operation VIGILANT SENTINEL, a much smaller-scale version of VIGILANT WARRIOR that ended with the same results. In response to the continued provocations, the southern no-fly zone was later extended northward to the 33rd Parallel.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Clinton, William Jefferson; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; SOUTHERN WATCH, Operation; Special Republican Guards; United States

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VIKING HAMMER, Operation

Start Date: March 28, 2003
End Date: March 30, 2003

Part of the March 2003 Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM), Operation VIKING HAMMER was an offensive waged from March 28 to March 30, 2003, in northern Iraq by anti–Saddam Hussein Kurds with the assistance of coalition special operations forces, against the Islamic terrorist group Ansar al-Islam.

The original planning for Operation IRAQI FREEDOM had called for a northern front, but when the Turkish government denied the coalition the use of its territory, planners had to shift strategy. Instead, they hoped to utilize pro-American militias of the Kurdish Regional Government. The latter was dominated by two groups, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), led by Jalal Talabani; and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), led by Masoud Barzani. The PUK's Peshmerga militias were the largest and best trained of the Kurdish forces.

In the months prior to the invasion, the United States had inserted special operations forces to train and coordinate with the Kurds. Coalition planners believed that a Kurdish military campaign would keep Iraqi units tied down in the northern regions of the country and therefore render them unavailable to fight the two main prongs of the invading forces, which would advance from the south. To support the Kurds, the coalition planned to deploy additional special operations forces. Later, airborne units would be dropped in to fight alongside the Peshmerga and KDP fighters in attacks on Iraqi targets, including the important cities of Mosul and Kirkuk. The plan was a bold endeavor that asked a small number of special operations forces, airborne troops, and Kurdish fighters to accomplish the same goals as 60,000 U.S. ground troops, namely tying down 13 Iraqi divisions.

The Kurds were apprehensive that they would be vulnerable to attacks by Islamic terrorist groups, located along the border with Iran, if they deployed their forces to the south. VIKING HAMMER was designed essentially to neutralize the threat to the Kurdish heartland. VIKING HAMMER and subsequent offensives were also an effort by the United States to demonstrate the country's commitment to the Kurds and ensure support from the Kurdish Regional Government in a postwar Iraq. However, the United States was concurrently trying to avoid further straining relations with Turkey, which faced an ongoing Kurdish separatist insurgency. Consequently, the United States chose not to supply the Peshmerga with extensive weaponry for fear that some might be used against Turkish forces.

Before the Peshmerga could engage the Iraqi forces, they had to first secure their own territory and suppress Ansar al-Islam,

a Kurdish Sunni Islamist group. Ansar al-Islam was originally formed in 2001 by Islamist Kurdish factions. The group was dominated by Kurds who had fought against the Soviets in Afghanistan. Led by Mullah Krekar, Ansar al-Islam sought to impose a strict version of Sharia (Islamic law) on towns near the border with Iran, including Halabja, Biyara, and Tawela. It also worked with other smaller Islamist groups against the Kurdish Regional Government and was blamed for a number of terrorist attacks against rival Kurdish groups. Ansar al-Islam had approximately 500–600 fighters and controlled more than 100 square miles of territory. Its allies in the other small Islamist groups provided an additional 100–300 fighters to Ansar al-Islam. U.S. defense officials were especially concerned about Ansar al-Islam because of intelligence that the group was harboring senior Al Qaeda figures, which was unfounded. The Peshmerga and KDP militias in VIKING HAMMER numbered approximately 7,000 troops of varying quality with an assortment of mainly Soviet-era weaponry, including mortars, some artillery, and a limited number of armored vehicles. Most were armed with AK-47s and had about 150–200 rounds apiece. Many lacked uniforms, boots, or helmets and instead wore tennis shoes and red scarves. However, the Kurds were highly motivated, and U.S. special operations forces provided the heavy firepower, including mortars, grenade launchers, and machine guns. They also had charge of communications between units. Most importantly, the U.S. personnel were able to coordinate ground support from coalition aircraft and cruise missiles.

There were approximately 600 U.S. soldiers from the 10th Special Forces Group with the PUK and KDP, organized into 12-member teams. U.S. colonel Charlie Cleveland was the operational commander of the covert U.S. troops. The special operations forces had previously staged in Romania and been given the code name Task Force Viking (which led, in turn, to the offensive's title, VIKING HAMMER). In VIKING HAMMER, the Kurdish offensive was led by 40 soldiers of the 3rd Battalion of the 10th Special Forces Group, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ken Tovo. Tovo divided his men into split teams; each 6-member group worked with a Kurdish unit of 150–800 troops.

Ansar al-Islam and its allies had constructed a series of complexes on mountains and hilltops overlooking the surrounding valleys, near Halabja, Iraq. The Kurds were apprehensive that any attack would leave them vulnerable to mortar and machine gun fire from the heights. U.S. personnel scouted the positions and pretargeted them for air strikes.

On March 21, 2003, 64 cruise missiles hit Ansar al-Islam bunkers in a three-hour period. The pro-U.S. Kurds were impressed by the precision and power of the attack. About 100 members of the radical Islamic Group of Kurdistan, an ally of Ansar al-Islam, were killed in the strikes, and the remainder of the group surrendered the following morning. Another small Islamic group also surrendered before the main offensive commenced.

On March 28, the U.S.-Kurdish force began its attack at 6:00 a.m. The allies were divided into four groups, each led by a special forces team. The Ansar al-Islam fighters proved to be a tough and experienced foe, for they had the routes into the mountains covered with mortars and would fire a limited number of rounds and then move in an effort to avoid being targeted by U.S. spotters. Peshmerga artillery and mortars provided the opening salvos from the coalition forces. When the advance encountered its first organized resistance, air strikes were called in and two U.S. McDonnell Douglas/Boeing Navy F-18s dropped precision-guided 500-pound bombs on the Iraqi position. By 9:00 a.m., the Kurds had captured Gulp, the first significant village. Coalition forces found various weapons, including explosive suicide vests and bomb-making materials. The four teams had to assault and capture a series of bunkers and complexes under mortar fire and incoming rounds from Katyusha rockets. Slowly, they moved into the mountains, using the heavy weapons and sniper fire of the special operations forces to engage enemy positions. The mountainous terrain impeded the ability of the U.S. troops to radio for air strikes, and the coalition forces had to rely on their own weapons and capabilities. U.S. snipers proved especially effective because of their long-range capabilities. By the afternoon, the combined forces had taken the strategic town of Sagrat, which had served as the headquarters of the senior Ansar al-Islam leaders. Around 5:00 p.m., the U.S. forces were able to regain radio contact and arrange air strikes on enemy positions. Once again, 500-pound precision-guided bombs were used.

Over the next two days, the U.S.-Kurdish force continued its advance. Much of the fighting involved attacks on enemy cave complexes. The coalition forces endeavored unsuccessfully to use tear gas to force the fighters from the caves. When that tactic failed, the U.S. forces used grenades and antitank missiles to destroy the cave bunkers. The Peshmerga forces did not have equipment to engage in night fighting, which limited the ability of the coalition forces to pursue Ansar al-Islam fighters. After the first day of combat, an increasing number of the Islamic fighters had fled across the border into Iran. The Iranians reportedly disarmed the fighters but did not detain them. Some were forcibly returned across the border.

The U.S. forces were able to collect a considerable amount of intelligence on Ansar al-Islam and its links with Al Qaeda. In addition, the coalition forces found that almost half of the fighters killed or captured were foreign born and had come to Iraq to train for terrorist missions. On March 29, a U.S. team explored a suspected chemical weapons manufacturing and training facility in Sagrat. The team discovered instructions on the manufacture of chemical weapons; they also found chemical suits and traces of the highly toxic ricin.

Sporadic fighting continued until March 30, the day VIKING HAMMER officially ended. During the operation, 3 Peshmerga soldiers were killed and 23 were wounded. No U.S. personnel were killed or seriously wounded. Approximately 150–250 Ansar al-Islam fighters were killed, in addition to the 100 killed among the Islamic Group of Kurdistan. After VIKING HAMMER, the Kurdish forces moved south as part of the broader coalition northern offensive

against the regular Iraqi Army. Ansar al-Islam reemerged after the fall of Saddam Hussein as one of the numerous groups in the anti-U.S. insurgency.

TOM LANSFORD

See also

Al Qaeda in Iraq; Ansar al-Islam; Cruise Missiles, Employment of, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Coalition Ground Forces; Iraqi Insurgency; Kurdistan Democratic Party; Kurds; Patriotic Union of Kurdistan; Peshmerga; United States Army, Iraq War; United States Special Operations Command

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Vines, John R.

Birth Date: 1950

U.S. Army general and commander of the Multi-National Corps–Iraq (part of the Multi-National Force–Iraq) during 2005–2006. Born in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1950, John R. Vines graduated from the University of Alabama with a BS degree in chemistry in 1971 and was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC). Assigned to the 3rd Infantry Division, he served in Europe. After completing ranger training, Vines subsequently commanded a company of the 1st Ranger Battalion of the 75th Ranger Regiment and was a ranger instructor.

Vines held a number of command and staff assignments with the XVIII Airborne Corps, and during 1987–1989 he was assigned to the Joint Special Operations Command. He commanded the 4th Battalion, 325th Airborne Infantry Regiment during its parachute assault in the U.S. invasion of Panama (Operation JUST CAUSE) in 1989. He commanded the same unit when it was the first combat unit deployed on the ground during the buildup in Saudi Arabia (Operation DESERT SHIELD) prior to the 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM). His military education includes an MA degree in national security and strategy from the Naval War College.

Vines subsequently served with Task Force Ranger in Somalia during 1992–1994. He then commanded the 2nd Brigade of the 101st Airborne Division at Fort Campbell, Kentucky. As a brigadier general, he was assistant divisional commander for operations of the 82nd Airborne Division, 1996–1997. He was then chief of staff of the XVIII Airborne Corps and Fort Bragg during 1997–1999. He next was chief of the Office of Military Cooperation, Cairo, Egypt. From August 2000 until August 2002, he commanded the 82nd Airborne Division.

Commanding Generals of the Multi-National Corps–Iraq, 2004–Present

Name	*Dates of Command*
Thomas F. Metz	May 2004–January 2005
John R. Vines	January 2005–January 2006
Peter W. Chiarelli	January–December 2006
Raymond T. Odierno	December 2006–February 2008
Lloyd J. Austin III	February 2008–April 2009
Charles H. Jacoby Jr.	April 2009–present

Following the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States and the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan (Operation ENDURING FREEDOM), Vines commanded the forward element of the 82nd Airborne Division deployed to Afghanistan and had charge of tactical missions as commander of Coalition Task Force 82 during September 2002–May 2003. On May 27, 2003, Vines succeeded Lieutenant General Dan K. McNeill as the commanding general of U.S. and coalition forces in Afghanistan (commander, Combined/Joint Task Force 180) at Bagram Air Force Base, Afghanistan, until October 2003.

Vines assumed command of the Multi-National Corps–Iraq in January 2005 and held that post until January 2006. The Multi-National Corps–Iraq was the tactical unit overseeing command and control functions for all Iraqi operations. Headquartered at Camp Victory in Baghdad, the corps was subdivided into five regional areas of responsibility: Baghdad; North; West; Center; Southeast; and Joint Base Balad. Vines concurrently served as commander of the XVIII Airborne Corps during August 2003–December 2006. He retired from active duty on February 1, 2007.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; JUST CAUSE, Operation; McNeill, Dan K.; Multi-National Force–Iraq; Somalia, International Intervention in

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Wadi al-Batin, Battle of
Event Date: February 26, 1991

Battle between U.S. VII Corps and the Tawakalnah Mechanized Division of the Iraqi Republican Guard on February 26, 1991, during Operation DESERT STORM. The engagement was essentially a tank battle. A desert gulch that originates near the town of Hafar al-Batin in Saudi Arabia and runs in a northeasterly direction for about 200 miles, the Wadi al-Batin also delineates most of Kuwait's western border with Iraq. It passes through the triborder area where the boundaries of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq intersect. The Wadi al-Batin provides a natural invasion route into Kuwait and played an important role in coalition planning for the liberation of Kuwait during the ground war phase of Operation DESERT STORM.

Coalition reconnaissance of Iraqi positions confirmed that the Iraqis had deployed their forces to fight off coalition attacks via the Wadi al-Batin, with additional attacks expected in southern Kuwait and from the sea off Kuwait. In fact, the main coalition attack would come to the west of the Wadi and take the form of a giant left hook around Iraqi positions in Kuwait. The Iraqis did not believe that coalition armored forces could navigate successfully through Iraq's featureless southwestern desert because Iraq's own armored forces experienced difficulty doing so. The Iraqis failed to understand that the introduction of Global Positioning System (GPS) technology in the American armed forces meant that topographical landmarks were not necessary in order to maneuver through the desert. The Iraqis also refused to believe that the Americans had sufficient logistical support necessary for a major armored advance through such difficult terrain. The main Iraqi defenses therefore did not extend much more than 100 miles to the west of Wadi al-Batin, leaving a major gap further to the west for coalition armies to exploit.

Coalition planners sought to divert the attention of Iraqi generals away from the western desert and keep them focused on Kuwait and the Wadi al-Batin. On February 16, 1991, U.S. 1st Cavalry Division artillery fired at Iraqi artillery positions in the Wadi. Attacks by Apache helicopters on Iraqi artillery followed. On February 19, units from the 1st Cavalry conducted a reconnaissance in force that ran into heavy resistance from the Iraqi 27th Division defending the Wadi. Both raids diverted Iraqi attention away from the buildup of the U.S. VII Corps, massing to the west for the main attack.

On February 24, the first day of the ground war, units of the 1st Cavalry launched a feint into the Wadi al-Batin. When the 1st Cavalry withdrew, the Iraqis concluded that they had repulsed the main coalition attack. Soon, however, the Iraqis realized the danger they faced from the coalition left hook and began redeploying Republican Guard divisions to meet that threat. The Tawakalnah Mechanized Division of the Republican Guard was deployed just west of the Wadi al-Batin to stop the American VII Corps and allow Iraqi troops to escape from Kuwait.

The U.S. VII Corps fought the Tawakalnah Division in the afternoon and evening of February 26 in the Battle of Wadi al-Batin. The Tawakalnah Division could muster only some 200 tanks to stop more than 1,000 American tanks that also enjoyed complete air supremacy. Although the Tawakalnah Division fought with great determination and tenacity, it also exercised poor tactical skill. Its older Iraqi T-72 tanks were completely outclassed by the American M1A1s. The American tanks could destroy the T-72s at a range of two-and-one-half miles, far beyond the effect range of the T-72s.

In the battle, the Tawakalnah Division lost 177 tanks and 107 armored personnel carriers and was destroyed as a fighting unit. Nevertheless, it succeeded in putting out of action four M1A1 tanks and a number of Bradley armored fighting vehicles, feats unmatched by any other Iraqi division in the war.

PAUL W. DOERR

See also

Antitank Weapons; Armored Warfare, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; M1A1 and M1A2 Abrams Main Battle Tanks; Republican Guard; T-72 Main Battle Tank

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Wahhabism

The Western term for the beliefs of the *muwahhidun,* the followers of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1702–1792). They constituted a political and religious movement that appeared in central Arabia in the 1740s. Wahhabism has its greatest influence in Saudi Arabia, where it is associated with the Saudi dynasty, and in the other Arab Gulf states.

Abd al-Wahhab's followers sought a return to the practices of the first three generations of Islamic history, and to cleanse Islamic practice of illicit innovations (*bida*). Abd al-Wahhab's followers also rejected Ottoman political as well as religious authority, accusing the Ottomans of corrupting Islam and Islamic society; indeed, they went further, choosing to regard the Ottomans as unbelievers and therefore legitimate targets for warfare. This process of labeling other Muslims as unbelievers is known as *takfir.* The Saudi government today, however, officially rejects *takfir* as employed by violent Islamic extremists.

The early Wahhabis attacked others who carried out practices they deemed innovative, syncretic, or polytheistic, such as visits to and veneration of Islamic holy figures' graves, including even the Prophet Muhammad's burial place. They also opposed and fought Shia groups and attacked their holy places in connection with their battles against the Ottomans. Because the followers of Abd al-Wahhab united with the expanding Saudi tribe, they are associated with all stages of the Saudi state's development.

Today in Saudi Arabia, the Hanbali *madhhab* (legal school) influenced by the followers of Abd al-Wahhab is the dominant—although not sole—doctrine in Islamic courts and education. The followers of Abd al-Wahhab do not believe in absolutely strict adherence to any legal school; however, because the Hanbali school was the first established, it is prevalent. When it comes to Saudi foreign policy, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, Wahhabism is subordinate to government calculations of the national interest.

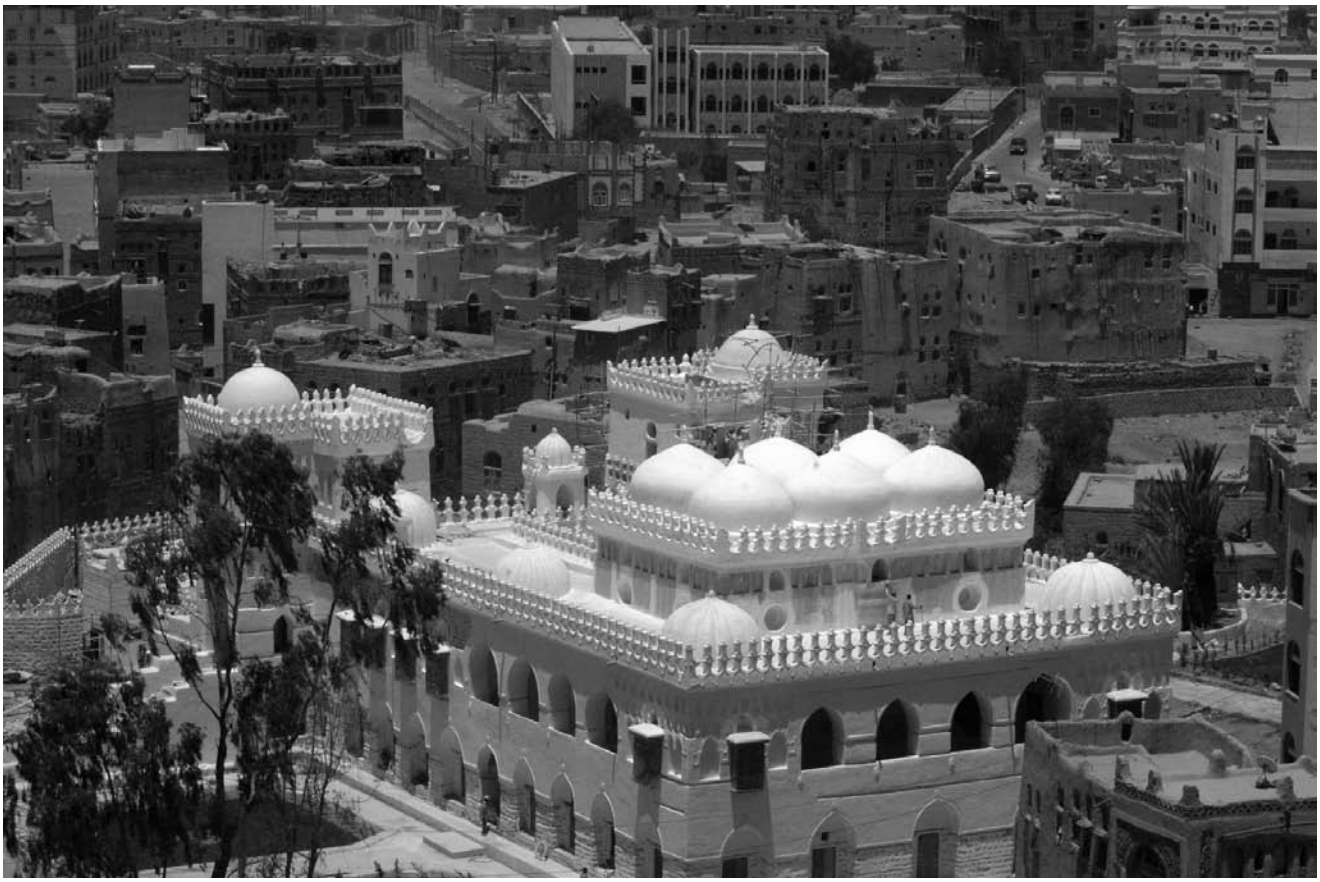
Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab was a religious scholar from a small town near the present-day Saudi capital of Riyadh. In 1740 he composed a theological essay condemning common Muslim religious practices. For example, many Muslims went to holy men to seek their blessings. Other Muslims visited the tombs of holy men to ask that they intercede with God on their behalf. Sheikh abd al-Wahhab considered such actions to be idolatry because they violated Islam's central belief in worshiping God alone without any intermediaries. Because abd al-Wahhab's followers branded other Muslims as unbelievers, their views were initially challenged.

Abd al-Wahhab was expelled from two Arabian towns before he formed an alliance with Muhammad ibn Saud in 1744. Sheikh Muhammad abd al-Wahhab gave religious legitimacy to Saudi military expeditions in the guise of Muslim holy war against unbelievers in return for Saudi political support.

By 1800, Saudi-Wahhabi forces had conquered much of Arabia. The major Muslim power of the time, the Ottoman Empire, responded to the Saudi conquest of the holy city of Mecca with a military campaign to crush the first Saudi state. That war lasted from 1811 to 1818 and ended in an Ottoman victory. However, the Saudis staged a comeback in the early 1820s to rule over a smaller Arabian realm. The second Saudi state refrained from aggression against Ottoman territories. Because the Saudis were unwilling to wage jihad, Wahhabi leaders urged their loyal followers to avoid all contact with outsiders, such as Egyptian or Iraqi Muslims, on the grounds that if these were truly unbelievers, their company would threaten the purity of true Muslims' belief. The second Saudi state fell to a rival Arabian power in 1891.

The present Kingdom of Saudi Arabia began to emerge when Saudi prince Abd al-Aziz ibn Saud, also known as Ibn Saud, seized Riyadh in 1902. Over the next 30 years, he conquered the territories that presently comprise the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. A major element in those conquests was a new wave of the Wahhabi movement called Ikhwan (Brethren). The Ikhwan became fierce warriors for Ibn Saud and gained a fearsome reputation for their savage treatment of defeated enemies. They provided the shock troops for Ibn Saud's military campaigns, but he eventually had to restrain them from pursuing holy war against tribes in Iraq and Transjordan. At the time, those two countries were governed by British-appointed monarchs. Consequently, Ikhwan raids threatened to embroil Ibn Saud in a confrontation with Great Britain. When he ordered the Ikhwan to cease their raids, they rose up in rebellion, but he was able to crush them by 1930.

Three years later, Ibn Saud granted American oil companies the right to explore for petroleum. Wahhabi clerics were unhappy to see Americans permitted into the kingdom, but Ibn Saud and the oil companies minimized contact between Saudis and foreign workers by creating special self-contained residential compounds for non-Saudis. The first test of U.S.-Saudi relations came in 1947, when the United States supported the United Nations (UN) resolution for the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. Ibn Saud made clear his opposition to the creation of Israel to



The Amiriya Madrasah, a religious school built by Sultan Emir bin Abdul Wahhab in 1504, in Radaa City, some 168 miles southeast of the Yemeni capital of Sanaa, June 7, 2005. (Corbis)

the president of the United States, but American oil companies retained their interests in Saudi oil. Saudi anger over U.S. support for Israel disrupted U.S.-Saudi relations during the October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War. Saudi Arabia's King Faisal responded to the U.S. emergency airlift of military supplies to Israel by imposing an embargo on oil sales and joining with other major oil producers to dramatically raise the price of oil.

Throughout the Cold War, Saudi Arabia joined forces with the United States to combat the spread of Nasserism and populism in the Muslim world and, like the United States, it opposed communism. Saudi efforts included their exporting of their own religious doctrine, which is firmly anticommunist. It is also firmly anti-Jewish because of its attachment to historical religious texts emphasizing early clashes between the Prophet Muhammad and Jewish clans in Arabia. When it comes to setting foreign policy, however, Saudi rulers take a practical approach and only consult Wahhabi leaders when seeking their approval for sensitive initiatives. Hence, Saudi Arabia supported the Madrid peace process of the 1990s and announced a peace initiative in March 2002 for a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and King Abdullah has called for interfaith dialogue.

Before and during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, Saudi leaders had to walk a fine line when they allowed the buildup of hundreds of thousands of troops to occur on Saudi soil, lest they incur the wrath of Saudi religious leaders. Nevertheless, many Saudis did not like the presence of foreigners in their nation, and Saudi Arabia refused to garrison troops on its soil for the 2003 Iraq War.

Neo-Wahhabism has produced a current of opposition to the Saudi state, even though the vast majority of devout Wahhabis in Saudi Arabia support the government.

David Commins

See also

Faisal, King of Saudi Arabia; Jihad; Saudi Arabia; Shia Islam; Sunni Islam

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Wallace, William Scott
Birth Date: December 31, 1946

U.S. Army general. Born on December 31, 1946, in Chicago, Illinois, William Scott Wallace graduated in 1969 from the U.S. Military Academy, West Point. He also holds a master of science degree in operations research, and a master of arts degree in international relations and national security and strategic studies. On graduation, Wallace was commissioned in the armor branch.

Wallace has commanded troops at every level, from platoon to corps. He served a combat tour in Vietnam during 1972 as assistant district adviser and later operations adviser in the Bac Lieu Province. After Vietnam, he commanded a company in the 4th Battalion (Light) (Airborne), 68th Armored Regiment, 82nd Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. Wallace attended the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California (1977), and in 1986 he became commander of the 3rd Squadron, 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment in Germany.

As a colonel, Wallace returned to Germany in 1992 to take command of the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment in Fulda. Following regimental command, Wallace was assigned to the National Training Center (NTC), Fort Irwin, California, and became NTC commander. As a major general, Wallace commanded the 4th Infantry Division at Fort Hood, Texas (1997–1999), after which he led the Joint Warfighting Center and was director of Joint Training, J-7, at the U.S. Joint Forces Command, Virginia, one of ten Department of Defense combatant commands.

Wallace is perhaps best known for his command of the U.S. V Corps during the March 2003 invasion of Iraq (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). In July 2001, Wallace, now a lieutenant general, became V Corps commander. On March 20, 2003, V Corps became the vanguard of the American-led coalition that invaded Iraq. Wallace's V Corps spearheaded the drive to Baghdad, defeating the Iraqi Army in three weeks, and capturing Baghdad on April 9, 2003.

Despite Wallace's prominent role in the rapid and stunning defeat of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's army, he became the center of some controversy concerning remarks he allegedly made to reporters while still in command of V Corps in Iraq. Wallace is reported to have said that "the enemy the U.S. was facing was different from the enemy the military had planned against." Because the alleged remarks came from a top military leader personally involved with combat actions, they were immediately seized upon by opponents of President George W. Bush's invasion of Iraq as representing strong criticism of Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and the administration's handling of the war.

In the book *Cobra II* (2006) by Michael R. Gordon and Bernard Trainor, the authors claim that Wallace's superior, General Tommy Franks, U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) commander, threatened to fire Wallace over the remarks, a claim that Franks later disputed. Wallace weathered the controversy, however. He retained command of V Corps until June 2003, when he was reassigned after serving out a typical two-year corps command tour.

After handing over command of V Corps in Iraq to Lieutenant General Ricardo S. Sanchez, Wallace took over the U.S. Army Combined Arms Center (CAC) at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. As CAC commander, Wallace was responsible for leader development and military and civilian education, including the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, the Center for Army Lessons Learned, and the Battle Command Training Program. Known as the intellectual center of the army, CAC consists of 16 major schools and centers that prepare the army's future leadership for war.

In October 2005, Wallace was promoted to full general (four-star rank) and assigned as commander, U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC). TRADOC is the army's "schoolhouse," the major command responsible for recruiting and training soldiers, developing and educating leaders, supporting training in units army-wide, and developing doctrine and standards. Wallace presided over a vast system of 33 schools and centers at 16 different army installations, conducting over 2,700 courses that train annually 500,000 soldiers, service members from other military services, civilians, and international soldiers from around the world. After a military career of more than 39 years, Wallace retired from the army on December 8, 2008.

JERRY D. MORELOCK

See also

Bush, George Walker; Franks, Tommy Ray; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation, Ground Campaign; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Sanchez, Ricardo S.

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Waller, Calvin Augustine Hoffman
Birth Date: December 17, 1936
Death Date: May 9, 1996

U.S. army officer and deputy commander in chief of the United States Central Command (CENTCOM) during the 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM). Born in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, on December 17, 1936, Calvin Augustine Hoffman Waller graduated from Prairie View A&M University in 1959. He entered the U.S. Army, and following the Infantry Officer Basic Course at Fort Benning, Georgia, embarked on a career path that found him serving in a wide range of infantry, chemical corps, armor command, and staff and school assignments in Korea, Germany, Vietnam, and the United States. He enjoyed steady promotion and ultimately achieved the rank of lieutenant general.

Waller attended the Command and General Staff College and the Army War College. In 1987 Waller assumed command of the

8th Infantry Division (Mechanized); two years later he took command of I Corps at Fort Lewis. In the autumn of 1990, while still serving as commander of I Corps, Waller was assigned as deputy CENTCOM commander to General H. Norman Schwarzkopf. In that role Waller made headlines by telling journalists in December 1990 that the ground forces would not be ready for a ground offensive until February, after the deadline of January 15, set by the United Nations (UN), for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. Many news outlets missed the seemingly obvious implication that an air offensive was possible (indeed, likely) before that date, and Operation DESERT STORM began on January 16, 1991.

As deputy commander, Waller handled many of the details of the American buildup in Saudi Arabia. Most accounts give Waller major credit for countering General Schwarzkopf's explosive, and often abusive, personality and maintaining the morale of the command's staff and commanders.

On February 14, 1991, Lieutenant General John J. Yeosock, commander of United States Third Army (and senior headquarters to the two United States army corps in the field), flew to Germany for an emergency gall bladder operation. Waller assumed interim command, expecting to be in that role for the upcoming ground campaign. Waller left the main command post in Riyadh near CENTCOM headquarters and directed operations from his mobile forward command post near the Iraqi border. From this location he energized the command process and began visiting commanders and making critical decisions, knowing that he had the confidence of the CENTCOM commander. However, in one of his more controversial moves, Schwarzkopf returned Yeosock to command on February 22, less than 48 hours before the beginning of the ground offensive. This last minute switch of senior commanders contributed to the friction in reporting and command, which became apparent during the latter phases of the operation. Certainly it was a blow to Waller, who returned to his original role as a buffer against Schwarzkopf's tirades and the de facto commander for Operation DESERT STORM's ground forces.

Following the war, Waller returned to the United States and retired from the service at the end of November 1991. As one of the senior African American officers in the service, his career spanned an important period of the U.S. civil rights movement, and his success served as a barometer of the great societal changes at the close of the 20th century. After retiring from the military, Waller moved to Denver, where he became president of RKK Limited, an environmental technology company. He subsequently became senior vice president for ICF Kaiser Environmental and Energy Group. His last position was as vice president of site operations for Kaiser-Hill, Inc. Waller died of a sudden heart attack while visiting Washington, D.C., on May 9, 1996.

STEPHEN A. BOURQUE

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; United States Central Command; Yeosock, John J.

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War, Operational Art of

The operational art of war consists of the body of military activities that fall between tactics and strategy. The tactical and the strategic have long been recognized as distinct levels of warfare with their own peculiar requirements and dynamics. Recognition of the operational level of war only began to evolve slowly at the start of the 19th century and was not fully accepted by all militaries throughout the world until the final years of the 20th century. In the years following World War I, the Soviets fully embraced the concept of the operational art of war and for many years led the way in its theoretical development. The United States, in company with the rest of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries, accepted the operational level of war only in the early 1980s, and that marked one of the key military turning points of the Cold War.

Simply stated, tactics is the art of winning battles, while strategy is the art of winning wars. The operational art focuses on winning campaigns, which are made up of battles and contribute to the winning of wars. In the late 1980s, the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College used the metaphor of a medieval military flail to illustrate the relationship among the three levels of war. The handle of the flail represented strategy, the overall directing force of the weapon. The spiked ball represented tactics, the part of the weapon that delivered the actual blow. The flexible chain that connected the handle to the spiked ball represented operational art, the vital link between strategy and tactics.

The flail metaphor was a simple and effective model for introducing the concept of the operational art, but it came apart if pushed too far. The difficulty in the relationships among the three levels of warfare is that success on one level does not automatically translate into success on another level. Major General Nathanael Greene's Southern Campaign of 1780–1781 during the War for American Independence is one example in which a general who lost the battles still won the campaign. Nor does winning all the battles and even all the campaigns necessarily guarantee winning the war. The Vietnam War demonstrated that, if nothing else.

The origins of the operational level of war can be traced to the mass armies of Napoleon and his practice of marching his corps in separate approach columns and then massing his forces at the

Painting of Napoleon surveying the battlefield at Wagram in July 1809. Napoleon is widely regarded as one of history's most brilliant military commanders. (William M. Sloane, *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, vol. 1, 1906)

decisive point just prior to battle. During the latter half of the 19th century, the German Army under Count Helmuth von Moltke recognized a body of activities it called *Operativ,* which involved all of the maneuvering and preparations prior to the initiation of a battle. The first forces to arrive fixed the enemy in position, while the follow-on forces maneuvered around the enemy's flank to gain decisive tactical advantage. The Germans did not, however, identify *Operativ* as a distinct level of war fighting. Throughout World War I, the Germans had the most advanced understanding of the operational art, although it was deeply flawed by contemporary standards. The flaws in their operational thinking would cost the German Army dearly in World War II.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries some military writers, including J. F. C. Fuller, grouped operational-level activities under a concept they called Grand Tactics. But it was the Soviet military theorists who made the most significant contributions to advancing the concept of operational art as we know it today. As early as 1907, Russian military writers were debating a concept they called *Opertika.* Following the disastrous defeat of the Red Army in the 1920 Battle of Warsaw, two opposing schools of thought emerged in the Soviet military. Marshal Mikhail N. Tukhachevsky, the Red Army front commander at Warsaw, was the leader of the annihilation school of thought. Annihilation depended upon the ability to conduct large-scale, immediate, decisive operations. It required a war industry and a large standing army. Tukhachevsky's 1924 paper "Maneuver and Artillery" had a strong influence on the Frunze Military Academy reforms of 1924–1925, and those ideas were later formalized in the Red Army's *Field Service Regulations* of 1927.

Soviet major general Aleksandr A. Svechin led the opposing school of thought. In his influential 1926 book *Strategy,* he advocated the doctrine of attrition, which relied more on Russia's traditional deep resources of space, time, and manpower. He also formally posited for the first time the concept that operations were distinct from strategy and tactics. He argued that tactics made up the steps from which operational leaps were assembled, "with strategy pointing out the path." Within a year of Svechin introducing the concept, the Soviets established a chair on the conduct of operations within the Department of Strategy at the Military Academy of the Red Army.

Svechin and Tukhachevsky were both eliminated in Stalin's purges of the 1930s, but their opposing theories were synthesized by Vladimir K. Triandafillov in his book *The Nature of the Operations of Modern Armies.* Published in 1929, the book is now regarded as one of the seminal works in Soviet military thought. Triandafillov was the first to introduce the planning norms that became one of the benchmarks of Soviet operational art. He also

laid out the theory of successive operations and deep operations (*glubokaia operatsiia*), with the result that several successive operations were linked into a single continuous, deep operation. Thus, the point of Napoleon and line of Moltke gave way to the vector in depth, with its multiple effects—both sequentially and simultaneously—in three dimensions.

Although operational art emerged during the interwar years in the Soviet Union as a vibrant new field of military study, many of the operational concepts associated with it were stillborn or only partially developed. The Red Army learned this hard truth and suffered accordingly during the Winter War with Finland in 1939–1940 and in 1941 during the opening months of the war with Germany. Soviet operational art only reached its highest level of development through trial and error in the crucible of World War II. Yet for all its final sophistication, the Soviets never fully developed the air and naval components of operational art.

The widely held popular belief is that what the West called the German Blitzkrieg represented the most highly developed form of the operational art through the period of World War II. Many military analysts, however, have argued that Blitzkrieg was at best a deeply flawed expression of operational art. The keys to the operational level of war are depth and sequencing. Depth has both a temporal and a spatial component. Depth in terms of space meant that for the first time there was a recognition that the battle was not necessarily decided at the line of contact but could be carried deep into an enemy's rear area. Depth in time meant sequencing, which was the key to cumulative effects that built on the successes of one battle to the next. Unfortunately for the Germans, their military thinking from the time of Count Alfred von Schlieffen on was dominated by the concept of the battle of annihilation, what they called the *Vernichtungsschlacht.*

With its geographic position in Europe and relatively defenseless borders east and west, Germany's worst strategic nightmare was always the two-front war. To avoid this trap, German military thinking focused on conducting short wars that would be won by a single decisive battle. Thus, sequential effects and extended operations in time carried a low priority in German thinking. And since logistics is the critical enabler of any extended period of operations, the Germans never developed the robust logistics structure or the adequate logistics doctrine needed to carry them through a long war. But a long war on even more than two fronts is exactly what the Germans ended up fighting twice in a 30-year period.

Despite their rapid movements and deep armored thrusts, the German Blitzkrieg battles of World War II were not true operational campaigns but rather were tactical maneuvers on a grand scale. Blitzkrieg did feature the innovative use of combined arms tactics aimed at achieving rupture through the depth of an enemy's tactical deployment, and it did exhibit many of the features we now associate with the operational art. It also focused far too heavily on annihilation and rapid decision by a single bold stroke.

On the tactical level of war, the German Army was superior to the Red Army on almost every count, yet the Soviets still beat the Germans in the end. German tactics were innovative and flexible, and their leaders and soldiers were well trained and exhibited initiative down to the lowest levels. Soviet tactics were largely rigid, cookbook battle drills, with the soldiers and the lower-level leaders functioning as mere automatons. But the Soviets had developed a far superior concept of the operational art and especially the principles of depth and sequential effects. The Soviets became masters of striking deep into the German rear to disrupt command and control systems and the all-too-fragile German logistics system. In the end, Blitzkrieg was little more than the German Army's tactical response to German chancellor Adolf Hitler's totally incoherent strategy.

A German motorized detachment moves through the remains of a Polish town during the Blitzkrieg of September 1939 that began World War II. (Library of Congress)

Despite the flaws in what eventually became Blitzkrieg, the post–World War I German Army did have a clear, albeit imperfect, understanding of a level of war between the tactical and the strategic. Writing in 1920, General Hugo Freiherr von Freytag-Loringhoven noted that among German General Staff officers, the term *Operativ* was increasingly replacing the term *Strategisch* to "define more simply and clearly the difference from everything tactical." The 1933 edition of *Truppenführung,* the primary German war-fighting manual of World War II, distinguished clearly between tactical and operational functions. *Truppenführung*'s principal author, General Ludwig Beck, considered *Operativ* a

subdivision of strategy. Its sphere was the conduct of battle at the higher levels, in accordance with the tasks presented by strategic planning. Tellingly, when U.S. Army intelligence made a rough English translation of *Truppenführung* just prior to World War II, the term *Operativ* was translated throughout as "strategic."

Post–World War II American military doctrine focused almost exclusively on the tactical level. Although the U.S. Army and its British allies had planned and executed large and complex operational campaigns during the war, the mechanics of those efforts were largely forgotten by the early 1950s. Nuclear weapons cast a long retarding shadow over American ground combat doctrine, and the later appearance of battlefield nuclear weapons seemed to render irrelevant any serious consideration of maneuver by large-scale ground units. The Soviets, meanwhile, continued to study and write about operational art and the operational level of war. While the U.S. military intelligence community closely monitored and analyzed the trends in Soviet doctrine, American theorists ignored or completely rejected these concepts. Because of its dominant role in NATO, America's operational blinders were adopted for the most part by its coalition allies.

In the early to mid-1970s, American thinking began to change. The three major spurs to this transformation were the loss in Vietnam, the stunning new weapons effects demonstrated in the October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, and the need to fight and win against the superior numbers of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact. The concept of the operational level of war entered the debate when the influential defense analyst Edward Luttwak published the article "The Operational Level of War" in the winter 1980–1981 issue of the journal *International Security.* About the same time, Colonel Harry Summers's book *On Strategy: The Vietnam War in Context* sparked a parallel renaissance in strategic thinking and the rediscovery of Clausewitz by the American military. The U.S. Army formally recognized the operational level of war with the publication of the 1982 edition of *FM 100-5, Operations,* which also introduced the concepts of AirLand Battle and Deep Battle.

The operational art was first defined in the 1986 edition of *FM 100-5,* along with the concept that commanders had to fight and synchronize three simultaneous battles: close, deep, and rear. The idea was that one's own deep battle would be the enemy's rear battle, and vice versa. The close battle would always be strictly tactical, but the deep and rear battles would have operational significance.

During the 1970s and 1980s the American military invested heavily in new weapons systems, force structure, and training to

A U.S. Air Force A-10 Thunderbolt II aircraft flies over Iraq on December 14, 2006. (U.S. Department of Defense)

complement its evolving doctrine. The U.S. Army acquired such advanced systems as the M-1 Abrams tank; the M-2 Bradley infantry fighting vehicle; the UH-60 Blackhawk airmobility helicopter; the AH-60 attack helicopter; and the M-270 multiple launch rocket system (MLRS). U.S. Air Force systems included the A-10 attack aircraft, specifically designed to kill tanks; the F-15 air superiority fighter; and the F-16 multirole fighter. The air force also developed a sophisticated array of precision-guided munitions for the various platforms. Most importantly, however, the United States committed extensive resources to developing its military manpower, producing officers, noncommissioned officers (NCOs) and enlisted men capable of operating the complex systems, exercising initiative, and making independent judgments and decisions in extremely stressful situations.

This superbly trained and equipped force with its new and sophisticated operational doctrine was never committed against the primary enemy it was designed to fight, the massed tank armies of the Soviet Union. That enemy largely disappeared with the collapse of communism and the Soviet Union. But as that was happening, Saddam Hussein of Iraq committed the strategic blunder of invading Kuwait. Believing he could bluff the Americans and their allies, Hussein then compounded his error by allowing his enemy the time to build up an overwhelming force in Saudi Arabia, prior to launching a counterattack through Kuwait and into Iraq itself.

The irony, then, is that even though the doctrine of AirLand Battle, heavily based on the concept of the operational art, was never tested against the Soviets, it did prove devastatingly effective against a Soviet surrogate, the Iraqi Army, armed with Soviet weapons and equipment and trained in Soviet doctrine. The lopsided victory of the ground phase, the so-called Hundred Hour War, was not, however, quite the same thing as defeating the Red Army. Although the American weapons vastly overmatched those of the Iraqis, Hussein's forces for the most part were not equipped with top-of-the-line Soviet systems. Also, the rigid and highly centralized command and control system, the officer corps conditioned to follow orders to the letter but not to exercise initiative, and the poorly trained individual soldiers that were all too typical of most Middle Eastern armies only compounded the Iraqi catastrophe.

Twelve years later, in 2003, Hussein's army had not been rebuilt to anywhere near the level it had been at in 1991, and this time the victory was even more lopsided, as the Iraqis were crushed by a significantly smaller American force. But rather than just defeating the Iraqi Army as they had done in 1991, the Americans this time sought to occupy the country and change its regime. The U.S. military had gone in with just enough forces to win the battle but not nearly enough forces to secure the peace. That, plus a series of key errors and poor decisions during the early phases of the occupation, resulted in an insurgency that killed many more American soldiers than the initial combat operations. Thus, although the Americans conducted the initial phase of the Iraq War with operational near-perfection, their overall strategy was significantly flawed by a failure to connect operational success with the overall strategic objectives. Ironically, this strategic incoherence was precisely the mistake the Americans had made in Vietnam.

David T. Zabecki

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Starry, Donn Albert

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War Correspondents

The history of news reporters covering combat operations dates back at least to the 1853–1856 Crimean War waged by Great Britain, France, and Turkey against Imperial Russia. William Howard Russell, who covered that war for *The Times,* is generally considered the world's first war correspondent. Since that time, correspondents have covered virtually every major conflict throughout the world. During the 20th century, war correspondents brought the realities of combat "up close and personal" to the readers and viewers in their respective countries in major wars, such as World War I, World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War, and in countless lesser conflicts throughout the world. Yet, inevitably, the presence of civilian reporters on the battlefield creates an unavoidable tension between the correspondents, whose only job is to report the facts as they witness them, and the military officers and government officials whose principal duty is to win the war they are fighting. Increasingly, this tension centers on the degree of access to the wars' combat zones that governments grant to war correspondents. While reporters—driven by deadlines and the need to produce ratings-garnering headlines—consistently demand unrestricted free access, government officials and military officers seek to keep war correspondents' access limited to what they judge as "reasonable." The recent wars in the Middle East serve as prime examples of this issue.

In the modern Middle East, three recent or ongoing conflicts—the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the Afghanistan War (October 7, 2001–present), and the Iraq War (March 20, 2003–present)—have led to dramatic developments in the history of war correspondence. These include the growing prominence of media giants such as Cable News Network (CNN), MSNBC, and Fox News, news

briefings by high-ranking military officers, news pools attached to military units, and journalists embedded with fighting forces. All of these developments have exposed news media to accusations of government and corporate control, however. An attempt to counter this alleged censorship has led to a proliferation of chiefly internet-based alternative news sites. Moreover, the rising casualty rates among journalists in Afghanistan and particularly Iraq have highlighted the inherent risks of war correspondence. No longer viewed as neutral observers, journalists are increasingly targeted for their alleged political or sectarian affiliations.

The roots of increasing governmental and military control over journalistic reporting go back to the Vietnam War, the Falklands War, and the U.S. invasions of Grenada (1983) and Panama (1989). U.S. supporters of the Vietnam War and many Vietnam War combat veterans alleged that negative journalistic reports were largely responsible for the erosion of American support for the war, in particular, coverage of the 1968 Tet Offensive. The general lack of the largely Saigon-based Vietnam War reporters' "up front" credibility and the perception of inaccurate reporting during Tet and the Vietnam War in general resulted in virtually an entire generation of military officers distrusting the media's accuracy and even their motives. This distrust of media methods, accuracy, and motives has had a profound impact on U.S. government attitudes and policies regarding reporters' access to combat operations when they are in progress. When many of the Vietnam-generation military officers assumed high command in the Persian Gulf War and the Afghanistan and Iraq conflicts, their perception of media bias in the past greatly influenced the U.S. government decision to forego a policy of unrestricted access for journalists in the later conflicts in the Middle East.

During the 1982 Falklands War, the British government sought to control press coverage. British governmental and military officials assigned no more than 29 correspondents and photographers to pools that accompanied the Falklands invasion force. Various reporters later complained of direct censorship. Following the British cue, American government and military officials largely excluded the media from Operation URGENT FURY, the 1983 invasion of Grenada. The 15 reporters finally allowed on Grenada found their movements severely curtailed. Similarly, Operation JUST CAUSE, the 1989 invasion of Panama to overthrow President Manuel Noriega, deployed a very select pool of journalists who complained that they were barely briefed and kept well away from military action.

Persian Gulf War

Although U.S. government and military officials aimed at creating more transparency during the Persian Gulf War, the inevitable accusations of censorship and disinformation abounded since the government did not permit reporters unrestricted access. Following governmental cues, the American media demonized Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, some echoing president George H. W. Bush's characterization of him as a "new Hitler," and representing the war as inevitable. Opposition to the war, which at any rate was slight and disorganized, was mainly ignored except for a few high-profile incidents. Although Iraqi forces committed sufficient outrages during their occupation of Kuwait to fill numerous news reports, charges of propaganda were raised when it was discovered that many of these were Kuwaiti public relations fabrications—such as reports of Iraqi soldiers throwing Kuwaiti babies out of incubators.

Seventeen members of the national media pool arrived in Saudi Arabia on August 13, well before Operation DESERT STORM was launched on January 17, 1991, and were closely monitored during Operation DESERT SHIELD. Headed by Michael Sherman, six government public affairs officers were to handle Persian Gulf media. These officials set up the main military briefing rooms and television studios in Dhahran and Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and organized "media response teams," a pool system whose members were sometimes permitted to accompany select military units. An intense competition among journalists ensued, but reporters were largely denied access to actual combat. A number of disgruntled journalists affiliated with small media organizations filed a legal brief, claiming that the pool system violated their First Amendment right of free expression. The war ended, however, before courts ruled on the matter.

Those who tried to work outside the pool had little success. Some rented hotel rooms in Saudi Arabia and attended daily military briefings, where such well-prepared military spokespersons as coalition commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf provided carefully selected information. Meanwhile, General Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and other Defense Department officials provided daily briefings to reporters in the Pentagon. Pool members, however, largely failed to challenge the data they were given, before, during, and immediately after the conflict.

So-called unilaterals or freelancers also found their movements hampered. By mid-February 1991, some 20 had been detained or threatened with detention. Similarly, television correspondents Peter Arnett of CNN, John Simpson of the BBC, and Brent Sadler of Independent Television News (ITN) evoked criticism for reporting the first stage of the war from Baghdad. Their vivid film of initial air attacks garnered high viewer ratings and helped fuel the soaring popularity of major news networks. Nevertheless, U.S. government officials objected to the correspondents' presence in an enemy capital. In particular, reports of the bombing of a deep military command and control bunker in the Amariyah district of Baghdad—the upper levels of which were also being used as a civilian air raid shelter—which killed 408 civilians, deeply embarrassed coalition officials and provided the Saddam Hussein regime with useful propaganda.

Prompted by governmental and military spokespersons and backed by correspondents from major news media, a sanitized version of combat emerged from coverage of the Persian Gulf War. Critics cited the U.S. government's portrayals of the success of weapons systems such as smart bombs, Tomahawk cruise

The skies over Baghdad erupt with antiaircraft fire as U.S. warplanes strike targets in the Iraqi capital early on January 18, 1991. (AP/Wide World Photos)

missiles, and the Patriot antimissile system as grossly exaggerated, charges generally confirmed by postwar analysis. Criticism was far from limited to weapons systems, however. Charges abounded that unrestricted free press access had prevented reporters from independently verifying official information provided regarding the extent of U.S. friendly fire casualties, the true number of Iraqi military and civilian deaths resulting from coalition ground and air combat actions, and the amount of oil pollution caused by coalition bombing (versus that caused by Iraqi sabotage). Barry Zorthian's statement to the National Press Club on March 19, 1991, may well summarize the judgment of many war correspondents who felt shut out by Department of Defense press restrictions during the Persian Gulf War: "The Gulf War is over and the press lost."

Afghanistan War

As in the Persian Gulf War, war correspondents in the ongoing conflict in Afghanistan, which began as Operation ENDURING FREEDOM on October 7, 2001, have been targeted by appeals to patriotism and national security. For instance, shortly after the war began, major U.S. networks agreed to have any statements from Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden screened and edited by the government. The Arab-language television network Al Jazeera soon was targeted for broadcasting a release from bin Laden on the eve of the first air strike on Afghanistan. On November 13, 2001, Al Jazeera's office in Kabul was struck by a U.S. missile, which officials claimed was intended to hit a well-known Al Qaeda facility. A second attack, again claimed to be mistaken, targeted Al Jazeera's Baghdad office on April 8, 2003, killing a reporter and wounding a cameraman.

From the outset of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld warned the media to expect little Pentagon cooperation. When the aerial bombardment began on October 7, 2001, no Western journalists were within the three-quarters of the country controlled by the Taliban, for reporters had gathered in Pakistan and territory held by the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance. By November 10, seven journalists had been killed as they spread out to areas abandoned by the Taliban, whose forces had earlier arrested *Sunday Express* reporter Yvonne Ridley on September 28. Several months later, the Pentagon unveiled plans to establish three Coalition Press Information Centers, in Mazar-e Sharif, Bagram, and Qandahar Airport. Staff members would be charged with helping journalists get photographs and interviews. Still, Assistant Secretary of Defense Victoria Clarke encouraged journalists to remain in Bahrain for best access to war coverage. These procedures led to questions about how much uncensored

news was reaching Western readers or viewers. As early as 2002, for instance, *Daily Mirror* correspondent John Pilger claimed that about 5,000 civilian deaths had resulted from bombing raids in Afghanistan, almost double the toll of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on New York.

Yet, the dangers of reporters' unrestricted access to war zones is clearly shown in Afghanistan. Faced with problems of access, an inhospitable terrain, language barriers, and the danger of ambush, journalists complain that they face a hidden war in Afghanistan. Particularly in the south of the country, correspondents have encountered difficulties in hiring local "fixers" willing to risk Taliban retribution. On March 4, 2007, for instance, Taliban forces abducted *La Republica* reporter Daniele Mastrogiacomo along with Afghan journalist Ajmal Nakshbandi and their driver, Sayed Agha, in Helmand Province. While Mastrogiacomo was later released in a prisoner exchange, both Afghans were beheaded. This incident followed the killing of two German *Deutsche Welle* journalists in October 2006.

New restrictions imposed in 2006, whereby media outlets have been told not to publish interviews and reports critical of Afghani president Hamid Karzai's foreign policy or the U.S.-led coalition forces, have led to further protests of curtailment of press freedom.

Iraq War

Operation IRAQI FREEDOM, an ongoing conflict that began with the invasion of Iraq on March 20, 2003, accomplished a new twist in the pool system that had been practiced in the Persian Gulf War and, to some extent, in Afghanistan. At the commencement of the campaign, such major news syndicates as CNN had announced huge budgets for war coverage, planning to devote 24 hours a day to the conflict. However, much to the disappointment of reporters demanding unrestricted free access to combat operations, the Department of Defense chose only to use reporters embedded with combat units. "Embeds" would receive basic training and accompany their assigned units through combat. Embeds were allowed to report what they wished so long as they revealed no information that the enemy could use.

While supporters saw the embed system as restoring "up front" credibility to reporters, whom they had perceived as being aloof and unsympathetic to the real problems faced by troops

NBC News correspondent David Bloom reports from Iraq in this undated television image. Bloom died during the Iraq War while serving as an embedded reporter. (AP/Wide World Photos)

engaged in waging war, critics of the embed system claimed that it resulted in a loss of objectivity among correspondents—who soon discovered that they identified with troops in their assigned units. A few correspondents, such as CNN's Christiane Amanpour (who became a media celebrity through her reporting of the Persian Gulf War and Bosnian conflict), objected to the restrictions, but she was warned that she had to abide by the rules.

More than in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, journalists found that dry, colorless government media briefings offered them little material to produce the dramatic headlines that garner top ratings in the highly competitive news business. Moreover, increasingly international television viewers have become the media giants' target audience, and correspondents often found their reports hampered by syndicate expectations. Yet, despite the claims that access was unduly restricted, war correspondents were instrumental in exposing such incidents as Abu Ghraib prisoner abuse, the overhyped Jessica Lynch "rescue" operation, and the extent of Iraqi civilian casualties due to coalition bombing, such as during the Second Battle of Fallujah, in November 2004.

In short, the war in Iraq suggests that correspondents, unlike during the Persian Gulf War, became more critical, a mood that reflects and even fuels the growing public opposition to the war. Statistics also suggest that Iraq is now the world's most dangerous location for journalists. The conservative estimates of the Committee to Protect Journalists indicate that violence in Iraq claimed the lives of 32 journalists in 2006, the highest number that the organization has recorded to date. Between 2003 and the end of 2008, the Committee to Protect Journalists reported that 136 journalists died in Iraq, while 56 additional media workers (nonjournalists) died. The conflicts in Kuwait, Afghanistan, and Iraq reveal that war correspondence is becoming an increasingly risky enterprise, whether "pooled," "embedded," or acting independently.

Anna M. Wittmann

See also

Abu Ghraib; Al Jazeera; Bin Laden, Osama; DESERT STORM, Operation; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Karpinski, Janis; Lynch, Jessica; Missiles, Cruise; Patriot Missile System; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.; Taliban; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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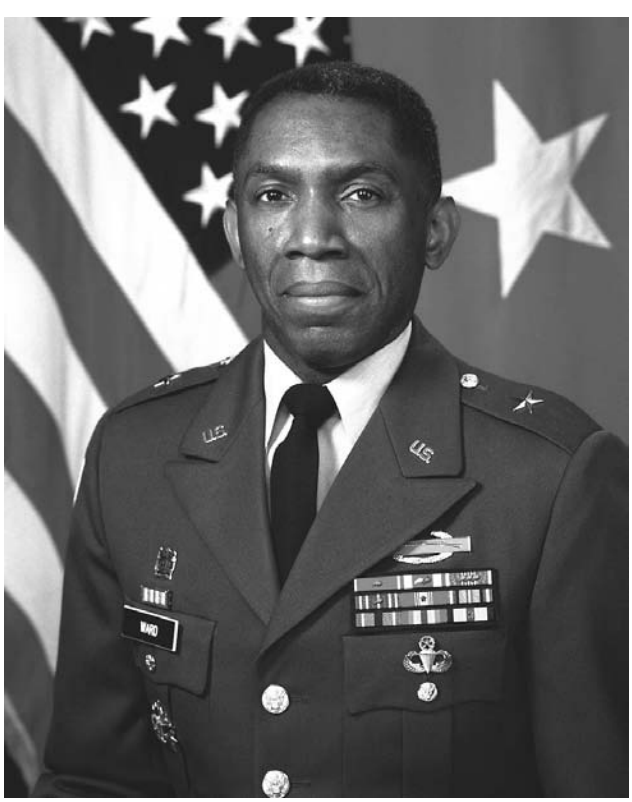
Ward, William E.

Birth Date: June 3, 1949

U.S. Army general and first commander of the U.S. Africa Command. William "Kip" Ward was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on June 3, 1949. He graduated from Morgan State University with a BA in political science in 1971 and received a commission as an infantry officer through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC). He subsequently earned a master's degree in political science from Pennsylvania State University. His military education includes the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College and the U.S. Army War College. He was also an instructor at West Point.

Early service assignments included tours with the 82nd Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, North Carolina; the 2nd Infantry Division in Korea, a field artillery brigade in Germany, and command of a battalion of the 6th Infantry Division at Fort Wainwright, Alaska. In October 1993 Colonel Ward was commanding the 2nd Brigade of the 10th Mountain Division (Light) in Mogadishu, Somalia, as a part of Operation RESTORE HOPE, when two Blackhawk helicopters were shot down and 19 American soldiers died in the subsequent rescue operation.

Promoted to brigadier general in March 1996, from February 1998 to July 1999 Ward served as the chief of the Office of Military Cooperation, Egypt, working out of the U.S. embassy in Cairo. Promoted to major general in February 1999, he commanded the



U.S. Army brigadier general William E. Ward in 1995. (U.S. Department of Defense)

25th Infantry Division in Hawaii and then served as vice director for operations of the Joint Staff in Washington. Promoted to lieutenant general in October 2002, he was appointed to command the NATO Stabilization Force in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, holding that post until October 2003.

Ward was serving as the deputy commanding general of U.S. Army, Europe when, in February 2005, during a trip to the Middle East, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice announced his appointment to the newly established position of United States security coordinator, Israel–Palestinian National Authority (PNA). The coordinator's job was to assist in U.S. efforts to encourage the Israeli government to stay on track with its promise to disengage from the Gaza Strip and the northern West Bank; and simultaneously to support new PNA president Mahmoud Abbas in his efforts to bring the various Palestinian militant organizations under control and to gain positive control over the disparate and fractured Palestinian security organizations.

It was that second task, where all Ward's predecessors had failed, that came close to being mission impossible. Under the long reign of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) head Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian military, police, and intelligence functions had evolved into a Byzantine network of overlapping feudal empires, as much in competition with each other as with the Israelis and the various militant groups. Compounding the problem, all too many of the members of the security forces were also members of militant groups. In May 2005 Ward announced the establishment of the Security Sector Working Group, composed of donors interested in supporting Palestinian security reform. The group was cochaired by Ward and Palestinian minister of the interior and national security, Nasser Yusif.

In December 2005 Major General Keith Dayton replaced Ward as the U.S. security coordinator. Ward returned to U.S. Army, Europe, headquarters in Heidelberg, Germany. Shortly thereafter he was appointed deputy commanding general of the U.S. European Command. He was promoted to general in May 2006. Ward is currently the senior ranking African American in the U.S. Army.

In October 1, 2007, Ward became the first commander of the U.S. Africa Command. One of six of the U.S. Defense Department's regional military commands, it has administrative responsibility for U.S. military assistance to support U.S. policy in Africa, including military-to-military relationships with 53 African nations. The command is headquartered in Stuttgart, Germany.

David T. Zabecki

See also

Abbas, Mahmoud; Arafat, Yasser; Rice, Condoleezza

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Warden, John Ashley, III

Birth Date: December 21, 1943

U.S. Air Force officer and one of the leading theorists on modern airpower whose ideas greatly influenced the Persian Gulf War air campaign. John Ashley Warden III was born in McKinney, Texas, on December 21, 1943. He graduated from the U.S. Air Force Academy in 1965 and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the air force. In 1975, he earned a master's degree from Texas Tech University.

Following pilot training, in 1969 Warden volunteered for duty in Vietnam, where he flew more than 250 missions as a forward air controller. He was often frustrated by the complicated rules of engagement during the Vietnam War, and later came to believe that the lack of a coherent strategic vision had led to America's failure in that conflict. Warden came to realize that several prerequisites had to be in place in order to successfully prosecute a war: a coherent, consistent overarching strategy; preponderant force; precise objectives; a clear and realistic exit strategy; and the full integration of military and political interests. Many of these ideas were also later advanced by General Colin L. Powell, in what came to be known as the Powell Doctrine, which was followed with much success during Operation DESERT STORM.

Warden held several positions before being assigned as a major to the Pentagon in August 1975 in the Directorate of Plans. Here he began to publicize his ideas on airpower. Warden then embarked on a series of operational assignments.

In 1988, Warden published his first book, *The Air Campaign: Planning for Combat.* In it, he laid out his own concepts of airpower. The book was well received, and many of its concepts were utilized in the air campaign against Iraq in 1991. From the book emerged an organizational structure known as the Prometheus Strategic Planning System. His prescriptions were not without critics, however. In the book, Warden had essentially challenged the prevailing AirLand Battle Doctrine, which suggested that airpower was not strategic in and of itself and that it must play a subservient role to ground forces.

Following a posting as wing commander in the 36th Tactical Fighter Group in Germany, in 1989 Warden returned to the Pentagon, where he continued to promote and fine-tune his theories on airpower and military grand strategy. Warden became the air force's preeminent strategist for the air campaign during the Persian Gulf War, traveling to Saudi Arabia to present his plans to U.S. Central Command commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf in person. Warden grouped targets into five different categories, expressed as concentric rings. The center was the enemy leadership. Ranging out from it were system essentials, infrastructure, population, and fielded military forces. Warden stressed that it was important to attack as many of these as possible simultaneously, with special emphasis on the most important of enemy leadership, so as to bring about physical paralysis.

Promoted to colonel, Warden in mid-1991 became a special assistant to Vice President Dan Quayle, working on issues such as economic productivity and competitiveness. From 1992 to 1995, Warden was commandant of the Air Command and Staff College, where he undertook sweeping curriculum changes that focused on strategy rather than tactics and techniques. Warden retired as a colonel in June 1995 and began his own successful consulting business, which sought to wed his ideas on strategy to U.S. and international business concerns. He has written numerous books on strategy and business issues.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

AirLand Battle Doctrine; Powell Doctrine; United States Air Force, Iraq War; United States Air Force, Persian Gulf War

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Warlords, Afghanistan

In Afghanistan, warlords traditionally have been military leaders who often served as the de facto government of provinces and cities, usually organized by ethnic or tribal affiliation, but sometimes by ideology, as with the mujahideen and Taliban. A warlord system has variously comprised the collection of taxes and customs duties, the maintenance of private armies and fiefdoms, and the exploitation of the criminal, or underground, economy.

Historically, Afghanistan has been the meeting point of the Indian subcontinent, Central Asia, and the Middle East. Over the course of numerous invasions it evolved into a nation comprising numerous ethnic groups. These include: Persian, Pashai, Baluch, Chahar, Tajik, Turkmen, Aimak, Pashtun, Uzbek, Arab, Nuristani, Kirghiz, and Hazara. Of these groups, the Pashtun emerged as the most dominant both numerically and politically. They represent about 50 percent of the total population; politically they have constituted the royal family and have often held power. The Tajiks are the second largest ethnic group, comprising some 25 percent of the population.

Afghan warlords emerged following the end of the British protectorate in 1919. In the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 the king of Afghanistan, Amanullah, who ascended the throne in 1919, marked the country's independence by signing a treaty of aid and friendship with Russian revolutionary Vladimir Lenin and declaring war on Britain. In response, the British Royal Air Force bombed the Afghan capital of Kabul, and the British government conspired with conservative religious groups and land-owning communities who had grown contemptuous of Amanullah's attempts at secularization and reform. This gave birth to the warlords.

In 1929, Amanullah abdicated following an uprising and civil unrest, and the warlords then competed in earnest for power. The turn of events that led to the abdication of Amanullah marked the first, but not final, instance in which disgruntled religious and land-owning factions would collaborate with Western or Soviet powers to achieve change in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan's new king, Muhammad Nadir Shah, commenced an ill-fated reign that was cut short 4 years later with his assassination in 1933. Muhammad Zahir Shah succeeded to the throne. He ruled for 40 years before he was deposed by his cousin, Mohammad Daoud Khan, in 1973, whereupon Afghanistan was formerly declared a republic. In the meantime, warlords played a sizable role in Afghanistan, especially at the provincial and municipal levels.

From the early 20th century on, the significant role of the warlords in determining the political and religious orientation of Afghanistan indicates not only the deep-rooted nature of warlordism in the country, but also an enduring determination to vie for power both internally and with external intervening powers. Nevertheless, warlords of both the mujahideen beginning in the 1980s, and the Taliban in the 1990s, have demonstrated a willingness to court both Western and Soviet powers to serve national and personal interests. While the "Great Game" in the late 19th century had rendered Afghanistan a buffer between British and Russian interests, the end of the 20th century brought a proactive mobilization of the warlords.

The most recent contingent of warlords flourished during the ongoing civil war and Soviet occupation (1979–2001) and amidst the ensuing breakdown of central authority. As young military commanders usurped traditional governance structures and bodies of authority, such as the village *shura* or *jirga,* the warlords provided rudimentary public services while exhibiting predatory behavior toward local communities.

While the years 2001 and 2002 provided a period of uncertainty for Afghan warlords, especially after the beginning of Operation Enduring Freedom began, the Bonn Agreement of 2001 consolidated the position of the warlords not only in their fiefdoms, but also within the newly restored power and authority of the state. Yet far from stabilizing the nascent government, led by President Hamid Karzai, the co-option of the warlords hindered state progress in the realms of reform and modernization. While nepotism has threatened the legitimacy of the government, the warlords have, in the eyes of the wider population, become synonymous with the destruction of the state, rather than its renewal. Notable warlords in Afghanistan include Abd al-Rashid Dostum, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Mullah Mohammed Omar, Pasha Khan Zadran, Abdul Malik, and the sole female warlord, Bibi Ayesha.

Men loyal to Afghan warlord Mullah Naqibullah ride in a pickup truck to their military base outside Kandahar, Afghanistan, March 1, 2002. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Despite the seemingly negative implications that have arisen from the assimilation of Taliban warlords into the Afghan state, their involvement has been endorsed by the international community, most notably the United States, which has favored the formation of alliances with regional commanders to preserve security and stability until the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) are trained and equipped.

Nevertheless, the strategy of placing warlords in government has so far lacked the degree of success that had been anticipated by both Afghanistan and international observers. A significant obstacle has been ongoing competition between the warlords. Between 2002 and 2003, the forces of Rashid Dostum, the leader of the predominantly Uzbek political group *Junbish-e Milli-ye-Islami,* and Ustad Atta Mohammed, a key figure in the Tajik-dominated *Jamaat-e-Islami,* clashed in northern Afghanistan, despite the fact that both Dostum and Mohammad were prominent allies of the government. While the hostilities between the two groups had been quelled through the intervention of the central government and international community, skirmishes continue to persist. In October 2006, fighting between two Pashtun clans in Herat killed 32 people and injured many more.

The integration of warlords into the Afghan government has also borne negative security implications. Just as warlords are able to stand in elections, they also find other avenues of political influence open to them. For example, the parliament's standing committees are being dominated by former jihadi commanders, often to the detriment of more qualified individuals. Moreover, the warlords have gained further protection since the passing of a motion on February 1, 2007, that guaranteed immunity to all Afghans who had fought in the civil war, thereby preventing further prosecution of commanders for their involvement in war crimes.

K. Luisa Gandolfo

See also

Afghanistan; Bonn Agreement; Dostum, Abd al-Rashid; Hekmetyar, Gulbuddin al-Hurra; Kakar, Mullah; Karzai, Hamid; Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Omar, Mohammed; Taliban; Taliban Insurgency, Afghanistan

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War on Terror

See Global War on Terror

War Powers Act

Joint resolution of the U.S. Congress, enacted on November 7, 1973. The War Powers Act limits the authority of the president to deploy U.S. troops and/or wage war without the express consent of Congress. It has influenced nearly every major American military deployment in the Middle East since its passing. The act became law over then president Richard M. Nixon's veto following the withdrawal of U.S. combat forces from the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam) during the Vietnam War. It was designed to assure that the president and Congress would share responsibility in making decisions that might lead the United States into a war. Its passage was prompted by the highly unpopular Vietnam War, during which both the Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon administrations enmeshed the United States in a major war while bypassing the constitutional provision that grants Congress the power to declare war (Article I, Section 8).

Under the War Powers Act, the president is required to notify and consult with Congress prior to deploying U.S. troops into hostile situations and to consult regularly with Congress once troops have been deployed. If within 60 days of introducing troops Congress has not declared war or approved of the military deployment, the president must withdraw the troops unless he certifies to Congress an "unavoidable military necessity" that requires an additional 30 days to remove the troops. Although every president, Democrat and Republican, has claimed the War Powers Act to be an unconstitutional violation of the president's authority as commander in chief, presidents have been careful nevertheless to notify Congress of their decision to deploy U.S. forces.

According to the Congressional Research Service, since the passage of the War Powers Resolution in 1973, U.S. presidents have submitted over 100 such reports to Congress. On April 24, 1980, following the failed attempt to rescue American hostages in Iran, President Jimmy Carter submitted a report to Congress. Some members of Congress objected to Carter's failure to consult with Congress before executing the operation. Carter, however, claimed that because the mission depended on complete secrecy, consultation was not possible; moreover, the White House argued that a rescue operation did not constitute an act of aggression or force.

On September 29, 1983, Congress invoked the resolution to authorize the deployment of U.S. Marines to Lebanon for 18 months as part of a United Nations (UN) peacekeeping mission there. Following several years of growing tensions with Libya and skirmishes between both countries, on April 14, 1986, President Ronald W. Reagan ordered air strikes on Libya for its involvement in a terrorist bombing in a West Berlin discotheque that killed two U.S. soldiers. Reagan informed Congress of the attack, but because the operation was short-lived the question of congressional approval was essentially moot.

In January 1991, President George H. W. Bush secured congressional authorization to use force to compel Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait per a UN mandate. After the end of the Persian Gulf War on February 28, 1991, the War Powers Act again became a potential issue regarding the situation in the Middle East. President William J. Clinton launched several air attacks against Iraqi targets in an effort to compel Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's compliance with UN resolutions. In 1998, Clinton also ordered cruise-missile attacks on targets in Afghanistan and Sudan in retaliation for two deadly bombings involving U.S. embassies, likely carried out by Al Qaeda. Clinton did not invoke the War Powers Act because of the brief and secretive nature of the operations, however.

Following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, President George W. Bush secured congressional authorization a week later to use whatever force necessary against those responsible for the attacks. Based on this authorization, in October 2001 the U.S. attacked and invaded Afghanistan to overthrow the Taliban regime that had given Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda sanctuary.

In 2002, the Bush administration sought another congressional approval to wage a potential war against Iraq to compel it to cooperate with the United Nations resolution that had called for the disarming of Iraq and the declaration of all weapons of mass destruction (WMD). On October 16, 2002, Bush signed into law the joint congressional resolution, which enjoyed wide bipartisan support, empowering him to wage war against the regime of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein. The October 2002 authorization of military force against Iraq obviated presidential compliance with the War Powers Act.

Although Congress authorized the use of force against Iraq, the March 2003 invasion of Iraq and subsequent war and insurgency there has called into question not only the effectiveness of the War Powers Act but also, and more importantly, Congress's role in foreign policy and decisions involving war. The failure to find any weapons of mass destruction, the principal reason cited by Bush for the invasion of Iraq, has led critics of the war to question not only the president's responsibility to both Congress and the public, but also the role of Congress in declaring war and, specifically, as the War Powers Act intended, checking or overseeing the president's war-making powers.

Regardless of which administration holds the White House, tension over the exercise of war powers undoubtedly will continue between the executive and legislative branches of government. Presidents, Democrat and Republican, will still seek to implement U.S. foreign policy through the unrestricted use of all elements of national power—economic, political, and military—while Congress, through its legislative powers, will continue to exercise its vital role of providing the necessary "checks and balances" to ensure that executive branch power does not become "unrestricted." Given the volatile situation in the Middle East, the region will likely continue to be the focal point for future confrontations between president and Congress over war powers.

Stefan M. Brooks

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Carter, James Earl, Jr.; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Reagan, Ronald Wilson

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Weapons Inspectors

See United Nations Weapons Inspectors

Weapons of Mass Destruction

Weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) refer to biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons capable of inflicting mass casualties. Use of these weapons is viewed as not only immoral but also contrary to international law and the laws of war because WMDs have the ability to kill indiscriminately large numbers of human beings and inflict extensive damage to man-made structures beyond combatants or military assets. During the Cold War, fears about nuclear weapons and their use was commonplace. Nevertheless, these weapons were under tight control, and neither side dared employ them for fear of the total destruction that a retaliatory strike would bring. With the end of the Cold War, however, nuclear proliferation has become a significant problem, and the likelihood of a rogue state or terrorist group attaining WMDs, including nuclear weapons, has increased substantially.

During the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), Iraq employed chemical weapons against Iranian troops, something Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein publicly admitted to in December 2006 during his trial for war crimes. It remains in dispute whether Iran employed them as well. In 1988, as part of an operation to suppress a revolt by Iraqi Kurds, the Hussein government unleashed a chemical attack on the northern Iraqi town of Halabja, killing at least 5,000 people in the first recorded event of such weapons being used against civilians after the Japanese use of chemical weapons against the Chinese during the Second Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945.

Since the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, the fear of and danger posed by WMDs have increased significantly, owing to the desire of terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda and their affiliates to acquire and employ such weapons against the United States and other countries. The September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States and the 2004 Madrid and 2005 London bombings clearly demonstrated the ability and willingness of Al Qaeda to engage in terrorism to inflict mass casualties, leaving no doubt about their willingness to use WMDs in future terrorist attacks. Al Qaeda is believed to have been responsible for a series of terrorist attacks in March and April 2006 in Iraq, in which chlorine gas killed dozens and sickened hundreds.

Because of the instability and recurrence of war and conflict in the Middle East, the presence of WMDs has only heightened the arms race between Arab states and Israel and also among Arab states themselves. Egypt, Syria, Algeria, and Iran are all believed to have significant stockpiles of biological and chemical weapons. In 2003, seeking to normalize relations with the United States and Europe and end its international isolation and reputation as a sponsor of terrorism, Libya announced that it was abandoning its WMD programs. Observers have suggested that President George W. Bush's decision to invade Iraq in 2003, ostensibly to rid it of WMDs, and Libya's failure to end its isolation and convince the United Nations (UN) to lift its sanctions prompted this change of behavior.

Syria is believed to possess extensive chemical weapons stockpiles and delivery systems and to have been seeking to develop a similarly robust biological weapons program. Egypt was the first country in the Middle East to develop chemical weapons, which may have been prompted, at least in part, by Israel's construction of a nuclear reactor in 1958. The size of Egypt's chemical weapons arsenal is thought to be perhaps as extensive as Iraq's prior to the 1991 Persian Gulf War, although the end of hostilities between Egypt and Israel since the 1978 Camp David Accords may have obviated the need for maintaining the same quantities of such weapons.

In 1993, as part of the Arab campaign against Israel's nuclear weapons program, Egypt and Syria (along with Iraq) refused to sign the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), which bans the acquisition, development, stockpiling, transfer, retention, and use of chemical weapons. These states also refused to sign the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) of 1975, which prohibits the development, production, acquisition, transfer, retention, stockpiling, and use of biological and toxin weapons. Iraq later signed the BWC, and it signed the CWC after Hussein's ouster. The extent of Egypt's biological weapons program is unknown, but it clearly has the ability to develop such weapons if it already does not have weaponized stockpiles.

A United Nations (UN) team inspects areas of Iran to investigate the Iraqi use of chemical weapons during the Iran-Iraq War, March 14, 1984. (AP/Wide World Photos)

With respect to nuclear weapons, Israel is believed to possess as many as 100 nuclear warheads, although the Israeli government has never publicly confirmed possessing such weapons. On December 12, 2006, Israeli prime minister Ehud Olmert admitted in an interview that Israel possessed nuclear weapons, only to be contradicted the next day by a government spokesman, who denied that Olmert had made such an admission. In the meantime, Israel has refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and has not allowed UN International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) inspectors to inspect its suspected nuclear sites.

Israel has repeatedly shown its willingness to use force to maintain its suspected Middle East nuclear monopoly and deny any Arab state the ability to acquire or develop nuclear weapons. In 1981, the Israeli air force destroyed an Iraqi nuclear reactor site under construction at Osiraq, Iraq. In September 2007, Israeli warplanes carried out an attack against a suspected nuclear facility in Syria. Iran is currently enriching uranium for what it claims are peaceful purposes, but the United States and much of Western Europe have accused Iran of aspiring to build nuclear weapons. That state's refusal to cooperate with the IAEA led the United Nations to impose sanctions on Iran in December 2006 and March 2007 as punishment for its defiance of the UN. Since then, the West has pressed for more sanctions, but its efforts have met resistance from such nations as Russia and the People's Republic of China.

Of particular international concern in 2009 were Pakistan in southern Asia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea) in East Asia. Pakistan had successfully conducted underground nuclear tests in May 1998 and is believed to possess a number of atomic bombs. Abdul Qadeer Kahn, widely regarded as the chief scientist in the development of Pakistan's atomic bomb, confessed in January 2004 to having been involved in a clandestine network of nuclear proliferation from Pakistan to Libya, Iran, and North Korea (which in October 2006 successfully conducted an underground nuclear test). Pakistani president General Pervez Musharraf then announced that he had pardoned Kahn, who is regarded by many Pakistanis as a national hero, despite the fact that the technology transfer is thought to have made possible North Korea's acquisition of the atomic bomb.

In the spring of 2009, however, major fighting erupted between Pakistani government forces and the Taliban, who controlled the Swat Valley in the northwestern part of the country. The stability of Pakistan and the security of its nuclear arsenal appeared in question.

Stefan M. Brooks

See also

Al Qaeda; Biological Weapons and Warfare; Chemical Weapons and Warfare; Egypt; Global War on Terror; International Atomic Energy Agency; Iran; Iran-Iraq War; Israel; Kurds; Kurds, Massacres of; Libya; Musharraf, Pervez; Nuclear Weapons, Iraq's Potential for Building; Pakistan; Syria; Terrorism

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Webb, James Henry, Jr.

Birth Date: February 9, 1946

Decorated Vietnam War veteran, attorney, author, filmmaker, assistant secretary of defense for reserve affairs (1984–1987), secretary of the navy (1987–1988), United States senator (2007–present), and strong opponent of the George W. Bush administration's prosecution of the Iraq War. James "Jim" Henry Webb Jr. was born on February 9, 1946, in Saint Joseph, Missouri, the son of a career air force officer. Following graduation from the United

States Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1968, Webb entered the U.S. Marine Corps and served in the Vietnam War as a platoon leader and company commander with the 5th Marine Regiment, earning the Navy Cross. Webb was subsequently an instructor in tactics and weapons at the Marine Corps Officer Candidate School and served on the military staff of the secretary of the navy before leaving the service in 1972.

Webb then attended Georgetown University law school, where he received his JD degree in 1975. During this time he wrote his first book, *Micronesia and U.S. Pacific Strategy* (1974). From 1977 to 1981, he served as counsel to the U.S. House Committee on Veterans Affairs. Webb also did pro bono legal work for veterans. In 1978, he came to public prominence as an author, in particular for his novel *Fields of Fire* (1978), a story of ground combat involving U.S. Marines in Vietnam.

During the Ronald Reagan administration, Webb was the assistant secretary of defense for reserve affairs (1984–1987) and then secretary of the navy from May 1, 1987, to February 23, 1988. A principal concern of the U.S. military resulting from the Vietnam War experience was the desire to achieve more effective integration of the reserves and National Guard with the regular military. Webb's posts, in particular the first, involved policy planning and implementation in this area, which was quite successful overall.

After leaving government service, Webb enjoyed a storied career as an author, a feature and documentary film producer, and a screenwriter. His published works include five novels and a book about the Scotch Irish experience in the United States. He produced the story line and was the executive producer of *Rules of Engagement* (2000), a popular legal-military-political drama starring Tommy Lee Jones and Samuel L. Jackson. Webb stayed active on the political scene, writing occasional columns and op-ed pieces, but was not wedded to one political party; indeed, in spite of his service during the Reagan years, he backed several Democratic candidates for office, and would run as a moderate Democrat in the 2006 senatorial election. In a March 2003 op-ed piece for the *New York Times,* written just days after the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq, Webb presciently warned that the United States could well become locked in a deadly guerrilla insurgency there.

In 2006, Webb secured Virginia's Democratic senatorial nomination and was elected by a razor-thin margin to the United States Senate, defeating incumbent Republican George Allen. In the campaign, Webb emphasized his moderate social positions, fiscal conservatism, and opposition to the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq. In November 2006, he publicly justified U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, but was quick to add that the war strategy was badly flawed. Webb's victory as a Democrat in a conservative state drew considerable national attention and public discussion that he might be a candidate for higher office. His victory also helped solidify the Democratic Party's sweep of Congress, as it claimed control over both houses in the 2006 elections.

As a senator, Webb has been actively involved in sponsoring and supporting legislation for veterans' benefits and has been a continuing critic of the Bush administration's war and economic policies. In November 2006, shortly after his election, Webb had a notable contretemps with President George W. Bush, who asked about Webb's son, who was then serving as a marine in Iraq. Webb was reportedly furious over Bush's public inquiry, but the two men later reconciled when Bush invited Webb and his son to the Oval Office for a special meeting in March 2008.

Arthur I. Cyr

See also

Antiwar Movements, Persian Gulf and Iraq Wars; United States Congress and the Iraq War

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Webster, William Hedgcock

Birth Date: March 6, 1924

U.S. attorney, judge, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) from 1978 to 1987, and director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) from 1987 to 1991. William Hedgcock Webster was born in St. Louis, Missouri, on March 6, 1924. During World War II, he served in the U.S. Navy. After the war and his return to the United States, Webster earned his undergraduate degree from Amherst (Massachusetts) College in 1947. Two years later, he received a law degree from Washington University in St. Louis.

From 1949 to 1959, Webster practiced law with a successful St. Louis law firm. In 1960, he began a long career in public service when he began serving as U.S. attorney for the Eastern District of Missouri, a post he held until 1961. Thereafter, he returned to private practice, and from 1964 to 1969 he sat on the Missouri Board of Law Examiners.

From 1970 to 1973, Webster served as U.S. federal judge for the Eastern District of Missouri. In 1973, he was appointed judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit, a post he retained until 1978. In 1978, President Jimmy Carter tapped him to become the sixth director of the FBI. His tenure with that agency was marked by efficient and effective leadership that helped stabilize it following the disruptive post-Watergate years and its transition from the long reign of director J. Edgar Hoover, which had ended with the latter's death in 1972.

In 1987, Webster left his post with the FBI to become the director of the CIA; he is the only individual to have held the directorship of both organizations. His appointment by the Ronald Reagan administration proved that he was able to function well under both Democratic and Republican administrations. Webster succeeded controversial CIA director William Casey, who died unexpectedly in May 1987 after a brief battle with brain cancer. Casey's death meant that he was never able to testify in the congressional

hearings surrounding the Iran-Contra Affair, a scheme in which the CIA had been involved in selling weapons to Iran, the proceeds of which were illegally funneled to the anticommunist Contras in Nicaragua. Webster moved quickly to mitigate the damage to the agency caused by the Iran-Contra allegations and proved to be a far less visible and controversial director than Casey. Webster did continue Casey's policy of arming the mujahideen fighters in Afghanistan toward the tail end of the Soviet-Afghanistan War.

Webster retired from public service in September 1991 and was succeeded by Robert M. Gates as CIA director. He returned to private law practice, becoming a partner in the Washington, D.C., law firm of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy. He has been the recipient of many prestigious honors and awards, including the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1991. He retired from active practice in 2005 but still maintains a presence in the firm. He also served as vice chairman of the Homeland Security Advisory Council (HSAC) from 2002 to 2006, and in 2006, he became chairman of the HSAC.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Central Intelligence Agency; Gates, Robert Michael; Iran-Contra Affair; Mujahideen, Soviet-Afghanistan War; Soviet-Afghanistan War

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Caspar Weinberger was secretary of defense under President Ronald Reagan during 1981–1987. Weinberger directed an unprecedented peacetime buildup of U.S. military forces. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Weinberger, Caspar Willard

Birth Date: August 18, 1917
Death Date: March 26, 2006

U.S. politician and secretary of defense (1981–1987). Born in San Francisco, California, on August 18, 1917, Caspar Willard Weinberger attended Harvard University, where he earned a bachelor of arts degree in 1938 and a law degree in 1941. He served in the U.S. Army during World War II, rising to captain.

After leaving the military in 1945, Weinberger clerked for a federal judge and then entered politics. Elected to the California State Assembly in 1952, he was chairman of the state Republican Party, then worked in Governor Ronald Reagan's cabinet in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Moving to Washington, Weinberger served as director of the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) in 1970; deputy director (1970–1972) and then director (1972–1973) of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB); and secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) during 1973–1975.

Weinberger served as an adviser to Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign, and Reagan appointed him secretary of defense in 1981. Many conservatives feared that Weinberger, known as "Cap the Knife" for his budget-cutting zeal, might oppose Reagan's plans to increase defense spending. Such worries proved groundless, as Weinberger presided over the largest peacetime defense buildup in U.S. history. He was also an enthusiastic supporter of Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) to establish a laser-guided defense system in outer space that would be able to destroy ballistic missiles aimed at the United States.

In Middle Eastern affairs, Weinberger opposed the stationing of U.S. Marines in Lebanon in 1982, believing that the objective was not clearly defined. His fears over the vulnerability of this force were realized when 241 marines died in their Beirut barracks in a terrorist bombing in October 1983. U.S. forces there were subsequently withdrawn. Weinberger actively sought the prosecution of U.S. Navy intelligence analyst Jonathan Pollard, subsequently convicted of spying for Israel and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Weinberger opposed the secret transfer beginning in late 1985 of 500 U.S. TOW antitank missiles to Iran in exchange for the freeing of American hostages being held in the Middle East. The Reagan administration then illegally diverted some of the funds to the anticommunist Contra forces fighting the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. This activity became public in late 1986 and was known as the Iran-Contra Affair.

Weinberger also developed the Weinberger Doctrine, later known as the Powell Doctrine after General Colin L. Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who had been Weinberger's senior military aide and adviser. The Weinberger Doctrine supported the intervention of U.S. military forces but with important caveats based on presumed "lessons learned" from Vietnam: commit U.S. troops only when U.S. or allied vital national interests are at stake, and only when supported by the American public and Congress; establish in advance of troop commitment clear political and military objectives; commit troops wholeheartedly and with the clear intention of winning; use force appropriate to the threat, but generally apply overwhelming force to shorten the length of the conflict and minimize American casualties; and use force only as a last resort. Powell generally adopted all of the Weinberger Doctrine principles, although he added the development of an "exit strategy" to Weinberger's caveats. The Weinberger/Powell Doctrine was applied with great success during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Weinberger resigned his post in November 1987, citing his wife's poor health.

In the autumn of 1992 Special Counsel Lawrence Walsh indicted Weinberger on four felony counts of lying to a congressional committee and to the independent counsel's office and one count of obstruction of justice in conjunction with the Iran-Contra Affair. The case never went to trial, as defeated incumbent president George H. W. Bush pardoned Weinberger on December 24, 1992. Weinberger died in Bangor, Maine, on March 26, 2006.

Frank J. Smith

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Iran-Contra Affair; Lebanon, U.S. Intervention in (1982–1984); Pollard, Jonathan; Powell, Colin Luther; Powell Doctrine; Reagan, Ronald Wilson

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Wilson, Charles Nesbitt

Birth Date: June 1, 1933
Death Date: February 10, 2010

U.S. Congressman from Texas who played a key role in orchestrating U.S. military assistance for the Afghan rebels fighting the Soviet occupation of their country. Charles Nesbitt Wilson was born in Trinity, Texas, on June 1, 1933. Wilson, known as "Charlie," briefly attended Sam Houston State University in Huntsville, Texas, before accepting an appointment in 1952 to the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis. Commissioned in the U.S. Navy upon graduation in 1956, Wilson spent several years as gunnery officer on a destroyer.

In 1960 while still on active duty in the U.S. Navy, Wilson felt drawn to public service after working as a volunteer on John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign. Taking leave from the navy, Wilson ran for and won election to the state legislature and served there for the next 12 years, establishing a reputation as a liberal Democrat who supported abortion rights, Medicaid, and the Equal Rights Amendment. In 1972 Wilson overcame a drunk driving arrest to win the election to the U.S. House of Representatives from the Second Election District. He managed to maintain his seat by balancing his liberal views on domestic policy with a hawkish foreign policy stance.

Wilson was an early strong supporter of Israel and visited the Jewish state during the Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War in October 1973. In the late 1970s he also took up the cause of the Anastasio Somoza Debayle Nicaraguan government, which was embroiled in a guerrilla war with the leftist National Liberation Front (FSLN, Sandinistas) for control of the country. Wilson pressured Congress into restoring the multimillion-dollar U.S. aid package to Somoza's government, which had been cut by President Jimmy Carter's administration because of the Nicaraguan dictator's poor human rights record.

In 1976 Wilson was appointed to the powerful Appropriations Committee, and he soon also secured a seat on its Foreign Operations Subcommittee. After being reelected for a fourth term in 1980 he gained a spot on the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, which controls the purse strings of both the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Pentagon. Around that time he became involved in the plight of Afghanistan, which was experiencing a Soviet military occupation following an invasion of that country in late December 1979.

In October 1982 Wilson took a trip to Pakistan and visited Afghan camps outside Peshawar, the center of Afghan resistance. The camps, then filled with more than 2 million Afghans who were barely surviving with little food and no running water, inspired the congressman to do everything he could to support the mujahideen in their fight against the Soviet Union. On his return to the United States, Wilson, who had a much-deserved reputation as a hard-partying womanizer with the nickname "Good-Time Charlie," now used his longtime political connections to substantially increase U.S. financial aid to the Afghan rebels.

In a most unusual role for a congressman from eastern Texas, during the course of the next several years Wilson worked closely with CIA operative Gust Avrakotos to supply the mujahideen with some $5 billion in weapons to take down the vaunted Soviet war machine. Perhaps the most crucial of these weapons was the Stinger surface-to-air missile (SAM) that the CIA began shipping to the mujahideen in 1986. Up to that point, Soviet aerial supremacy in the form of jet fighters and helicopter gunships had devastated the Afghan rebels and provided vital logistical support

to Soviet forces. The Stinger missiles forced Soviet aircraft to fly higher to avoid being shot down, greatly minimizing their effectiveness. That same year the Soviet Union began pulling troops out of Afghanistan, and by February 1989 all Soviet military forces had left the country.

The CIA recognized Wilson's key role in Afghanistan by bestowing on him its Honored Colleague award, marking the first time the award had been given to someone outside the agency. Wilson served in Congress for 12 terms until he retired in January 1997. For the next eight years he worked as a lobbyist on Capitol Hill, with Pakistan as his primary client. In 2003 George Crile published the book *Charlie Wilson's War,* chronicling the Texas congressman's involvement in the Soviet-Afghanistan War. The book was followed four years later by a movie of the same name that featured Tom Hanks in the title role.

In retirement, Wilson defended the U.S. government's support for the leftist rebels in Afghanistan and said that the real mistake was the U.S. decision to abandon Afghanistan and not help rebuild that country following the Soviet departure. Wilson believed that had the United States done so, Afghanistan would not have become a haven for the Al Qaeda terrorist organization. Wilson died of cardiopulmonary arrest at his home in Lufkin, Texas, on February 10, 2010, at the age of 76.

Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Al Qaeda; Missiles, Surface-to-Air; Soviet-Afghanistan War

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Wilson, Joseph Carter, IV

Birth Date: November 5, 1949

U.S. diplomat, career foreign service officer, and a central figure in the Valerie Plame Wilson incident, which dogged the George W. Bush administration for several years after the launching of the Iraq War. Joseph Carter Wilson IV was born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, on November 5, 1949, to a prosperous family and grew up in both Europe and California. He graduated from the University of California-Santa Barbara in 1971 with an undergraduate degree in history. After working for a time as a carpenter, he pursued graduate studies in public administration and entered the Foreign Service in 1976.

From 1976 to 1998, Wilson held a series of increasingly important diplomatic posts, both in Washington and abroad. Many of his postings were in Africa, where he earned a reputation as an earnest, well-informed diplomat who was easy to work with. During this time, Wilson, who hailed from a staunchly conservative Republican family, began to make connections with several influential Democratic legislators. Although he worked to distance himself from partisan politics as a diplomatic officer, during 1985–1986 he was a congressional fellow first for Democratic senator Al Gore and then for Democratic representative Tom Foley. This assignment gained him important connections within the Democratic Party hierarchy.

From 1988 to 1991, Wilson was stationed in Baghdad, Iraq, where he served as the deputy chief of mission to U.S. ambassador of Iraq April Glaspie. This placed him in the center of the crisis that resulted from the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait, which began on August 2, 1990. He was reportedly the last U.S. diplomat to have met with Iraqi president Saddam Hussein before the 1991 Persian Gulf War began in January 1991. Wilson told Hussein in no uncertain terms that he had to quit Kuwait immediately or face military consequences. Hussein scoffed at Wilson's demand, and subsequently sent him a letter in which he threatened to murder anyone harboring "foreigners" in Iraq. Wilson then publicly castigated Hussein for his threat, a rare move for a diplomat. As the war approached, Wilson provided refuge for more than 100 Americans at the U.S. embassy in Baghdad and was largely responsible for the orderly and safe evacuation of several thousand Americans from Iraq. President George H. W. Bush lauded Wilson's actions, calling him a "true American hero."

After holding several ambassadorial posts, Wilson served as the political adviser to the commander in chief of U.S. Forces, Europe (EUCOM), in Stuttgart, Germany, during 1995–1997. From 1997 to 1998, he served as special assistant to President Bill Clinton and senior director of African affairs for the National Security Council (NSC).

Wilson retired from government service in 1998 and began his own international consulting and management firm, JC Wilson International Ventures, Inc. He also began actively supporting numerous national Democratic lawmakers, including Senator Ted Kennedy, Representative Charles Rangel, and others.

Because of his lengthy diplomatic career, past dealings with Saddam Hussein, and expertise in African affairs, the Central Intelligence Agency sent Wilson on a clandestine mission to Niger in February 2002. His task was to ascertain the accuracy of reports that Saddam Hussein had attempted to purchase "yellowcake uranium" (enriched uranium) from Niger, which had become a key accusation of the George W. Bush administration as it built its case for war with Iraq. Wilson returned and concluded in a report to the Bush administration that it was "highly doubtful" that Iraq ever attempted to buy yellowcake uranium in Niger. Information showed that documents used to build this case were forged. However, in Bush's 2003 State of the Union Address, the president claimed that British reports (now presumed erroneous) indicated

that Hussein had recently attempted to purchase "significant" quantities of uranium in Africa. This was a significant part of the American case for war against Iraq.

Outraged by the Bush administration's clear repudiation of his report and chagrined by the rush to war with Iraq, which had begun in March 2003, Wilson wrote a controversial op-ed piece for the *New York Times,* published on July 6, 2003. Titled "What I Didn't Find in Africa," Wilson's article clearly spelled out the case for faulty intelligence on Iraq and castigated the Bush White House for exaggerating the Iraqi threat. The article also spelled out the general outlines of his 2002 trip to Niger. The following week, conservative columnist Robert Novak, in an attempt to discredit Wilson's article, revealed that Wilson's wife, Valerie Plame Wilson, was a covert CIA officer.

Novak's revelation precipitated an avalanche of accusations and recriminations, including Wilson's claim that the outing of his wife—an ethics violation as well as illegal—was part of an elaborate White House plan to discredit him and take the focus off of the faulty intelligence that had led to war. The revelation led to a federal investigation by the Justice Department, which convened a grand jury. Several of Bush's top aides, including Karl Rove, came within the investigation's crosshairs, as did those of Vice President Dick Cheney. Ultimately, in March 2007, I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby, Cheney's chief of staff, was found guilty of numerous offenses, including lying under oath and obstruction of justice. Bush commuted Libby's sentence, but the entire affair sullied the White House and added more fodder to the antiwar lobby's fire. No one else was implicated in the leak scandal, although it is quite likely that others besides Libby were involved.

Wilson and his wife, Valerie, brought a civil suit against Cheney, Rove, Libby, and several others, but the case was dismissed on jurisdictional grounds. In 2004, Wilson published a popular if incendiary book titled *The Politics of Truth,* which expanded his side of the story in the Valerie Plame Wilson incident and excoriated the Bush administration for its conduct in the lead-up to, and during, the Iraq War. The book raised the stakes in the Washington blame game and only added to the increasingly shrill and bitter recriminations surrounding the war in Iraq. Wilson continues to speak out against the war and to criticize the Bush administration.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Walker; Central Intelligence Agency; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Glaspie, April; Hussein, Saddam; Libby, I. Lewis; Niger, Role in Origins of the Iraq War; Rove, Karl; Wilson, Valerie Plame

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Wilson, Thomas Woodrow

Birth Date: December 28, 1856
Death Date: February 3, 1924

U.S. political leader and president of the United States, 1913–1921. Born on December 28, 1856, in Staunton, Virginia, Thomas Woodrow Wilson grew up in Augusta, Georgia, and in South Carolina. The son of a Presbyterian minister and seminary professor, he was raised in a strict religious and academic environment. Wilson studied history and politics at Princeton University, graduating in 1879. He then studied law at the University of Virginia for a year and passed the Georgia bar examination in 1882. Wilson practiced law for a time in Atlanta, but he abandoned it to earn a doctorate in constitutional and political history at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore in 1886. By then he had joined the faculty at Bryn Mawr College. In 1890 Wilson returned to Princeton, first as professor of jurisprudence and political economy and then as president of the university in 1902. Wilson won national acclaim for his academic reforms.

Turning to politics, in November 1910 Wilson won election as governor of New Jersey. His success in bringing about progressive reform to the state led him to become the Democratic Party standard bearer in the 1912 presidential election. That year, the Republican Party split, and Wilson won the election of November, defeating incumbent William Howard Taft as well as Theodore Roosevelt and Socialist Eugene V. Debs.

As president, Wilson was preoccupied with domestic policy and his "New Freedom," the belief that government should encourage free, competitive markets by discouraging all monopolies and relying on markets to regulate themselves. Wilson pushed through the Underwood Tariff, which reduced import duties by about one-fourth and increased the number of duty-free items. To compensate for the loss of revenue, Wilson introduced the federal income tax. On his initiative, Congress also passed the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, which created 12 regional Federal Reserve banks, supervised by a central Federal Reserve Board. Its primary duty was to regulate the volume of money in circulation in order to ensure a healthy economy and adequate credit. Ironically, some of these reforms ran counter to his earlier New Freedom philosophy. Wilson also secured passage in 1914 of the Federal Trade Commission Act, which brought about a new regulatory agency, the Federal Trade Commission, to ensure free competition. That same year Wilson signed into law the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, which prevented interlocking directorates and declared illegal certain monopolistic business practices. This act also provided that labor unions were not necessarily subject to injunction.

Wilson was not as successful in his foreign policy, where he sought to implement diplomacy based on morality and American exceptionalism. Wilson pledged that the United States would forego territorial conquests, and he and his first secretary of state, William Jennings Bryan, worked to establish a new relationship between the United States and Latin America, whereby Western

Woodrow Wilson was president of the United States during 1913–1921. He sought to pursue a foreign policy based on morality and hoped to avoid U.S. involvement in World War I. The structure of the ensuing League of Nations was primarily his work. (Library of Congress)

Hemisphere states would guarantee each other's territorial integrity and political independence.

Despite Wilson's best intentions to avoid conflict with U.S. neighbors, his distaste for political upheaval in Mexico led him to send forces to occupy Veracruz in April 1914. Incidents along the border caused him two years later to mobilize the National Guard and dispatch a regular army force into northern Mexico under Brigadier General John Pershing in a vain attempt to capture Mexican revolutionary Pancho Villa. Although the operation was unsuccessful in its stated intent, it did provide useful training for the army.

Wilson proclaimed U.S. neutrality when World War I began in August 1914, calling on Americans to be neutral in thought as well as action. Germany's submarine warfare brought the nation to the brink of war, however. The sinking of the passenger liner *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, which killed 128 American passengers, led Wilson to issue a series of threatening notes that compelled Germany to halt unrestricted submarine warfare. Yet, Wilson's stance was disingenuous, for the United States had for many months been actively aiding Great Britain and France with munitions deliveries and other trade that supported their war effort.

Although Wilson won reelection in 1916 primarily on the platform of having kept the United States out of the war, he had secured passage by Congress that year of the National Defense Act, which greatly enlarged the peacetime army and National Guard and provided for the establishment of reserve formations and the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC). German acts of sabotage against the United States and publication of the Zimmermann Telegram, in which the German government proposed an alliance with Mexico, alienated American opinion. When Germany resumed unrestricted submarine warfare on February 1, 1917, resulting in the sinking of U.S. merchant ships and the loss of American lives, Wilson addressed Congress on April 2, 1917, and requested a declaration of war, which Congress approved on April 6.

The old tradition of avoiding foreign entanglements was so strong that the United States never formally allied with the Allies. Wilson made it clear that the country was merely an "associated power," fighting the same enemy. Wilson also did not want to bind the United States to an annexationist peace settlement. With no military experience of his own, Wilson deferred to his military advisers. His directive to American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) commander Pershing (through his secretary of war, Newton Baker) was simply that Pershing was "vested with all necessary authority to carry on the war vigorously." Wilson instructed Pershing to cooperate with the forces of other countries fighting Germany, "but in doing so the underlying idea must be kept in view that the forces of the United States are a separate and distinct component of the combined forces, the identity of which must be preserved." Wilson supported Pershing in his refusal to have the Allies employ AEF units piecemeal, but when General Ferdinand Foch became supreme Allied commander in the crisis of the spring of 1918, Wilson made it clear that Pershing was subordinate to him.

Wilson's plan was to "make the world safe for democracy." He also unwisely referred to the conflict as "the war to end all wars." But Wilson was determined to keep the United States free of advance territorial commitments, and in January 1918 he announced his Fourteen Points as a basis of peace. These included "open covenants openly arrived at"; freedom of the seas; international disarmament; return of territory captured by the Central Powers, as well as the return to France of Alsace-Lorraine; an independent Poland with access to the sea; and a League of Nations. Although "self-determination of peoples," which Wilson believed would bring lasting peace to Europe, was not specifically one of the Fourteen Points, its basic principle was included in points 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, and 12 whose language used such phrases as "autonomous development," "interests of the populations concerned," "independent determination of political development and national policy," "recognizable lines of nationality," "freest opportunity to autonomous development," and "historically established lines of allegiance and nationality" in referring to the post–World War I disposition of Russia, Poland, Belgium, the Italian border, the former Austria-Hungarian Empire (including Czechoslovakia), the Balkan states, the Middle Eastern countries formerly part of the Ottoman Empire, and colonial claims of the Allied powers. Meanwhile, the United States tipped the balance of the scales on the battlefield in favor of the Allies, and Wilson played this to full advantage.

Following the armistice of November 11, 1918, Wilson unwisely decided to personally head the U.S. delegation to the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. By involving himself in the daily grind of negotiations, Wilson not only exhausted himself physically during the months of working out the treaty, but the specific agreements he made with the Allies immediately became presidentially approved U.S. policy, leaving little room for Wilson to work out any later compromises with Congress during treaty ratification. He traveled widely before the conference began and was lionized by the peoples of Europe. Wilson knew little of European affairs, and the very public adulation went to his head and convinced him that the peoples of Europe wanted him to be the arbiter of the peace and that they favored a settlement based on "right" rather than on narrow national self-interest. Although Secretary of State Robert Lansing accompanied Wilson to Paris, the president largely ignored him and other advisers. He also failed to include in the delegation key Republicans.

Although many countries participated in the Versailles Conference, the treaty process was largely controlled by the Big Three: Great Britain, France, and the United States. In Paris, Wilson developed a close working relationship with British prime minister David Lloyd George. The two men stood together on most key issues against French premier Georges Clemenceau, eager to ensure security for France, which had borne the brunt of wartime destruction and casualties. The League of Nations was based on an Anglo-American draft, and Wilson defeated French efforts to detach the Rhineland from Germany. The resulting Treaty of Versailles with Germany and general peace settlement was essentially Wilson's work.

Wilsonian internationalism also cast a long shadow over the Middle East, for its promises of a world free of spheres of influence and "self-determination" raised the hopes of many in the region that they would be able to control their own destinies. Such hopes were soon dashed. Indeed, the new states in the Middle East formed from the Ottoman Empire passed under British and French control as mandates, colonies in all but name. Wilson rejected any mandates for the United States and was loath to support colonialism; however, he compromised with Great Britain and France on the issue in order to achieve his greatest goal in the treaty, the League of Nations. Nonetheless, as a result of the peace settlement that he had helped craft, the Middle East became rife with pent-up nationalism and dissatisfaction with the Western powers. The result was decades of unrest, violence, and war.

By the time Wilson returned to the United States in July 1919, popular sentiment had moved toward isolationism. The Republicans, led by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, insisted upon restricting the power of the League of Nations. Even some Democrats wanted amendments. Already physically exhausted by his work on the treaty, Wilson embarked upon a cross-country speaking tour in an effort to sway public opinion, but suffered a stroke on October 2, 1919, which left him virtually incapacitated for the remainder of his administration. When he insisted that Democrats in the U.S. Senate reject any compromises in the agreements, the Senate refused twice to either ratify the Treaty of Versailles or enter the League of Nations. Wilson died in Washington on February 3, 1924.

Sugita Yoneyuki and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Article 22, League of Nations Covenant; World War I, Impact of

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Wilson, Valerie Plame

Birth Date: April 19, 1963

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) covert officer whose identity was leaked to the press in 2003, precipitating the long and contentious Valerie Plame Wilson incident. Valerie Elise Plame was born on April 19, 1963, in Anchorage, Alaska, the daughter of a career U.S. Air Force officer. She graduated from Pennsylvania State University in 1985 and began her career with the CIA that same year as a new trainee. Because of the clandestine nature of the CIA and Plame's work, few details on her 20-year career with the agency are known. What is known is that she worked in various posts, usually with a dual role: a public position and a covert one in which she concentrated on weapons proliferation and counterproliferation activities. The CIA sponsored her graduate studies, which resulted in a master's degree from the London School of Economics in 1991 and another master's degree from the College of Europe (Belgium) that same year.

Plame met Ambassador Joseph C. Wilson IV at a party in Washington, D.C., in 1997. The following year they were married. At the time of their courtship, Wilson was working in the West Wing as special assistant to President Bill Clinton and senior director of African affairs for the National Security Council (NSC). Wilson retired from government service in 1998 and began his own international management and consulting company.

Former Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operative Valerie Plame Wilson, shown here with her husband, former ambassador Joseph Wilson, on April 29, 2006, in Washington, D.C. Plame's identity and status as an undercover operative for the CIA were leaked to the media after her husband publicly criticized the George W. Bush administration's rationale for going to war with Iraq in 2003. (AP/Wide World Photos)

In February 2002 the George W. Bush administration and the CIA sent Wilson on a mission to Niger, where he was to ascertain the accuracy of reports that Iraq had attempted to purchase enriched (yellowcake) uranium from that nation. Wilson was well placed to do this given his extensive experience dealing with Saddam Hussein in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Upon Wilson's return, he stated in a report that there was no credible evidence that any Iraqi official tried to engage Niger in a scheme that would have resulted in the transfer of enriched uranium to Iraq. Nevertheless, the Bush administration continued to press this claim, and it was specifically mentioned in President Bush's 2003 State of the Union address. The Niger-Iraq connection was used as a major pretext for the war against Iraq, which commenced in March 2003.

Outraged by the Bush administration's continuing claims concerning the Niger-Iraq connection, Wilson wrote an op-ed piece that appeared in the *New York Times* on July 6, 2003. The article revealed his trip to Niger the year before and laid bare the administration's theory on the validity of the reports coming from Niger. He also asserted that the White House had knowingly exaggerated the Iraqi threat so as to legitimize its pretext for the Iraq War. Predictably, Wilson's article exercised the Bush administration and, if Wilson and Plame Wilson's allegations are true, triggered a deliberate attempt to discredit and sabotage them both, a plan that involved the West Wing and the staffs of both Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney.

On July 14, 2003, the syndicated conservative newspaper columnist Robert Novak wrote an article to counter Wilson's letter. In the *Washington Post,* Novak revealed that Wilson's wife was a CIA operative whose job was to work on issue of weapons proliferation and weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). That revelation, which presumably came from someone high up in the Bush administration, caused an instant sensation, as it is illegal for a government official to knowingly reveal the identity of a covert CIA officer. Besides sparking an acrimonious political atmosphere between Republicans and Democrats and between supporters of the war and antiwar activists, the revelation about Plame Wilson's identity triggered a federal investigation in the Department of Justice. The Wilsons immediately alleged that the leak was a purposeful attempt to retaliate against Ambassador Wilson for his op-ed piece.

After a tortuous investigation, a federal grand jury indicted Cheney's chief of staff, I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby, on several charges, including lying under oath and obstruction of justice. He was found guilty in March 2007, but Bush quickly commuted his sentence. No other Bush administrations officials were indicted or convicted in the Plame Wilson incident, but the investigation left a dark cloud over the White House during a time in which the Iraq War was going very badly. Interestingly, no one was actually indicted or convicted for having perpetrated the leak in the first place, although it has to be assumed that someone within the Bush administration, with top-secret clearance, did so. Some Bush supporters claim that Plame Wilson's clandestine activities were already known in Washington and that Wilson's op-ed piece was politically motivated and designed to discredit the president.

Wilson and Plame Wilson later brought a civil suit against those who were thought to be directly involved in the leak, including Cheney himself, but the case was denied on jurisdictional grounds. That case is now on appeal. Plame Wilson left the CIA in December 2005. She caused a stir in 2006 when it was reported that she was about to receive $2.5 million for her memoir. That figure, however, has never been verified by her or her publisher. Her detractors asserted that she was using the incident for personal gain. Others, however, argued that she had a right to tell her side of the story and that it might shed more light on the case. Plame Wilson encountered some difficulty with the CIA, which insisted that certain passages in her manuscript be rewritten before the book could be published. In October 2007 Plame Wilson's book was finally released, titled *Fair Game: My Life as a Spy, My Betrayal by the White House.* Despite the tantalizing title, the book did not shed any significant, new light on the Plame Wilson incident. Plame Wilson then embarked on a major speaking tour, promoting her book and relaying her side of the story.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Walker; Central Intelligence Agency; Cheney, Richard Bruce; Hussein, Saddam; Libby, I. Lewis; Niger, Role in Origins of the Iraq War; Wilson, Joseph Carter, IV

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Wojdakowski, Walter
Birth Date: March 29, 1950

U.S. Army general. Walter Wojdakowski (his last name appears erroneously in numerous news accounts as Wodjakowski) was born in Illinois on March 29, 1950. He was commissioned in the infantry upon graduation from the United States Military Academy, West Point. He subsequently earned a master's degree in business administration from the University of Alaska and another master's degree in military arts ands sciences from the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College. His military education also included the Army School of Advanced Military Studies and the Army War College.

Beginning as a platoon leader, Wojdakowski held a variety of command and staff positions. Completing Ranger training, he was later a Ranger instructor. He was also an instructor in the Military Science Department of the University of Alaska, Fairbanks. Later he commanded a battalion of the 2nd Armored Division at Fort Hood and took part in DESERT SHIELD/DESERT STORM, after which he was an instructor at the National Training Center, Fort Irwin, California. After attending the Army War College, he commanded the 11th Infantry Regiment at Fort Benning, Georgia (1993–1995). Following service as the commander, Operations Group, Combat Maneuver Training Center of the Hohenfels Training Area in Germany, he was assistant commandant of the Infantry School at Fort Benning during 1997–1998. Wojdakowski's next assignment was as chief of the Office of Military Cooperation, Kuwait. In 2000 he became assistant division commander of the 24th Infantry Division, Mechanized, and deputy commanding general of the U.S. First Army.

In September 2002 Major General Wojdakowski became deputy commanding general of V Corps. He then held the same position in the Combined Joint Task Force 7, redesignated the Multi-National Force–Iraq. It was in this capacity as chief deputy to Lieutenant General Ricardo Sanchez that Wojdakowski became aware of policies in place in the administration of Abu Ghraib Prison, which was administered by the U.S. Army. Brigadier General Janis Karpinski, Abu Ghraib's commander, later placed him at a meeting in November 2003 in which there was discussion of a Red Cross report citing cases of abuse at the prison. After the Abu Ghraib scandal broke, a report of an investigation into the role of senior officers that was headed by former defense secretary James Schlesinger faulted Wojdakowski as having "failed to initiate action to request additional military police for detention operations after it became clear that there were insufficient assets in Iraq." There is question as to whether Wojdakowski and Sanchez approved the use of dogs and other coercive measures to intimidate Iraqi prisoners prior to their interrogation.

In June 2005 Wojdakowski was named the commanding general of Fort Benning. He retired from the army in November 2008.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also
Abu Ghraib; Karpinski, Janis; Miller, Geoffrey D.; Sanchez, Ricardo S.

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Wojtyła, Karol Józef

See John Paul II, Pope

Wolf, John Stern
Birth Date: September 12, 1948

U.S. diplomat, ambassador to Malaysia (1992–1995), special adviser to President William J. Clinton on Caspian energy diplomacy (1999–2000), and assistant secretary for nonproliferation under President George W. Bush (2001–2004). Born on September 12, 1948, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, John Stern Wolf graduated from Dartmouth College in 1970 and entered the U.S. State Department that same year. Concentrating on international economics, he was a midcareer fellow at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University during 1978–1979.

Wolf's early foreign service assignments included postings in Australia, Vietnam, Greece, Pakistan, and Washington, D.C. He was principal deputy assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs from 1989 to 1992. He assumed the ambassadorship to Malaysia in 1992 and was confirmed as ambassador for Asia Pacific economic cooperation in February 1997, a post he held until 1999 at which time he went to work for the Clinton administration for a year as adviser on Caspian oil diplomacy. Ironically, on September 11, 2001, the day that Al Qaeda attacked the United States, President George W. Bush nominated Wolf to serve as assistant secretary for the Bureau of Nonproliferation.

From June 2003 to January 2004 Wolf served as chief of the U.S. Coordination Monitoring Mission in Jerusalem, where his primary task was to monitor implementation of the first phase of the Road Map to Peace. Sponsored by the United States, the European Union (EU), the United Nations (UN), and Russia, the Road Map to Peace set a path to final settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by 2005. The plan was meant to accomplish three things: end violence, transition to a provisional independent state of Palestine, and reach agreement on a comprehensive peace between the two countries living within secure borders. A cease-fire was a prerequisite for success, and many obstacles lined the road to peace in a region where cultural and religious differences have existed since biblical times. Extremist religious groups, including Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, repeatedly used terror and violence to derail peace efforts.

Wolf followed several well-known U.S. envoys who had failed to negotiate a comprehensive peace between the two historical enemies. That Wolf came with almost no Middle East experience was viewed by many in Washington as an asset. He was not identified with previous initiatives and would be in a position to encourage forward progress. Under the Road Map to Peace, both sides had parallel commitments to reduce violence, dismantle the terrorist infrastructure, build civic institutions, improve the quality of life for Palestinians, remove illegal outposts, and stop the construction of illegal settlements. Wolf thus introduced a series of benchmarks to measure progress. When either side failed to meet deadlines, Wolf encouraged it to get back on track. Neither side progressed far, however, and Israel in particular held back, claiming that it would not and could not implement measures to which it committed in the absence of visible Palestinian efforts to reduce terrorism and violence. Although some progress was achieved, terrorist attacks in the autumn of 2003 all but ended the initiative.

Wolf retired from the State Department in 2004 after 34 years of service and assumed the presidency of Eisenhower Fellowships on August 16, 2004. He has been active as a speaker and lecturer and is a frequent guest on television news. He currently resides in Philadelphia and Washington, D.C.

RANDY TAYLOR

See also

Bush, George Walker; Hamas; Islamic Jihad, Palestinian; Terrorism

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Wolfowitz, Paul Dundes

Birth Date: December 22, 1943

Neoconservative academic, U.S. assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs (1982–1986), and deputy secretary of defense (2001–2005). Wolfowitz was the chief architect of the Bush Doctrine that advocated preemptive strikes against potential threats to U.S. interests. Wolfowitz first proposed preemptive strikes against Iraq during the Ronald Reagan administration (1981–1989) and strongly advocated the 2003 Iraq War. Paul Wolfowitz was born in Ithaca, New York, on December 22, 1943. He graduated from Cornell University in 1965. He earned a doctorate in political science from the University of Chicago in 1972. His dissertation focused on the potential for nuclear proliferation in the Middle East.

Wolfowitz taught political science at Yale University from 1970 to 1972 and became an aide in U.S. Democratic senator Henry "Scoop" M. Jackson's 1972 and 1976 presidential campaigns. Wolfowitz began working in the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) in 1972 and studied policies related to the SALT I strategic arms limitation talks and the Henry Kissinger/Richard Nixon policy of détente. George H. W. Bush, then director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), formed a committee to which Wolfowitz, in his continuing capacity at the ACDA, was assigned as a member of a team that discredited both détente and SALT II. This work brought Wolfowitz's ideas to the attention of U.S. secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld and Governor Ronald Reagan of California.

In 1977 Wolfowitz became deputy assistant secretary of defense for regional programs in the Jimmy Carter administration and continued to develop his theory that the best way to prevent nuclear war was to stop conventional war. It was also during this time that Wolfowitz became convinced that the highly petroleum-dependent West was extremely vulnerable to disruptions in Persian Gulf oil. In studying the issue, Wolfowitz envisioned the possibility that Iraq might some day threaten Kuwait and/or Saudi Arabia, a scenario that was realized when Iraqi president Saddam Hussein ordered the invasion and annexation of Kuwait in August 1990. Wolfowitz determined that the United States had to be able to quickly project force into the region. His studies formed the rationale for the creation of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), responsible for the U.S. Rapid Deployment Forces that proved so important to the successful prosecution of the 1991 Persian Gulf War and the 2003 Iraq War.

Wolfowitz left the Defense Department in 1980 for a visiting professorship at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins University. He reentered public service in 1981, becoming the director of policy planning for the State Department, tasked with conceptualizing President Reagan's long-term foreign policy. Wolfowitz's distrust of Hussein resurfaced when Wolfowitz disagreed with the administration's

policy of covertly supporting Iraq in the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988). He also disagreed with the administration's sale of Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft to Saudi Arabia and its incipient dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

U.S. secretary of state George P. Shultz appointed Wolfowitz assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs in 1982, and in that capacity Wolfowitz urged the Reagan administration to support democracy in the Philippines. Wolfowitz believed that a healthy democracy was the best defense against communism or totalitarianism, a view that would again be reflected as part of the rationale for the 2003 Iraq War. He then served as U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Indonesia (1986–1989).

President George H. W. Bush named Wolfowitz undersecretary of defense for policy (1989–1993). In this post, Wolfowitz was responsible for U.S. military strategy in the post–Cold War era and reported to Defense Secretary Richard (Dick) Cheney. Wolfowitz disagreed with the decision not to overthrow Hussein in the 1991 Persian Gulf War (Operation DESERT STORM). Wolfowitz saw the decision as poor strategy, believing that this task would then have to be undertaken in the future. He also saw it as a betrayal of the Iraqi Shiites and Kurds, whom the United States had encouraged to revolt and then largely abandoned.

Wolfowitz left public service during the William J. Clinton presidency, returning to Johns Hopkins as dean of the SAIS from 1993 to 2001. He did not forgo politics, however, and in 1997 became a charter member of the Project for a New American Century (PNAC), a neoconservative think tank. Fellow charter members included Donald Rumsfeld, Dick Cheney, and Richard Perle. In 1998 Wolfowitz signed an open PNAC letter to Clinton urging a policy shift away from containing Iraq to a preemptive attack against Iraq. Wolfowitz later joined a group that advised the 2000 Republican Party presidential candidate George W. Bush on foreign policy matters.

Wolfowitz became U.S. deputy secretary of defense in 2001 and served in that capacity until 2005. It was in this capacity that he urged Bush to mount a preemptive strike on Iraq following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. This idea of preemptive strikes against potential threats, which Wolfowitz had first conceived during the Reagan era, came to be known as the Bush Doctrine. An American- and British-led military coalition invaded Iraq in March 2003, asserting in part that Iraq's alleged weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) were an imminent threat worthy of preemptive intervention. As the war dragged on and settled into a bloody stalemate and no WMDs were found in Iraq, Wolfowitz and his neoconservative cohorts were gradually shunted aside. Bush subsequently nominated Wolfowitz to be the 10th president of the World Bank Group, and he assumed the post on June 1, 2005.

Wolfowitz's tenure at the World Bank was almost immediately controversial, the result of several appointments he made that smacked of cronyism. His apparent romantic involvement with Shaha Riza, a Tunisian-born Middle East specialist employed as a communications director by the World Bank, raised many eyebrows. The relationship clearly violated World Bank guidelines that forbade relationships between supervisors and subordinates. Later investigations found that Wolfowitz had sought and received pay increases for Riza that ran counter to World Bank guidelines. By the spring of 2007, the World Bank's board of executives had begun to pressure Wolfowitz to resign. After weeks of resisting such pressure, he finally agreed to step down on May 17, effective June 30. Wolfowitz is currently a visiting fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. He is also involved in a number of international organizations and continues to serve as a consultant for the State Department.

RICHARD M. EDWARDS

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Bush Doctrine; Cheney, Richard Bruce; DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation; Hussein, Saddam; Iran-Iraq War; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation; Kurds; Kurds, Massacres of; Neoconservatism; Perle, Richard; Reagan Administration, Middle East Policy; Rice, Condoleezza; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry; Shia Islam; Shultz, George Pratt; United States Central Command; Weapons of Mass Destruction

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Women, Role of in Afghanistan and Iraq Wars

Women's participation in military operations greatly expanded in scope and experience during Operations ENDURING FREEDOM (the coalition effort in Afghanistan) and IRAQI FREEDOM (the Iraq War). More women deployed, performed a greater variety of occupational specialties, and were dispersed more widely across active theaters of operations than ever before in U.S. military history. According to figures produced by the Defense Manpower Data System, as of September 2006, 112,832 women had deployed to these two operations, representing 11.1 percent of the active duty personnel. This figure is nearly double the just more than 6 percent female personnel who deployed to the Persian Gulf region earlier in Operation DESERT STORM (1991).

The U.S. Air Force deployed the largest number of women, roughly 15.8 percent, trailed closely by the U.S. Army and the U.S. Navy at 11 percent and 11.1 percent, respectively. The U.S. Marine Corps reported just 3.4 percent. Although the prohibition of women in direct ground combat remains in effect, many women found themselves under fire while in transportation convoys, returning fire in defensive combat roles and performing the majority of all available military duties. Military necessity dispersed women to geographically diverse positions throughout the theater of operations.

U.S. Marine Corps sergeant Angailque Skean provides security during a cordoned search in Helmand Province, Afghanistan, July 28, 2009. Skean was a member of one of the highly effective Female Engagement Teams working to reduce Taliban influence among the Afghan population. (U.S. Department of Defense)

While American women have always participated in military operations, few routinely deployed to active theaters of combat. This limitation reflected not only societal norms and expectations but also legislative and policy restrictions. In 1993 U.S. secretary of defense Les Aspin, following legislative action by the U.S. Congress, removed policy restrictions that barred women from training for combat aviation missions. Female aviators flew combat missions in 1998 for the first time over the no-fly zone in Iraq. Moreover, by 1994 the Department of Defense had abolished the risk rule, which prohibited women from serving in ground combat support groups. This action opened the bulk of all military occupational specialties to female personnel. More recently, policy makers reviewed the prohibition of women in units engaged in direct ground combat missions in response to the increased strain on forces brought about by the extended deployment in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Currently women routinely participate in a wide variety of missions, and there are no prohibitions on temporary excursions into active areas of combat. Indeed, women are essential to maintaining the volunteer military, and the armed forces continue to regard females as an important target audience for recruiting efforts.

Although it is too early to identify the effect that this level of participation will exert on American women, gender relations, societal norms, and the military, there are some indicators of the direction that legacy may take. Increased claims of sexual harassment and incidents of sexual assault suggest that the services and the country they serve have not yet resolved the intricacies involved in integrating and deploying a two-gender operational military force. Some psychology professionals claim that women may be more susceptible to stress-induced conditions such as post-traumatic stress disorder and that they may require longer and more intensive treatment to fully recover, possibly placing women at a disadvantage in certain positions.

The increased number of deployed women with children calls into question the advisability of an expanded role for mothers, especially single mothers, in extended military deployments. Although military personnel who are parents designate alternative caregivers should their unit be deployed, policy makers and society may consider the individual effect on the well-being of children, given these long parental separations and the daily stress inherent with the realization for a child that her or his mother may be in harm's way. Other military analysts wonder if the American public is willing to accept larger numbers of female casualties or women as prisoners of war. Relatively small numbers of each thus far have not brought Americans face to face with these possibilities.

Finally, many observers question whether or not the ground combat exclusion is a valid concept in the era of modern warfare in which battles occur in virtually 360 degrees, the front lines are nonexistent, and the enemy neglects to respect civilian noncombatant status, let alone gender, as a relative factor in pursuing hostilities. These and other issues will be the legacy of women's increasing participation in U.S. military operations. The experiences of female soldiers, sailors, air personnel, and marines, along with those of their male counterparts during Operations ENDURING FREEDOM and IRAQI FREEDOM, will undoubtedly guide policy makers and military leaders as they strive to provide effective forces, equal opportunities, and comparable responsibilities for all U.S. military personnel.

DEBORAH KIDWELL

See also

ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; IRAQI FREEDOM, Operation

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Women, Role of in Persian Gulf War

Women constituted more than 7 percent of all U.S. military personnel in the 1991 Persian Gulf War, including Operation DESERT SHIELD and Operation DESERT STORM. Indeed, some 41,000 of the approximately 500,000 U.S. troops deployed to Iraq and Kuwait were female marines, soldiers, sailors, and air personnel. Of those servicewomen deployed to the Persian Gulf region, approximately 70 percent were from the U.S. Army, 10 percent were from the U.S. Navy, 6 percent were from the U.S. Marine Corps, and 14 percent were from the U.S. Air Force. The U.S. military stationed these women throughout the deployed area, and many accompanied their units across the border into Iraq and Kuwait during the air and ground combat phases of the campaign.

Female officers commanded brigade-, battalion-, company-, and platoon-size units in the combat support and combat service support areas. Moreover, enlisted women and officers fulfilled a wide variety of professional and technical positions, including traditionally male roles such as military police and guards. Although some units (the 24th Infantry Division, for example) reported a significant increase in female soldier pregnancies after the units were placed on alert for deployment to the Middle East—making the women therefore ineligible for deployment—government studies after the war assessed women's job performance favorably

Female troops serving in Operation DESERT STORM. Approximately 41,000 women were deployed by coalition forces during the Persian Gulf War, although they were largely restricted to noncombat roles. (Corel)

Women in the U.S. Military Deployed to the Middle East during the Persian Gulf War

Branch	*Number*	*Percentage*
U.S. Air Force	5,740	8.1%
U.S. Army	28,700	10.6%
U.S. Marine Corps	2,460	2.6%
U.S. Navy	4,100	2.7%
Total, all branches	41,000	7.1%

and reported a low occurrence of the potential problems generally identified with gender-integrated units.

Under the so-called risk rule, the military did not assign women to units whose mission was direct combat, defined as "closing with the enemy by fire, maneuver, or shock effect to destroy or capture, or while repelling assault by fire, close combat, or counterattack." However, the intent of the rule was not to ensure that women avoided all hostilities. The Direct Combat Probability Coding System ranked each unit's probability of engaging in direct combat from highest to lowest based on the unit's mission, current tactical doctrine, and battlefield position.

Although women were not generally assigned forward of the brigade rear boundary, no limits existed on temporary excursions to deliver supplies or repair equipment or during defensive combat operations. Thus, female personnel saw combat. Five women were killed in action, and 3 others fell victim to nonbattle deaths. In addition, 21 women were wounded in action, 2 were held as prisoners of war (POWs), and 4 female marines were awarded the Combat Action Ribbon.

Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM offered U.S. politicians and military leaders the first opportunity to assess the benefits and risks of gender-integrated military units during deployments that included thousands of women. The final report to Congress indicated that units with fully integrated female members performed vital roles under stressful battlefield conditions. The most profound legacy was the debate sparked over the appropriate role of women in military operations. Critics argued that females lacked physical strength, would negatively affect unit cohesion, would increase lost time and unit attrition due to pregnancy, and did not possess the ability to endure long deployments, hostile conditions, or POW status.

As a result of women's excellent service in the Persian Gulf War, the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 repealed the statutory limitations on female military personnel, and the secretary of defense subsequently removed the remaining policy limitations that disqualified women from assignment to missions on combat aircraft and naval war vessels. By 1998 women were eligible for an estimated 80 percent of the services' positions.

Policy makers continue to question if the exclusion of women from combat remains relevant on a modern battlefield, where the front lines are difficult to identify and constantly changing. Regardless, women are currently an important component of active duty and reserve forces and today serve in expanded roles inspired by their participation in Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM.

DEBORAH KIDWELL

See also

DESERT SHIELD, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation

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Woodward, Robert Upshur

Birth Date: March 26, 1943

American journalist, acclaimed investigative reporter, and chronicler of the George W. Bush administration following the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States. Robert (Bob) Upshur Woodward was born in Geneva, Illinois, on March 26, 1943, but spent his childhood in nearby Wheaton, Illinois. He graduated from Yale University in 1965 and was commissioned a lieutenant in the U.S. Navy. He left the navy in 1970.

Instead of attending law school as his father wished, Woodward went to work as a reporter for the *Montgomery Sentinel* before moving on to the much more prestigious *Washington Post* in 1971. The investigative work by Woodward and fellow *Washington Post* reporter Carl Bernstein on the June 1972 Watergate break-in ultimately led to revelations about President Richard M. Nixon's use of slush funds, obstruction of justice, and various dirty tricks that resulted in congressional investigations and the president's resignation in August 1974.

The Watergate Scandal made Woodward a household name and one of the most sought-after investigative reporters in the nation. He and Bernstein later wrote *All the President's Men,* which was later made into a movie starring Robert Redford and Dustin Hoffman, and *The Final Days,* covering their Watergate reporting. Woodward's work on the Watergate story garnered him a Pulitzer Prize. In 1979 the *Washington Post* promoted him to assistant

Robert Woodward, who, with fellow reporter Carl Bernstein, broke the story of the Watergate Scandal that forced President Richard Nixon from office. Woodward, shown here on May 7, 1973, has written a series of well-received books on the development of the George W. Bush administration's Iraq policy. (AP/Wide World Photos)

managing editor of the Metro section, and in 1982 he became assistant managing editor for investigative news. Woodward received a second Pulitzer Prize for his reporting on the attacks of September 11, 2001, and their aftermath.

Woodward's books are written in the voice of an omniscient narrator and are compiled from in-depth research, but they rely most heavily on extensive interviews with crucial principals. Most often, the subjects of these works have a natural interest in cooperating with Woodward. Without their input they are more likely to be portrayed poorly in the product. All of Woodward's books have received criticism from some commentators, who usually point to inconsistencies or contest the factuality of the interviews.

Woodward's *The Commanders* (1991) covered the George H. W. Bush administration's handling of the December 1989–January 1990 Panama invasion and the Persian Gulf War of 1991. In *The Agenda* (1994), Woodward examined the passing of President Bill Clinton's first budget. In *The Choice* (1996), Woodward covered the 1996 presidential election contest. In *Shadow* (1999), he examined how the legacy of Watergate has affected how five presidents have dealt with scandal since 1974. In 2000's *Maestro,* he analyzed the Federal Reserve Board; its chairman, Alan Greenspan; and the American economy. In 2005 following the death of Marc Felt, the anonymous source "Deep Throat" from Watergate, Woodward and Bernstein wrote *Secret Man,* giving new revelations about their Watergate experience.

Woodward has also written four books on the George W. Bush administration following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001: *Bush at War* (2002), *Plan of Attack* (2004), *State of Denial* (2006), and *The War Within: A Secret White House History, 2006–2008* (2008). Woodward received criticism for being allegedly excessively friendly to Bush and his agenda after the publication of both *Bush at War* and *Plan of Attack.* The third and fourth books, however, were far more critical of the Bush administration and its failings in the Iraq War. All of the books illustrate well the divisions within the White House and the Pentagon and the manner in which decisions were made within the Bush administration.

Woodward's *Plan of Attack* chronicles the Bush administration's reaction to September 11, the opening salvos in the Global War on Terror, and the planning and implementation of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, which saw U.S. and coalition forces topple the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. *Plan of Attack,* on the other hand, takes a more controversial slant by examining how, when, and

why Bush decided to go to war against Iraq in 2003 and remove Saddam Hussein from power. Woodward's main contention is that the Bush administration had planned on regime change in Iraq just weeks after the September 11, 2001, attacks, even though there was no evidence linking Hussein to these. In *State of Denial,* the journalist chronicled the many missteps, mistakes, and gaffes that turned the 2003 war in Iraq into an embarrassing quagmire. The book also showed how many members of the administration were in denial about their role in the debacle and refused to see the seriousness of the situation. The book came out less than a month before the November 2006 congressional elections, which swept the Republicans from power in both houses and brought about the forced resignation of Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.

In 2008 Woodward published *The War Within,* his fourth book on the Bush presidency. Woodward's conclusions were damning, claiming that Bush was detached and divorced from reality vis-à-vis the Iraq War and that he had left management of the conflict to his generals. Bush's troop surge strategy was purportedly postponed until after the 2006 midterm elections because the president did not want to hamper the Republicans' chances at the voting booth.

Woodward is such a part of the Washington establishment that it is sometimes difficult to say to what extent his interpretations are affected by conventional wisdom, as he is one of the primary shapers of conventional wisdom. Certainly, his painstaking interviews and investigative research have fully established his credentials as one of today's most keen and insightful observers regarding presidential policy formation.

Michael Beauchamp and Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Herbert Walker; Bush, George Walker; Desert Storm, Operation; Enduring Freedom, Operation; Iraqi Freedom, Operation; Neoconservatism; Rumsfeld, Donald Henry

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World Trade Center Bombing

Event Date: February 26, 1993

The first attempt by Islamist terrorists to destroy the World Trade Center complex, which failed to seriously damage the structure. At 12:18 p.m. on Friday, February 26, 1993, Islamist terrorists exploded a bomb in the underground garage, level B-2, of One World Trade Center (North Tower). They employed a yellow Ford Econoline Ryder rental truck filled with 1,500 pounds of explosives. The bomb was built using a mix of fuel oil and fertilizer with a nitroglycerin booster.

The conspirators were militant Islamists led by Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, who was of Kuwaiti and Pakistani descent with connections to the Al Qaeda terrorist organization. Yousef confessed to American authorities after his capture that they had selected the World Trade Center complex because it was "an overweening symbol of American arrogance." Other participants were Mohammed Salameh, Nidal Ayyad, Mahmud Abuhalima, and, to a lesser extent, the cleric Umar Abdul Rahman.

Beginning in January 1993, Yousef and his fellow conspirators began to locate and buy the ingredients for the bomb. They required everything, ranging from a safe place to work to storage lockers, tools, chemicals, plastic tubs, fertilizer, and lengths of rubber tubing. It took about $20,000 to build the bomb, although Yousef had wanted more money so that he could build an even bigger bomb. Most of the funds were raised in the United States, but some money came from abroad. Yousef's uncle, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, had sent him $600 dollars for the bomb. It

Survivors of the car bomb that exploded in a garage under the World Trade Center in New York City on February 26, 1993. They are being assisted by rescue personnel outside the building. Although horrific, this bombing paled in comparison with the devastation of September 11, 2001, when commercial airplanes hijacked by extremist Muslim terrorists crashed into the buildings, killing thousands. (AP/Wide World Photos)

was Yousef's intention for the explosion to bring down the North Tower of the World Trade Center complex; its impact on the South Tower, he hoped, would bring it down also. This expectation was too high, however, as the North Tower shook in the explosion but withstood its force without major structural damage.

Despite the force of the explosion, casualties were relatively low. The bomb produced a crater 22 feet wide and five stories deep within the garage structure. The force of the explosion came close to breaching the so-called bathtub, a structure that prevented water from the Hudson River from pouring into the underground areas of the complex and into the subway system. If this breach had occurred, the resulting catastrophic loss of life would likely have eclipsed the losses from the subsequent attacks on September 11, 2001. Six people—John DiGiovanni, Bob Kirk-Patrick, Steve Knapp, Bill Backo, Wilfredo Mercado, and Monica Rodriguez-Smith—were killed in the attack, and more than 1,000 were injured.

The New York City Fire Department responded with 775 firefighters from 135 companies, but they arrived too late to do anything but tend to the wounded and carry away the dead. It took nearly 10 hours to get everyone out because the elevators shorted out in the explosion and power to the staircases failed. Evacuations took place in the dark and in the midst of heavy smoke. The tower was repaired at a cost of $510 million, and the complex reopened in less than one month. The bombing was significant in revealing how vulnerable the World Trade Center complex was to terrorist attacks.

At first investigators believed that a transformer had blown up, but once they began examining the site it became obvious that a large bomb had detonated. Within five hours the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the New York City Police Department had confirmed that the explosion had been caused by a bomb. The next question was determining responsibility for the blast. There had been 20 calls to the police claiming responsibility, but this was not unusual. At first it was believed that the deed was the work of Balkan extremists upset with U.S. policy there, but the investigation was just beginning.

Within weeks the investigating team of 700 FBI agents had identified or arrested all of the World Trade Center bombers. What broke the case was the discovery of a unique vehicle identification number on the frame of the Ryder truck. From that number they learned that Salameh had rented the van because he had reported the van stolen and was trying to recover the $400 deposit. Salameh was arrested while trying to collect the deposit. Investigators then turned to identification of his fellow conspirators, and Yousef was finally determined to be the leader of the plot.

By the time authorities had identified Yousef as the leader and maker of the bomb, he was already in Pakistan planning other operations. Ultimately a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and FBI team captured him there, but not before he had initiated several other plots. Yousef had always been a freelancer, but there was evidence that he had connections with Al Qaeda operatives before and after the World Trade Center bombing.

Following a series of trials, the participants in the bomb plot were found guilty and received life sentences. Yousef was sentenced to 240 years in solitary confinement.

Stephen E. Atkins

See also

Mohammed, Khalid Sheikh; September 11 Attacks; Yousef, Ramzi Ahmed

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World War I, Impact of

World War I (1914–1918) was perhaps the most important political event in the evolution of the modern Middle East. The issues that fuel the current Arab-Israeli dispute and the unsettled conditions in the Persian Gulf and North Africa originated during World War I and its immediate aftermath. The war had three notable effects on the development of what would become an ongoing war between Arabs and Zionists in Palestine. The first was the destruction of the Ottoman Empire and its division into a number of smaller political units that ultimately became independent states in the modern Middle East. The second was the assumption of direct administrative responsibility for the territories in and around Palestine by Britain and France, two of the victors in that war. The third was the British declaration of support for the central goal of the Zionist movement, a Jewish homeland in Palestine. This was accomplished with the 1917 Balfour Declaration.

World War I had larger consequences not only in Palestine but also in the region that stretched from the Dardanelles through North Africa as a whole. The war stimulated nationalism among the area's indigenous peoples through the Allied-supported revolt among the Bedouin tribes on the Arabian Peninsula, and through the many British military reversals at the hands of the Turks (at Gallipoli and Kut in 1915 and 1916, respectively), which demonstrated that the West was not invincible and boosted pride among the Turks. Nationalism was also stoked by Arab resentment at Allied intrigues to divide the region among themselves. Moreover, the declaration of jihad (holy war) by Turkish sultan Abdul Hamid on November 11, 1914, marked the first time that a Muslim leader had ever taken such a step against any of the Great Powers. The proclamation caused concern among the Allies, particularly the British, about the potential effects on the empire's Muslim subjects. Political and economic developments in Egypt and French

North Africa also stimulated Arab nationalism and resentment of Western rule.

The war accelerated political and social trends that had been eroding the strength of the Ottoman Empire for the preceding century and a half. Meanwhile, the Great Powers of Europe had been steadily expanding their influence in Turkish-controlled areas. Britain's worldwide influence and its strategic presence in the Middle East had grown considerably since the construction of the Suez Canal in 1869. Indeed, safeguarding the route to India was a cornerstone of British policy in the Middle East. As such, the British sought to dominate the territories near Suez and the Persian Gulf—Egypt, Palestine, and Iraq—in order to keep their passage to India and the Far East secure. France, for its part, sought to control Syria and Lebanon to safeguard the Maronite Christian population and give France a presence in the eastern Mediterranean. France also controlled French Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia in Northwest Africa. Italy, having wrested Tripolitania from the Ottoman Empire during the Italian-Turkish War of 1911–1912, sought to consolidate and expand its control over the remainder of Libya. Czarist Russia sought an opening through the Dardanelles and the protection of Orthodox Christian sites in Jerusalem. Germany wanted to influence the region and tap its resources through the construction of the Berlin-to-Baghdad railway.

In addition to the growing encroachment of the European powers, the Ottoman Empire faced growing ethnic unrest among its minority populations. This was particularly the case among the Armenians, the growing Jewish population in Palestine (most of whom were fleeing persecution in Russia), and the Bedouin Arab tribes in the Arabian Peninsula.

The outbreak of war in August 1914 and the Turkish entry into the conflict on the German side in September along with wartime developments greatly accelerated the process of Ottoman disintegration. Wartime privations and Turkish repression (manifested in the Armenian massacres of 1915 and in intensified persecution of Jews in Palestine) triggered nationalist feelings and hatred of the Turks among these minorities. The British, hoping to take advantage of this, encouraged unrest among Arabs throughout the Ottoman Empire by promising them support for independence. At the same time, however, the British were negotiating postwar spheres of influence in the Middle East with the French. This was effected through the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement, which recognized France's sphere of influence in Syria and Lebanon and British predominance in Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq. Later, Italy and Russia would also become parties to these clandestine machinations.

The idea of instigating a revolt against the Turks among the Arabs originated with the British high commissioner in Egypt, Sir Henry MacMahon, in November 1914 and gained momentum with British military defeats at Gallipoli and Kut in 1915 and early 1916. With the Turks still threatening Suez and the British unable to make any headway in Sinai, the British command in Cairo needed to find some way to tie Turkish troops down. The British also hoped to undermine the sultan's proclamation of jihad.

In July 1915 Emir Abdullah Hussein, the sharif of Mecca, notified MacMahon of his willingness to initiate an Arab revolt if Britain would support an independent Arab state under Hussein after the war. MacMahon agreed, although he avoided any explicit promises about the exact borders of any such future state. Hussein hesitated to call for open revolt. The Turks' decision to reinforce their Medina garrison in June 1916 and the unrest that increase caused finally convinced Hussein to proceed.

Hussein and his oldest son, Emir Faisal, moved to attack the Hejaz Railway and isolate Medina. In October the British appointed as liaison to the Arabs Thomas Edward Lawrence (who would become immortalized as Lawrence of Arabia), an officer in the Arab Bureau in Cairo who spoke fluent Arabic and had a reputation for intense pro-Arab sympathies. Lawrence formed a close relationship with Faisal, whom Lawrence viewed as the most promising of the Arab leaders. The relationship eventually led to Faisal attending the 1919 Paris Peace Conference as spokesman for the Arab cause and Lawrence accompanying him as his adviser.

The importance of the Arab Revolt in British Middle East strategy grew after the failure of the drive to take Gaza in March 1917. The British provided arms and naval transport across the Red Sea to further the Arab uprising. Faisal and Lawrence provided leadership, with both men proving adept at guerrilla warfare. The Arabs cut rail lines, tied down thousands of Turkish troops in the Hejaz, and made a renewed British offensive across the Sinai and into Palestine possible. The most dramatic moment of the uprising occurred in August 1917 when Lawrence led a force of 2,000 Arabs across some of the worst desert in the Arabian Peninsula and seized the vital port of Aqaba by surprising the Turkish garrison with an attack from the landward side. Aqaba's capture secured the flank of the British forces in Palestine and opened the way for an offensive by the British and their Arab allies into Jordan and Syria.

Lawrence then made an equally dramatic journey across the Sinai to Cairo to report to the British command on the capture of Aqaba and the success of the Arab uprising. With Aqaba under Allied control, British forces, now commanded by General Edmund Allenby, launched a new offensive against the Turks in Gaza and Palestine that resulted in the capture of Jerusalem on December 11, 1917. The British were now in a position to attack into Jordan and Syria. At the same time, a renewed British drive in Mesopotamia succeeded in capturing Baghdad.

While in Cairo, Lawrence learned of the Sykes-Picot agreement, which threatened the prospects for Arab independence. On returning to the Hejaz, Lawrence urged Faisal—whose Arab forces were to support Allenby's upcoming attack into Jordan and Syria by protecting the British right flank—to push into Syria and Jordan, hoping that Britain and France would not be able to deny them Arab land that they already controlled. Just before the end of the war, in October 1918, the Arab army, with Faisal and Lawrence in the lead, captured Damascus, further muddying an already confused political situation.

Arab guerrillas led by Englishman T. E. Lawrence in the desert in July 1917. The Arab Revolt against the Ottoman Empire during World War I failed to achieve true independence for Arab states in the Middle East. (HultonArchive/Getty Images)

Anglo-French imperial ambitions had thus run head-on into growing Arab and Jewish nationalism. The fall of the Ottoman Empire destroyed the state that had united Turks, Arabs, Armenians, and Jews within a single political and social framework for more than four centuries. Its disappearance brought the emergence of a variety of competing nationalist movements that offered their citizens alternate approaches of constructing their political identities and their cultural communities. Many times, one movement's goals were diametrically opposed to those of another. British pledges to the Arabs and their support for uprisings on the Arabian Peninsula fueled Arab nationalism that was to translate into resentment of Allied duplicity and a sense of betrayal when Britain and France established League of Nations mandates in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine after the war.

Britain's postwar difficulties with Palestinian Arabs were greatly compounded by the Balfour Declaration. Of all the wartime promises made by the British, the Balfour Declaration would have the most far-reaching consequences. In July 1917 British foreign secretary Arthur Balfour placed a notice in the *Times of London* promising British support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Based on a draft written by Baron Edmund de Rothschild (although Balfour modified it considerably before publication), it stated that the British government viewed favorably the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. The declaration avoided any mention of a Jewish state and stated clearly that there was to be no impingement on the civil and religious rights of indigenous non-Jewish populations.

Why the British chose to support Zionist ambitions in 1917 has been the subject of considerable controversy among scholars and analysts of British wartime Middle Eastern policies. Clearly, a number of factors were involved. Some observers have emphasized the strategic benefits that the British government believed Britain would derive from Jewish settlement in Palestine. Many British policy makers believed that a Jewish national homeland in Palestine, surrounded by a large Arab population and dependent on Britain for support and security, would provide an ideal safeguard for the Suez Canal and the route to India. Others argue that the British had one eye on influential Jews in the United States, particularly prominent Zionists such as Louis D. Brandeis and Felix Frankfurter who were close to the Woodrow Wilson administration. In this view, the British government was influenced by a patrician form of anti-Semitism that overestimated Jewish influence in the United

States. Other viewpoints emphasize intense lobbying efforts by Zionist leaders, particularly Chaim Weizmann; fears that Germany might take over the Zionist movement; or efforts by Allied policy makers to reach out to the leaders of the Russian Revolution, many of whom were Jewish. No doubt all of these played a role.

Whatever the reasons behind Balfour's action and however careful the declaration's wording, the declaration ultimately poisoned Arab-Jewish relations in Palestine and undermined Britain's credibility in both communities. The leadership of the Zionist movement and the Jewish community in Palestine took the declaration as a British commitment to a Jewish state in the long run and as support for unlimited Jewish immigration to Palestine in the short run.

The Palestine, Mesopotamian, and Arabian campaigns of 1917–1918 were significant military victories for Britain. The many promises that British officials made to so many conflicting groups, however, put them in a precarious political position. Arabs, both in Palestine and in the wider Middle East, saw both the Balfour Declaration and the Sykes-Picot Agreement as a great betrayal and evidence of Britain's lack of good faith. Arab nationalism now took on an intensely anti-British and anti-Western bent that could not be contained by the fragmented postwar order of protectorates dominated by the British and the French. The administrators of the British Mandate for Palestine were plagued by intensifying communal violence between the growing number of Jewish settlers and the indigenous Arab population. Nationalistic feelings in both Arab and Jewish camps—intensified by the persecution and suffering during World War I and, in the case of the Jews, fueled by persecution in Europe—simply could not be reconciled. British and French wartime measures taken to aid the Allied war effort against the Ottoman Empire opened a Pandora's box that has not been closed.

The war also had long-term effects in North Africa west of Suez, although political unrest took differing forms and revolved around different issues. In the years before the war, Muslim leaders in French North Africa had pursued legal equality in assimilation into metropolitan French society. During the war years Muslim leaders stepped up their agitation for legal equality. This was true in North Africa as it was elsewhere; however, the French bitterly opposed nationalist agitation in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia (the so-called Maghreb) especially. Efforts by Germans agents to foster Bedouin uprisings in the Maghreb early in the war failed. There were scattered rebellions among Berber tribesmen throughout the war, often in reaction to recruiting for the military and labor in metropolitan France, but these outbreaks were too small and localized to cause much concern.

British troops march through the Jebel Hamrin Mountains during the Mesopotamian Campaign in 1917. World War I ended with Britain and France as the dominant foreign powers in the Middle East. (National Archives)

Wartime conditions in France generated extensive economic and social change in Northwest Africa. Before the war's outbreak, no French Third Republic government had given serious consideration to French North Africa's potential as an asset in a general European war. As the war continued, heavy casualties and the drain on manpower grew more desperate. Spurred by heavy recruiting campaigns by the French government, more than 130,000 people from Algeria, French Morocco, and Tunisia immigrated to France, mainly to take jobs in war factories. In addition, about 85,000 (mostly Algerian) men volunteered for the ground forces. The growing importance of French North Africans to the war effort raised hopes among their leaders that France would grant them full legal equality and French citizenship. Various Algerian organizations, such as the Mouvement de la Jeunesse Algérienne that had been active before the war intensified their demands, which fell on receptive ears in the government and parliament. In November 1915 future premier Georges Clemenceau proposed far-reaching reforms for Algeria that would have granted Algerians French citizenship without requiring them to renounce Islam.

These proposed reforms encountered fierce opposition from conservative colonialist elements and French colons in Algeria. They feared that concessions would lead to more demands for independence in North Africa and economic and social equality in France to the detriment of white Frenchmen. The Franco-Algerians also emphasized their sacrifices, claiming that Frenchmen did not die to open the way for what they feared would be Muslim dominance of France. Conservatives succeeded in limiting wartime reforms, and North Africans in the military and industry were subject to discrimination. Workers were kept in the most physically demanding and worst-paid jobs. The government also segregated them from other workers in order to minimize sexual contact with French women, a scenario completely alien to the colonialist value system. French resentment of the immigrants combined with fears—particularly among French soldiers—that Frenchmen were being socially and sexually marginalized led to frequent outbreaks of racial violence. Such incidents became more frequent in 1917 and 1918 as war weariness caused domestic morale to deteriorate.

In the post–World War I years the lines hardened between reformers and conservative French colonialists (supported by a growing fascist movement in France in the 1930s). Newer, more radical movements gained a wider following among younger Muslims who resented wartime racial discrimination that they had experienced during the war and among the Arab masses as a whole. This trend was most noticeable in Algeria but was also gaining momentum in Morocco and Tunisia. Although political unrest in Northwest Africa was minimal compared to that in the eastern Mediterranean, there were more ominous signs for the future. As with the British, the French were caught between conflicting promises. Another far larger and more disastrous war would bring these social divisions to a head and lead to the transformation of Muslim reform movements. By 1946 they would be heavily influenced by nationalism and would begin demanding full and unequivocal independence.

Walter F. Bell

See also

Arab Nationalism; Balfour Declaration; Bedouin; Mandates; Sykes-Picot Agreement; World War II, Impact of

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World War II, Impact of

World War II directly affected the Middle East in the considerable fighting in the region but even more so indirectly in terms of decolonization, the spread of Arab nationalism, the growing importance of the region's oil resources, and the impact of Great Power rivalries that sprang from the war. For good or ill, the United States and the Soviet Union became the major players in the region. Nothing is more emblematic of the change in importance of the region than photographs of King Abdul Aziz bin Abdul Rahman Al Saud (Ibn Saud) of Saudi Arabia meeting as an equal with U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt aboard the U.S. Navy cruiser *Quincy* in Egypt's Great Bitter Lake on February 14, 1945.

North Africa was a major theater of war, particularly from 1940 to 1943, and combat there involved Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria. Fighting also occurred in the Horn of Africa, and there was limited combat in Syria and Iraq. The war brought decolonization, which most keenly affected Great Britain and France. Not only had much of each power's empire been cut off from the mother country during the conflict, but at least in the case of France portions of the empire had kept the war alive in

its name. Clearly, the peoples of the French and British empires expected to be rewarded for their loyalty during the war. Charles de Gaulle recognized the necessity of a changed relationship between France and its empire during a meeting at Brazzaville in January 1944 that resulted in a declaration heralding the need for political, social, and economic reforms. Independence did not come all at once of course, nor did Britain and France intend it for all. Thus, France considered Algeria, with its large European population, to be an integral part of France as three French departments, even as the Muslim majority there did not enjoy equal rights.

Opposition to European rule brought some violence at the end of the war, as in Syria. There also was a bloody uprising in Sétif in May 1945 in Algeria that may have claimed as many as 10,000 lives, and in Madagascar a major uprising against French rule claimed between 11,000 and 80,000 lives. It was impossible not to recognize how the war had shattered myths of European military invincibility. The French had been forced to give in to Japanese demands in Indochina, and the British were humiliated in Malaya. The Japanese victory in the Battle of Singapore has been called one of the greatest military disasters in British history. After the war, the peoples of the British and French empires sensed their masters' weakness and were far less likely to be satisfied with slow evolutionary change. Of course, declarations of basic human rights by such organizations as the United Nations (UN) gave cachet to their aspirations.

Many in Britain and France were loath to give up their empires. This was most pronounced in France. It is said that it is hard for the weak to be generous, and France in 1945 was very weak indeed. It had suffered a humiliating defeat and occupation at the hands of Germany, and only with its empire could it still be counted as a major power after the war. This and the fact that Indochina was France's wealthiest colony help to explain the determination of the French to hold on to their Southeast Asian empire, even if it meant war. The same might be said of the British in Burma (today Myanmar). The British were also slow to yield some imperial privileges; thus, not until 1956 did they agree to cede their remaining bases in Egypt.

Of course, the most difficult problem in the Middle East became that of resolving the conflict between Arabs and Jews. In September 1939 the political situation in Palestine was at best troubled. British authorities had largely tamped down the Palestinian Arab Revolt of 1936–1939, but there was still considerable unrest. The British did try to win some Arab support by clamping down on Jewish immigration, and this brought acts of terrorism by Jewish extremists against British authorities. Indeed, a three-way struggle ensued as Jews and Arab fought the British occupier and each other. Toward the end of the war the British actually diverted warships to keep Jews out of Palestine, and yet pressures grew afterward—especially from the United States, which had the world's largest Jewish population—for the British to admit the survivors of the Holocaust. Some 6 million European Jews had died in the Nazi-inspired genocide, and there was worldwide support for resettling the few survivors in Palestine and also to permit establishment of some sort of Jewish state that might protect the interests of Jews in the future.

Arab nationalism remained relatively dormant during World War II, the British having made some concessions in Egypt and elsewhere. There was fighting between British forces and the Iraqi Army in Iraq and between British, British Empire, and Free French forces against Vichy France forces in Syria. Both of these conflicts were prompted largely by fears of spreading German influence in the region and the threat this might pose to the supply of oil.

The war left Britain and France financially and militarily exhausted. Prime Minister Clement Attlee in Britain, whose Labour Party came to power in Britain as a consequence of its stunning surprise victory in the July 1945 elections, was determined to reduce its imperial commitments, particularly those that seemed to be especially volatile. The haste to divest certain colonial holdings brought great bloodshed in both the Empire of India and in Palestine. In the case of the latter, when Britain was unable to arrange a partition agreement between Jewish and Arab leaders, it simply walked away from its guardianship responsibilities. The British government set a deadline of May 15, 1948, for the departure of its troops and the end of the mandate. Anticipated by all, on May 14 Jewish leaders in Palestine proclaimed the establishment of the new State of Israel, and the first Arab-Israeli war immediately began.

As a newcomer to the Middle East, the United States sought during the war to secure regional stability to ensure the flow of oil and war supplies to and through the region, including Lend-Lease assistance, to the Soviet Union. To help expedite Lend-Lease aid, during the war Soviet forces occupied northern Iran, while the British had moved into southern Iran. Little thought was given in Washington to the tensions that would surface at the end of the war. The focus was always on ending the war as quickly as possible and with as little cost in American lives as possible. Thus, Roosevelt assured Ibn Saud that the United States did not support the Zionist aspiration of a Jewish state in Palestine, and the Roosevelt administration acquiesced in British efforts to restrict immigration into Palestine, even with proof positive of the Holocaust. American public opinion helped force a change in policy after the war, prompted by the all-too-horrible revelations of Jewish wartime suffering. In 1948 the United States was the first nation to recognize the new State of Israel (closely followed, as it turned out, by the Soviet Union).

In time, American policy shifted from a hands-off approach to stalwart support of Israel while still claiming to be even-handed as far as the Arabs were concerned. U.S. support for the new Jewish state included arms shipments that made Israel by far the most powerful regional military power. The Soviet Union meanwhile largely reversed course to oppose Israel and to arm the Arab states against it. The theme was thus struck on which the Cold War in

the Middle East would be played out, a theme that would make the region one of the most volatile in the world.

Walter F. Bell and Spencer C. Tucker

See also

Arab-Israeli Conflict, Overview; Arab Nationalism; France, Middle East Policy; Middle East, History of, 1918–1945; Middle East, History of, 1945–Present; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present; World War I, Impact of

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Y

Yeltsin, Boris Nikolayevich
Birth Date: February 1, 1931
Death Date: April 23, 2007

Soviet reform politician during the last years of the Soviet Union and first elected president of Russia (1991–1999). Born on February 1, 1931, in Butka in the Sverdlovsk Oblast in the Ural Mountains, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin graduated from the Urals Polytechnical Institute in 1955 as a construction engineer. He joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1961 and worked on various construction projects in the Sverdlovsk area until 1968.

Yeltsin rose through the party ranks in the Sverdlovsk Oblast Party Committee. He was elected the region's industry secretary in 1975 and first secretary in 1976. During 1976–1985 he moved through the national ranks of the CPSU. He served as a deputy in the Council of the Union (1978–1989), a member of the Supreme Soviet Commission on Transport and Communication (1979–1984), a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (1984–1985), and chief of the Central Committee Department of Construction in 1985. The new CPSU general secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev, summoned Yeltsin to Moscow in April 1985 as part of a team of reform-minded party members.

Gorbachev asked Yeltsin to reform the Moscow City Committee. Yeltsin began to clear the city's Party Committee of corrupt officials, which endeared him to Muscovites. Eventually he became dissatisfied with the slow pace of the perestroika reforms and openly criticized the CPSU officials. This was directed at the power base of Yegor Ligachev, who endorsed a moderate party-led reform. In 1987 Yeltsin resigned to force Gorbachev to take sides. Gorbachev needed Yeltsin to counterbalance Ligachev's growing skepticism and rejected Yeltsin's resignation, asking him to curb his critiques.

Yeltsin ignored Gorbachev's plea. Thus, Gorbachev allowed Ligachev to continue the campaign against Yeltsin, which finally led to Yeltsin's dismissal as first secretary of the Moscow Party Committee. In 1988 Yeltsin was also expelled from the Politburo, but he remained in Moscow as the first deputy chair of the State Committee for Construction.

Yeltsin went on to win a landslide victory in the newly established Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialistic Republic (RSFSR) in March 1989. In May 1990 he became chairman of the RSFSR. By June 12, 1990, the RSFSR, along with the other 14 Soviet republics, had declared its independence. Yeltsin was directly elected to the newly created office of president of the now-independent RSFSR on June 12, 1991. He then demanded Gorbachev's resignation. Gorbachev refused to step down but did agree to sign a new union treaty in late August 1991.

Hard-line conservative forces within the CPSU tried to prevent the signing of the treaty, which would lead to the dissolution of the Soviet Union. On August 19, 1991, the conservatives dispatched troops to key positions around Moscow and held Gorbachev under house arrest. Yeltsin climbed atop one of the tanks surrounding the parliament building, denounced the CPSU coup as illegal, and called for a general strike. The troops sent to quell the demonstrations refused to take action against the demonstrators, instead joining them. Yeltsin and his supporters remained in the parliament building as they rallied international support. For three days thousands of people demonstrated in front of parliament, holding off an expected attack on the building.

The failed putsch and massive street demonstrations quickly destroyed the credibility of Gorbachev's perestroika and glasnost reforms. On December 24, 1991, the RSFSR and then later Russia took the Soviet Union's seat in the United Nations (UN) Security

Council. The next day Gorbachev resigned, an act that officially dissolved the Soviet Union. Yeltsin, as president of Russia, immediately abolished the CPSU. In the meantime, he had negotiated with the leaders of Ukraine and Belarus to form the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) as a federation of most of the former Soviet republics.

With a stagnating economy and a hostile legislature and having survived an attempted coup (1993), Yeltsin was not expected to win reelection in 1996. However, he staged an amazing comeback. Under Yeltsin, Russia's foreign policy in the Middle East became something of a tightrope act. Throughout the 1990s Russia's Middle East primary focus was on Iran and Turkey. These nations were key to Russian economic growth (trade, oil issues, arms sales) and were crucial to the delicate balancing act that Moscow had to employ in Transcaucasia and Central Asia, where a Russian war in Chechnya and a civil war in Tajikistan worried Russian policy makers greatly. At the same time the Kremlin sought to maintain influence in the Persian Gulf without alienating the United States, Iraq, and other nations in the region. Yeltsin's policies saw the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict as a distant third in its list of Middle East priorities, but by the end of the 1990s the Kremlin viewed Israel as one of its strongest partners in the region, and by then the two nations were engaged in significant trade exchanges. Yeltsin's Kremlin also sought to stop the takeover of Afghanistan by the Taliban, an endeavor in which Russia cooperated with Iran but to little effect.

Despite becoming increasingly unpopular and suffering from ill health due to years of alcoholism, Yeltsin continued as president of Russia until December 31, 1999, when he surprisingly named Vladimir Putin acting president. Yeltsin died in Moscow on April 23, 2007.

Frank Beyersdorf

See also

Gorbachev, Mikhail; Russia, Middle East Policy, 1991–Present

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Yemen

Middle Eastern nation located in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula with an estimated 2000 population of 23.013 million people. Yemen's total area encompasses 203,846 square miles. Yemen borders Saudi Arabia to the north, Oman to the east, the Arabian Sea and the Gulf of Aden to the south, and the Red Sea to the west. Not far off the western and southern coasts of the country are the East African nations of Eritrea, Djibouti, and Somalia.

Since 1918, Yemen had been divided into North Yemen and South Yemen. In 1970, when South Yemen declared itself a Marxist state, many hundreds of thousands of Yemenis fled north. This precipitated a civil war between the two states that would endure for 20 years. Not until 1990 did the two states reconcile, forming a single state known as the Republic of Yemen. Since then, there have been several unsuccessful attempts by groups in southern Yemen to secede from the republic. The most serious secessionist move came in 1994.

Yemen's population is overwhelmingly Muslim and of Arab ethnicity, and Arabic is the official language. Of the nation's Muslims, about 52 percent are Sunni Muslims and 48 percent are Shia Zaydi Muslims. The Sunnis live principally in the southern and southeastern parts of the country. Yemen has one of the world's highest birthrates, and as a result its population as a whole is quite young. Indeed, some 47 percent of the population is 14 years old and under, while less than 3 percent of the population is older than 65. The median age is 16.

Yemen is a representative republic that has a popularly elected president and a prime minister appointed by the president. The executive branch shares power with the bicameral legislature. The legal system in Yemen is a mix of Islamic law, Ottoman Turkish law (a vestige of the Ottoman Empire), English common law, codes derivative from Anglo-Indian law, and local tribal law (known as *urf*). Ali Abdullah Salih has served as president of the Republic of Yemen since the 1990 unification. Before that, he had served as the president of North Yemen since 1978.

Recorded human habitation in the region of Yemen can be traced as far back as the ninth century BCE. Its strategic location on the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden has made it an important crossroads for East-West trade as well as trade from Asia to Africa. Around the seventh century CE, Muslim caliphs began to exert their influence over the region. They gradually ceded authority to dynastic imams, who retained the caliph's theocratic government until the modern era. Over the centuries, Egyptian caliphs also held sway in Yemen. The Ottoman Empire controlled some or most of Yemen sporadically between the 1500s and 1918, when the empire crumbled as a result of World War I. Ottoman influence was most keen in northern Yemen. In southern Yemen, imams tended to control the local scene but were usually overseen to some extent by the central authorities in Constantinople (Istanbul).

In October 1918, with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, Imam Yahya Muhammad declared northern Yemen to be independent. Rebels seized power in September 1962. They proclaimed a republic, which precipitated an eight-year-long civil war. The conflict pitted royalist supporters of the imamate against republicans. In southern Yemen until 1967 the British dominated, having established a protectorate in Aden in 1839. Soon, the British created a formal colony that incorporated Aden and southern Yemen. As such, the British had great command of the strategic waterways of the region. After World War II, however, Yemenis

A view of the skyline of Sanaa, the capital of Yemen. Sanaa is one of the oldest continuously inhabited sites in the world, and its ancient city walls still stand. (Zanskar/Dreamstime.com)

in the southern region came to greatly resent the British presence, and before long they had organized an anti-British insurgency with aid from the Egyptians.

Several attacks against British interests sponsored by Egypt's government under Gamal Abdel Nasser in addition to insurgents from northern Yemen essentially forced the British out in 1967. The former British colony of Aden now became South Yemen. In 1970 the South Yemen government declared a Marxist state and aligned itself with the Soviet Union. As a result, several hundred thousand Yemenis from the south fled to North Yemen, overwhelming that nation's resources. Southern Yemen did nothing to stop the mass exodus.

Before 1962 the ruling imams in North Yemen pursued an isolationist foreign policy. North Yemen did have commercial and cultural ties with Saudi Arabia, however. In the late 1950s the Chinese and Soviets attempted to lure North Yemen into their orbit with technological missions. By the early 1960s, North Yemen had become dependent upon Egypt for financial and technical support. Later still, the Saudis supplanted the Egyptians as the main conduit of support. During the civil war the Saudis backed the Imam and his tribal supporters, while Egypt and the Soviet Union aided the republicans. In the 1970s and 1980s, many Yemenis from the north found jobs in neighboring Saudi Arabia, boosting North Yemen's flagging economy. A large number of Yemeni men also immigrated to the United States for jobs.

After 1967 when South Yemen declared itself a Marxist state (with ties to the Soviet Union), it maintained tense—and sometimes hostile—relations with its conservative Arab neighbors. In addition to the ongoing conflict with northern Yemen, insurgents from South Yemen engaged the Saudis in military actions first in 1969 and again in 1973 and also openly aided the Dhofar Rebellion (1962–1975) in Oman.

After the 1990 unification, the Republic of Yemen has generally pursued a pragmatic foreign policy. It is a member of the Non-Aligned Movement and is a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and attempted to stay impartial during the 1991 Persian Gulf War and subsequent wars in the Middle East. Its noncommittal stance in these areas, however, has not endeared it to the Persian Gulf states or Western nations.

Yemen is among the poorest nations in the Arab world. The long civil war of 1962–1970 wrought great havoc on an already struggling economy, and the agricultural sector has been hit by periodic droughts and male depopulation for work abroad. Coffee production, once a mainstay among northern Yemeni crops, has fallen off dramatically. The port of Aden in southern Yemen suffered dramatic curtailments in its cargo handling after the 1967

Six-Day War and the British exit that same year. Since 1991, the return of hundreds of thousands of Yemenis from other Persian Gulf states because of Yemen's refusal to aid the Western coalition in the Persian Gulf War brought with it staggering unemployment. Reduced aid from other nations at this time and a brief secessionist movement in 1994 conspired to keep Yemen's economy depressed. Yemen does have significant oil deposits, but they are not of the same quality as Persian Gulf oil and thus have not brought in a windfall profit. Yemen does have major natural gas reserves, but that industry remains underdeveloped.

As of 2009, the Yemeni government continues to struggle with high inflation, excessive spending, widespread corruption, and Islamist militants. Indeed, at least three different types of Islamic militants have waged a persistent low-level insurgency in Yemen, which the government has been unable to curtail. As a result, the kidnapping of foreigners in Yemen has remained an intractable problem. The October 12, 2000, terrorist attack on the U.S. Navy destroyer *Cole* at anchor in Aden's harbor, in which 17 U.S. sailors perished, strained U.S.-Yemeni relations for several years. Although the attack was reportedly planned by Al Qaeda, Washington was not entirely satisfied with the level of cooperation from the Yemeni government during the subsequent investigation. Washington has also disagreed with Yemen's decision to grant amnesties and its efforts to reeducate militants in jail.

In December 1992 Aden was the epicenter of another bombing, which some attribute to Al Qaeda, when bombs were detonated at two fashionable tourist-oriented hotels. The explosions killed two people. It is not clear whether these actions were by a cell affiliated with Al Qaeda or were the actions of a different militant group targeting Western and U.S. interests in Yemen because the United States had billeted troops there and replenished naval ships in Aden's port.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Al Qaeda; *Cole,* USS, Attack on; Egypt; Houthi, Hussein Badr al-Din al-; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Saudi Arabia; Yemen, Civil War in; Yemen Hotel Bombings

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Yemen, Civil War in

Start Date: 1962
End Date: 1970

Civil conflict in northern Yemen (Yemen Arab Republic) that lasted from 1962 until 1970. Often known as the North Yemen Civil War, the conflict arose from a 20-year opposition movement in Yemen to the authority of the descendents of Imam Yahya, who had ruled Yemen since its independence from the Ottoman Empire. The most important office in Zaydi Islam is that of imam, and in Yemen it is a religious and political position that can only be held by one of the *sada* (sayyids), individuals descended from the Prophet Muhammad. In recent centuries, the imams came from only certain families of the *sada,* such as Bayt al-Qasim, Bayt Sharaf al-Din, Bayt al-Wazir, and Bayt Hamid al-Din (the family of Imam Yahya).

On October 30, 1918, following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, Imam Yahya Muhammad declared Yemen to be independent. In 1926 he declared himself king of the Mutawakkilite Kingdom of Yemen. Among his goals was the imposition of Sharia (Islamic law) over all of Yemen, a difficult task because the tribes usually relied on *urf* (tribal law). To cement his authority, Yahya also sought to weaken the tribes politically and militarily so as to retain power. This would also serve to diminish the threat posed to the Hamid al-Dins from the other great families. Imam Yahya also wanted to secure for his kingdom parts of historic Yemen that had been taken by the British, such as Aden and Asir. There was considerable opposition to Yahya over his domestic policies, and the opposition factions to him united and assassinated him in 1948.

A usurper held power for several months, but Yahya's son, Ahmad bin Yahya, secured power. His reign saw growing repression as well as tension with Britain over the continued efforts to create a Greater Yemen by expansion to the south. In March 1955 Ahmad was briefly deposed in a coup led by army officers and two of his brothers, but it was soon reversed.

To bolster his position, Ahmad entered into a formal military pact with Egypt in 1956 that placed Yemeni military forces under a unified command structure. That same year, Ahmad also named his son, Sayf al-Islam Mohammed al-Badr (known as Muhammad al-Badr), as crown prince and heir apparent. Ahmad also established formal ties with the Soviet Union.

In 1960 Ahmad left northern Yemen to seek medical treatment. In his absence Crown Prince Badr began to implement several reform measures that his father had promised to implement but that had as yet gone unfulfilled. Outraged that his son made such moves without his knowledge or assent, Ahmad promptly reversed the measures when he returned home. This action did not, of course, endear him to his subjects, and several weeks of civil unrest ensued, which the government quashed with a heavy hand. The 1955 coup attempt and growing resentment toward Ahmad rendered the last years of his rule both paranoid and reactionary.

Ahmad died on September 19, 1962, and was followed by Crown Prince Badr as both imam and king. One of Badr's first official acts was to grant a blanket amnesty to all political prisoners who had been imprisoned during his father's reign. Badr did so in hopes of maintaining power and keeping the kingdom's detractors at bay. But his tactics did not stave off discord. Indeed, just a week later on September 27, Abdullah al-Sallal, commander of the royal

Yemeni royalist forces man a recoilless rifle on the crest of Algenat Alout in 1964 during the civil war. The North Yemen Civil War of 1962–1970 erupted after army officers successfully staged a coup against Yemeni leader Muhammad al-Badr in 1962. Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser eventually sent 75,000 troops to support the coup against the Saudi-sponsored royalists. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

guard who had just been appointed to that post by Badr, launched a coup in the capital city of Sanaa.

The rebels, supported by a half dozen tanks and several artillery pieces, proclaimed the establishment of the Free Yemen Republic. They seized key locations in Sanaa, including the radio station and armory. They also moved against Dar al-Bashair Palace in the capital of Sanaa. The Imamate Guard there rejected demands that they surrender, and fighting began, with the defenders surrendering the next day. This coup, however, brought on a full-blown civil war. Meanwhile, an insurgency continued against the British in southern Yemen.

Despite a radio announcement by the new government that he had been killed in the shelling by the rebels of the palace, Badr escaped to the northern reaches of Yemen, where he received the support of tribes allied to his family and loyal to him as imam. Badr was also supported by the conservative Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which bordered Yemen on the north. At the same time, Sallal received military assistance from Egypt. Indeed, Egyptian General Ali abd al-Hamid arrived in Sanaa on September 29 to assess the needs of the new revolutionary government, and as early as October 5 an Egyptian battalion had arrived there to act as a personal guard for Colonel Sallal. Apparently, Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser, reeling from the breakup of the United Arab Republic with Syria, hoped that Egyptian support for a republican victory in Yemen would recoup his prestige in the Arab world as well as deliver a rebuff to Egypt's rival Saudi Arabia.

Nasser soon discovered that many more troops would be required than initially thought. The number of Egyptian forces in Yemen steadily increased, to a maximum of some 55,000 men in late 1965. In so doing, Cairo ignored repeated warnings by Ahmed Abu-Zayd, Egyptian ambassador to royalist Yemen during 1957–1961, that the Yemenis lacked a sense of nationhood, that no Egyptian combat troops should be sent there, and that any aid should be limited to equipment and financial support. As well as underestimating the situation on the ground, Nasser failed to understand the depth of sentiment in Saudi Arabia regarding Egyptian intervention, which the Saudi royal family saw as a direct threat to its domination of Yemen and the other Persian Gulf states.

By the mid-1960s, the imamate's supporters had also secured the help of Iraq, Jordan, Pakistan, Iran, and Britain as well as covert assistance from Israel, while the Soviet Union and several other communist bloc nations supported the republican side. The conflict also became politicized along Cold War lines, with the United States, Great Britain, and many other Western powers siding with the royalists. On several occasions, the United Nations (UN) attempted to mediate an end to the bloodshed, but the regional and international dynamics of the struggle made this an almost impossible task.

Egyptian forces initially performed poorly in Yemen. The paucity of maps, an unfamiliarity with the terrain, and a lack of knowledge of local conditions all impeded their effectiveness. The Saudis did not have this problem, as they and the northern Yemeni tribes were closely related. In January 1964, royalist forces even laid siege to Sanaa.

Egyptian air strikes on Najran and Jizan within Saudi Arabia, staging areas for the Yemeni royalist forces, threatened a direct shooting war between Egypt and Saudi Arabia. U.S. president John F. Kennedy responded to appeals by supplying air defense systems to the Saudis. He also dispatched U.S. aircraft to the Dhahran air base in the kingdom, demonstrating an American commitment to defend Saudi Arabia against Egyptian attack.

Although Egyptian tactics gradually improved, to include the extensive use of airpower in a ground support role, the war settled into a protracted stalemate and was a huge drain on the Egyptian treasury and military. Indeed, the presence in Yemen of so many well-trained troops and much equipment was greatly felt in the June 1967 Six-Day War with Israel. Nasser desperately wanted a mutual withdrawal of Egyptian and Saudi forces, and his excuse came with Egypt's ignominious defeat in the Six-Day War.

The two Yemeni sides decided to strike a compromise, in part because they wished to rid themselves of their foreign supporters. By 1969, both sides had agreed that the first step to ending the war would be the withdrawal of all foreign troops. This formed the basis for a subsequent agreement on April 14, 1970. The agreement specified a republican form of government but one that would include some royalists. The Zaydi imam, Muhammad al-Badr, agreed to go into exile. (He lived in Britain until his death in 1996.) Discussion continued about creating a constitutional imamate.

As part of the peace settlement, Nasser was compelled to begin troop withdrawals from Yemen. That same year, the British withdrew from southern Yemen. This was an extremely significant time for Yemen that brought to the fore a number of intra-Yemeni conflicts, with south Yemen greatly impacted by socialist doctrine.

The North Yemen Civil War left deep scars on that country's society and politics that were a long time in healing. It is estimated that the eight years of war claimed the lives of 100,000–150,000 people. Border clashes continued between the two Yemen states, however. Finally, on May 22, 1990, following protracted and difficult negotiations, the two Yemen states united as the Republic of Yemen.

In the unification, the heavily socialist southern Yemen had to come to terms with the tribally dominated northern Yemen. Tensions continued as a result of past policies. For example, support from Saudi Arabia strengthened the tribes who supported salafism, and the Yemeni government employed these tribes against its other enemies, especially the Shia al-Houthi rebellion also supported by tribal elements. There is today in Yemen considerable support for the al-Qaida fi Jazirat al-Arabiyya (Al Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula) movement. There have also been border clashes with Saudi Arabia, resulting in the construction of barriers between the two countries.

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See also

Egypt; Egypt, Armed Forces; Houthi, Hussein Badr al-Din al-; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; Saudi Arabia; Saudi Arabia, Armed Forces; Shia Islam; Soviet Union, Middle East Policy; United Kingdom, Middle East Policy; United States, Middle East Policy, 1917–1945; United States, Middle East Policy, 1945–Present; Yemen

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Yemen Hotel Bombings

Event Date: December 29, 1992

The bombing of two hotels in Aden, Yemen, on December 29, 1992, attributed to the terrorist organization Al Qaeda in Yemen. Long before the events of September 11, 2001, the Al Qaeda group centered in Afghanistan and Pakistan was well known to intelligence experts. It carried out or was linked to a number of attacks on Western interests, including the bombings of the World Trade Center in February 1993, the U.S. embassies in East Africa in August 1998, and USS *Cole* in Yemen in October 2000. Al Qaeda in Yemen, a separate organization, has also been active within that country. One of its least-known and earliest plots unfolded in December 1992, aimed at Western hotels in Yemen.

The hotel bombings came at the end of a year that had witnessed considerable terrorist activity in the country. In April, the Yemeni justice minister was seriously wounded by a gunman while driving in the capital city, Sanaa. In June, the brother of Yemeni prime minister Haydar Abu Bakr al-Attas was assassinated in the city of Mukalla. In a separate incident the same month, an adviser to the minister of defense was killed by unknown assailants. Throughout the spring and summer of 1992, several top officers in the Yemeni military were also assassinated or mysteriously killed.

That August and September, bombs went off at homes and offices of leading Yemeni government officials.

Westerners were also targeted in the terror spree. In September and again in November 1992, small bombs detonated near the U.S. embassy, while another exploded just outside the German embassy in October. Yemeni officials released little information on the incidents to the world press, just as other countries such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia had not readily admitted opposition activity. Members of the Yemeni Islamic Jihad were eventually arrested for some of the attacks.

The larger attacks came on December 29, 1992, when bombs went off at two major hotels in the city of Aden. One exploded at the Gold Mohur Hotel, frequented by foreigners. A second bomb went off in the parking lot of the Aden Movenpick Hotel, adjacent to where U.S. military personnel were staying en route to assist with relief operations in Somalia. It is believed that the attacks were in protest of American soldiers being billeted in Yemen and the perceived Westernization of Aden, a major international port and the economic capital of the country.

Two people—an Austrian tourist and a Yemeni hotel worker—died in the first attack. Several dozen were wounded, including two suspected terrorists involved in the second attack. They turned out to be Yemenis trained in Afghanistan, where Al Qaeda had camps for an international network of operatives. There were no casualties from the second bombing. In response to the incidents, U.S. forces stationed in Aden were withdrawn by December 31.

Six men were eventually arrested in connection with the bombings, but all managed to escape from jail in July 1993. This development led to allegations that Yemeni government officials had connections to the terrorists and had aided in their escape. Two of the terrorist bombers involved in the hotel bombings later took part in other terrorist plots, including the attack on USS *Cole* that killed 17 U.S. sailors.

ARNE KISLENKO

See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; *Cole,* USS, Attack on; Terrorism; Yemen

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Yeosock, John J.

Birth Date: March 18, 1937

U.S. Army general and commander during Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM of the U.S. Third Army and simultaneously commander of Central Command Army Forces (ARCENT), which included British and French army forces. John J. Yeosock was born in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, on March 18, 1937. His poor eyesight prevented him from attending the U.S. Military Academy, West Point. After graduation from Pennsylvania State University in August 1959 with a degree in industrial engineering, he entered the U.S. Army through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC).

Assigned to the armor branch, Yeosock first served in company-grade troop commands and staff positions in the 3rd Cavalry Regiment and 2nd Infantry Division in the United States and West Germany. From January 1966 to May 1967 he served as an adviser in Vietnam.

Yeosock was subsequently assigned as an operations research/systems analyst in the Management Information Systems Directorate of the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff of the Army in Washington, D.C., and then as an analyst for Project Manager Reorganization in the Office of the Chief of Staff of the Army. In June 1973 Yeosock returned to the field as commander of the 3rd Squadron, 3rd Cavalry Regiment, stationed in Fort Bliss, Texas. From July 1976 through July 1978 he served as the chief of force development, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, J3, United Nations Command, United States Forces, Eighth U.S. Army, Korea.

Beginning in September 1978 Yeosock commanded the 194th Armored Brigade, Fort Knox, Kentucky. In February 1980 he became the chief of staff of the 1st Cavalry Division, Fort Hood, Texas.

Promoted to temporary brigadier general on June 1, 1981, Yeosock served as project manager for the Saudi Arabian National Guard Modernization Program. His rank became permanent on January 22, 1982. Thereafter he returned to the 1st Cavalry Division as the assistant division commander. Yeosock assumed duties as the deputy chief of staff, operations, U.S. Army Forces Command, Fort McPherson, Georgia, in January 1984. Promoted to major general on October 1, 1984, he again returned to Fort Hood and commanded the 1st Cavalry Division from June 1986 to May 1988.

In June 1988 Yeosock was assigned as assistant deputy chief of staff for operations and plans, Headquarters, Department of the Army. Promoted to lieutenant general on March 16, 1989, he assumed the positions of commanding general, U.S. Third Army, and deputy commanding general, Forces Command. Within the U.S. Army hierarchy of commands, assignment to Third Army was given to generals who were soon to retire. No one expected that it would soon become the premier combat assignment in the entire army.

Following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, under Yeosock's command Third Army began deploying from its headquarters in East Point, Georgia, in August 1990 to Saudi Arabia to assume its role as the army component and senior Army headquarters within ARCENT. The first objective was to defend Saudi Arabia against a possible Iraqi invasion. Initially it was the XVIII Airborne Corps that received this defensive mission. In November 1990 massive reinforcements, including the tank-heavy VII Corps from Germany, gave the Third Army offensive capability. The buildup marked the largest U.S. deployment of armored forces since World War II. Before the war, Yeosock's major responsibilities involved managing the buildup, arranging logistical support,

and resolving disputes among his subordinates. He handled these tasks well. However, many officers at CENTCOM and back in Washington doubted that he had the capacity to command two corps in combat.

In mid-February 1991 Yeosock had to fly to Germany for emergency gall bladder surgery. He insisted on returning to his command just before the ground offensive began on February 24. The Third Army attack was scheduled to commence after the marine offensive along the coast had pinned the Iraqis in position. On the eve of hostilities, Third Army comprised two corps. The XVIII Airborne Corps was an unusual formation with a mechanized infantry division, an air assault division, paratroop units, and one French light division. The VII Corps had four American divisions and one British division. Both corps also had an attached armored cavalry regiment. Planners intended for Third Army to serve as the major strike force for Operation DESERT STORM. Operating on the left flank, the army would sweep into southern Iraq on the morning of February 25, turn east, and defeat the elite Iraqi Republican Guard units. The original plan called for two days to breach the forward Iraqi defense and another six or so days to destroy the Republican Guard.

The rapid marine breakthrough and advance on Kuwait City upset this plan, however. CENTCOM commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf asked Yeosock to advance one day ahead of schedule because it appeared that the Iraqis were already fleeing Kuwait. Yeosock complied, but he still expected fierce resistance. Consequently, the VII Corps attack proceeded cautiously. Third Army's slow pace of advance infuriated Schwarzkopf and contributed to the escape of substantial Iraqi forces from Kuwait. After the war, critics complained that Yeosock had been intimidated by Schwarzkopf and consequently had failed to assert his authority as commander of CENTCOM's ground forces. Yeosock retired in August 1992 at the rank of lieutenant general.

JAMES ARNOLD

See also

DESERT STORM, Operation; DESERT STORM, Operation, Ground Operations; Schwarzkopf, H. Norman, Jr.

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Yousef, Ramzi Ahmed

Birth Date: April 27, 1968

Kuwaiti-born terrorist and mastermind of the World Trade Center bombing on February 26, 1993. Ramzi Ahmed Yousef was born Abd al-Basit Mahmud Abd al-Karim on April 27, 1968, in Fuhayil, Kuwait, the son of a middle-class engineer. Yousef was raised in a strict Wahhabist environment. His uncle was Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, a major figure in the September 11, 2001, terror attacks. In 1986 Yousef went to Great Britain to study English and engineering; from there he went to Afghanistan in 1988, ostensibly to help fight with the mujahideen against Soviet forces. Instead, he spent most of his time in Peshawar, the site of an Al Qaeda training camp. He attended a university in Afghanistan and became a member of a local Muslim Brotherhood cell. Yousef went to Kuwait, probably in late 1989, and took a job with the Kuwait government. But Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 forced him to leave the country, and he subsequently settled in Quetta, Pakistan.

Sometime soon after he relocated to Pakistan, Yousef decided to focus his efforts on waging jihad against the West. Despite his father's strict Wahhabism, Yousef was not very religious. He was, however, upset over the plight of the Palestinians. In 1990–1991 Yousef attended another Al Qaeda training camp and began to plot terrorist acts against Israel.

Realizing that pulling a successful terrorist assault in Israel would be very difficult, Yousef instead turned his sights on the United States. His first target was to be the New York World Trade Center, which he hoped to destroy with a massive truck bomb.

In early 1992 Yousef traveled to the United States. Lacking a proper visa, he filed for religious asylum with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). When he was denied the request, he was briefly arrested but then released on his own recognizance. His INS hearing was scheduled for December 1992, but he never appeared. Although he was then in the United States illegally, no efforts were made to track him down.

Within days, Yousef became associated with other extremist Muslims in New York's al-Kifah Refugee Center in Brooklyn. There, according to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Yousef came under the influence of Sheikh Umar Abdel Rahman, who was preaching in Brooklyn and was alleged to have been planning terrorist attacks in the United States. While at the refugee center, Yousef recruited like-minded militants, including Mahmud Abu Halima, his chief coconspirator, to help him plan and execute the bombing of the World Trade Center, with the goal of destroying the complex and killing as many as 250,000 Americans.

Yousef was unable, however, to finance a bomb that would cause the damage he sought, so he settled on a 1,500-pound bomb hidden in a rented van, which would be driven into an underground parking garage and detonated. His accomplices were successful in getting the explosives-laden truck into the garage, and it detonated on the morning of February 26, 1993. The attack killed 4 people, wounded more than 1,000 others, and caused $30 million in damage.

When the bomb went off, Yousef had already fled the United States for Pakistan. Once there he began to plot more attacks, including flying bomb-laden planes into the Pentagon and other U.S. government buildings. Allegedly, his uncle Khalid Sheikh

Mohammed met with Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden in 1996 and detailed his nephew's plans to him. Meanwhile, Yousef helped carry out terror attacks in Pakistan, Iran, and Thailand. Sometime in 1994 he moved to the Philippines, where he hatched plots to assassinate Pope John Paul II and U.S. president Bill Clinton.

An ingenious bomb maker, Yousef tried—and almost succeeded—in blowing up several jetliners, including an American aircraft, in 1994 and 1995. When Philippine intelligence became suspicious of Yousef's activities in Manila, he fled the country and returned to Pakistan. In his hasty departure, he left behind a computer, which Philippine authorities used to link him to various terrorist attacks. That also led them to detain one of Yousef's lieutenants, who later detailed his chief's involvement in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing.

In February 1995 Yousef was arrested in a hotel in Islamabad. The Pakistani government immediately turned him over to U.S. authorities, who extradited him to the United States. Yousef was tried twice, once for his attempts to blow up American jetliners and once for his role in the World Trade Center bombing. In September 1996 he was found guilty in the jetliner conspiracy and was sentenced to life in prison without the possibility of parole. In February 1997 he was convicted on all counts for his involvement in the World Trade Center bombing. A judge sentenced him to 247 years in prison and a $4.5 million fine and also placed strict limits on his prison visits.

There has been much speculation about how much direct involvement Yousef had with Al Qaeda. The best guess is that he operated largely on his own, and although he had more than coincidental connections to Al Qaeda, it seems unlikely that he received funding from the organization.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Al Qaeda; Bin Laden, Osama; Mohammed, Khalid Sheikh; Terrorism; World Trade Center Bombing

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Yuhanna, Michael

See Aziz, Tariq

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Zahir Shah, Mohammad
Birth Date: October 16, 1914
Death Date: July 23, 2007

Last king of Afghanistan. Born in Kabul, Afghanistan, on October 16, 1914, Mohammed Zahir Shah was a member of one of the two Pashtun lines that had ruled Afghanistan for two centuries. Educated in France at the Pasteur Institute and the University of Montpellier, he became king (shah) on November 8, 1933, when his father, King Mohammad Nadir Shah, was killed in his presence during an awards ceremony in Kabul. For the next two decades, Zahir Shah reigned but did not rule, in effect ceding power to his paternal uncles.

Zahir Shah resumed direct rule in 1963. The next year he introduced a constitutional monarchy and broadened participation in government. Other changes included greater rights for women, including education. Such changes, particularly the latter, were not popular in his conservative Islamic country.

Zahir Shah ruled directly for a decade. Although the country was at peace, many faulted the king for the poor state of the economy, and a leftist political opposition movement gained momentum. Political unrest and a severe drought resulted in a military coup in 1973 while Zahir Shah was in Italy receiving medical treatment for an eye problem. The army placed in power his cousin, Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan, whom the king had dismissed as prime minister a decade earlier. Rather than see his country swept up in civil war, Zahir Shah abdicated.

Zahir Shah remained in exile in Italy, and in 1991 he escaped an assassination attempt. He could only watch as his country was torn apart by political unrest, the Soviet invasion in 1979, and then a decade-long war. The radical Islamic student militia known as the Taliban took control of the country in 1996, remaining in power until 2001 when American-led coalition forces drove them out. On the return of democracy to Afghanistan, many called for a restoration of the monarchy, but by now the king was in his eighties and frail. He returned to Afghanistan in 2002 after three decades in exile, but rejected the idea of becoming king. He announced that he was willing to become head of state as president if that was asked of him. However, that did not occur, and he vowed not to challenge Hamid Karzai for that position. The new Afghan constitution granted Zahir Shah the title of "father of the nation," and many Afghans affectionately referred to him simply as "Baba" or "grandfather." He died in Kabul on July 23, 2007, following a prolonged illness.

SPENCER C. TUCKER

See also

Afghanistan; ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation; Karzai, Hamid; Soviet-Afghanistan War; Taliban

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Zaidan, Muhammad

See Abbas, Abu

Zammar, Muhammad Haydar
Birth Date: 1961

An Al Qaeda operative who recruited the key leader of the September 11, 2001, terror attacks. Muhammad Haydar Zammar, who has extensive experience as a fighter for Islamist causes, was born in 1961 in Aleppo, Syria. When he was 10 years old his family moved to West Germany. After high school he attended a metalworking college; his goal was to work for Mercedes-Benz. He then traveled to Saudi Arabia, where he worked for a time as a translator. After returning to Germany, he found a job as a truck driver in Hamburg.

Zammar's strong religious views led him to abandon truck driving in 1991 and travel to Afghanistan, where he underwent Al Qaeda training. Upon returning to Germany he spent all of his time as a freelance mechanic and traveled around Europe and the Middle East. He volunteered to fight in Bosnia in 1995, and after leaving Bosnia in 1996 he visited Afghanistan, where Osama bin Laden invited him to join Al Qaeda.

On his return to Hamburg, Germany, Zammar became a full-time recruiter for Al Qaeda. He spent so much time as a recruiter for Al Qaeda that he had no time to work as a mechanic. Meanwhile Zammar, his wife, and six children lived on state welfare. He traveled around Germany making speeches praising bin Laden and other jihadist leaders. Zammar's association with the Tabligh organization, which is Islamist but not militant, afforded him some cover, but German police began watching him.

It was at the al-Quds Mosque in Hamburg that Zammar helped to form the Hamburg Cell. He first met and became friends with Muhammad Atta in 1998. Zammar persuaded Atta, Marwan al-Shehhi, Ramzi bin al-Shibh, and Ziyad Jarrah to train at Al Qaeda camps in Afghanistan for important missions. Zammar continued as the Al Qaeda contact person for the Hamburg Cell until its key leaders left for the United States.

Zammar continued to act as an Al Qaeda recruiter. Many other Muslims in Germany were willing recruits for Al Qaeda, and Zammar was Al Qaeda's principal contact in Germany. German authorities left him alone, but they watched his activities with interest. American intelligence was also displaying concern about Zammar's connections with Al Qaeda. In July 2001 he was briefly detained in Jordan but was released after a short interrogation. After the September 11 attacks German police questioned Zammar, but they released him because they believed that they had too little evidence to charge him with a crime.

On October 27, 2001, Zammar traveled to Morocco to divorce his second wife; while there he was arrested by Moroccan security forces. The Moroccans sent him to Syria, where he has undergone extensive interrogation at the notorious Far Falastin Detention Center in Damascus. Zammar remains in Syrian custody, but American officials have learned much about the September 11 plot from him in his answers to questions sent through the Syrians. There is evidence that Zammar has undergone torture at the hands of the Syrians, and this has led international organizations to protest. Regardless of how he is treated by the Syrians, Zammar knew the central players in the September 11 attack and had a general knowledge of the plot, so he has proven to be a valuable intelligence resource.

Stephen E. Atkins

See also

Al Qaeda; Atta, Muhammad; Bin Laden, Osama; Hamburg Cell; Jarrah, Ziyad al-; September 11 Attacks; Shehhi, Marwan al-

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Zardari, Asif Ali
Birth Date: ca. July 26, 1955

Wealthy and controversial businessman, husband of Benazir Bhutto (former two-time prime minister of Pakistan), and president of Pakistan (2008–). Asif Ali Zardari was born in Karachi, Pakistan, on July 26, 1955 (some sources claim July 21, 1956), to a well-to-do Sindhi family. He attended the Cadet College in Petaro; however, his completion of a graduate degree was questioned when he sought a parliament seat (a position that requires a college degree). His political party claimed that he had obtained a degree from the London School of Economics and Business.

Zardari engaged in a number of business ventures, some of dubious legality, and soon earned the reputation as a highly successful—if unscrupulous—businessman. By 2007 his personal fortune was estimated at $1.8 billion. Prior to his marriage to Benazir Bhutto in 1987, Zardari was a renowned playboy and was considered one of Pakistan's most eligible bachelors.

Zardari spent several years in jail in the early 1990s on corruption charges and was accused in 1990 of threatening to murder a business associate unless the latter immediately repaid a debt owed to him. These charges were never proven, and his imprisonment was based largely on political considerations. When Bhutto became prime minister for a second time in 1993, Zardari was immediately released and given a government ministry position. After Bhutto was swept out of office in 1996, Zardari was rearrested and remained incarcerated until 2004. This time, he was also charged with the murder of Mir Murtaza Bhutto, Benazir's brother, a charge that was never proven. A court did find Zardari and his wife guilty of being involved in a kickback scheme with a

Swiss corporation, but Pakistan's Supreme Court later declared a mistrial, and the charges were dropped.

Zardari was not released from prison until 2004, the result of political machinations involving then-embattled Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf, who had begun to negotiate with his political enemies, including Benazir Bhutto, then in self-exile. Meanwhile, Bhutto continued to head the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and by 2006 was vowing to return to Pakistan while she negotiated behind the scenes with Musharraf's government. She returned in October 2007, now free of corruption charges, to run in the 2008 national elections. Zardari fully supported his wife's ambitions, but the PPP kept him out of the public eye, viewing his past as a distinct liability.

On December 27, 2007, Bhutto was assassinated during a political rally in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. The circumstances surrounding her murder were suspicious, and many of Musharraf's detractors accused him of having engineered the killing. As Musharraf's rule now became more and more precarious, Zardari became a positive symbol for the PPP as the husband of its martyred leader. In a highly unlikely turn of events, by the end of December Zardari had become cochairman of the PPP along with his son, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, who was then a college student in Great Britain. During much of 2008 Zardari, a shrewd politician as it turns out, worked with several rival political factions to unseat President Musharraf, whose government was nearly paralyzed. Zardari also worked to build a strong ruling coalition in parliament.

When Zardari and several other key political leaders moved to impeach Musharraf in the summer of 2008, the president finally relented and agreed to resign on August 18. Zardari immediately became the front-runner to replace Musharraf, with the endorsement even of chief PPP rival parties, particularly as his main rival, Nawaz Sharif, was supported by Saudi Arabia but opposed by the United States. A national election was held on September 6. Zardari won the election and was installed as president on September 9.

Zardari's job would be a daunting one. Pakistan had been badly weakened by Musharraf's dictatorial rule, the economy was in free-fall, and a growing insurgency threat by Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters in the western territories was spreading with alarming rapidity. Political instability was still a problem, and by the spring of 2009 Zardari's fragile alliance with his former political adversaries seemed on the verge of collapse.

At the same time that Zardari faced formidable challenges at home, he came under increased pressure to shore up his support abroad. His government protested when the Barack Obama administration stepped up U.S. drone air strikes against Islamic militants in northwestern Pakistan, but at the same time Zardari sought U.S. support to prevent the insurgency from spilling over into the rest of the country. Although his government brokered a truce with the Taliban that assured the latter control of the Swat Valley in northwestern Pakistan, when the Taliban broke the truce by extending its control beyond the Swat and threatening the capital of Islamabad, in later April 2009 Zardari, under heavy pressure from Washington and from moderate elements in his own country, declared the truce with the Taliban to be at an end and ordered the Pakistani Army into the Swat Valley. Heavy fighting ensued, displacing an estimated 1.3 million Pakistanis. Some observers questioned whether Pakistan's army—trained essentially to fight a conventional war with India—could mount a successful counterinsurgency effort, but Zardari apparently had little choice. Many Western leaders expressed great concern that Pakistan might fall to Islamist extremists, who could gain control of its nuclear arsenal.

In May 2008 Zardari traveled to France, Great Britain, Libya, and the United States to shore up international support for his regime. During the trip he met with various national leaders, including Afghan president Hamid Karzai, in Washington. There Zardari pledged to cooperate with the Afghan leader in stamping out the Al Qaeda terrorist organization and Taliban in their two countries. Zardari also sought additional financial aid. His meeting with President Obama reportedly went well, but Obama again underscored the importance of stopping the insurgency before it spread any further. As a result of Zardari's junket, the U.S. House of Representatives approved a $1.9 billion aid package to Pakistan, while the British Parliament pledged £640 million of aid over four years. France offered considerable technical assistance.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Al Qaeda; Bhutto, Benazir; Musharraf, Pervez; Pakistan; Taliban

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Zawahiri, Ayman al-

Birth Date: June 19, 1951

Former leader of the Egyptian organization Islamic Jihad, and second-in-command of the terrorist Al Qaeda organization. Born in Cairo, Egypt, on June 19, 1951, to a family of doctors and scholars (his father was a pharmacologist and chemistry professor), Ayman al-Zawahiri joined the Muslim Brotherhood at age 14. Soon he had become an Islamist militant. Following the execution by the Egyptian government of Islamist thinker Sayyid Qutb in 1966, Zawahiri established with several of his schoolmates an underground cell with the aim of overthrowing the Egyptian government. Zawahiri vowed "to put Qutb's vision into action." His cell eventually merged with others to form the Egyptian Islamic Jihad.

A good student, al-Zawahiri received an undergraduate degree in 1974 from Cairo University. He served as a surgeon in the

Egyptian Army for three years. He completed a master's degree in surgery in 1978 and set up a clinic. That same year he married.

In the late 1970s Islamic Jihad became active and came under attack by the Egyptian state security forces. After the arrest and torture of many of its members by the Egyptian security services, certain army members of the Islamic Jihad, including Lieutenant Khalid Islambouli, assassinated Anwar Sadat on October 8, 1981, and then carried out actions intended to bring down the government. This attempt failed in the face of security forces and army opposition. Zawahiri and hundreds of members of Islamic Jihad and the Gamaat Islamiya, an umbrella group, were jailed as coconspirators in the assassination of Sadat. After serving three years in prison, Zawahiri and many of his coconspirators were released in 1984.

Zawahiri subsequently went to Peshawar, Pakistan, and there joined the Maktab al-Khidmat (Jihad Service Bureau), under the leadership of Dr. Abdullah Azzam and supported by Saudi financier Osama bin Laden. By the time of the final Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989, bin Laden had broken with his mentor Azzam over the nature of the jihad. The rift that developed between the two men was ideologically motivated. Bin Laden and Zawahiri wanted to export the jihad worldwide beyond Afghanistan and Palestine, and Azzam, who dissented from this plan, was killed.

In the early 1990s Zawahiri and bin Laden traveled first to Egypt and later to Sudan, where they established training camps at the behest of Sudanese leader and Islamist thinker Hassan al-Turabi. Zawahiri merged Islamic Jihad with bin Laden's Al Qaeda organization after issuing a joint fatwa on February 23, 1998. Zawahiri was subsequently instrumental in planning the bombing of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in 1998 as well as the planning for the attacks on September 11, 2001. Following the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in October 2001 Zawahiri went into hiding, releasing videos and speeches periodically to incite others to engage in the jihad against the United States. He also published *Knights under the Prophet's Banner* (December 2001), which outlined Al Qaeda's ideology.

After the March 2003 Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq, Zawahiri's speeches and writings have taken on an apocalyptic tone. In a July 2005 letter he framed the jihad in Afghanistan as a vanguard for the ultimate establishment of an Islamic state in the Levant, Egypt, Iraq, and neighboring states on the Arabian Peninsula; multiple public statements by Zawahiri have since repeated this point. In his video response to Pope Benedict XVI's remarks on Islam in September 2006, Zawahiri called Benedict a "charlatan" because of his remarks on Islam. However, the term used by Zawahiri to refer to the pope as a "charlatan and deceiver" was the theological term *al-Dajjal.* In Islamic theology and tradition, *al-Dajjal* refers to the Antichrist who will return just prior to the Day of Judgment. Zawahiri is known to have been influenced by the Saudi thinker Safar al-Hawali's book *The Day of Wrath,* which predicts that the world will end in 2012.

While the Terrorism Center at the United States Military Academy, West Point, is careful to note that the impact of Zawahiri's ideology is considered "totally insignificant," among most Islamist thinkers he still remains a potent figure in the Muslim World. Although his precise whereabouts are unknown, Zawahiri is believed to be living in the mountainous region along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border.

Ojan Aryanfard

See also

Al Qaeda; Benedict XVI, Pope; Bin Laden, Osama; Dar es Salaam, Bombing of U.S. Embassy; Fatwa; Islamic Radicalism; Jihad; Mohammed, Khalid Sheikh; Muslim Brotherhood; Nairobi, Kenya, Bombing of U.S. Embassy; Sadat, Muhammad Anwar; September 11 Attacks; Terrorism; Yousef, Ramzi Ahmed

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Zaydi, Muntadhar al-

Birth Date: December 14, 1979

Iraqi journalist best known for an incident on December 14, 2008 in which he threw his shoes at President George W. Bush during a joint news conference with Iraqi prime minister Nuri al-Maliki. Muntadhar al-Zaydi was born on November 12, 1979, in Sadr City (a Baghdad suburb). After graduating with a degree in communications from the University of Baghdad, he served as a print and broadcast reporter, joining al-Baghdadiyya TV in 2005. Since the 2003 Anglo-American–led invasion of Iraq, Zaydi had become well known to occupation authorities, and he was twice detained, but later released, by U.S. military police forces. The reasons for his detentions remain unclear.

In November 2007 Zaydi was kidnapped by unidentified armed gunmen in central Baghdad who beat him severely and questioned him repeatedly about his journalistic work. After three days of confinement he was released. Zaydi claims that his kidnappers were rogue gunmen not associated with an organized resistance group, but that assertion was never substantiated. In January 2008 U.S. forces conducted a search of his residence, but no reason was given for the intrusion. He reportedly later received an apology from occupation authorities. Reportedly he had lost members of his family in the Iraq War and was deeply concerned about the large number of civilian casualties from the ongoing violence.

Zaydi gained instant worldwide recognition on December 14, 2008, when he hurled both of his shoes at President Bush, who was standing at a podium next to Prime Minister Maliki. Bush and Maliki were appearing at a news conference to formally announce the recently negotiated U.S.-Iraqi Status of Forces Agreement. Upon throwing the first shoe Zaydi shouted, "This is a farewell kiss

from the Iraqi people, you dog!" Immediately thereafter, he threw a second shoe, shouting, "This is for the widows and orphans and all those killed in Iraq!" Neither shoe hit its mark, as Bush deftly evaded the flying footwear. In Arab and Islamic cultures, the throwing of shoes at someone is considered a serious expression of disrespect.

Zaydi was quickly wrestled to the floor, subdued, and dragged away by Iraqi security guards. He was reportedly beaten repeatedly once he was in custody and being interrogated. Bush seemed unaffected by the event and made a joke about the shoe-throwing incident after Zaydi had been escorted out of the room. Some questioned how a person within a mere few yards from the president could have been allowed to perpetrate such an act, and still others wonder why Zaydi had not been stopped after throwing the first shoe. The incident was emblematic of the extreme unpopularity in the Middle East of Bush during his presidency.

The shoe-throwing incident engendered a great outpouring of support for Zaydi in both Iraq and the larger Arab world. The day after the press conference, thousands of Iraqis protested in Baghdad and Sadr City, Zaydi's birthplace, demanding his release. Similar protests took place in other Iraqi cities as well. On December 17 a group of Iraqi lawmakers demanded a full investigation of the incident, especially the reported beating of Zaydi after he went into custody. It was reported, but not substantiated, that Zaydi sent several letters of apology to Maliki in which Zaydi specifically stated that he would offer no apology to Bush. On December 23 the Speaker of the Iraqi parliament resigned his post in protest of the incident. Numerous high-level Iraqi politicians were sympathetic to Zaydi's predicament, but Maliki was forced to offer no such support, fearing that he might aggravate relations with the U.S. government. Large pro-Zaydi protests occurred in numerous Arab nations, including Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Libya, and Egypt.

In late December an Iraqi court charged Zaydi with assault against a foreign head of state; he was denied bail, according to the court, "for the sake of the investigation and for his own security." Several days later Zaydi's attorney appealed the ruling, hoping to reduce the charge from assaulting a foreign dignitary to insulting a foreign dignitary. Meanwhile, Zaydi's family kept up a high-profile campaign to free the journalist, which garnered much attention in the Iraqi media. Their efforts were unsuccessful. On March 12, 2009, Zaydi was sentenced to three years in prison for assaulting a foreign head of state. On April 7 that sentence was reduced to one year.

Paul G. Pierpaoli Jr.

See also

Bush, George Walker; Maliki, Nuri Muhammed Kamil Hasan al-; Status of Forces Agreement, U.S.-Iraqi

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Zinni, Anthony Charles

Birth Date: September 17, 1943

U.S. Marine Corps general, commander of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), and special envoy for the United States to Israel and the Palestinian National Authority (PNA). Anthony Charles Zinni was born to Italian immigrant parents in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on September 17, 1943. In 1965 he graduated from Villanova University with a degree in economics and was commissioned in the U.S. Marine Corps. In 1967 he served in Vietnam as an infantry battalion adviser to a South Vietnamese marine unit. In 1970 he returned to Vietnam as an infantry company commander. He was seriously wounded that November and was medically evacuated. Thereafter Zinni held a variety of command, administrative, and teaching positions, including at the Marine Corps Command and Staff College at Quantico, Virginia.

In 1991 as a brigadier general Zinni was the chief of staff and deputy commanding general of the Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) for Operation PROVIDE COMFORT, the Kurdish relief effort in Turkey and Iraq. In 1992–1993 he was the director of operations for Operation RESTORE HOPE in Somalia. As a lieutenant general, he commanded the I Marine Expeditionary Force (I MEF) from 1994 to 1996. In September 1996, as a full general, he became deputy commanding general of the CENTCOM, the U.S. military combatant command responsible for most of the Middle East. He served as commanding general of CENTCOM from August 1997 until his retirement from the military in September 2000.

Upon leaving the military, Zinni participated in a number of different diplomatic initiatives. In late 2001, at the request of his old friend Colin L. Powell, then secretary of state, Zinni became the special envoy for the United States to Israel and the PNA.

Zinni arrived in Israel on November 25, 2001. He conducted several negotiating sessions with Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and PNA president Yasser Arafat individually but never with the two together. On December 12 the Palestinian suicide bombing of a bus near the settlement of Emmanuel effectively cut off all dialogue between the two sides. Zinni returned to the United States on December 17.

Zinni made his second short trip to the region during January 3–7, 2002. While he was conducting a meeting with Arafat, the Israelis intercepted and captured an illegal Palestinian arms ship in the Red Sea. The *Karine A* was carrying some 50 tons of weapons ordered by the PNA from Iran, a direct violation of the Oslo Accords.

Zinni returned to the region for the last time on March 12, 2002. While he believed that he was starting to make some headway, on March 27 a Palestinian suicide bomber struck a Passover Seder being held at an Israeli hotel. The Israelis launched a massive military retaliation against the Palestinians and severed all ties with Arafat. Zinni departed the region on April 15.

Although Zinni resigned his position as a special envoy, he continued to serve as an unofficial consultant. On August 5, 2003, he spent several hours in Washington, D.C., briefing Major General

Marine Corps general Anthony Zinni, commander of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOOM) during 1997–2000, shown here briefing reporters at the Pentagon on December 21, 1998, on his assessment of Operation DESERT FOX, a four-day bombing campaign of Iraq. (U.S. Department of Defense)

David T. Zabecki, incoming senior security adviser of the newly established U.S. Coordinating and Monitoring Mission. In an address Zinni gave at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government on December 8, 2004, he stressed that resuming the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians was the single most important step the United States could take to restore its stature in the world. But interestingly enough, he noted that it would be a mistake to assign more high-profile special envoys to the mission. He favored the presence of professional negotiators.

Following his retirement from the military, Zinni held visiting appointments at several U.S. universities and in May 2005 became the president of international operations for M.C.I. Industries, Inc.

An initial supporter of the George W. Bush administration and its foreign policy, Zinni quickly became one of the highest-profile military critics of the war in Iraq after he retired from CENTCOM. Distinguishing Afghanistan from Iraq, Zinni continued to believe that the invasion of Afghanistan to oust the Taliban regime and deprive Al Qaeda of its operating base was the right thing to do. Iraq was a totally different case. Although Saddam Hussein was a regional nuisance, Zinni believed his regime was totally contained and was no real strategic threat. Zinni was also certain that the case for weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) was vastly overstated, remembering well the intelligence picture he had monitored daily while at CENTCOM.

While Zinni was still at CENTCOM in early 1999 immediately following the air strikes of Operation DESERT FOX, intelligence indicators and diplomatic reporting painted a picture of Hussein's regime as badly shaken and destabilized. In anticipation of the possible requirement for CENTCOM to have to lead an occupation of Iraq should Hussein fall, Zinni ordered the preparation of a comprehensive operations plan (OPLAN). Code-named DESERT CROSSING, it called for a robust civilian occupation authority with offices in each of Iraq's 18 provinces. The DESERT CROSSING plan was a dramatic contrast to what eventually played out under the anemic Coalition Provisional Authority, which for almost the first year of its existence had very little presence outside Baghdad.

During the run-up to the invasion of Iraq, Zinni became increasingly concerned about the quality of the planning, especially the posthostilities phase. Queries to old contacts still at CENTCOM confirmed that OPLAN DESERT CROSSING had all but been forgotten. Zinni came to believe that the United States was being plunged headlong into an unnecessary war by political ideologues

who had no understanding of the region. True to the promise he made to himself when he was wounded in Vietnam, Zinni became one of the first senior American figures to speak out against what he saw as "lack of planning, underestimating the task, and buying into a flawed strategy." Zinni soon found himself one of the most influential critics of the Bush administration's handling of the war in Iraq. In 2008 Zinni joined the teaching faculty at Duke University's Sanford Institute of Public Policy.

DAVID T. ZABECKI

See also

Arafat, Yasser; DESERT CROSSING, OPLAN; PROVIDE COMFORT, Operation; Sharon, Ariel; United States Central Command; United States Coordinating and Monitoring Mission

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Zubaydah, Abu

Birth Date: March 12, 1971

Chief of Al Qaeda operations and number three in the terrorist organization's hierarchy until his capture in March 2002. His position placed him in charge of Al Qaeda training camps that selected the personnel for the September 11, 2001, terror attacks against the United States. Abu Zubaydah was born on March 12, 1971, in Saudi Arabia. His birth name was Zayn al-Abidin Mohamed Husayn, but he adopted the name Abu Zubaydah early in his career as a radical Islamist. Although born in Saudi Arabia, he moved to the West Bank as a teenager. Engaged in extremist Islamist activities from his youth, he took part in demonstrations against the Israeli occupation.

Zubaydah's first political association was with the radical Palestinian organization of Hamas. Ayman al-Zawahiri recruited him from Hamas to the Egyptian Islamic Jihad. When Zawahiri moved to Pakistan, Zubaydah went with him. As a teenager he fought with the Afghan Arabs in military operations against the Soviets. In one of these engagements in Afghanistan he lost an eye. His abilities allowed him to move up in the hierarchy of Al Qaeda until he became its chief of operations.

As chief of operations, Zubaydah played a role in all of Al Qaeda's military operations. Indeed, he selected Muhammad Atta for an important future martyr mission while Atta was in training at Khaldan camp in 1998. Zubaydah was also active in planning the failed Millennium plots in Jordan and the United States. After that he became field commander for the attack on the U.S. Navy destroyer *Cole* in Aden Harbor, Yemen, on October 12, 2000.

Khalid Sheikh Mohammed was the operational chief for the September 11 attacks, but Zubaydah was a participant in the final draft of the plan and was also active in post–September 11 plots. American authorities decided that Zubaydah was important enough to either capture or eliminate. What made him important in Al Qaeda was his role in keeping all members' files and in assigning individuals to specific tasks and operations.

A joint operation of Pakistani security, U.S. Special Forces, and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) units arrested Zubaydah in a suburb of Faisalabad, a town in western Pakistan, on March 28, 2002. From intercepted Al Qaeda communications, the National Security Agency learned that Zubaydah might be at a two-story house owned by a leader of the Pakistani militant extremist group Lashkar-e Tayyiba. In the subsequent assault 35 Pakistanis and 27 Muslims from other countries were arrested. Zubaydah was among them. He had been seriously wounded, with gunshots to the stomach, groin, and thigh. A medical unit determined that Zubaydah would survive, and he was taken into American custody.

Zubaydah has been held at an undisclosed American interrogation camp since his capture. The Americans decided to interrogate him, seeking to convince him that he was in Saudi Arabia. Instead of being put off by this, Zubaydah asked his phony "Saudi" interrogators to contact a senior member of the Saudi royal family, Prince Ahmed bin Salman bin Abdul-Aziz, who would save him from the Americans. This claim stunned the interrogators. They returned later to confront him for lying. Zubaydah instead gave more details about agreements among Al Qaeda, Pakistani, and Saudi high-level government leaders. He went so far as to indicate that certain Pakistani and Saudi leaders knew about the September 11 planning before the attack occurred. According to him, these officials did not have the details and did not want them, but they knew the general outlines of the plot. After Zubaydah learned that the "Saudi" interrogators were really Americans, he tried to commit suicide. This attempt failed, and Zubaydah no longer volunteered information and denied what he had said earlier.

When American investigators quizzed the Saudi government about Zubaydah's comments, government representatives called his information false and malicious. In a series of strange coincidences, three of the Saudi government officials named by Zubaydah died in a series of incidents in the months after the inquiries. Prince Ahmed died of a heart attack at age 41, Prince Sultan bin Faisal bin Turki al-Said died in an automobile accident, and Prince Fahd bin Turki bin Saud al-Kabir died of thirst while traveling in the Saudi summer at only age 25. The supposed Pakistani contact, Air Marshal Ali Mir, was killed in an airplane crash on February 20, 2003, with his wife and 15 senior officers.

Zubaydah remains in American custody, his eventual fate also unknown. Because American interrogators tricked him into talking, he has refused to provide further information about Al Qaeda or the September 11 plot. In September 2006 he was transferred to the Guantánamo Bay Detention Center.

In 2006 Ron Suskind published the book *One Percent Doctrine,* which claimed that Zubaydah was not nearly so important in al Qaeda as had been thought. Suskind claimed that Zubaydah was mentally ill and was only a minor figure in Al Qaeda. Suskind's assertions have been countered by numerous others, including former Al Qaeda operatives. Regardless of the controversy, Zubaydah appeared before a Combatant Status Review Tribunal in Guantánamo on March 27, 2007. There he downplayed his role in Al Qaeda but still claimed some authority. Zubaydah has also become part of another controversy because he was tortured by Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operatives. A May 30, 2005, CIA memorandum states that Zubaydah was subjected to waterboarding 83 times.

Stephen E. Atkins

See also

Al Qaeda; Guantánamo Bay Detainment Camp; September 11 Attacks; Zawahiri, Ayman al-

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Appendices

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Appendix A

Military Ranks

All modern armies have two primary classes of soldiers in officers and enlisted men. This distinction originated in the armies of ancient times. In the medieval period the distinction was between knights and men at arms: nobility and commoners. Up through the beginning of the 20th century the distinction between military officers and enlisted soldiers reflected the social class distinctions of society as a whole. An officer was by definition a gentleman, while a common soldier was not. The breakdown in the old social orders that started during World War I was likewise reflected in the world's armies. By the end of World War II the distinction between officers and enlisted in most Western armies had become far more a professional one than a social one. In most Middle Eastern militaries, however, there remains even today a large class distinction between the commissioned and enlisted ranks.

Officers comprise 10–15 percent of most modern armies. Middle Eastern militaries with weak or nonexistent noncommissioned officer (NCO) corps generally have a much higher percentage of officers, as do all armies that were based on the Soviet model. Officers still comprise almost one-third of the post–Cold War Russian Army.

Officers are further divided into three basic groups. Company grade officers (lieutenants and captains) are responsible for the leadership of platoons and companies. Field grade officers (majors and colonels) lead battalions and regiments. General officers command the higher echelons and also coordinate the overall direction of an army and its military activities. It is the generals who answer directly to the political leadership of modern democracies. Navies also recognize three broad groups of officers, without necessarily using the army terms. In most militaries, generals and admirals are collectively called flag officers because each one has a personal flag bearing the insignia of his rank.

Although female flag officers are relatively common in the U.S. military today, there are very few in most other Western armies. With the exception of Israel, female officers are almost nonexistent in most Middle Eastern militaries, and even female soldiers are a rarity. American female officers and general officers in the Middle East routinely encounter stiff cultural resistance in societies with little tradition of women in positions of authority.

Enlisted soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines are divided into two basic categories: enlisted men and NCOs. The term for an NCO varies from army to army—*Unteroffizier* in German, *sous officier* in French—but the meaning is universal. In all Western armies, NCOs are the backbone of the organization. They are the ones responsible for training individual soldiers and for training and leading fire teams and squads. They hold key leadership positions in platoons and companies. At the higher levels they assist staff officers in the planning and execution of operations.

In all armies the larger majority of the enlisted ranks denote the distinctions within the NCO corps. Most Middle Eastern armies have extremely weak NCO corps. Until the defeat of Iraq in 2003, the Iraqi Army did not even have NCOs, just officers and soldiers. Under American training and tutelage, the new Iraqi Army is building up its NCO corps, a process that requires years.

NCOs include corporals, sergeants, and, in some armies, warrant officers. In most navies the NCOs are called petty officers and in some cases warrant officers. It is this category of warrant officer that is the most difficult to classify, because the exact status varies from army to army. Many Western armies follow the British model in which warrant officers are the highest category of NCOs. In the American military, however, warrant officers are a distinct personnel class between officers and enlisted personnel. They are considered specialist officers, highly skilled in a

certain functional area (such as pilots), receiving pay equivalent to company-grade officers but without the full range of command authority and responsibilities.

In the American military, warrant officers are much closer to commissioned officers. In the British military they are clearly the most senior of the NCOs. Contrary to widely held popular belief, for example, the rank of sergeant major does not exist in the British military. Rather, it is a position title—or an appointment, as the British call it—like squad leader or company commander. The rank of the NCO holding the sergeant major position is always a warrant officer, but he is addressed by his position title of sergeant major. The British do not have company first sergeants. The senior NCO in British companies is called the company sergeant major. Most British and Commonwealth militaries have two grades of warrant officer.

There is, then, no direct comparison between British and American warrant officers, which partially explains the difficulty in correlating exactly the military ranks of the world's armies. The confusion between American and British warrant officers causes problems to this day in many NATO headquarters. While most Western armies that have served recently in the Middle East have warrant officers on the British model, Italy, Denmark, Poland, and Japan have warrant officers on the American model.

The U.S. Army, U.S. Navy, and U.S. Marine Corps all have five grades of warrant officer. The U.S. Air Force does not have warrant officers. The new Iraqi Army has one grade of warrant officer on the American model, with the rank title of "Naib Arif."

Establishing rank equivalency among armies is an inexact science at best, as the confusion over warrant officers and sergeants major illustrates. Common sense would seem to dictate that two soldiers in different armies with the exact same rank titles would be essentially the same. This, however, is not necessarily always the case.

The problem of rank equivalency is further compounded by the fact that all armies do not have the same number of ranks, especially for enlisted personnel and NCOs. All four of the American military services have nine enlisted grades, but more than one rank may exist within a given pay grade. In the U.S. Army and U.S. Marine Corps, for example, the second-highest enlisted pay grade, E-8, includes the ranks of master sergeant and first sergeant. Both receive the same pay, but the duties of a first sergeant are more demanding, and therefore first sergeants always take precedence over master sergeants.

The lowest enlisted rank in the British Army has several different titles, depending on the branch to which the soldier is assigned. But privates, troopers, gunners, and sappers are all the same rank. The British Army also has three different pay grades for privates, troopers, gunners, and sappers, none of whom wear any rank insignia. Lance corporal is the first rank in the British Army that has a rank insignia. A lance corporal wears a single chevron and is an NCO. A U.S. Army soldier who wears a single chevron is only a private (E-2) and is two pay grades away from being an NCO.

The German Army has 11 enlisted ranks, Denmark has 6, the Italian Army has 10, the Italian Navy has 8, the Italian Air Force has 6, and the Carabinieri has only five. Norway has only 3 enlisted ranks, and its top NCO rank, *sersjant,* is only considered the equivalent of a U.S. Army sergeant, the second-lowest American NCO rank.

There is far more commonality among the officer ranks of the world's armies today. Most militaries have three levels each of company and field-grade officers and four levels of general officers. The initial general officer rank in most armies is brigadier general (one star), although the British Army and most of the Commonwealth armies use the rank title brigadier. In the British Royal Navy the first flag officer rank is commodore, and the next one up is rear admiral. In the U.S. Navy, however, those ranks are awkwardly designated rear admiral (lower half) and rear admiral (upper half), respectively.

Major generals (two stars) typically command divisions. Lieutenant generals (three stars) typically command corps. Generals (four stars) command field armies, theaters, and major commands and serve as national chiefs of staff.

Through the end of World War II most of the major armies had a five-star general rank. The rank has largely fallen into disuse in recent years, although it still remains as an official rank and is therefore listed in these tables. The last American promoted to general of the army was Omar Bradley in 1950 during the Korean War. The last French officer promoted to marshal of France was Marie Pierre Koenig, who died in 1970 but was promoted posthumously 14 years later. The last British officer promoted to field marshal was Sir Peter Inge in 1994 following the Persian Gulf War. The Russian Army suspended use of its various marshal ranks following the end of the Cold War. When the German Army was reconstituted in 1955, the rank of Generalfeldmarschall was not included in the Bunderwehr's rank structure.

All air forces grew from their respective armies, and since the end of World War II most have been separate services. Most air forces retained the rank structures and titles of the respective armies from which they originated. The British Royal Air Force has an officer rank structure parallel to the British Army but with completely different rank titles and insignia.

Officer candidates have their own separate rank structures in most armies. But the ranks of cadet, midshipman, aspirant, *Fahnrich,* etc., are essentially temporary training ranks. With the exception of Israel, officer candidates in most armies do not take part in combat operations until they receive their commissions.

The following table represents an attempt to equate the various enlisted and officer ranks of the various militaries of the Middle Eastern wars. In determining the level at which to place a given rank, the duties and responsibilities of the person holding that rank take precedence over the face value of the rank title or the insignia worn. The table does not include officer candidates

or true warrant officers. Warrant officers as NCOs are included. Many armies also have special rank structures and designations for musicians, buglers, and pipers, which likewise are not included in the table.

David T. Zabecki and Konrad J. T. Zabecki

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Army Ranks

	United States Army	United Kingdom Army	Federal Republic of Germany Army	France Army
Officers	General of the Army	Field Marshal		Maréchal de France
	General	General	General	Général d'Armée
	Lieutenant General	Lieutenant-General	Generalleutnant	Général de Corps d'Armée
	Major General	Major-General	Generalmajor	Général de Division
	Brigadier General	Brigadier	Brigadegeneral	Général de Brigade
	Colonel	Colonel	Oberst	Colonel
	Lieutenant Colonel	Lieutenant-Colonel	Oberstleutnant	Lieutenant-Colonel
	Major	Major	Major	Commandant
	Captain	Captain	Hauptmann	Capitaine
	First Lieutenant	Lieutenant	Oberleutnant	Lieutenant
	Second Lieutenant	Second Lieutenant	Leutnant	Sous-Lieutenant
Enlisted	Command Sergeant Major Sergeant Major	Warrant Officer Class 1	Oberstabsfeldwebel	Major
	First Sergeant Master Sergeant	Warrant Officer Class 2	Stabsfeldwebel	Adjudant-Chef
			Hauptfeldwebel	
	Sergeant First Class	Staff Sergeant Colour Sergeant	Oberfeldwebel	Adjudant
	Staff Sergeant	Sergeant	Feldwebel	Sergent-Chef Maréchal-des-Logis-Chef
	Sergeant	Corporal Bombardier	Stabsunteroffizier	Sergent Maréchal-des-Logis
	Corporal Specialist 4	Lance Corporal Lance Bombardier	Unteroffizier	Caporal-Chef Brigadier-Chef
	Private First Class	Private Class 1 Trooper Class 1 Gunner Class 1 Sapper Class 1	Hauptgefreiter	Caporal Brigadier
	Private (E-2)	Private Class 2 Trooper Class 2 Gunner Class 2 Sapper Class 2	Obergefreiter	Soldat de 1ère Classe
			Gefreiter	
	Private (E-1)	Private Class 3 Trooper Class 3 Gunner Class 3 Sapper Class 3	Soldat Grenadier Kannonier	Soldat de 2ème Classe

	Italy Army	Canada Army	Denmark Army	Norway Army
Officers				
	Generale di Corpo d'Armata con Incarichi Speciali	General	General	General
	Generale di Corpo d'Armata	Lieutenant-General	Generalløjtnant	Generalløytnant
	Generale di Divisione	Major-General	Generalmajor	Generalmajor
	Generale di Brigata	Brigadier-General	Brigadegeneral	Brigadier
	Colonnello	Colonel	Oberst	Oberst
	Tenente Colonnello	Lieutenant-Colonel	Oberstløjnant	Oberstløytnant
	Maggiore	Major	Major	Major
	Capitano	Captain	Kaptajn	Kaptein Rittmester
	Tenente	Lieutenant	Premierløjtnant	Løytnant
	Sottotenente	Second Lieutenant	Løjtnant	Fenrik
Enlisted	Sergente Maggiore	Command Warrant Officer Chief Warrant Officer		
	Sergente	Master Warrant Officer		
	Caporalmaggiore Capo Scelto	Warrant Officer		
	Caporalmaggiore Capo	Sergeant	Oversergent	
	Caporalmaggiore Scelto	Master Corporal	Sergent	Sersjant
	1° Caporalmaggiore	Corporal	Korporal	Korporal
	Caporalmaggiore	Trained Private	Overkonstabel af 1. Grad	Grenader
	Caporale Scelto	Basic Private	Overkonstabel af 2. Grad	
	Caporale			
	Soldato	Private Recruit	Konstabel	

Army Ranks

	Netherlands Army	Poland Army	Japan Ground Self Defense Force	Iraq Army	Saudi Arabia Army
Officers				Mushir	Masheer
	Generaal	General	Rikujō Bakuryōchō	Fariq Awwal	Fareeq Auwal
	Luitenant-Generaal	General Broni	Rikushō	Fariq	Fareeq
	Generaal-Majoor	General Dywizja	Rikushōho	Liwa	Lu-a'
	Brigade-Generaal	General Brygady		'Amid	Ameed
	Kolonel	Pulkownik	Ittō Rikusa	'Aqid	Aqeed
	Luitenant-Kolonel	Podpulkownik	Nitō Rikusa	Muqaddam	Muqudim
	Majoor	Major	Santō Rikusa	Raid	Raid
	Kapitein Ritmeester	Kapitian	Ittō Riku	Naqib	Naqeeb
	Eerste-Luitenant	Porucznik	Nitō Rikui	Mulazim Awwal	Mulazm Auwal
	Tweede-Luitenant	Podporucznik	Santō Rikui	Mulazim	Mulazim
Enlisted	Adjudant-Onderofficier	Starszy Sierżant	Rikusōchō		Raees Ruq-ba
	Sergeant-Majoor Opperwachtmeester	Sierżant	Ittō Rikusō		
	Sergeant der 1e Klasse Wachtmeester der 1e Klasse		Nitō Rikusō	Rais Urafa	Raqeeb Auwal
	Sergeant Wachtmeester	Plutonowy			Raqeeb
	Korporaal der 1e Klasse	Starszy Kapral	Santō Rikusō	Arif	Waqeel Raqeeb
	Korporaal	Kapral	Rikushichō	Naib Arif	Areef
	Soldaat der 1e Klasse Huzaar der 1e Klasse Kanonier der 1e Klasse	Starszy Szeregowiec	Ittō Rikushi	Jundi Awwal	Jundi Auwal
			Nitō Rikushi		
	Soldaat Huzaar Kanonier	Szeregowy	Santō Rikushi	Jundi	Jundi

Air Force Ranks

	United States Air Force	United Kingdom Royal Air Force	Federal Republic of Germany Air Force
Officers	General of the Air Force	Marshal of the RAF	
	General	Air Chief Marshal	General
	Lieutenant General	Air Marshal	Generalleutnant
	Major General	Air Vice Marshal	Generalmajor
	Brigadier General	Air Commodore	Brigadegeneral
	Colonel	Group Captain	Oberst
	Lieutenant Colonel	Wing Commander	Oberstleutnant
	Major	Squadron Leader	Major
	Captain	Flight Lieutenant	Hauptmann
	First Lieutenant	Flying Officer	Oberleutnant
	Second Lieutenant	Pilot Officer	Leutnant
Enlisted	Chief Master Sergeant	Warrant Officer	Oberstabsfeldwebel
	Senior Master Sergeant	Master Aircrew	Stabsfeldwebel
			Hauptfeldwebel
	Master Sergeant	Flight Sergeant Chief Technician	Oberfeldwebel
	Technical Sergeant	Sergeant	Feldwebel
	Staff Sergeant	Corporal	Stabsunteroffizier
	Sergeant Senior Airman	Junior Technician	Unteroffizier
	Airman First Class	Senior Aircraftsman	Hauptgefreiter
	Airman	Leading Aircraftsman	Obergefreiter
			Gefreiter
	Airman Basic	Aircraftsman	Flieger

Air Force Ranks

	France Army of the Air	Italy Air Force	Royal Canadian Air Force
Officers	Maréchal de France		
	Général d'Armée Aérienne	Generale di Squadra Aerea con Incarichi Speciali	General
	Général de Corps Aérienne	Generale di Squadra Aerea	Lieutenant-General
	Général de Division Aérienne	Generale di Divisione Aerea	Major-General
	Général de Brigade Aérienne	Generale di Brigata Aerea	Brigadier-General
	Colonel	Colonnello	Colonel
	Lieutenant-Colonel	Tenente Colonnello	Lieutenant-Colonel
	Commandant	Maggiore	Major
	Capitaine	Capitano	Captain
	Lieutenant	Tenente	Lieutenant
	Sous-Lieutenant	Sottotenente	Second Lieutenant
Enlisted	Major	Sergente Maggiore	Command Warrant Officer Chief Warrant Officer
	Adjudant-Chef	Sergente	Master Warrant Officer
	Adjudant		Warrant Officer
	Sergent-Chef	1ere Aviere Scelto	Sergeant
	Sergent	Aviere Capo	Master Corporal
	Caporal-Chef	Aviere Capo	Corporal
	Caporal	1ere Aviere	Trained Private
	Soldat de 1ère Classe	Aviere Scelto	Basic Private
	Soldat de 2ème Classe	Aviere	Private Recruit

Navy Ranks

	United States Navy	United Kingdom Royal Navy	Federal Republic of Germany Navy	France Navy
Officers	Fleet Admiral	Admiral of the Fleet		
	Admiral	Admiral	Admiral	Amiral
	Vice Admiral	Vice-Admiral	Vizeadmiral	Vice-Amiral d'Escadre
	Rear Admiral (Upper Half)	Rear-Admiral	Konteradmiral	Vice-Amiral
	Rear Admiral (Lower Half)	Commodore	Flotilenadmiral	Contre-Amiral
	Captain	Captain	Kapitän zur See	Capitaine de Vaisseau
	Commander	Commander	Fregattenkapitän	Capitaine de Frégate
	Lieutenant Commander	Lieutenant-Commander	Korvettenkapitän	Capitaine de Corvette
	Lieutenant	Lieutenant	Kapitänleutnant	Lieutenant de Vaisseau
	Lieutenant (Junior Grade)	Sublieutenant	Oberleutnant zur See	Enseigne de Vaisseau de 1ere Classe
	Ensign		Leutnant zur See	Enseigne de Vaisseau de 2eme Classe
Enlisted	Master Chief Petty Officer	Warrant Officer Class 1	Oberstabsbootsmann	Major
	Senior Chief Petty Officer	Warrant Officer Class 2	Stabsbootsmann	Maître-Principal
			Hauptbootsmann	
	Chief Petty Officer	Chief Petty Officer	Oberbootsmann	Premier-Maître
	Petty Officer First Class	Petty Officer	Bootsmann	Maître
	Petty Officer Second Class	Leading Rate	Obermaat	Second Maître
	Petty Officer Third Class		Maat	Quartier-Maître de 1ère Classe
	Seaman Airman Fireman	Able Seaman	Hauptgefreiter	Quartier-Maître de 2ème Classe
	Seaman Apprentice Airman Apprentice Fireman Apprentice	Able Seaman	Obergefreiter	Maître-Brevet
			Gefreiter	
	Seaman Recruit	Ordinary Seaman	Matrose	Matelot

Navy Ranks

	Italy Navy	Royal Canadian Navy	Denmark Navy
Officers			
	Ammiraglio di Squadra con Incarichi Speciali	Admiral	Admiral
	Ammiraglio di Squadra	Vice-Admiral	Viceadmiral
	Ammiraglio di Divisione	Rear Admiral	Kontreadmiral
	Contrammiraglio	Commodore	Flotilleadmiral
	Capitano di Vascello	Captain	Kommandør
	Capitano di Fregata	Commander	Kommandørkaptajn
	Captiano di Corvetta	Lieutenant-Commander	Orlogskaptajn
	Tenente di Vascello	Lieutenant	Kaptajnløjtnant
	Sottoenente di Vascello	Sub-Lieutenant	Premierløjtnant
	Guardiamarina	Acting Sub-Lieutenant	Løjtnant
Enlisted	Secondo Capo	Command Chief Petty Officer Chief Petty Officer 1st Class	
	Sergente	Chief Petty Officer 2nd Class	
	Sottocapo di 1a Classe	Petty Officer 1st Class	
	Sottocapo di 2a Classe	Petty Officer 2nd Class	Oversergent
	Sottocapo di 3a Classe	Master Seaman	Sergent
	Sottocapo	Leading Seaman	Korporal
	Comune di 1a Classe	Able Seaman	Marinespecialist
	Comune di 2a Classe	Ordinary Seaman	Marineoverkonstabel
		Seaman	Marinekonstabel

Special Branch Ranks

	United States Marine Corps	United Kingdom Royal Marines	Italy Carabinieri
Officers			
	General	General	Generale di Corpo d'Armata con Incarichi Speciali
	Lieutenant General	Lieutenant-General	Generale di Corpo d'Armata
	Major General	Major General	Generale di Divisione
	Brigadier General	Brigadier	Generale di Brigata
	Colonel	Colonel	Colonnello
	Lieutenant Colonel	Lieutenant-Colonel	Tenente Colonnello
	Major	Major	Maggiore
	Captain	Captain	Capitano
	First Lieutenant	Lieutenant	Tenente
	Second Lieutenant	Second Lieutenant	Sottotenente
Enlisted	Sergeant Major Master Gunnery Sergeant	Warrant Officer Class 1	Brigadiere
	First Sergeant Master Sergeant	Warrant Officer Class 2	Vice Brigadiere
	Gunnery Sergeant	Colour Sergeant	
	Staff Sergeant	Sergeant	
	Sergeant	Corporal	
	Corporal	Lance Corporal	Appuntato Scelto
	Lance Corporal		
	Private First Class		Appuntato
	Private	Marine	Carabiniere

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Appendix B

Military Medals, Decorations, and Awards

Military awards fall into three basic categories. Medals are widely awarded to recognize service in a war, a campaign, or a battle or for periods of long peacetime service. Decorations are selective individual awards presented for distinguished or meritorious service or for valor and gallantry in combat. Qualification badges, such as pilot's wings, are awarded to recognize proficiency with a particular weapon or piece of equipment, while skill badges, such as parachutist wings, indicate levels of proficiency in specific tactical techniques.

Medals and decorations consist of a metal badge suspended from a ribbon with a color scheme unique to that specific award. Some countries have special ways of draping the ribbon that are readily identifiable and unique to that country. The full award, the ribbon and the badge, is worn generally only on special occasions and on the dress uniform. During normal occasions the award is represented by a ribbon bar worn on the service uniform. During World War I and World War II soldiers in many armies wore their decorations and medals, at least in the form of the ribbon bar, on their combat field uniforms. Virtually no Western army today follows that practice, although some Middle Eastern armies still do.

The badge of the service medal generally, but not always, consists of a round bronze medallion. Decorations generally, but again not always, tend to have badges in some specific shape, with stars and crosses being the most common. The badges of the higher decorations are often made from silver or gold and sometimes have enameled or even jeweled portions.

The world's first true campaign medal awarded to soldiers of all ranks was probably the British Waterloo Medal, for the 1815 battle that brought about Napoleon's final defeat. In 1847 the British also established a Military General Service Medal, with bars to designate service in specific battles between 1793 and 1814. During World War I and World War II most armies adopted the system of awarding campaign medals based on service in specific geographic theaters. In the American military, service in individual battles and campaigns within a given theater of operations is indicated by affixing a small Bronze Campaign Star Device to the campaign medal's ribbon or ribbon bar. One Silver Campaign Star Device represents five Bronze Campaign Star Devices.

In 1961 the American military established the Armed Forces Expeditionary Medal (AFEM) to recognize service in smaller combat actions for which no specific service medal is established. Operations in the Middle East for which the AFEM has been authorized includes Operation EL DORADO CANYON, Libya (April 12–17, 1986); Operation EARNEST WILL, Persian Gulf (July 24, 1987–August 1, 1990); Somalia (December 5, 1992–March 31, 1995); Operation SOUTHERN WATCH (December 1, 1995–March 18, 2003); Maritime Intercept Operation, Southwest Asia (December 1, 1995–March 18, 2003); Operation VIGILANT SENTINEL (December 1, 1995–February 15, 1997); Operation NORTHERN WATCH (January 1, 1997–March 18, 2003); Operation DESERT THUNDER (November 11–December 22, 1998); Operation DESERT FOX (December 16–22, 1998); and Operation DESERT SPRING (December 31, 1998–March 18, 2003).

During the Persian Gulf War the United States established the Southwest Asia Service Medal for direct service in Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, between August 2, 1990, and November 30, 1995.

On March 12, 2003, U.S. president George W. Bush established the Global War on Terrorism Service Medal and the Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal for direct participation in or support of combat operations subsequent to September 11, 2001. The Global War on Terrorism Service Medal recognizes service in the United States, such as airport security, as well as direct support

of forces deploying to Afghanistan or Iraq. The Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal recognizes troops who actually deploy to foreign territory in support of post-9/11 operations.

As the size and duration of the deployments to Iraq and Afghanistan grew, however, pressure mounted for separate campaign medals to recognize service in those two theaters. The initiative was opposed initially by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, but in May 2004 President Bush authorized the Iraq Campaign Medal for service subsequent to March 19, 2003. In November 2004 he authorized the Afghanistan Campaign Medal for service subsequent to March 19, 2003. The Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal continues to be awarded for overseas service in at least 49 other countries. The military members of the U.S. Coordinating and Monitoring Mission in Israel in 2003, for example, received the Global War on Terrorism Expeditionary Medal.

The United Kingdom established the Gulf Medal for service in the Persian Gulf War between August 2, 1990, and March 7, 1991. The British Operational Service Medal for Afghanistan recognizes service in that country subsequent to September 11, 2001, and the Iraq Medal recognizes service in Iraq subsequent to January 20, 2003. Australia established its own Afghanistan Medal for service from October 11, 2001, and an Iraq Medal for service from March 18, 2003.

Both Kuwait and Saudi Arabia established identically named (but with different designs) Kuwait Liberation Medals to recognize service in the liberation of Kuwait in 1991. Both countries awarded these medals to their own militaries as well as to all other soldiers of the coalition. American troops are authorized to wear those medals on their uniforms. All British and Commonwealth troops, however, were authorized to accept both medals as a keepsake but were not allowed to wear them on their uniforms.

Modern military decorations evolved from the system of chivalric and noble orders that had been in existence in Europe for hundreds of years. In most of the Western armies and in Japan the system of military decorations at the higher end merged with the system of orders. Orders were always awarded only to officers. Some countries, such as Great Britain, developed a dual system of decorations: one for officers and one for enlisted men.

The United States, of course, had no system of chivalric or noble orders. The United States also was the first nation to confer military awards on common soldiers. In 1780 the Continental Congress authorized decorations for three New York militiamen for their roles in capturing British intelligence officer Major John Andre. The so-called Andre Medals were one-time creations. The first standing American military decoration was the Badge of Military Merit, established by General George Washington in 1782. The badge consisted of a purple cloth heart and was awarded only three times. After the American Revolution the award fell into disuse until it was reestablished in its modern form in 1932 as the Purple Heart, awarded for wounds (including mortal wounds) received in combat. The Purple Heart was made retroactive to service in World War I.

The U.S. Army established the Certificate of Merit in 1847, awarded to army privates and noncommissioned officers for acts of heroism. Originally the award consisted only of a certificate and an entry in the soldier's record. In 1905 a medal was authorized for all holders of the certificate. The Certificate of Merit became obsolete in 1918. Initially, all holders of the Certificate of Merit were authorized to convert their award to the newly established Distinguished Service Medal, which was later changed to the Distinguished Service Cross.

The Medal of Honor (often erroneously called the Congressional Medal of Honor) was established for the U.S. Navy on December 12, 1861, and for the U.S. Army on July 12, 1862. The highest American military decoration for battlefield heroism, it is awarded by the president in the name of Congress to those members of the U.S. armed forces who distinguish themselves by gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of their lives above and beyond the call of duty while engaged in combat against an armed enemy of the United States.

Originally authorized only for enlisted men, officers became eligible for the army Medal of Honor in 1863 and for the navy Medal of Honor in 1915. The army and navy Medals of Honor also differed in that the army Medal of Honor from the start could be awarded only for acts of combat valor. The navy Medal of Honor could, until 1942, be awarded for peacetime acts of heroism. Between 1917 and 1942 the navy actually had two different designs for the Medal of Honor, one for combat and one for noncombat. The suspension ribbon was the same for both. After the U.S. Air Force became a separate service in 1947, it adopted its own distinct design for the Medal of Honor but with the common suspension ribbon used by all the services. In almost all cases the U.S. Navy version of decorations, including the Medal of Honor, is used by the U.S. Marine Corps.

The Medal of Honor has been awarded eight times since the Vietnam War. U.S. Army Delta Force snipers Master Sergeant Gary Gordon and Sergeant First Class Randall D. Shugart received the Medal of Honor for the same action in Somalia on October 3, 1993. The Medal of Honor was not awarded during the relatively short Persian Gulf War. Four Medals of Honor have been awarded so far in the Iraq War: Sergeant First Class Paul Smith, U.S. Army (April 4, 2003); Corporal Jason Dunham, U.S. Marine Corps (April 22, 2004); Master-at-Arms 2nd Class (SEAL) Michael Monsoor, U.S. Navy (September 29, 2006); and Specialist Ross McGinnis, U.S. Army (December 4, 2006). Two Medals of Honor have been awarded to date for service in Afghanistan: Lieutenant (SEAL) Michael Murphy, U.S. Navy (June 28, 2005), and Sergeant First Class Jared C. Monti, U.S. Army (June 21, 2005).

From World War I through the Vietnam War the posthumous rate for the Medal of Honor has averaged somewhat less than 50 percent. All eight of the post–Vietnam War Medals of Honor, however, have been awarded posthumously, prompting many critics to charge that the bar for the decoration has been unofficially and unfairly raised.

The modern system of American military decorations came into being during World War I. Until that time the only American decorations were the Medal of Honor and the Certificate of Merit. With the establishment in 1918 of the Distinguished Service Cross, the Navy Cross, and the Distinguished Service Medal, Congress created the concept of the Pyramid of Honor. For the first time in American history, degrees of military service to the nation were established, each worthy of its own level of recognition. In the years following World War I, some dozen lower-level decorations for valor, distinguished service, or both have been added to the American Pyramid of Honor.

The Medal of Honor is at the apex of the Pyramid of Honor. Some levels of the Pyramid of Honor have more than one decoration because the army, the navy, and the air force each have their own unique award. At other levels all the services use the same award. At the second level below the Medal of Honor the decorations have slightly different names and completely different designs and ribbons, but the Distinguished Service Cross, the Navy Cross, and the Air Force Cross are equivalent as America's second-highest combat decorations. At the third level, the army, navy, and air force Distinguished Service Medals have the same name but completely different designs and ribbons. The Distinguished Service Medal is the highest American military award for extraordinary service at the highest levels in either peacetime or war.

On the fourth level of the American Pyramid of Honor, the Silver Star is awarded by all three services. America's third-highest decoration for combat valor was authorized in 1918 as the Citation Star, affixed to the ribbon of the World War I Allied Victory Medal to recognize soldiers who had distinguished themselves in combat. It was a mirror of the British Mentioned in Dispatches award. In 1932 the United States converted the Citation Star to a decoration in its own right. Sergeant Leigh Ann Hester was the first woman to receive the Silver Star since World War II. She earned the decoration for an action in Iraq in March 2005. Specialist Monica Lin Brown was the first female soldier to earn the Silver Star in Afghanistan; she earned the decoration for an action that occurred in April 2007.

The Legion of Merit (LOM) ranks directly after the Silver Star. The LOM is the only American decoration that is awarded in different classes: Legionnaire, Officer, Commander, and Chief Commander. Established in 1942, the LOM originally was intended to be a decoration to recognize foreign officers. By the end of World War II, however, it was being awarded to Americans as well but only in the Legionnaire class. That remains the practice to this day. Although the LOM can be awarded for combat bravery, it almost never is. It is generally the second-highest American award for distinguished service either in peacetime or war. The LOM is awarded by all four services.

Established in 1944, the Bronze Star Medal (BSM) is either the fourth-highest award for combat valor or the third-highest award for meritorious service, depending on the circumstances. As a valor decoration, the BSM is awarded with a bronze V Device attached to the suspension ribbon or to the ribbon bar. The "V" indicates valor. Without the V Device, the BSM is awarded for exceptionally meritorious service in wartime, although not necessarily in direct combat. The peacetime meritorious service equivalent of the BSM is the Meritorious Service Medal (MSM), established in 1969. All four services award both the BSM and the MSM.

In some countries soldiers wear multiple medals or ribbons for subsequent awards of the same decoration. Each subsequent award of a U.S. Army and U.S. Air Force decoration is indicated by a Bronze Oak Leaf Cluster device attached to the suspension ribbon or to the ribbon bar. A Silver Oak Leaf Cluster represents five subsequent awards. The U.S. Navy and U.S. Marine Corps use a Gold Star Device to represent subsequent awards and a Silver Star Device (not to be confused with the silver Citation Star of World War I) to indicate five subsequent awards.

Although technically not medals or decorations, a special category of American qualification badges carries a level of prestige equal to decorations. The various American services all have extensive systems of skill and qualification badges, ranging from pilot's and parachutist's wings to badges for missile operators, air traffic controllers, mechanics, and medics. Most of these badges are earned by taking a qualification test or by successfully completing a required course of instruction. A very small number of military badges are awarded only for direct combat service.

The U.S. Army's Combat Infantryman Badge (CIB) is the premier American combat badge. The distinctive blue badge with a silver wreath was established in 1943 to recognize service as an infantryman in ground combat in the rank of colonel and below. The eligibility period was retroactive to December 7, 1941. Additional service as a combat infantryman in a subsequent war is indicated by the addition of a star at the opening of the wreath. There have been five distinct periods for which award of the CIB has been authorized: World War II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the Persian Gulf War, and the current wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Only about 250 American soldiers have ever received the CIB for service in three wars, all of them for World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. The CIB can only be awarded to soldiers who are trained as infantrymen and who are assigned to infantry units that engage in combat operations. Since the Vietnam War, Special Forces soldiers also have been eligible for the CIB.

The U.S. Army's Combat Medic Badge (CMB) was established in March 1945 and made retroactive to December 7, 1941, to recognize medics who serve with infantry units in combat. Service as a combat medic in subsequent wars is indicated by adding stars to the basic badge. The additional war periods are exactly the same as for the CIB. Only two American soldiers, Sergeant First Class Wayne Slagel and Master Sergeant Henry Jenkins, received the CMB for service in three wars. In 1991 the criteria for the CMB was expanded to include medics assigned to armored and armored cavalry units. During the Persian Gulf War the CMB was awarded to female medics for the first time. The CMB is considered equal in prestige to that of the CIB.

Parachute jumps in combat are among the most hazardous of all military operations. Since World War II soldiers in airborne units have been attaching a small bronze star device to their parachutist wings to designate each combat jump they made. The device is identical to the campaign service stars worn on the campaign medals. The practice was finally officially recognized and authorized by the U.S. Army in 1983 as the Combat Jump Device. Some 200 soldiers of the 75th Ranger Regiment received the Combat Jump Device for an assault near Kandahar, Afghanistan, on October 19, 2001. On March 26, 2003, 954 troopers of the 173rd Airborne Brigade earned the Combat Jump Device when they dropped into Basher in northern Iraq.

In the years following World War II there were many sporadic efforts to establish combat badges for the other combat arms branches of the U.S. Army. During the Korean War especially, many units produced and awarded various unofficial versions of a Combat Artillery Badge, Combat Armor Badge, and others. Despite widespread support from various quarters, such awards were never authorized or officially adopted. The pressure to establish some method of formal recognition for direct combat service other than infantryman, medics, and Special Forces soldiers never really abated. The issue again came to a head during the early days of the Iraq War. In May 2005 the army finally established the Combat Action Badge (CAB), with eligibility dating from September 18, 2001. The CIB and CMB still retain their positions as the army's most prestigious combat awards, but the CAB is awarded to all other soldiers who come under fire during ground combat operations. Unlike with the CIB and CMB, general officers are eligible for the CAB.

The U.S. Navy and U.S. Marine Corps established an award to recognize participation in ground or surface combat in February 1969, with eligibility for service in Vietnam retroactive to March 1961. Rather than a badge, the Combat Action Ribbon is a ribbon bar that ranks in order of precedence ahead of all campaign medals. In March 2007 the U.S. Air Force established its own award to recognize participation in either ground or aerial combat, with eligibility retroactive to September 11, 2001. Neither a badge nor solely a ribbon bar, the Air Force Combat Action Medal is a full decoration. In order of precedence, however, it is equal to the Department of the Navy's Combat Action Ribbon. General officers are not eligible for the air force award.

The United Kingdom has a long tradition and a broad system of orders to recognize distinguished military and civilian service. Originally established in 1399, the Order of the Bath (Military Division) was the most significant recognition for distinguished military service at the highest levels. In 1856 Queen Victoria established the Victoria Cross (VC) as the premier British decoration for combat heroism. From its inception up until the end of the Cold War period, the VC was the only British combat decoration for which officers and enlisted soldiers were both eligible. Significantly, the VC ranked in order of precedence ahead of all British orders, even the Order of the Garter, seldom awarded outside the royal family. The VC ribbon was dark crimson for the British Army and blue for the Royal Navy until 1920, when it was changed to crimson for all services. Most of the Commonwealth countries continued to use the British military decorations system until well after World War II. In 1991 Australia established the Victoria Cross for Australia, in 1993 Canada established the Victoria Cross of Canada, and in 1999 New Zealand established the Victoria Cross for New Zealand. All three decorations are almost identical to the original British VC, varying slightly in some minor design details of the badge.

Since the end of World War II the VC has been awarded only 15 times (including the Australian and New Zealand versions). Private Johnson Beharry of the Princess of Wales' Royal Regiment received the VC for a series of actions in Iraq between May 1 and June 11, 2004. Corporal Bryan Budd of the Parachute Regiment received the VC for a series of actions in Afghanistan between July 27 and August 20, 2006. Special Air Service corporal Bill Apiata, a native Maori, received the VC for New Zealand for an action in Afghanistan sometime during 2004. Special Air Service trooper Mark Donaldson received the VC for Australia for an action in Afghanistan on September 2, 2008. Apiata and Donaldson are the first two winners of the VC for New Zealand and the VC for Australia, respectively. Of the four VCs for Iraq and Afghanistan so far, only Corporal Budd's was awarded posthumously, which contrasts sharply with the thus-far 100 percent posthumous award for the American Medal of Honor.

Below the level of the VC, the original British awards system split into distinct groups for officers and enlisted men. Although technically decorations, the enlisted awards were called gallantry medals. In order of precedence, the lowest officer's decoration ranked above the highest enlisted gallantry medal. The British finally abandoned this dual system in 1993. The enlisted gallantry medals were eliminated, and all British soldiers for the first time became eligible for all decorations.

The highest British decoration for distinguished service is the Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath (CB), which is roughly equivalent to the American Distinguished Service Medal. Next in precedence are the Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (CBE) and the Distinguished Service Order (DSO). Until 1993 the DSO was awarded to officers for both distinguished service and for combat valor. As a valor decoration, it was second in precedence to the VC. Since 1993 it is awarded for distinguished service only. The gallantry component of the DSO was replaced by the newly established Conspicuous Gallantry Cross (CGC). Although the CGC is the rough equivalent to the American Distinguished Service Cross, it ranks much lower in overall precedence under the British awards system. While the American Distinguished Service Cross ranks immediately below the Medal of Honor and above the Distinguished Service Medal, the British CGC ranks below the CB, the CBE, and the DSO.

The third level of British gallantry awards are roughly equivalent to the American Silver Star, but each service has its own

unique award: the Military Cross (MC), British Army; the Distinguished Service Cross (DSC), Royal Navy; and the Distinguished Flying Cross (DFC), Royal Air Force. The DFC is also awarded to British Army Air Corps and Royal Navy pilots for gallantry in aerial combat. Under the pre-1993 awards system the equivalent enlisted awards were the now-obsolete Military Medal (MM), Distinguished Service Medal (DSM), and Distinguished Flying Medal (DFM), respectively. The first female solder to win the MC was Private Michelle Norris for an action that took place in Iraq in June 2006. A combat medic who rescued a wounded British soldier under fire, Norris and her patient were evacuated from the battlefield by a helicopter flown by U.S. Marine Corps captain William Chesarek Jr., who was assigned to a British unit as an exchange officer. For his part in the action Chesarek became the first American since World War II to be awarded the British DFC.

The primary level of recognition for acts of gallantry or distinguished conduct by British soldiers in combat operations is the Mention in Dispatches (MID). Soldiers so mentioned are authorized to wear a bronze oak leaf device on the ribbon of the appropriate campaign medal. As noted above, the American version of this practice in World War I later evolved into the Silver Star.

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Chronology

1777

Morocco recognizes the independence of the United States, the first nation to do so.

1783

The American War of Independence results in British recognition of the United States as a separate nation. The British Navy ceases to protect American shipping as part of the British Empire. This results in the seizure of American merchant vessels by North African pirates for ransom in the Mediterranean.

1785

First American diplomatic mission to the Middle East, headed by John Lamb.

June 1786

28 For a payment of $10,000 the sultan of Morocco agrees to end piracy off his coast.

1787

The inability of America under the Articles of Confederation to deal with the North African pirates is one of the factors leading to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia.

March 1794

27 Congress establishes the U.S. Navy with a bill authorizing the construction of six frigates to provide protection to American merchant shipping from the North African pirates.

1795–1797

Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis sign treaties to cease piracy in their coastal waters.

1798–1801

Annual payment of tributes curtails piracy. Tribute reaches $2 million by 1801.

May 1801

10 U.S. president Thomas Jefferson dispatches a naval squadron of three frigates and a schooner under the command of Commodore Richard Dale.

14 The Bashaw of Tripoli, Yusuf Karamanli, formally declares war on the United States.

July 1801

24 The U.S. squadron under Commodore Richard Dale sent by President Thomas Jefferson to the Mediterranean arrives before Tripoli and initiates a loose blockade.

October 1803

31 The U.S. frigate *Philadelphia* runs aground near Tripoli while pursuing a Tripolitan ship and is captured with its crew by gunboats sent out from Tripoli. The Tripolitans begin work to convert the *Philadelphia* for their use as a warship.

February 1804

16 U.S. Navy lieutenant Stephen Decatur Jr. and a crew of volunteers sail into the port of Tripoli and burn the *Philadelphia* without the loss of a single man.

U.S. consul William Eaton concludes a convention with Hamet Karamanli, the former pasha of Tripoli, who had been deposed by his younger brother Yusuf and is in exile in Egypt. Eaton then takes command of an expeditionary force that departs Alexandria on March 6. Consisting of 10 Americans, 300 Arab horsemen, 70 Christian mercenaries, and 1,000 camels, this unlikely force advances 500 miles across the Libyan desert to Derna, where it assaults that place on April 27 with artillery support provided by three U.S. Navy brigs offshore under Captain Isaac Hull. Hamet and Eaton then take control of the town, and marine captain Presley O'Bannon raises the American flag for the first time ever over a conquered foreign city. On May 8 and June 10 Tripolitan forces fail in two attempts to retake the city.

June 1805

3 Bashaw Yusuf Karamanli of Tripoli agrees to a treaty with the United States. He accepts a $60,000 ransom for the release of the more than 300 American prisoners from the frigate *Philadelphia* but renounces future tribute from the United States.

July 1815

5 In the Barbary War of 1815 Captain Stephen Decatur Jr. sails to Algiers with a powerful squadron, captures two Algerine warships before that state learns of the U.S. Navy presence, and speedily concludes a peace treaty with Algiers. The dey releases his foreign prisoners, renounces tribute from the United States, and agrees not to attack American merchant vessels. Decatur continues on to Tunis and Tripoli, which reaffirm their peaceful intentions.

1817–1914

The Middle East evokes little American interest other than missionary activities and the continuation of trade. U.S. leadership generally considers the region a British-French sphere of influence.

1882

U.S. marines land in Alexandria, Egypt, after British ships shell the city.

1902

The term "Middle East" is first used by American naval strategist Alfred Thayer Mahan.

June 1914

28 Serbian nationalists assassinate Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, setting off a chain of events that leads to a declaration of war against Serbia by the Dual Monarchy on July 28. This sets into motion interlocking treaties of military support that plunges most of Europe into World War I, with the Central powers of Germany, Austro-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire opposing the Allied (Entente) powers of Russia, France, Britain, and later Italy. The United States remains neutral until the German government resumes unrestricted submarine warfare on February 1, 1917. The United States enters the war as an Associated power with a declaration of war against Germany on April 6 but does not declare war on Austria-Hungary until December 7, 1917, and never does declare war on the Ottoman Empire. Its military effort is limited to Europe and does not include the Middle East.

January 1918

8 President Woodrow Wilson addresses Congress and presents his Fourteen Points, his vision for a peace settlement in World War I. These include this passage in Wilson's Point 12: "other nationalities [of the Ottoman Empire beyond the borders of Turkey] should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development." This statement raises great expectations for autonomy or independence for the non-Turkish populations in the Ottoman Empire and fosters hopes among many that the United States will support self-determination and independence for ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities in the Middle East and elsewhere in the world.

January 18, 1919–January 21, 1920

During the Paris Peace Conference negotiating the Treaty of Versailles, Wilson receives strong opposition to his Fourteen Points from British, French, and Italian allied leaders (who had not been consulted prior to Wilson's January 1918 announcement of the points). In order to get approval of his most cherished point, the League of Nations, Wilson is forced to compromise on the others. Only 4 of Wilson's original 14 points are fully implemented. Autonomy and independence of the non-Turkish former Ottoman Empire populations is not among them.

1919–1921

Extensive internal debate occurs in the United States over the Paris peace settlement ending World War I and the establishment of the League of Nations (largely crafted by U.S. president Woodrow Wilson and British prime minister David Lloyd George), ending with separate peace treaties with Germany, Austria, and Hungary on October 18, 1921. The U.S. Senate does not ratify the Treaty of Versailles, and America does not join the League of Nations. As an Associated power rather

than an Allied power, the United States had not declared war on the Ottoman Empire and therefore could claim little voice in its dismemberment and in the subsequent establishment of the League of Nations mandates.

1922–1939

Although the United States continues to be engaged globally in commercial activities and trade, in general it follows a policy of isolationism regarding political involvement in world affairs. However, America gradually recognizes the threat posed by Germany and Japan.

1924

The United States recognizes the British mandate over Palestine.

1933

American oil companies receive the right to explore for oil in Saudi Arabia.

September 1939

1 German forces invade Poland. World War II in Europe formally begins on September 3 when Britain and France, acting in fulfillment of their treaty obligations with Poland, declare war on Germany. The United States continues its generally isolationist position.

June 1940

10 Italy declares war on France and Britain, spreading World War II to North Africa. Soon the Italian forces in Libya take the offensive against the British in Egypt.

March 1941

11 The U.S. Lend-Lease Act, passed by large majorities in both houses of Congress, provides American arms and equipment to nations resisting aggression.

June 1941

24 After Germany invades the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, U.S. Lend-Lease is extended to the Soviet Union. The United States establishes a military mission in Iran to manage substantial quantities of aid channeled through the nation to the Soviets.

December 1941

7 The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands results in a U.S. declaration of war against Japan. Following Adolf Hitler's December 11 declaration of war on the United States, the United States finds itself at war with all of the Axis powers. The war will involve U.S. military action in the Middle East for the first time since the early 19th century.

August 1942

The military mission to Iran becomes the Persian Gulf Support Command and then in December 1943 the Persian Gulf Command. Some 30,000 U.S. troops deliver 4.5 million tons of military supplies to the Soviet Union via Iran (the route becomes known as the Persian Corridor).

November 1942

8 Operation TORCH, the U.S. and British invasion of French North Africa, begins. Overall Allied commander is General Dwight D. Eisenhower, who will later be the U.S. president during Middle East crises such as the 1956 Suez Crisis and the 1958 Lebanon intervention.

May 1943

13 The Allied campaign in North Africa comes to an end with the surrender of the remaining German and Italian forces in Tunis. This successful Allied North African campaign ends the Axis threat to the Suez Canal and a takeover of the Middle Eastern oil fields. It also renders impossible an Axis land linkage with the Japanese in eastern India. The focus of the U.S. effort now turns to Southern Europe.

February 1945

14 U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt meets with King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia aboard the U.S. Navy heavy cruiser *Quincy.* This meeting helps enhance the Saudi-American relationship, which had grown during World War II and resulted in the formation in 1944 of the Arab-American Oil Corporation (ARAMCO). The Saudi monarchy maintains close economic and strategic ties to the United States throughout the remainder of the century.

May 1945

8 World War II ends in Europe. The weakened condition of Britain and France portends a far greater U.S. role in the Middle East to counter the extension of Soviet power into the area.

1945–1949

Emergence of a bipolar Cold War pitting the United States and its allies against the Soviet Union and its allies. Meanwhile, there is growing dependence among Western nations on Middle Eastern oil. At the same time, however, anger among Arab states is created by strong Western support for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. The United States establishes military bases in Islamic countries, such as Incirlik in Turkey and Wheelus in Libya. Saudi Arabia hosts a small U.S. air base at Dhahran.

May 1946

4 The Soviet Union evacuates its troops from northern Iran under pressure from the United States and the new United Nations (UN).

March 1947

12 U.S. president Harry S. Truman announces what becomes known as the Truman Doctrine. It extends U.S. aid to support Greece and Turkey to stave off an internal communist threat and external pressure from the Soviet Union.

May 1948

14 Israel declares its independence and is immediately recognized by the United States and the Soviet Union. The declaration immediately brings invasions by neighboring Arab states, initiating the First Arab-Israeli War (1948–1949), also known as the Israeli War of Independence.

April 1949

4 Formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a pact that commits members to mutual support in the event of aggression. Turkey is among the first members. The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), established in 1954, and the 1955 Baghdad Pact, later called the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), provides overlapping memberships in an effort to prevent Soviet expansion into these regions.

May 1950

25 Tripartite Declaration made by United States, Britain, and France opposing violation of the United Nations (UN) armistice ending the 1948–1949 Arab-Israeli war.

September 1950

30 U.S. president Harry Truman signs National Security Council Report 68 (NSC-68), formally committing the United States to a policy of containing communism wherever it might threaten throughout the world. The global commitment of the containment policy ensures that the Middle East will be drawn into the Cold War maneuvering between the superpowers as each side attempts to expand its influence in the region.

August 1953

16 Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran flees to Iraq as Iranian prime minister Mohammad Mossadegh consolidates power and moves toward nationalization of Iran's oil industry and limits on the power of the Iranian monarchy.

19 A coup supported by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) overthrows Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadegh of Iran, restoring Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi to power three days later.

September 1953

5 The U.S. government extends a $45 million aid package to Iran.

May 1955

14 The Warsaw Pact codifies previous commitments of the Soviet Union and East European communist states to support each other in possible armed conflicts with the West. This and the Truman Doctrine ensure that both sides of the Cold War will vigorously compete for influence and control throughout the world. The importance of Middle Eastern oil and the decline of British and French control in much of the Middle East lead to more active U.S. diplomatic, economic, and military efforts in the region.

July 1956

26 President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt nationalizes the Suez Canal. This is in response to the removal of U.S. and British financial support for the building of the Aswan High Dam. President Dwight D. Eisenhower had withdrawn the U.S. pledge following the announcement of an arms deal whereby Egypt would trade cotton for modern arms, including jet fighters, from Warsaw Pact member Czechoslovakia. Nasser's step of nationalizing the canal initiates the Suez Crisis.

October 1956

29 Israeli forces invade the Sinai peninsula, beginning the 1956 Suez Crisis. This is in response to Egypt having announced that it is closing the Strait of Tiran. Israeli forces are operating in conjunction with a secret agreement with Britain and France. The two European powers then demand that all sides pull back from the Suez Canal. When, as expected, Egypt refuses, Britain and France launch long-planned military strikes on Egypt from Cyprus. This comes at the worst possible time for the West, however, providing a distraction for the brutal Soviet invasion and crushing of the Hungarian Revolution.

31 During October 31–November 5, 1956, the United States and the Soviet Union declare opposition to the use of force in the Middle East and threaten possible intervention. U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower is furious at the British and French action, which has been undertaken without American knowledge.

November 1956

6 Israel, France, and Britain withdraw forces from the Sinai and Suez under great U.S. pressure. A United Nations

Emergency Force (UNEF) takes over. This humiliation of France and Britain effectively ends any hopes that the two European nations had of remaining global powers and has significant implications for the United States. From that point on, America would replace France and Britain in protecting Western interests in the Middle East.

January 1957

5 U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower announces what becomes known as the Eisenhower Doctrine, promising assistance to any Middle Eastern nation requesting help in resisting communist aggression. Congress approves this policy on March 7.

July 1958

14 A coup in Iraq supported by Egypt and Syria overthrows the pro-Western Iraqi monarchy. Lebanon and Jordan fear the spread of the conflict and request protection from the United States and Great Britain.

15 President Dwight D. Eisenhower orders 5,000 U.S. marines to Lebanon. Britain airlifts troops to Jordan.

October 1958

25 U.S. forces complete their withdrawal from Lebanon.

June 1963

12 President John F. Kennedy authorizes Operation HARD SURFACE, the dispatch of a squadron of North American F-100 Super Sabre jet fighters to Saudi Arabia to deter Egypt from extending its involvement in the civil war in North Yemen (1962–1970) to Saudi Arabia. Participation of Jewish personnel in the mission delays deployment until July 2. The aircraft do not engage Egyptian forces, and President Lyndon B. Johnson (Kennedy's successor) allows the operation to end in January 1964.

November 1964

4 Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, having actively opposed the rule of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi and Iran's dependence on the United States since 1962, is expelled from Iran to Turkey. After exile in Iraq and France, Khomeini will return to Iran on February 1, 1979.

June 1967

5–10 Six-Day War between Israel, Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. The United States seeks an end to the conflict to prevent a wider war that might involve the superpowers.

September 1972

5 The Black September terrorist group massacres members of the Israeli Olympic team in Munich. Israel then launches a major manhunt for the assassins.

October 1973

6–26 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War initiated by Egypt and Syria against Israel. President Anwar Sadat of Egypt initiates the war in consultation with Asad and its Arab neighbors. In a two-pronged attack, Egypt crosses the Suez Canal while Syria advances onto the Golan Heights. After early reversals, Israel is victorious and seizes large portions of Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian territory. The United States backs Israel but later demands that it end its offensive. The Soviets, who had threatened to intervene, back down after U.S. armed forces go to a higher stage of alert. U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger initiates shuttle diplomacy, traveling between the belligerents' capitals in an attempt to broker a peace agreement. His actions are later taken up by the Jimmy Carter administration.

April 1978

27 Communist coup d'état in Afghanistan.

September 1978

5–17 Tense negotiations at the U.S. presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland, between Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin, brokered by President Jimmy Carter, result in the Camp David Accords, signed on September 17. The accords will lead to a formal Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty in 1979.

December 1978

5 The new Afghan communist government signs a treaty with the Soviet Union that ensures military support from Moscow. A large number of Afghans, who believe that the new government threatens traditional Afghan practices, coalesce to begin resisting the rise of Soviet influence in Afghanistan.

January 1979

16 Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran, a staunch ally of the United States, bows to increased internal opposition to his pro-U.S. stance, uneven reforms, and considerable corruption and leaves Iran.

February 1979

1 Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini returns to Iran from France to support the revolution against the rule of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi and to secure the establishment of a theocratic state governed by Islamic law.

March 1979

26 Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty signed in Washington, D.C.

October 1979

22 U.S. president Jimmy Carter allows Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi entry into the United States for treatment of cancer.

November 1979

4 Iranian students, with the support of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, seize the U.S. embassy in Teheran, taking the 52 Americans there hostage and holding them for 444 days. They are only released the day President Ronald Reagan takes office.

December 1979

24 Having provided major military support to several Afghan regimes but now seeing the communist regime there threatened and acting under the Brezhnev Doctrine (to defend communism wherever it is established in power), the Soviet Union invades Afghanistan and occupies it, employing as many as 115,000 troops and providing considerable military and economic aid to the Afghan regime. Osama bin Laden, from a prominent wealthy family in Saudi Arabia, travels to Afghanistan to assist the resistance to the Soviets, now known as the mujahideen. Extensive but classified U.S. assistance to the resistance also comes in the form of training and equipping Afghan rebels in Pakistan.

January 1980

23 President Jimmy Carter announces a boycott of the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympics because of the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. The United States, the United Kingdom, Pakistan, Iran, and Saudi Arabia all provide financial and military aid to the Afghan resistance.

April 1980

24 President Jimmy Carter orders Operation EAGLE CLAW, an attempt to rescue the embassy hostages in Iran. The mission fails when 8 U.S. military personnel are killed and 4 are wounded when aircraft collide at the Desert One landing site. The crisis does not end until January 20, 1981, when President Ronald Reagan takes office.

September 1980

4 Ongoing tension between Iran and Iraq becomes open conflict upon Iran's artillery bombardment of Iraqi bases.

17 Iraq abrogates its treaty with Iran regarding shipments on the Shatt al-Arab waterway, essentially declaring the east bank to be the border rather than the thalweg (shipping lane) as the usual border of nations separated by rivers.

November 1980

10 Iraq occupies Khoramshahr and Abadan, beginning an eight-year war with Iran. Fearful of the influence of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the region, the United States backs Iraq and provides useful satellite intelligence to Baghdad.

January 1981

20 Following protracted negotiations, Iran frees the U.S. embassy hostages only minutes after Ronald Reagan is sworn in as U.S. president.

June 1981

7 Fearful that Iraq is developing an atomic bomb, the Israeli Air Force attacks and destroys the Iraqi nuclear facility known as Osiraq in Iraq.

February 1982

The U.S. government removes Iraq from its list of terrorist nations.

December 1982

A U.S. manufacturer ships 60 helicopters to Iraq, apparently not violating the Arms Export Control Act.

1982–1988

The U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency provides detailed information to the Iraqi government regarding Iranian military activities.

1983

Israel invades Lebanon to subdue terrorist attacks on northern Israel from Lebanon. President Ronald Reagan dispatches U.S. marines to Lebanon in an effort to stabilize the Israeli government. Iran and Syria are suspected of backing insurrection and attacks on Israel.

April 1983

18 A suicide bomber attacks the U.S. embassy in Beirut, killing 63 people, including 17 Americans.

October 1983

Ignoring the Arms Export Control Act, the U.S. government secretly encourages Arab nations to ship weapons to Iraq.

23 Suicide truck bomber attacks the poorly defended U.S. Marine Corps barracks at Beirut airport, killing 241 marines and wounding more than 100. President Ronald Reagan soon withdraws U.S. military forces from Lebanon.

November 1983

A National Security directive declares that the United States could prevent Iranian victory in the Iran-Iraq War if it provides $5 billion in loans to Iraq and allows shipments of industrial materials, including those necessary for development of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. Intelligence reports to the U.S. State Department note the Iraqi use of chemical weapons against Iran.

January 1984

14 The United States acknowledges shipping to Iraq dual-use exports (materials that can be used for routine industrial processes or for development of chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons).

September 1984

13 Secret U.S. shipment of 508 TOW missiles to Iran as part of the arms-for-hostages agreement.

20 A truck bomb explodes outside the U.S. embassy annex northeast of Beirut, Lebanon, killing 24 people, including 2 U.S. military personnel.

November 1984

The United States renews diplomatic ties with Iraq, severed in 1967.

March 1985

11 Mikhail Gorbachev becomes the general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the de facto ruler of the Soviet Union. He announces plans to reduce Soviet foreign military involvements. In Afghanistan, Gorbachev reduces the Soviet combat mission and refocuses it on training indigenous Afghan military and police forces.

1986

The United States supplies antiaircraft Stinger missiles to Afghan rebels.

January 1986

17 The Ronald Reagan administration authorizes shipment of 4,000 antiaircraft missiles to Iran, to be shipped through Israel. This is part of what becomes the Iran-Contra Affair, the sale of U.S. military equipment to Iran, the proceeds from which are then used to support the Contra insurgents fighting the communist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua.

April 1986

22 Indictment of 10 U.S. citizens for sales of missiles to Iran.

May 1986

The U.S. government licenses shipment of biological material to Iraq, including anthrax and botulin poisons.

November 1986

The Iran-Contra Affair becomes public knowledge through a Beirut, Lebanon, newspaper article.

January–March 1987

The United States reflags Kuwaiti tankers to protect them from Iranian attack in the Persian Gulf. In Operation EARNEST WILL, the United States also sends warships to the Persian Gulf to escort and protect commercial shipping.

March 1987

U.S. president Ronald Reagan admits illegal sales to Iran to finance Contra operations in Nicaragua.

May 1987

18 An Iraqi Exocet aircraft-launched missile strikes the U.S. Navy frigate *Stark* in the Persian Gulf, killing 37 sailors. The attack is declared accidental, a consequence of the continuing Iran-Iraq War.

April 1988

Shipment from the United States to Iraq of chemicals required for the manufacture of mustard gas.

14 The U.S. Navy guided missile frigate *Samuel B. Roberts* is severely damaged by a mine in the Persian Gulf. Other mines of Iranian manufacture are found in the area.

18 In retaliation for Iranian mining of the Persian Gulf, in Operation PRAYING MANTIS U.S. Navy warships attack two Iranian oil rigs in the Persian Gulf, sinking an Iranian frigate and damaging another.

July 1988

3 The U.S. Navy guided-missile cruiser *Vincennes* mistakenly downs an Iranian commercial jet believed to have been a military aircraft, killing all 290 people aboard. The U.S. government subsequently apologizes for the incident and pays reparations.

August 1988

20 Formal cease-fire declared in the eight-year-long Iran-Iraq War.

February 1989

15 The last Soviet forces depart Afghanistan. This frees the Islamic fundamentalist Taliban to begin a slow conquest of Afghanistan, aided by Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda

terrorist organization. Al Qaeda thereby gains in Taliban-dominated Afghanistan a secure base for its operations.

August 1990

2 Iraq, having previously proclaimed Kuwait as a province, invades Kuwait to establish its sovereignty there. Following a 14 to 0 vote, the United Nations (UN) Security Council passes Resolution 660, calling for a cease-fire and Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. Kuwait requests military aid from the United States.

2–7 The United States Central Command (CENTCOM) at MacDill Air Force Base has responsibility for military operations in the Middle East and develops a plan to send 200,000 American troops to defend Saudi Arabia from an Iraqi attack should military aid be requested. General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander in chief of CENTCOM, begins work to implement the plan.

5 U.S. president George H. W. Bush announces that Iraq will not be allowed to absorb Kuwait.

6 Saudi Arabian king Fahd meets U.S. secretary of defense Richard Cheney to request military assistance. The United Nations (UN) Security Council passes UN Resolution 661 to prohibit the importation of all Iraqi and Kuwaiti goods, impose economic sanctions on Iraq, and prevent transfer of funds to Iraq and occupied Kuwait.

8 American fighter aircraft begin arriving in Saudi Arabia in Operation DESERT SHIELD. The Iraqi government formally declares Kuwait to be Iraq's 19th province.

9 The United Nations (UN) Security Council passes Resolution 662, declaring the annexation of Kuwait null and void.

12 Iraq seeks to tie its invasion of Kuwait to the Arab-Israeli dispute by declaring that it would withdraw from Kuwait if Israel withdraws from the occupied territories and Syria withdraws from Lebanon.

18 The United Nations (UN) Security Council unanimously passes Resolution 664, calling on Iraq to immediately withdraw from Kuwait. UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar plans to send envoys to Iraq to discuss the release of foreigners detained by the Iraqi government.

21 Syria joins Egypt in its commitment to defend Saudi Arabia in the event of an Iraqi invasion.

25 The United Nations (UN) Security Council approves Resolution 665 authorizing naval forces in the Persian Gulf to enforce the embargo against Iraq.

September 1990

5 Iraq calls for the removal of the leaders of Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

13 The United Nations (UN) Security Council approves Resolution 666, which imposes controls over humanitarian food aid to Iraq and directs its agencies to determine the necessity for aid and the means of distribution.

16 The United Nations (UN) Security Council unanimously approves Resolution 667, which condemns the Iraqi violation of diplomatic compounds in Kuwait and demands the immediate release of foreign nationals held in Kuwait.

24 The United Nations (UN) Security Council passes without dissent Resolution 669, which requires an examination of requests from people trapped in Iraq and Kuwait and recommendations to the Security Council on prospective actions.

25 The United Nations (UN) Security Council passes Resolution 670, which tightens sanctions against Iraq to include a prohibition on all air transportation to that country.

October 1990

29 The United Nations (UN) Security Council passes Resolution 674, again condemning Iraq for mistreatment of foreign nationals and demanding their immediate release.

November 1990

6 The George H. W. Bush administration declares its intention to double American forces in the Persian Gulf to 400,000.

19 Iraq augments its forces in Kuwait.

28 The United Nations (UN) Security Council passes without dissent Resolution 677, which condemns Iraq's occupation of Kuwait and destruction of Kuwaiti civil records.

29 The United Nations (UN) Security Council passes Resolution 678 to authorize "all means necessary," after January 15, 1991, to ensure the removal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait. This resolution essentially permits an international coalition to go to war with Iraq if it does not end its Kuwaiti occupation by that date.

December 1990

6 Under considerable international pressure, the Iraqi government decides to release foreign nationals held since August 2.

January 1991

9 In an effort to avoid armed conflict, U.S. secretary of state James Baker meets with Iraqi foreign minister Tariq Aziz. Baker presents a letter from President George H. W. Bush essentially demanding that Iraq leave Kuwait, but Aziz refuses to deliver it to Iraqi president Saddam Hussein.

12 The U.S. Congress formally authorizes the use of force against Iraq.

15 The United Nations (UN) calls for immediate withdrawal of Iraqi forces to comply with UN Resolution 678.

17 Multinational forces begin an air assault on Iraqi military, communications, and command and control positions in both Kuwait and Iraq, initiating Operation DESERT STORM (the Persian Gulf War). American general H. Norman Schwarzkopf commands the combined allied forces. Argentina, Australia, Bahrain, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Kuwait, the Netherlands, Norway, Oman, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Syria, the United Arab Emirates, and the United Kingdom all provide military forces. Other nations provide financial, medical, and logistical support.

18 Iraq responds to the allied air attacks by launching Scud surface-to-surface missiles against Israel, hoping to draw that nation into the war and fracture the Arab alliance arrayed against it. The missiles contain conventional warheads rather than chemical or biological agents, as previously feared. Bolstered by the commitment of the United States to rush antimissile Patriot missiles to Israel, Israel does not retaliate, and the Arab nations maintain their presence in the coalition to force the Iraqi Army from Kuwait.

17 From January 17 to February 24, 1991, the air offensive moves through four phases. The first phase is the destruction of Iraqi air defenses and offensive aircraft, along with communications, transportation, and nuclear, biological, and chemical production capacity. The second phase is to cut off those Iraqi forces not in the area of Kuwait from reinforcing there. The third phase is the destruction and demoralization of Iraqi forces in Kuwait. The final phase is preparation for the ground offensive.

February 1991

24 Beginning of the coalition ground assault on Iraq. The United States deploys some 530,000 military personnel and 2,000 tanks, supported by 1,376 aircraft and 108 warships (including 6 aircraft carriers and 2 battleships) deployed to the Persian Gulf. There are also 90,000 Saudis with 550 tanks, 40,000 Egyptians with 400 tanks, and 35,000 soldiers from the United Kingdom with 292 tanks. The allies add 444 additional combat aircraft as well as warships that include an aircraft carrier and 12 other ships from France and 11 destroyers and frigates from the United Kingdom. The Iraqis possess an army of some 1.1 million men, half of them in the Kuwaiti theater, with 4,300 tanks, 660 combat aircraft, and 87 naval vessels.

25 The U.S. Army 101st Airborne Division severs a key highway in the Euphrates Valley, isolating Iraq's reserves from supporting combat units in Kuwait and southern Iraq. An Iraqi counterattack fails to arrest the allied momentum. Meanwhile, in the most deadly such attack of the war, an Iraqi Scud missile strikes a U.S. barracks in Saudi Arabia, killing 28 and wounding 98 others.

28 Almost exactly 100 hours after the ground war begins and with U.S. and allied forces poised to invade Iraq itself, U.S. president George H. W. Bush calls an end to the war. Iraq agrees to a cease-fire. Iraq's defeat is complete, with some 30,000–35,000 killed or wounded. Allied casualties are 240 killed and 775 wounded. President Bush's decision not to pursue Iraqi forces into Baghdad and topple President Saddam Hussein's regime is criticized by some, but the White House contends that getting rid of Hussein was not the coalition's stated purpose and that it would cause Arab nations to withdraw from the coalition and would likely lead to chaos in Iraq.

March 1991

1 After public encouragement from the United States and expecting American and coalition support, the Shia Arabs of southern Iraq begin a revolt against continued rule by Saddam Hussein and his Baath Party. The Shia revolt rapidly spreads.

2 The United Nations (UN) Security Council passes Resolution 686, which defines the terms of the Persian Gulf War cease-fire. These include Iraqi release of prisoners of war and those detained before the war, formal renunciation of annexation of Kuwait, restitution for damages caused by the invasion, and the prompt disclosure and mapping of minefields. UN forces would then be withdrawn from Iraq once all conditions had been met.

4 Iraqi Kurds rebel in northern Iraq, starting with the occupation of Rania near Sulaymaniyah. The Kurds take oil-rich Kirkuk on March 20.

April 1991

2 The United Nations (UN) Security Council passes Resolution 687, which demands the restoration of Kuwaiti sovereignty, validates all previous UN resolutions, demands Iraqi surrender of all weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and missiles with a range of over 100 miles, and calls for the appointment of a UN commission to oversee the destruction of WMDs and long-range missiles. The U.S. military begins a search for WMDs and long-range missiles and also begins the destruction of Iraqi chemical weapons.

5 The provision in the cease-fire agreement ending the Persian Gulf War that allows Iraqi forces the use of helicopters for humanitarian purposes facilitates the brutal Iraqi suppression of the revolts of the Kurds and Shia by Iraqi forces. U.S. Central Command commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, who had agreed to the helicopter use, later admits to being taken in by the Iraqis. The United Nations (UN) Security Council passes Resolution

688, which condemns Saddam Hussein's regime for brutalizing its people, especially the Kurds and Shia. The resolution requires Iraq to allow international aid organizations to provide humanitarian assistance. Operation PROVIDE COMFORT begins on April 6. Although not mandated by Resolution 688, the U.S. and allied forces begin enforcing no-fly zones for Iraqi aircraft in both northern and southern Iraq. The resultant Operations NORTHERN WATCH and SOUTHERN WATCH are to prevent the Iraqi military from employing aircraft against the Kurds and Shia.

5 The Iraqi government announces the end of the Shia and Kurdish revolts. During its suppression of the revolts, Iraq had employed chemical weapons of mass destruction.

February 1993

26 Bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City by Muslim extremists with close ties to the Al Qaeda terrorist organization. The attack does little structural damage but results in 6 deaths and 1,042 wounded.

October 1994

8–10 Iraq deploys troops to the Kuwaiti border but withdraws in the face of United Nations (UN) Security Council protest and the movement of U.S., British, and French forces into the area.

April 1995

14 United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 986 establishes the Oil-for-Food Programme to provide relief for Iraqi citizens still suffering from disruptions caused by the Persian Gulf War. Loopholes in the program allow the Iraqi regime to use oil revenues for illicit rearmament, while President Saddam Hussein holds up the continued suffering of the Iraqi people as having been caused by the program. Corruption within the UN leads to widespread abuse of the program, while nations such as France and Germany make billions of dollars subverting the program.

August 1995

20 Iraq reveals documents that establish its attempt to develop a nuclear bomb.

May 1996

Osama bin Laden, leader of the Al Qaeda terrorist organization, returns to Afghanistan from Sudan. The Bill Clinton administration misses the opportunity to place bin Laden in custody.

June 1996

25 A truck bomb explodes outside Khobar Towers, home to half the U.S. force of 5,000 military personnel in Saudi Arabia. The blast kills 19 Americans and injures another 240. The U.S. government links the attack to Al Qaeda.

26 Failure of a coup backed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) against Iraqi president Saddam Hussein.

August 1996

23 Osama bin Laden, leader of the Al Qaeda terrorist organization, issues a call for jihad against the United States for its continued military presence in Saudi Arabia.

31 Iraqi forces attempt to establish control of parts of Kurdish Iraq but fail and withdraw on September 2.

September 1996

3–4 The United States extends the Iraqi southern no-fly zone north into the suburbs of Baghdad.

December 1996

10 Funds finally flow into Iraq under Resolution 986 (passed in April 1995) that created the Oil-for-Food Programme. The Iraqi government diverts considerable sums from humanitarian assistance, however.

October 1997

29 The Iraqi government demands the removal of United Nations (UN) weapons inspectors who are seeking information on weapons of mass destruction; removal occurs on November 13, 1997, but under international pressure they soon return to their duties.

February 1998

23 Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden issues a fatwa against the enemies of Islam; topping his list is the United States, which he claims is the "root of all evil."

August 1998

7 Simultaneous bombings occur at the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Both actions are linked to the Al Qaeda terrorist organization.

20 The United States launches Operation INFINITE REACH, a series of cruise-missile attacks against targets in Afghanistan and Sudan, in retaliation for the August 7 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Al Qaeda was reportedly culpable for the bombings.

26 The chief United Nations (UN) weapons inspector in Iraq, American Scott Ritter, resigns. He complains not only about the lax enforcement of post–Persian Gulf War resolutions concerning Iraq by the UN and the United States but also that Iraq did not have a weapons of mass destruction program that warranted inspection.

October 1998

26 The United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) established to investigate Iraqi chemical weapons reports that Iraq had VX nerve gas in spite of Iraqi claims to the contrary.

November 1998

1 Iraq declares that it will not cooperate with United Nations (UN) inspectors searching for weapons of mass destruction.

15 Under threat of force, Iraq pledges further cooperation with the United Nations (UN) on weapons inspections, leading to the cancellation of a planned punitive air strike by the United States.

December 1998

16–19 The decision by the Iraqi government to end cooperation with the United Nations (UN) on weapons inspection leads to Operation DESERT FOX, air strikes by U.S. and British aircraft against Iraqi air defense installations.

October 1999

15 The United Nations (UN) Security Council passes Resolution 1267, instituting economic sanctions against Afghanistan until the Taliban regime turns over Osama bin Laden, the leader of the Al Qaeda terrorist organization, to UN custody.

December 1999

17 The United Nations (UN) reorganizes its weapons inspection effort with passage of Security Council Resolution 1284. The resolution creates the United Nations Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC). Iraq objects.

October 2000

12 The U.S. Navy Arleigh Burke–class destroyer *Cole,* anchored off the Yemeni port of Aden, comes under attack by a small boat laden with explosives. The suicide bombers, linked to the Al Qaeda terrorist organization, detonate the craft next to the ship. The explosion rips a large hole in the side of the ship and kills 17 sailors; 39 others are injured.

September 2001

11 Nineteen Al Qaeda suicide terrorists board four U.S. domestic aircraft flights in Boston, Newark, and Dulles Airport outside Washington, D.C. They hijack the planes in flight. One flight hits the North Tower of the World Trade Center in New York City at 8:46 a.m., another strikes the South Tower at 9:03 a.m., and the third slams into the Pentagon in northern Virginia at 10:03 a.m. The fourth plane, targeted for the White House or the U.S. Capitol building, crashes in western Pennsylvania after passengers overwhelm the hijackers but fail to control the aircraft. All 19 terrorists and 246 passengers and crew die, along with 2,603 in the collapse of the Twin Towers in New York and 125 at the Pentagon. Emergency personnel respond to the attacks, resulting in the deaths of 411 New York firefighters, police, and paramedics. Another 24 people thought to have been at the crash sites are missing, and there are serious injuries to rescue personnel and civilians near the attack areas. Both World Trade Center towers are completely destroyed, and seven nearby structures suffer complete destruction or severe damage. The Pentagon also sustains extensive structural damage.

14 U.S. deputy secretary of defense Paul Wolfowitz declares that the Global War on Terror must go beyond seeking out and destroying terrorist groups and must also punish nations that support terrorist activities.

20 Before a televised joint session of Congress, U.S. president George W. Bush introduces the term "Global War on Terror," blames the 9/11 attacks on the Al Qaeda terrorist organization based in Afghanistan, and demands that the Taliban government turn Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden over to the United States. Afghanistan refuses the demand. British and U.S. aircraft attack an Iraqi air defense installation in southern Iraq. Iraq denies any connection to September 11.

21 The George W. Bush administration claims a close connection between Saddam Hussein's Iraq and Al Qaeda, including training that supposedly took place on a model Boeing 707 aircraft at Salman Pak in Iraq.

23 Pakistan is the only country that continues to recognize the Taliban as the legitimate government in Afghanistan; Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates had previously withdrawn recognition.

October 2001

7 The Taliban government of Afghanistan offers to try Osama bin Laden in an Islamic court. The U.S. rejects this and, along with the United Kingdom, begins bombing Afghanistan. This is the official opening of Operation ENDURING FREEDOM. Cruise missiles from American and British submarines and aircraft from two American aircraft carriers strike targets that include Kabul, Kandahar, and Jalalabad.

14 The Taliban government of Afghanistan offers to turn Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden over to a third nation for trial if the bombing ceases and the United States presents evidence of Al Qaeda involvement in the September 11 attack.

October–November 2001

Continuation of air attacks and Special Forces actions to destroy Afghan government communications, command, and control capabilities. Regional Afghan groups, such as the Northern Alliance, join the fight against Taliban forces. Meanwhile, thousands of Pashtun militia from Pakistan join the struggle on the side of the Taliban. Suspecting that Osama bin Laden and the Taliban leadership have moved into the Tora Bora mountains near the Afghan-Pakistani border, the United States employs Boeing B-52 Stratofortress bombers to strike suspected hiding places.

November 2001

9 A ground offensive in Afghanistan begins against Taliban and Al Qaeda forces in the Mazar-e Sharif area, a key concentration area for Taliban forces. Carpet bombing of the Chesmay Gorge at the entrance to Mazar-e Sharif allows forces of the Northern Alliance, supported by the United States, to sweep into the city.

10 The fall of Mazar-e Sharif permits forces of the Northern Alliance to take control of five northern provinces of Afghanistan.

12 The Taliban evacuates the Afghan capital of Kabul.

13 Al Qaeda and Taliban forces concentrate in the rugged Tora Bora region, utilizing the extensive cave complexes there.

15 A U.S. Hellfire missile targets Al Qaeda leaders near Gardez and kills several, including Muhammad Atef. Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, however, remains elusive.

16 Continuation of bombardment of the Tora Bora mountain region and Special Forces operations. The United States undertakes the payment of Afghan militias to fight the Taliban and Al Qaeda. The siege of Kunduz begins.

25–26 The Afghan city of Kunduz falls to Northern Alliance forces after heavy bombardment by U.S. aircraft. Up to 5,000 Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters relocate across the border into northwestern Pakistan. U.S. and Afghan allies take hundreds of captives to Ala-i-Janghi near Mazar-e Sharif, where 300 rise up and attempt to take over the compound. The rebellion is quelled by allied ground forces and Lockheed AC-130 Spectre gunships. U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officer Johnny Michael Spann, there to question prisoners, is killed, becoming the first American casualty of the Afghanistan War.

December 2001

5 Afghan leaders opposed to the Taliban agree in the course of a meeting in Bonn, Germany, to form an interim government after the defeat of the Taliban.

7 Taliban leader Mullah Mohammed Omar orders the evacuation of the city of Kandahar, the last major Taliban stronghold in Afghanistan. This follows intensive bombardment and ground attacks and includes several hundred U.S. marines, the first major American ground forces involved in the war. The Taliban also surrenders Spin Boldak on the Pakistani border.

12 The United Nations (UN) Security Council authorizes the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) to help the interim Afghan government maintain order.

17 U.S., British, and allied Afghan forces overrun much of the Tora Bora mountain area. About 200 Taliban and Al Qaeda are killed in the fighting. Mullah Mohammed Omar and Osama bin Laden evade capture along with other Taliban and Al Qaeda leaders and an unknown number of fighters.

22 An interim Afghan government is established in Kabul, with Hamid Karzai as its chairman.

January 2002

9 Some 4,500 foreign peacekeepers under British leadership begin deployment in Afghanistan to support the interim government. The major focus will be security in the capital of Kabul.

29 During his State of the Union address, U.S. president George W. Bush declares Iraq part of the "Axis of Evil" that also includes Iran and North Korea, all of whom, he claims, are trying to develop weapons of mass destruction (WMDs).

March–May 2002

United Nations (UN) secretary-general Kofi Annan tries unsuccessfully to persuade Iraq to allow the return of weapons inspectors.

June 2002

13 The Afghan Loya Jirga (grand council) elects Hamid Karzai as head of state (interim president) until elections can be held in 2004.

July 2002

5–6 After the failure of his efforts in early 2002 to secure the renewal of United Nations (UN) weapons inspections, UN secretary-general Kofi Annan enters into personal talks with Iraqi foreign minister Naji Sabri. The negotiations fail.

25 The Iraqi government declares that arms inspections must be accompanied by the lifting of sanctions against Iraq and an end to the northern and southern no-fly zones.

September 2002

12 U.S. president George W. Bush addresses a special session of the United Nations (UN) and declares the need for a coordinated plan of action against Iraq. Iraq rejects this and states that it will not engage in discussions about weapons inspections unless the United States promises not to sponsor any more punitive resolutions against Iraq.

22 The British government releases information, later proved to be erroneous, indicating that Iraq has significant weapons of mass destruction (WMDs).

November 2002

8 United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1441 demands that Iraq cooperate with its weapons inspectors and cease placing obstacles in their path. The resolution also demands that Iraq declare the destruction of all weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) by December 8, 2002. The United Nations Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) begins inspections.

December 2002

7 The Iraqi government presents documents detailing the destruction of all weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). U.S. experts declare that the documentation is neither complete nor convincing.

January 2003

27 United Nations Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) chief inspector Hans Blix and United Nations (UN) Atomic Energy Commission chief Mohammed ElBaradei present reports to the UN. Both acknowledge that Iraq has not convinced the international community that it has revealed all the details of its weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) programs.

February 2003

5 Armed with what is later revealed as a deeply flawed intelligence estimate, U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell addresses the United Nations (UN) Security Council plenary session charging that Iraq has or is developing weapons of mass destruction. Powell argues unsuccessfully in favor of UN-sanctioned international military action against Iraq.

March 2003

1 Iraq begins the destruction of some long-range missiles in response to demands during an Arab summit held in Sharm al-Sheikh, but that meeting does not call for regime change in Iraq, which is now a central demand of the United States and its allies.

7 United Nations Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) chief inspector Hans Blix reports to the United Nations (UN) Security Council regarding a U.S. and British resolution authorizing war with Iraq. Opposition to the resolution comes from France, Russia, Germany, and most of the Arab states.

18 The U.S. government unveils the so-called Coalition of the Willing, 30 nations agreeing to associate themselves with the United States in military action against Iraq; 15 more nations will provide support.

19 Operation IRAQI FREEDOM begins with a U.S. air attack on a conference of high-ranking Iraqi leaders where Saddam Hussein is expected to appear. Hussein escapes harm.

20 Beginning of a massive U.S. air assault on Iraq, described as shock-and-awe bombardment by the Pentagon. Coalition forces also commence a ground invasion of southern Iraq and initially meet little opposition. Allied troops later face more severe resistance at Basra and Um Qasr in the south and Nasiriyah on the road to Baghdad.

April 2003

9 U.S. forces take the city of Baghdad amid a highly symbolic and much-publicized toppling of a large statue of Saddam Hussein in Firdos Square.

24 The Quartet, consisting of the United States, Russia, the European Union (EU), and the United Nations (UN), supports a peace initiative between the Palestinians and Israelis known as the Road Map to Peace in the Middle East.

30 The United States releases the details of the Road Map to Peace initiative.

May 2003

1 Aboard the U.S. aircraft carrier *Abraham Lincoln* off the coast of San Diego, California, before a large "Mission Accomplished" banner, President George W. Bush declares an end to major combat operations in Iraq. Iraqi president Saddam Hussein is still at large, however. Iraqi forces also continue sporadic fighting against U.S. and coalition forces.

6 U.S. president George W. Bush appoints L. Paul Bremer to head the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) in Iraq. Bremer's controversial actions include removing all Baath Party officials from the Iraqi government (Iraq's only trained administrators) and releasing thousands of Iraqi Army prisoners of war (potential insurgent recruits).

June 2003

4 Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian prime minister Mahmoud Abbas meet with President

George W. Bush at Aqaba and agree to abide by the terms of the Road Map to Peace. The United States Coordinating and Monitoring Mission (USCMM) is established by the Bush administration to advance the Road Map to Peace initiative.

July 2003

14 A U.S.-appointed Iraq Interim Council meets for the first time.

16 The U.S. military characterizes the resistance in Iraq as a "classic guerrilla-type campaign."

22 Suppression of resistance to allied occupation continues as former Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's two sons, Uday and Qusay, are killed in a shootout with U.S. forces.

August 2003

11 Forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) assume responsibility for security in the Afghan capital of Kabul, simplifying a complex command structure for 5,500 troops assigned this duty.

19 Iraqi insurgents bomb the United Nations (UN) compound in Baghdad, leaving at least 20 people dead. Among those killed is the top UN envoy in Iraq, Brazilian native Sergio Vieira de Mello.

22 U.S. forces in Iraq capture Ali Majid, known as "Chemical Ali" for his role in the notorious poison gas attacks on the Kurds in northern Iraq.

29 Iraqi resistance to coalition forces continues, with Sunni insurgents targeting Shia, who were long persecuted under Sunni rule.

September 2003

24 Palestinian militants in Gaza fire on a United States Coordinating and Monitoring Mission (USCMM) convoy.

October 2003

15 Thinking they were attacking a United States Coordinating and Monitoring Mission (USCMM) convoy, Palestinian militants in Gaza mistakenly bomb an American diplomatic convoy that was on its way to interview candidates for Fulbright fellowships. Three security guards are killed, and a fourth is seriously wounded.

16 United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1511 recognizes the U.S.-supported Iraqi government, authorizes UN aid supervised by the United States, and calls for a timetable for return to Iraqi self-governance.

November 2003

1 Members of the United States Coordinating and Monitoring Mission (USCMM) start leaving Israel/Palestine, the mission all but dead following the October 15 attack in Gaza.

December 2003

13 U.S. forces capture deposed Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein.

January 2004

4 The Afghan Loya Jirga (Grand Council) approves a constitution with provisions for a strong executive.

March 2004

1 As the insurgency against the U.S.-led coalition's occupation of the country continues, the Iraqi interim government agrees to an interim constitution approved by the United States.

11 Terrorists in Madrid, Spain, launch a series of coordinated bombings against the Cercanias (commuter train) system in the Spanish capital. Known as the Madrid Train Bombings, 3/11, and in Spanish as 11-M, the bombings kill 191 people and wound 1,800. The bombings occur three days before the Spanish general elections. An official Spanish investigation determines that the attacks were committed by a Spanish Al Qaeda terrorist cell.

31 Insurgents kill four security contractors employed by Blackwater, Inc., in Fallujah. They drag the bodies through the streets and then hang them on a bridge over the Euphrates River.

April 2004

4 An attack by the Mahdi militia organized by Muqtada al-Sadr on Najaf and Karbala signals the organized resistance of Iraqi Shias to the national government and the U.S. occupation.

18 The new Spanish government announces that it will recall immediately 1,300 Spanish troops serving in Iraq.

May 2004

4 U.S. Army major general Antonio Taguba announces results of an investigation ordered on January 24, 2004, confirming prisoner abuses at Abu Ghraib Prison by members of the 800th Military Police Brigade.

June 2004

7 United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1546 recognizes the new Iraqi interim government and urges member states to support it.

28 President Iyad Alawi takes power in Iraq in a low-key ceremony; U.S. ambassador Paul Bremer leaves Iraq, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) pledges training assistance to Iraqi forces.

September 2004

30 Charles A. Duelfer, head of the Iraq Survey Group for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), returns to the United States and reports that there is no conclusive evidence of the presence in Iraq of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), the George W. Bush administration's chief justification for the Iraq War.

October 2004

9 Hamid Karzai is elected president of Afghanistan with 55 percent of the popular vote.

November 2004

2 Incumbent president George W. Bush (Republican) wins reelection against challenger John Kerry (Democrat), signaling that U.S. policy in the Iraq and Afghanistan wars likely will remain unchanged.

7 Operation PHANTOM FURY, the Second Battle of Fallujah (November 7–December 23, 2004), focuses on Sunni rebels in the city, backed by forces claiming allegiance to Al Qaeda in Iraq and led by Abu-Musab al-Zarqawi. U.S. casualties are 95 killed and 560 wounded. Allied Iraqi casualties are 11 killed and 43 wounded. The insurgent death toll is approximately 1,350, while 1,500 are captured. President Iyad Alawi declares martial law to calm the situation pending the holding of parliamentary elections.

January 2005

30 Some 60 percent of eligible voters participate in Iraq's first free elections since Saddam Hussein came to power. Turnout for the parliamentary elections is heaviest among Shia Muslims and Kurds; Sunni participation is lower.

April 2005

6–7 Amid continued armed resistance to the national government, the Iraqi parliament chooses Jalal Talabani as president (April 6) and Ibrahim al-Jafari as prime minister (April 7).

May 2005

20 *The New York Times* reports abuse of prisoners by U.S. military forces at detention centers in Afghanistan.

September 2005

18 Afghans vote in parliamentary and provincial elections with about 50 percent turnout. The new assembly convenes on December 19, 2005. Significant disorder persists in the country outside of Kabul.

October 2005

15 Iraqi voters approve a constitution that declares Iraq to be an Islamic federal republic.

19 Former Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein goes on trial before an Iraqi court in Baghdad. The particular charges relate to the killing of several hundred people in Dujail, Iraq, in 1982 during the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988). The trial is televised throughout Iraq.

November 2005

19 U.S. marines kill up to 24 Iraqi civilians in Haditha. An investigation begins in January 2006, leading to charges on December 21, 2006, against eight of the marines.

December 2005

15 There is a heavy turnout among all Iraqis, including Sunnis, for elections to determine a permanent government. Iraqi Shia receive the most votes but not a decisive majority in the parliament.

April 2006

22 Following months of negotiations, Iraqi president Jalal Talabani appoints Nuri al-Maliki as prime minister to form a government.

May 2006

15 The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) announces an expansion of its role in Afghanistan, to include the entire country. NATO forces are to increase from 8,000 to 17,000 troops by October.

June 2006

7 A U.S. air strike near Baquba, Iraq, kills Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, leader of Al Qaeda in Iraq.

November 2006

5 An Iraqi court convicts former president Saddam Hussein of crimes against humanity and sentences him to death by hanging. Before his execution on December 30, Hussein tells U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) interrogators that he had misled the world to give the impression that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) in order to make Iraq appear stronger in the face of its enemy, Iran.

December 2006

6 The Iraq Study Group (ISG), a 10-member bipartisan U.S. study group, reports to President George W. Bush, recommending programs to rescue Iraq from a "grave and deteriorating" future. Recommendations include placing U.S. emphasis on training Iraqi Army and security forces.

30 Former president Saddam Hussein is executed by hanging in Baghdad.

January 2007

10 U.S. president George W. Bush announces a surge in American troops in Iraq to counter the growing insurgency. This will involve five additional combat brigades (as many as 30,000 troops), increasing the total of U.S. forces in Iraq to 160,000 over the next few months. By December 2007 Iraq's security environment reaches its best levels since early 2004, and that month's death toll of American troops is the second lowest of the entire war, while the Iraqi Interior Ministry announces similar results for civilian deaths. In July 2008 the death toll for U.S. forces drops to 13, the lowest monthly number since the 2003 invasion.

February 2007

10 U.S. Army general David Petraeus takes command of the Multi-National Force–Iraq.

March 2007

6 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Afghan forces begin Operation ACHILLES against the Taliban in southern Afghanistan. There is heavy fighting in Helmand.

27 The Iraqi parliament approves legislation allowing former members of Saddam Hussein's Baath Party to return to their posts, a major move toward achieving Sunni support for the fledgling Iraqi government.

April 2007

26 The Democratic Party–controlled U.S. Congress passes legislation calling for withdrawal of U.S. forces in Iraq. President George W. Bush vetoes the bill on May 1.

May 2007

13 United Nations (UN) and Afghan forces kill Mullah Dadullah, senior Taliban military commander in Afghanistan.

August 2007

26 The United Nations (UN) announces record opium production in Afghanistan, up 34 percent from 2006 levels. The Taliban uses proceeds from much of the drug production to purchase arms.

Spring 2008

Intense presidential campaign begins in the United States leading to nomination of Senator John McCain as the Republican candidate and Senator Barack Obama as the Democratic candidate. McCain supports continued military efforts in Iraq, while Obama pledges withdrawal within 16 months of inauguration. Obama wins the presidency on November 4, 2008.

March 2008

11 Insurgent attacks in Iraq decline significantly. U.S. authorities announce that there were only 60 in January 2008 compared with 180 the preceding July.

April 2008

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) declares security its top priority in Afghanistan.

June 2008

15 Afghan president Hamid Karzai declares the intention of Afghan forces to attack Pakistani border areas if Pakistan does not subdue Taliban and Al Qaeda forces there.

July 2008

16 Beginning of a drawdown in U.S. forces in Iraq. There are now 150,000 troops in the country.

October 2008

16 The German Bundestag affirms Germany's commitment to provide military forces in Afghanistan but only in a noncombat role.

November 2008

27 The Iraqi parliament passes a Status of Forces Agreement with the United States, calling for a complete U.S. troop withdrawal from Iraq by December 31, 2010. However, language of the agreement suggests that either side could request reinsertion of U.S. combat forces if necessary.

February 2009

27 U.S. president Barack Obama announces his intention to increase American forces in Afghanistan by at least 17,000 personnel. Obama also announces his intention to withdraw U.S. combat troops from Iraq by August 31, 2010, leaving a residual of 35,000–50,000 support forces to train and provide support if needed to Iraqi forces.

March 2009

25 Britain announces its intention of keeping its 8,000 troops in Afghanistan for the foreseeable future.

April 2009

8 Showcasing a growing threat arising since the disintegration of the Somali national government in the 1990s, Somali pirates board the *Maersk Alabama,* a 30,000-ton

American-flagged cargo ship carrying relief supplies to Kenya. Hijackers take control of the ship 300 miles off the coast of Somalia with its crew of 20 Americans. USS *Bainbridge,* an American destroyer operating with other warships in the area to control piracy, intercepts the *Maersk Alabama* after its crew had retaken control, releasing it to continue its voyage. On April 12 Navy SEAL marksmen kill three pirates, capture one, and free the captain of the *Maersk Alabama,* who had been held hostage in the ship's lifeboat.

May 2009

11 Defense Secretary Robert Gates announces that General David McKiernan will be replaced as commander of International Security Assistance Force–Afghanistan by Lieutenant General Stanley McChrystal. The change of command reflects a new approach to the war in Afghanistan that will emphasize more special operations.

June 2009

2 The total of Americans killed in combat in Iraq reaches 3,453 (4,308 from all causes), with 3,345 of these since President George W. Bush's May 1, 2003, proclamation of the end of major combat operations.

July 2009

31 The multinational coalition comes to an end in Iraq, with the United States the last nation of the "coalition of the willing" having troops in the country. The Romanians and the Australians are the last two other nations to withdraw their forces. In all, 38 nations sent soldiers over a six-year period. Although the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) will retain a small troop training presence in the country, these units were never considered part of the international coalition. As of January 1, 2010, the Multi-National Force–Iraq will undergo an official name change, to the United States Forces–Iraq.

August 2009

19 In the deadliest day in Iraq since the U.S. handover of security in the cities to Iraqi authorities on July 30, six car bomb blasts rip Baghdad, killing 95 people and wounding several hundred others. The blasts show that the insurgents still have the ability to strike largely at will against major Iraqi installations.

21 Afghan citizens go the polls to elect a president. Sitting president Hamid Karzai is running for a second five-year term. Despite the presence of a legion of foreign observers and the deployment of troops at the polling places, turnout is generally light, especially in Taliban-controlled areas. Although the tabulation takes weeks, the election results are hotly disputed, with widespread irregularities reported. Karzai's principal opponent, Abdullah Abdullah, claims that Karzai has stolen the election, which was to have gone into a runoff in October because no candidate received a majority in the initial balloting. Abdullah refuses to stand in a runoff election, however, and Karzai is declared the winner of a second five-year term as president.

October 2009

17 Following a series of suicide bomb attacks mounted by the Taliban against both civilian and top security targets in Pakistan, the Pakistani Army begins a major offensive against the Al Qaeda terrorist organization and the Taliban in their stronghold of southern Waziristan.

25 In the deadliest bomb blasts since 2007, two massive synchronized truck bombs explode in Baghdad, killing at least 155 people and wounding more than 500. The blasts raise new questions about Iraqi government security efforts trumpeted by Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki, who had recently ordered blast walls removed from dozens of streets in the capital and from in front of the very buildings targeted in the blasts.

December 2009

1 In a much-anticipated address to the nation at the United States Military Academy, West Point, U.S. president Barack Obama announces that he will send 30,000 additional U.S. forces to Afghanistan but that the United States will begin handing over security arrangements to the Afghan government by the middle of 2011 to allow the beginning of a drawdown in American forces.

4 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) officials announce that some two dozen member states will contribute an additional 7,000 men to the fighting in Afghanistan. This announcement follows U.S. president Barack Obama's decision to dispatch 30,000 additional U.S. forces to the war. The increase will be offset because some of the troops will be barred from fighting because of restrictions placed by their nations on participation in combat operations and because the Netherlands and Canada have already announced plans to withdraw nearly 5,000 troops over the course of the next two years.

6 Following months of haggling, members of the Iraqi parliament at last reach agreement on long-delayed legislation that is regarded as a key step toward national elections to be held in January 2010.

9 The government of Ukraine approves a $2.5 billion arms deal with the government of Iraq that will significantly

bolster the latter's forces before the U.S. pullout. The deal involves the production of 420 BTR-4 armored personnel carriers, 6 Antonov AN-32B twin-engine transport aircraft, and other military hardware.

25 Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, a 22-year-old Nigerian, attempts to blow up Northwest Flight 253 from Amsterdam as it begins its descent into Detroit, Michigan. The explosive device is PETN (pentaerythritol), which Abdulmutallab had hidden in his underpants and then removed and tried to ignite in his seat. This is the same explosive utilized by so-called shoe bomber Richard Reid in 2001 when he attempted to blow up another transatlantic flight with explosives hidden in his shoe.

Daniel E. Spector

Glossary

AAA Antiaircraft artillery.

AAMs Air-to-air missiles.

Abd Arabic term meaning "slave" or "servant," often used in compound names.

ABM Antiballistic missile.

ADC Aide-de-camp (personal assistant to a flag officer).

AFV Armored fighting vehicle.

ahl al-sunna wal-jamaa Arabic for "people of the way" (or the Prophet), used to describe the community of Muslims. Often shortened to Sunni.

AK47 Russian-designed assault rifle, Automat Kalashnikov, manufactured throughout the communist bloc and considered to be one of the most successful infantry weapons of the 20th century.

al-futuhaat Arabic name for the seventh-century battles that brought Islam to the region.

alim A trained Muslim religious scholar. The plural form is "ulama."

Allah Arabic for "God."

al-Quds Arabic for "sacred" or "holy," only used in reference to the City of Jerusalem.

amphibious x Military activity that involves landing from ships, either directly or by means of landing craft or helicopters.

annex The action of one nation in which it takes control of another territory and makes it a part of itself.

anti-Semitism Hostility against those of the Jewish faith.

armistice An agreement between opposing sides in a conflict to suspend military actions for a period of time.

ASM Air-to-surface missile.

autonomy Self-government.

AWACS The Airborne Warning and Control System is a mobile long-range radar surveillance and control center for air defense.

awlama Arabic word for "globalization."

ayatollah Arabic for "sign of God" and a title used for high-ranking Shiite clerics in Iran.

ballistics The science of projectiles, divided into interior and exterior ballistics. Its aim is to improve the design of shells and projectiles so that increased accuracy and predictability are the result. Ballistics also deals with rockets and missiles.

bombing raid A military tactic in which airplanes and seaplanes drop a successive number of bombs on specified targets within a short period of time.

breastworks A barricade usually about breast high that shields defenders from enemy fire.

buffer zone A piece of territory between two opposing groups.

caliph From the Arabic word *khalifa,* or "successor," a title given to Muslim leaders who followed the Prophet Muhammad as leader of the community after his death.

cease-fire A cease-fire, which occurs during times of war, may involve a partial or temporary cessation of hostilities. A cease-fire can also involve a general armistice or a total cessation of all hostilities.

coastal defense The defense of a nation's coast from an enemy sea invasion or blockade, accomplished with heavy artillery, mines, small warships, and nets.

Cold War The period of economic and military competition between the communist nations, led by the Soviet Union, and the capitalist nations, led by the United States, from the late 1940s to the early 1990s.

Crusades A number of military pilgrimages blessed by the pope in Rome and determined to retake the holy sites of the Middle East for Christian Europe. The first Crusades initially set up European dominance in the region, but subsequent actions returned many sites to the hands of the Muslim leaders.

death squads Clandestine and usually irregular organizations, often paramilitary in nature, that carry out extrajudicial executions and other violent acts against clearly defined individuals or groups of people.

defense perimeter A defense without an exposed flank, consisting of forces deployed along the perimeter of a defended area.

deforestation The removal of the forest cover from an area.

demilitarized zone A piece of territory between two opposing zone groups in which military forces cannot be stationed.

desertification The process of desiccation or drying of climate in areas that historically experience a deficiency of precipitation. Desertification may be caused by climatic change, but the process may be exacerbated by removal of vegetation on desert margins.

dislocation The displacement of populations of people from one geographic location to another, most often caused by sudden and extreme situations of a political, military, or economic nature.

Druze A religious group based mainly in Lebanon and Syria.

echelon attack A refused advance on an enemy position, meaning that the advance occurred in sequence from right to left or vice versa in parallel but nonaligned formations. Ideally, an echelon attack would compel the reinforcement of those parts of the enemy line first assailed thereby weakening the latter parts and increasing the chances of breaching them, but more frequently such an attack becomes disorganized and falters in confusion.

economic warfare Compelling an enemy to submit either directly by action against its economic basis or indirectly through blockade or boycott.

electronic warfare The use of the electromagnetic spectrum to gain knowledge of the presence and movement of an opposing force and also to deny any opposing force the use of that spectrum.

emir Arabic title meaning "commander" or "prince."

enfilade To fire upon the length rather than the face of an enemy position. Enfilading an enemy allows a varying range of fire to find targets while minimizing the amount of fire the enemy can return.

envelopment To pour fire along the enemy's line. A double envelopment means to attack both flanks of an enemy, but this is a risky venture. A strategic envelopment is not directed against the flanks but rather is a turning movement designed at a point in the rear whereupon the enemy had to vacate his position to defend it.

espionage The practice of spying to learn the secrets of other nations or organizations. Espionage has always been an important component of any military operation.

ethics of war Rules, principles, or virtues applied to warfare.

ethnic cleansing A policy by which government, military, or guerrilla forces remove from their homes members of different ethnic communities considered to be enemies of the country.

Euphrates One of the two great rivers of Mesopotamia. The Euphrates is located to the west of the Tigris River.

fatwa A judicial opinion made by a qualified Islamic scholar or mufti based on Sharia (Islamic law). Traditionally, fatawa were used to settle legal disputes and to establish precedence. In modern times, fatawa have been used to proclaim judgments against non-Muslims and to support political agendas.

firefight A brief and violent exchange of small-arms fire between two opposing units rather than combat action between two larger forces during an assault.

fossil fuels Materials rich in carbon and hydrogen, these compounds (primarily coal, petroleum oil, and natural gas) are produced by decayed living matter. They have served as the major fuels for the last 200 years.

friendly fire Friendly fire describes the incidence of casualties incurred by military forces in active combat operations as a result of being fired upon by their own or allied forces.

Global Positioning System (GPS) A series of satellites that broadcast navigational signals by ultraprecise atomic clocks, providing accurate positioning.

guerrilla A type of warfare involving small groups, not part of the official government forces. A type of military action involving hit-and-run tactics against more powerful forces.

hafiz Arabic for "guardian." A person who has memorized the entire text of the Qur'an in Arabic.

hajj The annual pilgrimage to Mecca (in present-day Saudi Arabia) during the month of Dhul-Hijja in the Islamic lunar calendar. The hajj brings Muslims from all around the world to worship together. It is the fifth of the Five Pillars of Islam.

hegemony The dominance of one nation over other nations, based on the dominant nation's transfer of core values and basic societal institutions rather than through military conquest.

hijab Arabic for "cover." In many modern Muslim societies, *hijab* is used to refer to the head coverings or veils of women in public view.

Ikhwan al-Muslimin Often translated in English as the Muslim Brotherhood (or Society of Muslim Brothers), founded by Hassan al-Banna.

imam Arabic for "leader." Sunni Muslims use the term for the leader of the Islamic prayers. Shiite Muslims believe that the imam is the divinely chosen leader of the people.

indemnity An amount of money paid by a nation defeated in war to the victor as compensation for damages it inflicted.

intelligence community The intelligence community comprises the government agencies charged with gathering information (intelligence) about other countries' military abilities and general intentions in order to secure a country's foreign policy goals.

international waters All waters apart from nations' territorial waters.

Islamic lunar calendar The traditional dating system of most Muslim societies, also referred to as the *hijri* calendar. It takes as its starting point the *hijra* and is a purely lunar system; that is, each month is determined by the actual cycle of the moon. Because this calendar does not use any system of intercalating days, it is shorter than the solar calendar by an average of 11 days a year.

Islamist Term used to refer to the movement of political Islam.

Ithnaashari Shiites The largest subsect of Shiism, also referred to as the Twelvers or Imami Shiites. They follow the teachings of the Twelve Imams descended from Ali and Fatima and believe that the Twelfth Imam has been in a state of mystical occultation since the 10th century.

jet engine An internal combustion engine in which hot exhaust gases generated by burning fuel combine with air, causing a rearward thrust of jet fluid to propel an aircraft.

Jordan River A river that flows 198.4 miles (320 kilometers) from northern Israel, with tributaries in Syria, to the Sea of Galilee and thence through the nation of Jordan and the West Bank to the Dead Sea. The Jordan River's waters are a matter of importance and controversy to the nations of the area.

Kaaba Structure at the center of the mosque in Mecca housing a mystical black stone. Muslims all over the world pray in the direction of the Kaaba, where Islamic tradition says that God's presence is most felt on Earth.

Kurds A numerous people inhabiting Kurdistan, a region that is the combined areas of southeastern Turkey, northern Iraq, and western Iran. The Kurds speak an Indo-European language distantly related to Farsi, the language of Iran.

Lake Nasser The reservoir impounded on the Nile River by the Aswan High Dam. The lake extends upstream into Sudan, where it is called Lake Nubia.

Levant The geographical area comprising Israel, the Palestinian territories, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon.

madrasah Arabic for "school." In common usage the word is used for religious schools. Originally, madrasahs were institutions developed for the instruction of Islamic law. Madrasah courses have been expanded for the instruction of Muslim children in the ways of their community.

mandate Official command from authority organization.

martial law Martial law is the temporary military governance of a civilian population when the civil government has become unable to sustain order.

melee Hand-to-hand combat resulting from an advance that has brought a body of troops into close quarters with an enemy.

mercenaries Hired professional soldiers who fight for a state or entity without regard to political interests or issues.

Mesopotamia Greek for "land between the rivers," the Arabic word is "Ma Bayn Nahrain." Both refer to the region known in the west as the Cradle of Civilization. Watered by the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, this area saw the rise of the Sumerian, Akkadian-Babylonian, and Assyrian civilizations. It is now a part of the nations of Iraq and Kuwait and includes parts of Iran, Turkey, and Syria.

militant A supporter of a particular cause who utilizes aggressive, often violent action to make his or her point.

militarism The view that military power and efficiency are the supreme ideals of the state.

mufti A Muslim religious scholar charged with issuing religious opinions, or fatawa.

mujahideen A term, meaning "those who engage in jihad," used to refer collectively to disparate groups of Islamic militants who fought against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in the 1980s.

Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) A Cold War term stressing nuclear deterrence between the United States and the Soviet Union to prevent a full-scale nuclear exchange. The doctrine was based on the premise that both superpowers had sufficient nuclear weapons to destroy each other many times over. Thus, if one superpower launched a nuclear first strike, the other would reply with a massive counterstrike, resulting in the total devastation of both nations.

Nasserism A term coined from the name of Egyptian president Gamal Adbel Nasser. A particular form of Islamic nationalism grown from the policies and actions of Nasser.

nationalism The understanding that a people organized into a nation are superior to another nation.

Nile River The longest river in the world at more than 4,000 miles long, it is the primary water source for Egypt. The origins of the river are found in East Africa.

Nobel Prize The Nobel Foundation was established in 1900 and awarded its first annual prize in 1901.

Non-Aligned Movement The Non-Aligned Movement was initiated by many Third World nations during the 1950s and 1960s in an attempt to steer a course of neutrality between the United States and the Soviet Union in the atmosphere of the Cold War. These countries felt that they had nothing to gain from entering direct alliances with either of the two superpowers, although they frequently courted both sides in attempts to gain greater amounts of economic and military assistance. The Non-Aligned Movement first met at the Bandung Conference in Indonesia in 1955. International meetings were held periodically over the next two decades, but the neutral nations were never able to formulate any cohesive policies because of the wide variety of member countries. With the end of the Cold War, the Non-Aligned Movement lost any importance that it once held in international affairs.

nonproliferation A collective term used to describe efforts to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) short of military means.

paramilitary Something paramilitary is organized after a military fashion.

paramilitary organizations Unofficial groups organized along military lines yet lacking the traditional role or legitimization of conventional or genuine military organizations.

pastoralism A way of life in which people care for, subsist upon, and control the movements of herds of large herbivorous animals, using their products such as meat, milk, skins, and wool. In the Mediterranean area the animals involved in pastoralism are most notably sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and camels.

peaceful coexistence An expression that describes the act of living together without hostility, peaceful coexistence is often a foreign policy goal of nations that wish to avoid war.

political machine A party organization staffed by city workers who were hired by the party into patronage jobs as a reward for their loyalty or service.

propellants Compounds used to move a projectile from the firing device to the target.

Prophet Refers to Muhammad. Islam theorizes that God's final revelation, completing the message of the prophets of Christians and Jews, came through his final prophet, Muhammad.

Ramadan A month of the Islamic lunar calendar when Muslims fast from dawn to dusk.

rationing Often implemented during a war, famine, or national emergency or in times of scarcity, rationing is a government policy consisting of the planned and restrictive allocation of scarce resources and consumer goods.

rearmament The process that a nation undertakes to rebuild its arsenal of weapons that were exhausted during a time of war or other military action.

refugee An individual who moves or is moved to another location.

renewable resource A resource that is constantly replenished so that it can be used sustainably. Examples are forests, fish, and other animal and plant populations.

retrograde An orderly retreat usually designed to move away from an enemy.

salat The five daily prayers conducted at dawn, midday, midafternoon, sunset, and evening. It is the second of the Five Pillars of Islam.

salient A military position that extends into the position of the enemy.

salvo The simultaneous firing of a number of guns.

SAM Surface-to-air missile.

sanctions Activities taken against a nation by other nations to pressure them into a change of policy. There are political, economic, and military sanctions.

satellite state A country that is under the domination or influence of another. The term was used to describe the status of the East European states during the Cold War.

sawm Arabic term for "fasting," the fourth pillar of Islam.

Scud missile Name given to a type of tactical ballistic missile developed by the Soviet Union during the years of the Cold War.

Semitic A family of languages including modern Arabic and Hebrew, based on ancient languages of the region of the Middle East.

shahada The first of the Five Pillars of Islam, it is the profession of faith for all Muslims. The profession translates into English as "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is his messenger."

Sharia General term connoting the whole of Islamic law.

Shatt al-Arab A tidewater estuary found at the mouths of the combined Tigris and Euphrates rivers and stretching to the Persian Gulf. A portion of the estuary forms part of the boundary between Iraq and Iran.

sheikh Term of respect for older men (fem., sheikha) referring to people of wisdom or religious knowledge.

Shiites Arabic expression for "partisans," referring to the partisans of Ali ibn Abi Talib, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad. The Shiites, who now constitute about 10 percent of Muslims worldwide, support the claim that Ali and his family are the legitimate religious and political successors to the Prophet.

sortie One flight by one aircraft.

standing army Used since the Middle Ages, a standing army is a permanent military unit of paid soldiers.

Sunnis Arabic expression for "people of the way [of the Prophet] and the community" that refers

to the majority Muslim community. After the death of the Prophet, the earliest Sunnis were those who supported determining Muhammad's successor through community consensus rather than through blood lineage.

takfir Arabic term used to declare that a Muslim group has strayed from the precepts of Islam. Often used by radical militant groups to justify violent actions against other Muslims. Al Qaeda is an extension of these radical Islamic fundamentalist groups, although Al Qaeda does not declare ordinary Arabs to be infidels.

Tigris One of the two great rivers of Mesopotamia. The Tigris is located to the east of the Euphrates. The major sources of the Tigris are in the eastern part of modern Turkey and in the Zagros Mountains of Iran, and with the Euphrates the Tigris flows into the head of the Persian Gulf.

traverse Sandbags or other obstacles placed along a trench to prevent enfilading fire.

UHF Ultrahigh frequency.

ulama Arabic term for "scholars" that refers to the body of knowledgeable scholars in Muslim society. Ulama often refers to the experts who study Sharia.

umma Arabic term for "people" that refers to the community of Muslims around the world.

urbanization The origin and growth of cities as areas of human habitation that include transportation, markets, government and religious buildings, and other infrastructure.

VHF Very high frequency.

VLF Very low frequency.

VSTOL Vertical and/or short takeoff and landing.

VTOL Vertical takeoff and landing.

Wahhabism A movement of scripturalist reformism initiated in the Arabian Peninsula by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1792).

waqf Endowments of land revenue established for the financial support of religious institutions such as mosques, schools, and charitable facilities.

war crimes Violations of the laws and customs of war entailing individual criminal responsibility directly under international law.

war reparations Restitution usually imposed by the victorious party as part of the peace negotiations at the end of a war.

Zagros A mountain range in Iran that separates the Mesopotamian lowlands from the Iranian plateau. The Zagros marks the eastern margin of Mesopotamia.

zakat Arabic term for "almsgiving," the third pillar of Islam.

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THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
MIDDLE EAST WARS

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The United States in the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Iraq Conflicts

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Documents

1. British Foreign Minister Palmerston to Viscount Beauvale, British Ambassador in Vienna, June 28, 1839

Introduction

By the 1830s, European powers realized that the Ottoman Empire was in decline. Ottoman Turkey's weakness quickly became a factor in international power politics. After a long and bitter rebellion, in 1832 the Greeks won independence from the Ottoman Empire, an event that encouraged other states to seek to partition the Ottoman Empire. Czarist Russia, which considered itself the spiritual heir of the Byzantine Empire, sought to enhance its position in the Caucasus and the Middle East. Russian leaders cherished designs of regaining the former Byzantine capital of Istanbul (Constantinople), which controlled the strategic Bosporus Straits, the only maritime passage from the Russian-dominated Black Sea to the Mediterranean. France too sought special rights in the Middle East, in Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, and Palestine. The Austrian Empire, whose Balkan provinces shared borders with the Ottoman Empire, also hoped to enhance its territorial position. Alarmed by the ambitions of their European rivals, whose power they did not wish to strengthen, British statesmen decided that the preservation of the Ottoman Empire was in their own country's interests. In an 1839 letter to the British ambassador in Vienna, capital of the Austrian Empire, Lord Palmerston, then British foreign secretary and later a Conservative prime minister, enunciated this position. Protection of the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire would remain British foreign policy for at least four decades and was a major reason for Britain's intervention in the 1854–1856 Crimean War.

Primary Source

The general view which Her Majesty's Government, as at present informed, entertain of the affair in question, may be stated as follows:

The Great Powers are justified in interfering in these matters, which are, in fact, a contest between a sovereign and his subject, because this contest threatens to produce great and imminent danger to the deepest interests of other Powers, and to the general peace of Europe. Those interests and that peace require the maintenance of the Turkish Empire; and the maintenance of the Turkish Empire is, therefore, the primary object to be aimed at. This object cannot be secured without putting an end to future chances of collision between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali. But as long as Mehemet Ali continues to occupy Syria, there will be danger of such collision. Mehemet Ali cannot hold Syria without a large military force constantly stationed there. As long as there is an Egyptian force in Syria, there must necessarily be a Turkish army in that part of Asia Minor which borders on Syria. Each party might agree at present to reduce those forces to a given amount, but neither could be sure that the other was not, after a time, secretly increasing his amount of force; and each party would, beyond a doubt, gradually augment his own force; and thus at no distant period, the same state of things which has existed of late, would again recur: for the motives and passions which have led to it would still be in action. Mehemet Ali, or Ibrahim, would still desire to add more territory to their Pashalics; the Sultan would still burn to drive them back into Egypt.

It appears then to Her Majesty's Government, that there can be no end to the danger with which these affairs menace the peace of Europe until Mehemet Ali shall have restored Syria to the direct authority of the Sultan; shall have retired into Egypt; and shall have interposed the Desert between his troops and authorities and the troops and authorities of the Sultan. But Mehemet Ali could not be expected to consent to this, unless some equivalent advantage were granted to him; and this equivalent advantage might be hereditary succession in his family to the Pashalic of Egypt: Mehemet Ali and his descendants being secured in the Government of that Province in the same way that a former Pasha of Scutari and his family were so secured; the Pasha continuing to be the vassal of the Porte, paying a reasonable tribute, furnishing a contingent of men, and being bound like any other Pasha by the treaties which his sovereign might make. Such an arrangement would appear to be equitable between the parties, because, on the one hand, it would secure the Sultan against many dangers and inconveniences which arise from the present occupation of Syria by the Pasha; while, on the other hand, it would afford to the Pasha that security as to the future fate of his family, his anxiety about which, he has often declared to be the main cause of his desire to obtain some final and permanent arrangement.

It appears to Her Majesty's Government that if the Five Powers were to agree upon such a plan, and were to propose it to the two parties, with all the authority which belongs to the Great Powers of Europe, such an arrangement would be carried into effect, and through its means, Europe would be delivered from a great and imminent danger.

Source: United Kingdom, *Parliamentary Papers,* 1841, 29:117–119.

2. British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, Defense of His Action in Buying the Suez Canal Shares in the House of Commons, February 21, 1876 [Excerpts]

Introduction

The Suez Canal linking the Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea, built with French finances and engineering expertise in the 1860s and completed in 1869, soon became an important British interest. In 1875 Britain bought Egypt's shares in the Suez Canal Company from the financially straitened khedive of Egypt. Although the French government still remained the majority shareholder, Britain effectively controlled the canal. Eventually, in 1882, British troops occupied Egypt and directed its government, maintaining an effective protectorate over that country until after World War II and generating growing nationalist resentment of colonial rule among the Egyptian population. The major reason the British took over Egypt was that British officials soon came to regard the canal as a major national strategic interest of their country, a route that by eliminating the need for ships traveling between Europe and Asia to circumnavigate Africa greatly facilitated sea communications with India, Britain's greatest imperial possession. Speaking in a parliamentary debate in the House of Commons in February 1876, Conservative prime minister Benjamin Disraeli sought to rebut critics who claimed that Britain's purchase of the khedive's Suez Canal shares was an unnecessary waste of government funds, one that would serve primarily to enrich the Jewish banking house of Rothschild and Sons, which had lent the British government 4 million pounds sterling while Parliament was in recess to finance this transaction. Disraeli, a staunch proponent of the British Empire who sought to maintain, strengthen, and protect British imperial interests, argued that his audience should consider the acquisition of the shares not as a commercial undertaking but rather as "a political transaction . . . calculated to strengthen the Empire." British ownership of the Suez Canal shares would give Britain "a great hold and interest in this important part of Africa" and would also secure "a highway to our Indian Empire and our other dependencies." At Disraeli's urging, the House of Commons voted to approve the purchase of the Suez Canal shares, the beginning of a British interest in the waterway that would last until 1956. In a further demonstration of his commitment to his country's imperial position, later in 1876 Disraeli proclaimed Britain's Queen Victoria empress of India.

Primary Source

Sir, although, according to the noble Lord, we are going to give a unanimous vote, it cannot be denied that the discussion of this evening at least has proved one result. It has shown, in a manner about which neither the House of Commons nor the country can make any mistake, that had the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich been the Prime Minister of this country, the shares in the Suez Canal would not have been purchased. The right hon. Gentleman defies me to produce an instance of a Ministry negotiating with a private firm. . . . The right hon. Gentleman found great fault with the amount of the commission which has been charged by the Messrs. Rothschild and admitted by the Government; and, indeed, both the right hon. Gentlemen opposite took the pains to calculate what was the amount of interest which it was proposed the Messrs. Rothschild should receive on account of their advance. It is, according to both right hon. Gentlemen, 15 per cent; but I must express my surprise that two right hon. Gentlemen, both of whom have filled the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of whom has been at the head of the Treasury, should have shown by their observations such a lamentable want of acquaintance with the manner in which large amounts of capital are commanded when the Government of a country may desire to possess

them under the circumstances under which we appealed to the House in question. I deny altogether that the commission charged by the Messrs. Rothschild has anything to do with the interest on the advance; nor can I suppose that two right hon. Gentlemen so well acquainted with finance as the Member for Greenwich and the Member for the University of London [Robert Lowe] can really believe that there is in this country anyone who has £4,000,000 lying idle at his bankers. Yet one would suppose, from the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, that such is the assumption on which he has formed his opinion in this matter. In the present instance, I may observe, not only the possibility, but the probability, of our having immediately to advance the whole £4,000,000 was anticipated. And how was this £4,000,000 to be obtained? Only by the rapid conversion of securities to the same amount. Well, I need not tell anyone who is at all acquainted with such affairs that the rapid conversion of securities to the amount of £4,000,000 can never be effected without loss, and sometimes considerable loss; and it is to guard against risk of that kind that a commission is asked for before advances are made to a Government. In this case, too, it was more than probable that, after paying the first £1,000,000 following the signature of the contract, £2,000,000 further might be demanded in gold the next day. Fortunately for the Messrs. Rothschild they were not; but, if they had, there would in all likelihood have been a great disturbance in the Money Market, which must have occasioned a great sacrifice, perhaps the whole of the commission. The Committee, therefore, must not be led away by the observations of the two right hon. Gentlemen, who, of all men in the House, ought to be the last to make them.

[. . .]

Then the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich [Mr. Gladstone] proceeds in his attack in his own way, and makes a great many objections, but takes up two great positions as grounds of condemnation. "First of all," he says, "I object to this purchase, because it will give you no influence." That is the assertion of the right hon. Gentleman. I might meet it with a counter assertion. I might offer many arguments to show that it will give us a great deal of influence. I might refer to that which has already occurred, and which, though not in its results very considerable, shows some advantage from what has been done, while before a year has elapsed it will possibly show much more. I might refer to the general conviction and the common sense of society that such an investment cannot be treated as absolutely idle and nugatory, as the right hon. Gentleman wishes to treat it. The right hon. Gentleman takes a position from which it is certainly difficult to dislodge him, because it is perfectly arbitrary. He says—"You have no votes." He views the question abstractedly. He says—"Here is a company, and you have a great many shares in it, but you are not allowed to vote, and therefore it follows you can have no influence." But everybody knows that in the world things are not managed in that way, and that if you have a large amount of capital in any concern, whatever may be the restrictions under which it is invested, the capitalist does exercise influence.

Then the right hon. Gentleman says—"You have no real control over the purchase you have made; and yet that purchase will lead to great complications." Sir, I have no doubt that complications will occur. They always have occurred, and I should like to know the state of affairs and of society in which complications do not and will not occur. We are here to guard the country against complications, and to guide it in the event of complications; and the argument that we are to do nothing—never dare to move, never try to increase our strength and improve our position, because we are afraid of complications is certainly a new view of English policy, and one which I believe the House of Commons will never sanction. I think under these two heads all the criticisms of the right hon. Gentleman are contained. But the noble Lord [the Marquess of Hartington] who has just addressed us says many points were made by the right hon. Gentleman which the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not answer. There is no precedent of a British Ministry treating with a private firm; my right hon. Friend did not answer that. [Mr. Gladstone: I did not say so.] The right hon. Gentleman, however, says he made no observation of the kind. Then the noble Lord says my right hon. Friend never answered the charge about speculations in Egyptian Stock. Well, I have answered that charge. The noble Lord says my right hon. Friend never touched upon the amount of the commission. I have touched upon it. He says that we never thoroughly cleared ourselves from the charge of not buying the 15 per cent shares. I am here to vindicate our conduct on that point. In purchasing the shares we did, we purchased what we wanted, we gained the end we wished, and why we should involve the country in another purchase, when we should thereby only have repeated the result we had already achieved I cannot understand. The noble Lord says my right hon. Friend never expressed what expectations we had of receiving the £200,000 a-year from the Khedive, but we do not suppose that interest which is at the rate of 5 per cent is quite as secure as it would be if it were at the rate of 3¼ per cent. Then the noble Lord says that my right hon. Friend never met the charge of the right hon. Gentleman that our policy would lead to complications with other nations. We believe, on the contrary, that, instead of leading to complications with other nations, the step which we have taken is one which will avert complications. These are matters which to a great degree must be matters of opinion; but the most remarkable feature of the long harangue of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich is that it was in a great degree a series of assumptions, abstract reasonings, and arbitrary conclusions, after which he sat down quite surprised that the Vote should be passed unanimously, and requesting his allies to attack us for not answering that which we have felt not to be substantial, but to consist of assumptions which we believe experience will prove to be entirely false.

The right hon. Gentleman charged us, lastly, with not having answered a charge of having abandoned a strong position. The right hon. Gentleman pictured us as having been in a good position before this—a position which he charged us with having abandoned for one of a more doubtful character. Here again, what proof does he bring of the charge he makes? We found ourselves in a position which has been called a strong position, but we could not for a moment think that our position with regard to the Canal was satisfactory. The International Commission sat, as hon. Members know, before the Conservatives acceded to power, and the work it did was greatly assisted by our Predecessors, and by a number of other able and eminent men; but, as I have said, no one who remembers all the circumstances of the case and what has occurred since, can for a moment pretend that our position with regard to the Canal was then satisfactory. At the moment Turkey was in a very different position from that which she occupies at present, as far as authority is concerned. The Khedive himself was in a very good position; and yet those who are familiar with what occurred at that time know the great difficulties which the Government experienced, and the very doubtful manner in which, for a considerable time, affairs looked with regard to the whole business. Therefore I do not agree with the right hon. Gentleman. I feel that at this moment our position is much stronger, and for the reason that we are possessors of a great portion of the capital invested in the Canal.

The noble Lord himself has expressed great dissatisfaction, because I have not told him what the conduct of the Government would be with regard to the Canal in a time of war. I must say that on this subject I wish to retain my reserve. I cannot conceive anything more imprudent than a discussion in this House at the present time as to the conduct of England with regard to the Suez Canal in time of war, and I shall therefore decline to enter upon any discussion on the subject. . . . What we have to do tonight is to agree to the Vote for the purchase of these shares. I have never recommended, and I do not now recommend this purchase as a financial investment. If it gave us 10 per cent of interest and a security as good as the Consols I do not think an English Minister would be justified in making such an investment; still less if he is obliged to borrow the money for the occasion. I do not recommend it either as a commercial speculation although I believe that many of those who have looked upon it with little favour will probably be surprised with the pecuniary results of the purchase. I have always, and do now recommend it to the country as a political transaction, and one which I believe is calculated to strengthen the Empire. That is the spirit in which it has been accepted by the country, which understands it though the two right hon. critics may not. They are really seasick of the "Silver Streak" [the English Channel]. They want the Empire to be maintained, to be strengthened; they will not be alarmed even it be increased. Because they think we are obtaining a great hold and interest in this important portion of Africa—because they believe that it secures to us a highway to our Indian Empire and our other dependencies, the people of England have from the first recognized the propriety and the wisdom of the step which we shall sanction tonight.

Source: *Hansard* CCXXVII (3rd Ser.), 652–661.

3. Treaty of Berlin, 1878 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The Treaty of Berlin settled the Balkan crisis of the 1870s, in the course of which the general European agreement to respect the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire had broken down. In 1875 anti-Ottoman rebellion broke out in the largely Slavic and Christian provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, quickly spreading throughout most of the Balkans. The autonomous and formerly Ottoman states of Serbia and Montenegro assisted the rebels, and in 1877, as Turkish suppression of the rebellions seemed likely to be successful, Russia too went to war against the Ottoman Empire. Russia promised the Austro-Hungarian government special rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina, thereby ensuring benevolent neutrality from that power. At one stage, Russian troops came close to seizing Constantinople, and British prime minister Benjamin Disraeli dispatched a naval force to provide support for the embattled Turkish sultan. The Congress of Berlin, called by German chancellor Otto von Bismarck in 1878, sought to reestablish the concert of Europe and a new balance of power. Russia retained most of the Asian lands in the Caucasus that it had seized from the Ottoman Empire, Britain received the island of Cyprus, Austria won a protectorate over Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro were recognized as independent states, and Bulgaria, where anti-Ottoman rebellion had also broken out, gained autonomous status, eventually becoming fully independent in 1908. From 1878 until the early 20th century, the situation of the fragile Ottoman Empire was once more relatively stable.

Primary Source

[. . .]

Article LVIII. The Sublime Porte cedes to the Russian Empire in Asia the territories of Ardahan, Kars, and Batoum, together with the latter port, as well as all the territories comprised between the former Russo-Turkish frontier and the following line:

The new frontier starting from the Black Sea, and coinciding with the line laid down by the Treaty of San Stefano as far as a point to the north-west of Khorda, and to the south of Artwin, continues in a straight line as far as the River Tchoroukh, crosses this river and passes to the east of Aschmichen, going in a straight line to the south so as to rejoin the Russian frontier indicated in the Treaty of San Stefano, at a point to the south of Nariman, leaving the town of Olti to Russia. From the point indicated near Nariman the frontier

turns to the east, passes by Tebrenec, which remains to Russia, and continues as far as the Pennek Tschai.

It follows this river as far as Bardouz, then turns towards the south, leaving Bardouz and Jonikioy to Russia. From a point to the west of the village of Karaougan, the frontier takes the direction of Medjingert, continues in a straight line towards the summit of the Mountain Kassadagh, and follows the line of the watershed between the affluents of the Araxes on the north and those of the Mourad Sou on the south, as far as the former frontier of Russia.

Article LIX. His Majesty the Emperor of Russia declares that it is his intention to constitute Batoum a free port, essentially commercial.

Article LX. The valley of Alaschkerd and the town of Bayazid, ceded to Russia by Article XIX of the Treaty of San Stefano, are restored to Turkey.

The Sublime Porte cedes to Persia the town and territory of Khotour, as fixed by the mixed Anglo-Russian Commission for the delimitation of the frontiers of Turkey and of Persia.

Article LXI. The Sublime Porte undertakes to carry out, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and the Kurds.

It will periodically make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application.

Article LXII. The Sublime Porte having expressed the intention to maintain the principle of religious liberty, and give it the widest scope, the Contracting Parties take note of this spontaneous declaration.

In no part of the Ottoman Empire shall difference of religion be alleged against any person as a ground for exclusion or incapacity as regards the discharge of civil and political rights, admission to the public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of the various professions and industries.

All persons shall be admitted, without distinction of religion, to give evidence before the tribunals.

The freedom and outward exercise of all forms of worship are assured to all, and no hindrance shall be offered either to the hierarchical organization of the various communions or to their relations with their spiritual chiefs.

Ecclesiastics, pilgrims, and monks of all nationalities travelling in Turkey in Europe, or in Turkey in Asia, shall enjoy the same rights, advantages, and privileges.

The right of official protection by the Diplomatic and Consular Agents of the Powers in Turkey is recognized both as regards the above-mentioned persons and their religious, charitable, and other establishments in the Holy Places and elsewhere.

The rights possessed by France are expressly reserved, and it is well understood that no alterations can be made in the status quo in the Holy Places.

The monks of Mount Athos, of whatever country they may be natives, shall be maintained in their former possessions and advantages, and shall enjoy, without any exception, complete equality of rights and prerogatives.

Article LXIII. The Treaty of Paris of March 30, 1856, as well as the Treaty of London of March 13, 1871, are maintained in all such of their provisions as are not abrogated or modified by the preceding stipulations.

Source: United Kingdom, *Parliamentary Papers,* 83: 690–705, 1878.

4. Resolution of the Arab-Syrian Congress at Paris, June 21, 1913

Introduction

Like other ethnic groups around the world, the Arabs demonstrated a new nationalist consciousness and sentiment during the 19th century that may be ascribed in part to that era's new emphasis on identification along the lines of national groupings. By the turn of the century Arab nationalism had developed rapidly, the product in part of a revitalization of national pride and culture encouraged by French and American missionaries in Lebanon. The growing use of the Arabic language and texts in education helped to spread nationalist sentiment throughout Syria, Iraq (then known as Mesopotamia), and Egypt. In much of the Ottoman Empire, Arab nationalism, though centering on opposition to unadulterated Ottoman rule, often advocated greater Arab autonomy within the empire rather than total independence. Such demands were given additional force when modernizing young military officers took over the Ottoman government in 1909 and launched a program of secular reforms. In Egypt, by contrast, Franco-British dual control and the later British occupation became the focus for Arab protests and resentment. In June 1913, 24 Arab delegates from Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and the United States met in an Arab-Syrian Congress, held in the French capital of Paris, and passed resolutions demanding that the Ottoman government grant the Arabs and Armenians of Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon more autonomy and recognize Arabic as an official language. The meeting was evidence of a burgeoning sense of a specifically Arab identity that transcended the boundaries of particular Arab provinces.

Primary Source

1. Radical and urgent reforms are needed in the Ottoman Empire.

2. It is important to guarantee the Ottoman Arabs the exercise of their political rights by making effective their participation in the central administration of the Empire.

3. It is important to establish in each of the Syrian and Arab *vilâyets* a decentralized regime suitable to their needs and aptitudes.

4. The vilayet of Bayrut having formulated its claims in a special project adopted on 31 January 1913 by an ad hoc General Assembly and based on the double principle of the extension of the powers of the general council of the vilayets and the nomination of foreign councilors, the Congress requests the execution of the above project.

5. The Arabic language must be recognized in the Ottoman Parliament and considered as an official language in Syrian and Arab countries.

6. Military service shall be regional in Syrian and Arab vilayets, except in case of extreme necessity.

7. The Congress expresses the wish that the Ottoman Imperial Government provide the *mutasarriflik* (autonomous provincial district) of Lebanon with the means of improving its financial situation.

8. The Congress affirms that it favors the reformist and decentralizing demands of the Armenian Ottomans.

9. The present resolution shall be communicated to the Ottoman Imperial Government.

10. These resolutions shall also be communicated to the Powers friendly to the Ottoman Empire.

11. The Congress conveys its grateful thanks to the Government of the [French] Republic for its generous hospitality.

Source: J. C. Hurewitz, *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics: A Documentary Record* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1975), 566–567.

5. Sir Henry McMahon, Letter to Ali Ibn Hussein, October 24, 1916

Introduction

As the Turkish sultanate lost its hold upon the territories of the Ottoman Empire and exacerbated Muslim sensibilities by allying itself with Christian Germany in World War I, Hussein ibn Ali, the high priest or sharif of the Islamic territory of the Hejaz, which contains the holy cities of Medina and Mecca, moved more aggressively toward independence. He was encouraged by British officials, including Sir Henry McMahon, British high commissioner in Egypt, who promised him and his three sons—Ali, Faisal, and Abdullah—recognition and financial and military assistance if they were willing to rebel against Ottoman rule. Arab nationalists regarded McMahon's pledge as a promise of immediate and complete independence. The territorial delimitations described in McMahon's letter were ambiguous and left unclear whether they included what was then Palestine, present-day Israel. The British later claimed that Palestine, which was not mentioned, was implicitly excluded from the regions promised to Hussein. Arab nationalists argued that the territories pledged to them included Palestine and that the subsequent British Sykes-Picot Agreement with France over the partition of the Ottoman Empire and the 1917 Balfour Declaration promising Jews a national homeland in Palestine contravened the McMahon letter.

Primary Source

The two districts of Mesina and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab, and should be excluded from the limits demanded (by the Arabs).

With the above modification, and without prejudice to our existing treaties with Arab chiefs, we accept those limits.

As for those regions lying within these frontiers wherein Great Britain is free to act without detriment to the interests of her ally, France, I am empowered in the name of the government of Great Britain to give the following assurances and make the following reply to your letter.

1) Subject to the above modifications, Great Britain is prepared to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs in the regions within the limits demanded by the Sherif of Mecca.

2) Great Britain will recognise the Holy Places against all external aggression and will recognise their inviolability.

3) When the situation admits, Great Britain will give to the Arabs her advice and will assist them to establish what may appear to be the most suitable forms of government in those various territories.

4) On the other hand, it is understood that the Arabs have decided to seek the advice and guidance of Great Britain only, and that such European advisors and officials as may be required for the formation of a sound administration will be British.

5) With regards to the vilayets of Baghdad and Basra, the Arabs will recognise that the established position and interests of Great Britain necessitate special administrative arrangements in order

to secure these territories from foreign aggression to promote the welfare of the local populations and to safeguard our mutual economic interests.

I am convinced that this declaration will assure you beyond all possible doubt of the sympathy of Great Britain towards the aspirations of her friends the Arabs and will result in a firm and lasting alliance, the immediate results of which will be the expulsion of the Turks from Arab countries and the freeing of the Arab peoples from the Turkish yoke, which for so many years has pressed heavily upon them.

Source: United Kingdom, Parliament, *Husain-McMahon Correspondence,* Miscellaneous No. 3., Cmd. 5957, 1939.

6. Sykes-Picot Agreement, 1916

Introduction

As Turkish power crumbled in the Middle East, British and French officials reached tentative agreement as to how to divide influence within that region between their two nations. On May 9, 1916, Paul Cambon, the French foreign minister, wrote to British foreign secretary Sir Edward Grey and formally proposed a disposition of the Middle East between France and Britain along lines already agreed to by junior French and British diplomats in the area. Grey replied, first briefly and then at greater length. Britain recognized French predominance in Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine (later exchanged for portions of Iraq) in return for French acceptance of British control of Iraq and Jordan. The British and French envisaged permitting Arab states in these former Ottoman provinces but only on the condition that their governments recognize British or French overlordship. At the subsequent 1919 Paris Peace Conference, Britain and France retained control of these regions, which were defined as mandates under the new League of Nations. This was a great disappointment to the Arab nationalists who had hoped to establish independent states free of Western colonial rule. During the 1920s resentment of Anglo-French domination continued to simmer in the newly established kingdoms of Iraq and Transjordan and in the states of Syria and Lebanon.

Primary Source

Sir Edward Grey to Paul Cambon, May 15, 1916

I shall have the honour to reply in a further note to your Excellency's note of the 9th instant, relative to the creation of an Arab State, but I should meanwhile be grateful if your Excellency could assure me that in those regions which, under the conditions recorded in that communication, become entirely French, or in which French interests are recognised as predominant, any existing British concessions, rights of navigation or development, and the rights and privileges of any British religions, scholastic, or medical institutions will be maintained.

His Majesty's Government are, of course, ready to give a reciprocal assurance in regard to the British area.

Sir Edward Grey to Paul Cambon, May 16, 1916

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's note of the 9th instant, stating that the French Government accept the limits of a future Arab State, or Confederation of States, and of those parts of Syria where French interests predominate, together with certain conditions attached thereto, such as they result from recent discussions in London and Petrograd on the subject.

I have the honour to inform your Excellency in reply that the acceptance of the whole project, as it now stands, will involve the abdication of considerable British interests, but, since His Majesty's Government recognise the advantage to the general cause of the Allies entailed in producing a more favourable internal political situation in Turkey, they are ready to accept the arrangement now arrived at, provided that the co-operation of the Arabs is secured, and that the Arabs fulfil the conditions and obtain the towns of Homs, Hama, Damascus, and Aleppo.

It is accordingly understood between the French and British governments:

1. That France and Great Britain are prepared to recognize and protect an independent Arab State or a confederation of Arab states (A) and (B) marked on the annexed map, under the suzerainty of an Arab chief. That in area (A) France, and in area (B) Great Britain, shall have priority of right of enterprise and local loans. That in area (A) France, and in area (B) Great Britain, shall alone supply advisers or foreign functionaries at the request of the Arab state or confederation of Arab states.

2. That in the blue area France, and in the red area Great Britain, shall be allowed to establish such direct or indirect administration or control as they desire and as they may think fit to arrange with the Arab State or Confederation of Arab States.

3. That in the brown area there shall be established an international administration, the form of which is to be decided upon after consultation with Russia, and subsequently in consultation with the other Allies, and the representatives of the Shereef of Mecca.

4. That Great Britain be accorded (1) the ports of Haifa and Acre, (2) guarantee of a given supply of water from the Tigres and Euphrates in area (A) for area (B). His majesty's government, on their part, undertake that they will at no time enter into negotiations for the cession of Cyprus to any third Power without the previous consent of the French Government.

5. That Alexandretta shall be a free port as regards the trade of the British Empire, and that there shall be no discrimination in port charges or facilities as regards British shipping and British goods; that there shall be freedom of transit for British goods through Alexandretta and by railway through the blue area, whether those goods are intended for or originate in the red area, or (B) area, or area (A); and there shall be no discrimination, direct or indirect against British goods on any railway or against British goods or ships at any port serving the areas mentioned.

That Haifa shall be a free port as regards the trade of France, her dominions and protectorates, and there shall be no discrimination in port charges or facilities as regards French shipping and French goods. There shall be freedom of transit for French goods through Haifa and by the British railway through the brown area, whether those goods are intended for or originate in the blue area, area (A), or area (B), and there shall be no discrimination, direct or indirect, against French goods on any railway, or against French goods or ships at any port serving the areas mentioned.

6. That in area (A) the Baghdad railway shall not be extended southwards beyond Mosul, and in area (B) northwards beyond Samarra, until a railway connecting Baghdad and Aleppo via the Euphrates valley has been completed, and then only with the concurrence of the two governments.

7. That Great Britain has the right to build, administer, and be sole owner of a railway connecting Haifa with area (B), and shall have a perpetual right to transport troops along such a line at all times.

It is to be understood by both Governments that this railway is to facilitate the connexion of Baghdad with Haifa by rail, and it is further understood that, if the engineering difficulties and expense entailed by keeping this connecting line in the brown area only make the project unfeasible, that the French government shall be prepared to consider that the line in question may also traverse the polygon Banias-Keis Marib-Salkhad Tell Otsda-Mesmie before reaching area (B).

8. For a period of twenty years the existing Turkish customs tariff shall remain in force throughout the whole of the blue and red areas, as well as in areas (A) and (B), and no increase in the rates of duty or conversions from ad valorem to specific rates shall be made except by agreement between the two Powers.

There shall be no interior customs barriers between any of the above-mentioned areas. The customs duties leviable on goods destined for the interior shall be collected at the port of entry and handed over to the administration of the area of destination.

9. It shall be agreed that the French Government will at no time enter into any negotiations for the cession of their rights and will not cede such rights in the blue area to any third Power, except the Arab State or Confederation of Arab States, without the previous agreement of His Majesty's Government, who, on their part, will give a similar undertaking to the French Government regarding the red area.

10. The British and French Governments, as the protectors of the Arab State, shall agree that they will not themselves acquire and will not consent to a third power acquiring territorial possessions in the Arabian peninsula, nor consent to a third power installing a naval base either on the east coast, or on the islands, of the Red Sea. This, however, shall not prevent such adjustment of the Aden frontier as may be necessary in consequence of recent Turkish aggression.

11. The negotiations with the Arabs as to the boundaries of the Arab State or Confederation of Arab States shall be continued through the same channel as heretofore on behalf of the two powers.

12. It is agreed that measures to control the importation of arms into the Arab territories will be considered by the two Governments.

I have further the honour to state that, in order to make the agreement complete, His Majesty's Government are proposing to the Russian Government to exchange notes analogous to those exchanged by the latter and your Excellency's Government on the 26th April last. Copies of these notes will be communicated to your Excellency as soon as exchanged.

I would also venture to remind your Excellency that the conclusion of the present agreement raises, for practical consideration, the question of claims of Italy to a share in any partition or rearrangement of Turkey in Asia, as formulated in article 9 of the agreement of the 26th April, 1915, between Italy and the Allies.

His Majesty's Government further consider that the Japanese Government should be informed of the arrangements now concluded.

Source: *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print; Series H: The First World War, 1914–1918,* Vol. 2 (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, an Imprint of CIS, 1989). Reprinted by permission of LexisNexis.

7. Soviet Appeal to Muslim Workers in Russia and the East, December 7, 1917

Introduction

The Bolshevik government that seized power in Russia in late 1917 was committed to the cause of international revolution, seeking to

identify itself with the working class around the world. Before its overthrow in early 1917, Russia's czarist government had negotiated secret treaties with the Allies that promised to Russia Istanbul, capital of the Ottoman empire, and control of the strategic Dardanelles straits, the only passage for vessels from the Black Sea to reach the Mediterranean. Britain and France, the other Allied powers, had also made agreements among themselves as to the disposition of the Ottoman Empire's Middle Eastern provinces, Mesopotamia and Palestine. In December 1917, less than a month after taking power, the Russian Bolsheviks issued an appeal specifically directed at Muslims within and beyond Russia. Those inside Russia's borders, in the Caucasus, Turkestan, the Crimea, and Siberia, were promised freedom of worship and customs. Outside Russia's own boundaries, the Bolsheviks appealed to Muslims throughout Asia to rebel against European imperial rule. The new Russian leaders also renounced the czarist empire's claims against Constantinople, which, they proclaimed, "must remain in the hands of the Mohammedans." They likewise repudiated pledges when the war ended that Persia (present-day Iran) would fall under joint British and Russian control. The Soviet declaration was early evidence that on the international stage, Russia's new government intended to encourage and appeal to Muslim nationalist sentiments, presenting itself as the champion of anticolonial opposition to Western domination. For most of the 20th century, Soviet officials would continue to characterize their policies in this light.

Primary Source

Comrades! Brothers!

Great events are occurring in Russia! An end is drawing near to the murderous war, which arose out of the bargainings of foreign powers. The rule of the plunderers, exploiting the peoples of the world, is trembling. The ancient citadel of slavery and serfdom is cracking under the blows of the Russian Revolution. The world of violence and oppression is approaching its last days. A new world is arising, a world of the toilers and the liberated. At the head of this revolution is the Workers' and Peasants' Government in Russia, the Council of People's Commissars.

Revolutionary councils of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies are scattered over the whole of Russia. The power in the country is in the hands of the people. The toiling masses of Russia burn with the single desire to achieve an honest peace and help the oppressed people of the world to win their freedom.

Russia is not alone in this sacred cause. The mighty summons to freedom emitted by the Russian Revolution, has aroused all the toilers in the East and West. The people of Europe, exhausted by war, are already stretching out their hands to us, in our work for peace. The workers and soldiers of the West are already rallying around the banner of socialism, storming the strongholds of imperialism. Even far-off India, that land which has been oppressed by the European "torchbearers of civilisation" for so many centuries, has raised the standard of revolt, organising its councils of deputies, throwing the hated yoke of slavery from its shoulders, and summoning the people of the East to the struggle for freedom.

The sway of capitalist plunder and violence is being undermined. The ground is slipping from under the feet of the imperialist pillagers.

In the face of these great events, we appeal to you, toiling and dispossessed Mohammedan workers, in Russia and the East.

Mohammedans of Russia, Volga and Crimean Tartars, Kirgliisi and Sarti in Siberia and Turkestan, Turcos and Tartars in the Trans-Caucasus, Chechenzi and mountain Cossacks! All you, whose mosques and shrines have been destroyed, whose faith and customs have been violated by the Tsars and oppressors of Russia! Hence-forward your faith and customs, your national and cultural departments, are declared free and inviolable! Organise your national life freely and unimpeded. It is your right. Know that your rights, like those of all the peoples of Russia, will be guarded by the might of the revolution and its organs, the Councils of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies!

Support this revolution and its representative Government!

Mohammedans of the East! Persians, Turks, Arabs and Indians!

All you whose bodies and property, freedom and native land have been for centuries exploited by the European beasts of prey! All you whose countries the plunderers who began the war now desire to share among themselves! We declare that the secret treaties of the deposed Tsar as to the annexation of Constantinople, confirmed by the late Kerensky Government—are now null and void. The Russian Republic, and its Government, the Council of People's Commissars, are opposed to the annexation of foreign lands: Constantinople must remain in the hands of the Mohammedans.

We declare that the treaty for the division of Persia is null and void. Immediately after the cessation of military activities troops will be withdrawn from Persia and the Persians will be guaranteed the right of free self-determination.

We declare that the treaty for the division of Turkey and the subduction from it of Armenia, is null and void. Immediately after the cessation of military activities, the Armenians will be guaranteed the right of free self-determination of their political fate.

It is not from Russia and its revolutionary Government that you have to fear enslavement, but from the robbers of European imperialism, from those who have laid your native lands waste and converted them into their colonies.

Overthrow these robbers and enslavers of your lands! Now, when war and ruin are breaking down the pillars of the old world, when the whole world is burning with indignation against the imperialist brigands, when the least spark of indignation bursts out in a mighty flame of revolution, when even the Indian Mohammedans, oppressed and tormented by the foreign yoke, are rising in revolt against their slave-drivers—now it is impossible to keep silent. Lose no time in throwing off the yoke of the ancient oppressors of your land! Let them no longer violate your hearths! You must yourselves be masters in your own land! You yourselves must arrange your life as you yourselves see fit! You have the right to do this, for your fate is in your own hands!

Comrades! Brothers!

Advance firmly and resolutely towards an honest, democratic peace!

We bear the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world on our banners!

Mohammedans in Russia!

Mohammedans in the East!

We look to you for sympathy and support in the work of renewing of the world!

Source: U.S. Congress, House, *The Communist Conspiracy: Strategy and Tactics of World Communism* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1929), 10–11.

8. Great Britain and Iraq, Treaty of Alliance, October 10, 1922 [Excerpts]

Introduction

In 1920 Great Britain was awarded a League of Nations mandate over Mesopotamia (present-day Iraq), essentially a situation in which the British administered the area as a trustee under League of Nations auspices. From June to September 1920 Mesopotamian nationalists staged a revolt against British rule, demanding full independence. In 1920 France drove Emir Faisal of the Hejaz out of his short-lived kingdom of greater Syria, and the following year Britain offered him the monarchy of Iraq as a client king under British supervision. In 1922 Britain and Iraq signed a treaty setting forth the terms of their relationship. The king was restricted and could appoint no non-Iraqi officials without British consent, preventing any other power from gaining influence over his government. The British would provide "support and assistance" to the Iraqi armed forces. Equally, except for embassies and other diplomatic facilities, no foreign power could lease or acquire territory within Iraq. Faisal and the Iraqis only grudgingly accepted the terms of this treaty, which made Iraq virtually a British protectorate. In April 1923 a separate protocol to the treaty reduced its duration from an original 20 years to "not later than four years after the ratification of peace with Turkey." Even after the treaty expired in 1927 Britain retained special rights in Iraq, some of which remained in effect even after Faisal won full formal independence for his country in 1932.

Primary Source

Article 1

At the request of His Majesty the King of Iraq, His Britannic Majesty undertakes, subject to the provisions of this treaty, to provide the State of Iraq with such advice and assistance as may be required during the period of the present treaty, without prejudice to her national sovereignty. His Britannic Majesty shall be represented in Iraq by a High Commissioner and Consul-General assisted by the necessary staff.

Article 2

His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes that for the period of the present treaty no gazetted official of other than Iraq nationality shall be appointed in Iraq without the concurrence of His Britannic Majesty. A separate agreement shall regulate the numbers and conditions of employment of British officials so appointed in the Iraq Government.

Article 3

His Majesty the King of Iraq agrees to frame an Organic Law for presentation to the Constituent Assembly of Iraq, and to give effect to the said law, which shall contain nothing contrary to the provisions of the present treaty and shall take account of the rights, wishes and interests of all populations inhabiting Iraq. This Organic Law shall ensure to all complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals. It shall provide that no discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Iraq on the ground of race, religion or language, and shall secure that the right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Government of Iraq may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. It shall prescribe the constitutional procedure, whether legislative or executive, by which decisions will be taken on all matters of importance, including those involving questions of fiscal, financial and military policy.

Article 4

Without prejudice to the provisions of articles 17 and 18 of this treaty. His Majesty the King of Iraq agrees to be guided by the advice of His Britannic Majesty tendered through the High Commissioner on all important matters affecting the international and financial obligations and interests of His Britannic Majesty for the whole period of this treaty. His Majesty the King of Iraq will fully consult the High Commissioner on what is conducive to a sound financial and fiscal policy, and will ensure the stability and good organisation of the finances of the Iraq Government so long as that Government is under financial obligations to the Government of His Britannic Majesty.

Article 5

His Majesty the King of Iraq shall have the right of representation in London and in such other capitals and places as may be agreed upon by the High Contracting Parties. Where His Majesty the King of Iraq is not represented, he agrees to entrust the protection of Iraq nationals to His Britannic Majesty. His Majesty the King of Iraq shall himself issue exequaturs to representatives of foreign Powers in Iraq after His Britannic Majesty has agreed to their appointment.

Article 6

His Britannic Majesty undertakes to use his good offices to secure the admission of Iraq to membership of the League of Nations as soon as possible.

Article 7

His Britannic Majesty undertakes to provide such support and assistance to the armed forces of His Majesty the King of Iraq as may from time to time be agreed by the High Contracting Parties. A separate agreement regulating the extent and conditions of such support and assistance shall be concluded between the High Contracting Parties and communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

Article 8

No territory in Iraq shall be ceded or leased or in any way placed under the control of any foreign Power; this shall not prevent His Majesty the King of Iraq from making such arrangements as may be necessary for the accommodation of foreign representatives and for the fulfilment of the provisions of the preceding article.

Article 9

His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes that he will accept and give effect to such reasonable provisions as His Britannic Majesty may consider necessary in judicial matters to safeguard the interests of foreigners in consequence of the non-application of the immunities and privileges enjoyed by them under capitulation or usage. These provisions shall be embodied in a separate agreement, which shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

[. . .]

Article 15

A separate agreement shall regulate the financial relations between the High Contracting Parties. It shall provide, on the one hand, for the transfer by His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Government of Iraq of such works of public utility as may be agreed upon, and for the rendering by His Britannic Majesty's Government of such financial assistance as may from time to time be considered necessary for Iraq, and, on the other hand, for the progressive liquidation by the Government of Iraq of all liabilities thus incurred. Such agreement shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

Article 16

So far as is consistent with his international obligations, His Britannic Majesty undertakes to place no obstacle in the way of the association of the State of Iraq for customs or other purposes with such neighbouring Arab States as may desire it.

[. . .]

Source: "Treaty of Alliance between Great Britain and Iraq, October 10, 1922," *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America, 1776–1949,* Vol. 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), 1003–1007.

9. The United Kingdom and Transjordan, Agreement on Constitutional Structure and the Limits of Autonomy, February 20, 1928 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The emirate of Transjordan was originally a provisional entity that the British government created in 1921 from a portion of the Palestine mandate in order to placate Emir Abdullah, one of the sons of Sharif Hussein of the Hejaz, to prevent him from stirring up a politically inconvenient revolt against the French. In 1923 the

arrangement became permanent on the condition that the British government could conclude suitable arrangements for supervision of the new emirate's affairs. In 1928 Great Britain and Transjordan signed an agreement under whose terms the emirate enjoyed substantial domestic autonomy, but its foreign affairs and external relations were handled by Britain. A British resident, together with his staff, would be stationed in Transjordan and would exercise overall supervision of Transjordan's foreign, financial, and military affairs and advise the emir on all economic and commercial matters, including the granting of concessions to exploit mineral resources or construct railroads. Britain was entitled to station troops in Transjordan, and related expenses, together with those of the British resident and his office, would be borne in part or whole by the government of Transjordan. The British agreed to provide financial assistance to Transjordan. Effectively, Transjordan was a British protectorate. In 1934 the agreement was modified to allow the emir to appoint his own diplomatic representatives to other states in place of allowing the British government to handle all such matters on Transjordan's behalf.

Primary Source

ARTICLE 1

His Highness the Amir agrees that His Britannic Majesty shall be represented in Trans-Jordan by a British Resident acting on behalf of the High Commissioner for Trans-Jordan, and that communications between His Britannic Majesty and all other Powers on the one hand and the Trans-Jordan Government on the other shall be made through the British Resident and the High Commissioner aforesaid.

His Highness the Amir agrees that the ordinary expenses of civil government and the administration and the salaries and expenses of the British Resident and his staff will be borne by Trans-Jordan. His Highness the Amir will provide quarters for the accommodation of British members of the staff of the British Resident.

ARTICLE 2

The powers of legislation and of administration entrusted to His Britannic Majesty as Mandatory for Palestine shall be exercised in that part of the area Mandate known as Trans-Jordan by His Highness the Amir through such constitutional government as is defined and determined in the Organic Law of Trans-Jordan and any amendment thereof made with the approval of His Britannic Majesty.

Throughout the remaining clauses of this Agreement the word "Palestine", unless otherwise defined, shall mean that portion of the area under Mandate which lies to the west of a line drawn from a point two miles west of the town of Akaba on the Gulf of that name up the centre of the Wady Araba, Dead Sea and River Jordan to its junction with the River Yarmuk; thence up the centre of that river to the Syrian frontier.

ARTICLE 3

His Highness the Amir agrees that for the period of the present Agreement no official of other than Trans-Jordan nationality shall be appointed in Trans-Jordan without the concurrence of His Britannic Majesty. The numbers and conditions of employment of British officials so appointed in the Trans-Jordan government shall be regulated by a separate Agreement.

ARTICLE 4

His Highness the Amir agrees that all such laws, orders or regulations as may be required for the full discharge of the international responsibilities and obligations of His Britannic Majesty in respect of the territory of Trans-Jordan shall be adopted and made, and that no laws, orders or regulations shall be adopted or made in Trans-Jordan which may hinder the full discharge of such international responsibilities and obligations.

ARTICLE 5

His Highness the Amir agrees to be guided by the advice of His Britannic Majesty tendered through the High Commissioner for Trans-Jordan in all matters concerning foreign relations of Trans-Jordan, as well as in all important matters affecting the international and financial obligations and interests of His Britannic Majesty in respect of Trans-Jordan. His Highness the Amir undertakes to follow an administrative, financial and fiscal policy in Trans-Jordan as will ensure the stability and good organisation of his Government and its finances. He agrees to keep His Britannic Majesty informed of the measures proposed and adopted to give due effect to this undertaking, and further agrees not to alter the system of control of the public finances of Trans-Jordan without the consent of His Britannic Majesty.

ARTICLE 6

His Highness the Amir agrees that he will refer for the advice of His Britannic Majesty the annual Budget law and any law which concerns matters covered by the provisions of this Agreement, and any law of any of the following classes, namely:—

1) Any law affecting the currency of Trans-Jordan or relating to the issue of bank notes.

2) Any law imposing differential duties.

3) Any law whereby persons who are nationals of any States Members of the League of Nations or of any State to which His Britannic

Majesty has agreed by treaty that the same rights should be ensured as it would enjoy if it were a member of the said League, may be subjected or made liable to any disabilities to which persons who are British subjects or nationals of any foreign State are not also subjected or made liable.

4) Any special law providing for succession to the Amir's throne, or for the establishment of a Council of Regency.

5) Any law whereby the grant of land or money or other donation or gratuity may be made to himself.

6) Any law under which the Amir may assume sovereignty over territory outside Trans-Jordan.

7) Any law concerning the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts over foreigners.

8) Any law altering, amending or adding to the details of the provisions of the Organic Law.

ARTICLE 7

Except by agreement between the two countries there shall be no customs barrier between Palestine and Trans-Jordan, and the Customs tariff in Trans-Jordan shall be approved by His Britannic Majesty.

The Government of Palestine shall pay to the Trans-Jordan Government the estimated amount of customs duties levied on the part of the goods entering Palestine from territory other than Trans-Jordan which subsequently enters Trans-Jordan for local consumption, but shall be entitled to withhold from the sums to be paid on this account the estimated amount of custom duties levied by Trans-Jordan on that part of the goods entering Trans-Jordan from other than Palestine territory, which subsequently enters Palestine for local consumption. The trade and commerce of Trans-Jordan shall receive at Palestinian Ports equal facilities with the trade and commerce of Palestine.

ARTICLE 8

So far as is consistent with the international obligations of His Britannic Majesty no obstacle shall be placed in the way of the association of Trans-Jordan for customs or other purposes with such neighbouring Arab States as may desire it.

ARTICLE 9

His Highness the Amir undertakes that he will accept and give effect to such reasonable provisions as His Britannic Majesty may consider necessary in judicial matters to safeguard the interests of foreigners.

These provisions shall be embodied in a separate Agreement, which shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations, and pending the conclusion of such Agreement, no foreigner shall be brought before a Trans-Jordan Court without the concurrence of His Britannic Majesty.

His Highness the Amir undertakes that he will accept and give effect to such reasonable provisions as His Britannic Majesty may consider necessary in judicial matters to safeguard the law and jurisdiction with regard to questions arising out of the religious beliefs of the different religious communities.

ARTICLE 10

His Britannic Majesty may maintain armed forces in Trans-Jordan, and may raise, organise and control in Trans-Jordan such armed forces as may in his opinion be necessary for the defence of the country and to assist his Highness the Amir in the preservation of peace and order.

His Highness the Amir agrees that he will not raise or maintain in Trans-Jordan or allow to be raised or maintained any military forces without the consent of His Britannic Majesty.

ARTICLE 11

His Highness the Amir recognises the principle that the cost of the forces required for the defence of Trans-Jordan is a charge on the revenues of that territory. At the coming into force of this Agreement, Trans-Jordan will continue to bear one-sixth of the cost of the Trans-Jordan Frontier Force, and will also bear, as soon as the financial resources of the country permit, the excess of the cost of the British forces stationed in Trans-Jordan, so far as such forces may be deemed by His Britannic Majesty to be employed in respect of Trans-Jordan, over the cost of such forces if stationed in Great Britain, and the whole cost of any forces raised for Trans-Jordan alone.

ARTICLE 12

So long as the revenues of Trans-Jordan are insufficient to meet such ordinary expenses of administration (including any expenditure on local forces for which Trans-Jordan is liable under Article 11) as may be incurred with the approval of His Britannic Majesty, arrangements will be made for a contribution from the British Treasury by way of grant or loan in aid of the revenues of Trans-Jordan. His Britannic Majesty will also arrange for the payment of the excess of the cost of the British forces stationed in Trans-Jordan and deemed by His Britannic Majesty to be employed in respect of Trans-Jordan, insofar and for such time as the revenues of Trans-Jordan are insufficient to bear such excess.

ARTICLE 13

His Highness the Amir agrees that all such laws, orders or regulations as may from time to time be required by His Britannic Majesty for the purposes of Article 10 shall be adopted and made, and that no laws, orders or regulations shall be adopted or made in Trans-Jordan which may, in the opinion of His Britannic Majesty, interfere with the purposes of that Article.

ARTICLE 14

His Highness the Amir agrees to follow the advice of His Britannic Majesty with regard to the proclamation of Martial Law in all or any part of Trans-Jordan as may be placed under Martial Law to such officer or officers of His Britannic Majesty's Forces as His Britannic Majesty may nominate. His Highness the Amir further agrees that on the re-establishment of civil government a special law shall be adopted to indemnify the armed forces maintained by His Britannic Majesty for all acts done or omissions or defaults made under Martial Law.

ARTICLE 15

His Britannic Majesty may exercise jurisdiction over all members of the armed forces maintained or controlled by His Britannic Majesty in Trans-Jordan. For the purposes of this and the five preceding Articles, the term "armed forces" shall be deemed to include civilians attached to or employed with the armed forces.

ARTICLE 16

His Highness the Amir undertakes that every facility shall be provided at all times for the movement of His Britannic Majesty's forces (including the use of wireless and land-line telegraphic and telephonic services and the right to lay land-lines), and for the carriage and storage of fuel, ordnance, ammunition and supplies on the roads, railways and waterways and in the ports of Trans-Jordan.

ARTICLE 17

His Highness the Amir agrees to be guided by the advice of His Britannic Majesty in all matters concerning the granting of concessions, the exploitation of natural resources, the construction and operation of railways, and the raising of loans.

ARTICLE 18

No territory in Trans-Jordan shall be ceded or leased or in any way placed under the control of any foreign Power; this shall not prevent His Highness the Amir from making such arrangements as may be necessary for the accommodation of foreign representatives and for the fulfillment of the provisions of the preceding Articles.

ARTICLE 19

His Highness the Amir agrees that, pending the making of special extradition agreements relating to Trans-Jordan, the Extradition Treaties in force between His Britannic Majesty and foreign Powers shall apply to Trans-Jordan.

[. . .]

Source: Great Britain, *Treaty Series* (1930), no. 7, Cmd., 3488.

10. The Saudi Arabian Government and the Standard Oil Company of California, Oil Concession Agreement, May 29, 1933 [Excerpts]

Introduction

By the early 1930s American oil companies were beginning to explore the possibility of developing oil concessions in the Persian Gulf area. The Turkish Petroleum Company, later renamed the Iraq Petroleum Company, a consortium that included some U.S. oil companies, had a monopoly on exploration in much of the region, and within this grouping only British nationals could develop oil concessions in the small Persian Gulf emirates. In 1932 Standard Oil of California (Socal), a firm outside the consortium that had already broken into this closed shop on oil exploration licenses by establishing a subsidiary—albeit one including a British member on its board—in the small sheikhdom of Bahrain, a British quasi protectorate, applied for an exploratory oil license in the neighboring independent kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Seeking to improve the terms offered him, King Abd al-Aziz encouraged the Iraq Petroleum Company to compete for the concession, and Socal eventually outbid its rival. The American firm obtained a 60-year contract granting it exclusive oil exploration and drilling rights in 360,000 square miles of eastern Saudi Arabia and a preferential option on an adjoining region, territory over whose ownership Saudi Arabia was still in dispute with the neighboring emirate of Kuwait. The Socal-Saudi agreement was the first major oil concession negotiated by a U.S. business in the Middle East.

Primary Source

ART. 1. The Government hereby grants to the Company on the terms and conditions hereinafter mentioned and with respect to the area defined below, the exclusive right, for a period of sixty years from the effective date hereof, to explore, prospect, drill for,

extract, treat, manufacture, transport, deal with, carry away and export petroleum, asphalt, naphtha, natural greases, ozocerite, and other hydrocarbons, and the derivatives of all such products. It is understood, however, that such right does not include the exclusive right to sell crude or refined products within the area described below or within Saudi Arabia.

ART. 2. The area covered by the exclusive right referred to in article 1 hereof is all of Eastern Saudi Arabia, from its eastern boundary (including islands and territorial waters), westward to the westerly edge of the Dahana, and from the northern boundary to the southern boundary of the Saudi Arabia, provided that from the northern end of the westerly edge of the Dahana the westerly boundary of the area in question shall continue in a straight line north, 30 degrees west, to the northern boundary of Saudi Arabia, and from the southern end of the westerly edge of the Dahana, such boundary shall continue in a straight line south, 30 degrees east, to the southern boundary of Saudi Arabia.

For convenience this area may be referred to as the "exclusive area."

ART. 3. Within the time agreed in article 16 of this agreement, the Company shall make a payment to the Government of £30,000 gold, or its equivalent.

ART. 4. The Company shall pay the Government annually the sum of £5,000 gold, or its equivalent. For convenience this payment is termed an "annual rental" and it is payable in advance. The first annual rental shall be paid within the time agreed in article 16 of this agreement; thereafter so long as the contract is not terminated, the annual rental shall be due upon each anniversary of the effective date hereof, and shall be payable within thirty days after such anniversary, provided that upon the commercial discovery of oil no further annual rental shall be due or payable.

ART. 5. If this contract has not been terminated within eighteen months from the effective date hereof, the Company shall make a second payment to the Government, amounting to £20,000 gold, or its equivalent. The due date of such payment shall be eighteen months from the effective date hereof, but the Company shall have fifteen days from the due date within which to make the payment.

ART. 6. Upon the effective date of this agreement the Company shall commence plans and preparations for geological work, so planning the work as to take advantage of the cooler season for more efficient work in the field, and of the hotter season for the necessary office work of compiling data and reports. In the event the actual field work shall commence not later than the end of September 1933, and it shall be continued diligently until operations connected with drilling are commenced, or until the contract is terminated.

ART. 7. Within ninety days after the commencement of drilling, the Company shall relinquish to the Government such portions of the exclusive area as the Company at that time may decide not to explore further, or to use otherwise in connexion with the enterprise. Similarly, from time to time, during the life of this contract, the Company shall relinquish to the Government such further portions of the exclusive area as the Company may then decide not to explore or prospect further, or to use otherwise in connexion with the enterprise. The portions so relinquished shall thereupon be released from the terms and conditions of this contract, excepting only that during the life of this contract the Company shall continue to enjoy the right to use the portions so relinquished for transportation and communication facilities, which, however, shall interfere as little as practicable with any other use to which the relinquished portions may be put.

ART. 8. The Company shall commence operations connected with drilling as soon as a suitable structure has been found, and in any event if the Company does not commence such operations within three years from the end of September 1933 (subject to the provisions of article 25 hereof), the Government may terminate this contract. Once commenced, these operations shall be continued diligently until oil in commercial quantities has been discovered or until this agreement is terminated. If the Company should fail to declare so sooner, the date of discovery of oil in commercial quantities shall be the date upon which the Company has completed and tested a well or wells capable of producing in accordance with first-class oil practice, at least 2,000 tons of oil per day for a period of thirty consecutive days.

Operation[s] connected with drilling include the ordering and shipping of materials and equipment to Saudi Arabia, the construction of roads, camps, buildings, structures, communication facilities, &c., and the installation and operation of the machinery, equipment and facilities for drilling wells.

ART. 9. Upon the discovery of oil in commercial quantities, the Company shall advance to the Government the sum of £50,000 gold, or its equivalent, and one year later the further sum of £50,000 gold, or its equivalent. The due date of the first advance shall be the date of discovery of oil in commercial quantities, as provided in article 8 hereof, and the due date of the second advance shall be one year later. In each case the Company shall have sixty days following the due date within which to make the advance. Both of these advances are in account of royalties, which may be due to the Government, and, consequently, the Company shall have the right to recover the amount of these advances by way of deductions from one-half of the royalties due the Government.

ART. 10. Since it has been agreed that the annual rental of £5,000 gold, or its equivalent is payable to the date of the discovery of oil in commercial quantities, and since it has been agreed also that the

annual rental is to be payable in advance, it may happen that the last annual rental paid prior to the date of discovery of oil in commercial quantities will cover a period beyond the date of such discovery. In case that this period should be equal to or greater than one-fifth of a year, the proportionate amount of the £5,000 gold, or its equivalent corresponding to such period, shall be treated as an advance on account of royalties due the Government, and consequently it should be recoverable by the Company by way of deductions from one-half of the royalties due the Government.

ART. 11. As soon as practicable (i.e., allowing a reasonable time for ordering and shipping further materials and equipment to Saudi Arabia and commencing further work), after the date of discovery of oil in commercial quantities, the Company shall continue operations connected with drilling by using at least two strings of tools. These operations shall continue diligently until the proven area has been drilled up in accordance with first-class oil-field practice, or until the contract is terminated.

ART. 12. The Company shall pay the Government a royalty on all net crude oil produced and saved and run from field storage, after first deducting—

(1) Water and foreign substance; and

(2) Oil required for the customary operations of the Company's installation within Saudi Arabia; and

(3) The oil required for the manufacturing the amounts of gasoline and kerosene to be provided free each year to the Government in accordance with article 17 hereof.

The rate of royalty per ton of such net crude oil shall be 4s. gold, or its equivalent.

ART. 13. If the Company should produce, save and sell any natural gas, it will pay to the Government a royalty equal to one-eighth of the proceeds of the sale of such natural gas, it being understood, however, that the Company shall be under no obligation to produce, save, sell, or otherwise dispose of any natural gas. It is also understood that the Company is under no obligation to pay any royalty on such natural gas as it may use for the customary operation of its installation within the Saudi Arabia.

ART. 14. The Government, through duly authorised representatives, may, during the usual hours of operations, inspect and examine the operations of the Company under this contract and may verify the amount of production. The Company shall measure, in accordance with first-class oilfield practice, the amount of oil produced and saved and run from field storage, and shall keep time and correct accounts thereof, and of the natural gas it may produce and save and sell, and duly authorised representatives of the Government shall also have access at all reasonable times to such accounts. The Company shall within three months, after the end of each semester, commencing with the date of commercial discovery of oil, deliver to the Government an abstract of such accounts for the semester, and a statement of the amount of royalties due the Government for the semester. These accounts and statements should be treated as confidential by the Government, with the exception of such items therein as the Government may require to publish for fiscal purposes.

The royalties due the Government at the end of each semester commencing with the date of commercial discovery of oil, shall be paid within three months after the end of the semester, such portion of the amount as may be unquestioned shall be tendered the Government within the period hereinabove, and thereupon the question shall be settled by agreement between the parties or failing that by arbitration as provided in this contract. Any further sum which may be payable to the Government as a result of this settlement shall be paid within sixty days after the date of such settlement.

[. . .]

ART. 17. As soon as practicable after the date of discovery of oil in commercial quantities, the Company shall select some point within Saudi Arabia for the erection of a plant for manufacturing sufficient gasoline and kerosene to meet the ordinary requirements of the Government, providing, of course, that the character of the crude oil found will permit of the manufacture of such products on a commercial basis by the use of ordinary refining methods, and provided further that the amount of oil developed is sufficient for the purpose. It is understood that the ordinary requirements of the Government shall not include resale inside or outside of the country. Upon the completion of the necessary preliminary arrangements, and as soon as the Company has obtained the Government's consent to the proposed location, the Company shall proceed with the erection of such plant. During each year following the date of completion of this plant, the Company shall offer free to the Government, in bulk, 200,000 American gallons of gasoline, and 100,000 gallons of kerosene, it being understood that the facilities provided by the Government for accepting these deliveries shall not impede or endanger the Company's operations.

[. . .]

ART. 19. In return for the obligations assumed by the Company under this contract, and for the payments required from the Company hereunder, the Company and enterprise shall be exempt from all direct and indirect taxes, imposts, charges, fees and duties (including, of course, import and export duties), it being understood that this privilege shall not extend to the sale of products

within the country, nor shall it extend to the personal requirements of the individual employees of the Company. Any material imported free of duty may not be sold within the country without first paying the corresponding import duty.

ART. 20. It is understood, of course, that the Company has the right to use all means and facilities it may deem necessary or advisable in order to exercise the rights granted under this contract, so as to carry out the purposes of this enterprise, including among other things the right to construct and use roads, camps, buildings, structures and all systems of communication, to instal and operate machinery, equipment and facilities in connexion with the drilling of wells, or in connexion with the transportation, storage, treatment, manufacture, dealing with, or exportation of petroleum and its derivatives, or in connexion with the camps, buildings and quarters of the personnel of the company; to construct and use storage reservoirs, tanks and receptacles; to construct and operate wharves, piers, sealoading lines and all other terminal and port facilities; and to use all forms of transportation of personnel, or equipment, and of petroleum and its derivatives. It is understood, however, that the use of aeroplanes within the country shall be [the] subject of a separate agreement.

The Company shall also have the right to develop, carry away and use water. It likewise shall have the right to carry away and use any water belonging to the Government, for the operations of the enterprise, but so as not to prejudice irrigation or to deprive any lands, houses or watering places for cattle, of a reasonable supply of water from time to time. The Company may also take for use, but only to the extent necessary for the purpose of the enterprise, other natural products belonging to the Government, such as surface soil, timber, stone, lime, gypsum stone and similar substances.

Government officials and agents, in pursuance of official business, shall have the right to use such communications and transportation facilities as the Company may establish, provided that such use shall not obstruct or interfere with the Company's operations hereunder, and shall not impose upon the Company any substantial burden of expense.

In times of national emergency the use of the Company's transportation and communication facilities by the Government shall entitle the Company to fair compensation for any loss it may sustain thereby, whether through damage to the Company's facilities, equipment or installation or through the obstruction or interference with the Company's operations.

ART. 21. The enterprise under this contract shall be directed and supervised by Americans who shall employ Saudi Arab nationals as far as practicable, and in so far as the Company can find suitable Saudi Arab employees it will not employ other nationals.

In respect of the treatment of the Saudi Arab nationals as employees, the Company shall abide by the existing laws of the country applicable generally to employees of any other industrial enterprise.

ART. 22. The Government reserves the right to search for and obtain any substance or products, other than those exclusively granted under this contract, within the area covered by this agreement, except land occupied by wells or other installations of the Company, provided always that the right thus reserved by the Government shall be exercised so as not to endanger the operations of the Company or interfere with its rights hereunder, and provided also that a fair compensation shall be paid the Company by the Government for all damage the Company may sustain through the exercise of the right so reserved by the Government. In any grant of such right so reserved by the Government, the concessionaire shall be bound by the provisions of this article.

ART. 23. The Company is hereby empowered by the Government to acquire from any occupant the surface rights of any land which the Company may find necessary to use in connexion with the enterprise, provided that the Company shall pay the occupant for depriving him of the use of the land. The payment shall be a fair one with respect to the customary use made of the land by the occupant. The Government will lend every reasonable assistance to the Company in case of any difficulties with respect to acquiring the rights of a surface occupant.

The Company, of course, shall have no right to acquire or to occupy Holy Places.

[. . .]

ART. 30. The Company may not, without the consent of the Government, assign its rights and obligations under this contract to anyone, but it is understood that the Company, upon notifying the Government, shall have the right to assign its rights and obligations hereunder to a corporation it may organise exclusively for the purpose of this enterprise. Any such corporation or organisation, upon being invested with any or all of rights and obligations under this contract, and upon notification thereof to the Government, shall thereupon be subject to the terms and conditions of this agreement.

In the event that stock issued by any such corporation or organisation should be offered for sale to the general public, the inhabitants of Saudi Arabia shall be allowed a reasonable time to subscribe (upon similar terms and conditions offered to others), for at least 20 per cent of such shares of stock so issued and offered for sale to the general public.

[. . .]

Letter of Agreement, Addressed by Hamilton to al-Shaykn ʻAbdallah al-Sulayman

Referring to the contract which has been signed to-day by you, on behalf of the Saudi Arab Government, and by the undersigned, on behalf of Standard Oil Company of California, relative to an oil concession covering a portion of eastern Saudi Arabia, I am setting forth below the agreement we have also reached on behalf of the two parties to the same contract, which agreement shall be considered as a part of the said contract. For convenience, the two parties in question shall be referred to below in the same manner as designated in the said contract, namely, the "Government" and the "Company," and the said contract shall be referred to as the "Saudi Arab Concession."

1. The Company is granted a preference right to an oil concession covering a certain area described in Article 3 of the Saudi Arab Concession. The preference right so granted the Company shall be a right to acquire an oil concession covering such area, exclusive of the so-called Neutral Zone also referred to in the same Article 3, by equaling the terms of any offer for such concession that may be made [by] the Government by others in good faith and that the Government may be ready and willing to accept. Within thirty days after receiving from the Government written notice, setting forth in full the terms of such offer, the Company shall notify the Government whether or not the Company wishes to acquire the oil concession by equaling the terms so offered. If the Company does not wish to do so, the Government is free to accept the offer made, but if an oil concession should not be granted to others on the same terms as those so offered and so presented to the Company, the preference right of the Company shall continue, at least so long as the provisions of Article 7 of the Saudi Arab Concession remain in force.

2. The Company's preference right to acquire an oil concession covering the so-called Neutral Zone referred to in Article 3 of the Saudi Arab Concession, shall be a right to equal, with respect to the rights of the Government in the Neutral Zone, the terms and conditions which may be obtained by the Shaikh of Kuwait for a concession covering his rights in the Neutral Zone. In the absence of any grant of an oil concession covering such rights of the Shaikh of Kuwait, the Government will endeavor to reach an agreement with the Shaikh of Kuwait whereby the Company will be permitted to acquire an oil concession covering the rights of the Government and of the Shaikh of Kuwait in the Neutral Zone. In either of these two events, the Company shall have a period of thirty days from the date it receives written notice setting forth in full the terms and conditions of oil concession covering the rights of the Shaikh of Kuwait in the Neutral Zone, or covering the terms of the proposed concession embracing the rights of the Government and of the Shaikh of Kuwait in the Neutral Zone, as the case may be within which to decide and to notify the Government whether or not the Company wishes to acquire the oil concession on such terms. If the Company does not wish to do so, the Government is free to negotiate with others, but if the oil concession should not be granted to others on the same terms as those offered to the Company, the preference right of the Company shall continue, at least so long as the provisions of Article 7 of the Saudi Arab Concession remain in force.

3. Article 22 of the Saudi Arab Concession states that the use of aeroplanes shall be the subject of a separate agreement. One purpose of the present letter is to set forth the agreement as to this point. In view of the restrictions now prevailing in Saudi Arabia as to the use of aeroplanes within the country by anyone other than the Government, it is hereby agreed that so long as such restrictions remain in force, the Government will undertake to provide, at the request and at the expense of the Company, such aeroplane service as the Company may consider advisable for the purpose of its operations within the area covered by the Saudi Arab Concession. Such service shall be limited to the purposes of the enterprise. If any aeroplane photographs should be taken for geological or mapping purposes, the Government and the Company shall each receive copies, also at the expense of the Company.

4. The consent of the Government must be obtained before the Company shall have any right to examine the so-called Neutral Zone referred to in Article 3 of the Saudi Arab Concession.

5. The provisions of Article 35 of the Saudi Arab Concession shall also apply to this agreement.

[. . .]

Source: J. C. Hurewitz, *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics: A Documentary Record* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1975), 445–452.

11. The United States and Saudi Arabia, Provisional Agreement on Diplomatic and Consular Representation, Juridical Protection, Commerce, and Navigation, November 7, 1933 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Where American business interests went, the U.S. government often followed close behind. Within six months of the negotiation in July 1933 by Standard Oil of California (Socal) of an exclusive oil concession in Saudi Arabia, the U.S. ambassador in London, Robert Bingham, negotiated an agreement under whose terms

his country and Saudi Arabia could exchange diplomatic representatives with each other. Bingham was entrusted with this task because at this time Great Britain was the only European state where Saudi Arabia maintained a permanent diplomatic mission. Although this agreement was made in November 1933, the U.S. government took no immediate action to implement it. In February 1940, as war in Europe seemed likely to involve the Middle East and less than two years after Socal's Saudi subsidiary, the California Arabian Standard Oil Company (Casoc), discovered commercially viable oil fields in Saudi territory, the U.S. government expanded the responsibilities of its minister in British-controlled Egypt to include accreditation to Jiddah, the Saudi capital, as well. Not until April 1942, when the U.S. State Department appointed a resident vice-consul in Jiddah, a post he combined with chargé d'affaires, did the United States have a physical diplomatic presence in Saudi Arabia. In an index of the growing significance of Saudi Arabia to the United States, in April 1943 the American mission in Jiddah was upgraded to a legation.

Primary Source

[. . .]

The diplomatic representatives of each country shall enjoy in the territories of the other the privileges and immunities derived from generally recognized international law. The consular representatives of each country, duly provided with exequatur, will be permitted to reside in the territories of the other in the places wherein consular representatives are by local laws permitted to reside; they shall enjoy the honorary privileges and the immunities accorded to such officers by general international usage; and they shall not be treated in a manner less favorable than similar officers of any other foreign country.

ARTICLE II

Subjects of His Majesty the King of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the United States of America, territories and possessions, and nationals of the United States of America, its territories and possessions, in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia shall be received and treated in accordance with the requirements and practices of generally recognized international law. In respect of their persons, possessions and rights, they shall enjoy the fullest protection of the laws and authorities of the country, and they shall not be treated in regard to their persons, property, rights and interests, in any manner less favorable than the nationals of any other foreign country.

ARTICLE III

In respect of import, export and other duties and charges affecting commerce and navigation, as well as in respect of transit, warehousing and other facilities, the United States of America, its territories and possessions, will accord to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia will accord to the United States of America, its territories and possessions, unconditional most-favored-nation treatment. Every concession with respect to any duty, charge or regulation affecting commerce or navigation now accorded or that may hereafter be accorded by the United States of America, its territories and possessions, or by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to any foreign country will become immediately applicable without request and without compensation to the commerce and navigation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and of the United States of America, its territories and possessions, respectively.

[. . .]

Source: "Saudi Arabia Diplomatic and Consular Representation; Juridical Protection, Commerce and Navigation Agreement," Trade Compliance Center, http://tcc.export.gov/Trade_Agreements/All_Trade_Agreements/exp_005330.asp.

12. Iran, Soviet Union, and Great Britain, Treaty of Alliance, January 29, 1942 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The heavily mechanized warfare that characterized World War II meant that the oil supplies of the Middle East were too valuable an asset for either side to ignore. During the 1930s Reza Shah of Iran, who resented the fact that the British-dominated Anglo-Iranian Oil Company controlled most of Iran's oil revenues and industry, favored Nazi Germany and staffed much of his government with German advisers. From September 1939 Germany was at war with Great Britain, and in June 1941 German chancellor Adolf Hitler's forces also invaded the Soviet Union, which shared a border with Iran and then became a British ally. Anglo-Russian competition for influence over Iran dated back more than a century, but for the war's duration the two nations cooperated there, as they had in the early 20th century when they divided Iran into spheres of influence. Seeking both to deny Iran's oil reserves to Germany and to protect Soviet oilfields in the nearby Caucasus, in the summer of 1941 both British and Soviet officials demanded that the shah expel the 2,000 Germans then resident in Iran. When he refused, military forces of the two Allied powers jointly occupied Iran, replacing the pro-German shah with his youthful son, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. Russian forces controlled the north of the country, while British forces controlled the south. Iranian nationalist elements feared that the foreign occupation might easily become permanent. Seeking to alleviate such concerns, and in Britain's case also impelled by anxieties that if no agreement to the contrary was concluded Soviet troops might well remain in place when the war was over, in January 1942 the three powers concluded a treaty of alliance against Germany. This permitted British and Soviet armed

forces unrestricted use of Iranian military facilities. Although Iranian nationalists resented the alliance, which was forced upon them, at their insistence this agreement included clauses whereby both Britain and the Soviet Union pledged to "respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Iran." In addition, the treaty provided that both British and Russian occupying forces would leave no later than six months after hostilities ended. In an effort to placate Iranian nationalists, this was an improvement on the one-year interval proposed in the original draft treaty that the British government submitted in September 1941. The treaty went into effect on February 1, 1942, three days after it was signed.

Primary Source

ARTICLE 1

His Majesty The King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (hereinafter referred to as the Allied Powers) jointly and severally undertake to respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Iran.

ARTICLE 2

An alliance is established between the Allied Powers on the one hand and His Imperial Majesty The Shahinshah of Iran on the other.

ARTICLE 3

(i) The Allied Powers jointly and severally undertake to defend Iran by all means at their command from all aggression on the part of Germany or any other Power.

(ii) His Imperial Majesty The Shahinshah undertakes—

(a) to co-operate with the Allied Powers with all the means at his command and in every way possible, in order that they may be able to fulfil the above undertaking. The assistance of the Iranian forces shall, however, be limited to the maintenance of internal security on Iranian territory;

(b) to secure to the Allied Powers, for the passage of troops or supplies from one Allied Power to the other or for other similar purposes, the unrestricted right to use, maintain, guard and, in case of military necessity, control in any way that they may require all means of communication throughout Iran, including railways, roads, rivers, aerodromes, ports, pipelines and telephone, telegraph and wireless installations;

(c) to furnish all possible assistance and facilities in obtaining material and recruiting labour for the purpose of the maintenance and improvement of the means of communication referred to in paragraph (b);

(d) to establish and maintain, in collaboration with the Allied Powers, such measures of censorship control as they may require for all the means of communication referred to in paragraph (b).

(iii) It is clearly understood that in the application of paragraph[s] (b), (c) and (d) of the present article the Allied Powers will give consideration to the essential needs of Iran.

ARTICLE 4

(i) The Allied Powers may maintain in Iranian territory land, sea and air forces in such number as they consider necessary. The location of such forces shall be decided in agreement with the Iranian Government so long as the strategic situation allows. All questions concerning the relations between the forces of the Allied Powers and the Iranian authorities shall be settled so far as possible in co-operation with the Iranian authorities in such a way as to safeguard the security of the said forces. It is understood that the presence of these forces on Iranian territory does not constitute a military occupation and will disturb as little as possible the administration and the security forces of Iran, the economic life of the country, the normal movements of the population and the application of Iranian laws and regulations.

(ii) A separate agreement or agreements shall be concluded as soon as possible after the entry into force of the present Treaty regarding any financial obligations to be borne by the Allied Powers under the provisions of the present article and of paragraphs (ii) (b), (c) and (d) of Article 3 above in such matters as local purchases, the hiring of buildings and plant, the employment of labour, transport charges, etc. A special agreement shall be concluded between the Allied Governments and the Iranian Government defining the conditions for any transfers to the Iranian Government after the war of buildings and other improvements effected by the Allied Powers on Iranian territory. These agreements shall also settle the immunities to be enjoyed by the forces of the Allied Powers in Iran.

ARTICLE 5

The forces of the Allied Powers shall be withdrawn from Iranian territory not later than six months after all hostilities between the Allied Powers and Germany and her associates have been suspended by the conclusion of an armistice or armistices, or on the conclusion of peace between them, whichever date is the earlier. The expression "associates" of Germany means all other Powers which have engaged or may in the future engage in hostilities against either of the Allied Powers.

ARTICLE 6

(i) The Allied Powers undertake in their relations with foreign countries not to adopt an attitude which is prejudicial to the territorial integrity, sovereignty or political independence of Iran, nor to conclude treaties inconsistent with the provisions of the present Treaty. They undertake to consult the Government of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah in all matters affecting the direct interests of Iran.

(ii) His Imperial Majesty The Shahinshah undertakes not to adopt in his relations with foreign countries an attitude which is inconsistent with the alliance, nor to conclude treaties inconsistent with the provisions of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 7

The Allied Powers jointly undertake to use their best endeavours to safeguard the economic existence of the Iranian people against the privations and difficulties arising as a result of the present war. On the entry into force of the present Treaty, discussions shall be opened between the Government of Iran and the Governments of the Allied Powers as to the best possible methods of carrying out the above undertaking.

ARTICLE 8

The provisions of the present Treaty are equally binding as bilateral obligations between His Imperial Majesty The Shahinshah and each of the two other High Contracting Parties.

[. . .]

Source: A. H. Hamzavi, *Persia and the Powers: An Account of Diplomatic Relations, 1941–1946* (London: Hutchinson, 1946), 65–68.

13. The Tehran Conference, November 28–December 1, 1943

Introduction

From November 28 to December 1, 1943, British prime minister Winston Churchill, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, and U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt met at Tehran to discuss the future prosecution of the war. Privately they agreed to provide support for the communist partisans in Yugoslavia and to launch Operation OVERLORD, the invasion of Western Europe, in May 1944. They also hoped, fruitlessly, that Turkey might be persuaded to abandon its neutrality and join the Allies in war against Germany. When the conference ended, the three leaders also issued various public declarations on the prosecution and objectives of the war and their future treatment of Iran. At the beginning of World War II, Britain and the Soviet Union had jointly occupied Iran, replacing its monarch, Reza Shah, whom they considered overly sympathetic to Germany, with his young son, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. The Allies took this action largely because they sought to deny Germany access to Iran's oil resources. From the mid-19th century onward, Britain and Russia each had a lengthy history of seeking to make Iran (then known as Persia) a virtual protectorate, policies that had led Iranian officials to harbor deep suspicions of the good faith of both powers. Britain also had extensive oil concessions in Iran. At Tehran, both Churchill and Stalin affirmed their mutual intention of withdrawing from Iran once the war had ended and providing the country with economic and other aid in special recognition of its wartime assistance to the Allied cause.

Primary Source

(a) Declaration of the Three Powers, December 1, 1943

We the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and the Premier of the Soviet Union, have met these four days past, in this, the Capital of our Ally, Iran, and have shaped and confirmed our common policy.

We express our determination that our nations shall work together in war and in the peace that will follow.

As to war—our military staffs have joined in our round table discussions, and we have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of the operations to be undertaken from the east, west and south.

The common understanding which we have here reached guarantees that victory will be ours.

And as to peace—we are sure that our concord will win an enduring Peace. We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command the goodwill of the overwhelming mass of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.

With our Diplomatic advisors we have surveyed the problems of the future. We shall seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them, as they may choose to come, into a world family of Democratic Nations.

No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U Boats by sea, and their war plants from the air.

Our attack will be relentless and increasing.

Emerging from these cordial conferences we look with confidence to the day when all peoples of the world may live free lives, untouched by tyranny, and according to their varying desires and their own consciences.

We came here with hope and determination. We leave here, friends in fact, in spirit and in purpose.

ROOSEVELT, CHURCHILL and STALIN

Signed at Tehran, December 1, 1943

(b) Declaration of the Three Powers Regarding Iran, December 1, 1943

The President of the United States, the Premier of the U. S. S. R. and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, having consulted with each other and with the Prime Minister of Iran, desire to declare the mutual agreement of their three Governments regarding their relations with Iran.

The Governments of the United States, the U. S. S. R., and the United Kingdom recognize the assistance which Iran has given in the prosecution of the war against the common enemy, particularly by facilitating the transportation of supplies from overseas to the Soviet Union.

The Three Governments realize that the war has caused special economic difficulties for Iran, and they are agreed that they will continue to make available to the Government of Iran such economic assistance as may be possible, having regard to the heavy demands made upon them by their world-wide military operations, and to the world-wide shortage of transport, raw materials, and supplies for civilian consumption.

With respect to the post-war period, the Governments of the United States, the U. S. S. R., and the United Kingdom are in accord with the Government of Iran that any economic problems confronting Iran at the close of hostilities should receive full consideration, along with those of other members of the United Nations, by conferences or international agencies held or created to deal with international economic matters.

The Governments of the United States, the U. S. S. R., and the United Kingdom are at one with the Government of Iran in their desire for the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran. They count upon the participation of Iran, together with all other peace-loving nations, in the establishment of international peace, security and prosperity after the war, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to which all four Governments have subscribed.

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
J. STALIN
FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

(c) Military Conclusions of the Tehran Conference

The Conference

(1) Agreed that the Partisans in Yugoslavia should be supported by supplies and equipment to the greatest possible extent, and also by commando operations:

(2) Agreed that, from the military point of view, it was most desirable that Turkey should come into the war on the side of the Allies before the end of the year:

(3) Took note of Marshal Stalin's statement that if Turkey found herself at war with Germany, and as a result Bulgaria declared war on Turkey or attacked her, the Soviet [Union] would immediately be at war with Bulgaria. The Conference further took note that this fact could be explicitly stated in the forthcoming negotiations to bring Turkey into the war:

(4) Took note that Operation OVERLORD would be launched during May 1944, in conjunction with an operation against Southern France. The latter operation would be undertaken in as great a strength as availability of landing-craft permitted. The Conference further took note of Marshal Stalin's statement that the Soviet forces would launch an offensive at about the same time with the object of preventing the German forces from transferring from the Eastern to the Western Front:

(5) Agreed that the military staffs of the Three Powers should henceforward keep in close touch with each other in regard to the impending operations in Europe. In particular it was agreed that a cover plan to mystify and mislead the enemy as regards these operations should be concerted between the staffs concerned.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
JOSEPH V. STALIN
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

Source: U.S. Department of State, *A Decade of American Foreign Policy: Basic Documents, 1941–1949* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985), 21–22.

14. Saudi Arabia and the United States, Agreement on the Construction of a U.S. Military Air Base at Dhahran, August 5–8, 1945 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Official U.S. interest in Saudi Arabia continued to expand during World War II, culminating in the negotiation of an agreement for the construction of a U.S. air base at the Saudi town of Dhahran, a facility that could be used if necessary to afford military protection to American oil interests in the kingdom. Pervasive fears that U.S. domestic oil reserves would be exhausted in the near future had contributed to the U.S. government's new wartime focus on the small desert state. In April 1942 the U.S. State Department appointed a resident vice-consul in Jiddah, a post he combined with chargé d'affaires, the first occasion on which the United States possessed a physical diplomatic presence in Saudi Arabia. Even so, during 1941 and 1942 the U.S. government turned down suggestions by the California Arabian Standard Oil Company (Casoc), which held a major oil concession in Saudia Arabia, that it should give the kingdom official economic aid under the Lend-Lease Program. Matters changed at the beginning of 1943, when the U.S. government began to deliberate whether it might be able to buy out Casoc's Saudi concession and use it as a strategic military and naval oil reserve. In March 1943 the U.S. State Department declared that Saudi Arabia was eligible for Lend-Lease aid on unusually generous terms. As another indication of growing official American interest in Saudi Arabia, in April 1943 the American mission in Jiddah was upgraded to a legation with a minister resident. In 1944 the U.S. government had begun minting coinage for the Saudi government and had also dispatched a military mission to investigate the kingdom's armaments requirements. The new American interest in Saudi Arabia provoked acerbic friction with the British government, whose officials perceived this as an encroachment on a previously British sphere of influence. The British could not, however, come close to matching what the United States could offer Saudi Arabia in terms of economic and military aid and thus had to acquiesce in growing U.S. involvement with the kingdom. American officials themselves admitted that the "generous budgetary aid for 1945" they offered the Saudi government was a major factor in the successful negotiation that summer, by the U.S. Department of Defense, of an agreement permitting the establishment for three years of an U.S. military airbase in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, an accord that could potentially also be revised to include civilian and commercial aviation. Associated navigational facilities were to be constructed in various isolated Saudi locations. William A. Eddy, the second U.S. diplomatic minister in Saudi Arabia, sent the State Department a frank account of the negotiations of this agreement, which he and several American military officers concluded with Saudi officials in early August 1945. The agreement was subsequently repeatedly renewed, and in the early 21st century Dhahran still functioned as a major U.S. air base in the Middle East.

Primary Source

The Minister in Saudi Arabia to the Secretary of State

No. 162 JIDDA, August 8, 1945.
[Received August 18]

SIR: I have the honor to report that, in accordance with instructions in Department's Telegram No. 210, July 21, accompanied by General Giles, I submitted to the King of Saudi Arabia at Riyadh, August 5, 1945, text of a proposed agreement for the construction at Dhahran of a United States military airbase. The text had been largely drafted by Lieut. Colonels Shumate and Ellis, on the basis of instruction from the War Department, and was modified by me at points on which I had been specifically instructed by the Department of State. After considerable minor changes in phraseology made at Riyadh to include points reserved by the King, and to clarify statements not wholly clear in Arabic translation, the text was agreed by the King and signed by the Acting Foreign Minister, Shaikh Yusuf Yassin. A copy of my Notes No. 237 of August 5, and No. 238 of August 6, and an English translation of the Saudi Arabian Government Note No. 17/2/6/83 of August 6, embodying the agreement verbatim, are enclosed with this despatch.

Upon receipt of final technical data from the War Department, Lieut. Colonels Shumate and Ellis and a Captain of A.T.C. flew from Cairo to Jidda, August 3, to discuss with me the draft of the agreement they had prepared, thus providing a day of deliberation and revision before the arrival the next day of General Giles, who had only just returned to Cairo from an extended trip to the Far East. Stormy weather, however, prevented the plane carrying Colonels Shumate and Ellis from landing at Jidda, and they spent the night at Port Sudan where their plane landed only with the greatest difficulty. They arrived at Jidda the next day, only two hours before the arrival of General Giles with Shaikh Yusuf Yassin, recalled by the King from meetings of the Arab League committee. On August 5, the entire party proceeded from Jidda to Riyadh on the King's plane, returning to Jidda August 7. General Giles and his party proceeded immediately to Cairo.

I believe the Department will find that the agreement reserves all the rights and includes all the essential provisions contained in my instructions, including the rights reserved by the Air Transport Command (Deptel. No. 232, August 3), received by me just as we were leaving for Riyadh. In any case, the agreement includes all the concessions we were able to secure, and more than I expected we would carry away. Several points on which I had expected debate and compromise, such as the numbers of foreign workers to be imported and their nationality, were accepted without question.

General Giles took full part in all discussions and concurred in the final form of the agreement.

Reservations and objections raised by the King were almost exclusively concerned with preserving the appearance, as well as the reality, of his sovereignty and jurisdiction: He insisted that the Saudi flag should fly over the inland posts, the emergency landing field and the isolated stations where navigational aids are to be located, though the operation and control of technical services at these posts will belong to the United States Army. As a matter of fact, I am convinced that this will promote the security and efficiency of these posts, as the untamed tribesmen near those inaccessible posts will respect a station which belongs to the King, and will not consider the presence of isolated United States Army personnel as an "invasion." While the King concedes United States Army jurisdiction over all non-Saudi Arabian personnel within the airbase limits, jurisdiction over police court cases and crimes committed outside the airbase, and involving mixed nationals, is to be the subject of agreement reached after full study of the problems involved. It should also be noted that the Agreement is a concession only for military use of the airbase, including Air Transport Command traffic in the national interest.

All civil air-service concessions and rights will be negotiated and granted on a non-discriminatory basis (see Legation's despatch No. 124, May 13, 1945) by the Saudi Arabian Government. Sub-contracts with commercial airlines cannot be negotiated between the commercial company and the United States Army. To clarify this point, the King insisted on an additional note (Legation's Note No. 238) specifying that if the military need for the airbase should terminate before the end of the three post-war years, the operation and maintenance of the airbase would, at such date, revert to the Saudi Arabian Government. It is also understood, however, that negotiations may be opened with the Saudi Arabian Government at any time for the inauguration of commercial air service to begin whenever the military situation permits the use of the field concurrently by civil airlines.

With regard to the provision for "normal facilities for personal recreation and self improvement," I had expected possible objection to pagan dramatics or Christian worship, neither of which was mentioned. The only query raised was whether the clause would be abused to import prostitutes. Oral assurances to the contrary were accepted.

Time did not permit full details to be drawn up and agreed regarding (1) procedure in criminal cases involving mixed nationals, mentioned above; (2) procedure for administration of customs inspection and passport regulations for civilians, at such time as civilian traffic through the airbase will justify the posting of Saudi customs and passport officers there. Both General Giles and I preferred, at almost all costs, to bring away a signed document covering essentials, instead of postponing the Agreement until all minor matters had been studied. While the United States Army has been studying and drafting its requirements for months, the Saudi Government had no advance opportunity to study the proposed agreement. The speedy conclusion of a signed agreement constitutes a remarkable exception to oriental habits of leisurely consultation and bargaining. Another time, as in the case of proposed Agreements for civil air rights, I hope the text can be forwarded for study by me and by the Saudi Government rather than presented abruptly for an immediate decision.

The contrast between the King's willingness to make concessions during this visit and his unwillingness to accept the valuable services of a military mission early in July was very marked. On the former occasion he had heard nothing about economic and financial help for 1945, and had also recently been advised that plans for long-range economic cooperation would be indefinitely postponed. This time, the visit followed closely upon the notification of generous budgetary aid for 1945, more than twice the aid being given by Britain, and closely upon receipt by the King of enthusiastic reports from Amir Faisal regarding his conferences in Washington with the Acting-Secretary and the Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, July 31–August 2 [1], 1945.

In conclusion, I would add a word of apology for the execrable style which mars portions of the Agreement: awkward phraseology, *nonsequiturs,* repetitions, and lamentable incoherence. Hurried attempts at joint revision of phraseology, both at Jidda and at Riyadh, during a few crowded hours, are partly to blame; but the original reason is the attempt to cover in the English text elaborations and explications coined in Arabic by the Saudis and inserted at points which, however eloquent they may be in the classical Arabic, disfigure the English text. However, there was no time for final revision of the style.

Respectfully yours, William A. Eddy

[Enclosure 1]

The American Minister in Saudi Arabia (Eddy) to the Saudi Arabian Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs (Yassin)

No. 237 Riyadh, August 5, 1945.

Your Excellency: I have the honor to refer to your Note of May 11 [12], 1945 in which the Saudi Arabian Government agreed in principle to the establishment of a United States Military Airbase at Dhahran for the prosecution of our common war against Japan. The Saudi Arabian Government agreed to the construction and operation of this airbase by the United States Army for the duration of the war against Japan, and for its continued use by the United States Armed Forces for a period of three years after the cessation of hostilities against Japan.

I now have the honor to transmit the following proposals of my Government with regard to the details of construction and operation of the airbase, proposals which are hereby submitted to the government of His Majesty, the Great King of Saudi Arabia.

This airbase, not to exceed an area of five (5) miles by five (5) miles, to be located at approximately Longitude 26°20' North, Latitude 50°10' East, which is within the so-called Damman Tracts, will be constructed by the United States Government in accordance with United States Army mobilization type construction policies, making use of pre-fabricated steel buildings for certain structures. The base in general will consist of two runways and the necessary facilities as are usual for the operation of an airbase accommodating five hundred (500) persons. This five hundred (500) man capacity airbase will be so designed to permit the housing and all other pertinent facilities to be increased to any extent up to a two thousand (2000) man capacity. Such expansions will be made at such time and in such manner as and if deemed necessary by the United States Government during the period of time that the base is occupied by United States Armed Forces. In addition, the United States Government will construct on a Saudi Arabian post to be established near Lauqa, Arabia, at approximately Longitude 29°56' North and Latitude 45°71/2' East, an intermediate emergency airfield. This airfield will consist of the very minimum of improvements and facilities to permit efficient and safe aircraft operations from Cairo, Egypt, to Dhahran. In addition, the United States Government will install standard navigational aids, meteorological facilities and housing, as determined necessary, on a Saudi Arabian post to be established in the vicinity of Hafar al Batin, 28°25' North and 45°35' East. Similar aids and facilities will also be installed at the Dhahran and Lauqa fields. The air route for which the above installations are required will extend from Cairo, Egypt, to Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, by way of Ma'an, Trans-Jordan; Lauqa, Saudi Arabia; and Hafar al Batin, Saudi Arabia.

In the event future technical surveys reveal the necessity of installing certain navigational aids at points along the air route which are not mentioned above, the United States Government will construct same. Navigational aids required at points not on the established air route will not be constructed until the approval of the Saudi Arabian Government is obtained. The coordination of radio frequencies to be used in connection with navigational aids and other communications will be accomplished between technical representatives of the Saudi Arabian Government and the United States Government. In this connection, the United States Government is authorized to employ codes as may be necessary for security purposes.

The Saudi Arabian Government will arrange the necessary details for the United States Government to assume immediate entry rights at Dhahran and Ras Tanura and surface reservations to the required land within the Damman Tracts, and to be granted immediate access to the required lands near Lauqa and Hafar al Batin. This is to permit the rapid and unhampered construction of installations. The land for the Dhahran airbase will be reserved for the exclusive use of the United States Government and the installations thereon will be at the disposition of the United States Government who will use, operate, control and maintain same. On the day of cessation of hostilities against Japan, the airbase at Dhahran will be relinquished by the United States Government, and the fixed installations thereon, as well as at Lauqa and Hafar al Batin, will become the property of the Saudi Arabian Government; however, for a period not exceeding three years following the cessation of hostilities against Japan, the United States Armed Forces will continue to use, operate and maintain the airbase at Dhahran at its expense. The equipment and improvements at Lauqa and Hafar al Batin will be at the disposition of the United States Government, but the installations will be under the command of the Saudi Arabian Government who will rely upon United States Government technicians for the operation and maintenance of all equipment and for supervising technical tasks.

In view of the extensive air traffic activities involved during the redeployment and period of Army occupation, the Saudi Arabian Government grants the right for the United States Army to use, operate, and maintain the installations referred to above for a period of three years after the cessation of hostilities against Japan.

The United States Government will reimburse the Saudi Arabian Government for all damage to personal property caused by the construction or operation of the above named facilities.

In view of the changing requirements and operations of such an airbase, it is agreed that during the time the airbase is being used by the United States Armed Forces, the United States Government has the right to remove, replace, or alter such items of material and equipment not permanently affixed to or installed on the airbase. It is further agreed that the United States Government has the privilege to make minor alterations, additions and improvements to permanently installed property.

On the expiration of the three-year period following the cessation of hostilities against Japan, the United States Government will turn over these installations in sound condition to the Saudi Arabian Government for operation, control and maintenance. However, the Saudi Arabian Government will not turn such responsibilities over to a third national power nor its subjects.

The construction, maintenance and operation of the airbase requiring the entry and exit of large numbers of United States Army personnel, American civilians and employees of the United States Government, all travelling under competent orders of the United States Government, it is agreed, in order to eliminate undue delay, that such orders issued by the United States Government will be accepted and honored by the Saudi Arabian Government in lieu of passports and residence permits. All other persons authorized by the United States Army Air Transport Command to travel in the national interest will have in their possession the required passports and visas.

These Army personnel, representatives and employees of the United States Government, other than Saudi Arabian subjects, will not be subject to the jurisdiction of the civil or criminal courts of Saudi Arabia for unlawful acts committed within the boundaries of the airbase. All Saudi Arabian subjects will be subject to the Saudi Arabian courts.

It being mutually agreed that mechanics, artisans and labor are not available in sufficient quantities among Saudi Arabian subjects

to prosecute the construction of the airbase within the time allotted, the Saudi Arabian Government will allow the United States Government to import into Saudi Arabia, during the construction period, approximately 500 Americans, 1500 Italians, 500 Iraqis and Iranians, 1000 from Aden Protectorate, and 25 Egyptians of European descent for the construction work on the airbase. Wage rates for all employees will be uniform in accordance with individual degree of skill and will conform with current wage rates existing within the locality in which the work is being performed.

[. . .]

It is understood the United States Government has assigned the Commanding General, United States Army Forces in Africa-Middle East Theater, the mission of construction of the airbase and installations contained in the area of operations described above.

Detailed agreements on procedure for the administration of justice involving nationals of more than one country, and for customs and passport regulations, will be the subject of additional memoranda.

At a later date, and in connection with civilian use of the airport, the United States Government will discuss with the Saudi Arabian Government terms under which the Saudi Arabian Government might acquire equipment and non-fixed installations remaining on the airbase when relinquished by the United States Army.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed expression of my high regard.

William A. Eddy

[Enclosure 2]

The Saudi Arabian Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs (Yassin) to the American Minister in Saudi Arabia (Eddy)

No. 17/2/6/83 [Riyadh,] August 6, 1945.

I have received your letter dated August 5, 1945, specifying the following:-

[Here follows text of letter of August 5, 1945.]

I have the honor to inform you that the Government of Saudi Arabia has agreed to what has been said in your letter, the text of which is mentioned here above.

Please accept my high regards.

Yassin

[Enclosure 3]

The American Minister in Saudi Arabia (Eddy) to the Saudi Arabian Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs (Yassin)

No. 238 Riyadh, August 6, 1945.

With reference to my letter to Your Excellency, dated August 5, 1945, I wish to explain the purpose of the United States Government in securing the use of the airbase at Dhahran by the armed forces of the United States after the cessation of hostilities against Japan, for a further period of not more than three years. It is understood that, if the United States Government should discover at an earlier date before the end of the three years that the military need for the airbase no longer exists, then at that date the United States armed forces will relinquish to the Saudi Arabian Government the operation and maintenance of the airbase.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed expression of my high regard.

Eddy

Source: U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1945,* Vol. 8 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), 943–950.

15. U.S. Government, Note to the Soviet Union Regarding the Retention of Soviet Troops in Iran, March 6, 1946

Introduction

Despite the Soviet Union's reluctance to discuss the presence of its troops in Iran, in January 1946 the Iranian government took the matter to the United Nations (UN), asking the UN Security Council to investigate the matter and make recommendations for an "appropriate" settlement. When the Security Council considered the situation, the Iranian government complained that the Soviet Union was in breach of the 1942 Tripartite Treaty signed by Iran, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain and that the Soviets had refused to resolve this through bilateral negotiations with Iran. Soviet officials responded that on December 1, 1945, Iran and the Soviet Union had reached a settlement whereby Iran accepted the presence of Soviet troops in Iran. Both sides expressed their readiness to continue bilateral negotiations, and the Security Council then passed a resolution asking the two parties to inform the Security Council of the result of any such negotiations. The U.S. government also continued its own correspondence with the Soviet Union on the subject. Four days after the March 2, 1946, deadline for the withdrawal of Soviet troops had expired, with Soviet forces still present in Iran, the U.S. government addressed a public note to Soviet officials requesting the Soviet Union to "do its part" for international peace "by withdrawing immediately all Soviet forces from the territory of Iran." Although polite and nonthreatening in tone, the note's message was firm and unmistakable. One week later, the U.S. State Department followed this up with a further note asking whether reports of movements of Soviet troops within

Iran, toward both Tehran and the country's western border, were accurate and, if so, why these had taken place. The U.S. government was making it clear that it was not prepared to overlook or acquiesce in Soviet acquisition of a sphere of influence within Iran.

Primary Source

The Government of the United States has been informed that the Government of the Soviet Union has decided to retain Soviet troops in Iran after March 2, 1946, that this decision was taken without the consent of the Iranian Government, and that Soviet troops continue to remain on Iranian territory in spite of the protests of the Iranian Government.

It will be recalled that in reply to a note addressed on November 24, 1945 by the Government of the United States to the Government of the Soviet Union suggesting the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Iran, the Soviet Government on November 29 stated that the period of the stationing of Soviet troops in Iran was governed by the Anglo-Soviet-Iranian Treaty of January 29, 1942. The Government of the United States understood from this statement that it was the intention of the Government of the Soviet Union that all Soviet troops would be withdrawn from Iran not later than March 2, 1946, six months after the date of the signing of the instrument of surrender with Japan on September 2, 1945. This understanding was based upon Article Five of the Tripartite Treaty referred to above which states:

"The forces of the Allied Powers shall be withdrawn from Iranian territory not later than six months after all hostilities between the Allied Powers and Germany and her associates have been suspended by the conclusion of an armistice or armistices, or on the conclusion of peace between them, whichever date is the earlier."

So far as the Government of the United States is aware, this commitment was not questioned at the recent meeting of the Security Council in London which agreed that the Soviet Union and Iran should seek a solution of their differences by direct negotiation.

The decision of the Soviet Government to retain Soviet troops in Iran beyond the period stipulated by the Tripartite Treaty has created a situation with regard to which the Government of the United States, as a member of the United Nations and as a party to the Declaration Regarding Iran dated December 1, 1943, can not remain indifferent. That Declaration announced to the world that the Governments of the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom were at one with the Government of Iran in their desire for the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran. In the opinion of the Government of the United States, the maintenance of troops in Iranian territory by any one of the three signatories to that Declaration, without the consent and against the wishes of the Government of Iran, is contrary to the assurances contained in that Declaration. Furthermore it was generally accepted during the various discussions which took place at the meeting of the Security Council in London that the retention by a member of the United Nations of its troops in the territory of a country which is also a member of the United Nations, without the consent of the Government of that country, is not in accordance with the principles of the United Nations and that the withdrawal of such troops should not be made contingent upon other issues.

The Government of the United States, in the spirit of the friendly association which developed between the United States and the Soviet Union in the successful effort against the common enemy and as a fellow member of the United Nations, expresses the earnest hope that the Government of the Soviet Union will do its part, by withdrawing immediately all Soviet forces from the territory of Iran, to promote the international confidence which is necessary for peaceful progress among the peoples of all nations.

The Government of the United States trusts that the Government of the Soviet Union, no less than itself, appreciates the heavy responsibility resting upon the great powers under the Charter to observe their obligations and to respect the sovereign rights of other states.

The Government of the United States requests that it be promptly advised of the decision of the Government of the Soviet Union which it hopes will be in accord with the views herein expressed.

Source: "U.S. Position on Soviet Troops in Iran," *Department of State Bulletin* 14(350) (1946): 435–436.

16. Prime Minister Ahmad Ghavam of Iran and the Soviet Ambassador to Iran, Communiqué Regarding Soviet-Iranian Negotiations, April 4, 1946

Introduction

Negotiations between Soviet and Iranian diplomats over the presence of Soviet forces in Iran continued for several months in early 1946. On March 26, 1946, Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet representative to the United Nations (UN), reported to the UN Security Council that the two countries had reached agreement on the evacuation of Soviet forces, which had begun on March 2, and he anticipated that this would be completed within the next five to six weeks. U.S. secretary of state James F. Byrnes then, on March 29, introduced a Security Council resolution welcoming this development and in particular the fact that Soviet withdrawal was not connected to negotiations on other subjects, namely oil concessions in Iran, then in progress between Iranian and Soviet officials. The resolution

recognized that logistical considerations made it difficult, if not impossible, to speed up by much the scheduled timetable for withdrawals and expressed the hope that the continued presence of some Soviet troops would not be used to pressure Iran in other ongoing negotiations. So long as the Soviet Union continued to remove its forces as anticipated, the Security Council therefore decided to defer any further discussion of the situation in Iran until May 6. The 11-member Security Council passed this resolution on April 4, 1946, with 9 affirmative votes and 1 abstention, while the Soviet representative absented himself and therefore could not vote. On that dame day, Iranian prime minister Ahmad Ghavam and the Soviet ambassador to Iran issued a joint communiqué. The two announced that they had reached "complete agreement . . . on all problems." The Red Army would evacuate all Iranian territory by May 6, 1946, while the two countries would establish a "joint Iranian-Soviet oil company." In the previously Soviet-controlled Azerbaijan Province, where an independent socialist republic had been declared, the Iranian government would implement "reforms," but this was an "internal Iranian affair." Soviet forces did leave Iran on schedule, but the Iranian parliament subsequently refused to grant the Soviet Union the oil concession that this communiqué envisaged. After May 6, the Iranian government alleged that some Soviet military personnel masquerading as civilians had remained behind in Azerbaijan and that Azeri rebels against Iranian rule had been given Soviet armaments to prevent the Iranian government from resuming control of the province. On May 21, 1946, however, a UN Security Council investigative team reported that it had found "no trace whatever of Soviet troops, equipment or means of transport" in Azerbaijan and that there as elsewhere in Iran all Soviet forces had been evacuated on or before May 6. The forceful diplomatic support that the Iranian government received from the United States in this crisis undoubtedly emboldened its officials in taking a firm stance against Soviet demands for a continuing presence within Iran. This was evidence of early U.S. interest in excluding the Soviet Union from the economically and strategically important Middle Eastern region.

Primary Source

Negotiations begun by the Prime Minister of Iran in Moscow with leaders of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and continued in Teheran, after the arrival of the Soviet Ambassador, were ended April 4, 1946 and complete agreement was reached on all problems, namely:

1. Red Army troops will evacuate all Iranian territory within one and one-half months from Sunday March 24, 1946.
2. An agreement for the formation of a joint Iranian-Soviet oil company and its terms will be submitted to the fifteenth Majlis for its approval within seven months after March 24.

With regard to Azerbaijan, since it is [an] internal Iranian affair, peaceful arrangements will be made between the Iranian government and the people of Azerbaijan for carrying out of reforms, in accordance with existing laws and in a benevolent spirit toward the people of Azerbaijan.

Source: U.S.S.R. Embassy, Washington, D.C., *Information Bulletin* 6 (1946): 299.

17. United Nations Security Council, Resolution Adopted at Its 30th Meeting, April 4, 1946

Introduction

Negotiations between Soviet and Iranian diplomats over the presence of Soviet forces in Iran continued for several months in early 1946. On March 26, 1946, Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet representative to the United Nations (UN), reported to the UN Security Council that the two countries had reached agreement on the evacuation of Soviet forces, which had begun on March 2 and, he anticipated, would be completed within the next five to six weeks. U.S. secretary of state James F. Byrnes then, on March 29, introduced a Security Council resolution welcoming this development and in particular the fact that Soviet withdrawal was not connected to negotiations on other subjects, namely oil concessions in Iran, then in progress between Iranian and Soviet officials. The resolution recognized that logistical considerations made it difficult, if not impossible, to speed up by much the scheduled timetable for withdrawals and expressed the hope that the continued presence of some Soviet troops would not be used to pressure Iran in other ongoing negotiations. So long as the Soviet Union continued to remove its forces as anticipated, the Security Council therefore decided to defer any further discussion of the situation in Iran until May 6. The 11-member Security Council passed this resolution with 9 affirmative votes and 1 abstention, while the Soviet representative absented himself and therefore could not vote.

Primary Source

Taking note of the statements of the Iranian Representative that the Iranian appeal to the Council arises from the presence of Soviet troops in Iran and their continued presence there beyond the date stipulated for their withdrawal in the Tripartite Treaty of January 29, 1942:

Taking note of the replies dated April 3rd of the Soviet Government and the Iranian Government pursuant to the request of the Secretary-General for information as to the status of the negotiations between the two Governments and as to whether the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Iran is conditional upon agreement on other subjects; and in particular taking note of and relying upon the assurances of the Soviet Government that the withdrawal of Soviet

troops from Iran has already commenced; that it is the intention of the Soviet Government to proceed with the withdrawal of its troops as rapidly as possible; that the Soviet Government expects the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from the whole of Iran to be completed within five or six weeks; and that the proposals under negotiation between the Iranian Government and the Soviet Government "are not connected with the withdrawal of Soviet troops":

Being solicitous to avoid any possibility of the presence of Soviet troops in Iran being used to influence the course of the negotiations between the Governments of Iran and the Soviet Union; and recognizing that the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from the whole of Iran cannot be completed in a substantially shorter period of time than that within which the Soviet Government has declared it to be its intention to complete such withdrawal:

Resolved that the Council defer further proceedings on the Iranian appeal until May 6, at which time the Soviet Government and the Iranian Government are requested to report to the Council whether the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from the whole of Iran has been completed and at which time the Council shall consider what, if any, further proceedings on the Iranian appeal are required;

Provided, however, that if in the meantime either the Soviet Government or the Iranian Government or any member of the Security Council reports to the Secretary-General any developments which may retard or threaten to retard the prompt withdrawal of Soviet troops from Iran, in accordance with the assurances of the Soviet Union to the Council, the Secretary-General shall immediately call to the attention of the Council such reports which shall be considered as the first item on the agenda.

Source: "Security Council: Discussion of Soviet-Iranian Matters," *Department of State Bulletin* 14(354) (1946): 621.

18. President Harry S. Truman, Special Message to the Congress on Greece and Turkey, The Truman Doctrine, March 12, 1947

Introduction

The growing economic and military weakness of Great Britain was one reason why the United States gradually assumed the role of being the major protagonist in the developing Cold War in the Middle East and elsewhere in the world. In February 1947 British officials informed the U.S. government that economic difficulties prevented them from continuing their previous aid to Greece and Turkey, countries bordering the strategically important supply routes for Middle Eastern oil. In Greece a civil war between communists and noncommunists was in progress, while Turkey faced Soviet pressure to grant the Russians partial control of the Dardanelles straits separating Europe and Asia, the only route that Soviet vessels could take to pass from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. U.S. president Harry S. Truman responded on March 12, 1947. In an address before the U.S. Congress, he laid out foreign policy guidelines for the United States in the early days of the Cold War that subsequently became known as the Truman Doctrine. At heart, the policy was one that mandated an active role for the United States in containing the spread of communism around the world. Truman specifically requested aid, primarily financial, for Greece and Turkey but placed this in the broader context of a wide-ranging international communist threat around the world, which he argued mandated U.S. assistance to any nation menaced by either internal or external communist forces. He portrayed a world divided between the forces of freedom and democracy and authoritarian totalitarianism and effectively pledged virtually unlimited U.S. assistance to the former. In this case, the aid that Truman envisaged was primarily financial, which Congress granted by appropriating $400 million to the two countries. The Truman Doctrine laid the groundwork for the Marshall Plan, announced three months later, that extended similar aid to all of Western Europe. More broadly, the Truman Doctrine also formed the backbone of America's Cold War policy and led to both financial and military entanglements throughout the world, including the Korean War and the Vietnam War. Truman's speech was drafted in part by future secretary of state Dean Acheson, who later stated that although he might have exaggerated the communist threat and depicted the international situation in overly black-and-white apocalyptic terms, such tactics were necessary to win support for these policies from the somewhat reluctant American people and their representatives in Congress.

Primary Source

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress. The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

One aspect of the present situation which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision concerns Greece and Turkey. The United States has received from the Greek government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American economic mission now in Greece and reports from the American ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek government.

Greece is not a rich country. Lack of sufficient natural resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both

ends meet. Since 1940, this industrious and peace-loving country has suffered invasion, four years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife.

When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all the railways, roads, port facilities, communications, and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had been burned. Eighty-five percent of the children were tubercular. Livestock, poultry, and draft animals had almost disappeared. Inflation had wiped out practically all savings. As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible.

Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel, and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security so essential for economic and political recovery.

The Greek government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists, and technicians to insure that the financial and other aid given to Greece shall be used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration.

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A commission appointed by the United Nations Security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in northern Greece and alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece, on the one hand, and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, on the other. Meanwhile, the Greek government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek Army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority of the government throughout Greek territory.

Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy. The United States must supply this assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate. There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn. No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek government.

The British government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece.

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action, and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

It is important to note that the Greek government has asked for our aid in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting and will help to build an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish.

No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected. The government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless, it represents 85 percent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen in an election last year. Foreign observers, including 692 Americans, considered this election to be a fair expression of the views of the Greek people.

The Greek government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek government has done or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and we advise tolerance now.

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention. The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece. And during the war, the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid. Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support.

Since the war, Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity. That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East.

The British government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties, it can no longer extend financial or economic aid to

Turkey. As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will and their way of life upon other nations.

To insure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta Agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid, which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East. Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far-reaching to the West as well as to the East. We must take immediate and resolute action.

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of $400 million for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the $350 million which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the executive and legislative branches of the government must work together.

This is a serious course upon which we embark. I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious.

The United States contributed $341 billion toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace. The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than one-tenth of 1 percent of this investment. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain.

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms. If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events. I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

Source: Harry S. Truman, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1947* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), 176–180.

19. Loy Henderson, U.S. Ambassador to Iran, Communiqué to the U.S. Department of State Regarding the Coup in Iran, August 23, 1953

Introduction

By the early 1950s, the United States had taken on commitments that implied that it would oppose the emergence of communist regimes anywhere in the world. Successive Cold War presidents in the United States turned to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to help overthrow foreign governments that appeared unfriendly to the United States, due to either their ideological complexion or their antagonism toward U.S. economic or strategic interests. The first occasion when the CIA was instrumental in successfully ousting another government came in Iran in 1953. Until the early Cold War, Iran had been largely under British and Russian influence. The British Anglo-Iranian Oil Company controlled Iran's petroleum resources, and during World War II the British and Russians overthrew the Nazi-oriented monarch, Shah Reza Pahlavi, and jointly occupied Iran to deny these to Germany and safeguard supply routes to the Soviet Union. In 1946 British and Russian forces left Iran, the Russians at least reluctantly, as they had hoped to set up a pro-Soviet republic in the north that they had previously controlled. As early as World War II, U.S. diplomats already believed that their own nation, which they felt that the Iranians knew was untainted by past exploitation of Iran, had an opportunity to win that country's loyalties. In 1951 the Iranian government announced its intention of nationalizing the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company; the British, who controlled the refineries, withdrew their technicians and blockaded all exports of Iranian oil, provoking severe economic difficulties within Iran. The government headed by Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh stood firm and eventually, after the young shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, had made an abortive attempt to replace him, declared a national emergency and took control of the Iranian military. In alliance with radical Muslims and the leftist Soviet-leaning Tudeh party, in 1952 Mossadegh implemented socialist reforms, especially in agriculture, and broke diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom. Britain turned to the United States for assistance, characterizing Mossadegh as a radical who was turning toward communism and steering Iran into the Soviet orbit. The administration of Republican president Dwight D. Eisenhower, which took office in January 1953, proved sympathetic and authorized the CIA to spend up to US$1 million removing Mossadegh. CIA agents in Tehran spread rumors and disinformation and in some cases acted as agents provocateurs. Economic problems intensified, and Mossadegh suspended parliament and extended his emergency powers. The CIA sought to persuade the indecisive young shah to dismiss Mossadegh, while Mossadegh urged the monarch to leave the country. Eventually, in 1953, the shah dismissed Mossadegh, but the latter refused to step down from office, and the shah took refuge in Italy. Major protests for and against the monarchy were held throughout the country, as Iranians of all political stripes assumed that before long Mossadegh would declare Iran a republic and himself head of state. Promonarchy forces, heavily funded by the CIA, gained the upper hand, and Iranian tanks and troops entered Tehran, the Iranian capital, and besieged the prime minister's residence until Mossadegh surrendered. He was subsequently put on trial for treason and sentenced to three years in prison. General Fazlollah Zahedi, one of the military leaders who arrested Mossadegh, became prime minister, and the shah flew back and resumed power. From then until his overthrow in 1979, Iran would be a key U.S. ally in the Middle East. Speaking to Loy Henderson, the U.S. ambassador in Iran, the shah expressed his fervent gratitude to the Americans for their role in his return, adroitly stressed his wish to carry out social reforms that would benefit the poorest Iranians, and declared that a communist regime was the only alternative to his own. He made it very clear that to carry out such policies he

badly needed American aid, and he also discreetly intimated that the Americans should not "interfere in personnel matters of [the Iranian] Government." The shah soon reached an agreement with the British and Americans, under whose terms the foreign oil companies still made substantial profits as large amounts of Iranian oil once more flowed to world markets. These revenues enabled the shah to modernize his country and make it a strong military state, but his authoritarian policies, his persecution of opponents, and the social disruptions caused by his reforms eventually alienated many Iranians and were among the reasons why in 1979 an Islamic fundamentalist revolt ended his rule. Only in the late 1990s did the U.S. government publicly acknowledge the extent of CIA involvement in the overthrow of Mossadegh. The eventual success of this undertaking subsequently emboldened CIA director Allen W. Dulles and other agency officials to try to orchestrate comparable operations against several other foreign governments—in Guatemala, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Chile—that U.S. leaders found unpalatable.

Primary Source

At Shah's request that I visit him privately without publicity, I saw him six o'clock this evening. Pirnia, master of ceremonies, who met me rear entrance Palace, said I would find Shah changed man. He was right. Shah showed vigor, decisiveness and certain amount clear thinking which I had not found in him before. Only time will determine whether this change merely temporary result discovery that people of country had deeper sense of loyalty him than he had realized. In any event, I did not find hesitation, brooding, discouragement and air "what can I do" which I had noticed practically all previous conversations.

He greeted me warmly and expressed deep appreciation of friendship which US had shown him and Iran during period. I read oral message from President to which I had taken liberty of adding introductory paragraph as follows: "I congratulate you for the great moral courage which you displayed at a critical time in your country's history. I am convinced that by your action you contributed much to the preservation of the independence and to the future prosperity of Iran." The Shah wept as I read this message and asked me in reply to tell the President how grateful he was for interest which President and Government of US had shown in Iran. He would always feel deeply indebted for this proof of genuine friendship. Miracle of saving Iran which had just been wrought was due to friendship West, to patriotism Iranian people and to intermediation God. It impossible for him believe so many factors could have contributed simultaneously to this salvation his country unless Providence had so willed.

Shah dwelt for some time on part which "common people of Iran" had played. People of poorest classes who were ill-clad and hungry had been willing sacrifice their lives on his behalf. He could never forget this and he would never be satisfied until hunger had been eliminated from his country. Iran had been saved but victory would be short-lived unless substantial aid came from US immediately. No time could be lost. This was Iran's last chance to survive as an independent country. I said I agreed that if present government should fail, Communism seemed to be only alternative. He said "if I fail, no alternative but Communism. People have shown their trust in me and it rests upon me prove their trust merited. I must help new government live up to expectations and I cannot do that without quick aid from the US. How soon can this aid come and in what quantities and form?"

I replied US prepared extend aid but it must be given in orderly way and in circumstances which would be acceptable US public as well as Iranian public. I had been endeavoring all day to get in touch with financial and economic experts new government in order begin conversations. If he wished quick aid, he should take steps see that conversations begin immediately. He promised talk to Zahedi this evening in effort accelerate.

Shah said he not completely happy re Cabinet which Zahedi had presented him on his arrival. Same old faces which had been rotating in office for years. He had hoped for Cabinet which would stimulate country particularly youth. He had been told Americans had insisted Amini be included as Minister Finance and that Cabinet be selected before his arrival and presented to him as *fait accompli.* I told him information incorrect.

I do not know who had selected Amini. Certainly not Americans. There had been feeling in Embassy that Cabinet should be formed quickly so Government could begin to function earliest possible moment, no idea endeavoring have members selected without consultation with him. He said he relieved hear me say this. He sure Americans would not begin trying interfere in personnel matters of Government. They should know from experience this would be surest way change friendship into suspicion. Particularly important no interference in future in his control armed forces. Neither foreigners nor Iranians should come between him and army. Razmara had been unsuccessful in trying to separate army from Shah. Mosadeq had been able to break down army unity. It was his task and it would be difficult and delicate one to rebuild army as solid block loyal to him. Otherwise there would be no stability in country.

I asked if I to infer he dissatisfied with way Zahedi had been conducting affairs or if he under impression Zahedi attempting exert authority which should be vested in him. He replied negative insisting he had complete confidence in Zahedi. He did not believe Zahedi had ambitions other than serve Iran and its Shah, nevertheless he thought that certain advisers around Zahedi were pressing latter to take actions without proper consultation with him. He had had several discussions with Zahedi and was sure that he had achieved understanding with him re extent consultation in future.

I said Zahedi and many other army officers had risked their lives for Shah and country. I hoped Shah would show in some way his appreciation. He said he intended to do so but he must disappoint many retired army officers expecting resume active service. Most of them outmoded, some corrupt. He could give them decorations and other awards but not jobs.

In discussing failure of plans on night of August 15 he said someone must have betrayed them. Could it have been British agents?

I expressed surprise. I pointed out on various previous conversations he had said if Iran to be saved necessary for British and Americans to have common policy re Iran and work with mutual confidence. This situation had been achieved and I hoped he would never again make either to British or Americans remarks which might tend undermine that mutual confidence. I knew for fact that British were dealing honestly with him and he should get out of his head once for all idea they engaging in double dealing. He said he relieved hear this and believed me. I told him Communists espionage facilities well developed. They had many dangerous hearing devices. He said perhaps they had broken down code telegrams exchanged between Tehran and Ramsar. I agreed this quite possible.

I said if Iran wanted British and US pursue common policy re Iran Government should not expect receive substantial aid from US while it was making British whipping boy. I worried lest when Majlis reassembled there would again take place long tirades against British. I also concerned re Tudeh press in this respect. He said he would endeavor arrange for those members Majlis who had not resigned to meet and vote dissolution Majlis. Elections would then be held in spring so Government could accomplish much without interference Majlis. It was his intention also not to convene Senate until new Majlis elected. He intended taking steps also to reward in some way although not with Cabinet positions small band Majlis members who had at risk lives refused resign. It also his intention completely root out subversive press. He determined completely wreck Tudeh organization while at same time maintaining as correct relations as possible with USSR.

In terminating conversation he again urged me impress on US Government importance receiving substantial and immediate financial and economic aid. In absence Majlis it would be difficult arrange for loan. Therefore most of this aid must be in form grant. I said if this true we might be severely hampered in our efforts. For instance it might be easier quickly to obtain funds for road building and similar programs through loans rather than grants. He promised look into legal aspects this problem but said he feared it might be impossible for Iranian Government to accept loans without consent Majlis.

HENDERSON

Source: U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952–1954: Iran, 1952–1954,* Vol. 10 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 762–765.

20. The Baghdad Pact, February 24, 1955 [Excerpt]

Introduction

The Baghdad Pact was originally a mutual security agreement, modeled on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), that Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, and the United Kingdom signed in 1955. The United States encouraged the development of this organization by promising military and economic aid and established a military liaison arrangement with it but initially chose not to join itself, fearing that doing so might lose it the goodwill of various other Middle Eastern states that President Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration also sought to cultivate. The objective was to encourage the signatories to collaborate against potential Soviet expansionism in the area by erecting a bastion of anticommunist states along the Soviet Union's southwestern frontier. The alliance was originally known as the Middle Eastern Treaty Organization (METO). After Iraq, the only Arab member, withdrew in 1958 in the aftermath of a bloody revolution led by the leftist and Moscow-oriented Baath Party, the United States joined as a full member, and the grouping became the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). The organization proved largely ineffective in preventing the spread of Soviet influence in the Middle East. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Soviet Union simply bypassed the CENTO states to develop close military and economic ties with Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Somalia, and Libya, establishing bases in Egypt, Somalia, and Yemen. CENTO lacked a single military command structure, and the links between the member states remained relatively loose. The organization did facilitate American access to bases in Iran with useful communications and intelligence capabilities, while from the late 1950s onward Pakistan allowed the United States to utilize airfields on its own soil to launch U-2 espionage and surveillance flights over Soviet territory. At times Great Britain also made use of bases in Pakistan and, like the United States, also on occasion made use of similar Turkish facilities, although the latter arrangements were organized through the NATO alliance. Never a particularly successful alliance, CENTO largely fell into desuetude after Turkey invaded Cyprus in 1974, causing the British to withdraw their forces from CENTO. In 1979 Islamic radicals overthrew the Iranian monarchy, whose collapse brought the formal end of CENTO.

Primary Source

Whereas the friendly and brotherly relations existing between Iraq and Turkey are in constant progress, and in order to complement the contents of the Treaty of friendship and good neighbourhood

concluded between His Majesty The King of Iraq and His Excellency The President of the Turkish Republic signed in Ankara on the 29th of March, 1946 which recognised the fact that peace and security between the two countries is an integral part of the peace and security of all the Nations of the world and in particular the Nations of the Middle East, and that it is the basis for their foreign policies;

Whereas Article 11 of the Treaty of Joint Defence and Economic Co-operation between the Arab League States provides that no provision of that Treaty shall in any way affect, or is designed to affect, any of the rights and obligations accruing to the contracting parties from the United Nations Charter;

And having realised the great responsibilities borne by them in their capacity as members of the United Nations concerned with the maintenance of peace and security in the Middle East region which necessitate taking the required measures in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter;

They have been fully convinced of the necessity of concluding a pact fulfilling these aims and for that purpose have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries . . . who, having communicated their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

Article 1

Consistent with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter the High Contracting Parties will co-operate for their security and defence. Such measures as they agree to take to give effect to this co-operation may form the subject of special agreements with each other.

Article 2

In order to ensure the realisation and effect application of the co-operation provided for in Article 1 above, the competent authorities of the High Contracting Parties will determine the measures to be taken as soon as the present Pact enters into force. These measures will become operative as soon as they have been approved by the Governments of the High Contracting Parties.

Article 3

The High Contracting Parties undertake to refrain from any interference whatsoever in each other's internal affairs. They will settle any dispute between themselves in a peaceful way in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

Article 4

The High Contracting Parties declare that the dispositions of the present Pact are not in contradiction with any of the international obligations contracted by either of them with any third state or states. They do not derogate from, and cannot be interpreted as derogating from, the said international obligations. The High Contracting Parties undertake not to enter into any international obligation incompatible with the present Pact.

Article 5

This Pact shall be open for accession to any member state of the Arab League or any other state actively concerned with the security and peace in this region and which is fully recognised by both of the High Contracting Parties. Accession shall come into force from the date of which the instrument of accession of the state concerned is deposited with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iraq.

Any acceding State Party to the present Pact may conclude special agreements, in accordance with Article 1, with one or more states Parties to the present Pact. The competent authority of any acceding State may determine measures in accordance with Article 2. These measures will become operative as soon as they have been approved by the Governments of the Parties concerned.

Article 6

A Permanent Council at Ministerial level will be set up to function within the frame work of the purposes of this Pact when at least four Powers become parties to the Pact.

The Council will draw up its own rules of procedure.

Article 7

This Pact remains in force for a period of five years renewable for other five year periods. Any Contracting Party may withdraw from the Pact by notifying the other parties in writing of its desire to do so, six months before the expiration of any of the above-mentioned periods, in which case the Pact remains valid for the other Parties.

[. . .]

Source: "Pact of Mutual Co-Operation between Iraq and Turkey, February 24, 1955," *United Nations Treaty Series* 233, no. 3264.

21. Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Statement on Security in the Middle East and Soviet Reaction to the Baghdad Pact, April 16, 1955 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Soviet reaction when Great Britain, Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan, and Iran signed the Baghdad Pact in February 1955 was predictably hostile. Seeking to discredit the arrangement, the Soviet Union

publicly condemned it, together with the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) that the United States had recently established, as a means whereby the Western powers sought to establish or continue their "colonial enslavement" of those regions, in defiance of rising nationalist and independence movements. Soviet diplomats portrayed their own country, by contrast, as a longtime champion of anticolonial struggles throughout the Near and Middle East, a characterization that glossed over Soviet attempts in the mid-1940s to establish its own influence in both Iran and Turkey. In what might have been interpreted as a veiled threat, the Soviet Foreign Ministry, mentioning the Soviet Union's close proximity to the area, urged all states in the region to decline "to take part in aggressive military blocs," a policy that would be "an important prerequisite to the ensuring of their security" and the "best guarantee" that they would not be "drawn into dangerous military adventures." Expressing its own backing for the principles that all states should respect others' sovereignty and independence and refrain from intervention in each other's internal affairs, the Soviet Union promised its own support to those nations in the Near and Middle East that chose to observe these principles. The statement was a clear indication that Middle Eastern countries that rejected close relations with the Western powers could almost certainly expect Soviet assistance in following such a course. Inexorably, and despite each Great Power's declarations to the contrary, by the mid-1950s the Middle East was becoming a focus of Cold War rivalries.

Primary Source

The situation in the Near and Middle East has recently become considerably more tense. The explanation of this is that certain western powers have been making new attempts to draw the countries of the Near and Middle East into the military groupings which are being set up as appendages to the aggressive North Atlantic bloc.

[. . .]

It is not difficult to see that, lying at the basis of the policy of setting military groupings in the Near and Middle East—just as in the establishment of the aggressive military grouping in South-East Asia (the so-called S.E.A.T.O.)—is the desire of certain western powers for the colonial enslavement of these countries. The western powers wish to carry on exploiting the people of the countries of the Near and Middle East so as to enrich their big monopolies which are making greedy use of the natural wealth of these countries. Unable to establish and preserve their domination by the old methods, these powers are trying to involve the countries of the Near and Middle East in aggressive blocs, on the false pretext that this is in the interests of the defence of the countries of this area.

Military blocs in the Near and Middle East are needed, not by the countries of that area, but by those aggressive American circles which are trying to establish domination there. They are also needed by those British circles which, by means of these blocs, are trying to retain and restore their shaken positions, in spite of the vital interests of the peoples of the Near and Middle East who have taken the road of independent national development.

[. . .]

As has frequently happened in the past, now, too, efforts are being made to cloak the aggressive nature of the Near and Middle Eastern plans of the United States and Britain with ridiculous fabrications about a "Soviet menace" to the countries of that area. Such inventions have nothing in common with reality, for it is a matter of record that the underlying basis of the Soviet Union's foreign policy is an unalterable desire to ensure peace among the peoples, a peace founded on observance of the principles of equality, noninterference in domestic affairs, and respect for national independence and state sovereignty.

From the very first days of its existence, the Soviet state has decisively condemned the policy of imperialist usurpations and colonial oppression; and it annulled all the unequal treaties which the tsarist government had concluded with the countries of the east.

Regarding the national aspirations of the peoples of the east with full understanding and sympathy, the Soviet government was the first to recognise the independence of Afghanistan and helped her to restore her state sovereignty.

The Soviet government cancelled the tsarist government's unequal treaties with Iran, and transferred to her great material wealth which Russia owned in Iran.

During the years of Turkey's hard struggle for national independence, the Soviet Union stretched out the hand of friendship and gave her all-round assistance—a fact which played a decisive part in the struggle of the Turkish people against the foreign interventionists.

The Soviet government was the first to recognise Saudi Arabia as an independent state and supported the struggle for state independence of Yemen, Syria and Lebanon, and Egypt's rightful demands for the withdrawal of foreign troops from her territory.

In international bodies, the Soviet government always supports the legitimate demands of the countries of the Near and Middle East aimed at strengthening their national independence and state sovereignty.

The Soviet Union has unswervingly pursued, and continues to pursue a policy of peace and the easing of international tension.

Proof of this, in particular, can be seen in its proposal to end the arms drive; to prohibit atomic and hydrogen weapons; for an immediate and substantial reduction of armaments and, first and foremost, of the armaments of the five great powers; and for the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe.

[. . .]

Of course, the Soviet Union cannot remain indifferent to the situation arising in the region of the Near and Middle East, since the formation of these blocs and the establishment of foreign military bases on the territory of the countries of the Near and Middle East have a direct bearing on the security of the U.S.S.R. This attitude of the Soviet government should be all the more understandable since the U.S.S.R. is situated very close to these countries—something which cannot be said of other foreign powers, for instance, of the United States, which is thousands of kilometers from this area.

The refusal of the countries of the Near and Middle East to take part in aggressive military blocs would be an important prerequisite to the ensuring of their security, and the best guarantee of these countries not being drawn into dangerous military adventures.

Striving for the development of peaceful co-operation among all countries, the Soviet government is prepared to support and develop co-operation with the countries of the Near and Middle East, in the interests of strengthening peace in this area. In its declaration of February 9, 1955, the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics declared that it considered it of exceedingly great importance that relations among countries, large and small, should be based on those international principles which would facilitate the development of friendly co-operation among the nations, in conditions of a peaceful and tranquil life.

The Soviet Union believes that relations among states, and real security can be ensured on the basis of the practical application of the well-known principles enumerated in that declaration—namely: equality; non-interference in domestic affairs; non-aggression and the renunciation of encroachment on the territorial integrity of other states; and on respect for sovereignty and national independence.

The government of the Soviet Union would support any steps by the countries of the Near and Middle East towards putting these principles into practice in the relations between them and the Soviet Union, towards strengthening the national independence of these countries and consolidating peace and friendly co-operation among the peoples.

If the policy of pressure and threats with regard to the countries of the Near and Middle East is continued, the question should be examined by the United Nations Organisation.

Upholding the cause of peace, the Soviet government will defend the freedom and independence of the countries of the Near and Middle East and will oppose interference in their domestic affairs.

Source: *Soviet News,* no. 3146, April 19, 1955, pp. 1–2.

22. Nikita Khrushchev, "We Will Bury You" Speech, November 19, 1956

Introduction

Nikita Khrushchev, who eventually succeeded Joseph Stalin as secretary-general of the Soviet Communist Party and top Soviet leader, was less formidable than his predecessor but at times could be erratic. Khrushchev frequently expressed his hopes for "peaceful coexistence" with the West, believing that nonsocialist countries would either evolve into communist states or experience autonomous revolutions that were not fomented by Soviet operatives. Fearing the devastating potential impact of nuclear war, Khrushchev also sought to reach understandings on arms control. This did not, however, mean that he had abandoned his faith in communism, the political creed that he had embraced as a young factory worker before World War I. Khrushchev was also notorious for somewhat erratic behavior, especially when he had imbibed plentiful quantities of vodka. In mid-1956, shortly after Soviet troops brutally suppressed the Hungarian Revolution and before the resolution of the Suez Crisis that occurred when Israel, Great Britain, and France invaded Egypt, as the result of which the United States exerted economic pressure to force the three powers to withdraw, Khrushchev attended receptions at the Kremlin and the Polish embassy. In remarks at both venues he took the opportunity to condemn the Suez invasion while characterizing Soviet intervention in Hungary as a justifiable exercise in counterrevolution. Warning that "Fascist bands" sought to destroy communist parties in Italy, France, and elsewhere outside the Soviet sphere, Khrushchev proclaimed that "history is on our side" and warned the Western diplomats present that "We will bury you." In practice, the Russian words that Khrushchev used were less menacing than they appeared in translation and in the original meant something close to "We will attend your funeral." Khrushchev, who around this time had also threatened Soviet intervention if the Suez situation should not be swiftly resolved, apparently meant that the Western powers would collapse of their own volition, but the journalists present reported a somewhat sensational version of his remarks. Indeed, some years later Khrushchev himself looked back on this episode and commented that he had "got into trouble for it" when he had only wished to say that the working classes of the Western states would themselves overthrow their rulers. Khrushchev's speech nonetheless impelled all the Western ambassadors to leave, and the episode was widely reported

around the world as an instance of Khrushchev's bullying, blustering style and was taken as a threat to the West. In the popular memory, "We will bury you" would become one of Khrushchev's best-remembered utterances.

Primary Source

Nikita Khrushchev

"We Will Bury You"

Reported in *The Times,* November 19, 1956

Sir William Hayter, the British Ambassador, and diplomatic representatives of other North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries, walked out from a Kremlin reception last night in protest at a speech by Mr. Khrushchev, the Soviet Communist Party chairman, in which he used the words "Fascist" and "bandits" in referring to Britain and France and Israel.

The reception was in honour of Mr. Gomulka, who was concluding his visit to Moscow.

Out of courtesy to Mr. Gomulka, the N.A.T.O. ambassadors and representative of Israel waited until Mr. Gomulka had responded with a toast that was devoid of references to Egypt or Hungary and limited to advocating friendly ties with the Soviet Union based on equality and mutual benefit. Immediately on the conclusion of the translation into Russian of Mr. Gomulka's toast, read in Polish, the western diplomatists strode from the long white and gold St. George's Hall.

Mr. Khrushchev declared that the "bandit-like attack by Britain, France, and their puppet, Israel, on Egypt is a desperate attempt by colonializers to regain their lost positions, to frighten the peoples of dependent countries with force. But the time has passed when imperialists could seize weak countries with impunity. The freedom-loving people of Egypt have administered a fitting rebuff to the aggressors, and its just struggle against foreign invaders has evoked warm support all over the world."

Mr. Khrushchev, words tumbling from his lips in rapid fashion, continued by extending his accusations against other Powers besides Britain, France, and Israel. "Feverish activity is now in progress on the part of all the forces of reaction against the forces of Socialism and democracy. Fascist bands are making frenzied attacks on the advanced detachments of the working class, on the Communist parties of France, Italy, and other countries."

At a reception this evening at the Polish Embassy, Mr. Khrushchev delivered himself of a longer but more mildly worded address criticizing the western Powers. However, most western ambassadors, including Sir William Hayter, restricted themselves to wandering to an adjoining room while Mr. Khrushchev spoke.

Moscow, Nov. 18.—In his speech Mr. Khrushchev, who appeared to be directing his remarks to the western diplomatists, said: "We say this not only for the socialist States, who are more akin to us. We base ourselves on the idea that we must peacefully co-exist. About the capitalist States, it doesn't depend on you whether or not we exist. If you don't like us, don't accept our invitations and don't invite us to come to see you. Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you."

There was applause from Mr. Khrushchev's colleagues, and Mr. Gomulka, who had been standing at one side rather glumly, laughed.

Mr. Khrushchev said that many mistakes had been made in building socialism in the Soviet Union because of the lack of examples and the lack of personnel. He continued: "If we could have the revolution over again we would carry it out more sensibly and with smaller losses; but history does not repeat itself. The situation is favourable for us. If God existed, we would thank him for this.

"We had Hungary thrust upon us. We are very sorry that such a situation exists there. We are sure that the Hungarian working class will find the strength to overcome the difficulties. But most important is that the counter-revolution must be shattered."

Turning to Mr. Gomulka, he said: "I am sorry to be making such a speech on the territory of a foreign State. The western Powers are trying to denigrate Nasser. He is not a Communist. Politically, he is closer to those who are waging war on him and he has even put Communists in gaol.

"We sent sharp letters to Britain, France, and Israel—well, Israel, that was just for form, because, as you know, Israel carries no weight in the world, and if it plays any role it was just to start a fight. If Israel hadn't felt the support of Britain, France, and others, the Arabs would have been able to box her ears and she would have remained at peace.

"The situation is serious and we are realists. The fire must be put out. I think the British and French will be wise enough to withdraw their forces, and then Egypt will emerge stronger than ever. We must seek a *rapprochement.* We must seek a settlement so that coexistence will be peaceful and advantageous."

Referring to the Soviet Government's latest disarmament plan, he said: "You say we want war, but you have now got yourselves into a position I would call idiotic. (Mr. Mikoyan interjected: "Let's say delicate.") But we don't want to profit by it.

"If you withdraw you[r] troops from Germany, France, and Britain—I'm speaking of American troops—we will not stay one day in Poland, Hungary, and Rumania. But we, Mr. Capitalists, we are beginning to understand your methods. You have given us a lesson in Egypt. If we had a quarter of our present friendship for the Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks before the war, the war would never have started.

"Nobody should pretend to know the best methods of socialism. The Bulgarians, Poles, Yugoslavs, Rumanians, Czechs, and Soviets—all have their own; but, comrades, it is really better to hawk one's own wares, and if they are good, they will find a buyer on their own. So when our enemies try to bring us into conflict over which is the best method of socialism we reject this. It is not in the interests of socialism."

Source: "Ambassadors Walk Out," *London Times,* November 19, 1956. Reprinted with permission.

23. The Eisenhower Doctrine, January 5, 1957 [Excerpts]

Introduction

On January 5, 1957, U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower addressed a special joint session of the U.S. Congress regarding unfolding events in the Middle East. During the Suez Crisis the previous November when Britain, France, and Israel invaded Egypt and tried to retake the Suez Canal, only to retreat under U.S. financial and diplomatic pressure, the Soviet Union had threatened to intervene unless the attackers withdrew. Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev had also recently intervened in the East European Soviet satellite nation of Hungary to prevent its secession from the Warsaw Pact, and Khrushchev had recently indulged in somewhat threatening utterances as to how his country would prevail in the Cold War. The Middle East had the world's most substantial oil reserves, strategic resources that were increasingly vital to the heavily energy-dependent U.S. domestic economy as well as to its war-making capacity. Convinced that the tumultuous political situation in the Middle East, where rising anti-Western nationalism and Arab resentment of Israel compounded other difficulties, had become a battleground of the Cold War, Eisenhower demanded that Congress grant him the military and financial resources to aid those Middle Eastern powers attempting to fend off communism, advocating a high level of U.S. involvement in the Middle East that became known as the Eisenhower Doctrine. Congress complied, thus initiating a period of extensive U.S. involvement in the Middle East that continues to this day. Ironically, American support for relatively conservative Arab and Middle Eastern regimes would win the United States the distrust of radical elements in the region.

Primary Source

To the Congress of the United States:

First may I express to you my deep appreciation of your courtesy in giving me, at some inconvenience to yourselves, this early opportunity of addressing you on a matter I deem to be of grave importance to our country.

In my forthcoming State of the Union Message, I shall review the international situation generally. There are worldwide hopes which we can reasonably entertain, and there are worldwide responsibilities which we must carry to make certain that freedom—including our own—may be secure.

There is, however, a special situation in the Middle East which I feel I should, even now, lay before you.

[. . .]

I. The Middle East has abruptly reached a new and critical stage in its long and important history. In past decades many of the countries in that area were not fully self-governing. Other nations exercised considerable authority in the area and the security of the region was largely built around their power. But since the First World War there has been a steady evolution toward self-government and independence. This development the United States has welcomed and has encouraged. Our country supports without reservation the full sovereignty and independence of each and every nation of the Middle East.

The evolution to independence has in the main been a peaceful process. But the area has been often troubled. Persistent cross-currents of distrust and fear with raids back and forth across national boundaries have brought about a high degree of instability in much of the Mid East. Just recently there have been hostilities involving Western European nations that once exercised much influence in the area. Also the relatively large attack by Israel in October has intensified the basic differences between that nation and its Arab neighbors. All this instability has been heightened and, at times, manipulated by International Communism.

II. Russia's rulers have long sought to dominate the Middle East. That was true of the Czars and it is true of the Bolsheviks. The reasons are not hard to find. They do not affect Russia's security, for no one plans to use the Middle East as a base for aggression against Russia. Never for a moment has the United States entertained such a thought.

The Soviet Union has nothing whatsoever to fear from the United States in the Middle East, or anywhere else in the world, so long as its rulers do not themselves first resort to aggression.

That statement I make solemnly and emphatically.

Neither does Russia's desire to dominate the Middle East spring from its own economic interest in the area. Russia does not appreciably use or depend upon the Suez Canal. In 1955 Soviet traffic through the Canal represented only about three fourths of 1% of the total. The Soviets have no need for, and could provide no market for, the petroleum resources which constitute the principal natural wealth of the area. Indeed, the Soviet Union is a substantial exporter of petroleum products.

The reason for Russia's interest in the Middle East is solely that of power politics. Considering her announced purpose of Communizing the world, it is easy to understand her hope of dominating the Middle East.

This region has always been the crossroads of the continents of the Eastern Hemisphere. The Suez Canal enables the nations of Asia and Europe to carry on the commerce that is essential if these countries are to maintain well-rounded and prosperous economies. The Middle East provides a gateway between Eurasia and Africa.

It contains about two thirds of the presently known oil deposits of the world and it normally supplies the petroleum needs of many nations of Europe, Asia and Africa. The nations of Europe are peculiarly dependent upon this supply, and this dependency relates to transportation as well as to production! This has been vividly demonstrated since the closing of the Suez Canal and some of the pipelines. Alternate ways of transportation and, indeed, alternate sources of power can, if necessary, be developed. But these cannot be considered as early prospects.

These things stress the immense importance of the Middle East. If the nations of that area should lose their independence, if they were dominated by alien forces hostile to freedom, that would be both a tragedy for the area and for many other free nations whose economic life would be subject to near strangulation. Western Europe would be endangered just as though there had been no Marshall Plan, no North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The free nations of Asia and Africa, too, would be placed in serious jeopardy. And the countries of the Middle East would lose the markets upon which their economies depend. All this would have the most adverse, if not disastrous, effect upon our own nation's economic life and political prospects.

Then there are other factors which transcend the material. The Middle East is the birthplace of three great religions—Moslem, Christian and Hebrew. Mecca and Jerusalem are more than places on the map. They symbolize religions which teach that the spirit has supremacy over matter and that the individual has a dignity and rights of which no despotic government can rightfully deprive him. It would be intolerable if the holy places of the Middle East should be subjected to a rule that glorifies atheistic materialism.

International Communism, of course, seeks to mask its purposes of domination by expressions of good will and by superficially attractive offers of political, economic and military aid. But any free nation, which is the subject of Soviet enticement, ought, in elementary wisdom, to look behind the mask.

Remember Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania! In 1939 the Soviet Union entered into mutual assistance pacts with these then independent countries; and the Soviet Foreign Minister, addressing the Extraordinary Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet in October 1939, solemnly and publicly declared that "we stand for the scrupulous and punctilious observance of the pacts on the basis of complete reciprocity, and we declare that all the nonsensical talk about the Sovietization of the Baltic countries is only to the interest of our common enemies and of all anti-Soviet provocateurs." Yet in 1940, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union.

Soviet control of the satellite nations of Eastern Europe has been forcibly maintained in spite of solemn promises of a contrary intent, made during World War II.

Stalin's death brought hope that this pattern would change. And we read the pledge of the Warsaw Treaty of 1955 that the Soviet Union would follow in satellite countries "the principles of mutual respect for their independence and sovereignty and non-interference in domestic affairs." But we have just seen the subjugation of Hungary by naked armed force. In the aftermath of this Hungarian tragedy, world respect for and belief in Soviet promises have sunk to a new low. International Communism needs and seeks a recognizable success.

Thus, we have these simple and indisputable facts:

1. The Middle East, which has always been coveted by Russia, would today be prized more than ever by International Communism.

2. The Soviet rulers continue to show that they do not scruple to use any means to gain their ends.

3. The free nations of the Mid East need, and for the most part want, added strength to assure their continued independence.

III. Our thoughts naturally turn to the United Nations as a protector of small nations. Its charter gives it primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Our country has given the United Nations its full support in relation to the hostilities in Hungary and in Egypt. The United Nations was able

to bring about a cease-fire and withdrawal of hostile forces from Egypt because it was dealing with governments and peoples who had a decent respect for the opinions of mankind as reflected in the United Nations General Assembly. But in the case of Hungary, the situation was different. The Soviet Union vetoed action by the Security Council to require the withdrawal of Soviet armed forces from Hungary. And it has shown callous indifference to the recommendations, even the censure, of the General Assembly. The United Nations can always be helpful, but it cannot be a wholly dependable protector of freedom when the ambitions of the Soviet Union are involved.

IV. Under all the circumstances I have laid before you, a greater responsibility now devolves upon the United States. We have shown, so that none can doubt, our dedication to the principle that force shall not be used internationally for any aggressive purpose and that the integrity and independence of the nations of the Middle East should be inviolate. Seldom in history has a nation's dedication to principle been tested as severely as ours during recent weeks.

There is general recognition in the Middle East, as elsewhere, that the United States does not seek either political or economic domination over any other people. Our desire is a world environment of freedom, not servitude. On the other hand many, if not all, of the nations of the Middle East are aware of the danger that stems from International Communism and welcome closer cooperation with the United States to realize for themselves the United Nations goals of independence, economic well-being and spiritual growth.

If the Middle East is to continue its geographic role of uniting rather than separating East and West; if its vast economic resources are to serve the well-being of the peoples there, as well as that of others; and if its cultures and religions and their shrines are to be preserved for the uplifting of the spirits of the peoples, then the United States must make more evident its willingness to support the independence of the freedom-loving nations of the area.

V. Under these circumstances I deem it necessary to seek the cooperation of the Congress. Only with that cooperation can we give the reassurance needed to deter aggression, to give courage and confidence to those who are dedicated to freedom and thus prevent a chain of events which would gravely endanger all of the free world.

There have been several Executive declarations made by the United States in relation to the Middle East. There is the Tripartite Declaration of May 25, 1950, followed by the Presidential assurance of October 31, 1950, to the King of Saudi Arabia. There is the Presidential declaration of April 9, 1956, that the United States will within constitutional means oppose any aggression in the area. There is our Declaration of November 29, 1956, that a threat to the territorial integrity or political independence of Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, or Turkey would be viewed by the United States with the utmost gravity.

Nevertheless, weaknesses in the present situation and the increased danger from International Communism, convince me that basic United States policy should now find expression in joint action by the Congress and the Executive. Furthermore, our joint resolve should be so couched as to make it apparent that if need be our words will be backed by action.

VI. It is nothing new for the President and the Congress to join to recognize that the national integrity of other free nations is directly related to our own security.

We have joined to create and support the security system of the United Nations. We have reinforced the collective security system of the United Nations by a series of collective defense arrangements. Today we have security treaties with 42 other nations which recognize that our peace and security are intertwined. We have joined to take decisive action in relation to Greece and Turkey and in relation to Taiwan.

Thus, the United States through the joint action of the President and the Congress, or, in the case of treaties, the Senate, has manifested in many endangered areas its purpose to support free and independent governments—and peace—against external menace, notably the menace of International Communism. Thereby we have helped to maintain peace and security during a period of great danger. It is now essential that the United States should manifest through joint action of the President and the Congress our determination to assist those nations of the Mid East area, which desire that assistance.

The action which I propose would have the following features.

It would, first of all, authorize the United States to cooperate with and assist any nation or group of nations in the general area of the Middle East in the development of economic strength dedicated to the maintenance of national independence.

It would, in the second place, authorize the Executive to undertake in the same region programs of military assistance and cooperation with any nation or group of nations which desires such aid.

It would, in the third place, authorize such assistance and cooperation to include the employment of the armed forces of the United States to secure and protect the territorial integrity and political independence of such nations, requesting such aid, against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by International Communism.

These measures would have to be consonant with the treaty obligations of the United States, including the Charter of the United Nations and with any action or recommendations of the United Nations. They would also, if armed attack occurs, be subject to the overriding authority of the United Nations Security Council in accordance with the Charter.

The present proposal would, in the fourth place, authorize the President to employ, for economic and defensive military purposes, sums available under the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, without regard to existing limitations.

The legislation now requested should not include the authorization or appropriation of funds because I believe that, under the conditions I suggest, presently appropriated funds will be adequate for the balance of the present fiscal year ending June 30. I shall, however, seek in subsequent legislation the authorization of $200,000,000 to be available during each of the fiscal years 1958 and 1959 for discretionary use in the area, in addition to the other mutual security programs for the area hereafter provided for by the Congress.

VII. This program will not solve all the problems of the Middle East. Neither does it represent the totality of our policies for the area. There are the problems of Palestine and relations between Israel and the Arab States, and the future of the Arab refugees. There is the problem of the future status of the Suez Canal. These difficulties are aggravated by International Communism, but they would exist quite apart from that threat. It is not the purpose of the legislation I propose to deal directly with these problems. The United Nations is actively concerning itself with all these matters, and we are supporting the United Nations. The United States has made clear, notably by Secretary Dulles' address of August 26, 1955, that we are willing to do much to assist the United Nations in solving the basic problems of Palestine.

The proposed legislation is primarily designed to deal with the possibility of Communist aggression, direct and indirect. There is imperative need that any lack of power in the area should be made good, not by external or alien force, but by the increased vigor and security of the independent nations of the area.

Experience shows that indirect aggression rarely if ever succeeds where there is reasonable security against direct aggression; where the government disposes of loyal security forces, and where economic conditions are such as not to make Communism seem an attractive alternative. The program I suggest deals with all three aspects of this matter and thus with the problem of indirect aggression.

It is my hope and belief that if our purpose be proclaimed, as proposed by the requested legislation, that very fact will serve to halt any contemplated aggression. We shall have heartened the patriots who are dedicated to the independence of their nations. They will not feel that they stand alone, under the menace of great power. And I should add that patriotism is, throughout this area, a powerful sentiment. It is true that fear sometimes perverts true patriotism into fanaticism and to the acceptance of dangerous enticements from without. But if that fear can be allayed, then the climate will be more favorable to the attainment of worthy national ambitions.

And as I have indicated, it will also be necessary for us to contribute economically to strengthen those countries, or groups of countries, which have governments manifestly dedicated to the preservation of independence and resistance to subversion. Such measures will provide the greatest insurance against Communist inroads. Words alone are not enough.

VIII. Let me refer again to the requested authority to employ the armed forces of the United States to assist to defend the territorial integrity and the political independence of any nation in the area against Communist armed aggression. Such authority would not be exercised except at the desire of the nation attacked. Beyond this it is my profound hope that this authority would never have to be exercised at all.

Nothing is more necessary to assure this than that our policy with respect to the defense of the area be promptly and clearly determined and declared. Thus the United Nations and all friendly governments, and indeed governments which are not friendly, will know where we stand.

If, contrary to my hope and expectation, a situation arose which called for the military application of the policy which I ask the Congress to join me in proclaiming, I would of course maintain hour-by-hour contact with the Congress if it were in session. And if the Congress were not in session, and if the situation had grave implications, I would, of course, at once call the Congress into special session.

In the situation now existing, the greatest risk, as is often the case, is that ambitious despots may miscalculate. If power-hungry Communists should either falsely or correctly estimate that the Middle East is inadequately defended, they might be tempted to use open measures of armed attack. If so, that would start a chain of circumstances which would almost surely involve the United States in military action. I am convinced that the best insurance against this dangerous contingency is to make clear now our readiness to cooperate fully and freely with our friends of the Middle East in ways consonant with the purposes and principles of the United Nations. I intend promptly to send a special mission to the Middle East to explain the cooperation we are prepared to give.

[. . .]

Source: Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1957* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958), 6–16.

24. TASS News Agency, Statement on the Eisenhower Doctrine, January 14, 1957 [Excerpts]

Introduction

The Soviet Union was predictably hostile to the Eisenhower Doctrine on the Middle East, proclaimed by the president in January 1957. The Soviet media, including TASS, the official news agency, attacked Eisenhower's proclamation as a colonialist move on the part of the United States. Soviet officials took particular exception to the possible future American military interventions in the Middle East that Eisenhower's speech anticipated. Soviet critics, using classic Cold War rhetoric, charged that the U.S. government sought to replace British and French imperialism in the area with its own hegemony, in defiance of the aspirations to national independence of the Arab peoples in the region. The real objective of the United States, in Soviet eyes, was to impose "a kind of military protectorate" over the Middle East and protect its petroleum interests there, especially the near-monopolistic position of American oil companies. The Soviet Union reminded Arab countries of its own support for Egypt in the recent Suez Crisis and urged them to look to the Soviet Union for protection against attempts at domination by outside powers. Quite clearly, the two Cold War superpowers now saw the Middle East as a significant arena for strategic and economic competition, its various states constituting a potential sphere of influence from which each sought to exclude the other.

Primary Source

The President of the United States of America, Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower, on January 5 addressed a special message to Congress on the policy of the United States in the Middle East countries. In his message, which abounds in anti-Soviet remarks, the President, describing the present situation in the Middle East as "critical," demanded the authority to use the armed forces of the United States in the Middle East at any moment he might consider it necessary, without asking for the consent of Congress as is envisaged in the country's Constitution. The President of the United States also demanded that he be empowered to render military and economic "aid" to the countries of the Middle East. It is envisaged, specifically, that 200 million dollars will be spent for "economic support" to countries of that area.

President Eisenhower's message runs counter to the principles and the purposes of the United Nations and is fraught with grave danger to peace and security in the Middle East area. . . .

In his message to Congress the President of the United States speaks of the sympathy which, he claims, the United States entertains for the Arab countries. Life, however, shows that in actual fact the American ruling circles are setting themselves obviously selfish aims in that area. It is a fact that when Egypt, as a result of the military aggression of Britain, France and Israel, was threatened with the loss of her national independence, the United States refused to pool its efforts with the Soviet Union in the United Nations in order to take resolute measures to cut short the aggression. The primary concern of the United States was not the defence of peace and the national independence of the Arab countries, but the desire to take advantage of the weakening of Britain and France in the Middle East to capture their positions.

At present, when a favourable situation has developed in the Middle East and real possibilities for consolidating peace and settling outstanding issues in that area have been created, the government of the United States has come forward with a programme which envisages flagrant interference by the United States in the affairs of the Arab countries, up to and including military intervention. The aggressive trend of this programme and its colonialist nature with regard to the Arab countries are so obvious that this cannot be disguised by any nebulous phrases about the love for peace and the concern claimed to be shown by the United States for the Middle East countries.

It is permissible to ask: Of what love for peace do the authors of the "Eisenhower doctrine" speak when the threat to the security of the Middle East countries emanates precisely from member-states of N.A.T.O., in which the United States plays first fiddle? What concern for the aforementioned countries can be in question when it is the United States and its N.A.T.O. partners that regard those countries merely as sources of strategic raw materials and spheres for the investment of capital, with the object of extracting maximum profits? Is it not clear that the uninvited "protectors" of the Middle East countries are trying to impose on that area nothing else but the regime of a kind of military protectorate, and to set back the development of these countries for many years? . . .

The United States ruling circles consider that the weakening of the positions of the Anglo-French colonialists in the Middle East and the successes of the Arab countries in consolidating their independence have produced a "vacuum," which they would like to fill by their military and economic intervention in the internal affairs of those countries. But what "vacuum" can be in question here? Since when do countries which have liberated themselves from colonial oppression and have taken the road of independent national development constitute a "vacuum"? It is clear that the strengthening of the national independence of the Arab countries, the intensification of their struggle against colonial oppression by no means create some kind of "vacuum," but are a restoration of the national rights of the Middle East peoples and constitute a progressive factor

in social development. The United States tries to present its policy as an anti-colonialist one. But it is not difficult to see the falseness of these assertions, clearly designed to blunt the vigilance of the peoples in the Middle East. The programme of the United States insistently stresses that the Middle East must recognise its interdependence with the western countries, that is, with the colonialists—specifically with regard to oil, the Suez Canal, etc. In other words, the United States is stubbornly seeking to impose a "trusteeship" of the colonialists on the peoples of the Middle East countries. . . .

The authors of the colonialist programme try to sweeten it by a promise of economic "aid" to the Middle East countries. Every intelligent person, however, understands that in reality the United States is offering as charity to the peoples of the Arab countries only a small fraction of what the American monopolies have received and are receiving by plundering, by exploiting the natural wealth belonging to those countries. The United States promises the countries of the Middle East 200 million dollars in the financial years of 1958 and 1959, whereas in 1955 alone the American and British oil monopolies extracted 150 million tons of oil in the Middle East at a total cost of 240 million dollars, and made a net profit of 1,900 million dollars on this oil. Such is the real picture of American "philanthropy-." . . .

Seeking to cover up gross intervention in the internal affairs of the Middle East countries and their aggressive policy with regard to these countries, the United States ruling circles resort to inventions about a threat to the Arab countries emanating from the Soviet Union. These slanderous assertions will deceive no one. The peoples of the Middle East have not forgotten that the Soviet Union has always defended the self-determination of peoples, the gaining and consolidating of their national independence. They have learned from experience that in relations with all countries the Soviet Union steadfastly pursues the policy of equality and non-interference in internal affairs. They also know very well that the Soviet Union is actively supporting the right of each people to dispose of its natural wealth and use it at its own discretion.

It was not the Soviet Union, but Britain and France—the United States' chief partners in the North Atlantic bloc—which committed aggression against Egypt, inflicting great losses and suffering on the Egyptian people. This is borne out by the fresh ruins of Port Said and other Egyptian cities, as well as by the new plans for United States economic, political and military expansion in the Middle East proclaimed by the American President. These aggressive plans of the American imperialists express their striving for world domination, of which they speak now quite shamefully, presenting this aspiration as the need for "energetic leadership" of the world by the United States.

In the days of hard trials for the Arab peoples it was the Soviet Union, and no one else, who came out as their sincere friend and, together with the peace loving forces of the whole world, took steps to end the aggression against Egypt. All this is well known. . . .

It is well known that the Soviet Union, as distinct from the United States, does not have and does not seek to have any military bases or concessions in the Middle East with the object of extracting profits, does not strive to gain any privileges in that area, since all this is incompatible with the principles of Soviet foreign policy.

The Soviet Union is vitally interested in the maintenance of peace in the Middle East area, situated as it is in direct proximity to its frontiers. It is sincerely interested in consolidating the national independence of those countries and in their economic prosperity and regards this as a reliable guarantee of peace and security in that area.

In our age the national liberation movement of the peoples is a historical force that cannot be repressed.

The Soviet Union, loyal to the great Leninist principles of recognising and respecting the rights of peoples, large and small, to independent development, regards as one of its prime tasks the rendering of every assistance and support to the countries fighting to consolidate their national independence and their sovereignty. That is why it welcomes the growing unity of the peoples of the Arab countries in their struggle for peace, security, national freedom and independence.

The Soviet Union opposes any manifestations of colonialism, any "doctrines" which protect and cover up colonialism. It is opposed to unequal treaties and agreements, the setting up of military bases on foreign territories, dictated by strategic considerations, and plans for establishing the world domination of imperialism. It proceeds from the premise that the natural wealth of the underdeveloped countries is the inalienable national possession of the peoples of those countries, who have the full right to dispose of it independently and to use it for their economic prosperity and progress. The need to strengthen peace and security demands the wide development of political, economic and cultural ties between all countries. The development of these ties is an important prerequisite for using the achievements of contemporary science and technology for the good of mankind. The policy of establishing closed aggressive military blocs, such as N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O. and the Baghdad Pact, and the raising of artificial economic barriers hampering normal relations between states seriously impairs the cause of peace. The Soviet Union, striving to render assistance to peoples fighting for the consolidation of their national independence and the earliest elimination of the aftermath of colonial oppression, is willing to develop all-round cooperation with them on the principles of full equality and mutual benefit. . . .

Authoritative Soviet circles hold that the steps with regard to the Middle East area outlined by the United States government, which envisage the possibility of employing United States armed forces in that area, might lead to dangerous consequences, the responsibility for which will rest entirely with the United States government.

Source: *Soviet News,* no. 354, January 14, 1957, pp. 33–34.

25. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's Islamic Challenge, Sermons, and Writings, 1963–1980

Introduction

The modernizing policies Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran often offended Muslim clerics, who believed that the monarch's emphasis on creating a secular society broke with numerous Islamic tenets. Over time, they also came to resent his close alliance with the United States, particularly given increasingly strong American support for Israel, a country whose total destruction many Muslims as well as Arab states supported. Among Iranians, by the early 1960s the chief focus and leader for Islamic dissent from the shah's rule was the Shiite Muslim Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1900–1989), a well-known scholar and opponent of secularism who became Iran's leading Islamic cleric in 1963. Khomeini and other Iranian clerics issued a manifesto attacking the shah's White Revolution program, announced early in 1963, that launched land reforms, privatized state assets, introduced profit-sharing schemes, gave women the vote, and launched a major education literacy program. The shah, in return, publicly denounced the Muslim clerics. In June 1963 Khomeini preached a sermon openly attacking the shah's policies as irreligious and subservient to both the United States and Israel, which caused Khomeini's arrest two days later, an event that sparked major riots throughout Iran in which more than 400 people died. Khomeini was placed under house arrest for several months. Once he was released in October 1964, he denounced the legal immunity that American military advisers and their employees enjoyed in Iran. At this juncture the shah exiled Khomeini, who spent most of the next 14 years in neighboring Iraq. Khomeini continued to preach sermons that vehemently condemned the shah and his policies. The ayatollah alleged that the shah's regime was riddled with corruption and that a small elite allied with foreign capitalists were looting the country. Khomeini claimed that the shah allowed the United States to train Israeli pilots in Iran and called upon all good Muslims in Iran to launch a jihad, or holy war, against the shah and his foreign patrons and allies. After domestic discontent forced the shah to flee Iran in early 1979, Khomeini returned from exile and became head of state. He now sought to make Iran the leader in a Muslim revolution against all foreign oppression, aligning the country with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) opposing Israel and also with the Muslim rebels against Soviet rule in Afghanistan. The foremost among his targets, however, still remained the United States. In November 1979 Muslim militants who were dedicated supporters of Khomeini sacked the American embassy in Tehran, Iran's capital, taking 63 American diplomats and other personnel hostage, an action that Khomeini endorsed. In a message of September 1980, when the hostages were still in Iranian hands, Khomeini issued an inflammatory message characterizing the United States, which had by this time imposed tight economic sanctions on Iran, as the "Great Satan" and "the number-one enemy of the deprived and oppressed people of the world." Khomeini's sermons were illuminating proof of the degree to which, from at least the early 1960s, the United States and its policies, and rulers associated with these, became a major transnational focus for Muslim antagonism.

Primary Source

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's Islamic Challenge

SERMON DELIVERED IN QUM, IRAN, JUNE 3, 1963

Iranian nation! Those among you who are thirty or forty years of age or more will remember how three foreign countries attacked us during World War II. The Soviet Union, Britain, and America invaded Iran and occupied our country. The property of the people was exposed to danger and their honor was imperiled. But God knows, everyone was happy because the Pahlavi had gone! Shah, I don't wish the same to happen to you; I don't want you to become like your father. Listen to my advice, listen to the 'ulama [learned clergy] of Islam. They desire the welfare of the nation, the welfare of the country. Don't listen to Israel; Israel can't do anything for you. You miserable wretch, forty-five years of your life have passed; isn't it time for you to think and reflect a little, to ponder about where all this is leading you, to learn a lesson from the experience of your father? If what they say is true, that you are opposed to Islam and the religious scholars, your ideas are quite wrong. If they are dictating these things to you and then giving them to you to read, you should think about it a little. Why do you speak without thinking? Are the religious scholars really some form of impure animal? If they are impure animals, why do the people kiss their hands? Why do they regard the very water they drink as blessed? Are we really impure animals?

SERMON DELIVERED IN QUM, IRAN, OCTOBER 27, 1964

A law has been put before the Majlis [parliament] . . . that all American military advisers, together with their families, technical and administrative officials, and servants—in short, anyone in any way connected to them—are to enjoy legal immunity with respect to any crime they may commit in Iran.

If some American's servant, some American's cook, assassinates your marjá in the middle of the bazaar, or runs over him, the Iranian police do not have the right to apprehend him! Iranian courts do not have the right to judge him! The dossier must be sent to America, so that our masters there can decide what is to be done!

. . . If someone runs over a dog belonging to an American, he will be prosecuted. Even if the Shah himself were to run over a dog belonging to an American, he would be prosecuted. But if an American cook runs over the Shah, the head of state, no one will have the right to interfere with him.

. . . The government has sold our independence, reduced us to the level of a colony, and made the Muslim nation of Iran appear more backward than savages in the eyes of the world! . . .

I don't know where this White Revolution is that they are making so much fuss about. God knows that I am aware of (and my awareness causes me pain) the remote villages and provincial towns, not to mention our own backward city of Qum. I am aware of the hunger of our people and the disordered state of our agrarian economy. Why not try to do something for this country, for this population, instead of piling up debts and enslaving yourselves?

LECTURES DELIVERED TO SEMINARY STUDENTS, NAJAF, IRAQ, JANUARY–FEBRUARY 1970

At a time when the West was a realm of darkness and obscurity—with its inhabitants living in a state of barbarism and America still peopled by half-savage redskins—and the two vast empires of Iran and Byzantium were under the rule of tyranny, class privilege, and discrimination, and the powerful dominated all without any trace of law or popular government, God, Exalted and Almighty, by means of the Most Noble Messenger [the prophet Mohammed] (peace and blessings be upon him), sent laws that astound us with their magnitude. He instituted laws and practices for all human affairs and laid down injunctions for man extending from even before the embryo is formed until after he is placed in the tomb. In just the same way that there are laws setting forth the duties of worship for man, so too there are laws, practices, and norms for the affairs of society and government. Islamic law is a progressive, evolving, and comprehensive system of law. . . .

. . . Huge amounts of capital are being swallowed up; our public funds are being embezzled; our oil is being plundered; and our country is being turned into a market for expensive, unnecessary goods by the representatives of foreign companies, which makes it possible for foreign capitalists and their local agents to pocket the people's money. A number of foreign states carry off our oil after drawing it out of the ground, and the negligible sum they pay to the regime they have installed returns to their pockets by other routes. As for the small amount that goes into the treasury, God only knows what it is spent on. . . .

Our wretched people subsist in conditions of poverty and hunger, while the taxes that the ruling class extorts from them are squandered. They buy Phantom jets so that pilots from Israel and its agents can come and train in them in our country. . . .—Israel, which is in a state of war with the Muslims. . . .

. . . It is our duty to begin exerting ourselves now in order to establish a truly Islamic government. We must propagate our cause to the people, instruct them in it, and convince them of its validity. We must generate a wave of intellectual awakening, to emerge as a current throughout society, and gradually, to take shape as an organized Islamic movement made up of the awakened, committed, and religious masses who will rise up and establish an Islamic government. . . .

. . . So, courageous sons of Islam, stand up! Address the people bravely; tell the truth about our situation to the masses in simple language; arouse them to enthusiastic activity, and turn the people in the street and the bazaar, our simple-hearted workers and peasants, and our alert students into dedicated mujahids [those engaged in jihad or holy struggle]. The entire population will become mujahids. All segments of society are ready to struggle for the sake of freedom, independence, and the happiness of the nation, and their struggle needs religion. Give the people Islam, then, for Islam is the school of jihad, the religion of struggle; let them amend their characters and beliefs in accordance with Islam and transform themselves into a powerful force, so that they may overthrow the tyrannical regime imperialism has imposed on us and set up an Islamic government.

DECLARATION ON THE ANTI-SHAH DEMONSTRATIONS, ISSUED IN PARIS, OCTOBER 11, 1978

Great people of Iran! The history of Iran, even world history, has never witnessed a movement like yours; it has never experienced a universal uprising like yours, noble people!

Today primary school children of seven or eight stand ready to sacrifice themselves and shed their blood for the sake of Islam and the nation; when has anything like that been seen? Our lion-hearted women snatch up their infants and go to confront the machine guns and tanks of the regime; where in history has such valiant and heroic behavior by women been recorded? Today the thunderous cry of "Death to the Shah!" arises from the heart of the primary school child and the infirm old man alike, and it has blackened the days of this vile Pahlavi regime and so shattered the nerves of the Shah that he seeks to calm himself with the blood of our children and young people.

Beloved sisters and brothers! Be steadfast; do not weaken or slacken your efforts. Your path is the path of God and His elect. Your blood is being shed for the same cause as the blood of the prophets and the Imams [recognized religious leaders] and the righteous. You will join them, and you have no cause to grieve, therefore, but every reason for joy. . . .

MESSAGE ON OCCASION OF THE IRANIAN NEW YEAR, ISSUED IN TEHRAN, MARCH 21, 1980

We must strive to export our Revolution throughout the world, and must abandon all idea of not doing so, for not only does Islam refuse to recognize any difference between Muslim countries, it is the champion of all oppressed people. Moreover, all the powers are intent on destroying us, and if we remain surrounded in a closed circle, we shall certainly be defeated. We must make plain our stance toward the powers and the superpowers and demonstrate to them that despite the arduous problems that burden us, our attitude to the world is dictated by our beliefs. . . .

Once again, I declare my support for all movements and groups that are fighting to gain liberation from the superpowers of the left and the right. I declare my support for the people of [Israeli] Occupied Palestine and Lebanon. I vehemently condemn once more the savage occupation of Afghanistan by the aggressive plunderers of the East [the Soviet Union], and I hope that the noble Muslim people of Afghanistan will achieve victory and true independence as soon as possible, and be delivered from the clutches of the so called champions of the working class.

MESSAGE TO PILGRIMS, ISSUED IN TEHRAN, SEPTEMBER 12, 1980

Part of the extensive propaganda campaign being waged apparently against Iran, but in reality against Islam, is intended to show that the Revolution of Iran cannot administer our country or that the Iranian government is about to fall. . . . But by the blessing of Islam and our Muslim people, in the space of less than two years, we have voted on, approved, and put into practice all the measures necessary for the administration of the country. Despite all the difficulties that America and its satellites have created for us—economic boycott, military attack, and the planning of extensive coups d'etat—our valiant people have attained self-sufficiency in foodstuffs. Soon we will transform the imperialist-inspired education system that existed under the previous regime into an independent and Islamic education system. The armed forces, the Revolutionary Guards, the gendarmerie, and the police stand ready to defend the country and uphold order, and they are prepared to offer their lives in jihad for the sake of Islam. In addition, a general mobilization of the entire nation is under way, with the nation equipping itself to fight for the sake of Islam and the country. Let our enemies know that no revolution in the world was followed by less bloodshed or brought greater achievements than our Islamic Revolution, and that this is due entirely to the blessing of Islam. . . .

America is the number-one enemy of the deprived and oppressed people of the world. There is no crime America will not commit in order to maintain its political, economic, cultural, and military domination of those parts of the world where it predominates. . . .

Iran has tried to sever all its relations with this Great Satan and it is for this reason that it now finds wars imposed upon it. America has urged Iraq to spill the blood of our young men [in border clashes that preceded the Iran-Iraq War, 1980–1988], and it has compelled the countries that are subject to its influence to boycott us economically in the hope of defeating us. . . . This is a result of the Islamic content of our Revolution, which has been established on the basis of true independence. Were we to compromise with America and the other superpowers, we would not suffer these misfortunes. But our nation is no longer ready to submit to humiliation and abjection; it prefers a bloody death to a life of shame.

Source: Ruhollah Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution* (Berkeley, CA: Mizan, 1981), 174–176, 181–188, 239–241, 286–294, 300–306.

26. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Address to the Nation Concerning the Landing of Marines in Lebanon, July 15, 1958

Introduction

In July 1958 President Dwight D. Eisenhower demonstrated that despite Soviet protests he was willing to send American military forces to protect U.S. clients in the Middle East. In Lebanon, pro-Western Christian president Camille Chamoun was at odds with his Sunni Muslim prime minister, Rashid Karami. Karami and rebellious Lebanese Muslims demanded that their country should join the newly formed and short-lived United Arab Republic (UAR), a federation of Egypt and Syria, while Lebanese Christians wished to continue their country's existing pro-Western alignment. On July 14, 1958, a bloody military coup in which young King Faisal II, his uncle, the regent of Iraq, and Prime Minister Nuri al-Said all died, brought a radical Arab regime to power in Iraq. Fearing that Lebanon might follow suit or be forced by Egyptian and Syrian pressure to join the UAR, the following day Eisenhower responded to Chamoun's pleas for assistance by dispatching 14,000 troops, including 5,670 U.S. marines, to Lebanon. American forces restored order, first securing the Beirut airport and then spreading out through the capital and quelling internal

opposition. By the time they withdrew on October 25, 1958, American diplomats had persuaded Chamoun to resign his office, and General Fuad Chehab, a moderate Christian, replaced him. Only 4 American military personnel died in Lebanon, 3 in accidents and 1 a victim of sniper fire. The episode gave tangible proof that the United States would react forcefully if a Middle Eastern ally was threatened.

Primary Source

Yesterday was a day of grave developments in the Middle East. In Iraq a highly organized military blow struck down the duly constituted Government and attempted to put in its place a committee of Army officers. The attack was conducted with great brutality. Many of the leading personalities were beaten to death or hanged and their bodies dragged through the streets.

At about the same time there was discovered a highly organized plot to overthrow the lawful Government of Jordan.

Warned and alarmed by these developments President Chamoun of Lebanon sent me an urgent plea that the United States station some military units in Lebanon to evidence our concern for the independence of Lebanon, that little country which itself has for about 2 months been subjected to civil strife. This has been actively fomented by Soviet and Cairo broadcasts and abetted and aided by substantial amounts of arms, money, and personnel infiltrated into Lebanon across the Syrian border.

President Chamoun stated that without an immediate show of United States support the Government of Lebanon would be unable to survive against the forces which had been set loose in the area.

The plea of President Chamoun was supported by the unanimous action of the Lebanese Cabinet.

After giving this plea earnest thought and after taking advice from leaders of both the executive and congressional branches of the Government, I decided to comply with the plea of the Government of Lebanon. A few hours ago a battalion of United States Marines landed and took up stations in and about the city of Beirut.

The mission of these forces is to protect American lives—there are about 2,500 Americans in Lebanon—and by their presence to assist the Government of Lebanon to preserve its territorial integrity and political independence.

The United States does not, of course, intend to replace the United Nations, which has a primary responsibility to maintain international peace and security. We reacted as we did within a matter of hours because the situation was such that only prompt action would suffice. We have, however, with equal promptness moved in the United Nations. This morning there was held at our request an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council. At this meeting we reported the action which we had taken. We stated the reasons therefor. We expressed the hope that the United Nations would itself take measures which would be adequate to preserve the independence of Lebanon and permit of the early withdrawal of the United States forces.

The Situation in Lebanon

I should like now to take a few minutes to explain the situation in Lebanon.

Lebanon is a small country, a little less than the size of Connecticut, with a population of about 1½ million. It has always had close and friendly relations with the United States. Many of you no doubt have heard of the American University at Beirut, which has a distinguished record. Lebanon has been a prosperous, peaceful country, thriving on trade largely with the West. A little over a year ago there were general elections, held in an atmosphere of total calm, which resulted in the establishment, by an overwhelming popular vote, of the present Parliament for a period of 4 years. The term of the President, however, is of a different duration and would normally expire next September. The President, Mr. Chamoun, has made clear that he does not seek reelection.

When the attacks on the Government of Lebanon began to occur, it took the matter to the United Nations Security Council, pointing out that Lebanon was the victim of indirect aggression from without. As a result, the Security Council sent observers to Lebanon in the hope of thereby insuring that hostile intervention would cease. Secretary-General Hammarskjold undertook a mission to the area to reinforce the work of the observers.

We believe that his efforts and those of the United Nations observers were helpful. They could not eliminate arms or ammunition or remove persons already sent into Lebanon. But we believe they did reduce such aid from across the border. It seemed, last week, that the situation was moving toward a peaceful solution which would preserve the integrity of Lebanon and end indirect aggression from without.

Those hopes were, however, dashed by the events of yesterday in Iraq and Jordan. These events demonstrate a scope of aggressive purpose which tiny Lebanon could not combat without further evidence of support. That is why Lebanon's request for troops from the United States was made. That is why we have responded to that request.

Some will ask, does the stationing of some United States troops in Lebanon involve any interference in the internal affairs of Lebanon? The clear answer is "no."

First of all, we have acted at the urgent plea of the Government of Lebanon, a Government which has been freely elected by the people only a little over a year ago. It is entitled, as are we, to join in measures of collective security for self-defense.

Such action, the United Nations Charter recognizes, is an "inherent right."

Pattern of Conquest by Indirect Aggression

In the second place what we now see in the Middle East is the same pattern of conquest with which we became familiar during the period of 1945 to 1950. This involves taking over a nation by means of indirect aggression; that is, under the cover of a fomented civil strife the purpose is to put into domestic control those whose real loyalty is to the aggressor.

It was by such means that the Communists attempted to take over Greece in 1947. That effort was thwarted by the Truman Doctrine.

It was by such means that the Communists took over Czechoslovakia in 1948.

It was by such means that the Communists took over the mainland of China in 1949.

It was by such means that the Communists attenuated to take over Korea and Indochina, beginning in 1950.

You will remember at the time of the Korean war that the Soviet Government claimed that this was merely a civil war, because the only attack was by north Koreans upon south Koreans. But all the world knew that the north Koreans were armed, equipped, and directed from without for the purpose of aggression.

This means of conquest was denounced by the United Nations General Assembly when it adopted in November 1950 its resolution entitled "Peace Through Deeds." It thereby called upon every nation to refrain from "fomenting civil strife in the interest of a foreign power" and denounced such action as "the gravest of all crimes against peace and security throughout the world." We had hoped that these threats to the peace and to the independence and integrity of small nations had come to an end. Unhappily, now they reappear. Lebanon was selected to become a victim.

Last year the Congress of the United States joined with the President to declare that "the United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace the preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle East."

I believe that the presence of the United States forces now being sent to Lebanon will have a stabilizing effect which will preserve the independence and integrity of Lebanon. It will also afford an increased measure of security to the thousands of Americans who reside in Lebanon.

We know that stability and well-being cannot be achieved purely by military measures. The economy of Lebanon has been gravely strained by civil strife. Foreign trade and tourist traffic have almost come to a standstill. The United States stands ready, under its mutual security program, to cooperate with the Government of Lebanon to find ways to restore its shattered economy. Thus we shall help to bring back to Lebanon a peace which is not merely the absence of fighting but the well-being of the people.

The Purpose of the United States

I am well aware of the fact that landing of United States troops in Lebanon could have some serious consequences. That is why this step was taken only after the most serious consideration and broad consultation. I have, however, come to the sober and clear conclusion that the action taken was essential to the welfare of the United States. It was required to support the principles of justice and international law upon which peace and a stable international order depend.

That, and that alone, is the purpose of the United States. We are not actuated by any hope of material gain or by any emotional hostility against any person or any government. Our dedication is to the principles of the United Nations Charter and to the preservation of the independence of every state. That is the basic pledge of the United Nations Charter.

Yet indirect aggression and violence are being promoted in the Near East in clear violation of the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

There can be no peace in the world unless there is fuller dedication to the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. If ever the United States fails to support these principles, the result would be to open the floodgates to direct and indirect aggression throughout the world.

In the 1930's the members of the League of Nations became indifferent to direct and indirect aggression in Europe, Asia, and Africa. The result was to strengthen and stimulate aggressive forces that made World War II inevitable.

The United States is determined that that history shall not now be repeated. We are hopeful that the action which we are taking will both preserve the independence of Lebanon and check international violations which, if they succeeded, would endanger world peace.

We hope that this result will quickly be attained and that our forces can be promptly withdrawn. We must, however, be prepared to meet the situation, whatever be the consequences. We can do so, confident that we strive for a world in which nations, be they great or be they small, can preserve their independence. We are striving for an ideal which is close to the heart of every American and for which in the past many Americans have laid down their lives.

To serve these ideals is also to serve the cause of peace, security, and well-being, not only for us but for all men everywhere.

Source: "Radio-TV Statement," *Department of State Bulletin* 39(997) (1958): 183–186.

27. Richard Nixon, Address to the Nation on Policies to Deal with Energy Shortages, November 7, 1973 [Excerpts]

Introduction

In retaliation for U.S. shipments of armaments to Israel during the October 1973 Yom Kippur (Ramadan) War, Arab states led by Saudi Arabia cut back on their production of oil and imposed embargos on sales to the United States and other Western nations that had assisted Israel during the conflict. Oil prices quickly quadrupled, fueling already rising inflation and soon contributing to an economic depression that afflicted Europe as well as the United States. As winter approached, fuel oil was in short supply in the United States. In early November, President Richard Nixon addressed the American people, warning that they faced "the most acute shortages of energy since World War II" and that in the coming winter the country would have between 10 percent and 17 percent less oil than it needed. As a short-term measure, he asked all Americans to economize in their use of energy. He also announced a program of government measures to deal with the problem, including the conversion of oil-burning plants and utilities to coal, a reduction in civilian aircraft flights, cutting the consumption of energy by 15 percent in homes and businesses and by 7 percent in federal government offices, accelerating the construction of nuclear power plants, reducing automobile speed limits to 50 miles per hour, and encouraging states, cities, and individuals to introduce other small-scale measures to economize on energy. In addition, he called on Congress to pass a program of specific energy-saving measures, including the introduction of daylight saving time throughout the year, the relaxation of environmental regulations, the introduction of "special energy conservation measures," funding for the faster exploration and development of existing American oil reserves, the introduction of the 50-mile speed limit, and greater governmental authority to regulate transportation to ensure efficient energy use. Warning that Americans were overly reliant upon energy and used it too prodigally, Nixon complained that Congress had failed to pass any of his earlier legislative initiatives to conserve and develop energy resources, and he asked that Congress take effective action in this area so that by 1980 the United States would be self-sufficient in energy. Nixon's program was imaginative, ambitious, and largely fruitless. Even though Americans might admit intellectually that they should economize, conserve energy resources, develop both new and existing resources, and reduce American dependence on foreign supplies, the measures involved would have demanded massive and often painful restructurings of the American economic and fiscal status quo, which proved to be politically impossible for Nixon and his successors as president to introduce.

Primary Source

I want to talk to you tonight about a serious national problem, a problem we must all face together in the months and years ahead.

As America has grown and prospered in recent years, our energy demands have begun to exceed available supplies. In recent months, we have taken many actions to increase supplies and to reduce consumption. But even with our best efforts, we knew that a period of temporary shortages was inevitable.

Unfortunately, our expectations for this winter have now been sharply altered by the recent conflict in the Middle East. Because of that war, most of the Middle Eastern oil producers have reduced overall production and cut off their shipments of oil to the United States. By the end of this month, more than 2 million barrels a day of oil we expected to import into the United States will no longer be available.

We must, therefore, face up to a very stark fact: We are heading toward the most acute shortages of energy since World War II. Our supply of petroleum this winter will be at least 10 percent short of our anticipated demands, and it could fall short by as much as 17 percent.

Now, even before war broke out in the Middle East, these prospective shortages were the subject of intensive discussions among members of my Administration, leaders of the Congress, Governors, mayors, and other groups. From these discussions has emerged a broad agreement that we, as a nation, must now set upon a new course.

In the short run, this course means that we must use less energy—that means less heat, less electricity, less gasoline. In the long run, it means that we must develop new sources of energy which will give us the capacity to meet our needs without relying on any foreign nation.

The immediate shortage will affect the lives of each and every one of us. In our factories, our cars, our homes, our offices, we will have to use less fuel than we are accustomed to using. Some school and factory schedules may be realigned, and some jet airplane flights will be canceled.

This does not mean that we are going to run out of gasoline or that air travel will stop or that we will freeze in our homes or offices anyplace in America. The fuel crisis need not mean genuine suffering for any American. But it will require some sacrifice by all Americans.

We must be sure that our most vital needs are met first—and that our least important activities are the first to be cut back. And we must be sure that while the fat from our economy is being trimmed, the muscle is not seriously damaged.

To help us carry out that responsibility, I am tonight announcing the following steps:

First, I am directing that industries and utilities which use coal—which is our most abundant resource—be prevented from converting from coal to oil. Efforts will also be made to convert power plants from the use of oil to the use of coal.

Second, we are allocating reduced quantities of fuel for aircraft. Now, this is going to lead to a cutback of more than 10 percent of the number of flights and some rescheduling of arrival and departure times.

Third, there will be reductions of approximately 15 percent in the supply of heating oil for homes and offices and other establishments. To be sure that there is enough oil to go around for the entire winter, all over the country, it will be essential for all of us to live and work in lower temperatures. We must ask everyone to lower the thermostat in your home by at least 6 degrees so that we can achieve a national daytime average of 68 degrees. Incidentally, my doctor tells me that in a temperature of 66 to 68 degrees, you are really more healthy than when it is 75 to 78, if that is any comfort. In offices, factories, and commercial establishments, we must ask that you achieve the equivalent of a two-degree reduction by either lowering the thermostat or curtailing working hours.

Fourth, I am ordering additional reductions in the consumption of energy by the Federal Government. We have already taken steps to reduce the Government's consumption by 7 percent. The cuts must now go deeper and must be made by every agency and every department in the Government. I am directing that daytime temperatures in Federal offices be reduced immediately to a level of between 65 and 68 degrees, and that means in this room, too, as well as in every other room in the White House. In addition, I am ordering that all vehicles owned by the Federal Government—and there are over a half-million of them—travel no faster than 50 miles per hour except in emergencies. This is a step which I have also asked Governors, mayors, and local officials to take immediately with regard to vehicles under their authority.

Fifth, I am asking the Atomic Energy Commission to speed up the licensing and construction of nuclear plants. We must seek to reduce the time required to bring nuclear plants on line—nuclear plants that can produce power—to bring them on line from 10 years to 6 years, reduce that time lag.

Sixth, I am asking that Governors and mayors reinforce these actions by taking appropriate steps at the State and local level. We have already learned, for example, from the State of Oregon, that considerable amounts of energy can be saved simply by curbing unnecessary lighting and slightly altering the school year. I am recommending that other communities follow this example and also seek ways to stagger working hours, to encourage greater use of mass transit and carpooling.

How many times have you gone along the highway or the freeway, wherever the case may be, and see[n] hundreds and hundreds of cars with only one individual in that car? This we must all cooperate to change.

Consistent with safety and economic considerations, I am also asking Governors to take steps to reduce highway speed limits to 50 miles per hour. This action alone, if it is adopted on a nationwide basis, could save over 200,000 barrels of oil a day—just reducing the speed limit to 50 miles per hour.

Now, all of these actions will result in substantial savings of energy. More than that, most of these are actions that we can take right now—without further delay.

The key to their success lies, however, not just here in Washington but in every home, in every community across this country. If each of us joins in this effort, joins with the spirit and the determination that have always graced the American character, then half the battle will already be won.

But we should recognize that even these steps, as essential as they are, may not be enough. We must be prepared to take additional steps, and for that purpose, additional authorities must be provided by the Congress.

I have therefore directed my chief adviser for energy policy, Governor Love, and other Administration officials, to work closely with the Congress in developing an emergency energy act.

I met with the leaders of the Congress this morning, and I asked that they act on this legislation on a priority, urgent basis. It is

imperative that this legislation be on my desk for signature before the Congress recesses this December. . . .

[. . .]

This proposed legislation would enable the executive branch to meet the energy emergency in several important ways:

First, it would authorize an immediate return to daylight saving time on a year-round basis.

Second, it would provide the necessary authority to relax environmental regulations on a temporary, case-by-case basis, thus permitting an appropriate balancing of our environmental interests, which all of us share, with our energy requirements, which, of course, are indispensable.

Third, it would grant authority to impose special energy conservation measures, such as restrictions on the working hours for shopping centers and other commercial establishments.

And fourth, it would approve and fund increased exploration, development, and production from our naval petroleum reserves. Now, these reserves are rich sources of oil. From one of them alone—Elk Hills in California—we could produce more than 160,000 barrels of oil a day within 2 months.

Fifth, it would provide the Federal Government with authority to reduce highway speed limits throughout the Nation.

And finally, it would expand the power of the Government's regulatory agencies to adjust the schedules of planes, ships, and other carriers.

If shortages persist despite all of these actions and despite inevitable increases in the price of energy products, it may then become necessary—may become necessary—to take even stronger measures.

It is only prudent that we be ready to cut the consumption of oil products, such as gasoline, by rationing or by a fair system of taxation, and consequently, I have directed that contingency plans, if this becomes necessary, be prepared for that purpose.

Now, some of you may wonder whether we are turning back the clock to another age. Gas rationing, oil shortages, reduced speed limits—they all sound like a way of life we left behind with Glenn Miller and the war of the forties. Well, in fact, part of our current problem also stems from war—the war in the Middle East. But our deeper energy problems come not from war, but from peace and from abundance. We are running out of energy today because our economy has grown enormously and because in prosperity what were once considered luxuries are now considered necessities.

How many of you can remember when it was very unusual to have a home air-conditioned? And yet, this is very common in almost all parts of the Nation.

As a result, the average American will consume as much energy in the next 7 days as most other people in the world will consume in an entire year. We have only 6 percent of the world's people in America, but we consume over 30 percent of all the energy in the world.

Now, our growing demands have bumped up against the limits of available supply, and until we provide new sources of energy for tomorrow, we must be prepared to tighten our belts today.

Let me turn now to our long-range plans.

While a resolution of the immediate crisis is our highest priority, we must also act now to prevent a recurrence of such a crisis in the future. This is a matter of bipartisan concern. It is going to require a bipartisan response.

Two years ago, in the first energy message any President has ever sent to the Congress, I called attention to our urgent energy problem. Last April, this year, I reaffirmed to the Congress the magnitude of that problem, and I called for action on seven major legislative initiatives. Again in June, I called for action. I have done so frequently since then.

But thus far, not one major energy bill that I have asked for has been enacted. . . .

Our failure to act now on our long-term energy problems could seriously endanger the capacity of our farms and of our factories to employ Americans at record-breaking rates—nearly 86 million people are now at work in this country—and to provide the highest standard of living we or any other nation has ever known in history.

It could reduce the capacity of our farmers to provide the food we need. It could jeopardize our entire transportation system. It could seriously weaken the ability of America to continue to give the leadership which only we can provide to keep the peace that we have won at such great cost for thousands of our finest young Americans.

That is why it is time to act now on vital energy legislation that will affect our daily lives, not just this year, but for years to come.

We must have the legislation now which will authorize construction of the Alaska pipeline—legislation which is not burdened with irrelevant and unnecessary provisions.

We must have legislative authority to encourage production of our vast quantities of natural gas, one of the cleanest and best sources of energy.

We must have the legal ability to set reasonable standards for the surface mining of coal.

And we must have the organizational structures to meet and administer our energy programs.

And therefore, tonight, as I did this morning in meeting with the Congressional leaders, I again urge the Congress to give its attention to the initiatives I recommended 6 months ago to meet these needs that I have described.

Finally, I have stressed repeatedly the necessity of increasing our energy research and development efforts. Last June, I announced a 5-year, $10 billion program to develop better ways of using energy and to explore and develop new energy sources. Last month, I announced plans for an immediate acceleration of that program.

We can take heart from the fact that we in the United States have half the world's known coal reserves. We have huge, untapped sources of natural gas. We have the most advanced nuclear technology known to man. We have oil in our continental shelves. We have oil shale out in the western part of the United States, and we have some of the finest technical and scientific minds in the world. In short, we have all the resources we need to meet the great challenge before us. Now we must demonstrate the will to meet that challenge.

[. . .]

Today the challenge is to regain the strength that we had earlier in this century, the strength of self-sufficiency. Our ability to meet our own energy needs is directly limited to our continued ability to act decisively and independently at home and abroad in the service of peace, not only for America but for all nations in the world.

I have ordered funding of this effort to achieve self-sufficiency far in excess of the funds that were expended on the Manhattan Project. But money is only one of the ingredients essential to the success of such a project. We must also have a unified commitment to that goal. We must have unified direction of the effort to accomplish it.

Because of the urgent need for an organization that would provide focused leadership for this effort, I am asking the Congress to consider my proposal for an Energy Research and Development Administration, separate from any other organizational initiatives, and to enact this legislation in the present session of the Congress.

Let us unite in committing the resources of this Nation to a major new endeavor, an endeavor that in this Bicentennial Era we can appropriately call "Project Independence."

Let us set as our national goal, in the spirit of Apollo, with the determination of the Manhattan Project, that by the end of this decade we will have developed the potential to meet our own energy needs without depending on any foreign energy sources.

Let us pledge that by 1980, under Project Independence, we shall be able to meet America's energy needs from America's own energy resources.

[. . .]

Source: Richard Nixon, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1973* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), 916–922.

28. OAPEC Member Countries, Communiqué Issued after Meeting in Kuwait, December 25, 1973 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Having inflicted major economic difficulties on the United States and European nations by means of their oil embargo, Arab oil ministers were determined to continue their pressure on Israel's international backers. Meeting at Kuwait in late December 1973, oil ministers of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) discussed what further measures they should take. They had, they stated, initially planned to cut oil supplies in January 1974 by an additional 5 percent, which would have meant an overall 30 percent cut in supplies since October 1973. Instead, they chose to reduce the overall cut to a mere 15 percent that month. The oil ministers' communiqué, issued at the end of the meeting, stated that since Japanese policy had moved in a pro-Arab direction since the embargo was first imposed, no further cuts would be imposed on supplies to Japan. Belgium received similar treatment. "[C]ertain friendly countries" were promised levels of oil supplies even higher than those they had been receiving in September 1973. Rather complacently, the Arab ministers noted that American public and congressional opinion was becoming less pro-Israeli and more pro-Arab, even though for the time being the Arab ministers still intended to maintain the oil embargo against the United States. They stated their intention of meeting again in February 1974, at which time, they implied, they would reconsider their position on oil exports to various nations. The partial restoration of Arab output may have stemmed in part from a wish to increase oil revenues. The tone of the communiqué also, however,

distinctly suggested that the Arab oil ministers were enjoying their power of toying with the various states, favoring those who took a pro-Arab line while punishing those who did not.

Primary Source

Meeting in Kuwait, the Arab Oil Ministers were addressed by His Excellency Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, Saudi Arabian Minister for Oil and Mining Resources, and His Excellency Belaid Abdesselam, Minister of Industry and Energy of the Algerian Republic. Referring to the results of their visits to certain western capitals, the two Ministers described their impressions and made proposals, taking account of the results and effects of their visits.

The Ministers present considered the real aim of the oil measures they had taken and which was to make international public opinion aware—without however bringing about an economic collapse which might affect one or more of the world's nations—of the injustice done to the Arab nation as a result of the occupation of its territories and the expulsion of an entire Arab people, the Palestinian people.

They again reaffirmed—as stated continuously since 17th October—that the measures taken should in no way affect friendly countries, thus drawing a very clear distinction between those who support the Arabs, those who support the enemy and those who remain neutral.

The Arab Ministers present noted the changes which had occurred in Japanese policy towards the Arab cause as demonstrated in several ways, including the visit by the Japanese Deputy Prime Minister to certain Arab countries. They also took account of Japan's difficult economic situation and decided to accord it special treatment, excluding it completely from the application of the general cut in output in order to protect the Japanese economy and in the hope that the Japanese Government will appreciate this position and persevere in its fair and equitable attitude towards the Arab cause.

The Arab Ministers also considered Belgium's political stand. They decided not to apply the planned cut to its oil supplies and authorised the transit of its supplies through the Netherlands, provided there were full guarantees that all such oil would be delivered to Belgium. Furthermore, they decided to meet the real requirements of certain friendly countries even if such supplies raised their imports above the September 1973 level and provided Arab oil supplied to them was not diverted and did not replace oil from non-Arab sources.

In order to ensure the application of the abovementioned decisions, the Arab Ministers present decided to increase output in their respective countries by 10% as compared with September output, the new cut in output thus being reduced from 25% to 15%. They also decided not to apply the 5% cut planned for January.

The Arab Ministers present noted with satisfaction the progressive trend emerging in American public opinion. Certain government circles are thus beginning to become aware of Arab problems and expansionist Israeli policy. This has been particularly clear in the objective and neutral positions towards the Arab-Israeli problem adopted by certain members of the American Senate and House of Representatives.

The Arab Oil Ministers hope that the desire of the American Government to help to find a peaceful and fair solution is a positive factor which will allow beneficial results to be achieved for all the nations of the world and for bilateral relations between the American nation and the Arab nations in particular. The embargo will be maintained for the United States and the Netherlands.

[. . .]

Source: Western European Union, "Communiqué Issued after the OAPEC Ministerial Meeting (Kuwait, 25 December 1973)," *Western European Union Assembly-General Affairs Committee: A Retrospective View of the Political Year in Europe 1973,* April 1974, pp. 323–324.

29. Washington Conference, Final Communiqué, February 13, 1974

Introduction

Western leaders continued to seek coordinated policies to address the energy crisis and the economic difficulties it encouraged and intensified. In an effort to devise a common strategy to deal with these issues, in February 1974 European finance and energy ministers met in Washington, D.C., to review the situation and its implications. The final communiqué they issued called for concerted efforts by all nations, including the oil-producing and oil-consuming countries, to manage supply and demand and address the inflationary consequences of high oil prices and the impact they were likely to have on international transfers and on poorer developing nations. As meetings and leaders had previously done, the communiqué urged measures to conserve energy and restrict demand and the maximal development of both existing and alternative energy sources. The communiqué proposed greater cooperation among governments and such financial institutions as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to handle the consequences of the disruptions to the existing balance-of-payments situation caused by major increases in oil and energy prices. Taking up one of the major grievances of both Arab states and many consumers, they "agreed to examine in detail the role of international oil companies." In a nod to ecological concerns, the finance ministers affirmed their commitment to protecting

the "natural environment." As with many such declarations, much of this communiqué remained a dead letter, and throughout the 1970s oil-consuming governments around the world proved largely ineffective in addressing the damaging economic and political consequences of high oil prices.

Primary Source

Summary Statement

1. Foreign Ministers of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, the United Kingdom, and the United States met in Washington from 11 to 13 February 1974. The European Community was represented as such by the President of the Council and the President of the Commission. Finance Ministers, Ministers with responsibility for Energy Affairs, Economic Affairs and Science and Technology Affairs also took part in the meeting. The Secretary-General of the OECD also participated in the meeting. The Ministers examined the international energy situation and its implications and charted a course of actions to meet this challenge which requires constructive and comprehensive solutions. To this end they agreed on specific steps to provide for effective international cooperation. The Ministers affirmed that solutions to the world's energy problem should be sought in consultation with producer countries and other consumers.

Analysis of the Situation

2. They noted that during the past three decades progress in improving productivity and standards of living was greatly facilitated by the ready availability of increasing supplies of energy at fairly stable prices. They recognized that the problem of meeting growing demand existed before the current situation and that the needs of the world economy for increased energy supplies require positive long-term solutions.

3. They concluded that the current energy situation results from an intensification of these underlying factors and from political developments.

4. They reviewed the problems created by the large rise in oil prices and agreed with the serious concern expressed by the International Monetary Fund's Committee of Twenty at its recent Rome meeting over the abrupt and significant changes in prospect for the world balance of payments structure.

5. They agreed that present petroleum prices presented the structure of world trade and finance with an unprecedented situation. They recognized that none of the consuming countries could hope to insulate itself from these developments, or expect to deal with the payments impact of oil prices by the adoption of monetary or trade measures alone. In their view, the present situation, if continued, could lead to serious deterioration in income and employment, intensify inflationary pressures, and endanger the welfare of nations. They believed that financial measures by themselves will not be able to deal with the strains of the current situation.

6. They expressed their particular concern about the consequences of the situation for the developing countries and recognized the need for efforts by the entire international community to resolve this problem. At current oil prices the additional energy costs for developing countries will cause a serious setback to the prospect for economic development of these countries.

General Conclusions

7. They affirmed that, in the pursuit of national policies, whether in the trade, monetary or energy fields, efforts should be made to harmonize the interests of each country on the one hand and the maintenance of the world economic system on the other. Concerted international cooperation between all the countries concerned including oil producing countries could help to accelerate an improvement in the supply and demand situation, ameliorate the adverse economic consequences of the existing situation and lay the groundwork for a more equitable and stable international energy relationship.

8. They felt that these considerations taken as a whole made it essential that there should be a substantial increase of international cooperation in all fields. Each participant in the Conference stated its firm intention to do its utmost to contribute to such an aim, in close cooperation both with the other consumer countries and with the producer countries.

9.(1) They concurred in the need for a comprehensive action programme to deal with all facets of the world energy situation by cooperative measures. In so doing they will build on the work of the OECD. They recognized that they may wish to invite, as appropriate, other countries to join with them in these efforts. Such an action programme of international cooperation would include, as appropriate, the sharing of means and efforts, while concerting national policies, in such areas as:

(a) the conservation of energy and restraint of demand;

(b) a system of allocating oil supplies in times of emergency and severe shortages;

(c) the acceleration of development of additional energy sources so as to diversify energy supplies;

(d) the acceleration of energy research and development programmes through international cooperative efforts.

10. With respect to monetary and economic questions, they decided to intensify their cooperation and to give impetus to the work being undertaken in the IMF, the World Bank and the OECD on the economic and monetary consequences of the current energy situation, in particular to deal with balance of payments disequilibria. They agreed that:

(i) In dealing with the balance of payments impact of oil prices they stressed the importance of avoiding competitive depreciation and the escalation of restrictions on trade and payments or disruptive actions in external borrowing.(1)

(ii) While financial cooperation can only partially alleviate the problems which have recently arisen for the international economic system, they will intensify work on short-term financial measures and possible longer-term mechanisms to reinforce existing official and market credit facilities.(1)

(iii) They will pursue domestic economic policies which will reduce as much as possible the difficulties resulting from the current energy cost levels.(1)

(iv) They will make strenuous efforts to maintain and enlarge the flow of development aid bilaterally and through multilateral institutions, on the basis of international solidarity embracing all countries with appropriate resources.

11. Further, they have agreed to accelerate wherever practicable their own national programmes of new energy sources and technology which will help the overall worldwide supply and demand situation.

12. They agreed to examine in detail the role of international oil companies.

13. They stressed the continued importance of maintaining and improving the natural environment as part of developing energy sources and agreed to make this an important goal of their activity.

14. They further agreed that there was need to develop a cooperative multilateral relationship with producing countries, and other consuming countries that takes into account the long-term interests of all. They are ready to exchange technical information with these countries on the problem of stabilizing energy supplies with regard to quantity and prices.

15. They welcomed the initiatives in the UN to deal with the larger issues of energy and primary products at a worldwide level and in particular for a special session of the UN General Assembly.

Establishment of follow-on Machinery

16.(1) They agreed to establish a coordinating group headed by senior officials to direct and to coordinate the development of the actions referred to above. The coordinating group shall decide how best to organize its work. It should:

(a) Monitor and give focus to the tasks that might be addressed in existing organizations;

(b) Establish such ad hoc working groups as may be necessary to undertake tasks for which there are presently no suitable bodies;

(c) Direct preparations of a conference of consumer and producer countries which will be held at the earliest possible opportunity and which, if necessary, will be preceded by a further meeting of consumer countries.

17.(1) They agreed that the preparations for such meetings should involve consultations with developing countries and other consumer and producer countries.

(1) *France does not accept this paragraph.*

Source: "Final Communiqué of the Washington Conference," *Bulletin of the European Communities* 2 (February 1974): 19–22.

30. The Algiers Agreement, March 6, 1975

Introduction

A long-standing territorial dispute over navigation rights in the strategic Shatt al-Arab waterway dividing Iran and Iraq had been a source of contention between the two states ever since the 17th century. After World War I, British advisers in Iraq observed the thalweg principle: that the dividing line between the two states ran along the middle of the river. The controversy burgeoned again after World War II, and under Saddam Hussein Iraq claimed the entire waterway, Iraq's only outlet to the Persian Gulf, as far as the Iranian shore for a length of 200 miles inland. In 1975 Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran and Hussein, then vice president of Iraq's Revolutionary Council, met in Algiers and reached an agreement. Iraq accepted the thalweg principle in return for greater access to the river; Iran also agreed to end its support for Iraqi guerrillas who opposed Hussein's Baathist government. Iraq's decision in 1980 to abrogate this agreement was the immediate cause of the bloody eight-year war between Iran and Iraq.

Primary Source

The two High Contracting Parties have decided to:

First: Carry out a final delineation of their land boundaries in accordance with the Constantinople Protocol of 1913 and the Proceedings of the Border Delimitation Commission of 1914.

Second: Demarcate their river boundaries according to the thalweg line.

Third: Accordingly, the two parties shall restore security and mutual confidence along their joint borders. They shall also commit themselves to carry out a strict and effective observation of their joint borders so as to put an end to all infiltrations of a subversive nature wherever they may come from.

Fourth: The two parties have also agreed to consider the aforesaid arrangements as inseparable elements of a comprehensive solution. Consequently, any infringement of one of its components shall naturally contradict the spirit of the Algiers Accord. The two parties shall remain in constant contact with President Houari Boumedienne who shall provide, when necessary, Algeria's brotherly assistance whenever needed in order to apply these resolutions.

The two parties have decided to restore the traditional ties of good neighbourliness and friendship, in particular by eliminating all negative factors in their relations and through constant exchange of views on issues of mutual interest and promotion of mutual co-operation.

The two parties officially declare that the region ought to be secure from any foreign interference.

The Foreign Ministers of Iraq and Iran shall meet in the presence of Algeria's Foreign Minister on 15 March 1975 in Tehran in order to make working arrangements for the Iraqi-Iranian joint commission which was set up to apply the resolutions taken by mutual agreement as specified above. And in accordance with the desire of the two parties, Algeria shall be invited to the meetings of the Iraqi-Iranian joint commission. The commission shall determine its agenda and working procedures and hold meetings if necessary. The meetings shall be alternately held in Baghdad and Tehran.

His Majesty the Shah accepted with pleasure the invitation extended to him by His Excellency President Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr to pay a state visit to Iraq. The date of the visit shall be fixed by mutual agreement.

On the other hand, Saddam Hussein agreed to visit Iran officially at a date to be fixed by the two parties.

HM the Shah of Iran and Saddam Hussein expressed their deep gratitude to President Houari Boumedienne, who, motivated by brotherly sentiments and a spirit of disinterestedness, worked for the establishment of a direct contact between the leaders of the two countries and consequently contributed to reviving a new era in the Iraqi-Iranian relations with a view to achieving the higher interests of the future of the region in question.

Source: "Algiers Accord—1975," Mideast Web, http://www.mideastweb.org/algiersaccord.htm.

31. President Jimmy Carter, Toast at a State Dinner, Tehran, Iran, December 31, 1977 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Like his predecessors since the 1950s, U.S. president Jimmy Carter regarded Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran as a key U.S. ally and his country as a bulwark of stability in the Persian Gulf region. In the last days of 1977 and the beginning of 1978, the president toured seven European, Middle Eastern, and Asian countries, spending New Year's Eve in Tehran. At a lavish state banquet hosted by the shah and Empress Farah Diva, Carter lauded their accomplishments in Iran, which he described as "an island of stability in one of the more troubled areas of the world." There was, he said, "no other nation on Earth who is closer to us in planning for our mutual security." He hoped that the two would work closely together to solve regional and international problems. Carter also told the shah how impressed he was by the "transformation" of Iran due to the shah's leadership. The president commented especially on the warm and friendly welcome that he himself had received from thousands of Iranian people as his motorcade passed through the streets earlier that day. He reminded his listeners that many young Iranians were at that time studying in the United States, just as 30,000 Americans were working in Iran, and expressed his hopes that such ties would result in generations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries. In light of subsequent events, the president's comments would come to seem particularly ironic. Just over a year later, popular discontent forced the embattled shah to leave Iran, and the country's new Islamic leadership proved itself bitterly hostile to the United States.

Primary Source

Your Majesties and distinguished leaders of Iran from all walks of life: I would like to say just a few words tonight in appreciation for your hospitality and the delightful evening that we've already experienced with you. Some have asked why we came to Iran so close behind the delightful visit that we received from the Shah and Empress Farah just a month or so ago. After they left our country, I asked my wife, "With whom would you like to spend

New Year's Eve?" And she said, "Above all others, I think, with the Shah and Empress Farah." So we arranged the trip accordingly and came to be with you.

[. . .]

But we do have a close friendship that's very meaningful to all the people in our country. I think it is a good harbinger of things to come—that we could close out [the] Administration of Jimmy Carter, 1977 Dec. 31 this year and begin a new year with those in whom we have such great confidence and with whom we share such great responsibilities for the present and for the future.

[. . .]

Iran, because of the great leadership of the Shah, is an island of stability in one of the more troubled areas of the world.

This is a great tribute to you, Your Majesty, and to your leadership and to the respect and the admiration and love which your people give to you.

The transformation that has taken place in this nation is indeed remarkable under your leadership. And as we sat together this afternoon, discussing privately for a few moments what might be done to bring peace to the Middle East, I was profoundly impressed again not only with your wisdom and your judgment and your sensitivity and insight but also with the close compatibility that we found in addressing this difficult question.

As we visit with leaders who have in their hands the responsibility for making decisions that can bring peace to the Middle East and ensure a peaceful existence for all of us who live in the world, no matter where our nations might be, it's important that we continue to benefit from your sound judgment and from your good advice.

We also had a chance to discuss another potential troubled area, the Horn of Africa. And here again we live at a great distance from it. But this region, which already sees the initiation of hostility and combat, needs to be brought under the good influence of you and others who live in this region. And we will be glad to cooperate in any way that we can. We want peace to return. We want Somalia and Ethiopia to be friends again, border disputes to be eased and those of us who do have any influence at all to use that influence for these purposes.

We have also known about the great benefits that we derive in our own nation from the close business relationships that we have with Iran.

As I drove through the beautiful streets of Tehran today with the Shah, we saw literally thousands of Iranian citizens standing beside the street with a friendly attitude, expressing their welcome to me. And I also saw hundreds, perhaps even thousands of American citizens who stand there welcoming their President in a nation which has taken them to heart and made them feel at home. There are about 30,000 Americans here who work in close harmony with the people of Iran to carve out a better future for you, which also helps to ensure, Your Majesty, a better future for ourselves.

We share industrial growth, we share scientific achievements, we share research and development knowledge, and this gives us the stability for the present which is indeed valuable to both our countries.

We are also blessed with the largest number of foreign students in our country from your own nation. And I think this ensures, too, that we share the knowledge that is engendered by our great universities, but also that when these young leaders come back to your country for many years in the future, for many generations in the future, our friendship is ensured. We are very grateful for this and value it very much. . . .

[. . .]

The cause of human rights is one that also is shared deeply by our people and by the leaders of our two nations.

Our talks have been priceless, our friendship is irreplaceable, and my own gratitude is to the Shah, who in his wisdom and with his experience has been so helpful to me, a new leader.

We have no other nation on Earth who is closer to us in planning for our mutual military security. We have no other nation with whom we have closer consultation on regional problems that concern us both. And there is no leader with whom I have a deeper sense of personal gratitude and personal friendship.

On behalf of the people of the United States, I would like to offer a toast at this time to the great leaders of Iran, the Shah and the Shahbanou and to the people of Iran and to the world peace that we hope together we can help to bring.

Source: Jimmy Carter, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Jimmy Carter, 1977,* Book 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978), 2220–2222.

32. President Jimmy Carter, Remarks in an Interview with Barbara Walters Warning the Soviet Union Not to Interfere in Iran, December 14, 1978

Introduction

In November 1978 President Jimmy Carter stated that he did not believe that the Soviet Union was responsible for the growing domestic unrest within Iran. In an attempt to ensure that this continued to be the case, the U.S. government took direct action. In an interview one month later with the well-known television journalist Barbara Walters, Carter confirmed the accuracy of reports that in the previous two weeks he had exchanged letters with Soviet secretary-general Leonid Brezhnev. In this correspondence the president had "made it very clear" that the United States "ha[d] no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Iran" but that neither would it permit other powers to meddle there. The president told Walters that there was no evidence that the Soviet Union had sought to influence the course of events within Iran. He expressed "support" for the shah's efforts to engage in dialogue with opposition leaders and establish a more broadly based democratic government committed to social change. When pressed by Walters to expand on his words that "We support [the shah] fully" by stating whether this support was "primarily verbal" and what "action" the United States might take should it seems likely that the shah would fall, Carter refused to speculate. Told by her that "if the Shah does fall, it threatens our oil supply, it threatens Israel's oil supply, it threatens Saudi Arabia, it threatens the whole Persian Gulf," Carter declined "conjecturing on something that's hypothetical." He merely expressed the hope that Iran would continue to enjoy fundamental "stability." At this point, the president clearly wished to keep all options open while refraining from any move that might be considered direct intervention in Iranian affairs and could potentially inflame American relations with both Iran and the Soviet Union.

Primary Source

MS. WALTERS. Mr. President, there are reports that you've recently sent messages to the Soviet Union, warning them to keep hands off of Iran. Can you confirm these, and can you tell us if you have any information on Russian involvement in Iran?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, that's accurate.

MS. WALTERS. You have sent the letters?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. President Brezhnev and I exchanged messages.

MS. WALTERS. Recently?

THE PRESIDENT. Within the last few weeks, a couple of weeks. And I made it very clear to them, to the Soviets, that we have no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Iran and that we have no intention of permitting others to interfere in the internal affairs of Iran.

I think it's good to point out, Barbara, that Iran has a 2,500-year history of statecraft, of managing their own affairs properly. Obviously, they've had ups and downs, as we have in our own country. But there's a certain stability there, a certain inclination and capability of the Iranians to govern themselves that I think is a stabilizing factor. We don't know what changes will take place.

MS. WALTERS. Have the Russians been involved, sir, that you know of?

THE PRESIDENT. As far as we know, they have not. We monitor the situation closely. Obviously, there is a Communist party there, the Tudeh party, which perhaps is inclined to encourage violence or disruption in order to change the existing government. But the Shah is communicating with opposition leaders. He is committed to a broader base for the government. He is working toward democratic principles and social change. And he has been embattled lately. And we obviously support him fully.

MS. WALTERS. When we talk about support, what do we mean today, 1978, post-Vietnam, by support? For example, if the Shah does fall, it threatens our oil supply, it threatens Israel's oil supply, it threatens Saudi Arabia, it threatens the whole Persian Gulf. At what point would support turn into action and what kind of action, if any?

THE PRESIDENT. I am not prepared to answer that question.

MS. WALTERS. Because there is no answer, or because—

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the answer is difficult. But I think just conjecturing on something that's hypothetical like that, assuming all the catastrophes that might possibly occur in the Persian Gulf, is something on which I don't want to comment. I don't think it's going to happen. And if I were to surmise that if it happens, we would do this, it would be interpreted by some as an actual prediction by me that it's going to happen, and I don't think it's going to happen.

MS. WALTERS. Is support primarily verbal support?

THE PRESIDENT. No. We have treaty agreements with Iran. We have strong defense agreements with Iran. We look on Iran, as do their neighbors, as being a stabilizing factor. Even the Soviet Union shares a long border with Iran. I'm sure they want stability there

on their border. Exactly the formation of the government—I can't speak for the Soviets, but I think that for world peace and for the Soviets, and for us, certainly for the entire Middle East–Persian Gulf region, a stability is desirable, and that's what we want, also.

Source: Jimmy Carter, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Jimmy Carter, 1978,* Book 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), 2255–2256.

33. U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, News Conference Statement on Permission for the Shah of Iran to Come to the United States for Medical Treatment, October 26, 1979

Introduction

One reason Mohammad Shah Reza Pahlavi left Iran in January 1979 was his need for medical treatment for advanced cancer. Initially the U.S. government offered to accept the shah, but he chose to go elsewhere, to Egypt, Morocco, the Bahamas, and Mexico. As his health deteriorated, the shah hoped to visit American medical facilities in New York City. President Jimmy Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance were initially reluctant to permit this. In February 1979 a fundamentalist Islamic regime, whose leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, anathematized the United States, considering it the seat of atheistic irreligion, seized power in Tehran. Carter and Vance did not wish to inflame American-Iranian relations further by offering the shah asylum. In September 1979 Vance told a group in New York that it would not be in the American "national interest" to admit the shah at that juncture. Under pressure from longtime associates of the shah, including former secretary of state Henry Kissinger and Chase Manhattan Bank officials David Rockefeller and John J. McCloy, in late October 1979 the Carter administration reversed this policy. The shah was permitted to make a brief stopover in the United States, solely for medical treatment. His arrival proved the trigger for young Iranian militants to storm the U.S. embassy in Tehran and take its American personnel hostage, the beginning of a lengthy crisis that would not be resolved until January 1981. Unwilling to provoke yet more troubles, U.S. officials pressed the shah to leave the country once his medical treatment was completed, and he did so on December 15, 1979, traveling first to Panama and then on to Cairo, Egypt, where he died in July 1980.

Primary Source

Q. Is the Shah of Iran going to be allowed to stay in this country to receive his chemotherapy treatments, and who made the arrangements to bring him into the country?

A. [Vance] The Shah was allowed to come into the country for humanitarian purposes when he indicated that there was a possibility that his health was deteriorating. We, of course, worked with him and helped to set up arrangements whereby he could come and receive the tests, treatment, and, eventually, the operation. He obviously will be allowed to remain however long it takes for his recuperation.

Source: "Question and Answer Session in Gainesville," *Department of State Bulletin* 79(2033) (1979): 23.

34. President Jimmy Carter, Proclamation No. 4702 Prohibiting Petroleum Imports from Iran, November 12, 1979

Introduction

On November 4, 1979, young Iranian militants, infuriated by the decision of President Jimmy Carter to allow the exiled Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran to enter the United States for medical treatment, seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran and took prisoner 63 American diplomats and 3 civilians. This was the beginning of the Iran Hostage Crisis, which lasted 444 days. A few Americans were released fairly expeditiously, mostly for medical reasons, but 52 remained hostages until January 20, 1991, the last day of Carter's presidency. The episode marked the beginning of many years of deep antagonism between the United States and Iran. Carter responded by imposing a wide range of economic sanctions upon Iran. In the previous year Iranian oil exports to the West had already dwindled dramatically, largely due to the prevailing disorder in that country. On November 12, 1979, Carter issued a proclamation formally banning all petroleum imports from Iran to the United States, the beginning of a wide range of sanctions that were expanded in April 1980, when the United States broke diplomatic relations with Iran and forbade virtually all economic dealings between American citizens and companies and Iran, and would last more than a decade and amount to an effective embargo on all trade between Iran and the United States. While these measures damaged Iran economically, they had little or no impact in terms of persuading its fundamentalist Islamic regime to alter its anti-Western policies. Carter, meanwhile, urged Americans to make every effort to use less energy, which would in turn reduce their country's dependence on foreign oil.

Primary Source

Imports of Petroleum and Petroleum Products

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The Secretary of the Treasury in a memorandum dated November 12, 1979, and the Secretary of Energy in consultation with the Secretaries of State and Defense, have informed me that recent developments in Iran have exacerbated the threat to the national security posed by imports of petroleum and petroleum products. Those developments underscore the threat to our national security which results from our reliance on Iran as a source of crude oil. The Secretaries have recommended that I take steps immediately to eliminate the dependence of the United States on Iran as a source of crude oil.

I agree with these recommendations and that the changes proposed are consistent with the purposes of Proclamation 3279, as amended.

Now, THEREFORE, I, JIMMY CARTER, President of the United States of America, by the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, including Section 232 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, as amended, (19 U.S.C. 1862) do hereby proclaim that:

SECTION 1. Section 1 of Proclamation 3279, as amended, is further amended by the addition of a new paragraph (e) to read as follows:

Sec. l (e). Notwithstanding any other provision of this Proclamation, no crude oil produced in Iran (except crude oil loaded aboard maritime vessels prior to November 13, 1979) or unfinished oil or finished products refined in possessions or free trade zones of the United States from such crude oil, may be entered into the customs territory of the United States.

SEC. 2. Section 11 of Proclamation No. 3279, as amended, is further amended in paragraph (1) to read as follows:

(1) The term "imports", when applied to crude oil other than that produced in Iran, includes both entry for consumption and withdrawal from warehouse for consumption, but excludes unfinished oil and finished products processed in the United States territories and foreign trade zones from crude oil produced in the United States.

Source: Jimmy Carter, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Jimmy Carter, 1979,* Book 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980), 2110–2111.

35. President Jimmy Carter, Executive Order No. 12170 Blocking Iranian Government Assets in the United States, November 14, 1979

Introduction

Two days after issuing Proclamation No. 4702 prohibiting petroleum imports from Iran, President Jimmy Carter followed up with an executive order freezing all Iranian government assets in the United States. This meant that the Iranian government could no longer access any funds, investments, or property it held in the United States. These were to be administered by the secretary of the U.S. Treasury. It was estimated that Iranian government assets in the United States amounted to US$8 billion, a sizable portion of the regime's overseas assets. Denying the government of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini access to these was an important bargaining tool in the Algerian-brokered negotiations that eventually brought the Iran Hostage Crisis to an end.

Primary Source

Blocking Iranian Government Property

Executive Order 12170

November 14, 1979

Pursuant to the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States including the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C.A. sec. 1701 et seq., the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. sec. 1601 et seq., and 3 U.S.C. sec. 301, I, JIMMY CARTER, President of the United States, find that the situation in Iran constitutes an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy and economy of the United States and hereby declare a national emergency to deal with that threat.

I hereby order blocked all property and interests in property of the Government of Iran, its instrumentalities and controlled entities and the Central Bank of Iran which are or become subject to the jurisdiction of the United States or which are in or come within the possession or control of persons subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to employ all powers granted to me by the International Emergency Economic Powers Act to carry out the provisions of this order.

This order is effective immediately and shall be transmitted to the Congress and published in the FEDERAL REGISTER.

JIMMY CARTER

Source: Jimmy Carter, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Jimmy Carter, 1979,* Book 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980), 2118–2119.

36. Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Decree Authorizing Introduction of Soviet Troops to Afghanistan, December 12, 1979, and Account by Anatoly Chernyaev of Deliberations Leading Up to This Decision, February 26, 1993 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In December 1979, Soviet leaders decided to send troops to intervene in Afghanistan and issued a decree to this effect. In February 1993 Anatoly Sergeevich Chernyaev of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, who served as Soviet secretary-general and president Mikhail Gorbachev's personal adviser on foreign affairs from 1986 to 1991, reflected on this decision at a conference of top-level Soviet and U.S. decision makers held at Princeton University. Chernyaev, who was serving in the Foreign Ministry at the time, put the blame for the decision squarely upon four individuals: Defense Minister Dmitry Ustinov, Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko, KGB head Yuri Andropov, and Boris Ponomarev, head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The ailing Soviet secretary-general Leonid Brezhnev, the country's nominal supreme leader, apparently had very little to do with choosing this foreign policy option, and those who made the decision were probably jockeying for position in the leadership contest that they knew would follow the declining Brezhnev's death or retirement. Alexander Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh, who became Soviet foreign minister in 1991 and was also present at the Princeton conference, was as critical as Chernyaev of this decision, describing it as "the complete breakdown of the policy-making standard." Chernyaev detailed how, immediately after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, a group of prominent scholars analyzed the situation and concluded that their country had embarked on "a reckless adventure that will end very badly for us." Their report, however, was suppressed for years. Only when Mikhail Gorbachev came to power did the Soviet leadership decide to end the military intervention in Afghanistan, and even then it took him four years to accomplish this.

Primary Source

Central Committee CPSU Decree Authorizing Introduction of Soviet Troops to Afghanistan, 12/12/1979

Chaired by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev

Decree of the CC of the CPSU

On the Situation in "A"

I. To approve the considerations and measures set forth by comrades Andropov Yu. V., Ustinov D. F., and Gromyko A. A.

To permit them, in the course of implementing these measures, to make minor adjustments to them.

Issues requiring decisions of the CC are to be raised in a timely fashion with the Politburo.

Implementation of all these measures is assigned to comrades Ustinov D. F., and Gromyko, A. A. to keep the Politburo informed about the progress of carrying out the projected measures.

Secretary of the CC L. Brezhnev

Account by Anatoly Chernyaev of Deliberations Leading up to the Decision

Mr. Oberdorfer: There was an announcement of the Carter doctrine in 1980: Any threat to the Persian Gulf would be responded to by the United States. Something which didn't come into play that time though it did during the Bush administration.

Mr. Shiltz: That was in Reagan administration, too and it's still out there as far as I know.

Mr. Saunders: It was actually written into a presidential speech at the last minute—again, without broad government consensus. Here is another decision, this one on the American side, in which things happened at high levels without the[m] necessarily thinking through the long-term implications.

Mr. Oberdorfer: Mr. Chernyaev—

Mr. Chernyaev: We really very often are amazed at how much analytical ability goes into explaining why the Soviet leadership decided to invade Afghanistan. There is the assumption that it was a rational decision. The U.S. analysts seem to think for the Kremlin, the KGB, and the Central Committee, and they try to rationally explain what happened and why it happened. But the trouble is that there was nothing of the kind going on in the Central Committee or in the KGB in the way of rational analytical work.

Mr. Bessmertnykh speaks about ideological reasons. I would agree with that, with one correction. It was mostly ideological justification. As far as the initiators are concerned, people like Ustinov—and also, I would say, Gromyko—really did not care

much about any ideology. The argument that we were trying to strengthen the security of our southern borders, or even that were pushing toward warm seas, is really total nonsense because everyone understood that we had no need for strengthening security over there at that time, with the overall strategic situation the way it was. Those who initiated the invasion were smart enough to understand that making Afghanistan a socialist country, a part of what was called the socialist community, was utterly absurd; it was totally crazy.

So what was it? It was the manifestation of a totally arbitrary and irresponsible approach to policy making that was typical of the Soviet leadership at that time. There is no document that shows who first had that crazy idea of moving troops into Afghanistan. Of course, in the International Department of the Central Committee we tended to blame Gromyko, and I still do not rule out that he was the one into whose head this kind of idea came. But I know that before that formal meeting of the Politburo, even these that voted, had nothing to do with developing that decision.

It was a decision of four persons: Ustinov, Gromyko, Andropov, and Ponomarev. Ustinov and Gromyko were totally in favor of acting boldly, of moving with troops, sending Karmal down there and installing him in Kabul. The idea was very simple: ["]Well, it's there, why not move in? Why not do it on the cheap?" There had been the assassination of Mr. Taraki, the previous Afghan leader. Amin was behaving in a way that looked like he could not be controlled. So why not install a person with whom it would be easier to deal? That was the entire theory behind that. That was all.

It is said that there were some doubts and hesitation on the part of Andropov. I don't believe that very much, because I feel that a lot of the decision would not have been possible without the reports from his people. So had he had doubts, he would have said so. As for Ponomarev, he knew that even in the Communist parties and the democratic organizations that wouldn't be welcomed, and therefore he rather weakly expressed some doubts. But of course, then he very quickly reoriented himself, saluted, and toed the general line.

Ponomarev was aware of my previous discussion with Mr. Wallace, who was a member of the British Communist Party and who knew the situation in the region very, very well. He was an expert. After the Taraki assassination, Wallace came to see me and we discussed the situation. He asked me, "What are you going to do?" I said, "What should we do? We won't do anything, I think." I said that Taraki had invited Soviet troops to come in thirteen times and we had refused. Then he laughed and said "Well if you choose to do it, ask us, the British, because we have a lot of experience being there."

And a week after the invasion a group of Soviet scholars sent a report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Gorbachev later said in a meeting of the Politburo that he became aware of this report after he became general secretary. The group of scholars who sent that paper was headed by professor Gankovsky. I know him from my university years. He was a major expert on Afghanistan. In that memorandum, a week after the invasion, they analyzed all the possible consequences of the invasion from the standpoint of history, psychology, sociology, politics, national experience, the balance of forces, the surrounding countries, the Muslim world, everything. Their conclusion was that this is a reckless adventure that will end very badly for us, that this is trouble, that this is bad, that this is destructive. And I know that Kornienko afterwards was very much in favor of withdrawing the troops. I heard his reports to the Politburo, and afterwards he stood very firmly for withdrawing the troops from Afghanistan. But Gorbachev, at one point when he was very emotional—he was seething—said to me "You know, Kornienko is withdrawing troops now, but that memorandum from the scholars was in his room, in his desk, locked up, and no one saw that for years and years." It was just sitting there—until the decision was taken to withdraw the troops.

And now about Gorbachev. Right after his election as general secretary on March 16, 1985, Geo[r]giy Arbatov (head of the Institute of the United States and Canada in Moscow) had a talk with Gorbachev. By that time they had already established a good rapport. In the initial years of perestroika, Arbatov was something like a foreign policy confidant of Gorbachev. Arbatov and I had known each other for thirty years, so he also wanted to give me an idea of how to deal with big people and with international affairs. Arbatov told me that when he met with Gorbachev soon after his election as general secretary, Gorbachev had showed him a piece of paper on which there was a list of international questions that he had prioritized (as to) what he wanted to deal with first. Item 7 or 8 was Afghanistan. Arbatov, who was a rather bold man, said "Mikhail Sergeevich, I would place Afghanistan first." Gorbachev said, "Yes, I agree." He said to me afterwards, "This is the number one task that we have to resolve." It would take a long time to discuss why Gorbachev, who from the very outset believed that this was a problem that has to be solved quickly—why still it took four years for us to complete the withdrawal from Afghanistan. I'm trying to [ad]dress that question in the book that I have written.

But as early as the summer of 1985, Gorbachev began to work to educate the members of the Politburo. He brought huge stacks of letters from the mothers of soldiers, from soldiers and officers, to the Politburo. He even brought letters from two generals who were fighting in Afghanistan. He read those letters, which really were very dramatic documents, to the members of the Politburo. The main point made in all of those letters was, why are we there? What are we doing there? In those letters, officers were saying, "We cannot explain to the soldiers why we are in Afghanistan." "How come this is called internationalist duty, when we are destroying villages and killing innocent citizens, and we see terrible things happening?" Those letters also complained that what the newspaper Pravda wrote about Afghanistan was all lies. "The Afghans are not fighting mujaheddin. We are fighting against mujaheddin." At least three times he read out those letter[s] to the members of the Politburo. However, at that time he was not yet saying that the invasion had been a mistake. His conclusion was that Karmal, the Afghan leader, would have to be removed and there would have to

be another person with whom you could discuss the withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Mr. Obendorfer: I just want to add something to this. According to conservative estimates, about 1 million of Afghanistan's 12.5 million people had been killed by the time the Soviet troops departed. About 5 million out of 12.5 million people had fled as refugees to neighboring Pakistan or Iran. At least another 1 million had been displaced from their homes within the country. Most of the deaths were civilian, but close to 100,000 resistance fighters, the mujaheddin, were also among the dead. The official Soviet Defense Ministry figure for Soviet military deaths was 13,831, but that included only those who had been killed in action. A more comprehensive estimate of Soviet war deaths from all causes was 36,000. By 1989 it was estimated that three-fourths of Afghanistan's villages had been severely damaged or destroyed, in addition to large sections of the country's few major cities. . . .

Source: William C. Wohlforth, ed., *Witnesses to the End of the Cold War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 136–139, 291–292.

37. U.S. Department of State, Statement on Afghanistan, December 26, 1979

Introduction

The American response to the 1979 Christmas Day Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan was swift. Within a few hours, the U.S. State Department issued an official statement deploring the new scale of Soviet involvement in the affairs of that country. State Department spokesman Hodding Carter III read news correspondents a statement describing how Soviet transport planes had made more than 150 flights into Kabul on December 25 and 26. He also mentioned signs that at least five divisions of Soviet troops had massed on the border with Afghanistan and appeared ready to enter the country. The U.S. government strongly condemned this "blatant military interference into the internal affairs of an independent sovereign state." Carter also told newsmen that the United States was making strong direct representations on the subject to Soviet officials.

Primary Source

On December 25–26, there was a large-scale Soviet airlift into Kabul International Airport, perhaps involving over 150 flights. The aircraft include both large transports (AN-22s) and smaller transports (AN-12s). Several hundred Soviet troops have been seen at the Kabul airport and various kinds of field equipment have been flown in. I cannot give you an estimate of numbers.

The Soviet military buildup north of the Afghan border is continuing, and we now have indications that there are the equivalent of five divisions in Soviet areas adjacent to Afghanistan. It appears that the Soviets are crossing a new threshold in their military deployments into Afghanistan. We believe that members of the international community should condemn such blatant military interference into the internal affairs of an independent sovereign state. We are making our views known directly to the Soviets.

Source: U.S. Department of State, *American Foreign Policy, 1977–1980* (Washington, DC: Department of State, 1983), 809.

38. United Nations Security Council Resolution 462, January 7, 1980, and United Nations General Assembly Resolution ES-6/2, January 14, 1980

Introduction

The United States moved quickly to bring Soviet behavior in Afghanistan to the attention of the United Nations (UN) Security Council and General Assembly. On January 7, 1980, the Security Council adopted a resolution, drafted by Bangladesh, Jamaica, Niger, the Philippines, and Zambia, deploring the Soviet armed intervention as inconsistent with the respect for all states' "sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence" enshrined in the UN Charter. The resolution demanded immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all "foreign" troops, leaving the Afghan people free to determine their own form of government. One week later, by a majority of 104 votes to 18, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution that likewise condemned the situation in Afghanistan. Rather than specifically condemning the Soviet Union by name, the General Assembly resolution followed that of the Security Council in deploring "foreign" intervention in Afghanistan and called for the withdrawal of all "foreign" troops. Besides expressing concern over the broader regional destabilizing impact of armed intervention in Afghanistan, the General Assembly resolution also brought up the problem of the "large outflow of refugees from Afghanistan," which it deplored on humanitarian grounds. All parties involved were asked to restore conditions in Afghanistan, which would facilitate the return home of these refugees, while the international community was requested to provide them with humanitarian assistance.

Primary Source

The Security Council,

Having considered the letter dated 3 January 1980 addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1374 and Add. 1 and 2),

Gravely concerned over recent developments in Afghanistan and their implications for international peace and security,

Reaffirms the right of all peoples to determine their own future free from outside interference, including their right to choose their own form of government,

Mindful of the obligations of Member States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations,

1. Reaffirms anew its conviction that the preservation of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State is a fundamental principle of the Charter of the United Nations, any violation of which on any pretext whatsoever is contrary to its aims and purposes;
2. Deeply deplores the recent armed intervention in Afghanistan, which is inconsistent with that principle;
3. Affirms that the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned status of Afghanistan must be fully respected;
4. Calls for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to enable its people to determine their own form of government and choose their economic, political and social systems free from outside intervention, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever;
5. Requests the Secretary-General to submit a report on progress towards the implementation of this resolution within two weeks;
6. Decides to remain seized of this question.

The General Assembly

Approves the report of the Credentials Committee.

6th plenary meeting
January 14, 1980
ES-6/2.

The General Assembly,

Taking note of Security Council resolution 462 (1980) of 9 January 1980, calling for an emergency special session of the General Assembly to examine the question contained in document S/Agenda/2185,

Gravely concerned at the recent developments in Afghanistan and their implications for international peace and security,

Reaffirming the inalienable right of all peoples to determine their own future and to choose their own form of government free from outside interference,

Mindful of the obligation of all States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of any State or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Recognizing the urgent need for immediate termination of foreign armed intervention in Afghanistan so as to enable its people to determine their own destiny without outside interference or coercion,

Noting with profound concern the large outflow of refugees from Afghanistan,

Recalling its resolutions on the strengthening of international security, on the inadmissibility of intervention on the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty and on the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,

Expressing its deep concern at the dangerous escalating of tension, intensification of rivalry and increased recourse to military intervention and interference in the internal affairs of States which are detrimental to the interests of all nations, particularly the non-aligned countries,

Mindful of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the responsibility of the General Assembly under the relevant provisions of the Charter and of Assembly resolution 377 A (V) of 3 November 1950,

1. Reaffirms that the respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State is a fundamental principle of the Charter of the United Nations, any violation of which on any pretext whatsoever is contrary to its aims and purposes;
2. Strongly deplores the recent armed intervention in Afghanistan, which is inconsistent with that principle;
3. Appeals to all States to respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan and to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of that country;
4. Calls for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to enable its people to determine their own form of government and choose their economic, political and social systems free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever;
5. Urges all parties concerned to assist in bringing about, speedily and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter, conditions necessary for the voluntary return of the Afghan refugees to their homes;

6. Appeals to all States and national and international organizations to extend humanitarian relief assistance with a view to alleviating the hardship of Afghan refugees in coordination with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees;
7. Requests the Secretary-General to keep Member States and the Security Council promptly and concurrently informed on the progress towards the implementation of the present resolution;
8. Calls upon the Security Council to consider ways and means which could assist in the implementation of the present resolution.

Source: United Nations Security Council Official Records, S/13729, January 6, 1980.

39. President Jimmy Carter, "The Soviet Invasion Is the Greatest Threat to Peace since the Second World War," Remarks to a Congressional Group, January 8, 1980 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Speaking to a group of congressional leaders, some of whom were seriously alarmed by the situation two weeks earlier of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the military coup in which President Hafizullah Amin died, President Jimmy Carter expressed his sense of shock and outrage. In somewhat hyperbolic language, he termed the invasion of this relatively small and remote state "the greatest threat to peace since the Second World War." Carter stated that as "the other superpower on earth," the United States had the prime responsibility to take appropriate action that would force the Soviets to "suffer the consequences" of their behavior. He warned that if he as president did not do so, in the future the Soviets would be likely to seek "control over a major portion of the world's oil supplies." While Carter believed that full-scale American military action against the Soviets would constitute overreaction, he detailed the political and economic measures that the United States had already taken. In a striking indication of American displeasure, he had asked the Senate to defer any further consideration of the second Soviet-U.S. Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT-II), negotiated earlier in his presidency. His government had already presented resolutions to the United Nations (UN) Security Council and General Assembly condemning Soviet actions in Afghanistan and demanding that Soviet forces be withdrawn immediately. The United States had also imposed appreciable economic sanctions on the Soviets, who would no longer be permitted to fish in waters within 200 miles of the American coast or to purchase high technology, including oil drilling equipment, from the United States. In addition, he had embargoed American grain sales to the Soviet Union in excess of those that his country was bound to supply under existing agreements. He also intended to strengthen the defenses of Pakistan, Afghanistan's neighbor, and if necessary other nations in the region and to maintain American naval forces in the area at a high level. Carter did not anticipate that these measures would persuade the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan, but he argued that they constituted definite markers indicating the displeasure of the United States and its unwillingness to acquiesce in further Soviet moves against third powers.

Primary Source

In my own opinion, shared by many of the world's leaders with whom I have discussed this matter, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is the greatest threat to peace since the Second World War. It's a sharp escalation in the aggressive history of the Soviet Union. Obviously, we all were shocked and deplored publicly and officially the Soviet action in Hungary and then later, in 1968, in Czechoslovakia. Those were two countries which, since the Second World War, were basically subservient to the Soviet Union; they were not independent nations in control of their own affairs. There was an uprising, as you know, and the Soviets brutally stamped the uprising out within those two countries.

This, however, was a sovereign nation, a nonaligned nation, a deeply religious nation, and the Soviets invaded it brutally.

We were informed, other leaders throughout the world were informed, by Soviet Ambassadors and direct messages from Moscow, that the Soviets went into the nation to protect it from some third force that might be threatening Afghanistan. When questioned about where was the third threatening force from, the Soviets have never been able to give a reasonable answer. They claim that they were invited in by the Government to protect Afghanistan. As you know, the leader of Afghanistan, President Amin, who was supposed to have invited them in, was immediately assassinated as soon as the Soviets obtained control over Kabul, the capital city, and several of the members of the President's family were also killed.

We are the other super power on Earth, and it became my responsibility, representing our great Nation, to take action that would prevent the Soviets from this invasion with impunity. The Soviets had to suffer the consequences. In my judgment our own Nation's security was directly threatened. There is no doubt that the Soviets' move into Afghanistan, if done without adverse consequences, would have resulted in the temptation to move again and again until they reached warm water ports or until they acquired control over a major portion of the world's oil supplies.

I talked to the President of Pakistan immediately after this Afghanistan invasion and also talked to many other of the world's leaders

and sent them direct messages. The action that we could take was confined to three opportunities. One is to take military action, which I did not consider appropriate. Our country has no desire, nor could we have effectively implemented military action, to drive the Soviet forces from Afghanistan—which left me with two other options, which I chose to exercise. One is political action, and the other one is economic action.

Politically, we joined with 50 other nations to take to the Security Council two propositions: one, to condemn the Soviet Union for the invasion and therefore the threat to world peace; and secondly, to call upon the Soviets to withdraw their troops. The vote was cast after the debates were concluded. The only nations voting against these two propositions were East Germany—again, a Soviet puppet nation—and the Soviets themselves. The permanent members, as you know, have a veto right. And now a move is underway, which I think will be realized, to take this case to the General Assembly for further condemnation of the Soviet Union.

It's difficult to understand why the Soviets took this action. I think they probably underestimated the adverse reaction from around the world. I've talked to many other leaders, our allies and those representing nations that might be further threatened, and they all believe that we took the right action.

It was not done for political reasons; it was not done to implement some foreign policy. It was done in the interest of our national security.

We did take economic action, which I think was properly balanced. It was carefully considered. We will try to impose this action on the Soviet Union in a way that will have a minimal adverse effect on our own country, where the sacrifices will be shared as equitably as you and I together can possibly devise, and at the same time let the Soviets realize the consequences of their invasion.

We will not permit the Soviets to fish in American waters within 200 miles of our land area. They have a very large fishing fleet, involving hundreds of thousands of tons of fish harvested. They will not have those permits renewed. We will not send high technology equipment to the Soviet Union or any equipment that might have a security benefit to the Soviet Union. This will include drilling equipment, for instance, used for the exploration and production of oil and natural gas. We will restrict severely normal commerce with the Soviet Union, which is highly advantageous to them. And of course, I have interrupted the delivery of grain, which the Soviets had ordered, above and beyond the 8 million tons which our Nation is bound by a 5-year agreement to have delivered to the Soviet Union.

We have taken steps to make sure that the farmers are protected from the adverse consequences of this interruption of grain shipments to a maximum degree possible. It will be a costly proposition. I understood this when I took the action. And my estimate is, based on a fairly thorough, but somewhat rapid analysis, that this year the extra cost to purchase this grain and to change the price levels of corn and wheat and to pay the extra storage charges will amount to about $2 billion. That's in fiscal year 1980. In fiscal year 1981 there will be an additional cost of about $800 million.

It may be that as the season progresses and we have more experience in substituting for the Soviet Union as the purchaser of this grain, that there will be an additional 2 or 3 hundred million dollars spent in 1980. If this should take place, then that would reduce by the same amount, roughly, expenditures in 1981 fiscal year. So, the total cost will be in the neighborhood of $2.8 billion. This cost will not fall on the farmers except to the extent that they are taxpayers like every other American. This will be shared by all those in this country who pay taxes to the Federal Government.

This grain will not be permitted to go back on the market in such a way as to depress agricultural prices. . . .

[. . .]

We anticipate that this withholding of grain to the Soviet Union will not force them to withdraw their troops from Afghanistan. We understood this from the beginning. We don't think that economic pressure or even condemnation by the United Nations of the Soviet Union will cause them to withdraw their troops. But we hope that we have laid down a marker and let them know that they will indeed suffer, now and in the future, from this unwarranted invasion of a formerly independent, nonaligned country.

I need the support of the American people. I believe that it's a matter of patriotism, and I believe that it's a matter of protecting our Nation's security. . . .

[. . .]

We want to pursue a long-range analysis and a schedule of actions to strengthen American interests and presence and influence in this troubled area of the world, in Southwest Asia. You know about some of these from news reports that have already been issued. And we will take action, with the Congress' help, to strengthen Pakistan. Our desire is to do this through a consortium of nations; that's also the desire of Pakistan.

I talked since lunch with President Zia of that country. I've talked to him before about this matter. And other nations in the region who might be threatened by the Soviets, from Afghanistan, will also know that we and many other nations on Earth are committed to their adequate defense capability, so that the Soviets will be discouraged from further expansionism in the area.

Because of the Iranian question, we have greatly built up our naval forces in the northern China Sea [and] in the Arabian Sea. Those will be maintained at a higher level than they have been in the past. And as you know, there has been a marshaling of worldwide public opinion, not only in the condemnation of the Iranian terrorists who hold our hostages but also against the Soviet Union for their unprecedented invasion of Afghanistan in this recent few weeks.

[. . .]

Source: Jimmy Carter, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Jimmy Carter, 1980–81,* Book 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981), 21–24.

40. U.S. Draft of United Nations Security Council Resolution Vetoed by the Soviet Union, January 13, 1980

Introduction

The United Nations (UN) Security Council responded quickly when Iran took several dozen American diplomats hostage. On November 9, 1979, and again on November 27, the president of the Security Council urged Iran to release the hostages immediately. The following month, the Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 457, calling for the release of the hostages and urging the United States and Iran to settle all outstanding issues dividing them peacefully and to their "mutual satisfaction." On December 31 UN Security Council Resolution 461 reaffirmed the earlier resolution. Expressing alarm that the crisis was "a serious threat to international peace and security," the resolution also called on both Iran and the United States to take no action that might "aggravate" the situation and urged the UN secretary-general to "lend his good offices" in the quest to resolve the dispute. Four Security Council members, including the Soviet Union, abstained from voting on this resolution, although none opposed it. On January 13, 1980, the Security Council voted on a resolution submitted by the United States that called on UN member states to impose economic sanctions upon Iran, cutting off official and private trade in everything but food and medicine with that country, denying Iran all loans and credits, and reducing diplomatic contacts to a minimum. Such measures went too far for the Soviet Union, which vetoed the measure, while one other Security Council member voted against it. The Soviet veto meant that even though the vote was 10 to 2 in favor, it automatically failed to pass. The representative of China, a longtime champion of developing Third World nations, absented himself entirely from the vote, while 2 states abstained. The vote defined the limits of the support that the United States could expect from the UN on the Iran Hostage Crisis.

Primary Source

Soviet Veto of Economic Sanctions Against Iran

The Security Council

Recalling its resolutions 457 (1979) of 4 December 1979, and 461 (1979) of 13 December 1979,

Recalling also the appeal made by the President of the Security Council on 9 November 1979 (S/13616) which was reiterated on 27 November 1979 (S/13652),

Having taken note of the letters date[d] 13 November 1979 and 1 December 1979 concerning the grievances and views of Iran (S/13626 and S/13671, respectively),

Having taken into account the order of the International Court of Justice of 15 December 1979 calling on the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to ensure the immediate release, without any exception, of all persons of United States nationality, who are being held as hostages in Iran (S/13697) and also calling on the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to ensure that no action is taken by them which will aggravate the tension between the two countries,

Further recalling the letter dated 25 November from the Secretary-General (S/13646) stating that, in his opinion, the present crisis between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the United States of America poses a serious threat to international peace and security,

Bearing in mind the adoption by the General Assembly by consensus on 17 December 1979 of the Convention Against the Taking of Hostages,

Mindful of the obligation of States to settle their international dispute[s] by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered and, to that end, to respect the decision of the Security Council,

Conscious of the responsibility of the States to refrain in their international relations from the threat of use of force against the territory integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations,

Affirming that the safe release and departure from Iran of all those being held hostage is an essential first step in resolving peacefully the issues between Iran and the United States and the other State members of the international community,

Reiterating that once the hostages have been safely released, the Government of Iran and the United States of America should take

steps to resolve peacefully the remaining issues between them to their mutual satisfaction in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations,

Further taking into account the report of the Secretary-General of 6 January 1980 (S/13730) made pursuant to resolutions 457 (1979) of 4 December 1979 and 461 (1979) of 31 December 1979,

Bearing in mind that the continued detention of the hostages constitutes a continuing threat to international peace and security,

Acting in accordance with Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Urgently calls, once again, on the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to release immediately all persons of United States nationality being held as hostages in Iran, to provide them protection and to allow them to leave the country.
2. Decides that, until such time as the hostages are released and have safely departed from Iran, all States Members of the United Nations:
   (a) shall prevent the sale or supply, by their nationals or from their territories, whether or not originating in their territories, to or destined for Iranian government entities in Iran or any other person or body for the purposes of any enterprise carried on in Iran, of all items, commodities, or products, except food, medicine, and supplies intended strictly for medical purposes;
   (b) shall prevent the shipment by vessel, aircraft, railway, or other land transport of their registration or owned by or under charter to their nationals, or the carriage whether or not in bond by land transport facilities across their territories of any of the items, commodities, and products covered by subparagraph (a) which are consigned to or destined for Iranian governmental entities or any person or body in Iran, or to any enterprise carried on in Iran;
   (c) shall not make available to the Iranian authorities or to any person in Iran or to any enterprise controlled by any Iranian governmental entity any new credits or loans; shall not, with respect to such persons or enterprises, make available any new deposit facilities or allow substantial increases in existing non-dollar deposits or allow more favorable terms of payment than customarily used in international commercial transactions; and shall act in a businesslike manner in exercising any rights when payments due on existing credits or loans are not made on time and shall require any persons or entities within their jurisdiction to so likewise;
   (d) Shall prevent the shipment from territories on vessels or aircraft, registered in Iran of products and commodities covered by subparagraph (a) above;
   (e) Shall reduce to a minimum the personnel of Iranian diplomatic missions accredited to them;
   (f) Shall prevent their nationals, or firms located in their territories, from engaging in new service contracts in support of industrial projects in Iran, other than those concerned with medical care;
   (g) Shall prevent their nationals, or any person or body within their territories from engaging in any activity which evades or has the purpose of evading any of the decisions set out in this resolution;
3. Decides that all States Members of the United Nations shall give effect forthwith to the decisions set out in operative paragraph 2 of this resolution notwithstanding any contract entered into or license granted before the date of this resolution;
4. Calls upon all States Members of the United Nations to carry out these decisions of the Security Council in accordance with article 25 of the Charter;
5. Urges, having regard to the Principles stated in Article 2 of the Charter, States not members of the United Nations to act in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution;
6. Calls upon all other United Nations bodies and the specialized agencies of the United Nations and their members to conform their relations with Iran to the terms of the resolution;
7. Calls upon all States Members of the United Nations, and in particular those with primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, to assist effectively in the implementation of the measures called for by the present resolution;
8. Calls upon all States Members of the United Nations or of the specialized agencies to report to the Secretary-General by 1 February 1980 on measures taken to implement the present resolution;
9. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the progress of the implementation of the present resolution, the first report to be submitted not later than 1 March 1980.

Source: United Nations Security Council Official Records, S/13735, January 10, 1980.

41. President Jimmy Carter, the Carter Doctrine, State of the Union Address, January 23, 1980 [Excerpts]

Introduction

The idealistic Democrat Jimmy Carter, a traditional liberal in international affairs, became president in 1977 and was committed to a foreign policy agenda that envisaged the promotion of traditional

American values, including human rights and peaceable relations with other nations, reductions in military spending, disarmament, and a new emphasis on economic over defense aid. Threatening events in the final years of his one-term presidency caused him to modify these preoccupations and to return to more traditional Cold War strategies. Since 1953 U.S. policy regarding the Middle East had centered upon the powerful oil-rich Iran. In 1978 a radical Islamic regime overthrew the autocratic but Western-oriented government of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran. The new Iranian leaders were Islamic fundamentalists who, in a major blow to American geopolitical and economic interests, abrogated the existing alliance with the United States, a country they considered the international "great Satan," and cut off oil supplies. In November 1979 radical Islamic Iranians sacked the U.S. embassy in Tehran, holding 52 official American personnel hostage until Carter left office in January 1981. Skyrocketing oil prices caused by the Iranian oil embargo ratcheted up inflation and again reminded American consumers how heavily their way of life depended on alien nations over whom they often had little leverage. To compound American problems in the region, in December 1979 the Soviet Union mounted a major military intervention in previously nonaligned Afghanistan in order to maintain in power a Soviet-backed Marxist regime that had taken power in 1978. Soviet actions were probably primarily due to fears that intensifying Islamic fanaticism in Afghanistan and Iran might infect neighboring Muslim areas of Soviet territory and precipitate separatist movements there. Carter, however, perceived this episode, which he hyperbolically termed "the greatest threat to peace since the Second World War," as part of a calculated Soviet strategy to gain control of the Persian Gulf and the oil-rich states surrounding it. Convinced that Soviet-American détente had become unattainable, he reacted strongly. Addressing Congress and the nation in his January 1980 annual State of the Union address, Carter proclaimed the Carter Doctrine, stating that "business as usual" with the Soviet Union was not possible and that the United States would take all measures necessary to defend the Persian Gulf. The president moved to reinstitute containment policies, demanded annual 5 percent increases in military spending, proposed that young American men be compelled to register for a potential draft, and moved to create a Persian Gulf rapid deployment force. He also called for energy policies that would make his country less dependent on foreign oil. Carter's speech, which effectively reiterated the 1957 Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East, also marked a definite break with his earlier efforts toward U.S.-Soviet détente and disarmament, inaugurating several years of deep ideological and strategic antagonism between the two superpowers.

Primary Source

[. . .]

At this time in Iran, 50 Americans are still held captive, innocent victims of terrorism and anarchy. Also at this moment, massive Soviet troops are attempting to subjugate the fiercely independent and deeply religious people of Afghanistan. These two acts—one of international terrorism and one of military aggression—present a serious challenge to the United States of America and indeed to all the nations of the world. Together, we will meet these threats to peace.

I'm determined that the United States will remain the strongest of all nations, but our power will never be used to initiate a threat to the security of any nation or to the rights of any human being. We seek to be and to remain secure—a nation at peace in a stable world. But to be secure we must face the world as it is.

Three basic developments have helped to shape our challenges: the steady growth and increased projection of Soviet military power beyond its own borders; the overwhelming dependence of the Western democracies on oil supplies from the Middle East; and the press of social and religious and economic and political change in the many nations of the developing world, exemplified by the revolution in Iran.

Each of these factors is important in its own right. Each interacts with the others. All must be faced together, squarely and courageously. We will face these challenges, and we will meet them with the best that is in us. And we will not fail.

In response to the abhorrent act in Iran, our Nation has never been aroused and unified so greatly in peacetime. Our position is clear. The United States will not yield to blackmail.

We continue to pursue these specific goals: first, to protect the present and long-range interests of the United States; secondly, to preserve the lives of the American hostages and to secure, as quickly as possible, their safe release, if possible, to avoid bloodshed which might further endanger the lives of our fellow citizens; to enlist the help of other nations in condemning this act of violence, which is shocking and violates the moral and the legal standards of a civilized world; and also to convince and to persuade the Iranian leaders that the real danger to their nation lies in the north, in the Soviet Union and from the Soviet troops now in Afghanistan, and that the unwarranted Iranian quarrel with the United States hampers their response to this far greater danger to them.

If the American hostages are harmed, a severe price will be paid. We will never rest until every one of the American hostages are released.

But now we face a broader and more fundamental challenge in this region because of the recent military action of the Soviet Union.

Now, as during the last 3½ decades, the relationship between our country, the United States of America, and the Soviet Union is the

most critical factor in determining whether the world will live at peace or be engulfed in global conflict.

Since the end of the Second World War, America has led other nations in meeting the challenge of mounting Soviet power. This has not been a simple or a static relationship. Between us there has been cooperation, there has been competition, and at times there has been confrontation.

In the 1940's we took the lead in creating the Atlantic Alliance in response to the Soviet Union's suppression and then consolidation of its East European empire and the resulting threat of the Warsaw Pact to Western Europe.

In the 1950's we helped to contain further Soviet challenges in Korea and in the Middle East, and we rearmed to assure the continuation of that containment.

In the 1960's we met the Soviet challenges in Berlin, and we faced the Cuban missile crisis. And we sought to engage the Soviet Union in the important task of moving beyond the cold war and away from confrontation.

And in the 1970's three American Presidents negotiated with the Soviet leaders in attempts to halt the growth of the nuclear arms race. We sought to establish rules of behavior that would reduce the risks of conflict, and we searched for areas of cooperation that could make our relations reciprocal and productive, not only for the sake of our two nations but for the security and peace of the entire world.

In all these actions, we have maintained two commitments: to be ready to meet any challenge by Soviet military power, and to develop ways to resolve disputes and to keep the peace.

Preventing nuclear war is the foremost responsibility of the two superpowers. That's why we've negotiated the strategic arms limitation treaties—SALT I and SALT II. Especially now, in a time of great tension, observing the mutual constraints imposed by the terms of these treaties will be in the best interest of both countries and will help to preserve world peace. I will consult very closely with the Congress on this matter as we strive to control nuclear weapons. That effort to control nuclear weapons will not be abandoned.

We superpowers also have the responsibility to exercise restraint in the use of our great military force. The integrity and the independence of weaker nations must not be threatened. They must know that in our presence they are secure.

But now the Soviet Union has taken a radical and an aggressive new step. It's using its great military power against a relatively defenseless nation. The implications of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan could pose the most serious threat to the peace since the Second World War.

The vast majority of nations on Earth have condemned this latest Soviet attempt to extend its colonial domination of others and have demanded the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops. The Moslem world is especially and justifiably outraged by this aggression against an Islamic people. No action of a world power has ever been so quickly and so overwhelmingly condemned. But verbal condemnation is not enough. The Soviet Union must pay a concrete price for their aggression.

While this invasion continues, we and the other nations of the world cannot conduct business as usual with the Soviet Union. That's why the United States has imposed stiff economic penalties on the Soviet Union. I will not issue any permits for Soviet ships to fish in the coastal waters of the United States. I've cut Soviet access to high-technology equipment and to agricultural products. I've limited other commerce with the Soviet Union, and I've asked our allies and friends to join with us in restraining their own trade with the Soviets and not to replace our own embargoed items. And I have notified the Olympic Committee that with Soviet invading forces in Afghanistan, neither the American people nor I will support sending an Olympic team to Moscow.

The Soviet Union is going to have to answer some basic questions: Will it help promote a more stable international environment in which its own legitimate, peaceful concerns can be pursued? Or will it continue to expand its military power far beyond its genuine security needs, and use that power for colonial conquest? The Soviet Union must realize that its decision to use military force in Afghanistan will be costly to every political and economic relationship it values.

The region which is now threatened by Soviet troops in Afghanistan is of great strategic importance: It contains more than two-thirds of the world's exportable oil. The Soviet effort to dominate Afghanistan has brought Soviet military forces to within 300 miles of the Indian Ocean and close to the Straits of Hormuz, a waterway through which most of the world's oil must flow. The Soviet Union is now attempting to consolidate a strategic position, therefore, that poses a grave threat to the free movement of Middle East oil.

This situation demands careful thought, steady nerves, and resolute action, not only for this year but for many years to come. It demands collective efforts to meet this new threat to security in the Persian Gulf and in Southwest Asia. It demands the participation of all those who rely on oil from the Middle East and who are concerned with global peace and stability. And it demands consultation and close cooperation with countries in the area which might be threatened.

Meeting this challenge will take national will, diplomatic and political wisdom, economic sacrifice, and, of course, military capability. We must call on the best that is in us to preserve the security of this crucial region.

Let our position be absolutely clear: An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force.

During the past 3 years, you have joined with me to improve our own security and the prospects for peace, not only in the vital oil-producing area of the Persian Gulf region but around the world. We've increased annually our real commitment for defense, and we will sustain this increase of effort throughout the Five Year Defense Program. It's imperative that Congress approve this strong defense budget for 1981, encompassing a 5-percent real growth in authorizations, without any reduction. We are also improving our capability to deploy U.S. military forces rapidly to distant areas. We've helped to strengthen NATO and our other alliances, and recently we and other NATO members have decided to develop and to deploy modernized, intermediate-range nuclear forces to meet an unwarranted and increased threat from the nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union.

We are working with our allies to prevent conflict in the Middle East. The peace treaty between Egypt and Israel is a notable achievement which represents a strategic asset for America and which also enhances prospects for regional and world peace. We are now engaged in further negotiations to provide full autonomy for the people of the West Bank and Gaza, to resolve the Palestinian issue in all its aspects, and to preserve the peace and security of Israel. Let no one doubt our commitment to the security of Israel. In a few days we will observe an historic event when Israel makes another major withdrawal from the Sinai and when Ambassadors will be exchanged between Israel and Egypt.

We've also expanded our own sphere of friendship. Our deep commitment to human rights and to meeting human needs has improved our relationship with much of the Third World. Our decision to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China will help to preserve peace and stability in Asia and in the Western Pacific.

We've increased and strengthened our naval presence in the Indian Ocean, and we are now making arrangements for key naval and air facilities to be used by our forces in the region of northeast Africa and the Persian Gulf.

We've reconfirmed our 1959 agreement to help Pakistan preserve its independence and its integrity. The United States will take action consistent with our own laws to assist Pakistan in resisting any outside aggression. . . .

In the weeks ahead, we will further strengthen political and military ties with other nations in the region. We believe that there are no irreconcilable differences between us and any Islamic nation. We respect the faith of Islam, and we are ready to cooperate with all Moslem countries.

Finally, we are prepared to work with other countries in the region to share a cooperative security framework that respects differing values and political beliefs, yet which enhances the independence, security, and prosperity of all.

[. . .]

The men and women of America's Armed Forces are on duty tonight in many parts of the world. I'm proud of the job they are doing, and I know you share that pride. I believe that our volunteer forces are adequate for current defense needs, and I hope that it will not become necessary to impose a draft. However, we must be prepared for that possibility. For this reason, I have determined that the Selective Service System must now be revitalized. I will send legislation and budget proposals to the Congress next month so that we can begin registration and then meet future mobilization needs rapidly if they arise.

We also need clear and quick passage of a new charter to define the legal authority and accountability of our intelligence agencies. We will guarantee that abuses do not recur, but we must tighten our controls on sensitive intelligence information, and we need to remove unwarranted restraints on America's ability to collect intelligence.

The decade ahead will be a time of rapid change, as nations everywhere seek to deal with new problems and age-old tensions. But America need have no fear. We can thrive in a world of change if we remain true to our values and actively engaged in promoting world peace. We will continue to work as we have for peace in the Middle East and southern Africa. We will continue to build our ties with developing nations, respecting and helping to strengthen their national independence which they have struggled so hard to achieve. And we will continue to support the growth of democracy and the protection of human rights.

In repressive regimes, popular frustrations often have no outlet except through violence. But when peoples and their governments can approach their problems together through open, democratic methods, the basis for stability and peace is far more solid and far more enduring. That is why our support for human rights in other countries is in our own national interest as well as part of our own national character.

Peace—a peace that preserves freedom—remains America's first goal. In the coming years, as a mighty nation we will continue to pursue peace. But to be strong abroad we must be strong at home. And in order to be strong, we must continue to face up to the difficult issues that confront us as a nation today.

The crises in Iran and Afghanistan have dramatized a very important lesson: Our excessive dependence on foreign oil is a clear and present danger to our Nation's security. The need has never been more urgent. At long last, we must have a clear, comprehensive energy policy for the United States.

As you well know, I have been working with the Congress in a concentrated and persistent way over the past 3 years to meet this need. We have made progress together. But Congress must act promptly now to complete final action on this vital energy legislation. Our Nation will then have a major conservation effort, important initiatives to develop solar power, realistic pricing based on the true value of oil, strong incentives for the production of coal and other fossil fuels in the United States, and our Nation's most massive peacetime investment in the development of synthetic fuels.

[. . .]

Source: Jimmy Carter, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Jimmy Carter, 1980–1981,* Book 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981), 194–200.

42. Islamic Conference, Resolution Condemning the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan, January 29, 1980

Introduction

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, a strongly Muslim nation, won general condemnation around the Islamic world. Meeting in Islamabad, Pakistan's capital, in late January 1980, the 11th conference of Islamic foreign ministers held an extraordinary session to discuss the subject of Afghanistan. Referring specifically to the principles of the movement of nonaligned states, which Afghanistan had helped to found, they roundly condemned the Soviet intervention and occupation as "a flagrant violation of international laws, covenants, and norms." They demanded the immediate departure of all Soviet troops from Afghan territory. Afghanistan's membership in the Organization of the Islamic Conference was suspended. Member states were invited to withdraw diplomatic recognition from Afghanistan and cease all forms of aid to that country and to demonstrate their "solidarity" with the Afghan people in their struggle for independence. One means by which they could do so, the conference declared, was by boycotting the Olympic Games to be held in Moscow that coming July. The organization also declared its intention of assisting Afghanistan's neighbors in all efforts to safeguard themselves against further Afghan or Soviet encroachments. Islamic states were also urged to provide assistance to the numerous Afghan refugees who had fled their country. The organization's membership included assorted Middle Eastern, Asian, and African states, many of which were radical in outlook and generally reliably pro-Soviet in sympathy. Among them were Algeria, Bahrein, Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, the Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, the Maldives, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. The fact that this organization was prepared to condemn the actions of the Soviet Union so forthrightly, mentioning that state by name, which the United Nations (UN) resolutions failed to do, was striking evidence of just how alarming and unacceptable Soviet behavior in Afghanistan appeared to numerous developing nations.

Primary Source

The first extraordinary session of the Islamic conference of foreign ministers meeting in Islamabad, from 7 to 9 Rabi al Awwal, corresponding to 27–29 January 1980;

In pursuance of the principles and objectives of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and the provisions of resolution adopted by Islamic summit conference, emphasizing the common objectives and destiny of the peoples of the Islamic nation;

Recalling in particular the basic principles of the non-aligned movement of which Afghanistan is a founding member;

Expressing its deep concern at the dangerous escalation of tension, intensification of rivalry and increased recourse to military intervention and interference in the internal affairs of states, particularly the Islamic states;

Expressing the determination of the governments and peoples of member states to reject all forms and types of foreign occupation and expansion and the race for spheres of influence thereby strengthening the sovereignty of peoples and the independence of states;

Seriously concerned over the Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan and the effect of this interference on the will of the Muslim people of Afghanistan to exercise their right to determine their political future;

Considering that the continuing presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, its attempt at imposing the fait accompli and the military operations of these troops against the Afghan people flout international covenants and norms and blatantly violate human rights;

Reaffirming the determination of Islamic states to pursue a non-aligned policy in respect of superpower conflict and to protect Muslim people from the adverse effects of the cold war between these states;

Fully aware of the immense financial burden borne by neighboring countries of Afghanistan, in particular the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, as a result of the asylum it provides to hundreds of thousands of Afghan people, old men, women and children, driven away by the Soviet military occupation;

Affirming that the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan constitutes a violation of its independence, and aggression against the liberty of its people and a flagrant violation of all international covenants and norms, as well as a serious threat to peace and security in the region and throughout the world:

1. Condemns the Soviet military aggression against the Afghan people, denounces and deplores it as a flagrant violation of international laws, covenants, and norms, primarily the Charter of the United Nations, which condemned this aggression in its Resolution No. ES-6/2 of 14 January 1981, 41 and the Charter of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and calls upon all peoples and governments throughout the world to persist in condemning this aggression and denouncing it as an aggression against human rights and a violation of the freedoms of people, which cannot be ignored.
2. Demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet troops stationed on Afghan territories, and reiterates that Soviet troops should refrain from acts of oppression and tyranny against the Afghan people and their struggling sons, until the departure of the last Soviet soldier from Afghan territory, and urges all countries and peoples to secure the Soviet withdrawal through all means.
3. Suspends the membership of Afghanistan in the Organization of the Islamic Conference.
4. Invite[s] the member states to withhold recognition to the illegal regime in Afghanistan and sever diplomatic relations with that country until the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.
5. Calls upon all member states to stop all aid and all forms of assistance given to the present regime of Afghanistan by member states.
6. Urges all states and people throughout the world to support the Afghan people and provide assistance and succor to the refugees whom aggression has driven away from their homes.
7. Recommends to all member states to affirm their solidarity with the Afghan people in their just struggle to safeguard their faith, national independence and territorial integrity and to recover their right to determine their destiny.
8. Solemnly declares its complete solidarity with the Islamic countries neighboring Afghanistan against any threat to their security and wellbeing and calls upon states of the Islamic Conference to resolutely support and extend all possible cooperation to these countries in their efforts to fully safeguard their sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity.
9. Authorizes the secretary to receive contributions from member states, organizations and individuals and to disperse the amounts to the authorities concerned on the recommendations of a committee of three member states to be established by him in consultation with the states concerned.
10. Calls upon member states to envisage through appropriate bodies the non-participation in Olympic Games being held.

Source: U.S. Department of State, *American Foreign Policy: Basic Documents, 1977–1980* (Washington, DC: Department of State, 1983), 844–846.

43. President Jimmy Carter, Executive Orders No. 12205, April 7, 1980, and No. 12211, April 17, 1980

Introduction

As the Iran Hostage Crisis entered its sixth month with no resolution in sight, President Jimmy Carter decided to tighten U.S. sanctions against Iran. He did so in part because the Iranian militants holding the hostages had recently offered to hand them over to the custody of the Iranian government, but the Iranian authorities had refused to accept this charge. From the U.S. perspective, this decision made Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's government ultimately responsible for the continuing detention of the hostages. On April 7, 1980, Carter announced that the United States was breaking all diplomatic relations with the government of Iran and expelling all Iranian diplomats. All American trade with Iran was now forbidden, and he stated that even food and medicine shipments were expected to be "minimal or nonexistent." The assets of the Iranian government seized in the United States would be inventoried so that they could be used to pay outstanding claims, including demands for compensation by the hostages and their families. All existing American visas issued to Iranian citizens would be invalidated. Ten days later, the president expanded these

sanctions further. The United States barred all Iranian imports, and all "persons subject to the jurisdiction of the United States" were forbidden to transfer funds to any Iranian individual or organization. After a one-week grace period, this provision would apply to American citizens then physically present in Iran. With the exception of journalists, American citizens were forbidden to travel to Iran, and news-gathering organizations were asked to restrict their activities in Iran to a minimum. The U.S. government impounded all military equipment purchased by Iran that was still in American hands. Americans were specifically forbidden to deal with Iran Air, the National Iranian Oil Company, and the National Iranian Gas Company. These sanctions effectively forbade virtually all American dealings with Iran, representing a near total break in relations. By 2010, diplomatic relations between Iran and the United States had still not been resumed.

Primary Source

EXECUTIVE ORDER 12205

PROHIBITING CERTAIN TRANSACTIONS WITH IRAN

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, including Section 203 of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702), Section 301 of Title 3 of the United States Code, and Section 301 of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1631), in order to take steps additional to those set forth in Executive Order No. 12170 of November 14, 1979, to deal with the threat to the national security, foreign policy and economy of the United States referred to in that Order, and in furtherance of the objectives of United Nations Security Council Resolution 461 (1979) adopted on December 31, 1979, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1-101. The following are prohibited effective immediately, notwithstanding any contracts entered into or licenses granted before the date of this Order:

(a) The sale, supply or other transfer, by any person subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, of any items, commodities or products, except food, medicine and supplies intended strictly for medical purposes, and donations of clothing intended to be used to relieve human suffering, from the United States, or from any foreign country, whether or not originating in the United States, either to or destined for Iran, an Iranian governmental entity in Iran, any other person or body in Iran or any other person or body for the purposes of any enterprise carried on in Iran.

(b) The shipment by vessel, aircraft, railway or other land transport of United States registration or owned by or under charter to any person subject to the jurisdiction of the United States or the carriage (whether or not in bond) by land transport facilities across the United States of any of the items, commodities and products covered by paragraph (a) of this section which are consigned to or destined for Iran, an Iranian governmental entity or any person or body in Iran, or to any enterprise carried on in Iran.

(c) The shipment from the United States of any of the items, products and commodities covered by paragraph (a) of this section on vessels or aircraft registered in Iran.

(d) The following acts, when committed by any person subject to the jurisdiction of the United States in connection with any transaction involving Iran, an Iranian governmental entity, an enterprise controlled by Iran or an Iranian governmental entity, or any person in Iran:

(i) Making available any new credits or loans;

(ii) Making available any new deposit facilities or allowing substantial increases in non-dollar deposits which exist as of the date of this Order;

(iii) Allowing more favorable terms of payment than are customarily used in international commercial transactions; or

(iv) Failing to act in a businesslike manner in exercising any rights when payments due on existing credits or loans are not made in a timely manner.

(e) The engaging by any person subject to the jurisdiction of the United States in any service contract in support of an industrial project in Iran, except any such contract entered into prior to the date of this Order or concerned with medical care.

(f) The engaging by any person subject to the jurisdiction of the United States in any transaction which evades or avoids, or has the purpose or effect of evading or avoiding, any of the prohibitions set forth in this section.

1-102. The prohibitions in section 1–101 above shall not apply to transactions by any person subject to the jurisdiction of the United States which is a non-banking association, corporation, or other organization organized and doing business under the laws of any foreign country.

1-103. The Secretary of the Treasury is delegated, and authorized to exercise, all functions vested in the President by the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) to carry out the purposes of this Order. The Secretary may redelegate any of these functions to other officers and agencies of the Federal government.

1-104. The Secretary of the Treasury shall ensure that actions taken pursuant to this Order and Executive Order No. 12170 are

accounted for as required by Section 401 of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1641).

1-105. This Order is effective immediately. In accord with Section 401 of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1641) and Section 204 of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1703), it shall be immediately transmitted to the Congress and published in the FEDERAL REGISTER.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House

EXECUTIVE ORDER 12211

FURTHER PROHIBITIONS ON TRANSACTIONS WITH IRAN

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, including Section 203 of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702), Section 301 of Title 3 of the United States Code, Sections 1732 and 2656 of Title 22 of the United States Code, and Section 301 of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1631), in order to take steps additional to those set forth in Executive Order No. 12170 of November 14, 1979, and Executive Order No. 12205 of April 7, 1980, to deal with the threat to the national security, foreign policy and economy of the United States referred to in those Orders, and the added unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy and economy of the United States created by subsequent events in Iran and neighboring countries, including the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, with respect to which I hereby declare a national emergency, and to carry out the policy of the United States to deny the use of its resources to aid, encourage or give sanctuary to those persons involved in directing, supporting or participating in acts of international terrorism, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1-101. Paragraph 1–101 (d) of Executive Order No. 12205 is hereby amended by the addition of a new subparagraph (v) as follows:

(v) Make any payment, transfer of credit, or other transfer of funds or other property or interests therein, except for purposes of family remittances.

1-102. The following transactions are prohibited, notwithstanding any contracts entered into or licenses granted before the date of this Order:

(a) Effective immediately, the direct or indirect import from Iran into the United States of Iranian goods or services, other than materials imported for news publication or news broadcast dissemination.

(b) Effective immediately, any transactions with a foreign person or foreign entity by any citizen or permanent resident of the United States relating to that person's travel to Iran after the date of this Order.

(c) Effective seven days from the date of this Order, the payment by or on behalf of any citizen or permanent resident of the United States who is within Iran of any expenses for transactions within Iran.

The prohibitions in paragraphs (b) and (c) of this section shall not apply to a person who is also a citizen of Iran and those prohibitions and the prohibitions in section 1–101 shall not apply to a journalist or other person who is regularly employed by a news gathering or transmitting organization and who travels to Iran or is within Iran for the purpose of gathering or transmitting news, making news or documentary films, or similar activities.

1-103. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed, effective fourteen days from the date of this Order, to revoke existing licenses for transactions by persons subject to the jurisdiction of the United States with Iran Air, the National Iranian Oil Company, and the National Iranian Gas Company previously issued pursuant to regulations under Executive Order No. 12170 or Executive Order No. 12205.

1-104. The Secretary of the Treasury is delegated, and authorized to exercise, all functions vested in the President by the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) to carry out the purposes of this Order. The Secretary may redelegate any of these functions to other officers and agencies of the Federal government.

1-105. The Secretary of the Treasury shall ensure that actions taken by him pursuant to the above provisions of this Order, Executive Order No. 12170 and Executive Order No. 12205 are accounted for as required by Section 401 of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1641).

1-106. The Secretary of State is delegated, and authorized to exercise in furtherance of the purposes of this Order, the powers vested in the President by Section 2001 of the Revised Statutes (22 U.S.C. 1732), Section 1 of the Act of July 3, 1926 (22 U.S.C. 211a), and Section 215 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1185), with respect to:

(a) the restriction of the use of United States passports for travel to, in or through Iran; and

(b) the regulation of departures from and entry into the United States in connection with travel to Iran by citizens and permanent residents of the United States.

1-107. Except as otherwise indicated herein, this Order is effective immediately. In accord with Section 401 of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1641) and Section 204 of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1703), it shall be immediately transmitted to the Congress and published in the FEDERAL REGISTER.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,

Source: Jimmy Carter, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Jimmy Carter, 1980–81,* Book 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981), 612–614 and 714–716.

44. President Jimmy Carter, Failed Hostage Rescue Speech, April 25, 1980, and Report to Congress on the Operation, April 26, 1980

Introduction

President Jimmy Carter addressed the American nation in a televised speech on April 25, 1980, the day after a U.S. military mission unsuccessfully attempted to rescue 52 Americans being held hostage in the U.S. embassy in Tehran, Iran. Radical Islamic militants had stormed the embassy on November 4, 1979, to protest past American support for the ousted Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran, especially his admission to the United States for medical treatment. Three of the eight helicopters involved developed mechanical problems, and due to a collision between a helicopter and a transport aircraft, eight U.S. soldiers died in the rescue effort, which was eventually called off. The entire episode was widely regarded as a humiliation for the United States, particularly because at no time did any of the forces involved encounter any Iranians, and all the casualties incurred represented self-inflicted damage. On April 26, 1980, the president also submitted a report to Congress on the operation. Three days before the raid, Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance had resigned in protest over what he considered an ill-advised and futile mission, which the National Security Council had decided to implement during his absence. The ignominious failure of the rescue attempt confirmed Americans in their sense that the Carter administration was ineffective and could not deal with difficult international crises. The Iran Hostage Crisis was not ended until the inauguration of Republican president Ronald Reagan in January 1981, when, in a final snub to Carter, the Iranians released the hostages in return for an agreement that the U.S. government would unfreeze blocked Iranian economic assets. The seizure of the hostages was one of several international events, among them a major oil crisis and the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, that, in conjunction with high inflation and unemployment, contributed to a sense of American impotence at this time and were also partly responsible for Reagan's victory over Carter in the 1980 election.

Primary Source

On April 24, 1980, elements of the United States Armed Forces under my direction commenced the positioning stage of a rescue operation which was designed, if the subsequent stages had been executed, to effect the rescue of the American hostages who have been held captive in Iran since November 4, 1979, in clear violation of international law and the norms of civilized conduct among nations. The subsequent phases of the operation were not executed. Instead, for the reasons described below, all these elements were withdrawn from Iran and no hostilities occurred.

The sole objective of the operation that actually occurred was to position the rescue team for the subsequent effort to withdraw the American hostages. The rescue team was under my overall command and control and required my approval before executing the subsequent phases of the operation designed to effect the rescue itself. No such approval was requested or given because, as described below, the mission was aborted.

Beginning approximately 10:30 a.m. EST on April 24, six U.S. C-130 transport aircraft and eight RH-53 helicopters entered Iran airspace. Their crews were not equipped for combat. Some of the C-130 aircraft carried a force of approximately 90 members of the rescue team equipped for combat, plus various support personnel.

From approximately 2 to 4 p.m. EST the six transports and six of the eight helicopters landed at a remote desert site in Iran approximately 200 miles from Tehran where they disembarked the rescue team, commenced refueling operations and began to prepare for the subsequent phases.

During the flight to the remote desert site, two of the eight helicopters developed operating difficulties. One was forced to return to the carrier Nimitz; the second was forced to land in the desert, but its crew was taken aboard another of the helicopters and proceeded on to the landing site. Of the six helicopters which landed at the remote desert site, one developed a serious hydraulic problem and was unable to continue with the mission. The operational plans called for a minimum of six helicopters in good operational condition able to proceed from the desert site. Eight helicopters had been included in the force to provide sufficient redundancy without imposing excessive strains on the refueling and exit requirements of the operation. When the number of helicopters available to continue dropped to five, it was determined that the operation could not proceed as planned. Therefore, on the

recommendation of the force commander and my military advisers, I decided to cancel the mission and ordered the United States Armed Forces involved to return from Iran.

During the process of withdrawal, one of the helicopters accidentally collided with one of the C-130 aircraft, which was preparing to take off, resulting in the death of eight personnel and the injury of several others. At this point, the decision was made to load all surviving personnel aboard the remaining C-130 aircraft and to abandon the remaining helicopters at the landing site. Altogether, the United States Armed Forces remained on the ground for a total of approximately three hours. The five remaining aircraft took off about 5:45 p.m. EST and departed from Iran airspace without further incident at about 8:00 p.m. EST on April 24. No United States Armed Forces remain in Iran.

The remote desert area was selected to conceal this phase of the mission from discovery. At no time during the temporary presence of United States Armed Forces in Iran did they encounter Iranian forces of any type. We believe, in fact, that no Iranian military forces were in the desert area, and that the Iranian forces were unaware of the presence of United States Armed Forces until after their departure from Iran. As planned, no hostilities occurred during this phase of the mission—the only phase that was executed. . . .

Our rescue team knew, and I knew, that the operation was certain to be dangerous. We were all convinced that if and when the rescue phase of the operation had been commenced, it had an excellent chance of success. They were all volunteers; they were all highly trained. I met with their leaders before they went on this operation. They knew then what hopes of mine and of all Americans they carried with them. I share with the nation the highest respect and appreciation for the ability and bravery of all who participated in the mission.

To the families of those who died and who were injured, I have expressed the admiration I feel for the courage of their loved ones and the sorrow that I feel personally for their sacrifice.

The mission on which they were embarked was a humanitarian mission. It was not directed against Iran. It was not directed against the people of Iran. It caused no Iranian casualties.

This operation was ordered and conducted pursuant to the President's powers under the Constitution as Chief Executive and as Commander-in-Chief of the United States Armed Forces, expressly recognized in Section 8(d)(1) of the War Powers Resolution. In carrying out this operation the United States was acting wholly within its right in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter to protect and rescue its citizens where the government of the territory in which they are located is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Source: Jimmy Carter, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Jimmy Carter, 1980–81,* Book 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981), 777–779.

45. United Nations General Assembly Resolution 35/37, November 20, 1980

Introduction

As the first anniversary of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan approached, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly passed a further resolution demanding withdrawal of all "foreign" troops from Afghanistan. The preamble of Resolution 35/37 affirmed the need to reach "a political solution" of the increasingly violent and bitter Afghan situation, one that would restore Afghan sovereignty and independence and also the state's "non-aligned character." As before, the resolution urged all member states to assist the hundreds of thousands of refugees who had by this time fled Afghanistan while calling upon all parties involved to restore conditions that would induce these exiles to return home. The General Assembly adopted this resolution by 101 to 22 votes, with 12 abstentions. Even though the resolution failed to mention the Soviet Union by name, its passage was further evidence of how Soviet treatment of Afghanistan, a small, poor Islamic country, had alienated many habitual Soviet supporters in the UN. As before, however, the resolution proved ineffective. At approximately one-year intervals throughout the 1980s, the General Assembly continued to reiterate its position on Afghanistan, resolutions that the Soviet Union consistently ignored until close to the end of that decade.

Primary Source

Resolution 35/37, Adopted by the U.N. General Assembly, November 20 1980

General Assembly Call for the Immediate Withdrawal of Foreign Troops from Afghanistan

The General Assembly,

Having considered the item entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security,"

Recalling its resolution ES-6/2 of 14 January 1980 adopted at the sixth emergency special session,

Reaffirming the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the obligation of all States to refrain in their international

relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of any State,

Reaffirming further the inalienable right of all peoples to determine their own form of government and to choose their own economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever,

Gravely concerned at the continuing foreign armed intervention in Afghanistan, intervention of the above principles, and its serious implications for international peace and security,

Deeply concerned at the increasing outflow of refugees from Afghanistan,

Recognizing the importance of the continuing efforts and initiatives of the organization of the Islamic Conference for a political solution of the situation in respect of Afghanistan,

1. Reiterates that the preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan is essential for a peaceful solution of the problem;
2. Reaffirms the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government and to choose their economic, political and social system free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever;
3. Calls for the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan;
4. Also calls upon all parties concerned to work for the urgent achievement of a political solution and the creation of the necessary conditions which would enable the Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homes in safety and honor;
5. Appeals to all States and national and international organizations to extend humanitarian relief assistance, with a view to alleviating the hardship of the Afghan refuge[e]s, in coordination with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees;
6. Expresses its appreciation of the efforts of the Secretary-General in the search for a solution to the problem and hopes that he will continue to extend assistance, including the appointment of a special representative, with a view to promoting a political solution in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution and the exploration of securing appropriate guarantees for non-use of force or threat of use of force against the political independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of all neighboring States, on the basis of mutual guarantees and strict non-interference in each other's internal affairs and with full regard for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations;
7. Requests the Secretary-General to keep Member States and the Security Council concurrently informed of the progress towards the implementation of the present resolution and to submit to Member States and report on the situation at the earliest appropriate opportunity;
8. Decides to include in the provisional agenda of its thirty-sixth session the item entitled "The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security."

Source: U.S. Department of State, *American Foreign Policy: Basic Documents, 1977–1980* (Washington, DC: Department of State, 1983), 884–885.

46. Algeria, Iran, and the United States, Agreements for the Release of the U.S. Hostages, January 19, 1981

Introduction

The crisis in U.S.-Iranian relations sparked by the seizure as hostages in November 1979 of more than 60 American diplomatic personnel continued until the last day of Jimmy Carter's presidency. By late 1980, several factors combined to impel the Iranians to be more accommodating than had initially been the case. The death in July 1980 of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran removed one source of contention, making it impossible for Iran's new government to demand that he be returned to their custody to stand trial. In September 1980 Iraq invaded Iran, the beginning of a lengthy, costly, and brutal war of attrition that quickly became the focus of most of Iran's national energies. In November 1980 the Republican Ronald Reagan, a staunch conservative and anticommunist who proclaimed himself willing to take forceful action against his country's enemies, won the presidential election. It was widely believed that once he took office in January 1981, Reagan might be prepared to take stronger measures against Iran than Carter had been prepared to contemplate. The government of Algeria served as an intermediary in negotiating a settlement, under whose terms the United States renounced all political or military intervention, direct or indirect, in Iran's internal affairs. Frozen Iranian assets totaling US$8 billion, controlled by U.S. institutions, were to be unfrozen immediately when the hostages were released. All lawsuits that American nationals or institutions had launched against the Iranian government in the United States were to be dropped, with an Iran–United States Claims Tribunal, to be established in The Hague, responsible for awarding appropriate compensation to those who had brought such litigation. The hostages were finally released on the following day a few minutes after Reagan took office, depriving Carter of even the satisfaction of personally announcing their liberation.

Primary Source

Declaration of the Government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria

(General Declaration), 19 January 1981

The Government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, having been requested by the Governments of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the United States of America to serve as an intermediary in seeking a mutually acceptable resolution of the crisis in their relations arising out of the detention of the 52 United States nationals in Iran, has consulted extensively with the two governments as to the commitments which each is willing to make in order to resolve the crisis within the framework of the four points stated in the Resolution of November 2, 1980, of the Islamic Consultative Assembly of Iran. On the basis of formal adherences received from Iran and the United States, the Government of Algeria now declares that the following interdependent commitments have been made by the two governments:

General Principles

The undertakings reflected in this Declaration are based on the following general principles:

A. Within the framework of and pursuant to the provisions of the two Declarations of the Government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, the United States will restore the financial position of Iran, in so far as possible, to that which existed prior to November 14, 1979. In this context, the United States commits itself to ensure the mobility and free transfer of all Iranian assets within its jurisdiction, as set forth in Paragraphs 4–9.

B. It is the purpose of both parties, within the framework of and pursuant to the provisions of the two Declarations of the Government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, to terminate all litigation as between the government of each party and the nationals of the other, and to bring about the settlement and termination of all such claims through binding arbitration.

Through the procedures provided in the Declarations relating to the Claims Settlement Agreement, the United States agrees to terminate all legal proceedings in United States courts involving claims of United States persons and institutions against Iran and its state enterprises, to nullify all attachments and judgments obtained therein, to prohibit all further litigation based on such claims, and to bring about the termination of such claims through binding arbitration.

Point I: Non-intervention in Iranian Affairs

1. The United States pledges that it is and from now on will be the policy of the United States not to intervene, directly or indirectly, politically or militarily, in Iran's internal affairs.

Points II AND III: Return of Iranian Assets and Settlement of U.S. Claims

2. Iran and the United States (hereinafter "the parties") will immediately select a mutually agreeable Central Bank (hereinafter "the Central Bank") to act, under the instructions of the Government of Algeria and the Central Bank of Algeria (hereinafter "the Algerian Central Bank") as depositary of the escrow and security funds hereinafter prescribed and will promptly enter into depositary arrangements with the Central Bank in accordance with the terms of this Declaration. All funds placed in escrow with the Central Bank pursuant to this Declaration shall be held in an account in the name of the Algerian Central Bank. Certain procedures for implementing the obligations set forth in this Declaration and in the Declaration of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria Concerning the Settlement of Claims by the Government of the United States and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

(hereinafter "the Claims Settlement Agreement") are separately set forth in certain Undertakings of the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran with Respect to the Declaration of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria.

3. The depositary arrangements shall provide that, in the event that the Government of Algeria certifies to the Algerian Central Bank that the 52 U.S. nationals have safely departed from Iran, the Algerian Central Bank will thereupon instruct the Central Bank to transfer immediately all monies or other assets in escrow with the Central Bank pursuant to this Declaration, provided that at any time prior to the making of such certification by the Government of Algeria, each of the two parties, Iran and the United States, shall have the right on seventy-two hours notice to terminate its commitments under this Declaration. If such notice is given by the United States and the foregoing certification is made by the Government of Algeria within the seventy-two hour period of notice, the Algerian Central Bank will thereupon instruct the Central Bank to transfer such monies and assets. If the seventy-two hour period of notice by the United States expires without such a certification having been made, or if the notice of termination is delivered by Iran, the Algerian Central Bank will thereupon instruct the Central Bank to return all such monies and assets to the United States, and thereafter the commitments reflected in this Declaration shall be of no further force and effect.

Assets in the Federal Reserve Bank

4. Commencing upon completion of the requisite escrow arrangements with the Central Bank, the United States will bring about the transfer to the Central Bank of all gold bullion which is owned by Iran and which is in the custody of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, together with all other Iranian assets (or the cash equivalent thereof) in the custody of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, to be held by the Central Bank in escrow until such time as their transfer or return is required by Paragraph 3 above.

Assets in Foreign Branches of U.S. Banks

5. Commencing upon completion of the requisite escrow arrangements with the Central Bank, the United States will bring about the transfer to the Central Bank, to the account of the Algerian Central Bank, of all Iranian deposits and securities which on or after November 14, 1979, stood upon the books of overseas banking offices of U.S. banks, together with interest thereon through December 31, 1980, to be held by the Central Bank, to the account of the Algerian Central Bank, in escrow until such time as their transfer or return is required in accordance with Paragraph 3 of this Declaration.

Assets in U.S. Branches of U.S. Banks

6. Commencing with the adherence by Iran and the United States to this Declaration and the Claims Settlement Agreement attached hereto, and following the conclusion of arrangements with the Central Bank for the establishment of the interest-bearing Security Account specified in that Agreement and Paragraph 7 below, which arrangements will be concluded within 30 days from the date of this Declaration, the United States will act to bring about the transfer to the Central Bank, within six months from such date, of all Iranian deposits and securities in U.S. banking institutions in the United States, together with interest thereon, to be held by the Central Bank in escrow until such time as their transfer for return is required by Paragraph 3.

7. As funds are received by the Central Bank pursuant to Paragraph 6 above, the Algerian Central Bank shall direct the Central Bank to (1) transfer one-half of each such receipt to Iran and (2) place the other half in a special interest-bearing Security Account in the Central Bank, until the balance in the Security Account has reached the level of U.S.$1 billion. After the U.S.$1 billion balance has been achieved, the Algerian Central Bank shall direct all funds received pursuant to Paragraph 6 to be transferred to Iran. All funds in the Security Account are to be used for the sole purpose of securing the payment of, and paying, claims against Iran in accordance with the Claims Settlement Agreement. Whenever the Central Bank shall thereafter notify Iran that the balance in the Security Account has fallen below U.S.$500 million, Iran shall promptly make new deposits sufficient to maintain a minimum balance of U.S.$500 million in the Account. The Account shall be so maintained until the President of the arbitral tribunal established pursuant to the Claims Settlement Agreement has certified to the Central Bank of Algeria that all arbitral awards against Iran have been satisfied in accordance with the Claims Settlement Agreement, at which point any amount remaining in the Security Account shall be transferred to Iran.

Other Assets in the U.S. and Abroad

8. Commencing with the adherence of Iran and the United States to this Declaration and the attached Claims Settlement Agreement and the conclusion of arrangements for the establishment of the Security Account, which arrangements will be concluded with[in] 30 days from the date of this Declaration, the United States will act to bring about the transfer to the Central Bank of all Iranian financial assets (meaning funds or securities) which are located in the United States and abroad, apart from those assets referred to in Paragraphs 5 and 6 above, to be held by the Central Bank in escrow until their transfer or return is required by Paragraph 3 above.

9. Commencing with the adherence by Iran and the United States to this Declaration and the attached Claims Settlement Agreement and the making by the Government of Algeria of the certification described in Paragraph 3 above, the United States will arrange, subject to the provisions of U.S. law applicable prior to November 14, 1979, for the transfer to Iran of all Iranian properties which are located in the United States and abroad and which are not within the scope of the preceding paragraphs.

Nullification of Sanctions and Claims

10. Upon the making by the Government of Algeria of the certification described in Paragraph 3 above, the United States will revoke all trade sanctions which were directed against Iran in the period November 4, 1979, to date.

11. Upon the making by the Government of Algeria of the certification described in Paragraph 3 above, the United States will promptly withdraw all claims now pending against Iran before the International Court of Justice and will thereafter bar and preclude the prosecution against Iran of any pending or future claim of the United States or a United States national arising out of events occurring before the date of this Declaration related to (A) the seizure of the 52 United States nationals on November 4, 1979, (B) their subsequent detention, (C) injury to the United States property or property of the United States nationals within the United States Embassy compound in Tehran after November 3, 1979, and (D) injury to the United States nationals or their property as a result of popular movements in the course of the Islamic Revolution in Iran which were not an act of the Government of Iran. The

United States will also bar and preclude the prosecution against Iran in the courts of the United States of any pending or future claim asserted by persons other than the United States nationals arising out of the events specified in the preceding sentence.

Point IV: Return of the Assets of the Family of the Former Shah

12. Upon the making by the Government of Algeria of the certification described in Paragraph 3 above, the United States will freeze, and prohibit any transfer of, property and assets in the United States within the control of the estate of the former Shah or any close relative of the former Shah served as a defendant in U.S. litigation brought by Iran to recover such property and assets as belonging to Iran. As to any such defendant, including the estate of the former Shah, the freeze order will remain in effect until such litigation is finally terminated. Violation of the freeze order shall be subject to the civil and criminal penalties prescribed by U.S. law.

13. Upon the making by the Government of Algeria of the certification described in Paragraph 3 above, the United States will order all persons within U.S. jurisdiction to report to the U.S. Treasury within 30 days, for transmission to Iran, all information known to them, as of November 3, 1979, and as of the date of the order, with respect to the property and assets referred to in Paragraph 12. Violation of the requirement will be subject to the civil and criminal penalties prescribed by U.S. law.

14. Upon the making by the Government of Algeria of the certification described in Paragraph 3 above, the United States will make known, to all appropriate U.S. courts, that in any litigation of the kind described in Paragraph 12 above the claims of Iran should not be considered legally barred either by sovereign immunity principles or by the act of state doctrine and that Iranian decrees and judgments relating to such assets should be enforced by such courts in accordance with United States law.

15. As to any judgment of a U.S. court which calls for the transfer of any property or assets to Iran, the United States hereby guarantees the enforcement of the final judgment to the extent that the property or assets exist with the United States.

16. If any dispute arises between the parties as to whether the United States has fulfilled any obligation imposed upon it by Paragraphs 12–15, inclusive, Iran may submit the dispute to binding arbitration by the tribunal established by, and in accordance with the provisions of, the Claims Settlement Agreement. If the tribunal determines that Iran has suffered a loss as a result of a failure by the United States to fulfill such obligation, it shall make an appropriate award in favor of Iran which may be enforced by Iran in the courts of any nation in accordance with its laws.

Settlement of Disputes

17. If any other dispute arises between the parties as to the interpretation or performance of any provision of this Declaration, either party may submit the dispute to binding arbitration by the tribunal established by, and in accordance with the provisions of, the Claims Settlement Agreement. Any decision of the tribunal with respect to such dispute, including any award of damages to compensate for a loss resulting from a breach of this Declaration or the Claims Settlement Agreement, may be enforced by the prevailing party in the courts of any nation in accordance with its laws.

Source: U.S. Department of State, *American Foreign Policy: Current Documents, 1981* (Washington, DC: Department of State, 1984), 737–741.

47. Department of State, Daily Press Briefing on U.S. Policy toward the Iran-Iraq War and toward Exports to Iraq, May 14, 1982

Introduction

In September 1980 war broke out in the Persian Gulf when Iran invaded Iraq. Saddam Hussein, who became president of Iraq in 1979 and had largely controlled its government since around 1969, saw the weakness of the Iranian military in the aftermath of the 1979 Revolution as an opportunity to make Iraq the predominant power in the Persian Gulf region. He was motivated in part by long-standing disputes with Iran over control of the Shatt al-Arab waterway, only temporarily resolved in 1975 when the two states signed the Algiers Accord dividing their jurisdiction over the channel along a line running through its center. Hussein now claimed that Iraq should control the entire waterway, up to its Iranian shore. In addition, Hussein resented the encouragement that Iran's new Shiite Muslim ruler, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, whom Saddam had expelled from Iraq in 1978, gave to Iraqi Shiites in efforts to rise up against his own regime and assassinate members of his cabinet. On September 23 Iraqi forces marched across the Shatt al-Arab waterway into southwestern Iraq, the beginning of eight years of war between the two countries. Officially, as U.S. State Department spokesmen reiterated in repeated statements during those years, the United States remained neutral in this conflict, affirming its support for the "independence and territorial integrity" of both states involved and stating its hopes for the negotiation of an immediate peaceful cease-fire. In practice, for several years the United States welcomed Iran's preoccupation with a lengthy and bloody conflict. In February 1982 the U.S. government also removed Iraq from a list of countries subject to antiterrorism controls, restrictions that had previously prevented Iraq from purchasing American armaments. The administration of

U.S. president Ronald Reagan successfully resisted congressional efforts to restore Iran to that list. Iran, by contrast, remained subject to American antiterrorist export controls, a clear disadvantage to Iran in the ongoing hostilities.

Primary Source

Q. [D]o you have any position on the new developments in the Iran-Iraq war?

A. I don't really have anything on any new developments. I could reiterate for you, though, our attitude towards it which I think might be appropriate as this all progresses.

U.S. policy with regard to the Iran-Iraq war has been clear and consistent since the outbreak of the hostilities 20 months ago. The policy enunciated when Iraqi forces entered Iran remains our policy today. The United States supports the independence and territorial integrity of both Iran and Iraq as well as the other states in the region. In keeping with our policy worldwide, we oppose the seizure of territory by force. We see the continuation of the war, as we have repeatedly said, as a danger to the peace and security of all nations in the Gulf region and we have therefore consistently supported an immediate cease-fire and a negotiated settlement. We have maintained a firm policy of not approving the sale or transfer of American military equipment and supplies to either belligerent, and we have welcomed constructive international efforts to bring an end to the war on the basis of each state's respect for the territorial integrity of its neighbors and each state's freedom from external coercion.

Q. Is there a new turn in the war now that has changed your attitude?

A. No. Our policy remains consistent on this.

Q. Do you have any comment on the action by the House Foreign Affairs Committee refusing to take Iraq off this list of terrorism-banned countries?

A. Yes, I do have something on that. Let me address the amendment as a whole as it was adopted yesterday.

The amendment would impose the controls that were removed by the administration in February. The decisions to remove Iraq from the terrorism list, to exempt civil aircraft for civil airlines from controls for antiterrorism purposes and to adjust the controls for South Africa were made after a lengthy review which is required annually. The review took into account the compatibility of the controls with U.S. foreign policy objectives, the reaction of other countries to the controls, and the likely effect of continuing controls on U.S. export performance. All is required by the Export Administration Act.

We oppose the restrictions the amendment would impose. Fixing controls by legislation reduces our flexibility to respond to changes in the international arena and to insure that export controls further our foreign policy objectives as is required by the Export Administration Act itself. Changing course at this time will also confuse foreign governments and call into question the credibility of the United States as a reliable supplier.

Source: U.S. Department of State, *American Foreign Policy: Current Documents, 1982* (Washington, DC: Department of State, 1985), 783–784.

48. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, Statement on Israel's Right to a Secure State, January 2, 1983

Introduction

By the 1980s, several Arab leaders were willing to publicly endorse the concept of recognition of Israel. President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, then engaged in a lengthy war with Iran in which he was receiving substantial U.S. support, was among them. Hussein, heading a largely secular government dominated by the socialist Baath Party, was by no means a dedicated Muslim. Interviewed by Democratic congressman Stephen Solarz in 1983, Hussein told him "that the simultaneous existence of an independent Palestinian State acceptable to the Palestinians and the existence of a secure state for the Israelis are both necessary." Hussein's greatest concern over such an arrangement was apparently not the status of Israel but rather his opposition to any potential union of the West Bank and Gaza with the kingdom of Jordan. This would, he claimed, be "unacceptable" to Iraq and other Arab states. Hussein argued that were the Palestinian territories to join Jordan, other Arab states would regard this as threatening "their entire existence" and exposing them to manipulation and menace from "an international conspiracy" or any "big power." Hussein's underlying objection may well have been that a merger of Jordan with the West Bank and Gaza would have enhanced Jordan both territorially and in terms of its international visibility, prestige, and allies, boosting that kingdom's ability to withstand pressure from Iraq.

Primary Source

[Question] Mr. President, I do appreciate your frank answers. I would like to ask you the second question and I would like you to give, with all sincerity, your viewpoint: should Israel agree to return to the pre-1967 borders, but only within an objective framework, giving Jordan the primary responsibility for administrating the West Bank and Gaza Strip. (?Does) this represent an acceptable solution to the problem? Would it be sufficient for Israel to withdraw to the 1967 lines and to accept the establishment of a

Palestinian State in the West Bank and Gaza Strip as a way to solve the conflict?

[Answer] I do not believe that forcing the Palestinians, under the current circumstances, to accept a constitutional formula with any Arab State is a sound action. However, I believe that the simultaneous existence of an independent Palestinian State acceptable to the Palestinians and the existence of a secure state for the Israelis are both necessary.

I believe that you will be committing a grave mistake, unacceptable of course to the Arabs and Iraq, if you think that Jordan is suitable as a Palestinian State. In other words, the state of Palestine would be on the east bank of the Jordan, as some Israeli officials have remarked. The Arabs would feel that their entire existence was threatened and that the political map of their national entity could be threatened any time by an international conspiracy or by the desire of this or that big power.

Source: Saddam Hussein, Interview with Stephen Solarz, January 2, 1983, Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *F.B.I.S.-Daily Report Middle East and North Africa,* January 4, 1983.

49. President Ronald Reagan, Address to the Nation on Events in Lebanon and Grenada, October 27, 1983 [Excerpts]

Introduction

On October 23, 1983, Muslim suicide-bombers drove trucks loaded with explosives into the barracks of peacekeeping forces of U.S. marines and French troops stationed in Beirut, the capital of Lebanon. These troops had been deployed there since late 1982 as part of an international peacekeeping force that was trying to maintain order in Beirut after Israeli forces intent on driving out the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) had invaded, triggering a complicated civil war among various Lebanese political factions. The American forces were increasingly perceived as seeking to ensure the victory of Maronite Christian groups linked to Israel. The bombing resulted in the deaths of 241 American servicemen, 58 French paratroopers, and some civilians. The episode was one of the first suicide bombings in the Middle East. Addressing the nation four days later, U.S. president Ronald Reagan affirmed his country's commitment to maintaining order in the Middle East, particularly in Lebanon, and claimed that the attacks were themselves evidence that the marines were succeeding in their mission of restoring stability and normal conditions in Beirut. The United States blamed Syria for the attacks and mounted air strikes and naval bombardments against Syrian, Druze, and Shiite positions in Lebanon. In practice, nonetheless, shortly afterward the U.S. government, reluctant to face the prospect of further major casualties in such episodes, proclaimed that the marines had accomplished their mission and withdrew them from Lebanon, a decision that hawks later criticized as proving that terrorist tactics were effective. In the same address, Reagan also highlighted the American invasion of the Caribbean island of Grenada, an operation launched two days earlier to overthrow a Marxist government that had murdered socialist prime minister Maurice Bishop and seized power the previous week. Cuban troops and construction workers were present on the island, building an airport that, it was feared, would be used for military purposes, and 1,000 American students were believed to be in danger. In conjunction with forces from seven other Caribbean countries, 5,000 U.S. marines invaded the island and, after some heavy fighting, subdued the Grenadian ground and air forces and the Cuban contingents. They also found a cache of heavy weapons sufficient to arm 10,000 troops. Nineteen American soldiers died and 119 were wounded, while Grenadian casualties were 45 dead and 337 wounded. By mid-December 1983 most resistance had ended, except for some rebels who fled to the hills, and American forces were withdrawn. Parliamentary elections held in 1984 returned the noncommunist New National Party to power. The two near-simultaneous episodes encapsulated the degree to which Reagan's bold rhetoric belied his pragmatic caution in international affairs. Like most American presidents and military men in the aftermath of the Vietnam War, Reagan preferred to keep American military interventions brief and limited and to pick conflicts in which victory would be relatively quick and easy.

Primary Source

Some 2 months ago we were shocked by the brutal massacre of 269 men, women, and children, more than 60 of them Americans, in the shooting down of a Korean airliner. Now, in these past several days, violence has erupted again, in Lebanon and Grenada.

In Lebanon, we have some 1,600 marines, part of a multinational force that's trying to help the people of Lebanon restore order and stability to that troubled land. Our marines are assigned to the south of the city of Beirut, near the only airport operating in Lebanon. Just a mile or so to the north is the Italian contingent and not far from them, the French and a company of British soldiers.

This past Sunday, at 22 minutes after 6 Beirut time, with dawn just breaking, a truck, looking like a lot of other vehicles in the city, approached the airport on a busy, main road. There was nothing in its appearance to suggest it was any different than the trucks or cars that were normally seen on and around the airport. But this one was different. At the wheel was a young man on a suicide mission.

The truck carried some 2,000 pounds of explosives, but there was no way our marine guards could know this. Their first warning

that something was wrong came when the truck crashed through a series of barriers, including a chain-link fence and barbed wire entanglements. The guards opened fire, but it was too late. The truck smashed through the doors of the headquarters building in which our marines were sleeping and instantly exploded. The four-story concrete building collapsed in a pile of rubble.

More than 200 of the sleeping men were killed in that one hideous, insane attack. Many others suffered injury and are hospitalized here or in Europe.

This was not the end of the horror. At almost the same instant, another vehicle on a suicide and murder mission crashed into the headquarters of the French peacekeeping force, an eight-story building, destroying it and killing more than 50 French soldiers.

Prior to this day of horror, there had been several tragedies for our men in the multinational force. Attacks by snipers and mortar fire had taken their toll.

I called bereaved parents and/or widows of the victims to express on behalf of all of us our sorrow and sympathy. Sometimes there were questions. And now many of you are asking: Why should our young men be dying in Lebanon? Why is Lebanon important to us?

Well, it's true, Lebanon is a small country, more than five-and-a-half thousand miles from our shores on the edge of what we call the Middle East. But every President who has occupied this office in recent years has recognized that peace in the Middle East is of vital concern to our nation and, indeed, to our allies in Western Europe and Japan. We've been concerned because the Middle East is a powderkeg; four times in the last 30 years, the Arabs and Israelis have gone to war. And each time, the world has teetered near the edge of catastrophe.

The area is key to the economic and political life of the West. Its strategic importance, its energy resources, the Suez Canal, and the well-being of the nearly 200 million people living there—all are vital to us and to world peace. If that key should fall into the hands of a power or powers hostile to the free world, there would be a direct threat to the United States and to our allies.

We have another reason to be involved. Since 1948 our Nation has recognized and accepted a moral obligation to assure the continued existence of Israel as a nation. Israel shares our democratic values and is a formidable force an invader of the Middle East would have to reckon with.

For several years, Lebanon has been torn by internal strife. Once a prosperous, peaceful nation, its government had become ineffective in controlling the militias that warred on each other. Sixteen months ago, we were watching on our TV screens the shelling and bombing of Beirut which was being used as a fortress by PLO bands. Hundreds and hundreds of civilians were being killed and wounded in the daily battles.

Syria, which makes no secret of its claim that Lebanon should be a part of a Greater Syria, was occupying a large part of Lebanon. Today, Syria has become a home for 7,000 Soviet advisers and technicians who man a massive amount of Soviet weaponry, including SS-21 ground-to-ground missiles capable of reaching vital areas of Israel.

A little over a year ago, hoping to build on the Camp David accords, which had led to peace between Israel and Egypt, I proposed a peace plan for the Middle East to end the wars between the Arab States and Israel. It was based on U.N. resolutions 242 and 338 and called for a fair and just solution to the Palestinian problem, as well as a fair and just settlement of issues between the Arab States and Israel.

Before the necessary negotiations could begin, it was essential to get all foreign forces out of Lebanon and to end the fighting there. So, why are we there? Well, the answer is straightforward: to help bring peace to Lebanon and stability to the vital Middle East. To that end, the multinational force was created to help stabilize the situation in Lebanon until a government could be established and a Lebanese army mobilized to restore Lebanese sovereignty over its own soil as the foreign forces withdrew. Israel agreed to withdraw as did Syria, but Syria then reneged on its promise. Over 10,000 Palestinians who had been bringing ruin down on Beirut, however, did leave the country.

Lebanon has formed a government under the leadership of President Gemayal, and that government, with our assistance and training, has set up its own army. In only a year's time, that army has been rebuilt. It's a good army, composed of Lebanese of all factions.

A few weeks ago, the Israeli army pulled back to the Awali River in southern Lebanon. Despite fierce resistance by Syrian-backed forces, the Lebanese army was able to hold the line and maintain the defensive perimeter around Beirut.

In the year that our marines have been there, Lebanon has made important steps toward stability and order. The physical presence of the marines lends support to both the Lebanese Government and its army. It allows the hard work of diplomacy to go forward. Indeed, without the peacekeepers from the U.S., France, Italy, and Britain, the efforts to find a peaceful solution in Lebanon would collapse.

As to that narrower question—what exactly is the operational mission of the marines—the answer is, to secure a piece of Beirut, to keep order in their sector, and to prevent the area from becoming

a battlefield. Our marines are not just sitting in an airport. Part of their task is to guard that airport. Because of their presence, the airport has remained operational. In addition, they patrol the surrounding area. This is their part—a limited, but essential part—in the larger effort that I've described.

If our marines must be there, I'm asked, why can't we make them safer? Who committed this latest atrocity against them and why?

Well, we'll do everything we can to ensure that our men are as safe as possible. We ordered the battleship New Jersey to join our naval forces offshore. Without even firing them, the threat of its 16-inch guns silenced those who once fired down on our marines from the hills, and they're a good part of the reason we suddenly had a cease-fire. We're doing our best to make our forces less vulnerable to those who want to snipe at them or send in future suicide missions.

Secretary [of State George] Shultz called me today from Europe, where he was meeting with the Foreign Ministers of our allies in the multinational force. They remain committed to our task. And plans were made to share information as to how we can improve security for all our men.

We have strong circumstantial evidence that the attack on the marines was directed by terrorists who used the same method to destroy our Embassy in Beirut. Those who directed this atrocity must be dealt justice, and they will be. The obvious purpose behind the sniping and, now, this attack was to weaken American will and force the withdrawal of U.S. and French forces from Lebanon. The clear intent of the terrorists was to eliminate our support of the Lebanese Government and to destroy the ability of the Lebanese people to determine their own destiny.

To answer those who ask if we're serving any purpose in being there, let me answer a question with a question. Would the terrorists have launched their suicide attacks against the multinational force if it were not doing its job? The multinational force was attacked precisely because it is doing the job it was sent to do in Beirut. It is accomplishing its mission.

Now then, where do we go from here? What can we do now to help Lebanon gain greater stability so that our marines can come home? Well, I believe we can take three steps now that will make a difference.

First, we will accelerate the search for peace and stability in that region. . . .

Second, we'll work even more closely with our allies in providing support for the Government of Lebanon and for the rebuilding of a national consensus.

Third, we will ensure that the multinational peace-keeping forces, our marines, are given the greatest possible protection. . . .

Beyond our progress in Lebanon, let us remember that our main goal and purpose is to achieve a broader peace in all of the Middle East. The factions and bitterness that we see in Lebanon are just a microcosm of the difficulties that are spread across much of that region. A peace initiative for the entire Middle East, consistent with the Camp David accords and U.N. resolutions 242 and 338, still offers the best hope for bringing peace to the region.

Let me ask those who say we should get out of Lebanon: If we were to leave Lebanon now, what message would that send to those who foment instability and terrorism? If America were to walk away from Lebanon, what chance would there be for a negotiated settlement, producing a unified democratic Lebanon?

If we turned our backs on Lebanon now, what would be the future of Israel? At stake is the fate of only the second Arab country to negotiate a major agreement with Israel. That's another accomplishment of this past year, the May 17th accord signed by Lebanon and Israel.

If terrorism and intimidation succeed, it'll be a devastating blow to the peace process and to Israel's search for genuine security. It won't just be Lebanon sentenced to a future of chaos. Can the United States, or the free world, for that matter, stand by and see the Middle East incorporated into the Soviet bloc? What of Western Europe and Japan's dependence on Middle East oil for the energy to fuel their industries? The Middle East is, as I've said, vital to our national security and economic well-being.

Brave young men have been taken from us. Many others have been grievously wounded. Are we to tell them their sacrifice was wasted? They gave their lives in defense of our national security every bit as much as any man who ever died fighting in a war. We must not strip every ounce of meaning and purpose from their courageous sacrifice.

We're a nation with global responsibilities. We're not somewhere else in the world protecting someone else's interests; we're there protecting our own.

[. . .]

Let us meet our responsibilities. For longer than any of us can remember, the people of the Middle East have lived from war to war with no prospect for any other future. That dreadful cycle must be broken. Why are we there? Well, a Lebanese mother told one of our Ambassadors that her little girl had only attended school 2 of the last 8 years. Now, because of our presence there, she said her daughter could live a normal life.

With patience and firmness, we can help bring peace to that strife-torn region—and make our own lives more secure. Our role is to help the Lebanese put their country together, not to do it for them.

Now, I know another part of the world is very much on our minds, a place much closer to our shores: Grenada. The island is only twice the size of the District of Columbia, with a total population of about 110,000 people.

Grenada and a half dozen other Caribbean islands here were, until recently, British colonies. They're now independent states and members of the British Commonwealth. While they respect each other's independence, they also feel a kinship with each other and think of themselves as one people.

In 1979 trouble came to Grenada. Maurice Bishop, a protégé of Fidel Castro, staged a military coup and overthrew the government which had been elected under the constitution left to the people by the British. He sought the help of Cuba in building an airport, which he claimed was for tourist trade, but which looked suspiciously suitable for military aircraft, including Soviet-built long-range bombers.

The six sovereign countries and one remaining colony are joined together in what they call the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States. The six became increasingly alarmed as Bishop built an army greater than all of theirs combined. Obviously, it was not purely for defense.

In this last year or so, Prime Minister Bishop gave indications that he might like better relations with the United States. He even made a trip to our country and met with senior officials of the White House and the State Department. Whether he was serious or not, we'll never know. On October 12th, a small group in his militia seized him and put him under arrest. They were, if anything, more radical and more devoted to Castro's Cuba than he had been.

Several days later, a crowd of citizens appeared before Bishop's home, freed him, and escorted him toward the headquarters of the military council. They were fired upon. A number, including some children, were killed, and Bishop was seized. He and several members of his cabinet were subsequently executed, and a 24-hour shoot-to-kill curfew was put in effect. Grenada was without a government, its only authority exercised by a self-proclaimed band of military men.

There were then about 1,000 of our citizens on Grenada, 800 of them students in St. George's University Medical School. Concerned that they'd be harmed or held as hostages, I ordered a flotilla of ships, then on its way to Lebanon with marines, part of our regular rotation program, to circle south on a course that would put them somewhere in the vicinity of Grenada in case there should be a need to evacuate our people.

Last weekend, I was awakened in the early morning hours and told that six members of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, joined by Jamaica and Barbados, had sent an urgent request that we join them in a military operation to restore order and democracy to Grenada. They were proposing this action under the terms of a treaty, a mutual assistance pact that existed among them.

These small, peaceful nations needed our help. Three of them don't have armies at all, and the others have very limited forces. The legitimacy of their request, plus my own concern for our citizens, dictated my decision. I believe our government has a responsibility to go to the aid of its citizens, if their right to life and liberty is threatened. The nightmare of our hostages in Iran must never be repeated.

We knew we had little time and that complete secrecy was vital to ensure both the safety of the young men who would undertake this mission and the Americans they were about to rescue. The Joint Chiefs worked around the clock to come up with a plan. They had little intelligence information about conditions on the island.

We had to assume that several hundred Cubans working on the airport could be military reserves. Well, as it turned out, the number was much larger, and they were a military force. Six hundred of them have been taken prisoner, and we have discovered a complete base with weapons and communications equipment, which makes it clear a Cuban occupation of the island had been planned.

Two hours ago we released the first photos from Grenada. They included pictures of a warehouse of military equipment—one of three we've uncovered so far. This warehouse contained weapons and ammunition stacked almost to the ceiling, enough to supply thousands of terrorists. Grenada, we were told, was a friendly island paradise for tourism. Well, it wasn't. It was a Soviet-Cuban colony, being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy. We got there just in time.

[. . .]

The events in Lebanon and Grenada, though oceans apart, are closely related. Not only has Moscow assisted and encouraged the violence in both countries, but it provides direct support through a network of surrogates and terrorists. It is no coincidence that when the thugs tried to wrest control over Grenada, there were 30 Soviet advisers and hundreds of Cuban military and paramilitary forces on the island. At the moment of our landing, we communicated with the Governments of Cuba and the Soviet Union and told them we would offer shelter and security to their people on

Grenada. Regrettably, Castro ordered his men to fight to the death, and some did. The others will be sent to their homelands.

You know, there was a time when our national security was based on a standing army here within our own borders and shore batteries of artillery along our coasts, and, of course, a navy to keep the sea lanes open for the shipping of things necessary to our well-being. The world has changed. Today, our national security can be threatened in faraway places. It's up to all of us to be aware of the strategic importance of such places and to be able to identify them.

[. . .]

Source: Ronald Reagan, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Ronald Reagan, 1983,* Book 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985), 1517–1522.

50. President Ronald Reagan, Address to the Nation Concerning the U.S. Air Strike against Libya, April 14, 1986, and Letter to Congress on U.S. Air Strikes against Libya, April 15, 1986

Introduction

The radical Arab regime of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi, who took power in Libya in 1969, was a constant irritant to U.S. leaders. Though small in population, still under 6 million in the early 21st century, Libya controlled large oil reserves. Qaddafi aligned his country with radical Arab nationalist forces, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). During the 1970s and 1980s Libya sponsored a wide variety of international terrorist organizations, including the Provisional Irish Republican Army and the breakaway Palestinian Abu Nidal Group. In December 1985 the latter was responsible for armed attacks on ticket counters of the Israeli airline El Al at the Rome and Vienna airports. The United States also held Libyan terrorists responsible for the early April 1986 explosion of a bomb in a West Berlin discotheque that was much patronized by American military personnel. Such incidents and Libyan territorial claims to special rights in the waters of the Gulf of Sidra provoked President Ronald Reagan into ordering a carrier naval task force to the area in March 1986 whose vessels soon clashed with Libyan missile-armed patrol boats. Seeking to send a message that the United States would not tolerate international terrorist operations, in mid-April 1986 Reagan authorized a major long-distance bombing raid by American F-111 warplanes based in Great Britain and A-6, A-7, and F/A-18 aircraft from several aircraft carriers on five Libyan sites, including the airfields and air defense networks at Tripoli and Benghazi. It was widely believed that one target of the raids was Qaddafi himself, but he escaped harm. His young adopted daughter was killed, and two of his sons were injured. After the raid, Qaddafi apparently increased Libyan support to international terrorist organizations. Arab states, together with the Soviet Union and France, unanimously condemned the operation, whereas the governments of Britain, Australia, and Israel supported it. In most European countries public opinion was strongly opposed to the airstrikes, which many perceived as evidence of the increasingly assertive, militarized, and unilateral character of U.S. foreign policy under the conservative Reagan. While rhetorically condemning the raids, Soviet officials were privately less than enthusiastic toward Qaddafi, who had frequently publicly attacked Soviet policies and ideology and intervened in international situations in ways that undercut Soviet objectives. Soviet leaders therefore did not allow American actions against Libya to disturb the smooth progress of continuing U.S.-Soviet arms control negotiations. In an address to the American people and in a letter to Congress, Reagan justified the air strikes as a preemptive action undertaken in self-defense by the United States.

Primary Source

My fellow Americans: At 7 o'clock this evening eastern time air and naval forces of the United States launched a series of strikes against the headquarters, terrorist facilities, and military assets that support Mu'ammar Qadhafi's subversive activities. The attacks were concentrated and carefully targeted to minimize casualties among the Libyan people with whom we have no quarrel. From initial reports, our forces have succeeded in their mission.

Several weeks ago in New Orleans, I warned Colonel Qadhafi we would hold his regime accountable for any new terrorist attacks launched against American citizens. More recently I made it clear we would respond as soon as we determined conclusively who was responsible for such attacks. On April 5th in West Berlin a terrorist bomb exploded in a nightclub frequented by American servicemen. Sergeant Kenneth Ford and a young Turkish woman were killed and 230 others were wounded, among them some 50 American military personnel. This monstrous brutality is but the latest act in Colonel Qadhafi's reign of terror. The evidence is now conclusive that the terrorist bombing of La Belle discotheque was planned and executed under the direct orders of the Libyan regime. On March 25th, more than a week before the attack, orders were sent from Tripoli to the Libyan People's Bureau in East Berlin to conduct a terrorist attack against Americans to cause maximum and indiscriminate casualties. Libya's agents then planted the bomb. On April 4th the People's Bureau alerted Tripoli that the attack would be carried out the following morning. The next day they reported back to Tripoli on the great success of their mission.

Our evidence is direct; it is precise; it is irrefutable. We have solid evidence about other attacks Qadhafi has planned against the United States installations and diplomats and even American

tourists. Thanks to close cooperation with our friends, some of these have been prevented. With the help of French authorities, we recently aborted one such attack: a planned massacre, using grenades and small arms, of civilians waiting in line for visas at an American Embassy.

Colonel Qadhafi is not only an enemy of the United States. His record of subversion and aggression against the neighboring States in Africa is well documented and well known. He has ordered the murder of fellow Libyans in countless countries. He has sanctioned acts of terror in Africa, Europe, and the Middle East, as well as the Western Hemisphere. Today we have done what we had to do. If necessary, we shall do it again. It gives me no pleasure to say that, and I wish it were otherwise. Before Qadhafi seized power in 1969, the people of Libya had been friends of the United States. And I'm sure that today most Libyans are ashamed and disgusted that this man has made their country a synonym for barbarism around the world. The Libyan people are a decent people caught in the grip of a tyrant.

To our friends and allies in Europe who cooperated in today's mission, I would only say you have the permanent gratitude of the American people. Europeans who remember history understand better than most that there is no security, no safety, in the appeasement of evil. It must be the core of Western policy that there be no sanctuary for terror. And to sustain such a policy, free men and free nations must unite and work together. Sometimes it is said that by imposing sanctions against Colonel Qadhafi or by striking at his terrorist installations we only magnify the man's importance, that the proper way to deal with him is to ignore him. I do not agree.

Long before I came into this office, Colonel Qadhafi had engaged in acts of international terror, acts that put him outside the company of civilized men. For years, however, he suffered no economic or political or military sanction; and the atrocities mounted in number, as did the innocent dead and wounded. And for us to ignore by inaction the slaughter of American civilians and American soldiers, whether in nightclubs or airline terminals, is simply not in the American tradition. When our citizens are abused or attacked anywhere in the world on the direct orders of a hostile regime, we will respond so long as I'm in this Oval Office. Self-defense is not only our right, it is our duty. It is the purpose behind the mission undertaken tonight, a mission fully consistent with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

We believe that this preemptive action against his terrorist installations will not only diminish Colonel Qadhafi's capacity to export terror, it will provide him with incentives and reasons to alter his criminal behavior. I have no illusion that tonight's action will ring down the curtain on Qadhafi's reign of terror. But this mission, violent though it was, can bring closer a safer and more secure world for decent men and women. We will persevere. This afternoon we consulted with the leaders of Congress regarding what we were about to do and why. Tonight I salute the skill and professionalism of the men and women of our Armed Forces who carried out this mission. It's an honor to be your Commander in Chief.

We Americans are slow to anger. We always seek peaceful avenues before resorting to the use of force—and we did. We tried quiet diplomacy, public condemnation, economic sanctions, and demonstrations of military force. None succeeded. Despite our repeated warnings, Qadhafi continued his reckless policy of intimidation, his relentless pursuit of terror. He counted on America to be passive. He counted wrong. I warned that there should be no place on Earth where terrorists can rest and train and practice their deadly skills. I meant it. I said that we would act with others, if possible, and alone if necessary to ensure that terrorists have no sanctuary anywhere. Tonight, we have.

Thank you, and God bless you.

Source: Ronald Reagan, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Ronald Reagan, 1986,* Book 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1988), 468–469.

51. Soviet Government, Statement on the Persian Gulf Situation, July 4, 1987

Introduction

By the mid-1980s, the Soviet Union viewed continuation of the war that had broken out between Iran and Iraq in 1980 as a destabilizing factor in international affairs. Under Mikhail Gorbachev, who sought peace and stability with other powers in order to concentrate on internal reforms, the Soviet Union had begun to liquidate its own outstanding international entanglements. Already, the Soviets were moving toward withdrawing their forces from the lengthy guerrilla conflict in Afghanistan that they had entered in December 1979. Soviet leaders also sought to de-escalate other disputes in the Middle East. Iran shared a border with the Soviet Union, arousing apprehensions that the ongoing conflict might ultimately spill over into Soviet territory. Soviet leaders viewed the massive deployment of U.S. military forces in the Persian Gulf region during the Iran-Iraq War, especially American interdiction of Iranian air and sea communications and commerce and American attacks on Libya, as efforts to establish U.S. "military-political hegemony in this strategically important area of the world." So long as the conflagration continued, however, American forces were likely to maintain a high profile in the area, with the objective of protecting the vital sea-lanes that transported so much of the world's oil supplies. In mid-1987 an article in the official Soviet newspaper *Pravda* (Truth) called for the withdrawal of "the

warships of states not situated in the region" from the Persian Gulf in exchange for agreements by Iran and Iraq that they would "abstain from actions that would threaten international shipping." (Given their own proximity to Iran, the Soviets, of course, might well have argued that their ships should remain there.) The Soviets called upon the United Nations (UN) to negotiate a cease-fire under whose terms the forces of both Iran and Iraq would withdraw behind their respective borders. The fact that both superpowers, which were simultaneously reaching wide-ranging agreements with each other on arms reduction, now favored ending the Iran-Iraq War meant that they could concentrate their efforts on putting additional pressure on both belligerent nations to end hostilities and accept an armistice.

Primary Source

Recently tension in the Persian Gulf has been dangerously growing. A drastically increased number of warships, including those of states located thousands of kilometers away from this important area, are plying international waters traditionally used for trade and other peaceful passage. The continuation of the long senseless war between Iran and Iraq objectively facilitates the aggravation of the situation. As a result, events there are approaching a danger level beyond which exists the risk of the regional conflict developing into an international crisis.

It is absolutely clear that these processes, if not stopped in time and placed under proper control, might pose a serious threat to international peace and security even contrary to the will and intent of the states drawn into them. This turn of events gives rise to the legitimate alarm of the international community. Likewise, this cannot but provoke the concern of the Soviet Union, which is located in the direct proximity of the expanding seat of conflict.

In these conditions there is a pressing need to adopt urgent and effective measures that will promote a radical defusing of tension in the Persian Gulf and an early end to the Iran-Iraq war. Real steps toward attainment of the said aims are needed. Pseudomeasures, supposedly motivated by concern for the safety of shipping or "ensuring stabilization" in the Persian Gulf but in reality prompted by selfish designs, are absolutely impermissible. Such actions are now being undertaken by the United States which wants to exploit the present alarming situation in the Persian Gulf area to achieve its long-harbored plans of establishing military-political hegemony in this strategically important area of the world, an area that Washington is trying to represent as a sphere of American "vital interests." Such is the real explanation of the U.S. policy of building up its military presence, although it tries to cover this up with stereotype contentions about the existence of a "Soviet threat." . . .

Proceeding from the need for radical measures to improve the situation in the region, the Soviet Government suggests that all warships of states not situated in the region be withdrawn soon from the Gulf and that Iran and Iraq, in turn, should abstain from actions that would threaten international shipping. Such measures, taken in the context of an all-embracing settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict, would help pacify the situation and eliminate the threat of the spread of an explosive seat of military tension.

The Soviet Union reaffirms its principled stand in favor of ending the Iran-Iraq war and resolving outstanding issues between Iran and Iraq at the negotiating table rather than on the battlefield.

In this connection we attach special importance to political efforts within the framework of the United Nations to find a peaceful solution to the Iran-Iraq conflict.

In agreement with other members of the UN Security Council, we are in favor of effective measures in this direction, specifically an immediate cease-fire and cessation of all hostilities, and a withdrawal of all troops to the internationally recognized borders without delay.

The UN secretary-general can play a substantial role in achieving a fair settlement acceptable to both sides.

The Soviet Union supports the peace-making mission of the UN secretary-general and calls on all other countries to render every kind of assistance to its successful outcome.

The acuteness of the situation in the Persian Gulf area and the need to quickly bring about an end to the Iran-Iraq conflict require that all countries pursue a policy of genuinely constructive deeds, a policy prompted by the overriding interest in preserving peace and effectively strengthening international security, rather than practicing "gunboat diplomacy."

The Soviet Union is ready to cooperate with all those who really share these aims.

Source: *Reprints from the Soviet Press* 40(4) (August 1987): 45–46.

52. President Ronald Reagan, Statement on U.S. Reprisal Raid on Iranian Platforms in the Persian Gulf, October 19, 1987

Introduction

Preoccupation with their war with each other led both Iran and Iraq to make repeated if sporadic attacks on international

shipping in the Persian Gulf, as each sought to prevent lucrative overseas oil exports by the other. To ensure safe passage for oil shipments to the West, U.S. naval carrier forces patrolled the Gulf, while oil tankers registered in Kuwait were sometimes reflagged as U.S. vessels. Iranian patrol boats, aircraft, and missile batteries repeatedly launched attacks on military and civilian American ships, which were also vulnerable to mines. The most successful operation against the U.S. military presence was in fact an Iraqi air attack in May 1987, when an F-1 Mirage warplane launched two Exocet missiles against the naval frigate *Stark,* killing 37 sailors. Since the U.S. government leaned toward Iraq in the war, President Saddam Hussein hastily apologized, characterizing the incident as an "accident." President Ronald Reagan was less tolerant when Iranian mines and missiles targeted his country's naval forces and Kuwaiti ships flying American flags. In retaliation, in October 1987 U.S. naval vessels seized and destroyed an Iranian military platform in the central Persian Gulf. The platform was equipped with radar and other communications devices and served as the base for small boat and helicopter attacks against American ships and also as a mine-laying center. To the American people and Congress, Reagan characterized this operation as a measure taken in self-defense to preclude further such incidents. The episode did not, however, end Iranian attacks on American vessels in the Persian Gulf. The following April, an Iranian patrol boat and an Iranian frigate separately launched missiles against U.S. naval craft that were also damaged by mines, once more provoking the U.S. task force to attack Iranian oil platforms in the area. The continuing risk that the Iran-Iraq War posed to U.S. military and civilian vessels in the Persian Gulf was one major reason why in the late 1980s the U.S. government encouraged armistice negotiations between the two belligerent nations. Iran brought suit in the International Court of Justice against these attacks, and in November 2003 the court finally ruled that "the actions of the United States of America against Iranian oil platforms on 19 October 1987 and 18 April 1988 cannot be justified as measures necessary to protect the essential security interests of the United States of America."

Primary Source

Acting pursuant to my authority as Commander in Chief, United States naval vessels at 7 a.m. EDT today struck an Iranian military platform in international waters in the central Persian Gulf. This platform has been used to assist in a number of Iranian attacks against nonbelligerent shipping. Iran's unprovoked attacks upon U.S. and other non belligerent shipping, and particularly deliberate laying of mines and firing of Silkworm missiles, which have hit U.S.-flag vessels, have come in spite of numerous messages from the Government of the United States to the Government of Iran warning of the consequences.

The action against the Iranian military platform came after consultations with congressional leadership and friendly governments. It is a prudent yet restrained response to this unlawful use of force against the United States and to numerous violations of the rights of other nonbelligerents. It is a lawful exercise of the right of self-defense enshrined in article 51 of the United Nations Charter and is being so notified to the President of the United Nations Security Council.

The United States has no desire for a military confrontation with Iran, but the Government of Iran should be under no illusion about our determination and ability to protect our ships and our interests against unprovoked attacks. We have informed the Government of Iran of our desire for an urgent end to tensions in the region and an end to the Iran-Iraq war through urgent implementation of Security Council Resolution 598.

Source: Ronald Reagan, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Ronald Reagan, 1987,* Book 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 1201–1202.

53. The Iran-Contra Report, August 4, 1993 [Excerpts]

Introduction

The Iran-Contra Scandal, one of the most damaging episodes for U.S. president Ronald Reagan, seized Americans' attention during 1985–1987. Revelations came to light that the Reagan administration had secretly negotiated the sale of arms to Iran in the hope of winning the return of American hostages held by the Iranians in Lebanon and in order to finance aid to the Contra rebels, who were fighting the Marxist Sandinista government in Nicaragua. This action was in violation of the Boland Amendment, which prohibited aid to the Contras, and of stated U.S. policies not to negotiate with the Iranians. Such arms sales were particularly embarrassing, since at the time Iran and Iraq were engaged in a protracted and costly war in which the United States favored Iraq and therefore sought to prevent all other countries from exporting armaments to Iran. If nothing else, American diplomacy appeared to lack overall coordination. The matter was eventually turned over to Special Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh, who submitted the final report of his investigation to the U.S. House of Representatives on August 4, 1993. One of the major questions that Walsh had to investigate was the degree of involvement by the Reagan administration. It was White House officials, rather than the State Department, who conceived and implemented these activities. Reagan initially claimed to have been unaware of them but nonetheless took full responsibility for them, while Vice President George H. W. Bush also stated that he himself had been "out of the loop" on the subject. National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane, who had conceived the scheme as a means of improving relations with Iran and made a secret trip to Iran as part of the operation, tried but failed to commit suicide during the investigation. No hostages were freed as a result of these negotiations.

McFarlane and his successor, John Poindexter, were both convicted of lying to Congress, but their sentences were overturned on appeal, as was that of Colonel Oliver North, a National Security Council aide who had been heavily involved in the implementation of these schemes. Most of the other high-ranking officials whom Walsh indicted, including U.S. secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger, who had been accused of lying and withholding information from Congress, were pardoned by Bush after he became president. The Iran-Contra Scandal undoubtedly tarnished Reagan's second term in office, since the president had either deliberately misled the American people and broken various laws or had failed to exercise proper supervision over lower-level officials within his administration. In March 1987 Reagan spoke on national television, telling the American people that he regretted the situation and had been incorrect in stating earlier that the United States had not traded arms for hostages but that he believed that his actions had been right. Reagan's approval ratings at one stage dropped to 46 percent but by the time he finished his presidency had rebounded to 63 percent. Some American politicians have since asserted that in the broader national interest they declined to pursue the Iran-Contra Scandal as aggressively as might have been possible, because they did not wish to bring down the first U.S. president to serve two uninterrupted terms in office since Dwight D. Eisenhower during the 1950s. The executive summary of the report prepared by Walsh was nonetheless a damning catalog of legal violations and abuses of power by a wide range of high-level Reagan administration officials.

Primary Source

Iran-Contra Scandal: Report of the Independent Counsel

Executive Summary

In October and November 1986, two secret U.S. Government operations were publicly exposed, potentially implicating Reagan Administration officials in illegal activities. These operations were the provision of assistance to the military activities of the Nicaraguan contra rebels during an October 1984 to October 1986 prohibition on such aid, and the sale of U.S. arms to Iran in contravention of stated U.S. policy and in possible violation of arms-export controls. In late November 1986, Reagan Administration officials announced that some of the proceeds from the sale of U.S. arms to Iran had been diverted to the contras.

As a result of the exposure of these operations, Attorney General Edwin Meese III sought the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate and, if necessary, prosecute possible crimes arising from them.

The Special Division of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit appointed Lawrence E. Walsh as Independent Counsel on December 19, 1986, and charged him with investigating:

(1) the direct or indirect sale, shipment, or transfer since in or about 1984 down to the present, of military arms, materiel, or funds to the government of Iran, officials of that government, persons, organizations or entities connected with or purporting to represent that government, or persons located in Iran;

(2) the direct or indirect sale, shipment, or transfer of military arms, materiel or funds to any government, entity, or person acting, or purporting to act as an intermediary in any transaction referred to above;

(3) the financing or funding of any direct or indirect sale, shipment or transfer referred to above;

(4) the diversion of proceeds from any transaction described above to or for any person, organization, foreign government, or any faction or body of insurgents in any foreign country, including, but not limited to Nicaragua;

(5) the provision or coordination of support for persons or entities engaged as military insurgents in armed conflict with the government of Nicaragua since 1984.

This is the final report of that investigation.

Overall Conclusions

The investigations and prosecutions have shown that high-ranking Administration officials violated laws and executive orders in the Iran/contra matter.

Independent Counsel concluded that:

—the sales of arms to Iran contravened United States Government policy and may have violated the Arms Export Control Act;[1]

—the provision and coordination of support to the contras violated the Boland Amendment ban on aid to military activities in Nicaragua;

—the policies behind both the Iran and contra operations were fully reviewed and developed at the highest levels of the Reagan Administration;

1. Independent Counsel is aware that the Reagan Administration Justice Department took the position, after the November 1986 revelations, that the 1985 shipments of United States weapons to Iran did not violate the law. This post hoc position does not correspond with the contemporaneous advice given the President. As detailed within this report, Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger (a lawyer with an extensive record in private practice and the former general counsel of the Bechtel Corporation) advised President Reagan in 1985 that the shipments were illegal. Moreover, Weinberger's opinion was shared by attorneys within the Department of Defense and the White House counsel's office once they became aware of the 1985 shipments. Finally, when Attorney General Meese conducted his initial inquiry into the Iran arms sales, he expressed concern that the shipments may have been illegal.

—although there was little evidence of National Security Council level knowledge of most of the actual contra-support operations, there was no evidence that any NSC member dissented from the underlying policy—keeping the contras alive despite congressional limitations on contra support;

—the Iran operations were carried out with the knowledge of, among others, President Ronald Reagan, Vice President George Bush, Secretary of State George P. Shultz, Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger, Director of Central Intelligence William J. Casey, and national security advisers Robert C. McFarlane and John M. Poindexter; of these officials, only Weinberger and Shultz dissented from the policy decision, and Weinberger eventually acquiesced by ordering the Department of Defense to provide the necessary arms; and

—large volumes of highly relevant, contemporaneously created documents were systematically and willfully withheld from investigators by several Reagan Administration officials.

—following the revelation of these operations in October and November 1986, Reagan Administration officials deliberately deceived the Congress and the public about the level and extent of official knowledge of and support for these operations.

In addition, Independent Counsel concluded that the off-the-books nature of the Iran and contra operations gave line-level personnel the opportunity to commit money crimes.

The Basic Facts of Iran/contra

The Iran/contra affair concerned two secret Reagan Administration policies whose operations were coordinated by National Security Council staff. The Iran operation involved efforts in 1985 and 1986 to obtain the release of Americans held hostage in the Middle East through the sale of U.S. weapons to Iran, despite an embargo on such sales. The contra operations from 1984 through most of 1986 involved the secret governmental support of contra military and paramilitary activities in Nicaragua, despite congressional prohibition of this support.

The Iran and contra operations were merged when funds generated from the sale of weapons to Iran were diverted to support the contra effort in Nicaragua. Although this "diversion" may be the most dramatic aspect of Iran/contra, it is important to emphasize that both the Iran and contra operations, separately, violated United States policy and law.[2] The ignorance of the "diversion" asserted by President Reagan and his Cabinet officers on the National Security Council in no way absolves them of responsibility for the underlying Iran and contra operations.

2. See n. 1 above.

The secrecy concerning the Iran and contra activities was finally pierced by events that took place thousands of miles apart in the fall of 1986. The first occurred on October 5, 1986, when Nicaraguan government soldiers shot down an American cargo plane that was carrying military supplies to contra forces; the one surviving crew member, American Eugene Hasenfus, was taken into captivity and stated that he was employed by the CIA. A month after the Hasenfus shootdown, President Reagan's secret sale of U.S. arms to Iran was reported by a Lebanese publication on November 3. The joining of these two operations was made public on November 25, 1986, when Attorney General Meese announced that Justice Department officials had discovered that some of the proceeds from the Iran arms sales had been diverted to the contras.

When these operations ended, the exposure of the Iran/contra affair generated a new round of illegality. Beginning with the testimony of Elliott Abrams and others in October 1986 and continuing through the public testimony of Caspar W. Weinberger on the last day of the congressional hearings in the summer of 1987, senior Reagan Administration officials engaged in a concerted effort to deceive Congress and the public about their knowledge of and support for the operations.

Independent Counsel has concluded that the President's most senior advisers and the Cabinet members on the National Security Council participated in the strategy to make National Security staff members McFarlane, Poindexter and North the scapegoats whose sacrifice would protect the Reagan Administration in its final two years. In an important sense, this strategy succeeded. Independent Counsel discovered much of the best evidence of the cover-up in the final year of active investigation, too late for most prosecutions.

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Agency Support of the Operations

Following the convictions of those who were most central to the Iran/contra operations, Independent Counsel's investigation focused on the supporting roles played by Government officials in other agencies and the supervisory roles of the NSC principals. The investigation showed that Administration officials who claimed initially that they had little knowledge about the Iran arms sales or the illegal contra-resupply operation North directed were much better informed than they professed to be. The Office of Independent Counsel obtained evidence that Secretaries Weinberger and Shultz and White House Chief of Staff Donald T. Regan, among others, held back information that would have helped Congress obtain a much clearer view of the scope of the Iran/contra matter. Contemporaneous notes of Regan and Weinberger, and those dictated by Shultz, were withheld until they were obtained by Independent Counsel in 1991 and 1992.

The White House and Office of the Vice President

As the White House section of this report describes in detail, the investigation found no credible evidence that President Reagan violated any criminal statute. The OIC could not prove that Reagan authorized or was aware of the diversion or that he had knowledge of the extent of North's control of the contra-resupply network. Nevertheless, he set the stage for the illegal activities of others by encouraging and, in general terms, ordering support of the contras during the October 1984 to October 1986 period when funds for the contras were cut off by the Boland Amendment, and in authorizing the sale of arms to Iran, in contravention of the U.S. embargo on such sales. The President's disregard for civil laws enacted to limit presidential actions abroad—specifically the Boland Amendment, the Arms Export Control Act and congressional-notification requirements in covert-action laws—created a climate in which some of the Government officers assigned to implement his policies felt emboldened to circumvent such laws.

President Reagan's directive to McFarlane to keep the contras alive "body and soul" during the Boland cut-off period was viewed by North, who was charged by McFarlane to carry out the directive, as an invitation to break the law. Similarly, President Reagan's decision in 1985 to authorize the sale of arms to Iran from Israeli stocks, despite warnings by Weinberger and Shultz that such transfers might violate the law, opened the way for Poindexter's subsequent decision to authorize the diversion. Poindexter told Congress that while he made the decision on his own and did not tell the President, he believed the President would have approved. North testified that he believed the President authorized it.

Independent Counsel's investigation did not develop evidence that proved that Vice President Bush violated any criminal statute. Contrary to his public pronouncements, however, he was fully aware of the Iran arms sales. Bush was regularly briefed, along with the President, on the Iran arms sales, and he participated in discussions to obtain third-country support for the contras. The OIC obtained no evidence that Bush was aware of the diversion. The OIC learned in December 1992 that Bush had failed to produce a diary containing contemporaneous notes relevant to Iran/contra, despite requests made in 1987 and again in early 1992 for the production of such material. Bush refused to be interviewed for a final time in light of evidence developed in the latter stages of OIC's investigation, leaving unresolved a clear picture of his Iran/contra involvement. Bush's pardon of Weinberger on December 24, 1992 pre-empted a trial in which defense counsel indicated that they intended to call Bush as a witness.

The chapters on White House Chief of Staff Regan and Attorney General Edwin Meese III focus on their actions during the November 1986 period, as the President and his advisers sought to control the damage caused by the disclosure of the Iran arms sales. Regan in 1992 provided Independent Counsel with copies of notes showing that Poindexter and Meese attempted to create a false account of the 1985 arms sales from Israeli stocks, which they believed were illegal, in order to protect the President. Regan and the other senior advisers did not speak up to correct the false version of events. No final legal determination on the matter had been made. Regan said he did not want to be the one who broke the silence among the President's senior advisers, virtually all of whom knew the account was false.

The evidence indicates that Meese's November 1986 inquiry was more of a damage-control exercise than an effort to find the facts. He had private conversations with the President, the Vice President, Poindexter, Weinberger, Casey and Regan without taking notes. Even after learning of the diversion, Meese failed to secure records in NSC staff offices or take other prudent steps to protect potential evidence. And finally, in reporting to the President and his senior advisers, Meese gave a false account of what he had been told by stating that the President did not know about the 1985 HAWK shipments, which Meese said might have been illegal. The statute of limitations had run on November 1986 activities before OIC obtained its evidence. In 1992, Meese denied recollection of the statements attributed to him by the notes of Weinberger and Regan. He was unconvincing, but the passage of time would have been expected to raise a reasonable doubt of the intentional falsity of his denials if he had been prosecuted for his 1992 false statements.

The Role of CIA Officials

Director Casey's unswerving support of President Reagan's contra policies and of the Iran arms sales encouraged some CIA officials to go beyond legal restrictions in both operations. Casey was instrumental in pairing North with Secord as a contra-support team when the Boland Amendment in October 1984 forced the CIA to refrain from direct or indirect aid. He also supported the North-Secord combination in the Iran arms sales, despite deep reservations about Secord within the CIA hierarchy.

Casey's position on the contras prompted the chief of the CIA's Central American Task Force, Alan D. Fiers, Jr., to "dovetail" CIA activities with those of North's contra-resupply network, in violation of Boland restrictions. Casey's support for the NSC to direct the Iran arms sales and to use arms dealer Manucher Ghorbanifar and Secord in the operation, forced the CIA's Directorate of Operations to work with people it distrusted.

Following the Hasenfus shootdown in early October 1986, George and Fiers lied to Congress about U.S. Government involvement in contra resupply, to, as Fiers put it, "keep the spotlight off the White House." When the Iran arms sales became public in November 1986, three of Casey's key officers—George, Clarridge and Fiers—followed Casey's lead in misleading Congress.

Four CIA officials were charged with criminal offenses—George, the deputy director for operations and the third highest-ranking CIA official; Clarridge, chief of the European Division; Fiers; and Fernandez. George was convicted of two felony counts of false statements and perjury before Congress. Fiers pleaded guilty to two misdemeanor counts of withholding information from Congress. The four counts of obstruction and false statements against Fernandez were dismissed when the Bush Administration refused to declassify information needed for his defense. Clarridge was awaiting trial on seven counts of perjury and false statements when he, George and Fiers were pardoned by President Bush.

State Department Officials

In 1990 and 1991, Independent Counsel received new documentary evidence in the form of handwritten notes suggesting that Secretary Shultz's congressional testimony painted a misleading and incorrect picture of his knowledge of the Iran arms sales. The subsequent investigation focused on whether Shultz or other Department officials deliberately misled or withheld information from congressional or OIC investigators.

The key notes, taken by M. Charles Hill, Shultz's executive assistant, were nearly verbatim, contemporaneous accounts of Shultz's meetings within the department and Shultz's reports to Hill on meetings the secretary attended elsewhere. The Hill notes and similarly detailed notes by Nicholas Platt, the State Department's executive secretary, provided the OIC with a detailed account of Shultz's knowledge of the Iran arms sales. The most revealing of these notes were not provided to any Iran/contra investigation until 1990 and 1991. The notes show that—contrary to his early testimony that he was not aware of details of the 1985 arms transfers—Shultz knew that the shipments were planned and that they were delivered. Also in conflict with his congressional testimony was evidence that Shultz was aware of the 1986 shipments.

Independent Counsel concluded that Shultz's early testimony was incorrect, if not false, in significant respects, and misleading, if literally true, in others. When questioned about the discrepancies in 1992, Shultz did not dispute the accuracy of the Hill notes. He told OIC that he believed his testimony was accurate at the time and he insisted that if he had been provided with the notes earlier, he would have testified differently. Independent Counsel declined to prosecute because there was a reasonable doubt that Shultz's testimony was willfully false at the time it was delivered.

Independent Counsel concluded that Hill had willfully withheld relevant notes and prepared false testimony for Shultz in 1987. He declined to prosecute because Hill's claim of authorization to limit the production of his notes and the joint responsibility of Shultz for the resulting misleading testimony, would at trial have raised a reasonable doubt, after Independent Counsel had declined to prosecute Shultz.

Independent Counsel's initial focus on the State Department had centered on Assistant Secretary Elliott Abrams' insistence to Congress and to the OIC that he was not aware of North's direction of the extensive contra-resupply network in 1985 and 1986. As assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, Abrams chaired the Restricted Inter-Agency Group, or RIG, which coordinated U.S. policy in Central America. Although the OIC was skeptical about Abrams' testimony, there was insufficient evidence to proceed against him until additional documentary evidence inculpating him was discovered in 1990 and 1991, and until Fiers, who represented the CIA on the RIG, pleaded guilty in July 1991 to withholding information from Congress. Fiers provided evidence to support North's earlier testimony that Abrams was knowledgeable about North's contra-supply network. Abrams pleaded guilty in October 1991 to two counts of withholding information from Congress about secret Government efforts to support the contras, and about his solicitation of $10 million to aid the contras from the Sultan of Brunei.

Secretary Weinberger and Defense Department Officials

Contrary to their testimony to the presidentially appointed Tower Commission and the Select Iran/contra Committees of Congress, Independent Counsel determined that Secretary Weinberger and his closest aides were consistently informed of proposed and actual arms shipments to Iran during 1985 and 1986. The key evidence was handwritten notes of Weinberger, which he deliberately withheld from Congress and the OIC until they were discovered by Independent Counsel in late 1991. The Weinberger daily diary notes and notes of significant White House and other meetings contained highly relevant, contemporaneous information that resolved many questions left unanswered in early investigations.

The notes demonstrated that Weinberger's early testimony—that he had only vague and generalized information about Iran arms sales in 1985—was false, and that he in fact had detailed information on the proposed arms sales and the actual deliveries. The notes also revealed that Gen. Colin Powell, Weinberger's senior military aide, and Richard L. Armitage, assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, also had detailed knowledge of the 1985 shipments from Israeli stocks. Armitage and Powell had testified that they did not learn of the November 1985 HAWK missile shipment until 1986.

Weinberger's notes provided detailed accounts of high-level Administration meetings in November 1986 in which the President's senior advisers were provided with false accounts of the Iran arms sales to protect the President and themselves from the consequences of the possibly illegal 1985 shipments from Israeli stocks.

Weinberger's notes provided key evidence supporting the charges against him, including perjury and false statements in connection with his testimony regarding the arms sales, his denial of the existence of notes and his denial of knowledge of Saudi Arabia's multi-million dollar contribution to the contras. He was pardoned less than two weeks before trial by President Bush on December 24, 1992.

There was little evidence that Powell's early testimony regarding the 1985 shipments and Weinberger's notes was willfully false. Powell cooperated with the various Iran/contra investigations and, when his recollection was refreshed by Weinberger's notes, he readily conceded their accuracy. Independent Counsel declined to prosecute Armitage because the OIC's limited resources were focused on the case against Weinberger and because the evidence against Armitage, while substantial, did not reach the threshold of proof beyond a reasonable doubt.

[. . .]

Observations and Conclusions

This report concludes with Independent Counsel's observations and conclusions. He observes that the governmental problems presented by Iran/contra are not those of rogue operations, but rather those of Executive Branch efforts to evade congressional oversight. As this report documents, the competing roles of the attorney general—adviser to the President and top law-enforcement officer—come into irreconcilable conflict in the case of high-level Executive Branch wrongdoing. Independent Counsel concludes that congressional oversight alone cannot correct the deficiencies that result when an attorney general abandons the law-enforcement responsibilities of that office and undertakes, instead, to protect the President.

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Source: Lawrence E. Walsh, *Final Report of the Independent Counsel for Iran-Contra Matters,* Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1993), xiii–xxii.

54. Mikhail Gorbachev, Soviet Policy Statement on Afghanistan, February 9, 1988 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979 embroiled the Soviet Union in a lengthy, costly, and ultimately unwinnable war in rugged mountainous terrain against tribal Afghan guerrilla forces, the fundamentalist Islamic mujahideen. Although equipped with armored cars, tanks, and heavy artillery, the Soviet army had little training in guerrilla warfare, and much of its weaponry proved ineffective against these opponents. The war was fought with great brutality on both sides, with the Soviets using helicopters, fighter-bombers, and bombers in a scorched-earth policy designed to raze enemy territory, regardless of civilian casualties. The military situation nonetheless remained one of stalemate. Internationally the Soviet action attracted severe condemnation, as the United Nations (UN) General Assembly—though unable to take any concrete action due to the Soviet veto power on the Security Council—voted repeatedly for resolutions that "strongly deplored" the invasion and called for the Soviets to withdraw, while the foreign ministers of the Organization of the Islamic Conference almost immediately demanded the removal of Soviet forces. The Afghan resistance movement received funding, weaponry (notably FIM-92 Stinger antiaircraft missile systems), and training from the United States, and its members were able to take shelter in camps in neighboring Pakistan. Pakistani special forces quietly took part in the war, and British and U.S. special services were likewise believed to be involved. China, Saudi Arabia, and other Muslim states also contributed funds to the mujahideen. By 1987, resistance forces were launching rocket attacks on the Afghan capital of Kabul and seemed likely to take it and overthrow the government in the near future. The war was expensive and highly unpopular in the Soviet Union, as more than 15,000 young soldiers died in combat, with many more wounded. Nobel Peace Prize winner Andrei Sakharov publicly denounced Soviet policies in Afghanistan and called for peace negotiations. In November 1986 a new Afghan government, headed by Mohammad Najibullah, former chief of the Afghan secret police, took office and announced policies of "national reconciliation." Peace talks were opened between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and in March 1988 Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev publicly stated that with effect from May 15, 1988, a withdrawal of Soviet troops would begin, to be completed in March 1989. The future of Afghanistan would, he said, now belong to the Afghans, and he would be happy if it chose to become "an independent, nonaligned and neutral state." Gorbachev's declaration effectively represented a defeat for the Soviet Union. In April 1988 Afghanistan and Pakistan finally reached agreement on peace terms, with the Soviet Union and the United States being joint guarantors. Soviet troops left on schedule, with the last departing in March 1989, but bitter civil war continued in Afghanistan. Ultimately the country would fall under the control of the radical Islamic Taliban and provide a haven for the Muslim terrorists linked with the Al Qaeda organization that mounted the successful airborne attacks of September 11, 2001, on landmark American buildings in Washington, D.C., and New York.

Primary Source

The military conflict in Afghanistan has been going on for a long time now. It is one of the most severe and most painful regional

conflicts. Now, from all indications, definite prerequisites have been created for its political settlement. In this connection, the Soviet leadership deems it necessary to express its views and to completely clarify its position.

The next round of talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan, through the personal representative of the UN Secretary-General, will take place in Geneva in the near future. There is a significant chance that the coming round will be the final one.

At present, the drafting of documents covering all aspects of a settlement has almost been completed at the Geneva talks. Among these documents are Afghan-Pakistani agreements on noninterference in each other's internal affairs and on the return of Afghan refugees from Pakistan; international guarantees of noninterference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan; and a document on the interrelationship of all elements of a political settlement. There is also an accord on creating a verification mechanism.

What remains to be done? A timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan that is acceptable to all sides must be established. Yes, a timetable, since we, in accord with the Afghan leadership, adopted a fundamental political decision on the withdrawal of Soviet troops some time ago, something that was announced at the time.

[. . .]

Seeking to promote a rapid and successful conclusion of the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva, the governments of the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan have agreed to set a specific date for beginning the withdrawal of Soviet troops—May 15, 1988—and to complete their withdrawal over a period of 10 months. This date has been set based on the assumption that the agreements on a settlement will be signed no later than March 15, 1988, and, accordingly, that they will all go into effect simultaneously two months later. If the agreements are signed before March 15, the troop withdrawal will, accordingly, begin earlier.

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Any armed conflict, including an internal one, is capable of poisoning the atmosphere in an entire region and of creating a situation of uneasiness and alarm for the neighbors of the country involved, not to mention the sufferings of and casualties among the people of the country itself. That is why we are opposed to all armed conflicts. We know that the Afghan leadership holds the same position.

As is known, all this led the Afghan leadership, headed by President Najibullah, to a profound rethinking of its political course, a process that resulted in a patriotic and realistic policy of national reconciliation. We are talking about a very bold and courageous action: It is not merely a call to end armed clashes but a proposal to create a coalition government and to share power with the opposition, including those who are waging an armed struggle against the government, and even with those who are abroad directing the actions of the rebels and supplying them with weapons and combat equipment obtained from foreign states. This has been proposed by a government that is invested with constitutional authority and wields real power in the country.

The policy of national reconciliation is an expression of new political thinking on the Afghan side. It shows not weakness but the strength of spirit, wisdom and dignity of free, honest and responsible political leaders who are concerned about their country's present and future.

The success of the policy of national reconciliation has already made it possible to begin the withdrawal of Soviet troops from parts of Afghan territory. At present, there are no Soviet troops in 13 Afghan provinces, because armed clashes there have stopped. It is completely possible to say that the sooner peace is established on Afghan soil, the easier it will be for Soviet troops to leave.

The policy of national reconciliation has provided a political platform for all those who want peace in Afghanistan. What kind of peace? The kind that the Afghan people want. The proud, freedom-loving and valiant Afghan people, whose history of struggle for freedom and independence goes back many centuries, have been, are and will be the masters of their country, which is based, as President Najibullah has said, on the principles of multiple parties in the political field and multiple structures in the economic field.

The Afghans themselves will determine the ultimate status of their country among other states. Most often, it is said that the future, peaceful Afghanistan will be an independent, nonaligned and neutral state. Well, we will be nothing but happy to have such a neighbor on our southern borders.

[. . .]

One final point. When the Afghan knot is untied, this will have a very profound effect on other regional conflicts as well.

If the arms race, which we are so insistently seeking to halt—and with some success—is mankind's insane rush to the abyss, then regional conflicts are bleeding wounds capable of causing spots of gangrene on the body of mankind.

The earth is literally pockmarked with danger spots of this kind. Each of them means pain not only for the peoples directly involved but for everyone, whether in Afghanistan, in the Middle East, in

connection with the Iran-Iraq war, in southern Africa, in Kampuchea or in Central America.

Who gains from these conflicts? No one, except arms merchants and various reactionary, expansionist circles who are accustomed to taking advantage of and turning a profit on the misfortunes of peoples.

Carrying through a political settlement in Afghanistan to conclusion will be an important break in the chain of regional conflicts.

Just as the accord on the elimination of medium—and shorter—range missiles sets up a sequence of further major steps in the field of disarmament, steps on which negotiations are under way or are in the planning stage, so behind a political settlement in Afghanistan looms the question: Which conflict will be overcome next? It is certain that more resolutions will follow.

States and peoples have sufficient potential in terms of responsibility, political will and determination to put an end to all regional conflicts within a few years. This is something worth working for. The Soviet Union will spare no effort in this highly important cause.

Source: Mikhail Gorbachev, "Afghan Exit Could Start May 15," *Current Digest of the Soviet Press* 40(6) (1988): 1–3.

55. U.S. Department of State Spokesman Charles E. Redman, Daily Press Briefing, U.S. Condemnation of Chemical Warfare, March 23, 1988

Introduction

From the beginning of the Iran-Iraq War in 1980, there were frequent allegations that Iraq was using chemical weapons. Accusations that Iraq employed these in 1984 were later verified by a United Nations (UN) inspection team. In March 1986 UN secretary-general Xavier Perez de Cuellar formally accused Iraq of chemical warfare, including the use of mustard gas and nerve gas, against Iranian forces. In March 1988 the UN again charged Iraq with using chemical weapons extensively against its opponents, tactics that Iraq continued until accepting a cease-fire in August 1988. The UN Security Council issued several statements condemning the use of such weapons, but neither the Soviet Union nor the United States was willing to support formal resolutions to this effect for fear of alienating Iraq, to which both superpowers were supplying weapons. Official American statements on the subject were relatively weak and halfhearted, reflecting the continuing U.S. tilt toward Iraq. In a press briefing in March 1988, a State Department spokesman deplored Iraq's use of chemical weapons against Iran and expressed support for past UN Security Council statements condemning such methods of warfare but suggested that "Iran may also have used chemical artillery shells in this fighting." He claimed that both Iran and Iraq were "attempting to stockpile chemical weapons." The only real means of solving this problem, the spokesman suggested, would be a "negotiated peace" settlement under UN Security Council Resolution 598.

Primary Source

Q. Do you have any reaction to the pictures of the apparent nerve gas that was used on the battlefield in Iraq, by Iraq?

A. We've seen these photos and TV pictures showing the results of apparent Iraqi use of chemical weapons in its war against Iran. This incident appears to be a particularly grave violation of the 1925 Geneva Protocol against chemical warfare. There are indications that Iran may also have used chemical artillery shells in this fighting.

We condemn, without reservation, any use of chemical weapons in violation of international law. We call upon Iran and Iraq to desist immediately from any further use of chemical weapons which are an offense to civilization and humanity.

Last year a U.N. team of experts confirmed that Iraq had used chemical weapons. In the past we have supported U.N Security Council statements condemning illegal chemical warfare. We would support similar Security Council action in this instance. There is evidence that both Iran and Iraq are attempting to stockpile chemical weapons, and we have worked to deny both countries access to chemical weapons precursors and the means to manufacture chemical weapons.

And, unfortunately, to end where I always have to end is to say that the root of this tragedy, as of the other tragedies that we have seen, continues to be the war between Iran and Iraq. And so in that context we call upon both sides to reach a negotiated peace in accordance with U.N. Security Council Resolution 598, which calls for an end to the war in all aspects.

I would also note that the Secretary-General of the United Nations has invited the Foreign Ministers of Iran and Iraq to meet with him in New York to discuss implementation of 598, and we urge both sides to give him prompt responses.

Source: U.S. Department of State, *American Foreign Policy: Current Documents, 1988* (Washington, DC: Department of State, 1989), 438.

56. The Geneva Accords on Afghanistan, April 14, 1988 [Excerpts]

Introduction

By the late 1980s, Soviet leaders were desperate to remove their troops from Afghanistan but did not wish to admit the humiliation of defeat there. With assistance from both the United Nations (UN) and the United States, a face-saving formula was found whereby the troops were withdrawn. The solution built on earlier UN-sponsored negotiations of the early 1980s designed to facilitate an end to the conflict in Afghanistan. Afghanistan and Pakistan signed an agreement under the terms of which each promised to withdraw its own military forces from its neighbor's territory, to respect the other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and to deny the use of its own territory to forces that sought to attack its neighbor. Afghan refugees could return from Pakistan to their own country. All foreign troops were to be withdrawn from Afghanistan within nine months of the signing of the agreements, a clause that meant that the Soviet Union should remove its forces. One original rationale for Soviet military intervention had been that this was to protect Afghanistan against outside pressure. The Geneva Accords could be taken as proof that this pressure had now ended, meaning that Soviet forces had fulfilled their mission and that there was no further need for their presence in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union and the United States each agreed to serve as guarantor of the agreements, although the U.S. government added a rider that, by so doing, it did not agree to recognize the legitimacy of Afghanistan's existing government. Warming U.S.-Soviet relations, especially the close personal ties that had developed since 1985 between U.S. president Ronald Reagan and Soviet secretary-general Mikhail Gorbachev, facilitated the conclusion of the Geneva Accords.

Primary Source

AGREEMENTS ON THE SETTLEMENT OF THE SITUATION RELATING TO AFGHANISTAN

BILATERAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN AND THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MUTUAL RELATIONS, IN PARTICULAR ON NON-INTERFERENCE AND NON-INTERVENTION

The Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, hereinafter referred to as the High Contracting Parties,

Desiring to normalize relations and promote good-neighborliness and co-operation as well as to strengthen international peace and security in the region,

Considering that full observance of the principle of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal and external affairs of States is of the greatest importance for the maintenance of international peace and security and for the fulfillment of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Reaffirming the inalienable right of States freely to determine their own political, economic, cultural and social systems in accordance with the will of their peoples, without outside intervention, interference, subversion, coercion or threat in any form whatsoever,

Mindful of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations as well as the resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the principle of non-interference and non-intervention, in particular the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, of 24 October 1970, as well as the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, of 9 December 1981,

Have agreed as follows:

Article I

Relations between the High Contracting Parties shall be conducted in strict compliance with the principle of non-interference and non-intervention by States in the affairs of other States.

Article II

For the purpose of implementing the principle of non-interference and non-intervention, each High Contracting Party undertakes to comply with the following obligations:

(1) to respect the sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity, national unity, security and non-alignment of the other High Contracting Party, as well as the national identity and cultural heritage of its people;

(2) to respect the sovereign and inalienable right of the other High Contracting Party freely to determine its own political, economic, cultural and social systems, to develop its international relations and to exercise permanent sovereignty over its natural resources. In accordance with the will of its people, and without outside intervention, interference, subversion, coercion or threat in any form whatsoever;

(3) to refrain from the threat or use of force in any form whatsoever so as not to violate the boundaries of each other, to disrupt the political, social or economic order of the other High Contracting Party, to overthrow or change the political system of the other High Contracting Party or its Government, or to cause tension between the High Contracting Parties;

(4) to ensure that its territory is not used in any manner which would violate the sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and national unity or disrupt the political, economic and social stability of the other High Contracting Party;

(5) to refrain from armed intervention, subversion, military occupation or any other form of intervention and interference, overt or covert, directed at the other High Contracting Party, or any act of military political or economic interference in the internal affairs of the other High Contracting Party, including acts of reprisal involving the use of force;

(6) to refrain from any action or attempt in whatsoever form or under whatever pretext to destabilize or to undermine the stability of the other High Contracting Party or any of its institutions;

(7) to refrain from the promotion, encouragement or support, direct or indirect, of rebellious or secessionist activities against the other High Contracting Party, under any pretext whatsoever, or from any other action which seeks to disrupt the unity or to undermine or subvert the political order of the other High Contracting Party;

(8) to prevent within its territory the training, equipping, financing and recruitment of mercenaries from whatever origin for the purpose of hostile activities against the other High Contracting Party, or the sending of such mercenaries into the territory of the other High Contracting Party and accordingly to deny facilities, including financing for the training, equipping and transit of such mercenaries;

(9) to refrain from making any agreements or arrangements with other States designed to intervene or interfere in the internal and external affairs of the other High Contracting Party;

(10) to abstain from any defamatory campaign, vilification or hostile propaganda for the purpose of intervening or interfering in the internal affairs of the other High Contracting Party;

(11) to prevent any assistance to or use of or tolerance of terrorist groups, saboteurs or subversive agents against the other High Contracting Party;

(12) to prevent within its territory the presence, harbouring, in camps and bases of otherwise, organizing, training, financing, equipping and arming of individuals and political, ethnic and any other groups for the purpose of creating subversion, disorder or unrest in the territory of the other High Contracting Party and accordingly also to prevent the use of mass media and the transportation of arms, ammunition and equipment by such individuals and groups;

(13) not to resort to or to allow any other action that could be considered as interference or intervention.

[. . .]

DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and of the United States of America,

Expressing support that the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan have concluded a negotiated political settlement designed to normalize relations and promote good-neighbourliness between the two countries as well as to strengthen international peace and security in the region;

Wishing in turn to contribute to the achievement of the objectives that the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan have set themselves, and with a view to ensuring respect for their sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment;

Undertake to invariably refrain from any form of interference and intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and to respect the commitments contained in the bilateral Agreement between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on the Principles of Mutual Relations, in particular on Non-Interference and Non-Intervention;

Urge all States to act likewise.

[. . .]

BILATERAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN AND THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN ON THE VOLUNTARY RETURN OF REFUGEES

The Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, hereinafter referred to as the High Contracting Parties,

Desiring to normalize relations and promote good-neighbourliness and co-operation as well as to strengthen international peace and security in the region,

Convinced that voluntary and unimpeded repatriation constitutes the most appropriate solution for the problem of Afghan refugees present in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and having ascertained that the arrangements for the return of the Afghan refugees are satisfactory to them,

Have agreed as follows:

Article I

All Afghan refugees temporarily present in the territory of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan shall be given the opportunity to return voluntarily to their homeland in accordance with the arrangements and conditions set out in the present Agreement.

Article II

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan shall take all necessary measures to ensure the following conditions for the voluntary return of Afghan refugees to their homeland:

(a) All refugees shall be allowed to return in freedom to their homeland;

(b) All returnees shall enjoy the free choice of domicile and freedom of movement within the Republic of Afghanistan;

(c) All returnees shall enjoy the right to work, to adequate living conditions and to share in the welfare of the State;

(d) all returnees shall enjoy the right to participate on an equal basis in the civic affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan. They shall be ensured equal benefits from the solution of the land question on the basis of the Land and Water Reform;

(e) All returnees shall enjoy the same rights and privileges, including freedom of religion, and have the same obligations and responsibilities as any other citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan without discrimination.

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan undertakes to implement these measures and to provide, within its possibilities, all necessary assistance in the process of repatriation.

Article III

The Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan shall facilitate the voluntary, orderly and peaceful repatriation of all Afghan refugees staying within its territory and undertakes to provide, within its possibilities, all necessary assistance in the process of repatriation.

[. . .]

ANNEX III

STATEMENT BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The United States has agreed to act as a guarantor of the political settlement of the situation relating to Afghanistan. We believe this settlement is a major step forward in restoring peace to Afghanistan, in ending the bloodshed in that unfortunate country, and in enabling millions of Afghan refugees to return to their homes.

In agreeing to act as a guarantor, the United States states the following :

(1) The troops withdrawal obligations set out in paragraph 5 and 6 of the Instrument on Interrelationships are central to the entire settlement. Compliance with those obligations is essential to achievement of the settlement's purposes, namely, the ending of foreign intervention in Afghanistan and the restoration of the rights of the Afghan people through the exercise of self-determination as called for by the United Nations Charter and the United Nations General Assembly resolutions on Afghanistan.

(2) The obligations under taken by the guarantors are symmetrical. In this regard, the United State has advised the Soviet Union that the United States retains the right, consistent with its obligations as guarantor, to provide military assistance to parties in Afghanistan. Should the Soviet Union exercise restraint in providing military assistance to parties in Afghanistan, the United States similarly will exercise restraint.

(3) By acting as a guarantor of the settlement, the United States does not intend to imply in any respect recognition of the present regime as the lawful Government of Afghanistan.

Source: "Geneva Accords of 1988," Institute for Afghan Studies, http://www.institute-for-afghan-studies.org/Accords%20Treaties/geneva_accords_1988_pakistan_afghanistan.htm.

57. President Ronald Reagan, Letter to Thomas P. O'Neill, Speaker of the House of Representatives and President Pro Tempore of the Senate, on the Destruction of an Iranian Jetliner by the United States Navy over the Persian Gulf, July 4, 1988

Introduction

The United States provoked an embarrassing international incident on July 3, 1988, when the naval cruiser *Vincennes,* part of the American task force in the Persian Gulf, shot down an Iranian civilian airliner, Flight 655 from the coastal city of Bandar Abbas, Iran, to Dubai, killing all 290 passengers and crew, including

66 children and 38 non-Iranian citizens. U.S. naval officers had tracked the plane on sophisticated electronic Aegis radar systems but made no visual contact before launching two surface-to-air missiles that shot it down in the Strait of Hormuz, 11 miles from the *Vincennes.* The U.S. government claimed that those responsible mistakenly believed that the jetliner was an attacking F-14 warplane. Wreckage from the plane fell in Iranian territorial waters, and the Iranian government publicly accused the United States of a deliberate "barbaric massacre" of innocent civilians. In a letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, President Ronald Reagan stated that at the time of this incident the *Vincennes* was also responding to attacks by small Iranian patrol boats that were also targeting international shipping, and its crew therefore believed that the approaching aircraft had hostile intentions toward them. He promised a "full investigation" by the Defense Department. Pentagon officials publicly stated that Iran Air Flight 655 had ignored several radioed warnings to change course but later suggested that it was uncertain whether the *Vincennes* had successfully opened radio contact. Three years later, U.S. admiral William J. Crowe publicly admitted that the *Vincennes* had been operating in Iranian territorial waters, something that the U.S. Navy had denied at the time. The failure of the Department of Defense to release portions of its report into the downing of the Iranian flight aroused suspicions that an official cover-up had occurred, although subsequent studies suggest that human error and the aggressive style of the captain of the *Vincennes* were probably responsible for a genuine mistake. The U.S. government expressed its regret for the incident but never apologized for it, admitted any wrongdoing, or accepted responsibility, continuing to blame hostile Iranian actions for its occurrence. Speaking to reporters on August 2, 1988, Reagan said of this incident that "I will never apologize for the United States of America—I don't care what the facts are." The entire crew of the *Vincennes* received combat-action ribbons, and the officers responsible received additional coveted medals. Iranian officials, however, argued that the attack was a deliberate warning to their government that if it continued to decline to reach an armistice agreement with Iraq, the United States would expand its existing naval operations against Iranian vessels and offshore facilities to include direct assaults on land installations and civilians. For many subsequent years, the downing of the jetliner soured U.S.-Iranian relations. Eventually, in February 1996, the U.S. government, while explicitly declining to admit any responsibility or liability for the attack, agreed to pay Iran US$61.8 million as compensation for the lives lost when the airplane was destroyed, in return for which Iran's government dropped the suit over the matter that it had brought against the United States in the International Court of Justice.

Primary Source

On July 3, 1988, the USS VINCENNES and USS ELMER MONTGOMERY were operating in international waters of the Persian Gulf near the Strait of Hormuz. (On July 2, the MONTGOMERY had responded to a distress signal from a Danish tanker that was under attack by Iranian small boats and had fired a warning shot, which caused the breaking off of the attack.) Having indications that approximately a dozen Iranian small boats were congregating to attack merchant shipping, the VINCENNES sent a Mark III LAMPS Helicopter on investigative patrol in international airspace to assess the situation. At about 1010 local Gulf time (2:10 a.m. EDT), when the helicopter had approached to within only four nautical miles, it was fired on by Iranian small boats (the VINCENNES was ten nautical miles from the scene at this time). The LAMPS helicopter was not damaged and returned immediately to the VINCENNES.

As the VINCENNES and MONTGOMERY were approaching the group of Iranian small boats at approximately 1042 local time, at least four of the small boats turned toward and began closing in on the American warships. At this time, both American ships opened fire on the small craft, sinking two and damaging a third. Regrettably, in the course of the U.S. response to the Iranian attack, an Iranian civilian airliner was shot down by the VINCENNES, which was firing in self defense at what it believed to be a hostile Iranian military aircraft. We deeply regret the tragic loss of life that occurred. The Defense Department will conduct a full investigation.

The actions of U.S. forces in response to being attacked by Iranian small boats were taken in accordance with our inherent right of self-defense, as recognized in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, and pursuant to my constitutional authority with respect to the conduct of foreign relations and as Commander in Chief. There has been no further hostile action by Iranian forces, and, although U.S. forces will remain prepared to take additional defensive action to protect our units and military personnel, we regard this incident as closed. U.S. forces suffered no casualties or damage.

Since March 1987, I and members of my Administration have provided to Congress letters, reports, briefings, and testimony in connection with developments in the Persian Gulf and the activities of U.S. Armed Forces in the region. In accordance with my desire that Congress continue to be fully informed in this matter, I am providing this report consistent with the War Powers Resolution. I look forward to cooperating with Congress in pursuit of our mutual, overriding aim of peace and stability in the Persian Gulf region.

Source: Ronald Reagan, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Ronald Reagan, 1988–1989,* Book 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991), 920–921.

58. Jad al-Haqq, Sheikh al-Azhar, "Fatwa against the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait," 1990

Introduction

Despite Saddam Hussein's sedulous efforts to present his invasion of Kuwait as a blow for Pan-Arab and Islamic causes, he failed to win the support of most Arab political or clerical leaders. Ten days after the invasion, Jad al-Haqq, the grand imam of al-Azhar University in Cairo, Egypt, the most prestigious institution of learning in the Sunni Muslim world, issued a statement condemning Hussein's action and calling on him to withdraw Iraqi forces from Kuwait and restore its previous government. When Hussein ignored this directive, the grand imam took stronger action, making his behavior the subject of a fatwa, or legal pronouncement. Charging Hussein with "sinful aggression" and an act of "oppression" that set Muslim against Muslim and divided the Arab world in betrayal of Islamic principles, the grand imam declared that according to Muslim precepts, this emergency "requires that armies and forces are sped to surround the ill-doer, so that his harm will not spread; and to contain him as a fire is contained." The grand imam commended the Arab and Islamic states for having taken such actions and proclaimed that their requests "for assistance from [outside] multinational forces" were also justified on the grounds that "[t]hey are Muslim forces or allied to them, and assistance by such troops is permitted in Islam." Following these principles, the grand imam specifically endorsed the presence of "foreign troops" in Saudi Arabia. In conclusion, he once more called on Iraq's leaders to end their occupation of Kuwait and allow the emirate's "legitimate government" to return. The grand imam's fatwa was striking evidence that Hussein's strategy of depicting himself as a champion of Islam and Pan-Arab nationalism had failed to win over many of the Muslim world's most influential leaders.

Primary Source

The Grand Iman Sheikh Jad Al Haq Ali Jad Al Haq, Sheikh Al Azhar announced in his statement released yesterday to the Arab and Islamic world that the Azhar Al Sharif expresses its grave concern over Iraqi insistence on continuing its aggression against our brother Kuwait. He confirmed that the report to Arab, Islamic and foreign troops to defend the sacrosanct in Islam was permitted by religion, and that the responsibility of the Islamic armies was to contain the malfeasor so as to prevent his danger from spreading. The statement also called upon President Saddam Hussein and his government to listen to the voice of Islam and of truth, and to desist from the use of force in recognition of their true belonging to the Arab and Islamic nation. The statement reads as follows:

The Azhar Al Sharif has directed an appeal to the peoples of the Arab and Islamic nation and to its leaders, published and broadcast on Friday 19th Muharram 1411 A.H., 10th August 1990 A.D. It coincided with the holding of the Arab summit in Cairo on the same day, at the invitation of President Muhammed Hosni Mubarak, to take cognizance of the nefarious effects on the Arab and Islamic nation resulting from the interference by the leaders of Iraq and their aggression against the State of Kuwait, invading it militarily and occupying its land, and breaching its peoples' rights, as well as all that has been published regarding the pillage of money and the destruction of property. The world has unanimously condemned this grave act, and all international organizations have taken action, such as the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Islamic States, the Arab League and the UN Security Council. All this was done on the day the disaster befell, the 2nd August 1990 A.D. Some time has passed since this event that shook the world occurred, and the fleets and armies of different countries, with their arms of terror and destruction, have flocked to our Arab arena where it happened. Yet the leaders of Iraq remain impervious to advice and to the wisdom of Allah in his Book. The Quran calls for aiding the oppressed, and preventing oppression even unto the point of fighting it. For this reason, the Azhar Al Sharif today expresses its grave concern for the future of the Arab and Islamic Nation in light of the insistence on this sinful aggression and its excesses. Al Azhar has called on, and repeats its call to President Saddam Hussein and his government to be true to their membership of the Arab and Islamic Nation, and to desist from this action that has aborted the Arab Nation's abilities to progress and to grow, and trapped it in a cycle of killing that will come from whence they know not, as well as reducing its standing among the nations, leaving it bereft of the spirit of empathy, cooperation and friendliness within it. And all this by its own hand, not by the hands of a stranger: one of its leaders erred and left the path of righteousness. He overran a country and people that had lived in comfort and security, performing their duties to their Nation in all domains, and terrorized women, children and the old in their very homes in the dead of night. This is not the deed of a Muslim. The prophet (pbuh) warns of terrorizing Muslims, saying (according to Abu Daoud): "It is not permitted for a Muslim to terrorize another." In another saying related by Al Bazar and others, he said: "Do not terrorize a Muslim, for the terror of a Muslim is a great oppression." In the saying of Abu Huraira, related by Al Tabarani: "Whomsoever looks at a Muslim so as to frighten him without just cause will be frightened by Allah on the Day of Judgment." The prophet (pbuh) also forbade the terrorizing of Muslims by pointing a weapon towards them, saying as related by Al Shaikhan: "Do not point a weapon at your brother for you know not lest Satan pull at your arm and you fall into a pit of fire." In a saying by Muslim Abu Huraira, "He who points a piece of iron at his brother will be damned by the angels until the end, even if it be his brother to his father or mother." In a saying by Ibn Masoud related by Al Bukhari, "Cursing a Muslim is to stray from the path of righteousness and killing him is to leave the faith." Yet where is all this, regarding what the Iraqi army has

done to Kuwait, the destruction, terror, killing, expulsion, plunder and pillage? And what about the Islamic prohibition against terrorizing non-combatants, and killing and torturing them? What happened in terms of the inhumane acts perpetrated by the Iraqi army against Kuwait and its people, as related by the news agencies, is a terrifying and sad thing, refused by Islam and repellent to the conscience of Muslims.

This unenviable situation in which Iraq has placed the Nation, to prepare to face the impending catastrophe that will nigh on annihilate it if the Iraqi leaders continue to the end of their devastating path, requires the Arab and Islamic Nation to respond, and to heed the call to stand against this wrong. Defense of the self and of the Nation requires that armies and forces are sped to surround the ill-doer, so that his harm will not spread; and to contain him as a fire is contained. Allah has permitted fighting the ill-doer: "So fight the malfeasor until it awakens to Allah's commands." And yet the Arab and Islamic forces have heeded the call and come to the aid of the rest of the countries that are exposed to the evil of this catastrophe. They have collaborated in containing the catastrophe in an attempt to stop it until those in charge of it become aware of the extent of the loss caused by this wicked deed; occupying an Arab Muslim people; breaching the sacrosanct relationship that binds neighbors with a military force vastly superior in numbers and equipment. And let those who are attempting to cause the region to explode, and to destroy it, after they have broken the inviolable sanctity of a country and its people, look what good has come to them of this wickedness? And what has the Nation lost? And are the two equal?

This is a great blow that has been dealt to the nation's dignity and its abilities. Even if the Iraqi army has plundered money and committed sins, this is not a gain but more of the same wickedness. It has been forbidden by Allah; he has warned of the penalties, and ordered that it be combated. The force that overran Kuwait had prepared itself and was more than ready. It entered in the dead of night without prior warning, nay in flagrant breach of treaties and promises made by the leaders of Iraq not to do what they have done, and to sit with their neighbor to discuss and debate their differences. It was a terrible surprise for Kuwait and its people then to be viciously attacked with heavy armor, guns and missiles and all the other implements of modern war. This is not of the courage of Arabs and Muslims, nor of the nature of an Arab to raise his sword except against a foe with a sword; for he would never surprise a foe in safety, nor attack an unarmed opponent. Yet how far this is from what happened. Has this attacking army been bereft of the morals of Arabs and of their nature, and all that runs in the teachings of Islam that forbid the stealth and the use of surprise attacks against a foe that has no arms? If the Arab peoples surrounding Kuwait were afraid and surprised by the actions of the Iraqi army, and called on the armies of the Arab and Islamic states, and of other countries that have the weapons to equal those used by Iraq against Kuwait, there is no wrong in this. Their cry for assistance from these multinational forces is based on the principle of international treaties, and it is their right to defend themselves and to protect their land from this treacherous brother who has heeded no treaty nor promise nor responsibility. Iraq's claim that by doing so, it becomes a mujahid is untrue, for jihad cannot be in doing wrong, nor in aggression against a fraternal Muslim neighbor. In addition, the claim that the incoming troops have denigrated the land and the sacrosanct is untrue also, for they come with the permission of the owners of that land, and to protect them from aggression. They are Muslim forces or allied to them, and assistance by such troops is permitted in Islam, indeed it is one of the foundations of Islam: one of the rights a Muslim has against another is that he require his help and support to counter oppression, and the same applies to the allied forces also. The claim that the sanctity of the holy land has been breached by allowing foreign troops to set foot in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is untrue, for the troops are either Muslim or allied to them, and came to counter aggression and fight oppression. Al Azhar Al Sharif, despite this painful reality and our desire to surmount it, and indeed to uncover the harm that has been done to the Nation, calls on the leaders of Iraq to desist from what they have done, and to withdraw their armies to their own borders; calls for the return of Kuwait's legitimate government to its country and people; and this in order to return to the good and repent from evil for the return to righteousness is better than continuing in the path of evil, and the best of the sinners are those that repent. "O ye faithful, respond to Allah and to his prophet if he calls you to that which gives you life, and know that Allah is present between Man and his heart, and that to Him you will come."

Source: Turi Munthe, ed., *The Saddam Hussein Reader* (New York: Thunder's Mouth, 2002), 246–250.

59. Alleged Excerpts from the Saddam Hussein–April Glaspie Meeting in Baghdad, July 25, 1990 [Excerpts]

Introduction

One week before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, as tensions between the two states were rising and Iraqi troops were massing on the border with Kuwait, Saddam Hussein and his foreign minister, Tariq Aziz, summoned April Glaspie, U.S. ambassador to Iraq, for a protracted conversation. The Iraqi government later issued a transcript of this meeting. Although Glaspie subsequently told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that this account was "fabricated," the U.S. State Department neither confirmed nor denied its accuracy. According to the Iraqi transcript, Hussein opened the conversation with a lengthy statement, recounting the past history

of U.S.-Iraqi diplomatic relations, which had been resumed in 1984 after a long hiatus following U.S. assistance to Israel during the 1967 Six-Day War. Hussein complained that Kuwait and the other Arab emirates, emboldened by U.S. support, had grown rich at Iraqi expense over the previous years and were treating Iraq with contempt, ignoring Iraqi rights along their joint borders. Hussein also complained that the United States was deliberately keeping the price of oil low, to Iraq's economic detriment, and that the American media were attacking his regime as undemocratic. In response, Glaspie apparently stated that while the United States welcomed relatively low oil prices, these need not be unduly low. She agreed that her country's media were unfair to Hussein. On Kuwait, she stated that the United States had no firm position on the dispute between the two countries but sought to know Hussein's intentions. She did state that the United States hoped that these problems would be speedily resolved, preferably through negotiations among the various Arab states. Hussein then complained to Glaspie that the Kuwaiti government was demanding the repayment of economic assistance it had given Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War, despite the fact that Iraq had effectively been defending Kuwaiti interests as well as its own in that conflict, and that the Iraqi people were suffering. He also told Glaspie that President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and Saudi Arabian leaders had brokered a meeting between Kuwaiti and Iraqi representatives within a few days, over the coming weekend, that he hoped would reach a settlement of their dispute. Hussein said that Iraqi troops would take no action before this meeting but that "if we are unable to find a solution, then it will be natural that Iraq will not accept death." If this transcript was an accurate account, Glaspie failed to give Hussein any uncompromising warning against invading Kuwait but merely stated that she would fly to the United States the following Monday to meet with President George H. W. Bush. Hussein could have easily interpreted such a response as tacit acquiescence in his plans to use force against Kuwait if no settlement acceptable to him was forthcoming. The episode permanently damaged Glaspie's reputation, and she received no further significant diplomatic postings.

Primary Source

SADDAM HUSSEIN: I have summoned you today to hold comprehensive political discussions with you. This is a message to President Bush. You know that we did not have relations with the U.S. until 1984 and you know the circumstances and reasons which caused them to be severed. The decision to establish relations with the U.S. were taken in 1980 during the two months prior to the war between us and Iran. When the war started, and to avoid misinterpretation, we postponed the establishment of relations hoping that the war would end soon.

But because the war lasted for a long time, and to emphasize the fact that we are a non-aligned country, it was important to re-establish relations with the U.S.

And we chose to do this in 1984. It is natural to say that the U.S. is not like Britain, for example, with the latter's historic relations with Middle Eastern countries, including Iraq. In addition, there were no relations between Iraq and the U.S. between 1967 and 1984. One can conclude it would be difficult for the U.S. to have a full understanding of many matters in Iraq. . . .

[. . .]

Iraqi Policy on Oil

Iraq came out of the war burdened with $40 billion debts, excluding the aid given by Arab states, some of whom consider that too to be a debt although they knew—and you knew too—that without Iraq they would not have had these sums and the future of the region would have been entirely different. We began to face the policy of the drop in the price of oil. Then we saw the United States, which always talks of democracy but which has no time for the other point of view. Then the media campaign against Saddam Hussein was started by the official American media.

The United States thought that the situation in Iraq was like Poland, Romania or Czechoslovakia. We were disturbed by this campaign but we were not disturbed too much because we had hoped that, in a few months, those who are decision makers in America would have a chance to find the facts and see whether this media campaign had had any effect on the lives of Iraqis. We had hoped that soon the American authorities would make the correct decision regarding their relations with Iraq. Those with good relations can sometimes afford to disagree. But when planned and deliberate policy forces the price of oil down without good commercial reasons, then that means another war against Iraq.

Because military war kills people by bleeding them, and economic war kills their humanity by depriving them of their chance to have a good standard of living.

As you know, we gave rivers of blood in a war that lasted eight years, but we did not lose our humanity. Iraqis have a right to live proudly. We do not accept that anyone could injure Iraqi pride or the Iraqi right to have high standards of living. Kuwait and the U.A.E. were at the front of this policy aimed at lowering Iraq's position and depriving its people of higher economic standards.

And you know that our relations with the Emirates and Kuwait had been good. On top of all that, while we were busy at war, the state of Kuwait began to expand at the expense of our territory. You may say this is propaganda, but I would direct you to one document, the Military Patrol Line, which is the borderline endorsed by the Arab League in 1961 for military patrols not to cross the Iraq-Kuwait border.

But go and look for yourselves. You will see the Kuwaiti border patrols, the Kuwaiti farms, the Kuwaiti oil installations—all built as closely as possible to this line to establish that land as Kuwaiti territory.

Conflicting Interests

Since then, the Kuwaiti Government has been stable while the Iraqi Government has undergone many changes. Even after 1968 and for 10 years afterwards, we were too busy with our own problems. First in the north, then the 1973 war, and other problems. Then came the war with Iran which started 10 years ago. We believe that the United States must understand that people who live in luxury and economic security can reach an understanding with the United States on what are legitimate joint interests. But the starved and the economically deprived cannot reach the same understanding. We do not accept threats from anyone because we do not threaten anyone. But we say clearly that we hope that the U.S. will not entertain too many illusions and will seek new friends rather than increase the number of its enemies. I have read the American statements speaking of friends in the area. Of course, it is the right of everyone to choose their friends.

We can have no objections. But you know you are not the ones who protected your friends during the war with Iran. I assure you, had the Iranians overrun the region, the American troops would not have stopped them, except by the use of nuclear weapons.

I do not belittle you. But I hold this view by looking at the geography and nature of American society into account. Yours is a society which cannot accept 10,000 dead in one battle. You know that Iran agreed to the cease-fire not because the United States had bombed one of the oil platforms after the liberation of the Fao. Is this Iraq's reward for its role in securing the stability of the region and for protecting it from an unknown flood?

Protecting the Oil Flow

So, what can it mean when America says it will now protect its friends? It can only mean prejudice against Iraq. This stance plus maneuvers and statements which have been made has encouraged the U.A.E. and Kuwait to disregard Iraqi rights. I say to you clearly that Iraq's rights, which are mentioned in the memorandum, we will take one by one. That might not happen now or after a month or after one year but we will take it all. We are not the kind of people who will relinquish their rights. There is no historic right, or legitimacy, or need, for the U.A.E. and Kuwait to deprive us of our rights. If they are needy, we too are needy.

The United States must have a better understanding of the situation and declare who it wants to have relations with and who its enemies are. But it should not make enemies simply because others have different points of view regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict. We clearly understand America's statement that it wants an easy flow of oil. We understand America saying that it seeks friendship with the states in the region, and to encourage their joint interests. But we cannot understand the attempt to encourage some parties to harm Iraq's interests.

The United States wants to secure the flow of oil. This is understandable and known. But it must not deploy methods which the United States says it disapproves of—flexing muscles and pressure. If you use pressure, we will deploy pressure and force. We know that you can harm us although we do not threaten you. But we too can harm you. Everyone can cause harm according to their ability and their size. We cannot come all the way to you in the United States, but individual Arabs may reach you.

War and Friendship

You can come to Iraq with aircraft and missiles but do not push us to the point where we cease to care. And when we feel that you want to injure our pride and take away the Iraqis' chance of a high standard of living, then we will cease to care and death will be the choice for us.

Then we would not care if you fired 100 missiles for each missile we fired.

Because without pride life would have no value. It is not reasonable to ask our people to bleed rivers of blood for eight years then to tell them, "Now you have to accept aggression from Kuwait, the U.A.E., or from the U.S. or from Israel." We do not put all these countries in the same boat. First, we are hurt and upset that such disagreement is taking place between us and Kuwait and the U.A.E.

The solution must be found within an Arab framework and through direct bilateral relations. We do not place America among the enemies. We place it where we want our friends to be and we try to be friends. But repeated American statements last year make it apparent that America did not regard us as friends. Well the Americans are free. When we seek friendship we want pride, liberty and our right to choose. We want to deal according to our status as we deal with the others according to their statuses. We consider the others' interests while we look after our own.

And we expect the others to consider our interests while they are dealing with their own. What does it mean when the Zionist war minister is summoned to the United States now? What do they mean, these fiery statements coming out of Israel during the past few days and the talk of war being expected now more than at any other time?

I do not believe that anyone would lose by making friends with Iraq. In my opinion, the American President has not made mistakes regarding the Arabs, although his decision to freeze dialogue with the P.L.O. was wrong. But it appears that this decision was made to appease the Zionist lobby or as a piece of strategy to cool the Zionist anger, before trying again. I hope that our latter conclusion is the correct one. But we will carry on saying it was the wrong decision.

You are appeasing the usurper in so many ways—economically, politically and militarily as well as in the media. When will the time come when, for every three appeasements to the usurper, you praise the Arabs just once?

APRIL GLASPIE: I thank you, Mr. President, and it is a great pleasure for a diplomat to meet and talk directly with the President. I clearly understand your message. We studied history at school that taught us to say freedom or death. I think you know well that we as a people have our experience with the colonialists.

Mr. President, you mentioned many things during this meeting which I cannot comment on on behalf of my Government. But with your permission, I will comment on two points. You spoke of friendship and I believe it was clear from the letters sent by our President to you on the occasion of your National Day that he emphasizes—

HUSSEIN: He was kind and his expressions met with our regard and respect.

Directive on Relations

GLASPIE: As you know, he directed the United States Administration to reject the suggestion of implementing trade sanctions.

HUSSEIN: There is nothing left for us to buy from America. Only wheat. Because every time we want to buy something, they say it is forbidden. I am afraid that one day you will say, "You are going to make gunpowder out of wheat."

GLASPIE: I have a direct instruction from the President to seek better relations with Iraq.

HUSSEIN: But how we too have this desire. But matters are running contrary to this desire.

[. . .]

GLASPIE: Mr. President, not only do I want to say that President Bush wanted better and deeper relations with Iraq, but he also wants an Iraqi contribution to peace and prosperity in the Middle East. President Bush is an intelligent man. He is not going to declare an economic war against Iraq. You are right. It is true what you say that we do not want higher prices for oil. But I would ask you to examine the possibility of not charging too high a price for oil.

HUSSEIN: We do not want too high prices for oil. And I remind you that in 1974 I gave Tariq Aziz the idea for an article he wrote which criticized the policy of keeping oil prices high. It was the first Arab article which expressed this view.

Shifting Price of Oil

TARIQ AZIZ: Our policy in OPEC opposes sudden jumps in oil prices.

HUSSEIN: Twenty-five dollars a barrel is not a high price.

GLASPIE: We have many Americans who would like to see the price go above $25 because they come from oil-producing states.

HUSSEIN: The price at one stage had dropped to $12 a barrel and a reduction in the modest Iraqi budget of $6 billion to $7 billion is a disaster.

GLASPIE: I think I understand this. I have lived here for years. I admire your extraordinary efforts to rebuild your country. I know you need funds. We understand that and our opinion is that you should have the opportunity to rebuild your country. But we have no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait. I was in the American Embassy in Kuwait during the late 60s. The instruction we had during this period was that we should express no opinion on this issue and that the issue is not associated with America. James Baker has directed our official spokesmen to emphasize this instruction. We hope you can solve this problem using any suitable methods via Klibi or via President Mubarak. All that we hope is that these issues are solved quickly. With regard to all of this, can I ask you to see how the issue appears to us?

My assessment after 25 years' service in this area is that your objective must have strong backing from your Arab brothers. I now speak of oil. But you, Mr. President, have fought through a horrific and painful war. Frankly, we can see only that you have deployed massive troops in the south. Normally that would not be any of our business. But when this happens in the context of what you said on your national day, then when we read the details in the two letters of the Foreign Minister, then when we see the Iraqi point of view that the measures taken by the U.A.E. and Kuwait is, in the final analysis, parallel to military aggression against Iraq, then it would be reasonable for me to be concerned. And for this reason, I received an instruction to ask you, in the spirit of friendship—not in the spirit of confrontation—regarding your intentions. I simply

describe the position of my Government. And I do not mean that the situation is a simple situation. But our concern is a simple one.

HUSSEIN: We do not ask people not to be concerned when peace is at issue. This is a noble human feeling which we all feel. It is natural for you as a superpower to be concerned. But what we ask is not to express your concern in a way that would make an aggressor believe that he is getting support for his aggression. We want to find a just solution which will give us our rights but not deprive others of their rights. But at the same time, we want the others to know that our patience is running out regarding their action, which is harming even the milk our children drink, and the pensions of the widow who lost her husband during the war, and the pensions of the orphans who lost their parents. As a country, we have the right to prosper. We lost so many opportunities, and the others should value the Iraqi role in their protection. Even this Iraqi [the President points to their interpreter] feels bitter like all other Iraqis. We are not aggressors but we do not accept aggression either. We sent them envoys and handwritten letters.

We tried everything. We asked the Servant of the Two Shrines—King Fahd—to hold a four-member summit, but he suggested a meeting between the Oil Ministers. We agreed. And as you know, the meeting took place in Jidda. They reached an agreement which did not express what we wanted, but we agreed. Only two days after the meeting, the Kuwaiti Oil Minister made a statement that contradicted the agreement. We also discussed the issue during the Baghdad summit. I told the Arab Kings and Presidents that some brothers are fighting an economic war against us. And that not all wars use weapons and we regard this kind of war as a military action against us. Because if the capability of our army is lowered then, if Iran renewed the war, it could achieve goals which it could not achieve before. And if we lowered the standard of our defenses, then this could encourage Israel to attack us. I said that before the Arab Kings and Presidents. Only I did not mention Kuwait and U.A.E. by name, because they were my guests.

Before this, I had sent them envoys reminding them that our war had included their defense. Therefore the aid they gave us should not be regarded as a debt. We did not more than the United States would have done against someone who attacked its interests. I talked about the same thing with a number of other Arab states. I explained the situation to brother King Fahd a few times, by sending envoys and on the telephone. I talked with brother King Hussein and with Sheik Zaid after the conclusion of the summit. I walked with the Sheik to the plane when he was leaving Mosul. He told me, "Just wait until I get home." But after he had reached his destination, the statements that came from there were very bad—not from him, but from his Minister of Oil. And after the Jidda agreement, we received some intelligence that they were talking of sticking to the agreement for two months only.

Then they would change their policy. Now tell us, if the American President found himself in this situation, what would he do? I said it was very difficult for me to talk about these issues in public. But we must tell the Iraqi people who face economic difficulties who was responsible for that.

Talks with Mubarak

GLASPIE: I spent four beautiful years in Egypt.

HUSSEIN: The Egyptian people are kind and good and ancient. The oil people are supposed to help the Egyptian people, but they are mean beyond belief. It is painful to admit it, but some of them are disliked by Arabs because of their greed.

GLASPIE: Mr. President, it would be helpful if you could give us an assessment of the effort made by your Arab brothers and whether they have achieved anything.

HUSSEIN: On this subject, we agreed with President Mubarak that the Prime Minister of Kuwait would meet with the deputy chairman of the Revolution Command Council in Saudi Arabia, because the Saudis initiated contact with us, aided by President Mubarak's efforts. He just telephoned me a short while ago to say the Kuwaitis have agreed to that suggestion.

GLASPIE: Congratulations.

HUSSEIN: A protocol meeting will be held in Saudi Arabia. Then the meeting will be transferred to Baghdad for deeper discussion directly between Kuwait and Iraq. We hope we will reach some result. We hope that the long-term view and the real interests will overcome Kuwaiti greed.

GLASPIE: May I ask you when you expect Sheik Saad to come to Baghdad?

HUSSEIN: I suppose it would be on Saturday or Monday at the latest. I told brother Mubarak that the agreement should be in Baghdad Saturday or Sunday. You know that brother Mubarak's visits have always been a good omen.

GLASPIE: This is good news. Congratulations.

HUSSEIN: Brother President Mubarak told me they were scared. They said troops were only 20 kilometers north of the Arab League line. I said to him that regardless of what is there, whether they are police, border guards or army, and regardless of how many are there, and what they are doing, assure the Kuwaitis and give them our word that we are not going to do anything until we meet with them. When we meet and when we see that there is hope, then nothing will happen. But if we are unable to find a solution, then it

will be natural that Iraq will not accept death, even though wisdom is above everything else. There you have good news.

AZIZ: This is a journalistic exclusive.

GLASPIE: I am planning to go to the United States next Monday. I hope I will meet with President Bush in Washington next week. I thought to postpone my trip because of the difficulties we are facing. But now I will fly on Monday.

Source: Robert Parry et al., "The USA in Bed with Saddam," The Internet Archive, http://www.archive.org/stream/TheUsaInBedWithSaddam/USAibwS_djvu.txt.

60. U.S. President George H. W. Bush and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Joint Press Conference, Aspen, Colorado, August 2, 1990 [Excerpts]

Introduction

One day after he learned of Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait, U.S. president George H. W. Bush flew to Aspen, Colorado, to consult British prime minister Margaret Thatcher. Thatcher, a staunch conservative who believed firmly that Great Powers must use military force when necessary, something she had demonstrated in her own country's earlier war over the Falkland Islands, was later credited with reinforcing Bush's own instincts to take a strong stand over Kuwait. Before taking wing to Aspen, Bush had already issued a statement strongly condemning Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and endorsing the United Nations (UN) Security Council resolution condemning this action. He also signed Executive Order 12723 blocking all property and interests in the United States or controlled by U.S. citizens that belonged to Kuwait's government and its associates, thereby impeding Iraq's ability to seize those assets. In addition, the U.S. government froze all Iraqi assets in the United States. In Aspen, Bush and Thatcher held a joint press conference in which they stated that they were on the "same wavelength": united in condemning the invasion but hoping for the peaceful replacement of the Kuwaiti leaders after a voluntary withdrawal by Iraqi forces. Bush mentioned that he had already held personal consultations on the subject with several major Arab leaders, including King Hussein of Jordan, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, and President Ali Abdullah Saleh of Yemen, and that Secretary of State James A. Baker III was also closely in touch with the Soviet leadership. Thatcher was even more forthright than Bush in condemning the invasion, which she described as "totally unacceptable," something that if tolerated would mean "many other small countries . . . could never feel safe." She welcomed the Security Council resolution calling for Iraq's withdrawal and stated that if Iraq failed to honor this, the Security Council would need to consider collective action "to see that Iraq withdraws and that the Government of Kuwait is restored to Kuwait." Even at this early stage, Thatcher clearly regarded the episode as a test of "whether the nations of the world ha[d] the collective will" to enforce the Security Council's resolution. At this stage, however, both leaders refused to discuss whether or not military intervention would ultimately be necessary. Bush also hedged when answering a question as to whether, if similar episodes were not to occur in future, it would be necessary to remove Saddam Hussein from power to prevent him from becoming "a constant source of problems" throughout the region.

Primary Source

The President. Let me first welcome Prime Minister Thatcher back to the United States. It's a very timely visit, and as you can well imagine, we have been exchanging views on the Iraq-Kuwait situation. Not surprisingly, I find myself very much in accord with the views of the Prime Minister. I reported to her on contacts that I've had since I left Washington: personal contacts with King Hussein [of Jordan]; Mr. Mubarak of Egypt, President Mubarak; President Salih of Yemen—a long conversation just now. I can tell you that [Secretary of State] Jim Baker has been in close touch with the Soviet leadership, and indeed, the last plan was for him to stop in Moscow on his way back here.

We are concerned about the situation, but I find that Prime Minister Thatcher and I are looking at it on exactly the same wavelength: concerned about this naked aggression, condemning it, and hoping that a peaceful solution will be found that will result in the restoration of the Kuwaiti leaders to their rightful place and, prior to that, a withdrawal of Iraqi forces.

Prime Minister, welcome to Colorado and to the United States. And if you care to say a word on that, then we can take the questions.

The Prime Minister. Thank you, Mr. President, and thank you for the welcome.

We have, of course, been discussing the main question as the President indicated. Iraq has violated and taken over the territory of a country which is a full member of the United Nations. That is totally unacceptable, and if it were allowed to endure, then there would be many other small countries that could never feel safe.

The Security Council acted swiftly last night under the United States leadership, well-supported by the votes of 14 members of the Security Council, and rightly demanded the withdrawal of Iraqi troops. If that withdrawal is not swiftly forthcoming, we have to consider the next step. The next step would be further

consideration by the Security Council of possible measures under chapter VII.

The fundamental question is this: whether the nations of the world have the collective will effectively to see the Security Council resolution is upheld; whether they have the collective will effectively to do anything, which the Security Council further agrees, to see that Iraq withdraws and that the government of Kuwait is restored to Kuwait. None of us can do it separately. We need a collective and effective will of the nations belonging to the United Nations—first the Security Council and then the support of all the others to make it effective.

Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait

Q. Mr. President, when Kuwaiti shipping was in danger in the Gulf war, you put those ships under American flags. Now Kuwait itself has been invaded. The Kuwaiti Ambassador says that they're desperate for help and that American intervention is of paramount importance. Will you answer that call, and how will you?

The President. I answer that we're considering what the next steps by the United States should be, just as we strongly support what Prime Minister Thatcher said about collective action in the United Nations.

Q. Are you still not contemplating military intervention?

The President. No. I mentioned at the time we were going to discuss different options, which I did after that first press conference this morning. And we're not ruling any options in, but we're not ruling any options out. . . .

Q. What are the chances of U.S.-Soviet cooperation in restoring peace to the Gulf?

The President. I would say they're very good. I reported to Prime Minister Thatcher on a conversation that I had with Jim Baker on the plane flying out here. And I think you could say that he would not be stopping in Moscow unless there would be a good degree of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States. But again, the Soviet Union is a member of the United Nations. They voted with the United Kingdom and with the United States. And so, I think there is a good level of cooperation with the Soviets and, hopefully, with other permanent members and, hopefully, with the rest of the members of the Security Council.

[. . .]

Q. Mr. President, isn't Saddam Hussein [President of Iraq] at the root of this problem? Hasn't he replaced Qadhafi [leader of Libya] as sort of the bad boy of the region? Would you like to see him removed? And what can you do about him?

The President. I would like to see him withdraw his troops and the restoration of the legal government in Kuwait to the rightful place, and that's the step that should be taken. I might say that I am somewhat heartened by the conversations I had with Mubarak and with King Hussein, Mr. Salih—all of whom I consider friends of the United States—and all of them who are trying to engage in what they call an Arab answer to the question, working diligently behind the scenes to come to an agreement that would satisfy the United Nations and the rest of the world. So, there are collective efforts beginning to be undertaken by these worthy countries, and let's hope that they result in a satisfactory resolution of this international crisis.

Q. But, Mr. President, Saddam Hussein has been the source of the most recent mischief in the region—nuclear triggers, missiles, the big gun—as Prime Minister Thatcher knows about. Is he going to be a constant source of problems there in that region?

The President. If he behaves this way, he's going to be a constant source. We find his behavior intolerable in this instance, and so do the rest of the United Nations countries that met last night. And reaction from around the world is unanimous in being condemnatory. So, that speaks for itself.

[. . .]

Q. Prime Minister, is there any action short of military intervention that Britain or the other United Nations countries could take—

The Prime Minister. Yes, of course.

Q.—that would be effective against Iraq?

The Prime Minister. Yes, of course. Yes, of course there is—you know, the whole chapter VII measures. And that, of course—obviously we're in consultation now as to which measures we could all agree on so the Security Council would vote them. And then they'd become mandatory. The question then is whether you can make them effective over the rest of the nations. And obviously, the 14 couldn't do it on their own. And so, there will be a good deal of negotiation as to what to put in the next Security Council resolution if Iraq does not withdraw.

Q. But are you confident that you'd be able to mobilize that kind of international support?

The Prime Minister. I believe that further chapter VII measures would have a good chance of getting through. We certainly would support them.

The President. May I add to that, that the United States has demonstrated its interest in that by the action that I took this morning by Executive order: cutting off imports from Iraq to this country.

Q. Mr. President, can I ask both of you to answer this? How does the fact that they apparently have chemical weapons now affect your decisionmaking and narrow your options?

The Prime Minister. I don't figure it affects it at all. What has happened is a total violation of international law. You cannot have a situation where one country marches in and takes over another country which is a member of the United Nations. I don't think the particular weapons they have affects that fundamental position.

Q. But doesn't it affect what actions we can take? And doesn't it make military action—

The Prime Minister. No, I do not think it necessarily affects what actions we can take.

The President. I would agree with that assessment.

[. . .]

Q. Mr. President, some of the smaller nations in the Persian Gulf—Bahrain, the Emirates, and the others—obviously have reason to worry about what has happened here. What can the United States and Great Britain say to those countries and those people who are feeling very concerned today?

The President. Well, the United States can say that we are very much concerned for your safety. And this naked aggression would understandably shake them to the core. And so, what we are trying to do is have collective action that will reverse this action out and to make very clear that we are totally in accord with their desire to see the Iraqis withdraw—cease-fire, withdraw, and restitution of the Kuwaiti government. And that would be the most reassuring thing of all for these countries who, whether it's true or not, feel threatened by this action.

Q. At the risk of being hypothetical, if Iraq does not move out quickly and has gained a foothold among the smaller Gulf nations, what can the United States and other nations do militarily?

The President. We have many options, and it is too hypothetical, indeed, for me to comment on them. And I'd refer that also to the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister. That's precisely why you're looking at the next stage in the Security Council; second, what other measures can be put into action mandatorily; and why the very nations to whom you refer—we should also need their cooperation in putting other actions into effect.

[. . .]

Q. Prime Minister, if I could, the President's Executive order this morning established a U.S. embargo on trade with Iraq. When you mentioned chapter VII measures, would you support in the Security Council a call for an international embargo on Iraqi oil?

The Prime Minister. We are prepared to support in the Security Council those measures which collectively we can agree to and which collectively we can make effective. Those are the two tests. We have already frozen all Kuwaiti assets. Kuwaitis have very considerable assets, and it's important that those do not fall into Iraqi hands. Iraq, we believe, has only very, very small assets and rather a lot of debts, so the position is rather different with her.

Source: George H. W. Bush, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George Bush, 1990,* Book 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991), 1085–1088.

61. Joint U.S.-Soviet Statement Calling for the Withdrawal of Iraqi Forces from Kuwait, August 3, 1990

Introduction

When the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf crisis began, U.S. secretary of state James A. Baker III was on his way to Moscow to meet with his opposite number, Russian foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze. In earlier years, Soviet and U.S. agreement in any such crisis would have been most unlikely, but the dismantling of the Cold War meant that the two big powers were to a considerable degree in accord on the subject. After holding private discussions, Baker and Shevardnadze issued a joint statement in which, on behalf of both their governments, they called for Iraqi troops to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Kuwait. The statement endorsed United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 660 to this effect, passed two days earlier, and called upon Iraq to implement its demands. The Soviet Union agreed to suspend all arms deliveries and sales to Iraq, while the United States had already frozen Iraqi and Kuwaiti assets under its control. The two men called upon the international community to join them not just in condemning Iraq's action but also in taking "practical steps in response," notably by cutting off all supplies of arms to Iraq. They hoped that Arab governments and appropriate regional organizations, particularly the League of Arab States, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the Islamic Conference, would show especially strong support for such measures. Putting the invasion of Kuwait on a footing of broad principle, the statement concluded that "Governments that engage in blatant aggression must know that the international community cannot and will not

acquiesce in nor facilitate aggression." To some, the appearance of this joint statement might have seemed to suggest that the two leading Cold War opponents now sought to become partners, setting the basic standards of the "new world order" that President George H. W. Bush would soon proclaim. In fact, it would soon become apparent that the internal fragility of the Soviet Union would debar it from playing any such dominating role in the post–Cold War world.

Primary Source

The Soviet Union and the United States, as members of the United Nations Security Council, consider it important that the Council promptly and decisively condemn the brutal and illegal invasion of Kuwait by Iraqi military forces. The United States and the Soviet Union believe that now it is essential that the Security Council Resolution be fully and immediately implemented. By its action, Iraq has shown its contempt for the most fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and international law.

In response to this blatant transgression of the basic norms of civilized conduct, the United States and the Soviet Union have each taken a number of actions, including the Soviet suspension of arms deliveries and the American freezing of assets. The Soviet Union and the United States reiterate our call for the unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. The sovereignty, national independence, legitimate authorities, and territorial integrity of the State of Kuwait must be completely restored and safeguarded. The United States and the Soviet Union believe the international community must not only condemn this action, but also take practical steps in response to it.

Today we take the unusual step of jointly calling upon the rest of the international community to join with us in an international cut-off of all arms supplies to Iraq. In addition, the Soviet Union and the United States call on regional organizations, especially the League of Arab States, all Arab governments, as well as the Non-Aligned Movement and the Islamic Conference to take all possible steps to ensure that the United Nations Security Council Resolution is carried out. Governments that engage in blatant aggression must know that the international community cannot and will not acquiesce in nor facilitate aggression.

Source: U.S. Department of State, *American Foreign Policy: Current Documents, 1990* (Washington, DC: Department of State, 1991), 460–461.

62. President George H. W. Bush, Announcement of the Deployment of U.S. Armed Forces to Saudi Arabia for Operation DESERT SHIELD, August 8, 1990 [Excerpt]

Introduction

U.S. president George H. W. Bush responded quickly to the Iraqi takeover of Kuwait. American leaders feared that this was only an opening move in a systematic campaign by Iraqi president Saddam Hussein to make his country the dominant power in the Middle East and that the neighboring oil-rich but small and militarily weak kingdom of Saudi Arabia, a U.S. ally, would be his next target. In an address to the American people six days after Hussein's forces invaded Kuwait, Bush made it clear that the United States would not tolerate such actions and explained his policy toward Iraq and Kuwait. Drawing analogies with the 1930s when European leaders had failed to stand up to aggressive actions by fascist Germany and Italy, he warned that the United States would not yield to Hussein's demands or abandon its allies in the Middle East. Bush called for "the immediate, unconditional, and complete withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait" and the removal of the "puppet government" Hussein had installed there. Bush described the broad economic sanctions that the United Nations (UN), at U.S. insistence, had already imposed upon Iraq. He stated that the U.S. government would do all in its power to ensure that these sanctions were effective. Perhaps most important, however, he announced that additional American military forces, including a large airpower component, were being deployed in Saudi Arabia that day to safeguard that kingdom against potential aggression by Hussein. Bush's address marked the first step in the process that would lead, less than six months later, to a full-scale U.S. war to expel Iraq from Kuwait.

Primary Source

In the life of a nation we're called upon to define who we are and what we believe. Sometimes these choices are not easy. But today as President, I ask for your support in a decision I've made to stand up for what's right and condemn what's wrong, all in the cause of peace.

At my direction, elements of the 82nd Airborne Division as well as key units of the United States Air Force are arriving today to take up key defensive positions in Saudi Arabia. I took this action to assist the Saudi Arabian Government in the defense of its homeland. No one commits America's armed forces to a dangerous mission lightly, but after perhaps unparalleled international consultation and exhausting every alternative, it became necessary to take this action. Let me tell you why.

Less than a week ago, in the early morning hours of August 2nd, Iraqi armed forces, without provocation or warning, invaded a peaceful Kuwait. Facing negligible resistance from its much smaller neighbor, Iraq's tanks stormed in blitzkrieg fashion through Kuwait in a few short hours. With more than 100,000 troops, along with tanks, artillery, and surface-to-surface missiles, Iraq now occupies Kuwait. This aggression came just hours after Saddam Hussein specifically assured numerous countries in the area that there would be no invasion. There is no justification whatsoever for this outrageous and brutal act of aggression.

A puppet regime imposed from the outside is unacceptable. The acquisition of territory by force is unacceptable. No one, friend or foe, should doubt our desire for peace; and no one should underestimate our determination to confront aggression.

Four simple principles guide our policy. First, we seek the immediate, unconditional, and complete withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait. Second, Kuwait's legitimate government must be restored to replace the puppet regime. And third, my administration, as has been the case with every President from President Roosevelt to President Reagan, is committed to the security and stability of the Persian Gulf. And fourth, I am determined to protect the lives of American citizens abroad.

Immediately after the Iraqi invasion, I ordered an embargo of all trade with Iraq and, together with many other nations, announced sanctions that both freeze all Iraqi assets in this country and protected Kuwait's assets. The stakes are high. Iraq is already a rich and powerful country that possesses the world's second largest reserves of oil and over a million men under arms. It's the fourth largest military in the world. Our country now imports nearly half the oil it consumes and could face a major threat to its economic independence. Much of the world is even more dependent upon imported oil and is even more vulnerable to Iraqi threats.

We succeeded in the struggle for freedom in Europe because we and our allies remain stalwart. Keeping the peace in the Middle East will require no less. We're beginning a new era. This era can be full of promise, an age of freedom, a time of peace for all peoples. But if history teaches us anything, it is that we must resist aggression or it will destroy our freedoms. Appeasement does not work. As was the case in the 1930s, we see in Saddam Hussein an aggressive dictator threatening his neighbors. Only 14 days ago, Saddam Hussein promised his friends he would not invade Kuwait. And 4 days ago, he promised the world he would withdraw. And twice we have seen what his promises mean: His promises mean nothing.

In the last few days, I've spoken with political leaders from the Middle East, Europe, Asia, and the Americas; and I've met with Prime Minister Thatcher, [Canadian] Prime Minister [Brian] Mulroney, and NATO Secretary General [Manfred] Woerner. And all agree that Iraq cannot be allowed to benefit from its invasion of Kuwait.

We agree that this is not an American problem or a European problem or a Middle East problem; it is the world's problem. And that's why, soon after the Iraqi invasion, the United Nations Security Council, without dissent, condemned Iraq, calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of its troops from Kuwait. The Arab world, through both the Arab League and the Gulf Cooperation Council, courageously announced its opposition to Iraqi aggression. Japan, the United Kingdom, and France, and other governments around the world have imposed severe sanctions. The Soviet Union and China ended all arms sales to Iraq.

And this past Monday, the United Nations Security Council approved for the first time in 23 years mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. These sanctions, now enshrined in international law, have the potential for denying Iraq the fruits of aggression while sharply limiting its ability to either import or export anything of value, especially oil.

I pledge here today that the United States will do its part to see that these sanctions are effective and to induce Iraq to withdraw without delay from Kuwait.

But we must recognize that Iraq may not stop using force to advance its ambitions. Iraq has massed an enormous war machine on the Saudi border capable of initiating hostilities with little or no additional preparation. Given the Iraqi Government's history of aggression against its own citizens as well as its neighbors, to assume Iraq will not attack again would be unwise and unrealistic.

And therefore, after consulting with King Fahd, I sent Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney to discuss cooperative measures we could take. Following those meetings, the Saudi Government requested our help, and I responded to that request by ordering U.S. air and ground forces to deploy to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Let me be clear: The sovereign independence of Saudi Arabia is of vital interest to the United States. This decision, which I shared with the Congressional leadership, grows out of the longstanding friendship and security relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia. U.S. forces will work together with those of Saudi Arabia and other nations to preserve the integrity of Saudi Arabia and to deter further Iraqi aggression. Through their presence, as well as through training and exercises, these multinational forces will enhance the overall capability of Saudi armed forces to defend the Kingdom.

I want to be clear about what we are doing and why. America does not seek conflict, nor do we seek to chart the destiny of other nations. But America will stand by her friends. The mission of our troops is wholly defensive. Hopefully, they will not be needed

long. They will not initiate hostilities, but they will defend themselves, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and other friends in the Persian Gulf.

[. . .]

Source: George H. W. Bush, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George Bush, 1990,* Book 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991), 1107–1108.

63. United Nations Resolutions on the Gulf Crisis, Nos. 660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 669, 670, 674, 677, 678, August–November 1990

Introduction

Although the United States contributed the bulk of the military forces that waged war against Iraq in 1991, it did so as the leader of a United Nations (UN) coalition fighting to restore the status quo ante in Kuwait. Between August and November 1990, the UN Security Council, urged in particular by the United States and Great Britain, passed a series of resolutions on Kuwait and Iraq. Initially these condemned the Iraqi invasion and takeover of Kuwait and urged Iraq to withdraw immediately and to submit its disputes with Kuwait to UN mediation. On August 6 the Security Council also imposed economic sanctions on Iraq and Kuwait, banning all trade with those countries and freezing the economic assets of both in third countries. Later in August, the maritime forces of all UN member states were enjoined to enforce and facilitate these embargoes where appropriate, a measure that permitted the United States to use its naval vessels in the Persian Gulf for this purpose. When it became clear by September 1990 that the Iraqi government had seized foreign diplomatic personnel in Baghdad and Kuwait and was preventing the free movement of non-Iraqis, intending to use these foreigners as hostages in the hope of precluding any military action against Iraq, the UN demanded their release. Continuing mistreatment of Kuwaiti nationals brought the tightening of sanctions, including the breaking of most aviation links with Iraq and Kuwait. Until the end of October 1990, the Security Council continued to call on Iraq to negotiate a peaceful resolution to the crisis over Kuwait. Finally, as all such exhortations proved fruitless and as it became clear that Iraq had no intention of relinquishing control of the emirate, on November 29, 1990, three weeks after U.S. president George H. W. Bush had announced that coalition forces were beginning to move from a defensive to an offensive basis, the Security Council passed Resolution No. 678, demanding that Iraqi forces leave Kuwait completely prior to January 15, 1991, and, should this not happen, mandating the use of military force if necessary to restore Kuwait's independence. This resolution provided the legal basis for the eventual coalition military operations against Iraq. The passage of these resolutions was made possible by the harmonious relations between Russia and the Western powers that followed the ending of the Cold War. This meant that the five permanent members of the Security Council—the United States, Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and China—all either voted in favor of them or, in the case of China, were at least willing to abstain on the final resolution authorizing forcible intervention against Iraq. The Western powers' need to gain Chinese acquiescence, if not support, meant that their relations with China thawed from the glacial atmosphere that had characterized them in the year after the brutal repression of the June 1989 Tiananmen Square protests in Beijing and elsewhere in China. The decision of the U.S. government to intervene under UN auspices also enabled Bush to argue that coalition powers had made every effort to give Saddam Hussein repeated opportunities to withdraw from Kuwait and that the eventual use of military force was due only to Iraq's intransigence.

Primary Source

No. 660

2 August 1990

The Security Council,

Alarmed by the invasion of Kuwait on 2 August 1990 by the military forces of Iraq,

Determining that there exists a breach of international peace and security as regards the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait,

Acting under Articles 39 and 40 of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Condemns the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait;

2. Demands that Iraq withdraw immediately and unconditionally all of its forces to the positions in which they were located on 1 August 1990;

3. Calls upon Iraq and Kuwait to begin immediately intensive negotiations for the resolution of their differences and supports all efforts in this regard, and especially those of the League of Arab States;

4. Decides to meet again as necessary to consider further steps to ensure compliance with the present resolution.

No. 661

6 August 1990

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 660 (1990) of 2 August 1990,

Deeply concerned that that resolution has not been implemented and that the invasion by Iraq of Kuwait continues with further loss of human life and material destruction,

Determined to bring the invasion and occupation of Kuwait by Iraq to an end and to restore the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kuwait,

Noting that the legitimate Government of Kuwait has expressed its readiness to comply with resolution 660 (1990),

Mindful of its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Affirming the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence, in response to the armed attack by Iraq against Kuwait, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Determines that Iraq so far has failed to comply with paragraph 2 of resolution 660 (1990) and has usurped the authority of the legitimate Government of Kuwait;

2. Decides, as a consequence, to take the following measures to secure compliance of Iraq with paragraph 2 of resolution 660 (1990) and to restore the authority of the legitimate Government of Kuwait;

3. Decides that all States shall prevent:

(a) The import into their territories of all commodities and products originating in Iraq or Kuwait exported therefrom after the date of the present resolution;

(b) Any activities by their nationals or in their territories which would promote or are calculated to promote the export or transshipment of any commodities or products from Iraq or Kuwait; and any dealings by their nationals or their flag vessels or in their territories in any commodities or products originating in Iraq or Kuwait and exported therefrom after the date of the present resolution, including in particular any transfer of funds to Iraq or Kuwait for the purposes of such activities or dealings;

(c) The sale or supply by their nationals or from their territories or using their flag vessels of any commodities or products, including weapons or any other military equipment, whether or not originating in their territories but not including supplies intended strictly for medical purposes, and, in humanitarian circumstances, foodstuffs, to any person or body in Iraq or Kuwait or to any person or body for the purposes of any business carried on in or operated from Iraq or Kuwait, and any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote such sale or supply of such commodities or products;

4. Decides that all States shall not make available to the Government of Iraq or to any commercial, industrial or public utility undertaking in Iraq or Kuwait, any funds or any other financial or economic resources and shall prevent their nationals and any persons within their territories from removing from their territories or otherwise making available to that Government or to any such undertaking any such funds or resources and from remitting any other funds to persons or bodies within Iraq or Kuwait, except payments exclusively for strictly medical or humanitarian purposes and, in humanitarian circumstances, foodstuffs;

5. Calls upon all States, including States non-members of the United Nations, to act strictly in accordance with the provisions of the present resolution notwithstanding any contract entered into or license granted before the date of the present resolution;

6. Decides to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, a Committee of the Security Council consisting of all the members of the Council, to undertake the following tasks and to report on its work to the Council with its observations and recommendations:

(a) To examine the reports on the progress of the implementation of the present resolution which will be submitted by the Secretary-General;

(b) To seek from all States further information regarding the action taken by them concerning the effective implementation of the provisions laid down in the present resolution;

7. Calls upon all States to co-operate fully with the Committee in the fulfilment of its task, including supplying such information as may be sought by the Committee in pursuance of the present resolution;

8. Requests the Secretary-General to provide all necessary assistance to the Committee and to make the necessary arrangements in the Secretariat for the purpose;

9. Decides that, notwithstanding paragraphs 4 through 8 above, nothing in the present resolution shall prohibit assistance to the legitimate Government of Kuwait, and calls upon all States:

(a) To take appropriate measures to protect assets of the legitimate Government of Kuwait and its agencies;

(b) Not to recognize any regime set up by the occupying Power;

10. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the progress of the implementation of the present resolution, the first report to be submitted within thirty days;

11. Decides to keep this item on its agenda and to continue its efforts to put an early end to the invasion by Iraq.

No. 662

9 August 1990

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 660 (1990) and 661 (1990),

Gravely alarmed by the declaration by Iraq of a "comprehensive and eternal merger" with Kuwait,

Demanding, once again, that Iraq withdraw immediately and unconditionally all its forces to the positions in which they were located on 1 August 1990,

Determined to bring the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq to an end and to restore the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kuwait,

Determined also to restore the authority of the legitimate Government of Kuwait,

1. Decides that annexation of Kuwait by Iraq under any form and whatever pretext has no legal validity, and is considered null and void;

2. Calls upon all States, international organizations and specialized agencies not to recognize that annexation, and to refrain from any action or dealing that might be interpreted as an indirect recognition of the annexation;

3. Further demands that Iraq rescind its actions purporting to annex Kuwait;

4. Decides to keep this item on its agenda and to continue its efforts to put an early end to the occupation.

No. 664

18 August 1990

The Security Council,

Recalling the Iraqi invasion and purported annexation of Kuwait and resolutions 660, 661 and 662,

Deeply concerned for the safety and well being of third state nationals in Iraq and Kuwait,

Recalling the obligations of Iraq in this regard under international law,

Welcoming the efforts of the Secretary-General to pursue urgent consultations with the Government of Iraq following the concern and anxiety expressed by the members of the Council on 17 August, 1990,

Acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter:

1. Demands that Iraq permit and facilitate the immediate departure from Kuwait and Iraq of the nationals of third countries and grant immediate and continuing access of consular officials to such nationals;

2. Further demands that Iraq take no action to jeopardize the safety, security or health of such nationals;

3. Reaffirms its decision in resolution 662 (1990) that annexation of Kuwait by Iraq is null and void, and therefore demands that the Government of Iraq rescind its orders for the closure of diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and the withdrawal of the immunity of their personnel, and refrain from any such actions in the future;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council on compliance with this resolution at the earliest possible time.

No. 665

25 August 1990

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 660 (1990), 661 (1990), 662 (1990) and 664 (1990) and demanding their full and immediate implementation,

Having decided in resolution 661 (1990) to impose economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

Determined to bring an end to the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq which imperils the existence of a Member State and to restore the legitimate authority, and the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kuwait which requires the speedy implementation of the above resolutions,

Deploring the loss of innocent life stemming from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and determined to prevent further such losses,

Gravely alarmed that Iraq continues to refuse to comply with resolutions 660 (1990), 661 (1990), 662 (1990) and 664 (1990) and in particular at the conduct of the Government of Iraq in using Iraqi flag vessels to export oil,

1. Calls upon those Member States co-operating with the Government of Kuwait which are deploying maritime forces to the area to use such measures commensurate to the specific circumstances as may be necessary under the authority of the Security Council to halt all inward and outward maritime shipping in order to inspect and verify their cargoes and destinations and to ensure strict implementation of the provisions related to such shipping laid down in resolution 661 (1990);

2. Invites Member States accordingly to co-operate as may be necessary to ensure compliance with the provisions of resolution 661 (1990) with maximum use of political and diplomatic measures, in accordance with paragraph 1 above;

3. Requests all States to provide in accordance with the Charter such assistance as may be required by the States referred to in paragraph 1 of this resolution;

4. Further requests the States concerned to co-ordinate their actions in pursuit of the above paragraphs of this resolution using as appropriate mechanisms of the Military Staff Committee and after consultation with the Secretary-General to submit reports to the Security Council and its Committee established under resolution 661 (1990) to facilitate the monitoring of the implementation of this resolution;

5. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

No. 666

13 September 1990

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 661 (1990), paragraphs 3 (c) and 4 of which apply, except in humanitarian circumstances, to foodstuffs,

Recognizing that circumstances may arise in which it will be necessary for foodstuffs to be supplied to the civilian population in Iraq or Kuwait in order to relieve human suffering,

Noting that in this respect the Committee established under paragraph 6 of that resolution has received communications from several Member States,

Emphasizing that it is for the Security Council, alone or acting through the Committee, to determine whether humanitarian circumstances have arisen,

Deeply concerned that Iraq has failed to comply with its obligations under Security Council resolution 664 (1990) in respect of the safety and well-being of third State nationals, and reaffirming that Iraq retains full responsibility in this regard under international humanitarian law including, where applicable, the Fourth Geneva Convention,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Decides that in order to make the necessary determination whether or not for the purposes of paragraph 3 (c) and paragraph 4 of resolution 661 (1990) humanitarian circumstances have arisen, the Committee shall keep the situation regarding foodstuffs in Iraq and Kuwait under constant review;

2. Expects Iraq to comply with its obligations under Security Council resolution 664 (1990) in respect of third State nationals and reaffirms that Iraq remains fully responsible for their safety and well-being in accordance with international humanitarian law including, where applicable, the Fourth Geneva Convention;

3. Requests, for the purposes of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this resolution, that the Secretary-General seek urgently, and on a continuing basis, information from relevant United Nations and other appropriate humanitarian agencies and all other sources on the availability of food in Iraq and Kuwait, such information to be communicated by the Secretary-General to the Committee regularly;

4. Requests further that in seeking and supplying such information particular attention will be paid to such categories of persons who might suffer specially, such as children under 15 years of age, expectant mothers, maternity cases, the sick and the elderly;

5. Decides that if the Committee, after receiving the reports from the Secretary-General, determines that circumstances have arisen in which there is an urgent humanitarian need to supply foodstuffs to Iraq or Kuwait in order to relieve human suffering, it will report promptly to the Council its decision as to how such need should be met;

6. Directs the Committee that in formulating its decisions it should bear in mind that foodstuffs should be provided through the United Nations in co-operation with the International Committee of the Red Cross or other appropriate humanitarian agencies and distributed by them or under their supervision in order to ensure that they reach the intended beneficiaries;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to use his good offices to facilitate the delivery and distribution of foodstuffs to Kuwait and Iraq in accordance with the provisions of this and other relevant resolutions;

8. Recalls that resolution 661 (1990) does not apply to supplies intended strictly for medical purposes, but in this connection recommends that medical supplies should be exported under the strict supervision of the Government of the exporting State or by appropriate humanitarian agencies.

No. 667

16 September 1990

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 660 (1990), 661 (1990), 662 (1990), 664 (1990), 665 (1990) and 666 (1990),

Recalling the Vienna Conventions of 18 April 1961 on diplomatic relations and of 24 April 1963 on consular relations, to both of which Iraq is a party,

Considering that the decision of Iraq to order the closure of diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and to withdraw the immunity and privileges of these missions and their personnel is contrary to the decisions of the Security Council, the international Conventions mentioned above and international law,

Deeply concerned that Iraq, notwithstanding the decisions of the Security Council and the provisions of the Conventions mentioned above, has committed acts of violence against diplomatic missions and their personnel in Kuwait,

Outraged at recent violations by Iraq of diplomatic premises in Kuwait and at the abduction of personnel enjoying diplomatic immunity and foreign nationals who were present in these premises,

Considering that the above actions by Iraq constitute aggressive acts and a flagrant violation of its international obligations which strike at the root of the conduct of international relations in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,

Recalling that Iraq is fully responsible for any use of violence against foreign nationals or against any diplomatic or consular missions in Kuwait or its personnel,

Determined to ensure respect for its decisions and for Article 25 of the Charter of the United Nations,

Further considering that the grave nature of Iraq's actions, which constitute a new escalation of its violations of international law, obliges the Council not only to express its immediate reaction but also to consider further concrete measures to ensure Iraq's compliance with the Council's resolutions,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Strongly condemns aggressive acts perpetrated by Iraq against diplomatic premises and personnel in Kuwait, including the abduction of foreign nationals who were present in those premises;

2. Demands the immediate release of those foreign nationals as well as all nationals mentioned in resolution 664 (1990);

3. Further demands that Iraq immediately and fully comply with its international obligations under resolutions 660 (1990), 662 (1990) and 664 (1990) of the Security Council, the Vienna Conventions on diplomatic and consular relations and international law;

4. Further demands that Iraq immediately protect the safety and well-being of diplomatic and consular personnel and premises in Kuwait and in Iraq and take no action to hinder the diplomatic and consular missions in the performance of their functions, including access to their nationals and the protection of their persons and interests;

5. Reminds all States that they are obliged to observe strictly resolutions 661 (1990), 662 (1990), 664 (1990), 665 (1990) and 666 (1990);

6. Decides to consult urgently to take further concrete measures as soon as possible, under Chapter VII of the Charter, in response to Iraq's continued violation of the Charter, of resolutions of the Council and of international law.

No. 669

24 September 1990

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990,

Recalling also Article 50 of the Charter of the United Nations,

Conscious of the fact that an increasing number of requests for assistance have been received under the provisions of Article 50 of the Charter of the United Nations,

Entrusts the Committee established under resolution 661 (1990) concerning the situation between Iraq and Kuwait with the task of examining requests for assistance under the provisions of Article 50 of the Charter of the United Nations and making recommendations to the President of the Security Council for appropriate action.

No. 670

25 September 1990

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 660 (1990), 661 (1990), 662 (1990), 664 (1990), 665 (1990), 666 (1990) and 667 (1990),

Condemning Iraq's continued occupation of Kuwait, its failure to rescind its actions and end its purported annexation and its holding of third State nationals against their will, in flagrant violation of resolutions 660 (1990), 662 (1990), 664 (1990) and 667 (1990) and of international humanitarian law,

Condemning further the treatment by Iraqi forces of Kuwaiti nationals, including measures to force them to leave their own country and mistreatment of persons and property in Kuwait in violation of international law,

Noting with grave concern the persistent attempts to evade the measures laid down in resolution 661 (1990),

Further noting that a number of States have limited the number of Iraqi diplomatic and consular officials in their countries and that others are planning to do so,

Determined to ensure by all necessary means the strict and complete application of the measures laid down in resolution 661 (1990),

Determined to ensure respect for its decisions and the provisions of Articles 25 and 48 of the Charter of the United Nations,

Affirming that any acts of the Government of Iraq which are contrary to the above-mentioned resolutions or to Articles 25 or 48 of the Charter of the United Nations, such as Decree No. 377 of the Revolution Command Council of Iraq of 16 September 1990, are null and void,

Reaffirming its determination to ensure compliance with Security Council resolutions by maximum use of political and diplomatic means,

Welcoming the Secretary-General's use of his good offices to advance a peaceful solution based on the relevant Security Council resolutions and noting with appreciation his continuing efforts to this end,

Underlining to the Government of Iraq that its continued failure to comply with the terms of resolutions 660 (1990), 661 (1990), 662 (1990), 664 (1990), 666 (1990) and 667 (1990) could lead to further serious action by the Council under the Charter of the United Nations, including under Chapter VII,

Recalling the provisions of Article 103 of the Charter of the United Nations,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Calls upon all States to carry out their obligations to ensure strict and complete compliance with resolution 661 (1990) and, in particular, paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 thereof;

2. Confirms that resolution 661 (1990) applies to all means of transport, including aircraft;

3. Decides that all States, notwithstanding the existence of any rights or obligations conferred or imposed by any international agreement or any contract entered into or any licence or permit granted before the date of the present resolution, shall deny permission to any aircraft to take off from their territory if the aircraft would carry any cargo to or from Iraq or Kuwait other than food in humanitarian circumstances, subject to authorization by the Council or the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) and in accordance with resolution 666 (1990), or supplies intended strictly for medical purposes or solely for UNIIMOG;

4. Decides further that all States shall deny permission to any aircraft destined to land in Iraq or Kuwait, whatever its State of registration, to overfly its territory unless:

(a) The aircraft lands at an airfield designated by that State outside Iraq or Kuwait in order to permit its inspection to ensure that there is no cargo on board in violation of resolution 661 (1990) or the present resolution, and for this purpose the aircraft may be detained for as long as necessary; or

(b) The particular flight has been approved by the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990); or

(c) The flight is certified by the United Nations as solely for the purposes of UNIIMOG;

5. Decides that each State shall take all necessary measures to ensure that any aircraft registered in its territory or operated by an operator who has his principal place of business or permanent

residence in its territory complies with the provisions of resolution 661 (1990) and the present resolution;

6. Decides further that all States shall notify in a timely fashion the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) of any flight between its territory and Iraq or Kuwait to which the requirement to land in paragraph 4 above does not apply, and the purpose for such a flight;

7. Calls upon all States to co-operate in taking such measures as may be necessary, consistent with international law, including the Chicago Convention, to ensure the effective implementation of the provisions of resolution 661 (1990) or the present resolution;

8. Calls upon all States to detain any ships of Iraqi registry which enter their ports and which are being or have been used in violation of resolution 661 (1990), or to deny such ships entrance to their ports except in circumstances recognized under international law as necessary to safeguard human life;

9. Reminds all States of their obligations under resolution 661 (1990) with regard to the freezing of Iraqi assets, and the protection of the assets of the legitimate Government of Kuwait and its agencies, located within their territory and to report to the Committee established under resolution 661 (1990) regarding those assets;

10. Calls upon all States to provide to the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) information regarding the action taken by them to implement the provisions laid down in the present resolution;

11. Affirms that the United Nations Organization, the specialized agencies and other international organizations in the United Nations system are required to take such measures as may be necessary to give effect to the terms of resolution 661 (1990) and this resolution;

12. Decides to consider, in the event of evasion of the provisions of resolution 661 (1990) or of the present resolution by a State or its nationals or through its territory, measures directed at the State in question to prevent such evasion;

13. Reaffirms that the Fourth Geneva Convention applies to Kuwait and that as a High Contracting Party to the Convention Iraq is bound to comply fully with all its terms and, in particular, is liable under the Convention in respect of the grave breaches committed by it, as are individuals who commit or order the commission of grave breaches.

No. 674

29 October 1990

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 660 (1990), 661 (1990), 662 (1990), 664 (1990), 665 (1990), 666 (1990), 667 (1990) and 670 (1990),

Stressing the urgent need for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait, for the restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, and of the authority of its legitimate Government,

Condemning the actions by the Iraqi authorities and occupying forces to take third State nationals hostage and to mistreat and oppress Kuwaiti and third State nationals, and the other actions reported to the Council such as the destruction of Kuwaiti demographic records, forced departure of Kuwaitis, and relocation of population in Kuwait and the unlawful destruction and seizure of public and private property in Kuwait including hospital supplies and equipment, in violation of the decisions of this Council, the Charter of the United Nations, the Fourth Geneva Convention, the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular Relations and international law,

Expressing grave alarm over the situation of nationals of third States in Kuwait and Iraq, including the personnel of the diplomatic and consular missions of such States,

Reaffirming that the Fourth Geneva Convention applies to Kuwait and that as a High Contracting Party to the Convention Iraq is bound to comply fully with all its terms and, in particular is liable under the Convention in respect of the grave breaches committed by it, as are individuals who commit or order the commission of grave breaches,

Recalling the efforts of the Secretary-General concerning the safety and well-being of third State nationals in Iraq and Kuwait,

Deeply concerned at the economic cost, and at the loss and suffering caused to individuals in Kuwait and Iraq as a result of the invasion and occupation of Kuwait by Iraq,

Acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter,

Reaffirming the goal of the international community of maintaining international peace and security by seeking to resolve international disputes and conflicts through peaceful means,

Recalling also the important role that the United Nations and its Secretary-General have played in the peaceful solution of disputes and conflicts in conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter,

Alarmed by the dangers of the present crisis caused by the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait, directly threatening

international peace and security, and seeking to avoid any further worsening of the situation,

Calling upon Iraq to comply with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, in particular resolutions 660 (1990), 662 (1990) and 664 (1990),

Reaffirming its determination to ensure compliance by Iraq with the Security Council resolutions by maximum use of political and diplomatic means,

A

1. Demands that the Iraqi authorities and occupying forces immediately cease and desist from taking third State nationals hostage, and mistreating and oppressing Kuwaiti and third State nationals, and from any other actions such as those reported to the Council and described above, violating the decisions of this Council, the Charter of the United Nations, the Fourth Geneva Convention, the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular Relations and international law;

2. Invites States to collate substantiated information in their possession or submitted to them on the grave breaches by Iraq as per paragraph 1 above and to make this information available to the Council;

3. Reaffirms its demand that Iraq immediately fulfil its obligations to third State nationals in Kuwait and Iraq, including the personnel of diplomatic and consular missions, under the Charter, the Fourth Geneva Convention, the Vienna Conventions on Diplomatic and Consular Relations, general principles of international law and the relevant resolutions of the Council;

4. Reaffirms further its demand that Iraq permit and facilitate the immediate departure from Kuwait and Iraq of those third State nationals, including diplomatic and consular personnel, who wish to leave;

5. Demands that Iraq ensure the immediate access to food, water and basic services necessary to the protection and well-being of Kuwaiti nationals and of nationals of third States in Kuwait and Iraq, including the personnel of diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait;

6. Reaffirms its demand that Iraq immediately protect the safety and well-being of diplomatic and consular personnel and premises in Kuwait and in Iraq, take no action to hinder these diplomatic and consular missions in the performance of their functions, including access to their nationals and the protection of their persons and interests and rescind its orders for the closure of diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and the withdrawal of the immunity of their personnel;

7. Requests the Secretary-General, in the context of the continued exercise of his good offices concerning the safety and well being of third State nationals in Iraq and Kuwait, to seek to achieve the objectives of paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 and, in particular, the provision of food, water and basic services to Kuwaiti nationals and to the diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and the evacuation of third State nationals;

8. Reminds Iraq that under international law it is liable for any loss, damage or injury arising in regard to Kuwait and third States, and their nationals and corporations, as a result of the invasion and illegal occupation of Kuwait by Iraq;

9. Invites States to collect relevant information regarding their claims, and those of their nationals and corporations, for restitution or financial compensation by Iraq with a view to such arrangements as may be established in accordance with international law;

10. Requires that Iraq comply with the provisions of the present resolution and its previous resolutions, failing which the Council will need to take further measures under the Charter;

11. Decides to remain actively and permanently seized of the matter until Kuwait has regained its independence and peace has been restored in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council;

B

12. Reposes its trust in the Secretary-General to make available his good offices and, as he considers appropriate, to pursue them and undertake diplomatic efforts in order to reach a peaceful solution to the crisis caused by the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait on the basis of Security Council resolutions 660 (1990), 662 (1990) and 664 (1990), and calls on all States, both those in the region and others, to pursue on this basis their efforts to this end, in conformity with the Charter, in order to improve the situation and restore peace, security and stability;

13. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the results of his good offices and diplomatic efforts.

No. 677

28 November 1990

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 660 (1990) of 2 August 1990, 662 (1990) of 9 August 1990 and 674 (1990) of 29 October 1990,

Reiterating its concern for the suffering caused to individuals in Kuwait as a result of the invasion and occupation of Kuwait by Iraq,

Gravely concerned at the ongoing attempt by Iraq to alter the demographic composition of the population of Kuwait and to destroy the civil records maintained by the legitimate Government of Kuwait,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Condemns the attempts by Iraq to alter the demographic composition of the population of Kuwait and to destroy the civil records maintained by the legitimate Government of Kuwait;

2. Mandates the Secretary-General to take custody of a copy of the population register of Kuwait, the authenticity of which has been certified by the legitimate Government of Kuwait and which covers the registration of the population up to 1 August 1990;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to establish, in co-operation with the legitimate Government of Kuwait, an Order of Rules and Regulations governing access to and use of the said copy of the population register.

No. 678

29 November 1990

The Security Council,

Recalling, and reaffirming its resolutions 660 (1990) of 2 August (1990), 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990, 662 (1990) of 9 August 1990, 664 (1990) of 18 August 1990, 665 (1990) of 25 August 1990, 666 (1990) of 13 September 1990, 667 (1990) of 16 September 1990, 669 (1990) of 24 September 1990, 670 (1990) of 25 September 1990, 674 (1990) of 29 October 1990 and 677 (1990) of 28 November 1990,

Noting that, despite all efforts by the United Nations, Iraq refuses to comply with its obligation to implement resolution 660 (1990) and the above-mentioned subsequent relevant resolutions, in flagrant contempt of the Security Council,

Mindful of its duties and responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance and preservation of international peace and security,

Determined to secure full compliance with its decisions,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter,

1. Demands that Iraq comply fully with resolution 660 (1990) and all subsequent relevant resolutions, and decides, while maintaining all its decisions, to allow Iraq one final opportunity, as a pause of goodwill, to do so;

2. Authorizes Member States co-operating with the Government of Kuwait, unless Iraq on or before 15 January 1991 fully implements, as set forth in paragraph 1 above, the above-mentioned resolutions, to use all necessary means to uphold and implement resolution 660 (1990) and all subsequent relevant resolutions and to restore international peace and security in the area;

3. Requests all States to provide appropriate support for the actions undertaken in pursuance of paragraph 2 of the present resolution;

4. Requests the States concerned to keep the Security Council regularly informed on the progress of actions undertaken pursuant to paragraphs 2 and 3 of the present resolution;

5. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Source: United Nations Security Council Official Records, S/RES/0660, S/RES/0661, S/RES/0662, S/RES/0664, S/RES/0665, S/RES/0666, S/RES/0667, S/RES/0669, S/RES/0670, S/RES/0674, S/RES/0677, S/RES/0678, August–November 1990.

64. President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, Message to the Iraqi National Assembly, December 6, 1990

Introduction

The holding of Western hostages was one tactical measure that won President Saddam Hussein of Iraq great opprobrium in the aftermath of his invasion of Kuwait. For several months, Hussein refused to permit many Westerners in Iraq and Kuwait to leave those countries, although from August to November 1990 he gradually released most of the women and children. Until December 1990, however, several thousand foreigners still remained under the control of the Iraqi government without freedom of movement even within Iraq and Kuwait. Hussein deliberately placed many of these hostages in strategic locations that were likely to be targets of military operations in the hope that this would deter foreign powers from launching assaults against them. The United Nations (UN) Security Council repeatedly condemned Hussein's action in taking civilians hostage, and eventually, in early December 1990, Hussein decided to release all the remaining Westerners he was still holding. In a speech carried on Baghdad radio he addressed the Iraqi National Assembly, stating that although "denying those people the freedom to travel has rendered a great service to the cause of peace," this had been an exceptional measure, justified only by the special emergency circumstances. Now that Iraq and

Kuwait were fully prepared for war, the time was right to remove such civilians from the cross fire of battle. Moreover, he believed that American public opinion had now turned against the possibility of war against Iraq, while his Arab allies and European leaders were urging him to release the hostages. He therefore urged the National Assembly to rescind its legislation forbidding foreigners to leave, instructions that the rubber-stamp parliament quickly obeyed. Hussein probably hoped that this conciliatory gesture might turn Western public opinion in his favor, but after several months it proved insufficient to cancel out the extremely unsavory impression made by his initial detention of such civilian bystanders.

Primary Source

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Mr. National Assembly Speaker, members: Peace be upon you. Under difficult conditions, the strength of the believers' affiliation and loyalty is put to the test. Their action in the service of principles is also put to the test. Iraqis in general, and you among them, have proved that on very dark nights, the spark of faith glows in a much nicer way than on ordinary nights. Adherence to the supreme principles governing the relation between man and his Creator and his duty toward Him, as well as the relation between the Iraqis with all peoples, becomes even stronger in the more difficult circumstances.

And, just as the continued endeavor is required on earth, the correct answers to the continuous test are also required, without making the test or success in it dependent on a certain phrase and time.

On the basis of these principles and what we desire—that the influence of the believers expands, and that the knowledge of mankind in general expands with the believers' principles and the truth of their mission—we believe that, this time, the National Assembly is asked to take a decisive and final decision concerning a humanitarian issue, which you, and the whole world, know about.

Some Are Trapped

National Assembly members, the thing that worries the faithful struggler, the honorable struggler, and the brave fighter—who has the values of the chivalrous believer—most is when the trenches in the battle arena get mixed and when some people, who do not want to fight and who are not among the evildoers, get trapped in the space between the two trenches. This worry becomes deep grief when that kind of people are harmed because of the level and type of the conflict.

The foreigners who were prevented from traveling are among those people in the battle between right, led by Iraq's great people and valiant armed forces, and evil, whose failing mass is led by Bush, the enemy of God. As you and my brothers in the leadership know, I realize that despite what they had to put up with, denying those people the freedom to travel has rendered a great service to the cause of peace. And because God has taught us that forbidden things should never be resorted to except in very urgent cases and without any excesses, we must not keep these emergency measures, especially this measure, any longer.

The days, weeks, and months through which our people and nation have passed have been such that our options, even those concerning the nature and form of defense, were not open or without limits in every area and all conditions. For instance, our valiant forces did not have the chance to complete their concentrations in order to confront the possibilities of military aggression against them in the Kuwaiti governorate. So any measure that was taken to delay the war may not have been correct from the humanitarian and practical standpoints and under established norms, but it has provided an opportunity for us to prepare for any eventuality.

Now Fully Prepared

We have now reached the time when, with God's care, our blessed force has become fully prepared, if God wills that we should fight in defense of his values and ideals against the infidels, profligates and traitors, and also in defense of the great national, pan-Arab and humanitarian gains.

Gentlemen: Good people, men and women of different nationalities and political trends have come to Iraq. Dear brothers from Jordan, Yemen, Palestine, Sudan, and the Arab Maghreb have also consulted with us on this issue, as on others. We have felt, guided by our humanitarian feelings, that the time has come to make a firm decision on this subject. We had considered a timing different from the present one; namely, the occasion of Christmas and New Year, which are of special significance to Christians in the world, including Christians in the West.

However, the appeal by some brothers, the decision of the Democratic majority in the U.S. Senate, and the European Parliament's invitation to our Foreign Minister for dialogue; all these have encouraged us to respond to these good, positive changes—changes that will have a major impact on world public opinion in general, and U.S. public opinion in particular, in restraining the evil ones who are seeking and pushing for war as the option they have chosen out of their evil tendencies and premedi[t]ated intentions to do harm.

In view of all this, we have found that the exigencies that permitted the impermissible, and thus prevented the travel of foreigners, have weakened and have been replaced by something stronger; namely, this positive change in public opinion, including the change in U.S. public opinion, which will constitute a restraint on the intentions and decisions of the evil ones, who are led in their evil intentions and steps by the enemy of God, Bush.

Therefore, I call on you, brothers, to make your just decision and allow all foreigners on whom restrictions were placed to enjoy the freedom of travel and to lift these restrictions, with our apologies for any harm done to anyone of them. God, the Almighty, grants forgiveness.

Brothers, I ask you, and th[r]ough you I ask the Iraqi people and our brave armed forces, to maintain your alertness and vigil because the armies of aggression are still on our holy lands, in the Arabian Peninsula, and the evil ones are talking of war. Bush's invitation for talks, as far as we can discern, has continued to bear the possibilities or the inclination toward aggression and war. The buildup is growing.

Therefore, the steadfast believers, both on the level of the public and on the level of our armed forces, should not fall in the trap in which some have fallen in the past.

May God protect you and protect our people and nation, steer humanity from what God hates, help the faithful to carry out what God wishes, and smite the infidels and traitors after exposing them and their shameful deeds. He is the best supporter and backer. God is great, accursed be the infidels and traitors, who gave the oppressors and infidels the opportunity to invade the holy land.

Glory and greatness to the mujahedeen of the occupied land and all the steadfast mujahedeen and fighters of our great Arab nation.

Source: Saddam Hussein, Message, December 6, 1990, Translated by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *F.B.I.S.-Daily Report Near East and South Asia,* December 6, 1990, pp. 90–235.

65. Yasser Arafat, The Palestine Liberation Organization and the Gulf Crisis, December 13, 1990

Introduction

Arab-Israeli peace talks remained effectively suspended from June 1990 until the end of the Persian Gulf War in March 1991. In August 1990 Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's army annexed the oil-rich emirate of Kuwait, an ally of the United States, and at the end of February 1991 a U.S.-led military coalition forcibly reversed this. Throughout those months, the Persian Gulf crisis dominated international affairs. Hussein sought to win support from the Arab world by linking his annexation of Kuwait, in defiance of the United States, with his vocal opposition to Israel. During the crisis Hussein threatened to attack Israel, seeking to redefine the conflict as a jihad (holy war) against Israel, and after hostilities began he launched several Scud missiles against Israel. Emphasizing their joint opposition to Hussein, embattled Israel turned to the United States for protection and offered military assistance and facilities against the common enemy. During the previous year Hussein, seeking to enhance his status and influence within the Arab world, had been increasingly vocal in his opposition to Israel and the United States and in his support for the Palestinian cause, which led to Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) chairman Yasser Arafat forging an alliance with the Iraqi president. During the Persian Gulf crisis Arafat and the PLO therefore sided with Hussein, a somewhat impolitic choice given the central role that the United States was likely to play in any resumed peace process. In a decidedly rambling interview published in a Croatian newspaper in December 1990, an apparently depressed Arafat sought to justify his position. He highlighted the growing U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf well before Hussein's invasion as evidence of its unjustified ambitions. Arafat seemingly hoped that war against Iraq might still be avoided. He complained that the recent United Nations (UN) Security Council resolution on Iraq that the United States had obtained was "some kind of declaration of war." Arafat feared that such a conflict would "leave behind nothing but catastrophe" and asked why the Arab states could not have been left to mediate the Iraq-Kuwait dispute among themselves without American intervention. Arafat's interview gave the impression of a man who, watching two of his past partners coming ever closer to outright hostilities, believed that the Palestinian cause was foundering and had almost totally lost his bearings.

Primary Source

Do not forget that I was continually warning about the constant possibility of an escalation in this region. Most specifically, last April I pointed out two possible explosive points: On the one hand this involved increased U.S.-Israeli threats to Iraq and the Palestinians in southern Lebanon, and on the other the mass settlement of Jews into our occupied Palestine—a problem that I was constantly pointing out and to which I was trying to attract the world's attention because it involved a move with unpredictable consequences. I also said that the Arab summit in Baghdad in March this year should be a summit to straighten things out. Anyway, I will give you the letter the Americans sent us at that time through the Arab League. This is the dangerous letter that no one has wanted to talk about. I will give you a copy: go ahead and publish it if you wish. In this letter they openly announce that they will increase their presence in the Gulf and warned the Arabs that they will not tolerate any resistance to their presence. When I spoke about this on 17 May, two lines concerning the U.S. intentions were already apparent among the Arabs. One line approved of their presence and the other did not.

Another issue was the question of Israel and its expansion. The letter itself was a classic ultimatum. They issued a metal coin—here, I will give you one—with a sketch on it of the map of Israel as they

see it. This Israel contains half of Iraq, half of Syria, the whole of Lebanon, Jordan, the whole of Palestine, a part of Saudi Arabia, and a good part of Sinai. They have not forsaken this dream. When I left Beirut in 1982, I said that the storm that had overtaken that city would not stop. The storm at that point had one center, one "eye" as we would say: Palestine. Today that storm has two eyes—one in the Gulf and the other in Palestine. . . .

A few days ago, when I was with Saddam Husayn, it seemed to me that the chances of peace were great. What the Americans have prepared through the Security Council, however . . . this is some kind of declaration of war. This is an ultimatum. Really, there is the danger of the Middle East's exploding, not only in the Gulf but on all sides. If Israel is in this war—and it certainly will be—we will fight against it as well as against the Americans. They must know that not one single Arab soldier—neither Egyptian, nor Syrian, nor Saudi—will agree to be in the same trench as Israeli soldiers. This is the reality.

There is no doubt about it. No matter what the outcome of the war, the Arab order as a whole will collapse. . . .

We are the greatest losers even now. Our people in Kuwait were the richest. The total losses of the Palestinian colony in Kuwait amounted to $8.5 billion. Our people had almost $3 billion in the banks there alone. Look what happened. The U.S.-European committee discussed, and to a considerable extent has already paid, compensation to the whole world for the money lost in Kuwait, but the Palestinians did not receive anything. What is this meant to be? A punishment for the Palestinians? Where are the principles here? Are they not ashamed of this? Or do they really only want to ignite a new explosion? Viewed in the long term, perhaps there is cause for optimism. In the shorter term, the situation is exceptionally difficult. It seems that we have definitely come closer to a war which will leave behind nothing but catastrophe. Both Asia and Europe will feel the repercussions. In order for people to come to their senses, it is necessary for a lot of effort to be made throughout the world. But there is no sense. Look at the Security Council—what is its duty? To foment war or to seek peaceful solutions? I cannot accept this. As regards the solution, it is very strange that, for example, it is being demanded of the Palestinians that they talk with the Israelis while they are occupying the Palestinians' country, but at the same time we are not being allowed to ask that the Arabs look for a solution among themselves for the new problem in the Gulf. So one can have negotiations among enemies but not among Arabs. What do they want? That I reject one occupation but accept another, or something like this? I cannot accept a foreign presence in this region. I know that they are literally punishing the Palestinians because of this, but I will not sell my opinion for any sum of money. I could easily say that I support the Saudis or the Americans. You know, however, that I have fought for principles, and I will not betray them.

Source: Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin, eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader* (New York: Penguin, 2008), 378–380.

66. Joint Congressional Resolution Authorizing Use of Force in the Persian Gulf, January 12, 1991 [Excerpts]

Introduction

With efforts for a negotiated settlement regarding Kuwait at an impasse, on January 12, 1991, the U.S. Congress passed Joint Resolution 77 authorizing the use of military force against Iraq from January 15, 1991, onward. The United Nations (UN) had made this date the deadline for Iraq to comply with the various UN resolutions passed since August 1990 and withdraw from Kuwait. Many in the Democratic-controlled Congress were reluctant to endorse this measure, and voting was substantially along party lines. The Senate voted 52 to 47 in favor of this resolution, with a mere 10 Democrats and all but 2 Republican senators supporting the resolution, while the House passed it by 250 to 183 votes, with 164 out of 167 Republicans and 86 out of 267 Democrats in favor. The resolution stated that before resorting to military measures, the president must demonstrate that all "appropriate diplomatic and other peaceful means" to persuade Iraq to comply with the various UN resolutions had been tried and had proved fruitless. The president was also required to submit reports to Congress at 60-day intervals on the progress of efforts to persuade Iraq to accept the UN resolutions. Passage of the resolution demonstrated that despite the discomfort that many Democrats in particular still felt over the resort to military force, a consensus existed that unless such means were used, Saddam Hussein and Iraq would continue in control of Kuwait. Signing the resolution, President George H. W. Bush thanked its supporters, especially those Democrats who had broken with the majority of their party to provide the necessary margin of support for its passage. While mentioning the long-standing White House position that the 1973 War Powers Resolution was constitutionally invalid and did not affect the authority of the president as commander in chief to deploy U.S. armed forces as he pleased, Bush nonetheless clearly welcomed congressional endorsement of what seemed increasingly likely to be an outright war against Iraq and was unwilling to make the crisis into a test of presidential independence of congressional restraints. Bush also reiterated his hopes that the situation between Kuwait and Iraq, even at this late date, might be peacefully resolved, and he promised to keep Congress fully informed of further developments.

Primary Source

Joint Resolution

To authorize the use of United States Armed Forces pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolution 678.

Whereas the Government of Iraq without provocation invaded and occupied the territory of Kuwait on August 2, 1990;

Whereas both the House of Representatives (in H.J. Res. 658 of the 101st Congress) and the Senate (in S. Con. Res. 147 of the 101st Congress) have condemned Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and declared their support for international action to reverse Iraq's aggression;

Whereas Iraq's conventional, chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs and its demonstrated willingness to use weapons of mass destruction pose a grave threat to world peace;

Whereas the international community has demanded that Iraq withdraw unconditionally and immediately from Kuwait and that Kuwait's independence and legitimate government be restored;

Whereas the United Nations Security Council repeatedly affirmed the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense in response to the armed attack by Iraq against Kuwait in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter;

Whereas, in the absence of full compliance by Iraq with its resolutions, the United Nations Security Council in Resolution 678 has authorized member states of the United Nations to use all necessary means, after January 15, 1991, to uphold and implement all relevant Security Council resolutions and to restore international peace and security in the area; and

Whereas Iraq has persisted in its illegal occupation of, and brutal aggression against Kuwait: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

[. . .]

Section 2. Authorization for Use of United States Armed Forces.

(a) Authorization.-The President is authorized, subject to subsection (b), to use United States Armed Forces pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolution 678 (1990) in order to achieve implementation of Security Council Resolutions 660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 669, 670, 674, and 677.

(b) Requirement for Determination That Use of Military Force Is Necessary.-Before exercising the authority granted in subsection (a), the President shall make available to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate his determination that-

(1) the United States has used all appropriate diplomatic and other peaceful means to obtain compliance by Iraq with the United Nations Security Council resolutions cited in subsection (a); and

(2) that those efforts have not been and would not be successful in obtaining such compliance.

[. . .]

Passed the House of Representatives January 12, 1991.

Source: U.S. Congress, House, *To Authorize the Use of United States Armed Forces Pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolution 678,* H. J. RES. 77, 102nd Cong., 1st sess., January 13, 1991.

67. American and British Prisoners of War Held by Iraq, Interviews on Iraqi Television, January 20, 1991 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Until the beginning of ground warfare in late February 1991, most of the coalition casualties in the war against Iraq were fliers whose aircraft were shot down by Iraqi planes, missiles, or antiaircraft batteries. Some were killed, but others were taken prisoner by Iraqis. In an effort to strike a propaganda blow, on January 20, 1991, Iraqi television broadcast interviews with seven such American and British prisoners, excerpts of which were later rebroadcast on CNN. In the course of these interviews the prisoners identified themselves, described their missions and how they had been shot down, sent messages to their families, and in several cases stated that they did not support the war against Iraq. The airing of these interviews proved largely counterproductive for President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. The footage of injured men, some of whom had apparently been beaten in order to persuade them to condemn the war, suggested that Iraqi officials were deliberately mistreating prisoners of war in an effort to brainwash them. Hussein also threatened to house prisoners of war close to major Iraqi military targets in the coalition bombing campaign. This practice and the interviews themselves contravened the internationally recognized standards for the treatment of prisoners of war laid down in the Geneva Conventions. Coalition leaders and the United Nations (UN) immediately demanded that Hussein cease exhibiting prisoners of war on television and ensure that their treatment met the Geneva Conventions. Like Hussein's earlier holding of foreign civilians as hostages, his treatment of captured coalition servicemen damaged his image, suggesting that he was both erratic and unscrupulous.

Primary Source

Q. Would you tell us your rank and name?

A. Lieut. Col. Cliff [inaudible; believed to be Lieut. Col. Clifford M. Acree].

Q. What's your age?

A. Thirty-nine.

Q. What's your unit?

A. V.M.O. 2.

Q. You are the commander of that unit?

A. Yes, I am.

Q. Your mission?

A. Observation and reconnaissance.

Q. How your aircraft has been shot down?

A. I was flying a mission in southern Kuwait and was shot down by a surface-to-air missile.

Q. Do you have a message?

A. I would like to tell my wife and family that I'm alive and well.

Second Prisoner

Q. Would you tell us your rank and name?

A. My name is Lieut. Jeffrey Norton Zaun, United States Navy.

Q. Your age?

A. I am twenty-eight.

Q. Your unit?

A. I am from Attack Squadron 35 on the U.S.S. Saratoga, the Red Sea.

Q. Your type of aircraft?

A. I'm flying the A-6E Intruder attack aircraft.

Q. Your mission?

A. My mission was to attack the H3 airfield in southwestern Iraq.

Q. Alone?

A. I flew as part of a formation of four aircraft in order to commit this attack.

Q. What do you think, Lieutenant, about this aggression against Iraq?

A. I think our leaders and our people have wrongly attacked the peaceful people of Iraq.

Q. Do you have a message?

A. Yes, I would like to tell my mother and my father and my sister that I am well treated and that they should pray for peace.

Third Prisoner

Q. Would you tell us about your rank, name and nationality?

A. O.K. My name is Maurice Cocciolone. And I'm a captain from Italian Air Force.

Q. What is your age?

A. I am 30 years old.

Q. Tell us about your unit.

A. My unit is the 155 squadron that is now in the base of Emirates—United Arab Emirates.

Q. What was your mission?

A. To attack the forces of missiles in the southern region of Iraq.

Q. How you have been shot down?

A. We don't know exactly. It was right away fired from the ground. We don't know exactly what was it. There was firing from the ground from Iraq.

Q. What is your opinion about the war and the aggression against Iraq?

A. Well, the war is based on a bad reason . . . to solve a question, political question. War . . . a bad thing in front of you. So I think the best solution of peace . . . would be to find a political peaceful means of bringing this situation to the end.

Q. You have a message to send.

A. O.K. I think the only message would, like to tell my political leaders that to solve question by war is always mad. . . . And also, I

have something to tell my parents, to my family. Don't be worried, I am pretty fine here. They are well taking care of me. Thank you.

Fourth Prisoner

Q. About your rank, name and nationality?

A. My name is Guy Hunter Jr. I'm a warrant officer. I am an American.

Q. Your age?

A. Forty-six.

Q. Your unit?

A. D.M.O. 2 in the Marine Corps.

Q. Your type of aircraft?

A. OV-10 Bronco.

Q. What was your mission?

A. Against Iraqi troops in southern Iraq.

Q. How have you been shot down?

A. I am not certain. We were flying, and all of a sudden, a left bang off the left wing, a large bang off the left wing, and the plane began to crash.

Q. What's your opinion of this aggression against Iraq?

A. I think this war is crazy and should never have happened. I condemn this aggression against peaceful Iraq.

Q. Do you have a message to send?

A. Yes, sir, I do. To my wife and children, I miss you very much. I'm in good hands and being treated well. To the children, please study hard in school.

Fifth Prisoner

Q. What is your rank, name and nationality?

A. My name is Flight Lieut. Adrian John Nichols. I'm British.

Q. Your age?

A. Twenty-seven.

Q. Your unit?

A. Fifteenth Squadron.

Q. Type of aircraft?

A. Tornado.

Q. What was your mission?

A. To attack an Iraqi airfield.

Q. How were you shot down?

A. I was shot down by an Iraqi system. I do not know what it was.

Q. What do you think of this war against Iraq?

A. I think this war should be stopped. I do not agree on this war with Iraq.

Q. Do you have a message?

A. Mom and Dad if you are listening, everything is O.K. here. Please pray for me. We shall be home soon.

Sixth Prisoner

Q. Tell us about your rank, name and nationality.

A. My name is Flight Lieut. Peters. I'm British.

Q. Your age?

A. Twenty-nine.

Source: "War in the Gulf: Questioning," *New York Times*, http://www.nytimes.com/1991/01/21/world/war-gulf-questioning-excerpts-interviews-with-men-identified-pilots-downed-over.html?pagewanted=1.

68. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, "The Mother of All Battles" Speech, January 20, 1991

Introduction

Within days of the beginning of United Nations (UN) coalition air strikes against Iraqi targets, Saddam Hussein addressed the Iraqi people, urging them to rally to their country's defense. He declared that Iraq had not yet used its naval and air forces or its full missile strength against its attackers and that he was waiting until the best

moment to do so. Iraqis were, he proclaimed, defending the cause of God, Islam, and the Arab world against "atheism, injustice, and tyranny." Hussein promised that ultimately Iraq would respond and would then win "the mother of all battles," opening the way to the destruction of Israel, the liberation of Lebanon and the Golan Heights from Israeli occupation, and the replacement of the existing pro-American regime in Saudi Arabia. He called on Arabs everywhere to support Iraq and target Western interests in a "holy war." Long on rhetoric and defiance and short on specifics, Hussein's speech was intended not just to rally his own people but also to rally the Arab world around him in his increasingly desperate plight.

Primary Source

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. God hath purchased of the believers their persons and their goods, for theirs in return is the garden of Paradise. They fight in his cause, and slay and are slain—a promise binding on him in truth, through the law, the Gospel, and the Koran. And who is more faithful to his covenant than God? Then rejoice in the bargain which ye have concluded—that is the achievement supreme.

O glorious Iraqis, O holy warrior Iraqis, O Arabs, O believers wherever you are, we and our steadfastness are holding. Here is the great Iraqi people, your brothers and sons of your Arab nation and the great faithful part of the human family. We are all well. They are fighting with unparalleled heroism, unmatched except by the heroism of the believers who fight similar adversaries. And here is the infidel tyrant whose planes and missiles are falling out of the skies at the blows of the brave men. He is wondering how the Iraqis can confront his fading dreams with such determination and firmness.

After a while, he will begin to feel frustrated, and his defeat will be certain, God willing, when he has tangible proof that he [words indistinct]. We in Iraq will be the faithful and obedient servants of God, struggling for his sake to raise the banner of truth and justice, the banner of "God is Great." Accursed be the lowly.

At that time, the valiant Iraqi men and women will not allow the army of atheism, treachery, hypocrisy and [word indistinct] to realize their stupid hope that the war would only last a few days or weeks, as they imagined and declared. In the coming period, the response of Iraq will be on a larger scale, using all the means and potential that God has given us and which we have so far only used in part. Our ground forces have not entered the battle so far, and only a small part of our air force has been used.

"Divine Reinforcement"

The army's air force has not been used, nor has the navy. The weight and effect of our ready missile force has not yet been applied in full. The fact remains that the great divine reinforcement is our source of power and effectiveness. When the war is fought in a comprehensive manner, using all resources and weapons, the scale of death and the number of dead will, God willing, rise among the ranks of atheism, injustice, and tyranny.

When they begin to die and when the message of the Iraqi soldiers reaches the farthest corner of the world, the unjust will die and the "God is Great" banner will flutter with great victory in the mother of all battles. Then the skies in the Arab homeland will appear in a new color and a sun of new hope will shine over them and over our nation and on all the good men whose bright lights will not be overcome by the darkness in the hearts of the infidels, the Zionists, and the treacherous, shameful rulers, such as the traitor Fahd.

Then the door will be wide open for the liberation of beloved Palestine, Lebanon, and the Golan. Then Jerusalem and the Dome of the Rock will be released from bondage. The Kaaba and the Tomb of the Prophet Mohammed, God's peace and blessings be upon him, will be liberated from occupation and God will bestow upon the poor and needy the things that others owed them, others who withheld from them what they owed them as God had justly ordained, which is a great deal.

"Carry Out Holy War"

Then [words indistinct], the good men, the holy warriors, and the faithful will know the truth of our promise to them that when the forces of infidelity attack the Iraqis, they will fight as they wished them to fight and perhaps in a better way, and that their promise is of faith and holy war. It remains for us to tell all Arabs, all the faithful strugglers, and all good supporters wherever they are: you have a duty to carry out holy war and struggle in order to target the assembly of evil, treason, and corruption everywhere.

You must also target their interests everywhere. It is a duty that is incumbent upon you, and that must necessarily correspond to the struggle of your brothers in Iraq. You will be part of the struggle of armed forces in your holy war and struggle, and part of the multitude of faith and the faithful. If the opposing multitude captures you, you will be prisoners in their hands, even if they refuse to admit this in their communiques and statements.

You will inevitably be released when the war ends, in accordance with international laws and agreements which will govern the release of prisoners of war. In this way you will have pleased God and honored, with your slogans and principles, the trust given to you.

God is great, God is great, God is great, and accursed be the lowly.

Source: Saddam Hussein, "The Mother of All Battles," Baghdad, Iraq, January 20, 1991, cited in Steven A. Yetiv, *The Persian Gulf Crisis* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1997), 176–177.

69. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, "The Illogic of Escalation," Statement on the Persian Gulf Conflict, February 9, 1991

Introduction

Although it did not commit troops or funds to the coalition forces, under President Mikhail Gorbachev the Soviet Union supported the U.S. position on Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, voting for the 12 United Nations (UN) Security Council resolutions on the subject passed between August and November 1990. This in itself represented an enormous break with the past, when the Soviet Union had almost automatically opposed any American initiative. Even so, the Soviet president did not welcome the prospect of a major war in the Middle East, fearing especially that in the heat of war the coalition forces might easily expand their mission from the mere expulsion of Iraq from Kuwait to the overthrow of Saddam Hussein and the occupation of his country. Soviet leaders were also apprehensive that any ground war might be immensely destructive, involving the use of chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons of mass destruction. This was particularly the case since, in the case of full-scale hostilities, Hussein had vowed to employ such armaments against Israel, a measure that might inflame an already volatile situation and impel Israel to utilize the nuclear weapons it was widely believed to possess. Following three weeks of allied air strikes against Iraqi positions, Gorbachev therefore appealed to Hussein to reach a negotiated settlement with his opponents and announced that he intended to dispatch to Baghdad a personal representative, Yevgeny Primakov, who subsequently served as Russia's foreign minister and prime minister. Gorbachev hoped that Primakov would be able to open peace negotiations and also lay the groundwork for "a solid and equitable security system" in the region, one that would include a "settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian problem." Gorbachev also pledged that Iraq would "hold a worthy place in the postwar settlement." Gorbachev's efforts proved fruitless. The following day, Hussein made a radio address proclaiming his intention to continue resisting all pressure from the United States and its allies to yield over Kuwait. On February 15 the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council announced that it would accept UN Security Council Resolution 660 of August 1990, calling for negotiations to bring about a withdrawal from Kuwait in exchange for an immediate cease-fire; the repeal of all the 11 following Security Council resolutions condemning Iraq's treatment of Kuwait and imposing sanctions upon Iraq; the withdrawal of all foreign armaments and forces that had entered the Persian Gulf region since August 2, 1990, including those made available to Israel; an Arab-Israeli peace settlement involving Israeli withdrawal from all the territories it had occupied; and the guarantee of Iraq's historic rights, including those within Kuwait. Iraq should also receive financial compensation for all damage it had suffered during the previous months, and its foreign debts would be written off. Such a settlement, which would have effectively given Iraq all it had earlier sought to achieve, was unlikely to be acceptable to the coalition. The same day Bush bluntly rejected these proposals, terming them "a cruel hoax" and stating that unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and the acceptance of all the Security Council resolutions were nonnegotiable prerequisites of any peace settlement.

Primary Source

Statement by the President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning the developments in the Persian Gulf

February 9, 1991

Events in the Persian Gulf region are taking an increasingly disturbing and dramatic turn. The largest war in recent decades is gaining momentum. The number of casualties is increasing, *inter alia* among the peaceful population. The military actions have already caused enormous material damage. Entire countries—first Kuwait, then Iraq, and next, perhaps, others as well—are threatened with catastrophic destruction. The discharge of a vast quantity of oil into the Persian Gulf may develop into an extremely serious environmental disaster.

The Soviet leadership confirms once again its principled adherence to the Security Council resolutions which reflect the will of the majority of countries And the hopes of peoples for a new international order which will exclude aggression and encroachment upon other countries' territory and natural resources.

However, the logic of the military operations and the nature of the military actions create a risk that the mandate defined in these resolutions may be exceeded.

The provocative attempts to enlarge the scope of the war by involving Israel and other States in it, thus giving the armed conflict yet another destructive dimension, the Arab-Israeli one, are also extremely dangerous.

To judge from certain statements that have been made at a political level and by influential mass media, an attempt is under way to accustom people on both sides of the conflict to the idea that the use of weapons of mass destruction is possible and permissible. If this happened, the whole of world politics and the entire world community would be shaken to their foundations.

The course this war has taken is a matter of great concern to the Soviet people and to the country's leadership, the more so in that it is raging close to the border of the Soviet Union.

A sense of historical responsibility, common sense and humanity all lead to the same conclusion—that everything possible should

be done to bring about a political settlement on the basis of the Security Council resolutions. At this critical juncture, I make a public and urgent appeal to the president of Iraq to weigh once again what is at stake for his country, and to demonstrate the realism which would make it possible to move towards a reliable and just peaceful settlement. I am sending my personal representative to Baghdad immediately for a meeting with President Hussein.

It is our hope that in this way we shall be able, together with the Arab and other Muslim States, with the countries of Europe and Asia, and above all with the United States of America with all the permanent members of the Security Council, not only to help put an end to the state of war as soon as possible but also to pave the way for a strong and equitable system of security in this region that is so vital to the entire world, one which will of course include the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and of the problem of Palestine—with the decisive role in the process being played primarily by the states of the region. A fitting place in the post-war order must be assigned to Iraq, whose people cannot be held responsible for what has happened, but rather deserve our sympathy, compassion and support.

I repeat: In order to effect a breakthrough to peace in the Near and Middle East, the flames of war in the Gulf must be extinguished as soon as possible. At the present juncture, that is what is most important.

Source: United Nations Security Council Official Records, S/22215, February 11, 1991.

70. Soviet Peace Proposal, February 22, 1991

Introduction

On February 22, 1991, U.S. president George H. W. Bush announced a final deadline of noon the following day for unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. He warned that should Iraq fail to remove all its troops from Kuwait by this hour, ground warfare would begin. Still seeking to avert full-scale hostilities, Soviet foreign minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and Tariq Aziz, his Iraqi counterpart, were at that time engaged in talks in Moscow. That same day Soviet spokesman Vitaly N. Ignatenko announced, on behalf of President Mikhail Gorbachev, a final peace proposal. This envisaged that Iraqi forces would withdraw from Kuwait "immediately and unconditionally," an operation that would be completed within 21 days. In return, an immediate military cease-fire would be imposed, and all United Nations (UN) sanctions on Iraq would be lifted. The last-ditch proposal represented a major improvement on the terms that Iraq had offered one week earlier, but at this juncture U.S. and coalition leaders found it unacceptable. From Moscow, Aziz issued a statement endorsing this proposal. He also denied allegations by the U.S. government that in preparation for a possible abandonment of Kuwait, Iraqi forces had instituted scorched-earth policies, intended to destroy the Kuwaiti oil fields and refineries while releasing massive quantities of oil into the Persian Gulf. U.S. president George H. W. Bush quickly rejected this proposal, demanding instead that Iraqi forces begin withdrawing from Kuwait no later than noon on February 23, 1991, and complete their withdrawal within one week. Their failure to do so triggered the beginning of ground hostilities that evening. Although Aziz endorsed the Soviet proposal, his credibility was limited, since even his Soviet interlocutors were by no means certain whether he genuinely spoke for President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. One month later, on March 24, 1991, Hussein demoted Aziz to deputy prime minister, an indication that he felt Aziz had performed poorly as foreign minister.

Primary Source

1. Iraq agrees to carry out Resolution 660 of the United Nations Security Council, that is, to withdraw its forces immediately and unconditionally from Kuwait to positions they occupied on Aug. 1, 1990.

2. The troop withdrawal will start the day after a cease-fire encompassing all military operations on land, sea and in the air.

3. The troop withdrawal will be completed within 21 days, including a pullout from Kuwait City within the first 4 days.

4. Once the withdrawal has been completed, all U.N. Security Council resolutions will no longer be valid because the reasons for them will have been removed.

5. All prisoners of war will be freed and repatriated within three days after a cease-fire and the end of military operations.

6. Control and monitoring of the cease-fire and withdrawal of troops will be carried out by observers or peacekeeping forces as determined by the Security Council.

Source: U.S. Department of State, *United States Policy in the Middle East: September 1956–June 1957* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957), 81–85.

71. Iraqi Order to Withdraw from Kuwait, February 26, 1991

Introduction

The coalition invasion of Kuwait quickly turned into a rout of Iraqi forces. Two days after ground warfare against Iraqi forces in Kuwait began, Iraq's government publicly ordered its forces to withdraw

"to the positions in which they were before the 1st of August 1990." Iraq clearly now sought to end hostilities as soon as possible. In this statement, Iraq specifically sought the good offices of Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev in negotiating a cease-fire with the United Nations (UN). Iraq still clearly hoped that the Soviet peace proposals drafted three days earlier, which Iraq had been willing to accept and to which this statement referred, might become the basis of a peace settlement. Iraq specifically stated that it would accept UN Security Council Resolution 660 of August 2, 1990, calling for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, but made no mention of the numerous other resolutions passed since that date. The text of this order, apparently issued by Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, was read over Baghdad Radio by an official government spokesman. Defiant to the last, Hussein proclaimed that if attacked while retreating, his forces would continue to "fight with force and courage" and that they had "completed their duty of jihad." In his usual grandiloquent rhetoric, he stated that they had "been engaged in an epic, valiant battle which will be recorded by history in letters of light."

Primary Source

In the name of God, the almighty, the compassionate,

Our armed forces have completed their duty of jihad, of rejecting compliance with the logic of evil, force and aggression. They have been engaged in an epic, valiant battle which will be recorded by history in letters of light.

The leadership had stressed its acceptance to withdrawal in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 660 when it agreed to the Soviet peace proposal. On this basis, and in compliance with this decision, orders were issued to the armed forces for an organized withdrawal to the positions in which they were before the 1st of August 1990.

This is regarded as a practical compliance with Resolution 660.

The spokesman emphasized that our forces, which have proved their fighting and steadfastness ability, will confront any attempt to attack them while implementing the withdrawal order.

They will fight with force and courage to make their withdrawal organized and honorable.

The Iraqi New[s] Agency has learned that the Foreign Minister [Tariq Aziz] informed the Soviet ambassador of this decision, which constitutes a compliance with the UN Security Council's resolution 660. The Foreign Minister asked that a message be conveyed from leader President Saddam Hussein and the Revolutionary Command Council to President Gorbachev requesting him to exert efforts at the UN Security Council to achieve a cease-fire and put an end to the criminal behavior of the United States and its allies and collaborators.

Source: "Orders for a Withdrawal," *Washington Post,* February 26, 1991, A6.

72. Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater, Statement on the Order for an Iraqi Withdrawal from Kuwait, February 25, 1991

Introduction

Late on February 25, 1991, the United States responded to Iraq's order that all its forces should withdraw from Kuwait. On behalf of U.S. president George H. W. Bush, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater indicated that simple Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait would not suffice to win a cease-fire. Reminding his audience that President Saddam Hussein had repeatedly "broken promises" and that during the Iran-Iraq War his tanks had once pretended to surrender only to then turn and fight, Fitzwater demanded that Hussein himself must "personally and publicly" agree to the terms of the American peace proposal announced on February 22. This included acceptance of all the resolutions that the United Nations (UN) Security Council had passed on Iraq, including those whereby Iraq renounced all claims to Kuwait and promised to provide full compensation to Kuwait and others affected by the war. Until Hussein did so, the coalition forces would continue to fight the retreating Iraqis.

Primary Source

We continue to prosecute the war. We have heard no reason to change that. And because there is a war on, our first concern must be the safety and security of United States and coalition forces. We don't know whether this most recent claim about Iraqi withdrawal is genuine. We have no evidence to suggest the Iraqi army is withdrawing. In fact, Iraqi units are continuing to fight. Moreover, we remember when Saddam Hussein's tanks pretended to surrender at Khafji, only to turn and fire. We remember the Scud attacks today, and Saddam's many broken promises of the past. There are at least an additional 22 dead Americans tonight who offer silent testimony to the intentions of Saddam Hussein. The statement out of Baghdad today says that Saddam Hussein's forces will fight their way out while retreating. We will not attack unarmed soldiers in retreat. But we will consider retreating combat units as a movement of war. The only way Saddam Hussein can persuade the coalition of the seriousness of his intentions would be for him personally and publicly to agree to the terms of the proposal we issued on February 22. And because the announcement from Baghdad referred to the Soviet initiative, he must personally and publicly accept explicitly all relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions, including especially U.N. Security Council Resolution 662, which calls for Iraqi recision

of its purported annexation of Kuwait, and U.N. Security Council Resolution 674 which calls for Iraqi compensation to Kuwait and others. That's the end of the statement. I might just add that the President met with his national security advisers for approximately an hour and 15 minutes this evening to consider this matter, and the President has returned to his Residence.

Source: George H. W. Bush, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George Bush, 1991,* Book 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992), 175.

73. President George H. W. Bush, Address to the Nation on the Suspension of Allied Offensive Combat Operations in the Persian Gulf, February 27, 1991

Introduction

United Nations (UN) coalition forces proved more successful than almost anyone had anticipated in driving Iraqi troops out of Kuwait. General Colin Powell, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), had initially feared that American forces might experience up to 30,000 casualties. In fact, 304 American servicemen died in the operation. The ground campaign quickly became a rout of the defeated Iraqi forces, who experienced heavy casualties as they retreated along Highway 80, the coastal road from Kuwait to Basra, that became known as the "Highway of Death." Bush and his advisers resisted the temptation to continue hostilities into Iraq and overthrow Saddam Hussein, a course of action that they feared might lose the coalition the support of its Arab members and leave the United States embroiled in a lengthy and difficult occupation of a potentially unstable nation. On February 27 Bush declared that hostilities would come to an end at midnight, exactly 100 hours after they had begun. The cease-fire's continuation would remain dependent upon Iraq's release of all coalition prisoners, hostages, and Kuwaiti detainees; its compliance with all relevant UN Security Council resolutions; and the suspension of all Iraqi hostilities, including the launching of Scud missiles against third countries. Bush's speech implied that the United States would welcome Saddam Hussein's overthrow or removal by his own people and would be willing to cooperate with an Iraqi government that was not dominated by Hussein and his supporters. Despite these hopes, Hussein successfully suppressed subsequent challenges to his rule and would remain in power in Iraq for another 12 years.

Primary Source

Kuwait is liberated. Iraq's army is defeated. Our military objectives are met. Kuwait is once more in the hands of Kuwaitis, in control of their own destiny. We share in their joy, a joy tempered only by our compassion for their ordeal.

Tonight the Kuwaiti flag once again flies above the capital of a free and sovereign nation. And the American flag flies above our Embassy.

Seven months ago, America and the world drew a line in the sand. We declared that the aggression against Kuwait would not stand. And tonight, America and the world have kept their word.

This is not a time of euphoria, certainly not a time to gloat. But it is a time of pride: pride in our troops; pride in the friends who stood with us in the crisis; pride in our nation and the people whose strength and resolve made victory quick, decisive, and just. And soon we will open wide our arms to welcome back home to America our magnificent fighting forces.

No one country can claim this victory as its own. It was not only a victory for Kuwait but a victory for all the coalition partners. This is a victory for the United Nations, for all mankind, for the rule of law, and for what is right.

After consulting with Secretary of Defense Cheney, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Powell, and our coalition partners, I am pleased to announce that at midnight tonight eastern standard time, exactly 100 hours since ground operations commenced and 6 weeks since the start of Desert Storm, all United States and coalition forces will suspend offensive combat operations. It is up to Iraq whether this suspension on the part of the coalition becomes a permanent cease-fire.

Coalition political and military terms for a formal cease-fire include the following requirements: Iraq must release immediately all coalition prisoners of war, third country nationals, and the remains of all who have fallen.

Iraq must release all Kuwaiti detainees. Iraq also must inform Kuwaiti authorities of the location and nature of all land and sea mines. Iraq must comply fully with all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions. This includes a rescinding of Iraq's August decision to annex Kuwait and acceptance in principle of Iraq's responsibility to pay compensation for the loss, damage, and injury its aggression has caused.

The coalition calls upon the Iraqi Government to designate military commanders to meet within 48 hours with their coalition counterparts at a place in the theater of operations to be specified to arrange for military aspects of the cease-fire. Further, I have asked Secretary of State Baker to request that the United Nations Security Council meet to formulate the necessary arrangements for this war to be ended.

This suspension of offensive combat operations is contingent upon Iraq's not firing upon any coalition forces and not launching Scud missiles against any other country. If Iraq violates these terms, coalition forces will be free to resume military operations. At every opportunity, I have said to the people of Iraq that our quarrel was not with them but instead with their leadership and, above all, with Saddam Hussein. This remains the case. You, the people of Iraq, are not our enemy. We do not seek your destruction. We have treated your POWs with kindness. Coalition forces fought this war only as a last resort and look forward to the day when Iraq is led by people prepared to live in peace with their neighbors.

We must now begin to look beyond victory and war. We must meet the challenge of securing the peace. In the future, as before, we will consult with our coalition partners. We've already done a good deal of thinking and planning for the postwar period, and Secretary Baker has already begun to consult with our coalition partners on the region's challenges. There can be, and will be, no solely American answer to all these challenges. But we can assist and support the countries of the region and be a catalyst for peace. In this spirit, Secretary Baker will go to the region next week to begin a new round of consultations.

This war is now behind us. Ahead of us is the difficult task of securing a potentially historic peace. Tonight though, let us be proud of what we have accomplished. Let us give thanks to those who risked their lives. Let us never forget those who gave their lives. May God bless our valiant military forces and their families, and let us all remember them in our prayers.

Good night, and may God bless the United States of America.

Source: George H. W. Bush, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George Bush, 1991,* Book 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992), 187–188.

74. Iraqi Letters of Capitulation to the United Nations, February 27, 1991

Introduction

With coalition attacks on Iraqi forces continuing, the Iraqi Army in full retreat from Kuwait, and coalition troops entering Iraqi territory, Iraq's leadership was increasingly desperate to negotiate a cease-fire that might leave them still in control of their own country. On February 27, 1991, two days after President George H. W. Bush had rejected Iraq's previous cease-fire offer, Tariq Aziz, Iraq's foreign minister, handed member states of the United Nations (UN) letters expressing Iraq's willingness to comply not just with Security Council Resolution 660, ordering Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, but also with Resolutions 662 and 674, those highlighted in the White House's earlier statement. Under their terms, Iraq would renounce all claims to Kuwait and compensate Kuwait and others for damage inflicted during the crisis. Acceptance of the two latter resolutions was, however, made conditional upon the lifting of the Security Council resolutions imposing economic and military sanctions on Iraq, something that would later become the subject of bitter contention between Iraq and the international community. Iraq also agreed to release all prisoners of war as soon as possible after the cease-fire. In a rather unorthodox procedure, indicative of just how bad Iraq's relations with the UN had become, Aziz asked UN member states to inform Security Council members of this offer and to regard it as an official document of the Security Council.

Primary Source

I have the honor to inform you officially that the Government of Iraq agrees to comply fully with United Nations Security Council resolution 660 and all other U.N. Security Council resolutions.

You are kindly requested to inform the Security Council members and to circulate this letter as an official document of the Security Council.

Signed, Tariq Aziz. The Earlier Letter

I have the honor to notify you that the Iraqi Government reaffirms its agreement to comply fully with Security Council Resolution 660 (1990). The Iraqi armed forces have started to withdraw to the positions which they were in prior to Aug. 1, 1990. It is hoped that the withdrawal will be fully completed in the next few hours, notwithstanding the continued attacks by American and other forces on the Iraqi armed forces during the withdrawal process.

I would like to inform you further that the Iraqi Government agrees to comply with Resolutions 662 (1990) and 674 (1990) if the Security Council adopts a resolution providing for an immediate cease-fire and the cessation of all military operations on land, at sea and in the air and if it is deemed that the bases on which Security Council Resolutions 661 (1990), 665 (1990) and 670 (1990) were adopted no longer exist and that those resolutions consequently are no longer in effect.

The Iraqi Government also affirms its full readiness to release all the prisoners of war immediately after the cease-fire and return them to their home countries within a very short period of time in accordance with the Third Geneva Convention of 1949, under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

I should be grateful if you would kindly bring this letter immediately to the attention of the Security Council and have it circulated as a document of the Security Council.

Signed, Tariq Aziz.

Source: United Nations Security Council Official Records, S/22273 and S/22275. February 27, 1991.

75. Cease-Fire Order to Iraqi Troops, February 28, 1991

Introduction

On February 27, 1991, U.S. president George H. W. Bush announced the suspension of coalition combat operations against Iraq, provided that Iraqi troops ceased hostilities and conditional on Iraq's release of all prisoners of war and Kuwaiti nationals, acceptance of all United Nations (UN) Security Council resolutions on Kuwait, and cooperation in identifying land and sea mines in Kuwait. The following day, Iraq's military authorities broadcast over Baghdad Radio a cease-fire order to all Iraqi troops. They proclaimed that Bush had suspended hostilities because he had been impressed by the valor with which their troops had fought around Basra and in other parts of Iraq after withdrawing from Kuwait and feared that if fighting continued, American forces would suffer heavy losses. Even so, the broadcast welcomed the cease-fire, stating that it would preserve the lives of Iraqi soldiers, and ordered Iraqi "units at the battlefront not to open fire."

Primary Source

The aggressors imagined that through the Iraqi command decision to withdraw from Kuwait they were able to put our armed forces in a position that is contrary to the military and manly values for which the men of the mother of battles are reputed in this great showdown.

Many battles occurred in Basra district and other places in our great Iraq's territories after the withdrawal.

Due to faith in our capability that is able to teach the enemy forces lessons that will make them worried militarily and politically if the war continued, Bush announced his decision early this morning.

We are happy for the halt in fighting, which will save the blood of our sons and the safety of our people after God made them victorious by faith against their evil enemies and save the blood of the sons of humanity who suffered due to Bush and his traitorous agents.

Therefore, orders were issued to all our units at the battlefront not to open fire. God is great.

Source: "Transcript of Baghdad's Cease-Fire Order," *New York Times,* http://www.nytimes.com/1991/03/01/world/after-the-war-iraqi-statement-transcript-of-baghdad-s-cease-fire-order.html?pagewanted=1.

76. President George H. W. Bush, Remarks to the American Legislative Exchange Council, March 1, 1991, and News Conference on the Persian Gulf Conflict, March 1, 1991 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Two days after he declared a cease-fire of ground hostilities against Iraq, a still euphoric President George H. W. Bush remarked in an impromptu aside to a group visiting the White House that "by God, we've kicked the Vietnam syndrome once and for all." The casual off-the-cuff comment was an indication of how deeply the experience of the Vietnam War had affected American politicians and military men, leading them to believe that the American people would not accept heavy casualties in costly foreign military interventions and therefore making them extremely cautious in deploying forces overseas. Bush's gleeful celebration of victory against Iraq suggested that he anticipated that his country would in the future show less restraint in utilizing its military abroad, although his action in ending the fighting expeditiously, before American troops were forced to engage in extensive combat beyond Kuwait, might have suggested that he still considered a modicum of prudence advisable. Later that day in a press conference on the recent war, Bush expanded on what he envisaged as the future U.S. agenda in the Middle East and, more broadly, around the world. Asked specifically by a journalist whether he anticipated the more extensive use of American military forces in international conflicts, Bush replied that he believed that since the Persian Gulf War had given his country "reestablished credibility," such deployments were unlikely to be necessary in the near future. He also stated that while he intended to maintain a U.S. military presence in the Middle East, he hoped that U.S. ground forces would not "be permanently stationed in the Gulf." Bush warned that he did not intend to provide any American economic assistance for Iraq's reconstruction and suggested that Iraq should utilize its own substantial oil revenues for that purpose. Whether he would maintain this position should Saddam Hussein be deposed from power was left somewhat unclear. Turning to one of the region's most intractable problems, the president did express the hope that in the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War, the United States might be able to move decisively to bring about a lasting settlement of the long-standing Arab-Israeli dispute.

Primary Source

[. . .]

I know you share this wonderful feeling that I have of joy in my heart. But it is overwhelmed by the gratitude I feel—not just to the troops overseas but to those who have assisted the United States of America, like our Secretary of Defense, like our Chairman of our

Joint Chiefs, and so many other unsung heroes—who have made all this possible. It's a proud day for America. And, by God, we've kicked the Vietnam syndrome once and for all. . . .

The President's News Conference March 1, 1991

The President. In the hours since we suspended military operations in the Kuwaiti theater of war, considerable progress has been made in moving towards a cease-fire and postwar planning. As our forces moved into Kuwait City and as the faces of these jubilant Kuwaiti citizens have warmed our hearts, the coalition leaders started the arduous task of addressing the next stages of the Persian Gulf situation.

[. . .]

In the meantime, we are focused on the many diplomatic tasks associated with ending this conflict. General Khalid, General Schwarzkopf, and other coalition military leaders of our forces in the Gulf will meet with representatives of Iraq tomorrow afternoon, March 2d, in the theater of operations to discuss the return of POW's and other military matters related to the ceasefire. We will not discuss the location of the meeting for obvious security reasons. But this is an important step in securing the victory that our forces have achieved.

Work is proceeding in New York at the United Nations on the political aspects of ending the war. We've welcomed here in Washington this week the envoys of several of our close friends and allies. And shortly, Secretary Baker will be leaving for a new round of consultations that I am confident will advance planning for the war's aftermath. Again and as I said Wednesday evening, the true challenge before us will be securing the peace. . . .

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International]? Q. Mr. President, you've always said that you were not targeting Saddam under the U.N. mandate and that the coalition has no claim on Iraqi territory. Is that still the case?

The President. We are not targeting Saddam, and we have no claim on Iraqi territory.

Q. Well, will you try to hunt him down for any kind of war crimes trial?

The President. No, I'm not going to say that. Not hunt him down, but nobody can be absolved from the responsibilities under international law on the war crimes aspect of that.

Q. Mr. President, along that line, the reports of atrocities in Kuwait apparently go far beyond the horror stories that you've already described in recent weeks. Who will be held accountable for those, perhaps, other than Saddam? And do you think that the allied forces will hold any part of southern Iraq as a security zone for any time?

The President. I think on the first question, the first part, I agree that the reports are just sickening that are coming out of Kuwait. We have been concerned about it. Early on in all of this I expressed the concerns that I felt. But I think we'll just have to wait and see because I think the persons that actually perpetrated the tortures and the insidious crimes will be the ones that are held responsible. Now, how you go about finding them—but I think back to the end of World War II. That process took a long time to evolve, but justice was done. I can't say it was complete, can't say everybody that committed a war crime was tried. But it's a very complicated process. But the answer is, the people that did it. Now, a lot of them obviously took off and fled out of Kuwait. But some of the Kuwaitis know who they were, so we'll have to wait and see on that one.

And what was the second part, Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press]?

Q. The second part was about a security zone. You've had all this destruction. Is there any thought of establishing a security zone to protect—

The President. On the question of security zone and arrangements out there, these matters will be discussed when Jim Baker is out there with the coalition partners. I don't believe they will be discussed at the military meeting tomorrow.

[. . .]

Q. I know you've heard those reports from the *Le Monde* newspaper. Secretary of State Baker says he knows nothing about the fact that the Algerians have worked out a deal with Saddam that he could come there for political asylum. First of all, have you heard anything about those reports? And if not, do you agree with your Chief of Staff, Mr. Sununu, that it's an unstable situation for him and that you think he might be overthrown?

The President. John [John Cochran, NBC News], I think that subsequent to your discussion with Secretary Baker, the Algerians denied this. I'm seeing General Scowcroft confirm that, that they have denied that. We don't really know about the stability inside. There are rumors, but that—I think it's early. In my own view I've always said that it would be—that the Iraqi people should put him aside, and that would facilitate the resolution of all these problems that exist and certainly would facilitate the acceptance of Iraq back into the family of peace-loving nations.

[. . .]

Q. Mr. President, what can King Hussein do to get himself out of the U.S. doghouse? [Laughter] And if it turns out Jordan was violating the arms embargo against Iraq, can he do so?

The President. I think you know we have had differences with Jordan, and it's going to take some time. I think the Jordanians have to sort out their internal problems, the way they look at this matter. The Jordanians I don't believe have even received the truth as to what has happened to the Iraqi armed forces. From just watching from afar, it seems to me that they have been denied the truth. And the truth is we have destroyed Iraq's armor. And I see people dancing around in the streets still talking about a victory or still saying that we've sued for peace because we were done in by Saddam. So, first thing that has to happen in Jordan, the truth has to hit the streets. And then it will be time to discuss future arrangements. We have no lasting pique with Jordan. As everybody knows, we've had very pleasant relationships with Jordan in the past. But I have tried to be very frank with His Majesty the King and with the Government of Jordan pointing out the certain sense of disappointment that all Americans feel that they moved that close to Saddam Hussein. But I think it's just going to take time, and I can't say how much. But clearly, we do not want to see a destabilized Jordan. I have no personal animosity towards His Majesty the King. So, we'll just have to wait and see.

Q. Sir, a lot of Americans have the impression that Germany and Japan didn't carry their weight in the Persian Gulf crisis. And they find Germany's involvement in the Iraqi chemical weapons and Scud missile operations particularly odious. What can the Germans and the Japanese do to rehabilitate themselves in American public opinion?

The President. Fulfill the commitments that they already have made. I'm told that the Germans have already come in with a substantial—close to 50 percent of their commitment. And I am also told that the Japanese Diet yesterday approved this $9 billion payment. And so, I would simply say Japan and Germany have constitutional constraints—the American people may or may not understand that—constraints that kept them from participating on the ground in the coalition. But I have tried to make clear to the American people that both of them have stepped up and have offered to bear their share of responsibility by putting up substantial amounts of money.

Q. Mr. President, you have mentioned in your speeches third country nationals held by the Iraqis. There have been reports in the last few days of them taking hostages, Kuwaiti hostages, on the way out. May I ask about what seemed to be before a rather optimistic statement by you, why you think they're going to come to the table tomorrow and do the right thing?

The President. Well, the question of third party nationals or Kuwaiti detainees will be presented both at the military meeting on the border, and it is being debated and presented as one of the demands in our Security Council resolution. I'm not sure that that matter will be resolved tomorrow, that part of it. But I hope that we see an undertaking by the Government of Iraq to do that which they should do, and that is to give full accounting and immediate repatriation of these people. I don't know whether they'll do it or not, but there will be, there must be, a full accounting. So we are going to be watching very carefully to see if they are responsive to these concerns.

Q. In the resolution that you are pushing there's a continued push for economic sanctions, continued mention of war reparations. Is that what you're holding over Saddam Hussein's head as leverage for compliance on the prisoners?

The President. No. We just want compliance with the resolutions and compliance with human decency, that is, to release those prisoners and release these that have been kidnapped. And of course, we want the perpetrators brought to justice.

[. . .]

Q. . . . Mr. President, you've talked a great deal throughout these many months and weeks about, at the appropriate time, what you want to see happen in a postwar Middle East. I'd like to ask you two questions. First of all, provided Saddam Hussein is toppled, ousted, and/or leaves—the question—what is your attitude about the U.S. helping to rebuild Iraq? And secondly, how do you feel now about a peace conference for the Middle East and to deal with these larger Arab-Israeli questions that you said would be among the issues on the table once this war was over?

The President. Well, on the second one of the peace conference or the whole concept of trying to bring peace to the rest of the Middle East—and I would say it relates to the Palestinian question; it relates to the Lebanese question. Clearly, it relates to how Iraq is brought back into the family of nations. All of those things are going to be discussed now with our coalition partners by Jim Baker. We are also discussing it, as I said, with those emissaries that have been here.

For example, the Germans don't have forces, but they have some very good ideas on how all of these matters can be brought forward. I want to repeat my determination to have the United States play a very useful role now in the whole question of peace in the Middle East, and that includes all three of these categories. And whether it proves to be a peace conference or some bolder new idea, time will tell. But we are beginning very serious consultations on this.

In terms of rebuilding Iraq, my view is this: Iraq, had they been led differently, is basically a wealthy country. They are a significant oil producer. They get enormous income. But under Saddam Hussein

and this Revolutionary Council, they have elected to put a tremendous amount of their treasure into arms. And they've threatened their neighbors. And now they invaded—up to now had invaded a neighbor.

And so, Iraq has a big reconstruction job to do. But I'll be honest with you: At this point I don't want to see one single dime of the United States taxpayers' money go into the reconstruction of Iraq.

Now, you want to talk about helping a child, you want to talk about helping disease, something of that nature, of course, the United States will step up and do that which we have always done—lay aside the politics and help the health-care requirements or help children especially. But not reconstruction—they must work these things out without any help from the American taxpayer.

Q. If I may follow, Mr. President, you've said your argument has never been with the Iraqi people.

The President. Right.

Q. That the United States did not seek the destruction of Iraq.

The President. Exactly.

Q. If Saddam Hussein is gone and the Iraqi people appear to need help because of this crisis in leadership that you spoke about, why not, if not contributing—

The President. Well, we'll give a little free advice. [Laughter] And the advice will be: Use this enormous oil resource that you have, further develop your oil resource and other natural resources, live peacefully, and use that enormous money to reconstruct and do the very questions you're asking about. And in addition to that, pay off these people that you have so badly damaged. They've got a big role ahead of them there. That's the way I look at it.

Q. Mr. President, today you declared an end to the Vietnam syndrome and, of course, we've heard you talk a lot about the new world order. Can you tell us, do you envision a new era now of using U.S. military forces around the world for different conflicts that arise?

The President. No, I think because of what has happened, we won't have to use U.S. forces around the world. I think when we say something that is objectively correct, like don't take over a neighbor or you're going to bear some responsibility, people are going to listen because I think out of all this will be a newfound—put it this way, a reestablished credibility for the United States of America. So, I look at the opposite. I say that what our troops have done over there will not only enhance the peace but reduce the risk that their successors have to go into battle someplace.

Q. But surely, you don't mean that you would be reluctant to do this again.

The President. Do what again?

Q. Send troops if you thought you needed to.

The President. I think the United States is always going to live up to its security requirements.

Q. Sir, I'm struck by—I know these are serious topics, but I'm struck by how somber you feel—you seem, at least here. And I was wondering, aren't these great days? Is this the highlight of your life? [Laughter] How does this compare to being swept out of the ocean a couple of years back?

The President. You know, to be very honest with you, I haven't yet felt this wonderfully euphoric feeling that many of the American people feel. And I'm beginning to. I feel much better about it today than I did yesterday. But I think it's that I want to see an end. You mentioned World War II; there was a definitive end to that conflict. And now we have Saddam Hussein still there, the man that wreaked this havoc upon his neighbors. We have our prisoners still held. We have people unaccounted for. So, I'm beginning to feel that the joy that Americans all feel now is proper. It has to do with a new, wonderful sense of patriotism that stems from pride in the men and women that went over there. And no question about it, the country's solid. There isn't any anti-war movement out there. There is pride in these forces—handful of voices, but can't hear them. And so, I think what happened, the minute we said there will be no more shooting—thousands, hundreds of thousands of families and friends that said, my kids are going to be safe. And I think I was focusing a little more on what's left to be done. But it is contagious. When I walk out of that White House, or when I get phone calls in there from our kids in different States, or when I talk to whoever it is that have just come from meetings—the Vice President's been out around the country, and Barbara's been out around the country, and others here—I sense that there is something noble and majestic about patriotism in this country now. It's there. And so I'll get there, but I just need a little more time to sort out in my mind how I can say to the American people it's over finally—the last "t" is crossed, the last "i" is dotted.

Q. Sir, does that mean that this episode won't be over for you until Saddam Hussein is out of—

The President. No, because I'm getting there. And I'm not gloomy about it. I'm elated. But I just want to finish my job, my part of the job. And the troops have finished their part, in my view. They've done their job. They did it in 100 hours, those ground forces. And the Air Force was superb. And that's what the families sense.

That's what the American people sense. But I still have a little bit of an unfinished agenda.

[. . .]

Q. Going into the security talks with the countries of the Middle East, are you willing to consider a long-term presence of American troops as a peace-keeping force, or do you think that would be better handled by Arab nations?

The President. I think it would be better handled by Arab nations. There will be a United States presence. There was before this. But there will be—one of the things that Secretary Baker is talking about is all these different security arrangements. Perhaps there will be a role for a U.N. force; perhaps there will be a role for an all-Arab force. Certainly there will be some security role for the United States. But I would repeat here I do not want to send out the impression that U.S. troops will be permanently stationed in the Gulf. I want them back. So, we're still working—we're just beginning to work out these security arrangements, but a part of it will not be a continued presence of substantial quantities of U.S. troops. I'd like to see them all out of there as soon as possible. But there's some shorter-run security problems that I don't want to underestimate.

[. . .]

Q. Mr. President, clearly, the United States and you have gained a great deal of personal approval and stronger approval in the period of this—in winning the war and in how you have handled this. Do you feel any urgency to use both the heightened respect for the United States and heightened approval of how you've acted in this crisis to press urgently in the Middle East? Or are you more prone to take the prudent and cautious approach and do a lot of consulting and sort of build that approach the way you did leading up to this conflict?

The President. I leave out the polling figures or the renewed—certainly individually, or what I think is a new respect for the U.S.'s credibility. I want to move fast and I want to go forward, particularly in the three areas I've mentioned resolving the Middle East. And I alluded to that in a speech I gave to the United Nations, and now I want to follow through on it. . . . I have made that clear to Jim Baker, who totally agrees with that. I've talked to Secretary Cheney and General Powell about it because obviously they'll have responsibilities in the security end of all of this. But no, we are going to move out in a leadership role, but we have to have proper consultation before we do this. Sarah [Sarah McClendon, McClendon News Service]?

Q. Yes, sir. [Laughter] Will you work just as hard for some machinery for peace in the world hereafter as you've worked on this war?

The President. Yes, Sarah.

Q. And in connection with that, will you see that the United States and others quit selling arms?

The President. I will work very hard for peace—just as hard as I have in the prosecution of the war. And it's interesting you mention the arms sales. I don't think there will be any arms embargo because we're not going to let any friend come into a role where its security is threatened. But let's hope that out of all this there will be less proliferation of all kinds of weapons, not just unconventional weapons.

[. . .]

Q. Mr. President, you've said that the true challenge now is securing the peace. Do you detect any chinks of light either on the Arab side or on the Israeli side which really would lead to a lasting settlement in the Middle East?

The President. It's a little early because these consultations are just beginning. But what I really believe is that the conditions are now better than ever. And it's not simply the restored credibility of the United States, for example. There are a lot of players out there. There's a lot of people that know a lot about the Middle East. And the British and the French and other coalition partners are very interested in moving forward. So I can't tell you that anything specific in what went on in the last 100 days will contribute to this. But I can tell you that each of the people I have talked to have said, now let's get on with this. And so we want to do it. It is in the interest of every country. It's in the interest of the Arab countries. It's in the interest of Israel. It's in the interest of the Palestinian people. So I sense a feeling—look, the time is right; let's get something done. But I can't tie it to—maybe I missed the thrust of your question—I can't tie it to any specific happening.

Q. Do you feel it's a more workable scenario now than it has been for some years?

The President. I think so. And I've been wrestling with this, some role or another, since U.N. days back in '71 and '72. And part of this is the newfound viability of the United Nations. Part of it is that even though we had some nuances of difference here with the Soviets, that that veto-holding power is together with us in feeling that there must be an answer. China is different than it was in those early days when it first came to the U.N., and they've been supportive of the resolutions against Iraq. And so you've got a whole different perspective in the United Nations and, I'd say, in countries out there. There's still some historic prejudices; historic differences exist. But I think your question is on to something. I think there is a better climate now. And we're going to test it. We're going to probe. We're going to try to lead to see whether we can do something.

Q. Mr. President, you have put together a solid and improbable coalition. What would you say to those who say that in the long term there is going to be a resentment in the Arab world for the damage the United States has inflicted upon Iraq?

The President. Well, you know, I've heard that. From the very beginning that was one of the things that was thrown up to me as to why not to use armed force, why I shouldn't commit the forces of the United States on the ground or in the air—the allegation being this will create resentment. There were predictions back then that the whole Arab world would explode in our face and that even the countries that were supporting us in the coalition would peel off. Do you remember the fragility of the coalition days? And that didn't happen. And I think the reason it didn't happen is that people in the Arab world could not condone Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. And then I think they also have seen the brutality—not totally yet because you have some closed societies that have been denied the news. And you have some who have historically been less closed. And I cite Jordan, where the news has been denied or slanted so much that the people haven't been able to make up their own mind. But one of the reasons that there has not been this explosion that had been highly predicted is that these are decent people. And they can't condone in their hearts the brutality of Saddam Hussein. They've known he was the village bully for a long time. They didn't have the wherewithal or the support to stand up against it. Even some of the countries that have been supporting him—they know he's been an evil person. And so I think we're in pretty good shape on this. And I think we've gone out of our way to make clear that our argument was not with the people of Iraq but with this dictator, you see. And I think that's helped a little bit. We've tried to be sensitive to the culture, tried to understand and empathize with the religious persuasions of these people. But there's nothing in Islam that condones the kind of brutality that we've seen from Saddam Hussein. So when he was posturing as a man of religion, it caused unease even from some of his supporters. And I think that's a reason that the Arab world hasn't exploded. And we will go the extra mile to make clear to all these countries that the United States wants to be their friend and that we certainly have respect for their sovereignty and their customs and their traditions and all of that. And that's the way to handle it.

Q. What do you see is the role of the Soviet Union in this, postwar?

The President. Well, the Soviet Union is a major, significant country that should be treated, as we would other countries, with the proper respect. They have a long-standing knowledge of and interest in the Middle East. And so we will deal with the Soviets with mutual respect—for that reason as well as for the fact that to have the new United Nations be viable and meaningful in its so-called peace-keeping function, the Soviet Union is necessary to be working with them.

I don't want to see the U.N. in 1991 go back to the way it was in 1971, where every vote we found ourselves—put it this way—the U.N. found itself hamstrung because of the veto from the Soviet Union or sometimes from the United States. So as we work with them on common goals in foreign policy, although we have great differences with them on some things—we've spelled it out here on the Baltics and use of force in the Baltics and all of that—I want to continue to work with them, and we'll try very hard to work with them. Because, one, they have some good ideas.

I never resented the idea that Mr. Gorbachev was trying to bring a peaceful resolution to this question. I told him that. I've seen some cartoons that suggested I was being something less than straightforward, but I really didn't. The trouble was it stopped well short of what we and the rest of the coalition could accept. So they will be important players. And I'm very glad—I'll say this—that we wrestle with this whole problem of the Gulf today—yesterday—with Soviet cooperation, as opposed to what it would have been like a few years ago in the cold war days when every American was absolutely convinced that the only thing the Soviets wanted was access to the warm-water ports of the Gulf.

And so the problem, which is highly complex in diplomacy, has been much easier to work because of the cooperation between the five veto-holding powers of the United Nations. And I want to continue that because the U.N. will have a role. It's not going to have the only role. We've got a coalition role; we've got a bilateral diplomacy role; we've got a certain military role in encouraging the stability of the Gulf. But the United Nations can be very helpful.

And the Soviet Union is important. And when I have differences with Mr. Gorbachev, or when we have differences with the Soviets, we'll state them. We'll state them openly. But we will treat them—we will deal with them with respect. And we will iron out our bilateral differences, and then I will reassure them that they are necessary to continue this multilateral diplomacy that has made a significant contribution to the solution to the Middle East problem. . . .

Source: George H. W. Bush, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George Bush, 1991,* Book 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992), 195–205.

77. Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz, Letter to the United Nations Secretary-General and Security Council President, March 3, 1991

Introduction

One of the more contentious issues and sticking points in earlier efforts to negotiate a settlement of the dispute between Kuwait and Iraq had been whether Iraq would agree to honor all the 12

United Nations (UN) Security Council resolutions on the two countries passed between August and December 1990. Even the letter of capitulation that Tariq Aziz, Iraq's foreign minister, delivered to UN members on February 27, 1991, was somewhat ambivalent on this point, apparently making Iraq's acceptance of certain resolutions conditional on the lifting of the sanctions on Iraq imposed by several others of the resolutions. On March 2, 1991, the Security Council passed a new Resolution, No. 686, that clearly stated that all 12 past resolutions remained valid and demanded that Iraq immediately comply with the cease-fire conditions enumerated by U.S. president George H. W. Bush on February 27, 1991. These included the withdrawal of Iraq's claims to Kuwait, acceptance of liability to compensate Kuwait and others for losses suffered due to Iraqi actions, the release of all prisoners of war, and the return of seized Kuwaiti property. Iraq was enjoined to send its military commanders to meet with their coalition counterparts to arrange cease-fire details and to notify the UN secretary-general and the Security Council when these actions had been taken. Member states were asked to assist in Kuwait's reconstruction. The following day, Aziz sent another letter addressed directly to the secretary-general and the president of the Security Council, accepting Security Council Resolution 686 and expressing his hopes that this action would quickly lead to a cease-fire and the withdrawal of all foreign military forces from Iraq. Aziz complained that in the course of implementing Resolution 678, coalition forces had inflicted "major losses" on Iraq's "infrastructure, economic, civilian, cultural and religious property [and] basic public services," damage that, to his chagrin, Resolution 686 ignored. He also expressed the hope, largely fruitless, that those Security Council resolutions imposing economic sanctions upon Iraq would be speedily repealed.

Primary Source

I have the honour to inform you that the Iraqi Government has taken note of the text of Security Council resolution 686 (1991) and that it has agreed to fulfil its obligations under the said resolution. We hope that the Council, in its turn, will interact in an objective and honourable manner, pursuant to the provisions of international law and the principles of equity and justice, with our faithful—and to the extent that we are able—speedy fulfilment of those obligations.

You and the members of the Security Council are well aware of the manner in which the American forces and their partners in the military operations against Iraq have implemented Security Council resolution 618 (1990), and of the major losses which Iraq has suffered to its infrastructure, economic, civilian, cultural and religious property, basic public services such as electricity, water, telephones, transport, fuel and other essential requirements of everyday life.

Despite these facts, resolution 686 (1991) has ignored the Iraqi people's suffering and the imposition on Iraq alone of a long series of obligations. A number of members of the Security Council referred to this fact, leading one of them (Cuba) to vote against the resolution, while three States—India, Yemen and China, the latter being a permanent member of the Council—abstained.

We record these facts for history and for the attention of those members of the Security Council and the international Organization—and those elements of international public opinion—who have a conscience. Our agreement to fulfil our obligations under this resolution stems from our determination to refute the pretexts which some may employ in order to persist in their aggression against Iraq and to inflict further harm on its people.

Iraq hopes that the Security Council will ensure the adoption of a resolution proclaiming an official cease-fire and the cessation of all military operations on land, at sea and in the air, as well as the immediate withdrawal of the foreign military forces stationed without any justification in various regions of Iraq. Iraq also hopes that the Security Council will proceed to declare, with all possible speed, the bases for its adoption of Security Council resolutions 661 (1990), 665 (1990) and 610 (1990) as having lapsed, with the result that the resolutions become null and void.

Accept, Sir, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Tariq Aziz

Source: United Nations Security Council Official Records, S/22321, March 3, 1991.

78. President George H. W. Bush, "The New World Order," Address before a Joint Session of the Congress on the Cessation of the Persian Gulf Conflict, March 6, 1991 [Excerpts]

Introduction

The ending of the Cold War meant that the guiding principle of American foreign policy could no longer, as it had been for over four decades, be the strategy of containment of communism. Addressing Congress shortly after the Persian Gulf War had ended, a triumphant George H. W. Bush promised aid to the Middle East. He then proclaimed that the ending of the Cold War had made it possible for the United Nations (UN) to function as its founders had originally intended so that there was a "very real prospect of a new world order." This would, Bush stated, be "A world in which freedom and respect for human rights find a home among all nations." He urged Congress to take swift and decisive action

on economic problems, pollution, and crime to enable the country to fill its historic mission of implementing that new world order. Bush's speech was somewhat vague as to precisely what the new world order would encompass or how it would be organized. Critics charged that he envisaged that the United States could use its unrivaled military and economic might to dominate the new world order in its own interests. Somewhat cynically, many also felt that American commitment to maintaining such a new world order would be selective and that the United States had only intervened against Iraq because that country had menaced the security of two major U.S. allies, Israel and Saudi Arabia, and also threatened continuing supplies of Middle Eastern oil to the United States.

Primary Source

Tonight, I come to this House to speak about the world—the world after war. The recent challenge could not have been clearer. Saddam Hussein was the villain; Kuwait, the victim. To the aid of this small country came nations from North America and Europe, from Asia and South America, from Africa and the Arab world, all united against aggression. Our uncommon coalition must now work in common purpose: to forge a future that should never again be held hostage to the darker side of human nature.

Tonight in Iraq, Saddam walks amidst ruin. His war machine is crushed. His ability to threaten mass destruction is itself destroyed. His people have been lied to, denied the truth. And when his defeated legions come home, all Iraqis will see and feel the havoc he has wrought. And this I promise you: For all that Saddam has done to his own people, to the Kuwaitis, and to the entire world, Saddam and those around him are accountable.

All of us grieve for the victims of war, for the people of Kuwait and the suffering that scars the soul of that proud nation. We grieve for all our fallen soldiers and their families, for all the innocents caught up in this conflict. And, yes, we grieve for the people of Iraq, a people who have never been our enemy. My hope is that one day we will once again welcome them as friends into the community of nations. Our commitment to peace in the Middle East does not end with the liberation of Kuwait. So, tonight let me outline four key challenges to be met.

First, we must work together to create shared security arrangements in the region. Our friends and allies in the Middle East recognize that they will bear the bulk of the responsibility for regional security. But we want them to know that just as we stood with them to repel aggression, so now America stands ready to work with them to secure the peace. This does not mean stationing U.S. ground forces in the Arabian Peninsula, but it does mean American participation in joint exercises involving both air and ground forces. It means maintaining a capable U.S. naval presence in the region, just as we have for over 40 years. Let it be clear: Our vital national interests depend on a stable and secure Gulf.

Second, we must act to control the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the missiles used to deliver them. It would be tragic if the nations of the Middle East and Persian Gulf were now, in the wake of war, to embark on a new arms race. Iraq requires special vigilance. Until Iraq convinces the world of its peaceful intentions—that its leaders will not use new revenues to rearm and rebuild its menacing war machine—Iraq must not have access to the instruments of war.

And third, we must work to create new opportunities for peace and stability in the Middle East. On the night I announced Operation Desert Storm, I expressed my hope that out of the horrors of war might come new momentum for peace. We've learned in the modern age geography cannot guarantee security, and security does not come from military power alone.

All of us know the depth of bitterness that has made the dispute between Israel and its neighbors so painful and intractable. Yet, in the conflict just concluded, Israel and many of the Arab States have for the first time found themselves confronting the same aggressor. By now, it should be plain to all parties that peacemaking in the Middle East requires compromise. At the same time, peace brings real benefits to everyone. We must do all that we can to close the gap between Israel and the Arab States—and between Israelis and Palestinians. The tactics of terror lead absolutely nowhere. There can be no substitute for diplomacy.

A comprehensive peace must be grounded in United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of territory for peace. This principle must be elaborated to provide for Israel's security and recognition and at the same time for legitimate Palestinian political rights. Anything else would fail the twin test of fairness and security. The time has come to put an end to Arab-Israeli conflict.

The war with Iraq is over. The quest for solutions to the problems in Lebanon, in the Arab-Israeli dispute, and in the Gulf must go forward with new vigor and determination. And I guarantee you: No one will work harder for a stable peace in the region than we will.

Fourth, we must foster economic development for the sake of peace and progress. The Persian Gulf and Middle East form a region rich in natural resources with a wealth of untapped human potential. Resources once squandered on military might must be redirected to more peaceful ends. We are already addressing the immediate economic consequences of Iraq's aggression. Now, the challenge is to reach higher, to foster economic freedom and prosperity for all the people of the region.

By meeting these four challenges we can build a framework for peace. I've asked Secretary of State Baker to go to the Middle East to begin the process. He will go to listen, to probe, to offer suggestions—to advance the search for peace and stability. I've also

asked him to raise the plight of the hostages held in Lebanon. We have not forgotten them, and we will not forget them.

To all the challenges that confront this region of the world there is no single solution, no solely American answer. But we can make a difference. America will work tirelessly as a catalyst for positive change.

But we cannot lead a new world abroad if, at home, it's politics as usual on American defense and diplomacy. It's time to turn away from the temptation to protect unneeded weapons systems and obsolete bases. It's time to put an end to micromanagement of foreign and security assistance programs—micromanagement that humiliates our friends and allies and hamstrings our diplomacy. It's time to rise above the parochial and the pork barrel, to do what is necessary, what's right, and what will enable this nation to play the leadership role required of us.

The consequences of the conflict in the Gulf reach far beyond the confines of the Middle East. Twice before in this century, an entire world was convulsed by war. Twice this century, out of the horrors of war hope emerged for enduring peace. Twice before, those hopes proved to be a distant dream, beyond the grasp of man. Until now, the world we've known has been a world divided—a world of barbed wire and concrete block, conflict, and cold war.

Now, we can see a new world coming into view. A world in which there is the very real prospect of a new world order. In the words of Winston Churchill, a world order in which "the principles of justice and fair play protect the weak against the strong. . . ." A world where the United Nations, freed from cold war stalemate, is poised to fulfill the historic vision of its founders. A world in which freedom and respect for human rights find a home among all nations. The Gulf war put this new world to its first test. And my fellow Americans, we passed that test.

For the sake of our principles, for the sake of the Kuwaiti people, we stood our ground. Because the world would not look the other way, Ambassador al-Sabah, tonight Kuwait is free. And we're very happy about that.

Tonight, as our troops begin to come home, let us recognize that the hard work of freedom still calls us forward. We've learned the hard lessons of history. The victory over Iraq was not waged as "a war to end all wars." Even the new world order cannot guarantee an era of perpetual peace. But enduring peace must be our mission. Our success in the Gulf will shape not only the new world order we seek but our mission here at home.

[. . .]

We went halfway around the world to do what is moral and just and right. We fought hard and, with others, we won the war. We lifted the yoke of aggression and tyranny from a small country that many Americans had never even heard of, and we ask nothing in return.

We're coming home now—proud, confident, heads high. There is much that we must do, at home and abroad. And we will do it. We are Americans.

May God bless this great nation, the United States of America.

Source: George H. W. Bush, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George Bush, 1991,* Book 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992), 218–222.

79. President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, Address to the Iraqi People on the Insurrection, March 16, 1991

Introduction

Iraq's defeat in the Persian Gulf War served as the trigger for uprisings within that country. President Saddam Hussein and the members of the ruling Baath Party who staffed his government were largely drawn from Iraq's Sunni Muslim minority. In March 1991 rebellions against Hussein broke out among the country's other two largest groups, the Shiite Muslims of the south, who constituted close to 60 percent of the population, and the Kurds of the north, who had suffered severe repression at Hussein's hands since the early 1980s, with thousands of Kurdish villages destroyed and more than 100,000 Kurds killed by Iraqi troops. Despite condemnation from the United Nations (UN), forces from Hussein's elite Republican Guard, which had emerged from the war relatively unscathed, successfully and brutally suppressed both rebellions. Shiites and Kurds felt betrayed by the United States and its allies, who had, they felt, encouraged them to rebel and drive Hussein from power and had then failed to come to their assistance against him. Many Iraqi Kurds fled through snow-covered mountains to the borders of Iran and Turkey until UN forces responded by establishing a virtually autonomous safe haven for them in northern Iraq, with British and American aircraft patrolling and enforcing a no-fly zone that remained closed to Iraqi airplanes. In an address to the Iraqi people on March 16, 1991, Hussein celebrated the achievements of his military in putting down the insurrections. Cynically, Hussein also promised Iraqis a new era of "political pluralism" and "national unity," facilitated by a "new constitution" that would guarantee "a democratic society based on . . . the rule of law." Until Hussein's overthrow in 2003, Iraq continued to be a personal dictatorship, staffed largely by Sunni Muslims with Hussein and his family exercising virtually unrestricted power.

Primary Source

The painful events which took place in the country recently have prevented me from speaking to you at the time immediately after the height of the aggression and while the country from the extreme north to the extreme south and from the extreme east to the extreme west, while it was subjected to aggression by 30 states and while our cities and villages were bleeding as a result of the brutal aggression which was targeted against the whole of Iraq and its sons and was targeted against the lives and properties of all Iraqis and what they had built over decades with sweat, effort and creativity.

At this time, in particular, there were infiltrators from outside who were hordes of hateful traitors, people who had forged Iraqi ID's to sow devastation, plunder and destruction in a number of Iraqi cities and villages in the south, supported by rioters who were misled in the Basra, Amara, Nasiriya, Karbala, Najaf and Hilla. These traitors launched attacks against some of the isolated units and military barracks retreating under fire of the aggression. They seized weapons and equipment and set the people's properties on fire. They plundered the premises of the state, schools, hospitals, homes of the citizens, and violated honor. They even burned civil records and records of the property register, records of marriage and inheritance in state departments.

Through dastardly, treacherous methods, they resorted to killing some officials in the state and the party, some officers and some citizens in those cities.

On Change

With God's aid, we have crushed the sedition in the cities of the south. And with the aid of those loyal, of good will, in all parts of Iraq, we are able to uproot the remnants of destruction and treason. . . . However, this honorable, patriotic approach must not discourage us from analyzing the negative phenomena, identifying their sources and their positions, and delving into the reasons behind them, and tracking the roots of bad education and orientation.

Oh, glorious Iraqis everywhere on the beloved land of Iraq, all of us in Iraq feel that we are entering a new phase in our national life. It is a difficult phase, which will include a lot of bitterness, and will involve great sacrifices and serious losses.

Dear brothers, while we embark on construction, this new phase must be based on new bases in our national political life. As in the other aspects of our life, we had been preparing since 1979 to enter a new political phase. But the circumstances of foreign aggression against our country in 1980, which lasted for a very long period, prevented us from embarking on seeking and acting to establish the new political frameworks needed by the phase and the requirements of progress.

Once that aggression was over, we immediately began to reconstruct and began to restore the bases of peace while we were preoccupied with great national and pan-Arab concerns. And according with their priorities, we in the leadership discussed what we should do in this regard. In 1990, we had planned for a new phase in our political life, a phase which will witness the establishment of new institutions and new formulae for national action, based essentially on the principle of political pluralism, and in a clear framework of national unity and national responsibility, we declared a draft for a new constitution for the country, predicated on this basis and opened for discussion.

It was intended that we were to start last fall to resume the discussion of the constitution in the state orders and to organize a referendum thereon, and to start building the institutions flowing from it. However, these events of August and thereafter prevented these actions.

On Direction

Our decision as a leadership to build a democratic society based on the constitution and the rule of law and on institution[al] and political pluralism now has been our determination before in the year 1990 [and] is a decisive, irrevocable decision.

The first step that we will take on the path to build this new phase is the appointment of a new ministry that takes upon itself as a priority task the task of reconstruction and the provision of basic services to the citizens and to cooperate in its discharge of duties with the leadership and to resume the discussion of the draft constitution and to organize a referendum thereon, and the building of institutions flowing therefrom.

Source: "After the War; Excerpts from the Address by Hussein on Iraq's Unrest," *New York Times,* http://www.nytimes.com/1991/03/17/world/after-the-war-excerpts-from-the-address-by-hussein-on-iraq-s-unrest.html?pagewanted=1.

80. President George H. W. Bush and Brent Scowcroft, Why We Didn't Go to Baghdad, 1998

Introduction

Ground hostilities in the 1991 Persian Gulf War began on February 22 and ended 100 hours later on February 27, when President George H. W. Bush declared a cease-fire. Coalition forces had

successfully driven Iraqi forces out of Kuwait and retaken the emirate, but President Saddam Hussein still remained in power in Iraq. Critics later suggested that the United States should have continued hostilities until coalition forces had reached Baghdad and overthrown Hussein. One particular focus of concern was the fact that when, in the aftermath of the war, Kurds in northern Iraq and Shiite Muslims in the south rose up against Hussein, the coalition did little or nothing to assist them, instead permitting Hussein to repress the rebellions with great brutality. Some years later, in 1998, Bush and his former national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, wrote a memoir on the making of foreign policy during their administration. The two men stated that while they would have welcomed Hussein's overthrow by his own people, the coalition decision not to eliminate Hussein but instead to tolerate his continuing hold on power was justified on pragmatic grounds. They warned that "breaking up the Iraqi state" would have posed serious problems for the long-term stability of the Middle East, while an invasion and occupation of Iraq would have exceeded the United Nations (UN) mandate, which was merely that the status quo ante in Kuwait should be restored. Somewhat presciently, in light of the aftermath of the 2003 war against Iraq, the two men cautioned that an American occupation of Iraq might have not only caused their Arab allies to desert the coalition but also that "[h]ad we gone the invasion route, the United States could conceivably still be an occupying power in a bitterly hostile land."

Primary Source

The end of effective Iraqi resistance came with a rapidity which surprised us all, and we were perhaps psychologically unprepared for the sudden transition from fighting to peacemaking. True to the guidelines we had established, when we had achieved our strategic objectives (ejecting Iraqi forces from Kuwait and eroding Saddam's threat to the region) we stopped the fighting. But the necessary limitations placed on our objectives, the fog of war, and the lack of a "battleship Missouri" surrender unfortunately left unresolved problems, and new ones arose.

We soon discovered that more of the Republican Guard survived the war than we had believed or anticipated. Owing to the unexpected swiftness of the Marine advance into Kuwait, the Guard reserves were not drawn south into the battle—and into the trap created by the western sweep around and behind Kuwait as we had planned. While we would have preferred to reduce further the threat Saddam posed to the region—and help undermine his hold on power—by destroying additional Guard divisions, in truth he didn't need those forces which escaped destruction in order to maintain internal control. He had more than twenty untouched divisions in other parts of Iraq. One more day would not have altered the strategic situation, but it would have made a substantial difference in human terms. We would have been castigated for slaughtering fleeing soldiers after our own mission was successfully completed.

We were disappointed that Saddam's defeat did not break his hold on power, as many of our Arab allies had predicted and we had come to expect. The abortive uprising of the Shi'ites in the south and the Kurds in the north did not spread to the Sunni population of central Iraq, and the Iraqi military remained loyal. Critics claim that we encouraged the separatist Shi'ites and Kurds to rebel and then reneged on a promise to aid them if they did so. President Bush repeatedly declared that the fate of Saddam Hussein was up to the Iraqi people. Occasionally, he indicated that removal of Saddam would be welcome, but for very practical reasons there was never a promise to aid an uprising. While we hoped that a popular revolt or coup would topple Saddam, neither the United States nor the countries of the region wished to see the breakup of the Iraqi state. We were concerned about the long-term balance of power at the head of the Gulf. Breaking up the Iraqi state would pose its own destabilizing problems. While Ozal put the priority on Saddam and had a more tolerant view of Kurds than other Turkish leaders before or since, Turkey—and Iran—objected to the suggestion of an independent Kurdish state. However admirable self-determination for the Kurds or Shi'ites might have been in principle, the practical aspects of this particular situation dictated the policy. For these reasons alone, the uprisings distressed us, but they also offered Saddam an opportunity to reassert himself and rally his army. Instead of toppling him as the cause of its humiliating defeat, the Iraqi military was put to work to suppress the rebellions. It was a serious disappointment.

Trying to eliminate Saddam, extending the ground war into an occupation of Iraq, would have violated our guideline about not changing objectives in midstream, engaging in "mission creep," and would have incurred incalculable human and political costs. Apprehending him was probably impossible. We had been unable to find Noriega in Panama, which we knew intimately. We would have been forced to occupy Baghdad and, in effect, rule Iraq. The coalition would instantly have collapsed, the Arabs deserting it in anger and other allies pulling out as well. Under those circumstances, there was no viable "exit strategy" we could see, violating another of our principles. Furthermore, we had been self-consciously trying to set a pattern for handling aggression in the post–Cold War world. Going in and occupying Iraq, thus unilaterally exceeding the United Nations' mandate, would have destroyed the precedent of international response to aggression that we hoped to establish. Had we gone the invasion route, the United States could conceivably still be an occupying power in a bitterly hostile land. It would have been a dramatically different—and perhaps barren—outcome.

Source: George Bush and Brent Scowcroft, *A World Transformed* (New York: Random House, 1998), 488–489.

81. General H. Norman Schwarzkopf, Interview with David Frost, March 27, 1991 [Excerpts]

Introduction

One month after the ending of coalition hostilities against Iraq, U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) commander General H. Norman Schwarzkopf revealed, in an interview with the British journalist David Frost, that he had differed with U.S. president George H. W. Bush over the decision to cease ground warfare 100 hours after hostilities had begun. Schwarzkopf admitted that by that juncture in the conflict Iraq's elite Republican Guard, the backbone of President Saddam Hussein's military, had been "destroyed . . . as an effective military force." Schwarzkopf told Frost that he, like the Egyptians and Syrians, had recommended that coalition units continue to pursue the enemy "in a rout" that would have become "a battle of annihilation." Schwarzkopf praised Bush's decision "to stop the offensive" as "very courageous" and "very humane" but stated that given even another 24 hours of fighting, he could have "inflicted terrible damage on [the Republican Guard] with air attacks and that sort of thing." A controversy promptly erupted over whether Bush should have followed Schwarzkopf's advice, which some felt would have so crippled the Republican Guard that it would have been unable to put down the internal Shiite and Kurd uprisings that occurred in Iraq immediately after the Persian Gulf War. Had these insurrections succeeded, Hussein and his government would probably have been overthrown.

Primary Source

Q. How were you consulted about the cease-fire? I mean how did it happen?

A. . . . After the third day, as I say, we knew we had them. I mean we had closed the back door. The bridges across the Tigris and Euphrates were out. We had cut Highway 8 that ran up the Tigris and Euphrates valley on this side of the river. There was no way out for them. I mean, they could go through Basra. There were a few bridges going across Al Fao, to the Al Fao. But there was nothing else and it was literally about to become the battle of Cannae, a battle of annihilation. . . .

I reported that situation to General Powell. And he and I discussed, have we accomplished our military objectives? The campaign objectives. And the answer was yes. . . . The enemy was being kicked out of Kuwait, was going to be gone from Kuwait. We had destroyed the Republican Guard as a militarily effective force.

Q. Had you totally destroyed it? I mean in the sense Egypt and Syria wanted to carry on and destroy it a bit more, didn't they?

A. Well, yeah. I mean it is a question of how do you define the word destroy. The Republican Guard was a militarily ineffective force. And we had inflicted great damage upon them and they had been routed. Now, I obviously—you know we didn't destroy them to the very last tank. And again, this is a point that I think may be lost on a lot of people. That was a very courageous decision on the part of the President to also stop the offensive. You know, we didn't declare a cease-fire. What we did is, we suspended offensive operations. Frankly, my recommendation had been, you know, continue the march. I mean we had them in a rout and we could have continued to, you know, reap great destruction upon them. We could have completely closed the door and made it in fact a battle of annihilation. And the President, you know, made the decision that, you know, we should stop at a given time, at a given place that did leave some escape routes open for them to get back out and I think it was a very humane decision and a very courageous decision on his part also. Because it's, you know, it's one of those ones that historians are going to second guess, you know, forever. . . .

Q. A very courageous decision, and a very real debate, really, that between, on the one hand, completely dispensing with the Republican Guard so it could never be used again, as you were recommending, another 24 hours, versus the humanitarian decision. . . .

A. I, I don't think you should put it in the context of Republican Guard because they, remember, were the ones who were mostly to the rear and a lot of them had bugged out already. I mean, they had long since, ah, I think once they discovered that their flank, ah, up Route 8 was blocked and they weren't gonna, I think some of them had long since escaped. Matter of fact, they were north of the river and we probably could have, had we gone on for another 24 hours, we could have inflicted terrible damage on them with air attacks and that sort of thing on the far side of the river. But nowhere near the devastation we were inflicting on . . . the troops on this side of the river.

Source: "After the War; Excerpts from the Schwarzkopf Interview," *New York Times,* http://www.nytimes.com/1991/03/28/world/after-the-war-excerpts-from-the-schwarzkopf-interview.html?pagewanted=1.

82. United Nations Security Council Resolutions 686, 687, 688, 689, 692, 699, 700, 705, 706, 707, March 2–August 15, 1991 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Once hostilities ended in the Persian Gulf War, the United Nations (UN) Security Council passed a series of resolutions intended to

facilitate the resumption of peace and resolve the issues over which the war had been fought. By August 1991, however, it was becoming clear that President Saddam Hussein's stubborn tenure of power in Iraq meant that the legacy of the war was by no means over, and the full resumption of normal relations between Iraq and the rest of the world would be almost impossible. One of the more contentious issues and sticking points in earlier efforts to negotiate a settlement of the dispute between Kuwait and Iraq had been whether Iraq would agree to honor all 12 UN Security Council resolutions regarding the two countries passed between August and December 1990. Even the letter of capitulation that Tariq Aziz, Iraq's foreign minister, delivered to UN members on February 27, 1991, was somewhat ambivalent on this point, apparently making Iraq's acceptance of certain resolutions conditional on the lifting of the sanctions on Iraq imposed by several others of the resolutions. On March 2, 1991, the Security Council passed a new resolution, No. 686, that clearly stated that all 12 past resolutions remained valid and demanded that Iraq immediately comply with the cease-fire conditions enumerated by U.S. president George H. W. Bush on February 27, 1991. These included the withdrawal of Iraq's claims to Kuwait, acceptance of liability to compensate Kuwait and others for losses suffered due to Iraqi actions, the release of all prisoners of war, and the return of seized Kuwaiti property. Iraq was enjoined to send its military commanders to meet with their coalition counterparts to arrange cease-fire details and to notify the UN secretary-general and Security Council when these actions had been taken. Member states were asked to assist in Kuwait's reconstruction. The following day, Aziz sent another letter addressed directly to the secretary-general and the president of the Security Council that accepted Security Council Resolution 686 and expressed his hopes that this action would quickly lead to a cease-fire and the withdrawal of all foreign military forces from Iraq. He complained that in the course of implementing Resolution 678, coalition forces had inflicted "major losses" on Iraq's "infrastructure, economic, civilian, cultural and religious property [and] basic public services," damage that, to his chagrin, Resolution 686 ignored. He also expressed the hope, largely fruitless, that those Security Council resolutions imposing economic sanctions upon Iraq would be speedily repealed.

One month later, Resolution 687 demanded that Iraq accept the existing international boundary between itself and Kuwait, destroy all its stockpiles of chemical and biological missiles and all its missiles with a range exceeding 150 kilometers, "unconditionally agree not to acquire or develop nuclear weapons," and allow inspections by the UN or its agents to ensure that Iraq complied with these requirements. Other states were enjoined against supplying any armaments or armament parts to Iraq. Three days later, on April 5, 1991, UN Security Council Resolution 688 condemned Hussein's brutal repression of uprisings against his rule, particularly his suppression of a Kurdish revolt in the north of the country, and urged humanitarian assistance to the Kurds. Security Council Resolution 689, passed four days later, established a UN Observation Mission to report on conditions in Iraq and Kuwait. Resolution 699, passed on June 17, 1991, required this mission to submit regular reports on the progress of the destruction, removal, or disarmament of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction. Resolution 700, of June 17, 1991, requested all states to inform the UN of the measures they had taken to implement the ban on foreign arms sales to Iraq. Resolution 692, of May 20, 1991, stated that Iraq must make contributions from its oil revenues to a fund to compensate all foreign governments, companies, and nationals for losses they had suffered due to the attack on Kuwait. Resolution 705, passed unanimously on August 15, 1991, stated that no more than 30 percent of Iraq's oil revenues should be earmarked for this purpose.

Resolution 705 was one of three resolutions that the Security Council passed that day, seeking insofar as possible to regularize the situation in Iraq. Their implementation would be less than straightforward and would ultimately contribute substantially to a second, more extensive war against Iraq, which would finally overthrow Hussein's government. Resolution 706 allowed limited sales of Iraqi petroleum products on the international markets. The proceeds would be used in part to compensate outsiders for the damage wrought by Iraq's attack on Kuwait, in part to cover the costs of the missions established by the UN and International Atomic Energy Authority to supervise the destruction of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction and ensure the nonresumption of these programs, and in part for humanitarian purposes within Iraq, to purchase "foodstuffs, medicines and materials and supplies for essential civilian needs." Resolution 707 stated that Iraq's government had failed to cooperate with UN representatives in efforts to destroy chemical, biological, ballistic, and nuclear weapons of mass destruction and programs producing these and had in fact "concealed activities." The resolution demanded that in the future Iraq must cooperate fully with all such inspection teams, allowing them unfettered access to all relevant facilities within Iraq, and cease all efforts to produce such weapons.

Primary Source

Resolution 686 (1991)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2978th meeting on 2 March 1991

The Security Council,

Recalling and reaffirming its resolutions 660 (1990), 661 (1990), 662 (1990), 664 (1990), 665 (1990), 666 (1990), 667 (1990), 669 (1990), 670 (1990), 674 (1990), 677 (1990), and 678 (1990),

Recalling the obligations of Member States under Article 25 of the Charter,

Recalling paragraph 9 of resolution 661 (1990) regarding assistance to the Government of Kuwait and paragraph 3 (c) of that

resolution regarding supplies strictly for medical purposes and, in humanitarian circumstances, foodstuffs,

Taking note of the letters of the Foreign Minister of Iraq confirming Iraq's agreement to comply fully with all of the resolutions noted above (S/22275), and stating its intention to release prisoners of war immediately (S/22273),

Taking note of the suspension of offensive combat operations by the forces of Kuwait and the Member States cooperating with Kuwait pursuant to resolution 678 (1990),

Bearing in mind the need to be assured of Iraq's peaceful intentions, and the objective in resolution 678 (1990) of restoring international peace and security in the region,

Underlining the importance of Iraq taking the necessary measures which would permit a definitive end to the hostilities,

Affirming the commitment of all Member States to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq and Kuwait, and noting the intention expressed by the Member States cooperating under paragraph 2 of Security Council resolution 678 (1990) to bring their military presence in Iraq to an end as soon as possible consistent with achieving the objectives of the resolution,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter,

1. Affirms that all twelve resolutions noted above continue to have full force and effect;

2. Demands that Iraq implement its acceptance of all twelve resolutions noted above and in particular that Iraq:

(a) Rescind immediately its actions purporting to annex Kuwait;

(b) Accept in principle its liability for any loss, damage, or injury arising in regard to Kuwait and third States, and their nationals and corporations, as a result of the invasion and illegal occupation of Kuwait by Iraq;

(c) Under international law immediately release under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Red Cross Societies, or Red Crescent Societies, all Kuwaiti and third country nationals detained by Iraq and return the remains of any deceased Kuwaiti and third country nationals so detained; and

(d) Immediately begin to return all Kuwaiti property seized by Iraq, to be completed in the shortest possible period;

3. Further demands that Iraq:

(a) Cease hostile or provocative actions by its forces against all Member States including missile attacks and flights of combat aircraft;

(b) Designate military commanders to meet with counterparts from the forces of Kuwait and the Member States cooperating with Kuwait pursuant to resolution 678 (1990) to arrange for the military aspects of a cessation of hostilities at the earliest possible time;

(c) Arrange for immediate access to and release of all prisoners of war under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross and return the remains of any deceased personnel of the forces of Kuwait and the Member States cooperating with Kuwait pursuant to resolution 678 (1990); and

(d) Provide all information and assistance in identifying Iraqi mines, booby traps and other explosives as well as any chemical and biological weapons and material in Kuwait, in areas of Iraq where forces of Member States cooperating with Kuwait pursuant to resolution 678 (1990) are present temporarily, and in adjacent waters;

4. Recognizes that during the period required for Iraq to comply with paragraphs 2 and 3 above, the provisions of paragraph 2 of resolution 678 (1990) remain valid;

5. Welcomes the decision of Kuwait and the Member States cooperating with Kuwait pursuant to resolution 678 (1990) to provide access and to commence immediately the release of Iraqi prisoners of war as required by the terms of the Third Geneva Convention of 1949, under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross;

6. Requests all Member States, as well as the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other international organizations in the United Nations system, to take all appropriate action to cooperate with the Government and people of Kuwait in the reconstruction of their country;

7. Decides that Iraq shall notify the Secretary-General and the Security Council when it has taken the actions set out above;

8. Decides that in order to secure the rapid establishment of a definitive end to the hostilities, the Security Council remains actively seized of the matter.

Resolution 687 (1991)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2981st meeting, on 3 April 1991

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 660 (1990) of 2 August 1990, 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990, 662 (1990) of 9 August 1990, 664 (1990) of 18 August 1990, 665 (1990) of 25 August 1990, 666 (1990) of 13 September 1990, 667 (1990) of 16 September 1990, 669 (1990) of 24 September 1990, 670 (1990) of 25 September 1990, 674 (1990) of 29 October 1990, 677 (1990) of 28 November 1990, 678 (1990) of 29 November 1990 and 686 (1991) of 2 March 1991,

Welcoming the restoration to Kuwait of its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and the return of its legitimate Government,

Affirming the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Kuwait and Iraq, and noting the intention expressed by the Member States cooperating with Kuwait under paragraph 2 of resolution 678 (1990) to bring their military presence in Iraq to an end as soon as possible consistent with paragraph 8 of resolution 686 (1991),

Reaffirming the need to be assured of Iraq's peaceful intentions in the light of its unlawful invasion and occupation of Kuwait,

Taking note of the letter sent by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq on 27 February 1991 and those sent pursuant to resolution 686 (1991),

Noting that Iraq and Kuwait, as independent sovereign States, signed at Baghdad on 4 October 1963 "Agreed Minutes Between the State of Kuwait and the Republic of Iraq Regarding the Restoration of Friendly Relations, Recognition and Related Matters," thereby recognizing formally the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait and the allocation of islands, which were registered with the United Nations in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations and in which Iraq recognized the independence and complete sovereignty of the State of Kuwait within its borders as specified and accepted in the letter of the Prime Minister of Iraq dated 21 July 1932, and as accepted by the Ruler of Kuwait in his letter dated 10 August 1932,

Conscious of the need for demarcation of the said boundary,

Conscious also of the statements by Iraq threatening to use weapons in violation of its obligations under the Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925, and of its prior use of chemical weapons and affirming that grave consequences would follow any further use by Iraq of such weapons,

[. . .]

Aware of the use by Iraq of ballistic missiles in unprovoked attacks and therefore of the need to take specific measures in regard to such missiles located in Iraq,

Concerned by the reports in the hands of Member States that Iraq has attempted to acquire materials for a nuclear-weapons programme contrary to its obligations under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 1 July 1968,

Recalling the objective of the establishment of a nuclear-weapons-free zone in the region of the Middle East,

Conscious of the threat that all weapons of mass destruction pose to peace and security in the area and of the need to work towards the establishment in the Middle East of a zone free of such weapons,

Conscious also of the objective of achieving balanced and comprehensive control of armaments in the region,

Conscious further of the importance of achieving the objectives noted above using all available means, including a dialogue among the States of the region,

Noting that resolution 686 (1991) marked the lifting of the measures imposed by resolution 661 (1990) in so far as they applied to Kuwait,

Noting that despite the progress being made in fulfilling the obligations of resolution 686 (1991), many Kuwaiti and third country nationals are still not accounted for and property remains unreturned,

Recalling the International Convention against the Taking of Hostages, opened for signature at New York on 18 December 1979, which categorizes all acts of taking hostages as manifestations of international terrorism,

Deploring threats made by Iraq during the recent conflict to make use of terrorism against targets outside Iraq and the taking of hostages by Iraq,

Taking note with grave concern of the reports of the Secretary-General of 20 March 1991 and 28 March 1991, and conscious of the necessity to meet urgently the humanitarian needs in Kuwait and Iraq,

Bearing in mind its objective of restoring international peace and security in the area as set out in recent resolutions of the Security Council,

Conscious of the need to take the following measures acting under Chapter VII of the Charter,

1. Affirms all thirteen resolutions noted above, except as expressly changed below to achieve the goals of this resolution, including a formal cease-fire;

A

2. Demands that Iraq and Kuwait respect the inviolability of the international boundary and the allocation of islands set out in the "Agreed Minutes Between the State of Kuwait and the Republic of Iraq Regarding the Restoration of Friendly Relations, Recognition and Related Matters," signed by them in the exercise of their sovereignty at Baghdad on 4 October 1963 and registered with the United Nations and published by the United Nations in document 7063, United Nations, Treaty Series, 1964;

3. Calls upon the Secretary-General to lend his assistance to make arrangements with Iraq and Kuwait to demarcate the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait, drawing on appropriate material, including the map transmitted by Security Council document S/22412 and to report back to the Security Council within one month;

4. Decides to guarantee the inviolability of the above-mentioned international boundary and to take as appropriate all necessary measures to that end in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

B

5. Requests the Secretary-General, after consulting with Iraq and Kuwait, to submit within three days to the Security Council for its approval a plan for the immediate deployment of a United Nations observer unit to monitor the Khor Abdullah and a demilitarized zone, which is hereby established, extending ten kilometres into Iraq and five kilometres into Kuwait from the boundary referred to in the "Agreed Minutes Between the State of Kuwait and the Republic of Iraq Regarding the Restoration of Friendly Relations, Recognition and Related Matters" of 4 October 1963; to deter violations of the boundary through its presence in and surveillance of the demilitarized zone; to observe any hostile or potentially hostile action mounted from the territory of one State to the other; and for the Secretary-General to report regularly to the Security Council on the operations of the unit, and immediately if there are serious violations of the zone or potential threats to peace;

6. Notes that as soon as the Secretary-General notifies the Security Council of the completion of the deployment of the United Nations observer unit, the conditions will be established for the Member States cooperating with Kuwait in accordance with resolution 678 (1990) to bring their military presence in Iraq to an end consistent with resolution 686 (1991);

C

7. Invites Iraq to reaffirm unconditionally its obligations under the Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925, and to ratify the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, of 10 April 1972;

8. Decides that Iraq shall unconditionally accept the destruction, removal, or rendering harmless, under international supervision, of:

(a) All chemical and biological weapons and all stocks of agents and all related subsystems and components and all research, development, support and manufacturing facilities;

(b) All ballistic missiles with a range greater than 150 kilometres and related major parts, and repair and production facilities;

9. Decides, for the implementation of paragraph 8 above, the following:

(a) Iraq shall submit to the Secretary-General, within fifteen days of the adoption of the present resolution, a declaration of the locations, amounts and types of all items specified in paragraph 8 and agree to urgent, on-site inspection as specified below;

(b) The Secretary-General, in consultation with the appropriate Governments and, where appropriate, with the Director-General of the World Health Organization, within forty-five days of the passage of the present resolution, shall develop, and submit to the Council for approval, a plan calling for the completion of the following acts within forty-five days of such approval:

(i) The forming of a Special Commission, which shall carry out immediate on-site inspection of Iraq's biological, chemical and missile capabilities, based on Iraq's declarations and the designation of any additional locations by the Special Commission itself;

(ii) The yielding by Iraq of possession to the Special Commission for destruction, removal or rendering harmless, taking into account the requirements of public safety, of all items specified under paragraph 8 (a) above, including items at the additional locations designated by the Special Commission under paragraph 9 (b) (i) above and the destruction by Iraq, under the supervision of the Special Commission, of all its missile capabilities, including launchers, as specified under paragraph 8 (b) above;

(iii) The provision by the Special Commission of the assistance and cooperation to the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency required in paragraphs 12 and 13 below;

10. Decides that Iraq shall unconditionally undertake not to use, develop, construct or acquire any of the items specified in paragraphs 8 and 9 above and requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Commission, to develop a plan for the future ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's compliance with this paragraph, to be submitted to the Security Council for approval within one hundred and twenty days of the passage of this resolution;

11. Invites Iraq to reaffirm unconditionally its obligations under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 1 July 1968;

12. Decides that Iraq shall unconditionally agree not to acquire or develop nuclear weapons or nuclear-weapons-usable material or any subsystems or components or any research, development, support or manufacturing facilities related to the above; to submit to the Secretary-General and the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency within fifteen days of the adoption of the present resolution a declaration of the locations, amounts, and types of all items specified above; to place all of its nuclear-weapons-usable materials under the exclusive control, for custody and removal, of the International Atomic Energy Agency, with the assistance and cooperation of the Special Commission as provided for in the plan of the Secretary-General discussed in paragraph 9 (b) above; to accept, in accordance with the arrangements provided for in paragraph 13 below, urgent on-site inspection and the destruction, removal or rendering harmless as appropriate of all items specified above; and to accept the plan discussed in paragraph 13 below for the future ongoing monitoring and verification of its compliance with these undertakings;

13. Requests the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, through the Secretary-General, with the assistance and cooperation of the Special Commission as provided for in the plan of the Secretary-General in paragraph 9 (b) above, to carry out immediate on-site inspection of Iraq's nuclear capabilities based on Iraq's declarations and the designation of any additional locations by the Special Commission; to develop a plan for submission to the Security Council within forty-five days calling for the destruction, removal, or rendering harmless as appropriate of all items listed in paragraph 12 above; to carry out the plan within forty-five days following approval by the Security Council; and to develop a plan, taking into account the rights and obligations of Iraq under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 1 July 1968, for the future ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's compliance with paragraph 12 above, including an inventory of all nuclear material in Iraq subject to the Agency's verification and inspections to confirm that Agency safeguards cover all relevant nuclear activities in Iraq, to be submitted to the Security Council for approval within one hundred and twenty days of the passage of the present resolution;

14. Takes note that the actions to be taken by Iraq in paragraphs 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 of the present resolution represent steps towards the goal of establishing in the Middle East a zone free from weapons of mass destruction and all missiles for their delivery and the objective of a global ban on chemical weapons;

D

15. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the steps taken to facilitate the return of all Kuwaiti property seized by Iraq, including a list of any property that Kuwait claims has not been returned or which has not been returned intact;

E

16. Reaffirms that Iraq, without prejudice to the debts and obligations of Iraq arising prior to 2 August 1990, which will be addressed through the normal mechanisms, is liable under international law for any direct loss, damage, including environmental damage and the depletion of natural resources, or injury to foreign Governments, nationals and corporations, as a result of Iraq's unlawful invasion and occupation of Kuwait;

17. Decides that all Iraqi statements made since 2 August 1990 repudiating its foreign debt are null and void, and demands that Iraq adhere scrupulously to all of its obligations concerning servicing and repayment of its foreign debt;

18. Decides also to create a fund to pay compensation for claims that fall within paragraph 16 above and to establish a Commission that will administer the fund;

19. Directs the Secretary-General to develop and present to the Security Council for decision, no later than thirty days following the adoption of the present resolution, recommendations for the fund to meet the requirement for the payment of claims established in accordance with paragraph 18 above and for a programme to implement the decisions in paragraphs 16, 17 and 18 above, including: administration of the fund; mechanisms for determining the appropriate level of Iraq's contribution to the fund based on a percentage of the value of the exports of petroleum and petroleum products from Iraq not to exceed a figure to be suggested to the Council by the Secretary-General, taking into account the requirements of the people of Iraq, Iraq's payment capacity as assessed in conjunction with the international financial institutions taking into consideration external debt service, and the needs of the Iraqi economy; arrangements for ensuring

that payments are made to the fund; the process by which funds will be allocated and claims paid; appropriate procedures for evaluating losses, listing claims and verifying their validity and resolving disputed claims in respect of Iraq's liability as specified in paragraph 16 above; and the composition of the Commission designated above;

F

20. Decides, effective immediately, that the prohibitions against the sale or supply to Iraq of commodities or products, other than medicine and health supplies, and prohibitions against financial transactions related thereto contained in resolution 661 (1990) shall not apply to foodstuffs notified to the Security Council Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) concerning the situation between Iraq and Kuwait or, with the approval of that Committee, under the simplified and accelerated "no-objection" procedure, to materials and supplies for essential civilian needs as identified in the report of the Secretary-General dated 20 March 1991, and in any further findings of humanitarian need by the Committee;

21. Decides that the Security Council shall review the provisions of paragraph 20 above every sixty days in the light of the policies and practices of the Government of Iraq, including the implementation of all relevant resolutions of the Security Council, for the purpose of determining whether to reduce or lift the prohibitions referred to therein;

22. Decides that upon the approval by the Security Council of the programme called for in paragraph 19 above and upon Council agreement that Iraq has completed all actions contemplated in paragraphs 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 above, the prohibitions against the import of commodities and products originating in Iraq and the prohibitions against financial transactions related thereto contained in resolution 661 (1990) shall have no further force or effect;

23. Decides that, pending action by the Security Council under paragraph 22 above, the Security Council Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) shall be empowered to approve, when required to assure adequate financial resources on the part of Iraq to carry out the activities under paragraph 20 above, exceptions to the prohibition against the import of commodities and products originating in Iraq;

24. Decides that, in accordance with resolution 661 (1990) and subsequent related resolutions and until a further decision is taken by the Security Council, all States shall continue to prevent the sale or supply, or the promotion or facilitation of such sale or supply, to Iraq by their nationals, or from their territories or using their flag vessels or aircraft, of:

(a) Arms and related materiel of all types, specifically including the sale or transfer through other means of all forms of conventional military equipment, including for paramilitary forces, and spare parts and components and their means of production, for such equipment;

(b) Items specified and defined in paragraphs 8 and 12 above not otherwise covered above;

(c) Technology under licensing or other transfer arrangements used in the production, utilization or stockpiling of items specified in subparagraphs (a) and (b) above;

(d) Personnel or materials for training or technical support services relating to the design, development, manufacture, use, maintenance or support of items specified in subparagraphs (a) and (b) above;

25. Calls upon all States and international organizations to act strictly in accordance with paragraph 24 above, notwithstanding the existence of any contracts, agreements, licenses or any other arrangements;

26. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with appropriate Governments, to develop within sixty days, for the approval of the Security Council, guidelines to facilitate full international implementation of paragraphs 24 and 25 above and paragraph 27 below, and to make them available to all States and to establish a procedure for updating these guidelines periodically;

27. Calls upon all States to maintain such national controls and procedures and to take such other actions consistent with the guidelines to be established by the Security Council under paragraph 26 above as may be necessary to ensure compliance with the terms of paragraph 24 above, and calls upon international organizations to take all appropriate steps to assist in ensuring such full compliance;

28. Agrees to review its decisions in paragraphs 22, 23, 24 and 25 above, except for the items specified and defined in paragraphs 8 and 12 above, on a regular basis and in any case one hundred and twenty days following passage of the present resolution, taking into account Iraq's compliance with the resolution and general progress towards the control of armaments in the region;

29. Decides that all States, including Iraq, shall take the necessary measures to ensure that no claim shall lie at the instance of the Government of Iraq, or of any person or body in Iraq, or of any person claiming through or for the benefit of any such person or body, in connection with any contract or other transaction

where its performance was affected by reason of the measures taken by the Security Council in resolution 661 (1990) and related resolutions;

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30. Decides that, in furtherance of its commitment to facilitate the repatriation of all Kuwaiti and third country nationals, Iraq shall extend all necessary cooperation to the International Committee of the Red Cross, providing lists of such persons, facilitating the access of the International Committee of the Red Cross to all such persons wherever located or detained and facilitating the search by the International Committee of the Red Cross for those Kuwaiti and third country nationals still unaccounted for;

31. Invites the International Committee of the Red Cross to keep the Secretary-General apprised as appropriate of all activities undertaken in connection with facilitating the repatriation or return of all Kuwaiti and third country nationals or their remains present in Iraq on or after 2 August 1990;

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32. Requires Iraq to inform the Security Council that it will not commit or support any act of international terrorism or allow any organization directed towards commission of such acts to operate within its territory and to condemn unequivocally and renounce all acts, methods and practices of terrorism;

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33. Declares that, upon official notification by Iraq to the Secretary-General and to the Security Council of its acceptance of the provisions above, a formal cease-fire is effective between Iraq and Kuwait and the Member States cooperating with Kuwait in accordance with resolution 678 (1990);

34. Decides to remain seized of the matter and to take such further steps as may be required for the implementation of the present resolution and to secure peace and security in the area.

Resolution 688 (1991)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2982nd meeting on 5 April 1991

The Security Council,

Mindful of its duties and its responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Recalling of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations,

Gravely concerned by the repression of the Iraqi civilian population in many parts of Iraq, including most recently in Kurdish populated areas, which led to a massive flow of refugees towards and across international frontiers and to cross-border incursions, which threaten international peace and security in the region,

Deeply disturbed by the magnitude of the human suffering involved, . . .

[. . .]

Reaffirming the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Iraq and of all States in the area,

Bearing in mind the Secretary-General's report of 20 March 1991 (S/22366),

1. Condemns the repression of the Iraqi civilian population in many parts of Iraq, including most recently in Kurdish populated areas, the consequences of which threaten international peace and security in the region;

2. Demands that Iraq, as a contribution to remove the threat to international peace and security in the region, immediately end this repression and express the hope in the same context that an open dialogue will take place to ensure that the human and political rights of all Iraqi citizens are respected;

3. Insists that Iraq allow immediate access by international humanitarian organizations to all those in need of assistance in all parts of Iraq and to make available all necessary facilities for their operations;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to pursue his humanitarian efforts in Iraq and to report forthwith, if appropriate on the basis of a further mission to the region, on the plight of the Iraqi civilian population, and in particular the Kurdish population, suffering from the repression in all its forms inflicted by the Iraqi authorities;

5. Requests further the Secretary-General to use all the resources at his disposal, including those of the relevant United Nations agencies, to address urgently the critical needs of the refugees and displaced Iraqi population;

6. Appeals to all Member States and to all humanitarian organizations to contribute to these humanitarian relief efforts;

7. Demands that Iraq cooperate with the Secretary-General to these ends;

8. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Resolution 689 (1991)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2983rd meeting on 9 April 1991

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 687 (1991),

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter,

1. Approves the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 687 (1991) contained in document S/22454 and Add. 1–3 of 5 April 1991;

2. Notes that the decision to set up the observer unit was taken in paragraph 5 of resolution 687 (1991) and can only be terminated by a decision of the Council. The Council shall therefore review the question of termination or continuation every six months;

3. Decides that the modalities for the initial six-month period of the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission shall be as set out in accordance with the above-mentioned report and shall also be reviewed every six months.

Resolution 692 (1991)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2987th meeting on 20 May 1991

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 694 (1990) of 29 October 1990, 686 (1991) of 2 March 1991 and 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, concerning the liability of Iraq, without prejudice to its debts and obligations arising prior to 2 August 1990, for any direct loss, damage, including environmental damage and the depletion of natural resources, or injury to foreign Governments, nationals and corporations, as a result of Iraq's unlawful invasion and occupation of Kuwait,

Taking note of the Secretary-General's report of 2 May 1991 (S/22559), submitted in accordance with paragraph 19 of resolution 687 (1991),

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his report of 2 May 1991;

2. Welcomes the fact that the Secretary-General will now undertake the appropriate consultations requested by paragraph 19 of resolution 687 (1991) so that he will be in a position to recommend to the Security Council for decision as soon as possible the figure which the level of Iraq's contribution to the Fund will not exceed;

3. Decides to establish the Fund and Commission referred to in paragraph 18 of resolution 687 (1991) in accordance with Part I of the Secretary-General's report, and that the Governing Council will be located at the Offices of the United Nations at Geneva and that the Governing Council may decide whether some of the activities of the Commission should be carried out elsewhere;

4. Requests the Secretary-General to take the actions necessary to implement paragraphs 2 and 3 above in consultation with the members of the Governing Council;

5. Directs the Governing Council to proceed in an expeditious manner to implement the provisions of Section E of resolution 687 (1991), taking into account the recommendations in section II of the Secretary-General's report;

6. Decides that the requirement for Iraqi contributions shall apply in the manner to be prescribed by the Governing Council with respect to all Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products exported from Iraq after 3 April 1991 as well as such petroleum and petroleum products exported earlier but not delivered or not paid for as a specific result of the prohibitions contained in resolution 661 (1990);

7. Requests the Governing Council to report as soon as possible on the actions it has taken with regard to the mechanisms for determining the appropriate level of Iraq's contribution to the Fund and the arrangements for ensuring that payments are made to the Fund, so that the Security Council can give its approval in accordance with paragraph 22 of resolution 687 (1991);

8. Requests that all States and international organizations cooperate with the decisions of the Governing Council taken pursuant to paragraph 5 of the present resolution, and also requests that the Governing Council keep the Security Council informed on this matter;

9. Decides that, if the Governing Council notifies the Security Council that Iraq has failed to carry out decisions of the Governing Council taken pursuant to paragraph 5 of this resolution, the Security Council intends to retain or to take action to reimpose the

prohibition against the import of petroleum and petroleum products originating in Iraq and financial transactions related thereto;

10. Decides also to remain seized of this matter and that the Governing Council will submit periodic reports to the Secretary-General and the Security Council.

Resolution 699 (1991)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2994th meeting on

17 June 1991

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 687 (1991),

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General of 17 May 1991 (S/22614), submitted to it in pursuance of paragraph 9 (b) of resolution 687 (1991),

Also taking note of the Secretary-General's note of 17 May 1991 (S/22615), transmitting to the Council the letter addressed to him under paragraph 13 of the resolution by the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA),

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter,

1. Approves the plan contained in the report of the Secretary-General;

2. Confirms that the Special Commission and the IAEA have the authority to conduct activities under section C of resolution 687 (1991), for the purpose of the destruction, removal or rendering harmless of the items specified in paragraphs 8 and 12 of that resolution, after the 45-day period following the approval of this plan until such activities have been completed;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the Security Council progress reports on the implementation of the plan referred to in paragraph 1 every six months after the adoption of this resolution;

4. Decides to encourage the maximum assistance, in cash and in kind, from all Member States to ensure that activities under section C of resolution 687 (1991) are undertaken effectively and expeditiously; further decides, however, that the Government of Iraq shall be liable for the full costs of carrying out the tasks authorized by section C; and requests the Secretary-General to submit to the Council within 30 days for approval recommendations as to the most effective means by which Iraq's obligations in this respect may be fulfilled.

Resolution 700 (1991)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2994th meeting on 17 June 1991

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990, 665 (1990) of 25 August 1990, 670 (1990) of 25 September 1990 and 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991,

Taking note of the Secretary-General's report of 2 June 1991 (S/22660) submitted pursuant to paragraph 26 of resolution 687 (1991),

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his report of 2 June 1991 (S/22660);

2. Approves the Guidelines to Facilitate Full International Implementation of paragraphs 24, 25 and 27 of Security Council resolution 687 (1991), annexed to the report of the Secretary-General (S/22660);

3. Reiterates its call upon all States and international organizations to act in a manner consistent with the Guidelines;

4. Requests all States, in accordance with paragraph 8 of the Guidelines, to report to the Secretary-General within 45 days on the measures they have instituted for meeting the obligations set out in paragraph 24 of resolution 687 (1991);

5. Entrusts the Committee established under resolution 661 (1990) concerning the situation between Iraq and Kuwait with the responsibility, under the Guidelines, for monitoring the prohibitions against the sale or supply of arms to Iraq and related sanctions established in paragraph 24 of resolution 687 (1991);

6. Decides to remain seized of the matter and to review the Guidelines at the same time as it reviews paragraphs 22, 23, 24 and 25 of resolution 687 (1991) as set out in paragraph 28 thereof.

Resolution 705 (1991)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3004th meeting, on 15 August 1991

The Security Council,

Having considered the note of 30 May 1991 of the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 13 of his report of 2 May 1991

(S/22559) which was annexed to the Secretary-General's letter of 30 May 1991 to the President of the Security Council (S/22661),

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter,

1. Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his note of 30 May 1991 which was annexed to his letter to the President of the Security Council of the same date (S/22661);

2. Decides that in accordance with the suggestion made by the Secretary-General in paragraph 7 of his note of 30 May 1991, compensation to be paid by Iraq (as arising from section E of resolution 687) shall not exceed 30 per cent of the annual value of the exports of petroleum and petroleum products from Iraq;

3. Decides further, in accordance with paragraph 8 of the Secretary-General's note of 30 May 1991, to review the figure established in paragraph 2 above from time to time in light of data and assumptions contained in the letter of the Secretary-General (S/22661) and other relevant developments.

Resolution 706 (1991)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3004th meeting, on 15 August 1991

The Security Council,

Recalling its previous relevant resolutions and in particular resolutions 661 (1990), 686 (1991), 687 (1991), 688 (1991), 692 (1991), 699 (1991) and 705 (1991),

Taking note of the report (S/22799) dated 15 July 1991 of the inter-agency mission headed by the Executive Delegate of the Secretary-General for the United Nations inter-agency humanitarian programme for Iraq, Kuwait and the Iraq/Turkey and Iraq/Iran border areas,

Concerned by the serious nutritional and health situation of the Iraqi civilian population as described in this report, and by the risk of a further deterioration of this situation,

Concerned also that the repatriation or return of all Kuwaitis and third country nationals or their remains present in Iraq on or after 2 August 1990, pursuant to paragraph 2 (c) of resolution 686 (1991), and paragraphs 30 and 31 of resolution 687 (1991) has not yet been fully carried out,

Taking note of the conclusions of the above-mentioned report, and in particular of the proposal for oil sales by Iraq to finance the purchase of foodstuffs, medicines and materials and supplies for essential civilian needs for the purpose of providing humanitarian relief,

Taking note also of the letters dated 14 April 1991, 31 May 1991, 6 June 1991, 9 July 1991 and 22 July 1991 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iraq and the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the Chairman of the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) concerning the export from Iraq of petroleum and petroleum products,

Convinced of the need for equitable distribution of humanitarian relief to all segments of the Iraqi civilian population through effective monitoring and transparency,

Recalling and reaffirming in this regard its resolution 688 (1991) and in particular the importance which the Council attaches to Iraq allowing unhindered access by international humanitarian organizations to all those in need of assistance in all parts of Iraq and making available all necessary facilities for their operation, and in this connection stressing the important and continuing role played by the Memorandum of Understanding between the United Nations and Government of Iraq of 18 April 1991 (S/22663),

Recalling that, pursuant to resolutions 687 (1991), 692 (1991) and 699 (1991), Iraq is required to pay the full costs of the Special Commission and the IAEA in carrying out the tasks authorized by section C of resolution 687 (1991), and that the Secretary-General in his report to the Security Council of 15 July 1991 (S/22792), submitted pursuant to paragraph 4 of resolution 699 (1991), expressed the view that the most obvious way of obtaining financial resources from Iraq to meet the costs of the Special Commission and the IAEA would be to authorize the sale of some Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products; recalling further that Iraq is required to pay its contributions to the Compensation Fund and half the costs of the Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission, and recalling further that in its resolutions 686 (1991) and 687 (1991) the Security Council demanded that Iraq return in the shortest possible time all Kuwaiti property seized by it and requested the Secretary-General to take steps to facilitate this,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter,

1. Authorizes all States, subject to the decision to be taken by the Security Council pursuant to paragraph 5 below and notwithstanding the provisions of paragraphs 3 (a), 3 (b) and 4 of resolution 661 (1990), to permit the import, during a period of 6 months from the date of passage of the resolution pursuant to paragraph 5 below, of petroleum and petroleum products originating in Iraq sufficient to produce a sum to be determined by the Council following receipt of the report of the Secretary-General requested in paragraph 5 of this resolution but not to exceed 1.6 billion United States dollars for the purposes set out in this resolution and subject to the following conditions:

(a) Approval of each purchase of Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products by the Security Council Committee established by

resolution 661 (1990) following notification to the Committee by the State concerned,

(b) Payment of the full amount of each purchase of Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products directly by the purchaser in the State concerned into an escrow account to be established by the United Nations and to be administered by the Secretary-General, exclusively to meet the purposes of this resolution.

(c) Approval by the Council, following the report of the Secretary-General requested in paragraph 5 of this resolution, of a scheme for the purchase of foodstuffs, medicines and materials and supplies for essential civilian needs as referred to in paragraph 20 of resolution 687 (1991), in particular health related materials, all of which to be labelled to the extent possible as being supplied under this scheme, and for all feasible and appropriate United Nations monitoring and supervision for the purpose of assuring their equitable distribution to meet humanitarian needs in all regions of Iraq and to all categories of the Iraqi civilian population as well as all feasible and appropriate management relevant to this purpose, such a United Nations role to be available if desired for humanitarian assistance from other sources,

[. . .]

2. Decides that a part of the sum in the account to be established by the Secretary-General shall be made available by him to finance the purchase of foodstuffs, medicines and materials and supplies for essential civilian needs, as referred to in paragraph 20 of resolution 687, and the cost to the United Nations of its roles under this resolution and of other necessary humanitarian activities in Iraq,

[. . .]

4. Decides that the percentage of the value of exports of petroleum and petroleum products from Iraq, authorized under this resolution to be paid to the United Nations Compensation Fund, as called for in paragraph 19 of resolution 687 (1991), and as defined in paragraph 6 of resolution 692 (1991), shall be the same as the percentage decided by the Security Council in paragraph 2 of resolution 705 (1991) for payments to the Compensation Fund, until such time as the Governing Council of the Fund decides otherwise,

5. Requests the Secretary-General to submit within 20 days of the date of adoption of this resolution a report to the Security Council for decision on measures to be taken in order to implement paragraphs 1 (a), (b), (c), estimates of the humanitarian requirements of Iraq set out in paragraph 2 above and of the amount of Iraq's financial obligations set out in paragraph 3 above up to the end of the period of the authorization in paragraph 1 above, as well as the method for taking the necessary legal measures to ensure that the purposes of this resolution are carried out and the method for taking account of the costs of transportation of such Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products,

6. Further requests the Secretary-General in consultation with the International Committee of the Red Cross to submit within 20 days of the date of adoption of this resolution a report to the Security Council on activities undertaken in accordance with paragraph 31 of resolution 687 (1991) in connection with facilitating the repatriation or return of all Kuwaiti and third country nationals or their remains present in Iraq on or after 2 August 1990,

7. Requires the Government of Iraq to provide to the Secretary-General and appropriate international organizations on the first day of the month immediately following the adoption of the present resolution and on the first day of each month thereafter until further notice, a statement of the gold and foreign currency reserves it holds whether in Iraq or elsewhere,

8. Calls upon all States to cooperate fully in the implementation of this resolution,

9. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Resolution 707 (1991)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3004th meeting, on 15 August 1991

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 687 (1991), and its other resolutions on this matter,

Recalling the letter of 11 April 1991 from the President of the Security Council to the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations (S/22485) noting that on the basis of Iraq's written agreement (S/22456) to implement fully resolution 687 (1991) the preconditions established in paragraph 33 of that resolution for a cease-fire had been met,

Noting with grave concern the letters dated 26 June 1991 (S/22739), 28 June 1991 (S/22743) and 4 July 1991 (S/22761) from the Secretary-General, conveying information obtained from the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission and the Director-General of the IAEA which establishes Iraq's failure to comply with its obligations under resolution 687 (1991),

Recalling further the statement issued by the President of the Security Council on 28 June 1991 (S/22746) requesting that a high-level mission consisting of the Chairman of the Special Commission, the Director-General of the IAEA, and the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs be dispatched to meet with

officials at the highest levels of the Government of Iraq at the earliest opportunity to obtain written assurance that Iraq will fully and immediately cooperate in the inspection of the locations identified by the Special Commission and present for immediate inspection any of those items that may have been transported from those locations,

Dismayed by the report of the high-level mission to the Secretary-General (S/22761) on the results of its meetings with the highest levels of the Iraqi Government,

Gravely concerned by the information provided to the Council by the Special Commission and the IAEA on 15 July 1991 (S/22788) and 25 July 1991 (S/22837) regarding the actions of the Government of Iraq in flagrant violation of resolution 687 (1991),

Gravely concerned also by the evidence in the letter of 7 July 1991 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iraq to the Secretary-General and in subsequent statements and findings that Iraq's notifications of 18 and 28 April were incomplete and that it had concealed activities, which both constituted material breaches of its obligations under resolution 687 (1991),

Noting also from the letters dated 26 June 1991 (S/22739), 28 June 1991 (S/22743) and 4 July 1991 (S/22761) from the Secretary-General that Iraq has not fully complied with all of its undertakings relating to the privileges, immunities and facilities to be accorded to the Special Commission and the IAEA inspection teams mandated under resolution 687 (1991),

Affirming that in order for the Special Commission to carry out its mandate under paragraph 9 (b) (i), (ii) and (iii) of resolution 687 (1991) to inspect Iraq's chemical and biological weapons and ballistic missile capabilities and to take possession of them for destruction, removal or rendering harmless, full disclosure on the part of Iraq as required in paragraph 9 (a) of resolution 687 (1991) is essential,

Affirming that in order for the IAEA with the assistance and cooperation of the Special Commission, to determine what nuclear-weapons-usable material or any subsystems or components or any research, development, support or manufacturing facilities related to them need, in accordance with paragraph 13 of resolution 687 (1991), to be destroyed, removed or rendered harmless, Iraq is required to make a declaration of all its nuclear programmes including any which it claims are for purposes not related to nuclear-weapons-usable material,

Affirming that the aforementioned failures of Iraq to act in strict conformity with its obligations under resolution 687 (1991) constitutes a material breach of its acceptance of the relevant provisions or [of] resolution 687 (1991) which established a cease-fire and provided the conditions essential to the restoration of peace and security in the region,

Affirming further that Iraq's failure to comply with its safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency, concluded pursuant to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 1 July 1968, as established by the resolution of the Board of Governors of the IAEA of 18 July 1991 (GOV/2531), constitutes a breach of its international obligations,

Determined to ensure full compliance with resolution 687 (1991) and in particular its section C,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter,

1. Condemns Iraq's serious violation of a number of its obligations under section C of resolution 687 (1991) and of its undertakings to cooperate with the Special Commission and the IAEA, which constitutes a material breach of the relevant provisions of resolution 687 which established a cease-fire and provided the conditions essential to the restoration of peace and security in the region,

2. Further condemns non-compliance by the Government of Iraq with its obligations under its safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency, as established by the resolution of the Board of Governors of 18 July, which constitutes a violation of its commitments as a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 1 July 1968,

3. Demands that Iraq

(i) provide full, final and complete disclosure, as required by resolution 687 (1991), of all aspects of its programmes to develop weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles with a range greater than 150 kilometres, and of all holdings of such weapons, their components and production facilities and locations, as well as all other nuclear programmes, including any which it claims are for purposes not related to nuclear-weapons-usable material, without further delay,

(ii) allow the Special Commission, the IAEA and their Inspection Teams immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to any and all areas, facilities, equipment, records and means of transportation which they wish to inspect,

(iii) cease immediately any attempt to conceal, or any movement or destruction of any material or equipment relating to its nuclear, chemical or biological weapons or ballistic missile programmes, or material or equipment relating to its other nuclear activities without notification to and prior consent of the Special Commission,

(iv) make available immediately to the Special Commission, the IAEA and their Inspection Teams any items to which they were previously denied access,

(v) allow the Special Commission, the IAEA and their Inspection Teams to conduct both fixed wing and helicopter flights throughout Iraq for all relevant purposes including inspection, surveillance, aerial surveys, transportation and logistics without interference of any kind and upon such terms and conditions as may be determined by the Special Commission, and to make full use of their own aircraft and such airfields in Iraq as they may determine are most appropriate for the work of the Commission,

(vi) halt all nuclear activities of any kind, except for use of isotopes for medical, agricultural or industrial purposes until the Security Council determines that Iraq is in full compliance with this resolution and paragraphs 12 and 13 of resolution 687 (1991), and the IAEA determines that Iraq is in full compliance with its safeguards agreement with that Agency,

(vii) ensure the complete implementation of the privileges, immunities and facilities of the representatives of the Special Commission and the IAEA in accordance with its previous undertakings and their complete safety and freedom of movement,

(viii) immediately provide or facilitate the provision of any transportation, medical or logistical support requested by the Special Commission, the IAEA and their Inspection Teams,

(ix) respond fully, completely and promptly to any questions or requests from the Special Commission, the IAEA and their Inspection Teams,

4. Determines that Iraq retains no ownership interest in items to be destroyed, removed or rendered harmless pursuant to paragraph 12 of resolution 687 (1991),

5. Requires that the Government of Iraq forthwith comply fully and without delay with all its international obligations, including those set out in the present resolution, in resolution 687 (1991), in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 1 July 1968 and its safeguards agreement with the IAEA.

6. Decides to remain seized of this matter.

Source: United Nations Security Council Resolutions, http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/1991/scres91.htm.

83. Iraqi Letter to the United Nations, September 25, 1991, and the Security Council's Official Reply, September 27, 1991

Introduction

Under the terms of United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 687, passed on April 2, 1991, Iraq was obliged to permit UN inspectors unimpeded access to the country and all appropriate facilities to ensure its compliance with demands for the destruction of its stockpiles of and ability to manufacture chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons. The resolution also established the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) to supervise and inspect the Iraqi weapons program. By August 1991, it was clear that Iraqi officials were making every possible effort to conceal their stocks of nuclear materials and were seeking to debar representatives of the UN and the International Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA) from entering related facilities within Iraq. Security Council Resolution 707 of August 15, 1991, reaffirmed the determination of the UN to ensure that Iraq was not equipping itself with such weapons and once again demanded that Iran grant all inspection teams unimpeded access to all its arsenals, stockpiles, manufacturing plants, and other appropriate venues. The following month, on September 24, 1991, Iraqi officials placed 44 nuclear inspectors whom the UN had dispatched to Baghdad under detention and forbade them to make copies of documents relating to nuclear weapons that they had unearthed. The incident quickly developed into a major international crisis. On September 25, 1991, Iraq's ambassador to the UN, Abdul Amir al-Anbari, wrote to the president of the Security Council, Jean-Bernard Mérimée, demanding that Rolf Ekéus, UNSCOM's director, visit Baghdad within 48 hours to resolve the situation. Anbari announced that Iraq would not permit inspectors to enter into the record submitted to the UN documents that were unacceptable to Iraq. He also claimed that UNSCOM was dominated by Americans, who were simply seeking to implement their own government's policies in disregard of UN Security Council resolutions. In response, the Security Council deplored Iraq's repeated breaches of Resolutions 687 and 707 and expressed its confidence in UNSCOM. It did, however, state that it had no objection in principle to a joint Iraqi-UNSCOM inventory of documents and weapons-related materials. For more than a decade, the issue of Iraq's continuing efforts to develop weapons of mass destruction would further bedevil its relations with the UN and the United States. Between 1991 and 1995, UNSCOM personnel discovered evidence of a massive Iraqi effort to develop biological and nuclear weapons and confiscated large quantities of weapons-related materials. In 1996 UNSCOM blew up a germ warfare center in al-Hakam. Some UNSCOM employees believed that by the late 1990s their efforts had seriously crippled Iraq's

ability to develop weapons of mass destruction, while others were more skeptical. Iraq's persistent interest in acquiring such weapons was, however, a major factor in the continued imposition of UN economic sanctions well into the 21st century, until President Saddam Hussein and his government were finally overthrown.

Primary Source

Mr. President,

On instructions from my Government, I have the honor to inform you as follows:

1. With a view to solving the problem [of the detainment of the inspectors] satisfactorily and avoiding any difficulties, Iraq wishes Mr. Rolf Ekeus to go to Baghdad so that we may discuss with him ways of remedying the current situation and so that the modalities for the use of German helicopters may be considered.

2. Should Mr. Ekeus not go to Baghdad within 48 hours, the Iraqi authorities insist that the Iraqi side and the inspection team jointly draw up a record of all the documents and photographs taken by the team before the team is authorized to remove anything whatsoever from the site.

3. The Iraqi authorities do not and will not acknowledge any document or photograph that has not been entered in the record jointly drawn up by the two parties. Any allegation based on documents or photographs that have not been entered in the joint record will be indicative of a premeditated intention to prejudice Iraq's interests.

Iraq once again strongly protests at the inspection team's actions, particularly those of the leader of the team, Mr. David Kay. Moreover, we reiterate what we have already indicated to Mr. Rolf Ekeus, namely, that the main source of the difficulties being encountered is the fact that inspection missions are entrusted to a large number of United States nationals. These United States nationals simply implement the policies of their Government, which persists in violating both the letter and the spirit of the resolutions of the Security Council and imposes its hostile policies on the Iraqi leadership.

Thank you,

Abdul Amir al-Anbari,

Iraqi Ambassador to the United Nations

Mr. Abdul Amir al-Anbari,

In reply to your letter dated 25 September 1991, I have the honor to inform you on behalf of the Security Council of the following:

1. The Council deplores Iraq's repeated violations of its obligations under resolutions 687 and 707 and reiterates its demand that the inspectors of the Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency be released immediately with all the material they hold. The Council has no objection to the immediate establishment in this particular case of a joint inventory, in the presence of Iraqi officials, enabling the inspection team to fulfill the responsibility entrusted to it by the Security Council.

2. Mr. Ekeus has already contacted your mission on the modalities and scheduling of the next inspection missions, which will use helicopters of the Special Commission.

3. The Council reaffirms its strong support for the items of the Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency, whose members are highly conscious of their responsibilities as international civil servants and are performing difficult tasks with the full authority of the Security Council in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Thank you,

Jean-Bernard Mérimée,

President, United Nations Security Council

Source: "Texts of Iraqi Letter to U.N. and the Council President's Reply," *New York Times,* http://www.nytimes.com/1991/09/27/world/texts-of-iraqi-letter-to-un-and-the-council-president-s-reply.html?pagewanted=1.

84. President Bill Clinton, Address to the Nation on the Strike on Iraqi Intelligence Headquarters, June 26, 1993, and Letter to Congressional Leaders on the Strike on Iraqi Intelligence Headquarters, June 28, 1993 [Excerpts]

Introduction

President Saddam Hussein of Iraq may well have regarded his country's defeat in the 1991 Persian Gulf War as almost a personal insult on the part of President George H. W. Bush, justifying Hussein in launching a vendetta. In April 1993, three months after leaving office, Bush visited Kuwait City, a trip intended to celebrate his role in winning the war. That month Kuwaiti authorities arrested 16 individuals, including 2 Iraqis, whom they claimed

were the leaders in a plot sponsored by the Iraqi government to mount a car bomb assassination attack against Bush during his time in Kuwait. By May, reports of the alleged assassination conspiracy had surfaced in the U.S. press, generating growing pressure for appropriate retaliation from Congress, State Department officials, and allied Arab governments, particularly that of Saudi Arabia. In late June 1993 Democratic president Bill Clinton, facing steadily increasing demands that he respond forcefully to the international affront to the U.S. government that such a plot represented, authorized American air strikes on Iraqi intelligence headquarters in Baghdad, where the scheme to kill Bush had allegedly originated. In a televised address to the nation, Clinton defended his decision to order American naval vessels in the Persian Gulf to fire 23 Tomahawk cruise missiles, each carrying 1,000 pounds of high explosives, against this target. Eight civilians died in the operation, a collateral death toll that its architects considered acceptable. Clinton argued that this demonstration was needed to convince Hussein that the United States would respond strongly to all provocations and would not tolerate revenge attacks on its leaders. In a letter to the U.S. Congress two days later informing that body of an operation whose notification to Congress was required under the 1973 War Powers Act, Clinton justified his action as a necessary, "limited and proportionate action" undertaken by the United States in self-defense. The air strikes were dramatic proof that the new presidential administration would take a hard line against any Iraqi provocations. In the early 21st century, journalists and others continued to debate whether Hussein or his intelligence service had indeed been involved in the plot against Bush. No conclusive evidence either proving or disproving such allegations has yet emerged.

Primary Source

June 26, 1993

My fellow Americans, this evening I want to speak with you about an attack by the Government of Iraq against the United States and the actions we have just taken to respond.

This past April, the Kuwaiti Government uncovered what they suspected was a car bombing plot to assassinate former President George Bush while he was visiting Kuwait City. The Kuwaiti authorities arrested 16 suspects, including 2 Iraqi nationals. Following those arrests, I ordered our own intelligence and law enforcement agencies to conduct a thorough and independent investigation. Over the past several weeks, officials from those agencies reviewed a range of intelligence information, traveled to Kuwait and elsewhere, extensively interviewed the suspects, and thoroughly examined the forensic evidence.

This Thursday, Attorney General Reno and Director of Central Intelligence Woolsey gave me their findings. Based on their investigation there is compelling evidence that there was, in fact, a plot to assassinate former President Bush and that this plot, which included the use of a powerful bomb made in Iraq, was directed and pursued by the Iraqi intelligence service.

We should not be surprised by such deeds, coming as they do from a regime like Saddam Hussein's, which is ruled by atrocity, slaughtered its own people, invaded two neighbors, attacked others, and engaged in chemical and environmental warfare. Saddam has repeatedly violated the will and conscience of the international community. But this attempt at revenge by a tyrant against the leader of the world coalition that defeated him in war is particularly loathsome and cowardly. We thank God it was unsuccessful. The authorities who foiled it have the appreciation of all Americans.

It is clear that this was no impulsive or random act. It was an elaborate plan devised by the Iraqi Government and directed against a former President of the United States because of actions he took as President. As such, the Iraqi attack against President Bush was an attack against our country and against all Americans. We could not and have not let such action against our Nation go unanswered.

From the first days of our Revolution, America's security has depended on the clarity of this message: Don't tread on us. A firm and commensurate response was essential to protect our sovereignty, to send a message to those who engage in state-sponsored terrorism, to deter further violence against our people, and to affirm the expectation of civilized behavior among nations.

Therefore, on Friday I ordered our forces to launch a cruise missile attack on the Iraqi intelligence service's principal command-and-control facility in Baghdad. Those missiles were launched this afternoon at 4:22 eastern daylight time. They landed approximately an hour ago. I have discussed this action with the congressional leadership and with our allies and friends in the region. And I have called for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council to expose Iraq's crime.

These actions were directed against the Iraqi Government, which was responsible for the assassination plot. Saddam Hussein has demonstrated repeatedly that he will resort to terrorism or aggression if left unchecked. Our intent was to target Iraq's capacity to support violence against the United States and other nations and to deter Saddam Hussein from supporting such outlaw behavior in the future. Therefore, we directed our action against the facility associated with Iraq's support of terrorism, while making every effort to minimize the loss of innocent life.

There should be no mistake about the message we intend these actions to convey to Saddam Hussein, to the rest of the Iraqi leadership, and to any nation, group, or person who would harm our leaders or our citizens. We will combat terrorism. We will deter aggression. We will protect our people.

The world has repeatedly made clear what Iraq must do to return to the community of nations. And Iraq has repeatedly refused. If Saddam and his regime contemplate further illegal provocative actions, they can be certain of our response.

[. . .]

Finally, I want to say this to all the American people: While the cold war has ended, the world is not free of danger. And I am determined to take the steps necessary to keep our Nation secure. We will keep our forces ready to fight. We will work to head off emerging threats, and we will take action when action is required. That is precisely what we have done today.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on the Strike on Iraqi Intelligence Headquarters June 28, 1993

Commencing at approximately 4:22 p.m. (EST) on June 26, 1993, at my direction, U.S. naval forces launched a Tomahawk cruise missile strike on the Iraqi Intelligence Service's (IIS) principal command and control complex in Baghdad. This facility is the headquarters for the IIS, which planned the failed attempt to assassinate former President Bush during his visit to Kuwait in April of this year. This U.S. military action was completed upon impact of the missiles on target at approximately 6 p.m. (EST).

Operating under the United States Central Command, two U.S. Navy surface ships launched a total of 23 precision-guided Tomahawk missiles in this coordinated strike upon the key facilities in the IIS compound. The USS PETERSON (DD 969) launched 14 missiles from its position in the Red Sea, while the USS CHANCELLORSVILLE (CG 62) in the Arabian Gulf launched nine missiles. The timing of this operation, with missiles striking at approximately 2:00 a.m. local Iraqi time, was chosen carefully so as to minimize risks to innocent civilians. Initial reports indicate that heavy damage was inflicted on the complex. Regrettably, there were some collateral civilian casualties.

I ordered this military response only after I considered the results of a thorough and independent investigation by U.S. intelligence and law enforcement agencies. The reports by Attorney General Reno and Director of Central Intelligence Woolsey provided compelling evidence that the operation that threatened the life of President Bush in Kuwait City in April was directed and pursued by the Iraqi Intelligence Service and that the Government of Iraq bore direct responsibility for this effort. The Government of Iraq acted unlawfully in attempting to carry out Saddam Hussein's threats against former President Bush because of actions he took as President. The evidence of the Government of Iraq's violence and terrorism demonstrates that Iraq poses a continuing threat to United States nationals and shows utter disregard for the will of the international community as expressed in Security Council Resolutions and the United Nations Charter. Based on the Government of Iraq's pattern of disregard for international law, I concluded that there was no reasonable prospect that new diplomatic initiatives or economic measures could influence the current Government of Iraq to cease planning future attacks against the United States.

Consequently, in the exercise of our inherent right of self-defense as recognized in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter and pursuant to my constitutional authority with respect to the conduct of foreign relations and as Commander in Chief, I ordered a military strike that directly targeted a facility Iraqi intelligence implicated in the plot against the former Chief Executive. In accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, this action was reported immediately to the Security Council on June 26. On June 27, Ambassador Albright provided evidence of Iraq's assassination attempts to the United Nations Security Council, which had been convened in emergency session at our request.

I am certain that you share my sincere hope that the limited and proportionate action taken by the United States Government will frustrate and help deter and preempt future unlawful actions on the part of the Government of Iraq. Nonetheless, in the event that Iraqi violence, aggression, or state-sponsored terrorism against the United States continues, I will direct such additional measures in our exercise of the right of self-defense as may be necessary and appropriate to protect United States citizens.

[. . .]

Source: William J. Clinton, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: William J. Clinton, 1993,* Book 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1994), 938–941.

85. Richard Shelby, Speech and Report on the Persian Gulf War Syndrome, March 17, 1994 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Numerous soldiers who served in the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf War, up to 30 percent of the 700,000 American servicemen in the theater and a substantial number of the British contingent, reported suffering a wide range of often baffling health problems in the aftermath of that conflict. These included fatigue, headaches, memory problems, muscle and joint pains, digestive difficulties, impaired vision, hair loss, skin problems, and shortness of breath and respiratory problems. It was also suggested that veterans of the war were more susceptible to immune system disorders, brain and other cancers, amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, fibromyalgia, and infertility and that their children were more

likely to suffer from birth defects. Some specialists believed that these problems were related to Persian Gulf War military personnel's exposure, probably at relatively low levels, to a variety of toxins, including an antianthrax vaccine commonly used to protect soldiers from exposure to potential biological weapons; chemical weapons using nerve gas and mustard gas covertly employed by Saddam Hussein's forces against coalition units; chemicals released due to coalition bombing attacks on Iraqi industrial plants and arsenals of chemical weapons; pesticides and insect repellents; drugs used to provide coalition soldiers with protection against nerve gases; and by-products of combustion by depleted uranium antitank ammunition. Three years after the war, Senator Richard Shelby of Alabama, a Democrat who later switched to the Republican Party, submitted a lengthy report to Congress on the possibility that chemical and biological weapons used in the Persian Gulf War theater were responsible for the inexplicable and sometimes devastatingly debilitating illnesses that many veterans reported suffering. Although the Department of Defense remained reluctant to admit the links, there appeared to be at least a strong possibility that some troops in the war had been exposed to chemical or biological agents, permanently affecting their health. Shelby's report presented considerable evidence that on numerous occasions during the conflict and the buildup preceding it military authorities had detected the presence of chemical agents and had sought further detailed information from the Defense Department on the subject. By the mid-2000s, official studies in both the United States and Great Britain suggested that Persian Gulf War veterans in both countries did show higher rates of assorted health difficulties than was the case among control groups who had not served there.

Primary Source

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, I am here today to issue a report following my investigation into the possible presence of chemical and biological weapons agents in the theater of operations during the Persian Gulf war. Additionally, I will discuss the possible connection between service in the Persian Gulf and the unexplained illness affecting thousands of veterans and their families.

When Iraqi forces, at the direction of Saddam Hussein, crossed into Kuwait on August 2, 1990, they set off a chain reaction of events that resulted in the assembling of the largest coalition of forces since the Second World War. Countries that had been on opposite sides of the cold war were now joined with the expressed goal of driving Saddam Hussein's troops out of Kuwait.

The United States led this effort with over 600,000 members of our armed services, including over 200,000 reservists.

At the time of the Iraqi invasion, there was a strong belief among the coalition forces that chemical and even biological agents would be used as weapons by Iraq.

Within a year after the highly successful Desert Storm operation, reports surfaced of a mystery illness affecting many veterans, primarily members of the National Guard and Reserve, who served in Saudi Arabia.

This group is experiencing symptoms commonplace to many known illnesses. However, in the case of the Gulf War veterans, we have not been able to diagnose the causes of the illnesses and the illnesses themselves have not responded to any known treatments.

I have seen firsthand the devastating, frustrating, and debilitating effects that this illness has had on many of these veterans. Citizens who were once healthy and able bodied can no longer hold jobs or participate as active members of society.

Little progress has been made even though Congress mandated the establishment of a Desert Shield–Desert Storm registry, and treatment centers were created for the Gulf war syndrome. Veterans, increasingly frustrated by the inability of the Department of Veterans Affairs to treat their illness, began to seek treatment outside of the Department of Defense and Department of Veterans Affairs medical community.

My involvement in this issue has spanned 2 years.

Early on, I met with a group of veterans after a town meeting that I held and pledged that I would do everything in my power to get them proper treatment and to find the causes of their ailments.

The anxiety and fear experienced by our ill veterans was intensified throughout this period by constant reports in foreign and domestic media about the presence of chemical weapons agents during the Gulf war.

I cannot imagine a greater fear than that experienced by someone who suffers from a mysterious illness and believes it may have been caused by exposure to chemical weapons.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Force Requirements and Personnel of the Senate Armed Services Committee, I heard from afflicted veterans and saw first-hand the symptoms of these ailments.

Following this hearing, Dr. Charles Jackson of the Tuskegee Alabama Veterans Medical Center diagnosed a patient as suffering from Gulf war syndrome and chemical-biological warfare exposure. In response to this announcement and pressure from Congress, the Department of Veterans Affairs established a pilot program to test Persian Gulf veterans for possible exposure to chemical weapons agents.

As a result of these events, Senator Sam Nunn, chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, sent me, along with people on our

staff and the people from DOD, to Europe and then to the Middle East to investigate the possible presence of chemical and biological weapon agents during Operation Desert Storm, as well as the possible connection between service in the Persian Gulf and the unexplained illness affecting thousands of veterans.

Mr. President, I went to Europe to determine the validity of the two then reported detections of chemical warfare agents by Czech soldiers.

Instead, there were not only two, but five separate detections of chemical weapons agents in the Persian Gulf.

No one with whom I spoke could provide a solution to the mysterious illness; however, they could not rule out a possible link between the presence of chemical agents and the gulf war syndrome. Only the U.S. Department of Defense and the British Government have denied that chemical agents could have caused the illness.

In light of my involvement, I have come to five major conclusions which I would like to share with you today.

First, I have no doubt that chemical agents, accurately verified by the Czech chemical detection units, were present in the theater of operations during the Persian Gulf war.

Both Czech and French forces detected and verified the presence of nerve and mustard agents at low levels during Desert Storm.

Second, we may never be able to determine the origin of these chemical agents. While, I believe that we can rule out Iraqi Scud or Frog missiles, and Iraqi artillery, there still exists several possibilities. For example, the low-level chemical presence could have resulted from United States or coalition forces bombing Iraqi chemical weapons facilities or caches of Iraqi weapons on the Saudi border.

It is also feasible that a cloud of nerve agent, dissipating in intensity, could have traveled under the correct climate conditions.

There is also the possibility of a training accident involving chemical agents among coalition forces. Finally, it is possible that the detections were the result of Saudi officials attempting to test the abilities of the Czechs whom they had engaged to assist in chemical detections.

Third, although a direct connection between the existence of low-levels of chemical agents in the theater of operations and the Persian Gulf syndrome cannot be established at this time, such a connection cannot and should not be discounted. Little information is available on exposure to low levels of chemical agents, but I believe that the work being done at Walter Reed Army Medical Center is on the right track in this area. We must give it our full support.

Fourth, the Department of Defense has proven reluctant to pursue or, in certain instances, to provide the information necessary to prove or disapprove allegations about the presence of chemical agents in the theater of operations. After my contact with our allies, we found that various chemical detections were reported to central command headquarters and were included in operational logs. Only then, and after traveling half-way around the world, did Department of Defense officials admit that they had been aware of these same instances.

While I have not yet determined the reason for this apparent aversion to full disclosure by DOD, the staff working on this issue from our committee has been constantly challenged by the Department's evasiveness, inconsistency, and reluctance to work toward a common goal here.

Finally, Mr. President, and I believe alarmingly, the Persian Gulf medical records of members of the 24th Naval Reserve Battalion are inexplicably missing from their files.

Mr. President, despite the Czech and French detections and numerous reports, the Department of Defense is still reluctant to admit that there were chemical weapons agents present in the Persian Gulf. I cannot understand why they have taken this stand since we fully expected to be confronted with chemical weapons when we went there.

I can only conclude, Mr. President, that when dealing with the Department of Defense on this issue, you have to ask the right question to receive the right answer. I do not believe they understand that we are only seeking the truth in a way to help our veterans. Therefore, I am going to continue to ask question after question until we find the right answer from DOD.

[. . .]

Source: U.S. Congress, "Senator Shelby's Conclusions on the Persian Gulf Syndrome," U.S. Government Printing Office, http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CREC-1994-03-17/html/CREC-1994-03-17-pt1-PgS7.htm.

86. United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan, Report on the Situation in Afghanistan and Its Implications for International Peace, November 14, 1997 [Excerpts]

Introduction

By 1997, the persistent civil war in Afghanistan seemed an almost intractable problem. Even after the Islamic fundamentalist Taliban

mujahideen took power in late 1996, fighting between them and their rivals continued unabated. Appeals from the international community and from the United Nations (UN) Special Mission to Afghanistan urging all sides to negotiate a cease-fire proved unavailing. In November 1997 UN secretary-general Kofi Annan issued a report on Afghanistan in which he made his frustration over the Afghan situation extremely clear. Afghanistan, he charged, was "a place where even responsible local political authorities, let alone a central government, have virtually ceased to exist." Warring factions had been unable to compromise with each other. "Even today," he complained, "the Afghan parties seem determined to go on fighting, while outside Powers continue to provide material, financial and other support to their respective clients inside Afghanistan." While some of the "major Powers" had begun to demonstrate interest in resolving the Afghan morass, they "had yet to demonstrate the necessary degree of determination to move the situation forward." The secretary-general laid the blame for continuing conflict impartially on "the Afghan factions," who were doing the actual fighting, and their various international supporters, who "all enthusiastically proclaim their support to the United Nations peacemaking efforts but at the same time continue to fan the conflict by pouring in arms, money and other supplies to their preferred Afghan factions." He believed that if the conflict was to be ended, all outside suppliers would have to impose and observe a complete arms embargo on Afghanistan. Should this occur, he hoped that it might prove the first step in negotiating a cease-fire and then a permanent settlement. The secretary-general believed that foreign governments could, if they wished, encourage these developments, and he discerned some faint signs that they might be prepared to do so. Otherwise, in his frank if undiplomatic opinion, "the role of the United Nations in Afghanistan is little more than that of an alibi to provide cover for the inaction—or worse—of the international community at large." Forceful and bluntly uncompromising in its portrayal of a deteriorating Afghan situation and in its allocation of blame among the parties concerned, the report suggested a depressing level of Afghan and international collusion in the continuation of brutal civil conflict in that country.

Primary Source

The Situation in Afghanistan and Its Implications for International Peace and Security

[. . .]

II. Recent Developments in Afghanistan

A. Military situation

4. The military balance between the Afghan warring factions see-sawed wildly in 1997. The factions fought hard for control of northern Afghanistan and the northern approaches to Kabul. However, despite the expenditure of large quantities of externally supplied ammunition and equipment, and the loss of many lives and the displacement of civilian populations, neither side succeeded in recording sizeable gains of territory or significant political advantage. By early November 1997, the predominantly Pushtun Taliban continued to hold approximately two thirds of the country but had not been able to capture the territories in the north, which are largely populated by the Tajik, Uzbek and Hazara ethnic groups.

5. The Afghan antagonists were the Taliban and the five-party Northern Alliance which is formally known as the Islamic and National Front for the Salvation of Afghanistan. The Taliban continued to control most provinces in the south, south-west and south-east, including Kabul and the cities of Kandahar, Herat and Jalalabad. The Northern Alliance, which operated from the provincial capitals of Mazar-i-Sharif, Bamyan, Taloqan and Maimana, was in control of the provinces in northern and central Afghanistan. . . .

[. . .]

9. Severe fighting broke out again in September when the Taliban, supported by defections of local Pushtun commanders, renewed their attempt to take Mazar-i-Sharif. However, like their first attempt in May, the Taliban's initial gains were wiped out by counter-attacks and defections from the Taliban side.

Both military and civilian casualties were high, with an estimated 2,000 Taliban troops either killed or captured since May. In the fighting east of Mazar, both sides overran a refugee camp of some 7,000 displaced Tajik nationals, causing several deaths and injuries and creating a situation of near panic among the refugees. Fighting continued for control of the northern city of Kunduz, which has been in the hands of the Taliban or pro-Taliban independent commanders since May 1997.

10. In the central region, sporadic fighting continued between the Taliban and Hezb-i-Wahdat faction. Taliban aircraft attacked Bamyan several times in July and August. In this connection, I should like to draw the special attention of the international community to the fact that the continued fighting in Afghanistan has had devastating effects not only on its people but also on its vast reservoir of rich cultural heritage. A case in point was the recent incident in which a bomb blast near the larger of the two great Buddha statues in Bamyan caused some damage to the head of the statue.

11. In the west, fighting occurred in the Morghab river area in Badghis province but with little change in frontline positions. The Herat, Kandahar and Jalalabad regions were generally calm.

B. Political situation

12. As the fighting continued, the political situation in Afghanistan remained deadlocked. The deepening division of the country along ethnic lines, reinforced by external military and political support, continued to inhibit efforts to engender political dialogue among the factions. Throughout 1997, neither the Taliban nor its rivals appear to have given serious consideration to a political, as opposed to a military, solution to the conflict.

13. An unsettled leadership problem within the Northern Alliance also affected the political environment. Infighting was most pronounced in the predominantly Uzbek Jumbish movement, whose leader, General Dostum, was forced into exile in Turkey for four months by his rival, General Malik, after the latter's short-lived defection to the Taliban in May. While General Malik subsequently turned against the Taliban and helped to drive its forces out of Mazar, the return of General Dostum to Afghanistan on 12 September led to further political uncertainty in the north. Adding to the complex leadership problem was the death of newly designated Prime Minister Abdul Rahim Ghafoorzai in an aircraft accident at Bamyan airport in August.

14. The humanitarian and political activities of the United Nations in the Mazar-i-Sharif area were seriously disrupted by the renewed fighting and subsequent chaos, including explicit threats to United Nations personnel and the repeated looting of United Nations offices and equipment. At one point, some Afghan officials in Mazar falsely accused United Nations personnel of collaborating with the Taliban in directing its aerial attacks on the city and threatened them with retribution. Looted (and repainted) United Nations vehicles are brazenly used by local factions. I am extremely concerned by all of this, as well as by the refusal of General Malik to allow the International Committee of the Red Cross to visit the Taliban prisoners captured in May, a state of affairs that, as he has been informed on many occasions, is completely unacceptable to the United Nations and the international community at large.

15. Of similar concern is the Taliban's refusal to start negotiations with the Northern Alliance as a whole without preconditions, as well as its social and administrative practices. The mistreatment of girls and women, such as the denial of their rights to employment, health care and education, is especially worrying. Furthermore, Afghanistan has become the world's largest producer of heroin, with the vast majority of the poppies used for that purpose cultivated in areas controlled by the Taliban. The United Nations International Drug Control Programme recently announced that the Taliban had agreed to work out ways and means to eliminate poppy cultivation. I sincerely hope that the Taliban will ensure that the agreement is implemented faithfully and effectively.

16. The Taliban have made new efforts during 1997 to gain international recognition and support. Taliban representatives undertook a series of missions abroad, in particular to East Asia, the Gulf region and the United States of America. While the Governments of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates recognized the Taliban as the legitimate government of Afghanistan in May, other Governments have withheld their decision to extend de jure recognition.

17. Member States, in particular the countries surrounding Afghanistan, continue to express concern and frustration about the continuing civil war. Of particular concern to them are the negative implications of prolonged warfare and the imposition of an ultra-orthodox Islamic State on their borders.

[. . .]

18. Foreign military support to the two sides continued unabated throughout 1997. Reliable eyewitnesses reported many sorties of military deliveries in unmarked aircraft to bases of the Northern Alliance, as well as numerous deliveries by truck caravans of arms, ammunition and fuel to Taliban-controlled territory. United Nations employees also reported an encounter with an unidentified foreign military training unit of several hundred persons near Kabul. Such blatant violations of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions which call for a halt to foreign military intervention seriously undermine United Nations peacemaking efforts and serve to prolong the Afghan conflict. They also raised suspicions and worsened relations among the countries in the region.

[. . .]

V. Observations and Conclusions

36. Afghanistan, which was once a flashpoint of super-Power rivalry, has since become a typical post–cold war regional and ethnic conflict, where the major Powers no longer see a strategic incentive to get involved. It has also become a place where even responsible local political authorities, let alone a central government, have virtually ceased to exist. Herein lies much of the explanation why repeated international attempts to bring peace to the country have not borne fruit.

37. Since the early 1990s, the Afghan factions and warlords have failed to show the will to rise above their narrow factional interests and to start working together for national reconciliation. The United Nations successfully mediated the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan in the late 1980s. But, although the Najibullah regime was ready to hand over power to a broad-based transition mechanism, the Mujahideen parties were unable to agree among themselves on how to form such a mechanism. Their disagreements escalated to the point where Kabul was plunged into chaos and bloodshed once the Najibullah regime collapsed in April 1992. Since that time, the situation has only become worse.

38. Even today, the Afghan parties seem determined to go on fighting, while outside Powers continue to provide material, financial and other support to their respective clients inside Afghanistan. Meanwhile, although those major Powers that have potential influence in Afghanistan have recently started to show interest, they have yet to demonstrate the necessary degree of determination to move the situation forward.

39. In these circumstances, it is illusory to think that peace can be achieved. How can peace be imposed on faction leaders who are determined to fight it out to the finish and who receive seemingly unlimited supplies of arms from outside sponsors? It is this continued support from some outside Powers—combined with the apathy of the others who are not directly involved—which has strengthened the belief among the warlords and parties in Afghanistan that they can achieve their political, religious and social goals by force.

Responsibility of the Afghans

40. The Afghans, perhaps, understandably, are reluctant to accept responsibility for the repeated failures to put an end to their conflict. Nevertheless, the Afghan people cannot just simply shift all responsibilities for the tragedy that has befallen their country onto others. Even if they receive help from outside, it is the Afghans themselves who are fighting one another. Peace will become possible when—and only when—they truly desire it and start to work seriously for it.

41. Much to my regret, the Afghan factions have so far failed to prove that they are willing to lay down their arms and cooperate with the United Nations for peace. To be sure, every side proclaims its readiness to work with the United Nations and accuses the other party or parties of bearing alone the responsibility for the continued fighting. However, at any given time there has always been at least one party that has thought it could achieve military victory over its opponents and that, consequently, has rebuffed efforts to negotiate a ceasefire and only shown a willingness to compromise once the military situation has been reversed and it feels under threat. At the same time, there always exist spoilers inside and outside the country who are much better off with the continuation of the problem than they would be with the solution, a classic situation in failed States where warlords, smugglers, terrorists, drug dealers and others thrive amid the conflict and would only lose out with the return of peace, law and order.

Foreign interference

42. A similar situation prevails with the main foreign providers of support to the Afghan warring parties. They all enthusiastically proclaim their support to the United Nations peacemaking efforts but at the same time continue to fan the conflict by pouring in arms, money and other supplies to their preferred Afghan factions. These countries unanimously denounce "foreign interference," but are quick to add that arms are delivered only to "the other side."

43. These external players may have their own reasons for continuing to support their respective Afghan clients, but they must be held responsible for exacerbating the bloody conflict in Afghanistan. They must also be held accountable for building a fire which, they should be aware, is unlikely to remain indefinitely confined to Afghanistan. Indeed, that fire is already spreading beyond the borders of Afghanistan, posing a serious threat to the region and beyond in the shape of terrorism, banditry, narcotics trafficking, refugee flows, and increasing ethnic and sectarian tension.

44. The supply of arms and other materials from outside provides the essential wherewithal for the continued fighting in Afghanistan. It is apparent, in the light of the evidence collected so far, that large quantities of war-making materials are entering Afghanistan. It is hard to accept the argument that the Afghan warring factions are able to sustain the current level of fighting using only "those weapons and ammunition left by the Soviet troops." Neither is it credible that, with their limited financial capacity, those Afghan factions could afford to procure massive amounts of weapons on the black market and smuggle them into Afghanistan on their own.

International framework for settlement of the conflict

45. The unabated supply of arms, and the divergence of ways in which the countries concerned seem to be dealing with the conflict, lead me to believe that a solid international framework must be established in order to address the external aspects of the Afghan question. Such a framework would provide the neighbours of Afghanistan and other countries with an opportunity to discuss the question of foreign interference in a coherent manner. The main objective would be to debate how those countries could help the United Nations bring the Afghan parties to the negotiating table, including effective and fair ways to curb the flow of arms and other war-making materials into Afghanistan. Such countries should also find a way to speak unanimously by coordinating their individual peace initiatives through the United Nations. Only in this way would they send a message to the Afghans that the international community meant to achieve peace in Afghanistan and that the warring factions could no longer count on outside support.

46. One of the ways to curb the flow of arms into Afghanistan would be the imposition of an effective arms embargo. Although such an embargo should not become an end in itself, it is necessary for the United Nations and Member States to undertake preliminary studies on how a mandatory arms embargo could be implemented in a fair and verifiable manner. If the cost estimates for

such an embargo proved to be too high, other ways would need to be found to end, or at least significantly reduce, the supply of arms and other materials to the warring factions. One possibility would be for the countries concerned to take voluntary, unilateral but concerted actions by themselves to stop, to the degree possible, the supply of a designated list of goods to Afghanistan. This, of course, would also need to be done in a manner that did not provide advantage to any group.

[. . .]

Intra-Afghan talks

49. Parallel to this, I intend to maintain through UNSMA and at United Nations Headquarters close contact with the warring parties, as well as with other influential Afghan individuals and organizations, with a view to preparing the ground for an intra-Afghan dialogue. Such a dialogue, if realized, should focus at first on a ceasefire, to be followed by political negotiations leading to the establishment of a broad-based representative government. It goes without saying that, for such a government to be acceptable, it should reflect the interests of all the major social, political and religious segments of the country. I take note in this context that several Member States have offered to host such a dialogue.

50. It is hoped that a ceasefire and the beginning of a dialogue—or even the mere prospects for one—would serve to create its own momentum and, after some time, make it difficult for anyone to resume fighting. It is also hoped that the ceasefire and talks would give a boost to the efforts of some Afghan groups and individuals to mobilize Afghan public opinion in favour of peace.

[. . .]

Conclusions

53. As described in the preceding sections of the present report, a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan remains elusive notwithstanding the untiring efforts of the United Nations to broker peace among the country's warring factions. In the meantime, Afghanistan's civil war has continued to exact a staggering toll in terms of human lives and suffering as well as material destruction. What we are witnessing is a seemingly endless tragedy of epic proportions in which the Afghan people's yearning for peace is being systematically and continually betrayed by leaders and warlords driven by selfish ambitions and thirst for power.

54. In earlier reports I have observed that the Afghan parties and their external supporters, while continuing to pursue military solutions, often also profess support for resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council calling for a peaceful settlement. Regrettably, their actions seldom seem to be motivated, however, by a desire to contribute to the implementation of those resolutions. Similarly, it is discouraging that with few exceptions, the international community as a whole has shown only limited interest in adopting tangible measures to discourage the Afghan parties and their outside supporters from pursuing their bellicose aims and objectives.

55. There is no doubt that a number of Governments both inside and outside the region would be in a favourable position, should they so decide, to encourage the Afghan parties to overcome their differences and seek a peaceful settlement.

It is also clear, however, that as long as those Governments choose not to exercise their influence with the parties in a positive and constructive manner, the efforts made by my representatives, however dedicated and skilled, will not suffice to bring peace to Afghanistan. Sadly, it could be argued that in these circumstances the role of the United Nations in Afghanistan is little more than that of an alibi to provide cover for the inaction—or worse—of the international community at large.

[. . .]

Source: United Nations General Assembly Official Records, A/52/682, November 14, 1997.

87. Project for the New American Century, "Remove Saddam Hussein from Power," Open Letter to President Bill Clinton, January 26, 1998

Introduction

By the late 1990s, members of the increasingly influential neoconservative think tanks in the United States were ever more eager to demonstrate American power by removing President Saddam Hussein of Iraq from power. In January 1998 the Washington-based think tank Project for the New American Century, established in the spring of 1997, issued an open letter to President Bill Clinton urging that he use his impending State of the Union address to announce "the removal of Saddam Hussein's regime from power" as a major U.S. strategic policy objective. The letter stated that "containment" of Hussein was no longer effective and that he was evading the regime of United Nations (UN) inspections intended to prevent Iraq from obtaining or manufacturing weapons of mass destruction. So long as Iraq was governed by

Hussein, the signatories argued, it would be a destabilizing factor in the Middle East, threatening "our friends and allies like Israel and the moderate Arab states" and jeopardizing "a significant portion of the world's supply of oil." Existing UN resolutions, the letter urged, gave the United States adequate authority to take forceful action to overthrow Hussein. Clinton confined his response to relatively limited air strikes against Iraq and the continuation of sanctions. Those signing the letter included R. James Woolsey, a past Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) director under Clinton, and former secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld as well as several well-known neoconservative pundits, notably William J. Bennett, Jeffrey Bergner, Francis Fukuyama, Robert Kagan, and William Kristol. Of its 17 signatories, 11 individuals subsequently held high National Security Council or State Department, Defense Department, or Commerce Department positions after Republican president George W. Bush took office in January 2001. The most influential among these appointees were Rumsfeld, secretary of defense from January 2001 until January 2007; Paul Wolfowitz, deputy secretary of defense throughout Bush's first term; and Richard Armitage, deputy secretary of state from 2001 to 2005.

Primary Source

We are writing you because we are convinced that current American policy toward Iraq is not succeeding, and that we may soon face a threat in the Middle East more serious than any we have known since the end of the Cold War. In your upcoming State of the Union Address, you have an opportunity to chart a clear and determined course for meeting this threat. We urge you to seize that opportunity, and to enunciate a new strategy that would secure the interests of the U.S. and our friends and allies around the world. That strategy should aim, above all, at the removal of Saddam Hussein's regime from power. We stand ready to offer our full support in this difficult but necessary endeavor.

The policy of "containment" of Saddam Hussein has been steadily eroding over the past several months. As recent events have demonstrated, we can no longer depend on our partners in the Gulf War coalition to continue to uphold the sanctions or to punish Saddam when he blocks or evades UN inspections. Our ability to ensure that Saddam Hussein is not producing weapons of mass destruction, therefore, has substantially diminished. Even if full inspections were eventually to resume, which now seems highly unlikely, experience has shown that it is difficult if not impossible to monitor Iraq's chemical and biological weapons production. The lengthy period during which the inspectors will have been unable to enter many Iraqi facilities has made it even less likely that they will be able to uncover all of Saddam's secrets. As a result, in the not-too-distant future we will be unable to determine with any reasonable level of confidence whether Iraq does or does not possess such weapons.

Such uncertainty will, by itself, have a seriously destabilizing effect on the entire Middle East. It hardly needs to be added that if Saddam does acquire the capability to deliver weapons of mass destruction, as he is almost certain to do if we continue along the present course, the safety of American troops in the region, of our friends and allies like Israel and the moderate Arab states, and a significant portion of the world's supply of oil will all be put at hazard. As you have rightly declared, Mr. President, the security of the world in the first part of the 21st century will be determined largely by how we handle this threat.

Given the magnitude of the threat, the current policy, which depends for its success upon the steadfastness of our coalition partners and upon the cooperation of Saddam Hussein, is dangerously inadequate. The only acceptable strategy is one that eliminates the possibility that Iraq will be able to use or threaten to use weapons of mass destruction. In the near term, this means a willingness to undertake military action as diplomacy is clearly failing. In the long term, it means removing Saddam Hussein and his regime from power. That now needs to become the aim of American foreign policy.

We urge you to articulate this aim, and to turn your Administration's attention to implementing a strategy for removing Saddam's regime from power. This will require a full complement of diplomatic, political and military efforts. Although we are fully aware of the dangers and difficulties in implementing this policy, we believe the dangers of failing to do so are far greater. We believe the U.S. has the authority under existing UN resolutions to take the necessary steps, including military steps, to protect our vital interests in the Gulf. In any case, American policy cannot continue to be crippled by a misguided insistence on unanimity in the UN Security Council.

We urge you to act decisively. If you act now to end the threat of weapons of mass destruction against the U.S. or its allies, you will be acting in the most fundamental national security interests of the country. If we accept a course of weakness and drift, we put our interests and our future at risk.

Sincerely,

Elliott Abrams	Richard L. Armitage	William J. Bennett
Jeffrey Bergner	John Bolton	Paula Dobriansky
Francis Fukuyama	Robert Kagan	Zalmay Khalilzad
William Kristol	Richard Perle	Peter W. Rodman
Donald Rumsfeld	William Schneider, Jr.	Vin Weber
Paul Wolfowitz	R. James Woolsey	Robert B. Zoellick

Source: "Letter to President Clinton," Project for the New American Century, http://www.newamericancentury.org/iraqclintonletter.htm.

88. World Islamic Front, "Jihad against Jews and Crusaders" Statement, February 23, 1998 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In August 1996 Osama bin Laden, leader of the militant Islamic group Al Qaeda, issued a fatwa, or declaration of religious warfare, that focused primarily upon driving the United States out of Saudi Arabia, the state of which he was a citizen. Eighteen months later, he was the moving spirit when an organization calling itself the World Islamic Front issued a second such statement. The signatories of this declaration included not just bin Laden but also Ayman al-Zawahiri, head of the Egypt-based Jihad Group; Abu-Yasir Rifa-I Ahmad Taha of the Egyptian Islamic Group; the Pakistani sheikh Mir Hamzah, secretary of the organization Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan; and Fazlul Rahman, head of the Bangladesh Jihad Movement. The four Egyptian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi groups were all relatively small, and the well-financed Al Qaeda constituted the backbone of the World Islamic Front. The new fatwa expanded the emphasis of the earlier pronouncement, condemning the policies of the United States toward Saudi Arabia and also U.S. support for Israel and the continuing American economic and military sanctions on Iraq. The World Islamic Front called on All Muslims "to kill the Americans and their allies—civilians and military"—wherever possible. The following August, Al Qaeda personnel simultaneously detonated car bombs close to the American embassies in two African capitals, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya. Some American diplomats and embassy employees died, but the majority of the victims were African passers-by in the neighboring streets. In Nairobi, 213 people died and around 4,000 people were injured, while in Dar es Salaam at least 12 people died and another 85 were wounded. Two weeks later, on August 20, 1998, U.S. president Bill Clinton responded by ordering Operation INFINITE REACH in which cruise missiles struck alleged Al Qaeda bases in Sudan and Afghanistan. Unfortunately, the outcome was somewhat anticlimactic. The hope was to kill bin Laden and some of his top lieutenants, but this objective failed. It also later transpired that one Sudanese target the missiles did destroy and the U.S. government initially described as a chemical weapons factory was instead a pharmaceutical plant producing medicines for civilian consumption.

Primary Source

Shaykh Usamah Bin-Muhammad Bin-Ladin
Ayman al-Zawahiri, amir of the Jihad Group in Egypt
Abu-Yasir Rifa'i Ahmad Taha, Egyptian Islamic Group
Shaykh Mir Hamzah, secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan
Fazlur Rahman, amir of the Jihad Movement in Bangladesh

Praise be to Allah, who revealed the Book, controls the clouds, defeats factionalism, and says in His Book: "But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and slay the pagans wherever ye find them, seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem (of war)"; and peace be upon our Prophet, Muhammad Bin-'Abdallah, who said: "I have been sent with the sword between my hands to ensure that no one but Allah is worshipped, Allah who put my livelihood under the shadow of my spear and who inflicts humiliation and scorn on those who disobey my orders."

The Arabian Peninsula has never—since Allah made it flat, created its desert, and encircled it with seas—been stormed by any forces like the crusader armies spreading in it like locusts, eating its riches and wiping out its plantations. All this is happening at a time in which nations are attacking Muslims like people fighting over a plate of food. In the light of the grave situation and the lack of support, we and you are obliged to discuss current events, and we should all agree on how to settle the matter.

No one argues today about three facts that are known to everyone; we will list them, in order to remind everyone:

First, for over seven years the United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places, the Arabian Peninsula, plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people, terrorizing its neighbors, and turning its bases in the Peninsula into a spearhead through which to fight the neighboring Muslim peoples.

If some people have in the past argued about the fact of the occupation, all the people of the Peninsula have now acknowledged it. The best proof of this is the Americans' continuing aggression against the Iraqi people using the Peninsula as a staging post, even though all its rulers are against their territories being used to that end, but they are helpless.

Second, despite the great devastation inflicted on the Iraqi people by the crusader-Zionist alliance, and despite the huge number of those killed, which has exceeded 1 million . . . despite all this, the Americans are once again trying to repeat the horrific massacres, as though they are not content with the protracted blockade imposed after the ferocious war or the fragmentation and devastation.

So here they come to annihilate what is left of this people and to humiliate their Muslim neighbors.

Third, if the Americans' aims behind these wars are religious and economic, the aim is also to serve the Jews' petty state and divert attention from its occupation of Jerusalem and murder of Muslims there. The best proof of this is their eagerness to destroy Iraq, the strongest neighboring Arab state, and their endeavor to fragment all the states of the region such as Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Sudan into paper statelets and through their disunion

and weakness to guarantee Israel's survival and the continuation of the brutal crusade occupation of the Peninsula.

All these crimes and sins committed by the Americans are a clear declaration of war on Allah, his messenger, and Muslims. And ulema have throughout Islamic history unanimously agreed that the jihad is an individual duty if the enemy destroys the Muslim countries. . . .

On that basis, and in compliance with Allah's order, we issue the following fatwa to all Muslims:

The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies—civilians and military—is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy mosque [Mecca] from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim. This is in accordance with the words of Almighty Allah, "and fight the pagans all together as they fight you all together," and "fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in Allah."

This is in addition to the words of Almighty Allah: "And why should ye not fight in the cause of Allah and of those who, being weak, are ill-treated (and oppressed)?—women and children, whose cry is: 'Our Lord, rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from thee one who will help!'"

We—with Allah's help—call on every Muslim who believes in Allah and wishes to be rewarded to comply with Allah's order to kill the Americans and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it. We also call on Muslim ulema, leaders, youths, and soldiers to launch the raid on Satan's U.S. troops and the devil's supporters allying with them, and to displace those who are behind them so that they may learn a lesson.

[. . .]

Source: "Jihad against Jews and Crusaders. World Islamic Front Statement," Federation of American Scientists, http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/docs/980223-fatwa.htm.

89. U.S. Congress, Iraq Liberation Act, October 31, 1998

Introduction

In the wake of President Saddam Hussein's expulsion of United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) and International Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA) inspectors from Iraq, the U.S. Congress passed an act finding that Iraq was in breach of both the obligations it had accepted following the Persian Gulf War of United Nations (UN) Security Council resolutions. The Iraq Liberation Act (P.L. 105-338) detailed human rights abuses and repression by President Saddam Hussein against both foreign nationals and his own people. The preamble to the act also noted that on May 1, 1998, President Bill Clinton had signed Public Law 105-174, making US$5 million available to support Iraqi "democratic opposition" groups. Section 3 of the new act went further than this, stating forthrightly that "It should be the policy of the United States to support efforts to remove the regime headed by Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq and to promote the emergence of a democratic government to replace that regime." The new act authorized the president to designate appropriate "Iraqi democratic opposition organizations" to receive humanitarian, military, and broadcasting assistance, setting an upper limit of $97 million on such aid. Humanitarian assistance could be provided to areas of Iraq controlled by such organizations, and the act specifically envisaged providing such groups with military equipment and training. The act made the implementation of "regime change" the open and official policy of the U.S. government and also envisaged establishing a potential future international war crimes tribunal in Iraq "for the purpose of indicting, prosecuting, and imprisoning Saddam Hussein and other Iraqi officials who are responsible for crimes against humanity, genocide, and other criminal violations of international law." The House passed this act by 360 votes to 38, and it received unanimous support in the Senate. On February 4, 1999, President Clinton designated seven Iraqi opposition groups as qualifying for aid under the Iraq Liberation Act: the Iraqi National Accord, the Iraqi National Congress, the Islamic Movement of Iraqi Kurdistan, the Kurdistan Democratic Party, the Movement for Constitutional Monarchy, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, and the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq.

Primary Source

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the 'Iraq Liberation Act of 1998'.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

The Congress makes the following findings:

(1) On September 22, 1980, Iraq invaded Iran, starting an 8 year war in which Iraq employed chemical weapons against Iranian troops and ballistic missiles against Iranian cities.

(2) In February 1988, Iraq forcibly relocated Kurdish civilians from their home villages in the Anfal campaign, killing an estimated 50,000 to 180,000 Kurds.

(3) On March 16, 1988, Iraq used chemical weapons against Iraqi Kurdish civilian opponents in the town of Halabja, killing an

estimated 5,000 Kurds and causing numerous birth defects that affect the town today.

(4) On August 2, 1990, Iraq invaded and began a 7 month occupation of Kuwait, killing and committing numerous abuses against Kuwaiti civilians, and setting Kuwait's oil wells ablaze upon retreat.

(5) Hostilities in Operation Desert Storm ended on February 28, 1991, and Iraq subsequently accepted the ceasefire conditions specified in United Nations Security Council Resolution 687 (April 3, 1991) requiring Iraq, among other things, to disclose fully and permit the dismantlement of its weapons of mass destruction programs and submit to long-term monitoring and verification of such dismantlement.

(6) In April 1993, Iraq orchestrated a failed plot to assassinate former President George Bush during his April 14–16, 1993, visit to Kuwait.

(7) In October 1994, Iraq moved 80,000 troops to areas near the border with Kuwait, posing an imminent threat of a renewed invasion of or attack against Kuwait.

(8) On August 31, 1996, Iraq suppressed many of its opponents by helping one Kurdish faction capture Irbil, the seat of the Kurdish regional government.

(9) Since March 1996, Iraq has systematically sought to deny weapons inspectors from the United Nations Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM) access to key facilities and documents, has on several occasions endangered the safe operation of UNSCOM helicopters transporting UNSCOM personnel in Iraq, and has persisted in a pattern of deception and concealment regarding the history of its weapons of mass destruction programs.

(10) On August 5, 1998, Iraq ceased all cooperation with UNSCOM, and subsequently threatened to end long-term monitoring activities by the International Atomic Energy Agency and UNSCOM.

(11) On August 14, 1998, President Clinton signed Public Law 105-235, which declared that 'the Government of Iraq is in material and unacceptable breach of its international obligations' and urged the President 'to take appropriate action, in accordance with the Constitution and relevant laws of the United States, to bring Iraq into compliance with its international obligations'.

(12) On May 1, 1998, President Clinton signed Public Law 105-174, which made $5,000,000 available for assistance to the Iraqi democratic opposition for such activities as organization, training, communication and dissemination of information, developing and implementing agreements among opposition groups, compiling information to support the indictment of Iraqi officials for war crimes, and for related purposes.

SEC. 3. SENSE OF THE CONGRESS REGARDING UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD IRAQ.

It should be the policy of the United States to support efforts to remove the regime headed by Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq and to promote the emergence of a democratic government to replace that regime.

SEC. 4. ASSISTANCE TO SUPPORT A TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY IN IRAQ.

(a) AUTHORITY TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE—The President may provide to the Iraqi democratic opposition organizations designated in accordance with section 5 the following assistance:

(1) BROADCASTING ASSISTANCE—(A) Grant assistance to such organizations for radio and television broadcasting by such organizations to Iraq.

(B) There is authorized to be appropriated to the United States Information Agency $2,000,000 for fiscal year 1999 to carry out this paragraph.

(2) MILITARY ASSISTANCE—(A) The President is authorized to direct the drawdown of defense articles from the stocks of the Department of Defense, defense services of the Department of Defense, and military education and training for such organizations.

(B) The aggregate value (as defined in section 644(m) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961) of assistance provided under this paragraph may not exceed $97,000,000.

(b) HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE—The Congress urges the President to use existing authorities under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to provide humanitarian assistance to individuals living in areas of Iraq controlled by organizations designated in accordance with section 5, with emphasis on addressing the needs of individuals who have fled to such areas from areas under the control of the Saddam Hussein regime.

(c) RESTRICTION ON ASSISTANCE—No assistance under this section shall be provided to any group within an organization designated in accordance with section 5 which group is, at the time the assistance is to be provided, engaged in military cooperation with the Saddam Hussein regime.

(d) NOTIFICATION REQUIREMENT—The President shall notify the congressional committees specified in section 634A of the Foreign

Assistance Act of 1961 at least 15 days in advance of each obligation of assistance under this section in accordance with the procedures applicable to reprogramming notifications under section 634A.

(e) REIMBURSEMENT RELATING TO MILITARY ASSISTANCE—

(1) IN GENERAL—Defense articles, defense services, and military education and training provided under subsection (a)(2) shall be made available without reimbursement to the Department of Defense except to the extent that funds are appropriated pursuant to paragraph (2).

(2) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS—There are authorized to be appropriated to the President for each of the fiscal years 1998 and 1999 such sums as may be necessary to reimburse the applicable appropriation, fund, or account for the value (as defined in section 644(m) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961) of defense articles, defense services, or military education and training provided under subsection (a)(2).

(f) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS—(1) Amounts authorized to be appropriated under this section are authorized to remain available until expended.

(2) Amounts authorized to be appropriated under this section are in addition to amounts otherwise available for the purposes described in this section.

(g) AUTHORITY TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE—Activities under this section (including activities of the nature described in subsection (b)) may be undertaken notwithstanding any other provision of law.

SEC. 5. DESIGNATION OF IRAQI DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION ORGANIZATION.

(a) INITIAL DESIGNATION—Not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall designate one or more Iraqi democratic opposition organizations that the President determines satisfy the criteria set forth in subsection (c) as eligible to receive assistance under section 4.

(b) DESIGNATION OF ADDITIONAL ORGANIZATIONS—At any time subsequent to the initial designation pursuant to subsection (a), the President may designate one or more additional Iraqi democratic opposition organizations that the President determines satisfy the criteria set forth in subsection (c) as eligible to receive assistance under section 4.

(c) CRITERIA FOR DESIGNATION—In designating an organization pursuant to this section, the President shall consider only organizations that—

(1) include a broad spectrum of Iraqi individuals, groups, or both, opposed to the Saddam Hussein regime; and

(2) are committed to democratic values, to respect for human rights, to peaceful relations with Iraq's neighbors, to maintaining Iraq's territorial integrity, and to fostering cooperation among democratic opponents of the Saddam Hussein regime.

(d) NOTIFICATION REQUIREMENT—At least 15 days in advance of designating an Iraqi democratic opposition organization pursuant to this section, the President shall notify the congressional committees specified in section 634A of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 of his proposed designation in accordance with the procedures applicable to reprogramming notifications under section 634A.

SEC. 6. WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL FOR IRAQ.

Consistent with section 301 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 (Public Law 102-138), House Concurrent Resolution 137, 105th Congress (approved by the House of Representatives on November 13, 1997), and Senate Concurrent Resolution 78, 105th Congress (approved by the Senate on March 13, 1998), the Congress urges the President to call upon the United Nations to establish an international criminal tribunal for the purpose of indicting, prosecuting, and imprisoning Saddam Hussein and other Iraqi officials who are responsible for crimes against humanity, genocide, and other criminal violations of international law.

SEC. 7. ASSISTANCE FOR IRAQ UPON REPLACEMENT OF SADDAM HUSSEIN REGIME.

It is the sense of the Congress that once the Saddam Hussein regime is removed from power in Iraq, the United States should support Iraq's transition to democracy by providing immediate and substantial humanitarian assistance to the Iraqi people, by providing democracy transition assistance to Iraqi parties and movements with democratic goals, and by convening Iraq's foreign creditors to develop a multilateral response to Iraq's foreign debt incurred by Saddam Hussein's regime.

SEC. 8. RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.

Nothing in this Act shall be construed to authorize or otherwise speak to the use of United States Armed Forces (except as provided in section 4(a)(2)) in carrying out this Act.

Source: *Iraq Liberation Act of 1998,* Public Law 105-338, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 112 (1998): 3178.

90. President Bill Clinton, Televised Address to the Nation on Operation DESERT FOX, December 16, 1998 [Excerpt]

Introduction

After the Persian Gulf War, throughout the 1990s U.S. and United Nations (UN) relations with Iraq remained fraught. Under the cease-fire agreement, UN inspectors were entitled to enter Iraq and examine all potential weapons production facilities to ensure that President Saddam Hussein was not engaged in manufacturing chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons of mass destruction. In August 1998 Hussein proclaimed that Iraq would refuse to permit any further inspections. UN inspectors returned in November but were denied full access to Iraqi weapons facilities, and the following month the UN withdrew its inspectors from Baghdad. On December 16, 1998, in an address to the American people, U.S. president Bill Clinton announced a major U.S. and British program of aerial bombings and cruise missile strikes against suspected Iraqi weapons production and storage facilities, intended to degrade that country's capability to produce chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons. Also targeted were the headquarters and barracks of the Republican Guard, Hussein's elite forces; presidential palaces; and air defense systems. Clinton emphasized that Hussein had failed to comply with UN requirements and that during the previous three weeks the United States and Great Britain had given the Iraqi president repeated opportunities to cooperate with UN inspectors, virtually all of which he had subverted. Clinton warned that force was the only language that Iraq understood and that unless the United States took military action at this time, Hussein would proceed to develop destructive weapons, which he would not hesitate to use to dominate the entire region around Iraq. Clinton presented the four-day DESERT FOX bombing program as a prudent deterrent measure essential to preventing Hussein from threatening his neighbors at a later date. Clinton also defended the continuing economic sanctions program against Iraq—under whose terms that country could only sell limited quantities of oil on the international market, with the proceeds of such sales supposedly earmarked purely for humanitarian purposes within Iraq—on the grounds that if these restrictions were lifted, Hussein would use oil sales to finance the acquisition of military armaments. After the bombings, which American military officers believed had largely accomplished their objectives within four days, Iraq refused to permit the return of UN inspection teams. An undeclared air war between Iraq and British and American forces in the region continued for more than four years, with Anglo-American air and naval units regularly launching extensive missile attacks and bombing raids against Iraqi facilities. Aerial hostilities escalated dramatically in the months prior to the official beginning of the 2003 military campaign against Iraq.

Primary Source

THE PRESIDENT: Good evening. Earlier today, I ordered America's Armed Forces to strike military and security targets in Iraq. They are joined by British forces. Their mission is to attack Iraq's nuclear, chemical, and biological programs, and its military capacity to threaten its neighbors. Their purpose is to protect the national interest of the United States and, indeed, the interest of people throughout the Middle East and around the world. Saddam Hussein must not be allowed to threaten his neighbors or the world with nuclear arms, poison gas, or biological weapons.

I want to explain why I have decided, with the unanimous recommendation of my national security team, to use force in Iraq, why we have acted now and what we aim to accomplish.

Six weeks ago, Saddam Hussein announced that he would no longer cooperate with the United Nations weapons inspectors, called UNSCOM. They are highly professional experts from dozens of countries. Their job is to oversee the elimination of Iraq's capability to retain, create and use weapons of mass destruction, and to verify that Iraq does not attempt to rebuild that capability. The inspectors undertook this mission, first, seven and a half years ago, at the end of the Gulf War, when Iraq agreed to declare and destroy its arsenal as a condition of the cease-fire.

The international community had good reason to set this requirement. Other countries possess weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles. With Saddam, there's one big difference: he has used them, not once but repeatedly—unleashing chemical weapons against Iranian troops during a decade-long war, not only against soldiers, but against civilians; firing Scud missiles at the citizens of Israel, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Iran—not only against a foreign enemy, but even against his own people, gassing Kurdish civilians in Northern Iraq.

The international community had little doubt then, and I have no doubt today, that left unchecked, Saddam Hussein will use these terrible weapons again.

The United States has patiently worked to preserve UNSCOM, as Iraq has sought to avoid its obligation to cooperate with the inspectors. On occasion, we've had to threaten military force, and Saddam has backed down. Faced with Saddam's latest act of defiance in late October, we built intensive diplomatic pressure on Iraq, backed by overwhelming military force in the region. The U.N. Security Council voted 15 to zero to condemn Saddam's actions and to demand that he immediately come into compliance. Eight Arab nations—Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, and Oman—warned that Iraq alone would bear responsibility for the consequences of defying the U.N.

When Saddam still failed to comply, we prepared to act militarily. It was only then, at the last possible moment, that Iraq backed down. It pledged to the U.N. that it had made—and I quote—"a clear and unconditional decision to resume cooperation with the weapons inspectors."

I decided then to call off the attack, with our airplanes already in the air, because Saddam had given in to our demands. I concluded then that the right thing to do was to use restraint and give Saddam one last chance to prove his willingness to cooperate.

I made it very clear at that time what "unconditional cooperation" meant, based on existing U.N. resolutions and Iraq's own commitments. And along with Prime Minister Blair of Great Britain, I made it equally clear that if Saddam failed to cooperate fully, we would be prepared to act without delay, diplomacy or warning.

Now, over the past three weeks, the U.N. weapons inspectors have carried out their plan for testing Iraq's cooperation. The testing period ended this weekend, and last night, UNSCOM's Chairman, Richard Butler, reported the results to U.N. Secretary General Annan. The conclusions are stark, sobering and profoundly disturbing.

In four out of the five categories set forth, Iraq has failed to cooperate. Indeed, it actually has placed new restrictions on the inspectors. Here are some of the particulars:

Iraq repeatedly blocked UNSCOM from inspecting suspect sites. For example, it shut off access to the headquarters of its ruling party, and said it will deny access to the party's other offices, even though U.N. resolutions make no exception for them and UNSCOM has inspected them in the past.

Iraq repeatedly restricted UNSCOM's ability to obtain necessary evidence. For example, Iraq obstructed UNSCOM's effort to photograph bombs related to its chemical weapons program. It tried to stop an UNSCOM biological weapons team from videotaping a site and photocopying documents, and prevented Iraqi personnel from answering UNSCOM's questions.

Prior to the inspection of another site, Iraq actually emptied out the building, removing not just documents, but even the furniture and the equipment. Iraq has failed to turn over virtually all the documents requested by the inspectors; indeed, we know that Iraq ordered the destruction of weapons related documents in anticipation of an UNSCOM inspection.

So Iraq has abused its final chance. As the UNSCOM report concludes—and again I quote—"Iraq's conduct ensured that no progress was able to be made in the fields of disarmament. In light of this experience, and in the absence of full cooperation by Iraq, it must, regrettably, be recorded again that the Commission is not able to conduct the work mandated to it by the Security Council with respect to Iraq's prohibited weapons program."

In short, the inspectors are saying that, even if they could stay in Iraq, their work would be a sham. Saddam's deception has defeated their effectiveness. Instead of the inspectors disarming Saddam, Saddam has disarmed the inspectors.

This situation presents a clear and present danger to the stability of the Persian Gulf and the safety of people everywhere. The international community gave Saddam one last chance to resume cooperation with the weapons inspectors. Saddam has failed to seize the chance.

And so we had to act, and act now. Let me explain why.

First, without a strong inspections system, Iraq would be free to retain and begin to rebuild its chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons programs in months, not years.

Second, if Saddam can cripple the weapons inspections system and get away with it, he would conclude that the international community, led by the United States, has simply lost its will. He will surmise that he has free rein to rebuild his arsenal of destruction. And some day, make no mistake, he will use it again, as he has in the past.

Third, in halting our air strikes in November, I gave Saddam a chance, not a license. If we turn our backs on his defiance, the credibility of U.S. power as a check against Saddam will be destroyed. We will not only have allowed Saddam to shatter the inspections system that controls his weapons of mass destruction program; we also will have fatally undercut the fear of force that stops Saddam from acting to gain domination in the region.

That is why, on the unanimous recommendation of my national security team, including the Vice President, Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Secretary of State, and the National Security Advisor, I have ordered a strong, sustained series of air strikes against Iraq. They are designed to degrade Saddam's capacity to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction, and to degrade his ability to threaten his neighbors. At the same time, we are delivering a powerful message to Saddam: If you act recklessly, you will pay a heavy price.

We acted today because, in the judgment of my military advisors, a swift response would provide the most surprise and the least opportunity for Saddam to prepare. If we had delayed for even a matter of days from Chairman Butler's report, we would

have given Saddam more time to disperse forces and protect his weapons.

Also, the Muslim holy month of Ramadan begins this weekend. For us to initiate military action during Ramadan would be profoundly offensive to the Muslim world, and therefore, would damage our relations with Arab countries and the progress we have made in the Middle East. That is something we wanted very much to avoid without giving Iraq a month's head start to prepare for potential action against it.

Finally, our allies, including Prime Minister Tony Blair of Great Britain, concurred that now is the time to strike. I hope Saddam will come into cooperation with the inspection system now and comply with the relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions. But we have to be prepared that he will not, and we must deal with the very real danger he poses. So we will pursue a long-term strategy to contain Iraq and its weapons of mass destruction, and work toward the day when Iraq has a government worthy of its people.

First, we must be prepared to use force again if Saddam takes threatening actions, such as trying to reconstitute his weapons of mass destruction or their delivery systems, threatening his neighbors, challenging allied aircraft over Iraq, or moving against his own Kurdish citizens. The credible threat to use force and, when necessary, the actual use of force, is the surest way to contain Saddam's weapons of mass destruction program, curtail his aggression and prevent another Gulf War.

Second, so long as Iraq remains out of compliance, we will work with the international community to maintain and enforce economic sanctions. Sanctions have caused Saddam more than $120 billion—resources that would have been used to rebuild his military. The sanctions system allows Iraq to sell oil for food, for medicine, for other humanitarian supplies for the Iraqi people. We have no quarrel with them. But without the sanctions, we would see the oil-for-food program become oil-for-tanks, resulting in a greater threat to Iraq's neighbors and less food for its people.

The hard fact is that so long as Saddam remains in power, he threatens the well-being of his people, the peace of his region, the security of the world. The best way to end that threat once and for all is with the new Iraqi government, a government ready to live in peace with its neighbors, a government that respects the rights of its people.

Bringing change in Baghdad will take time and effort. We will strengthen our engagement with the full range of Iraqi opposition forces and work with them effectively and prudently.

The decision to use force is never cost-free. Whenever American forces are placed in harm's way, we risk the loss of life. And while our strikes are focused on Iraq's military capabilities, there will be unintended Iraqi casualties. Indeed, in the past, Saddam has intentionally placed Iraqi civilians in harm's way in a cynical bid to sway international opinion. We must be prepared for these realities. At the same time, Saddam should have absolutely no doubt: If he lashes out at his neighbors, we will respond forcefully.

Heavy as they are, the costs of action must be weighed against the price of inaction. If Saddam defies the world and we fail to respond, we will face a far greater threat in the future. Saddam will strike again at his neighbors; he will make war on his own people. And mark my words, he will develop weapons of mass destruction. He will deploy them, and he will use them. Because we are acting today, it is less likely that we will face these dangers in the future.

[. . .]

Source: William J. Clinton, "President Clinton's Statement on Air Strike against Iraq," The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, http://clinton5.nara.gov/WH/New/html/19981216–3611.html.

91. United Nations Security Council Resolutions 712, 715, 773, 778, 806, 833, 949, 986, 1051, 1060, 1115, 1134, 1137, 1154, 1194, 1205, 1284, September 19, 1991–December 17, 1999 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Although Iraq repeatedly asked the United Nations (UN) to lift the international economic sanctions imposed on it after August 2, 1990, that banned most Iraqi oil sales and other commercial and financial contacts with the outside world, these remained in place until after the 2003 Iraq War. The major reason for the continued imposition of sanctions was Iraq's persistent failure to cooperate with UN-sponsored efforts to prevent its acquisition or manufacture of chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons of mass destruction, as mandated in 1991 by Security Council Resolutions 687 and 707. Resolution 706, passed in August 1991, authorized limited sales of Iraqi petroleum, to be used in part to cover the expenses of UN weapons inspection teams in Iraq; in part to compensate foreign governments, organizations, and individuals for losses suffered due to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait; and in part to provide food, medicines, and other humanitarian items needed by Iraq's population. Security Council Resolution 712, adopted on September 19, 1991, sought to utilize funds for these purposes, but the Iraqi government refused to cooperate in this enterprise. Resolution 778,

passed by the Security Council in October 1992, sought to address the failure to establish any mechanism to deploy Iraqi oil revenues to finance humanitarian efforts in that country by ordering all UN member states to place all funds under their control derived from Iraqi oil sales in an escrow account under UN administration, a temporary solution that failed to ensure that Iraq would accept goods intended for humanitarian purposes. Fears that Iraq sought to block the operations of a boundary commission established to delineate the precise frontier between Kuwait and Iraq led the UN to pass several resolutions that sought to facilitate this body's work and endorse its decisions. From 1996 onward, the belief that Iraq was surreptitiously developing weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) led the UN to pass several resolutions demanding that the Iraqi government cease such efforts and permit UN inspectors unfettered access to potential production facilities throughout the country in order to verify whether or not Iraq was still developing such weapons. Various UN resolutions proclaimed that the ending of international economic sanctions against Iraq would be conditional on Iraq abandoning all undertakings to acquire WMDs.

Primary Source

Resolution 712 (September 18, 1991)

The Security Council,

Recalling its previous relevant resolutions and in particular resolutions 661 (1990), 686 (1991), 687 (1991), 688 (1991), 692 (1991), 699 (1991), 705 (1991) and 706 (1991),

Expressing its appreciation for the report (S/23006) dated 4 September 1991 submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to paragraph 5 of resolution 706 (1991),

Reaffirming its concern about the nutritional and health situation of the Iraqi civilian population, and the risk of a further deterioration of this situation, and underlining the need in this context for fully up-to-date assessments of the situation in all parts of Iraq as a basis for the equitable distribution of humanitarian relief to all segments of the Iraqi civilian population,

Recalling that the activities to be carried out by or on behalf of the Secretary-General to meet the purposes referred to in resolution 706 (1991) and the present resolution enjoy the privileges and immunities of the United Nations,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Confirms the figure mentioned in paragraph 1 of resolution 706 (1991) as the sum authorized for the purpose of that paragraph, and reaffirms its intention to review this sum on the basis of its ongoing assessment of the needs and requirements, in accordance with paragraph 1(d) of resolution 706 (1991);

2. Invites the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) to authorize immediately pursuant to paragraph 1(d) of resolution 706 (1991), the release by the Secretary-General from the escrow account of the first one-third portion of the sum referred to in paragraph 1 above, such release to take place as required subject to the availability of funds in the account and, in the case of payments to finance the purchase of foodstuffs, medicines and materials and supplies for essential civilian needs which have been notified or approved in accordance with existing procedures, subject to compliance with the procedures laid down in the report of the Secretary-General as approved in paragraph 3 below;

3. Approves the recommendations in the Secretary-General report as contained in its paragraphs 57 (d) and 58;

4. Encourages the Secretary-General and the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) to cooperate, in close consultation with the Government of Iraq, on a continuing basis to ensure the most effective implementation of the scheme approved in this resolution;

[. . .]

7. Reaffirms that the inspectors and other experts on mission for the United Nations, appointed for the purpose of this resolution, enjoy privileges and immunities in accordance with the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, and demands that Iraq shall allow them full freedom of movement and all necessary facilities;

[. . .]

9. Urges that any provision to Iraq of foodstuffs, medicines or other items of a humanitarian character, in addition to those purchased with the funds referred to in paragraph 1 of this resolution, be undertaken through arrangements which assure their equitable distribution to meet humanitarian needs;

10. Requests the Secretary-General to take the actions necessary to implement the above decisions, and authorizes him to enter into any arrangements or agreements necessary to accomplish this;

11. Calls upon States to cooperate fully in the implementation of resolution 706 (1991) and the present resolution in particular with respect to any measures regarding the import of petroleum and petroleum products and the export of foodstuffs, medicines and materials and supplies for essential civilian needs as referred to in paragraph 20 of resolution 687 (1991), and also with respect to the privileges and immunities of the United Nations and its personnel implementing this resolution; and to ensure that there are no diversions from the purposes laid down in these resolutions;

12. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Resolution 715 (1991)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3012th meeting, on 11 October 1991

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991 and 707 (1991) of 15 August 1991, and its other resolutions on this matter,

Recalling in particular that under resolution 687 (1991) the Secretary-General and the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) were requested to develop plans for future ongoing monitoring and verification, and to submit them to the Security Council for approval,

Taking note of the report and note of the Secretary-General (S/22871/Rev.1 and S/22872/Rev.1), transmitting the plans submitted by the Secretary-General and the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Approves, in accordance with the provisions of resolutions 687 (1991), 707 (1991) and the present resolution, the plans submitted by the Secretary-General and the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (S/22871/Rev.1 and S/22872/Rev.1);

2. Decides that the Special Commission shall carry out the plan submitted by the Secretary-General (S/22871/Rev.1), as well as continuing to discharge its other responsibilities under resolutions 687 (1991), 699 (1991) and 707 (1991) and performing such other functions as are conferred upon it under the present resolution;

3. Requests the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency to carry out, with the assistance and cooperation of the Special Commission, the plan submitted by him (S/22872/Rev.1) and to continue to discharge his other responsibilities under resolutions 687 (1991), 699 (1991) and 707 (1991);

[. . .]

5. Demands that Iraq meet unconditionally all its obligations under the plans approved by the present resolution and cooperate fully with the Special Commission and the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency in carrying out the plans;

[. . .]

7. Requests the Committee established under resolution 661 (1990), the Special Commission and the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency to develop in cooperation a mechanism for monitoring any future sales or supplies by other countries to Iraq of items relevant to the implementation of section C of resolution 687 (1991) and other relevant resolutions, including the present resolution and the plans approved hereunder;

Resolution 773 (August 26, 1992)

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, and in particular paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 thereof, and its resolution 689 (1991) of 9 April 1991,

Recalling the report of the Secretary-General dated 2 May 1991 concerning the establishment of the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission (the Commission) and the subsequent exchange of letters of 6 and 13 May 1991 (S/22558, S/22592 and S/22593),

Having considered the Secretary-General's letter of 12 August 1992 to the President of the Security Council transmitting the further report of the Commission,

Recalling in this connection that through the demarcation process the Commission is not reallocating territory between Kuwait and Iraq, but it is simply carrying out the technical task necessary to demarcate for the first time the precise coordinates of the boundary set out in the Agreed Minutes between the State of Kuwait and the Republic of Iraq regarding the restoration of Friendly Relations, Recognition and Related Matters signed by them on 4 October 1963, and that this task is being carried out in the special circumstances following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and pursuant to resolution 687 (1991) and the Secretary-General's report for implementing paragraph 3 of that resolution (S/22558),

1. Welcomes the Secretary-General's letter of 12 August to the President of the Council and the further report of the Commission enclosed therewith;

2. Expresses its appreciation to the Commission for its work on the demarcation of the land boundary, and welcomes its demarcation decisions;

3. Welcomes also the decision of the Commission to consider the Eastern section of the boundary, which includes the offshore boundary, at its next session and urges the Commission to demarcate this part of the boundary as soon as possible and thus complete its work;

4. Underlines its guarantee of the inviolability of the above-mentioned international boundary and its decision to take as appropriate all necessary measures to that end in accordance with the Charter, as provided for in paragraph 4 of resolution 687 (1991);

5. Welcomes further the Secretary-General's intention to carry out at the earliest practicable time the realignment of the demilitarized zone referred to in paragraph 5 of resolution 687 (1991) to correspond to the international boundary demarcated by the Commission, with the consequent removal of the Iraqi police posts;

6. Urges the two States concerned to cooperate fully with the work of the Commission;

7. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Resolution 778 (1992)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3117th meeting, on 2 October 1992

The Security Council,

Recalling its previous relevant resolutions and in particular resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991),

Taking note of the letter of 15 July 1992 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council on Iraq's compliance with the obligations placed on it by resolution 687 (1991) and subsequent resolutions,

Condemning Iraq's continued failure to comply with its obligations under relevant resolutions,

Reaffirming its concern about the nutritional and health situation of the Iraqi civilian population, and the risk of a further deterioration of this situation, and recalling in this regard its resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991), which provide a mechanism for providing humanitarian relief to the Iraqi population, and resolution 688 (1991), which provides a basis for humanitarian relief efforts in Iraq,

Having regard to the fact that the period of six months referred to in resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991) expired on 18 March 1992,

Deploring Iraq's refusal to cooperate in the implementation of resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991), which puts its civilian population at risk, and which results in the failure by Iraq to meet its obligations under relevant Security Council resolutions,

Recalling that the escrow account provided for in resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991) will consist of Iraqi funds administered by the Secretary-General which will be used to pay contributions to the Compensation Fund, the full costs of carrying out the tasks authorized by section C of resolution 687 (1991), the full costs incurred by the United Nations in facilitating the return of all Kuwaiti property seized by Iraq, half the costs of the Boundary Commission, and the cost to the United Nations of implementing resolution 706 (1991) and of other necessary humanitarian activities in Iraq,

Recalling that Iraq, as stated in paragraph 16 of resolution 687 (1991), is liable for all direct damages resulting from its invasion and occupation of Kuwait, without prejudice to its debts and obligations arising prior to 2 August 1990, which will be addressed through the normal mechanisms,

Recalling its decision in resolution 692 (1991) that the requirement for Iraqi contributions to the Compensation Fund applies to certain Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products exported from Iraq after 2 April 1991,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Decides* that all States in which there are funds of the Government of Iraq, or its State bodies, corporations, or agencies, that represent the proceeds of sale of Iraqi petroleum or petroleum products, paid for by or on behalf of the purchaser on or after 6 August 1990, shall cause the transfer of those funds (or equivalent amounts) as soon as possible to the escrow account provided for in resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991); provided that this paragraph shall not require any State to cause the transfer of such funds in excess of 200 million dollars or to cause the transfer of more than fifty per cent of the total funds transferred or contributed pursuant to paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of this resolution; and further provided that States may exclude from the operation of this paragraph any funds which have already been released to a claimant or supplier prior to the adoption of this resolution, or any other funds subject to or required to satisfy the rights of third parties, at the time of the adoption of this resolution;

2. *Decides* that all States in which there are petroleum or petroleum products owned by the Government of Iraq, or its State bodies, corporations, or agencies, shall take all feasible steps to purchase or arrange for the sale of such petroleum or petroleum products at fair market value, and thereupon to transfer the proceeds as soon as possible to the escrow account provided for in resolution 706 (1991) and 712 (1991);

3. *Urges* all States to contribute funds from other sources to the escrow account as soon as possible;

4. *Decides* that all States shall provide the Secretary-General with any information needed for the effective implementation of this resolution and that they shall take the necessary measures to ensure that banks and other bodies and persons provide all relevant information necessary to identify the funds referred to in paragraphs 1 and 2 above and details of any transactions relating thereto, or the said petroleum or petroleum products, with a view to such information being utilized by all States and by the Secretary-General in the effective implementation of this resolution;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General:

(a) To ascertain the whereabouts and amounts of the said petroleum products and the proceeds of sale referred to in paragraphs 1 and 2 of this resolution, drawing on the work already done under the auspices of the Compensation Commission, and report the results of the Security Council as soon as possible;

(b) To ascertain the costs of United Nations activities concerning the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, the provision of humanitarian relief in Iraq, and the other United Nations operations specified in paragraphs 2 and 3 of resolution 706 (1991); and

(c) to take the following actions:

(i) transfer to the Compensation Fund, from the funds referred to in paragraphs 1 and 2 of this resolution, the percentage referred to in paragraph 10 of this resolution; and

(ii) use of the remainder of funds referred to in paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of this resolution for the costs of United Nations activities concerning the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, the provision of humanitarian relief in Iraq, and the other United Nations operations specified in paragraphs 2 and 3 of resolution 706 (1991), taking into account any preference expressed by States transferring or contributing funds as to the allocation of such funds among these purposes;

6. *Decides* that for so long as oil exports take place pursuant to the system provided in resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991) or to the eventual lifting of sanctions pursuant to paragraph 22 of resolution 687 (1991), implementation of paragraphs 1 to 5 of this resolution shall be suspended and all proceeds of those oil exports shall immediately be transferred by the Secretary-General in the currency in which the transfer to the escrow account had been made, to the accounts or States from which funds had been provided under paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of this resolution, to the extent required to replace in full the amounts so provided (together with applicable interest); and that, if necessary for this purpose, any other funds remaining in the escrow account shall similarly be transferred to those accounts or States; provided, however, that the Secretary-General may retain and use any funds urgently needed for the purposes specified in paragraph 5 (c) (ii) of this resolution;

[. . .]

11. *Decides* that no further Iraqi assets shall be released for purposes set forth in paragraph 20 of resolution 687 (1991) except to the sub-account of the escrow account, established pursuant to paragraph 3 of resolution 712 (1991), or directly to the United Nations for humanitarian activities in Iraq;

[. . .]

13. *Calls upon* all States to cooperate fully in the implementation of this resolution;

14. *Decides* to remain seized of this matter.

Resolution 806 (1993)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3171st meeting, on 5 February 1993

The Security Council,

Reaffirms its resolution 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, and in particular paragraphs 2, 3, 4 and 5 thereof, and its resolutions 689 (1991) of 9 April 1991 and 773 (1992) of 26 August 1992, and its other resolutions on this matter,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 18 January 1993 (S/25123),

Noting with approval that work is being completed on the realignment of the demilitarized zone referred to in paragraph 5 of resolution 687 (1991) to correspond to the international boundary demarcated by the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission,

Deeply concerned at recent actions by Iraq in violation of relevant Security Council resolutions, including the series of border incidents involving the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM),

Recalling the statements made by the President on behalf of the Council on 8 January 1993 (S/25081) and on 11 January 1993 (S/25091),

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Underlines once again its guarantee of the inviolability of the international boundary between the State of Kuwait and the

Republic of Iraq and its decision to take as appropriate all necessary measures to that end in accordance with the Charter, as provided for in paragraph 4 of resolution 687 (1991);

2. Approves the report, and decides to extend the terms of reference of UNIKOM to include the functions contained in paragraph 5 of the report;

3. Requests the Secretary-General to plan and execute a phased deployment of the strengthening of UNIKOM taking into account the need for economy and other relevant factors and to report to the Council on any step he intends to take following an initial deployment;

[. . .]

Resolution 833 (1993)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3224th meeting, on 27 May 1993

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, and in particular paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 thereof, its resolution 689 (1991) of 9 April 1991, its resolution 773 (1992) of 26 August 1992, and its resolution 806 (1993) of 5 February 1993,

[. . .]

Recalling in this connection that through the demarcation process the Commission was not reallocating territory between Kuwait and Iraq, but it was simply carrying out the technical task necessary to demarcate for the first time the precise coordinates of the boundary set out in the "Agreed Minutes between the State of Kuwait and the Republic of Iraq regarding the Restoration of Friendly Relations, Recognition and Related Matters" signed by them on 4 October 1963, and that this task was carried out in the special circumstances following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and pursuant to resolution 687 (1991) and the Secretary-General's report for implementing paragraph 3 of that resolution (S/22558),

Reminding Iraq of its obligations under resolution 687 (1991), and in particular paragraph 2 thereof, and under other relevant resolutions of the Council, and of its acceptance of the resolutions of the Council adopted pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, which forms the basis for the cease-fire,

Noting with approval the Secretary-General's instruction to the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) to finalize the realignment of the demilitarized zone with the entire international boundary between Iraq and Kuwait demarcated by the Commission,

Welcoming the Secretary-General's decision to make the necessary arrangements for the maintenance of the physical representation of the boundary, as recommended by the Commission in Section X (c) of its report, until other technical arrangements are established between Iraq and Kuwait for this purpose,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

[. . .]

4. Reaffirms that the decisions of the Commission regarding the demarcation of the boundary are final;

5. Demands that Iraq and Kuwait in accordance with international law and relevant Security Council resolutions respect the inviolability of the international boundary, as demarcated by the Commission, and the right to navigational access;

6. Underlines and reaffirms its decision to guarantee the inviolability of the above-mentioned international boundary which has not been finally demarcated by the Commission and to take as appropriate all necessary measures to that end in accordance with the Charter, as provided for in paragraph 4 of resolution 687 (1991) and paragraph 4 of resolution 773 (1992);

7. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Resolution 949 (1994)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3438th meeting, on 15 October 1994

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions, and reaffirming resolutions 678 (1990) of 29 November 1990, 686 (1991) of 2 March 1991, 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, 689 (1991) of 9 April 1991 and 833 (1993) of 27 May 1993, and in particular paragraph 2 of resolution 678 (1990),

Recalling that Iraq's acceptance of resolution 687 (1991) adopted pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations forms the basis of the cease-fire,

Noting past Iraqi threats and instances of actual use of force against its neighbours,

Recognizing that any hostile or provocative action directed against its neighbours by the Government of Iraq constitutes a threat to peace and security in the region,

Welcoming all diplomatic and other efforts to resolve the crisis,

Determined to prevent Iraq from resorting to threats and intimidation of its neighbours and the United Nations,

Underlining that it will consider Iraq fully responsible for the serious consequences of any failure to fulfil the demands in the present resolution,

Noting that Iraq has affirmed its readiness to resolve in a positive manner the issue of recognizing Kuwait's sovereignty and its borders as endorsed by resolution 833 (1993), but underlining that Iraq must unequivocally commit itself by full and formal constitutional procedures to respect Kuwait's sovereignty, territorial integrity and borders, as required by resolutions 687 (1991) and 833 (1993),

Reaffirming the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Kuwait and Iraq,

Reaffirming its statement of 8 October 1994 (S/1994/PRST/58),

Taking note of the letter from the Permanent Representative of Kuwait of 6 October 1994 (S/1994/1137), regarding the statement by the Revolution Command Council of Iraq of 6 October 1994,

Taking note also of the letter from the Permanent Representative of Iraq of 10 October 1994 (S/1994/1149), announcing that the Government of Iraq had decided to withdraw the troops recently deployed in the direction of the border with Kuwait,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Condemns recent military deployments by Iraq in the direction of the border with Kuwait;

2. Demands that Iraq immediately complete the withdrawal of all military units recently deployed to southern Iraq to their original positions;

3. Demands that Iraq not again utilize its military or any other forces in a hostile or provocative manner to threaten either its neighbours or United Nations operations in Iraq;

4. Demands therefore that Iraq not redeploy to the south the units referred to in paragraph 2 above or take any other action to enhance its military capacity in southern Iraq;

5. Demands that Iraq cooperate fully with the United Nations Special Commission;

6. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Resolution 986 (1995)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3519th meeting, on 14 April 1995

The Security Council,

Recalling its previous relevant resolutions,

Concerned by the serious nutritional and health situation of the Iraqi population, and by the risk of a further deterioration in this situation,

Convinced of the need as a temporary measure to provide for the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people until the fulfilment by Iraq of the relevant Security Council resolutions, including notably resolution 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, allows the Council to take further action with regard to the prohibitions referred to in resolution 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990, in accordance with the provisions of those resolutions,

Convinced also of the need for equitable distribution of humanitarian relief to all segments of the Iraqi population throughout the country,

Reaffirming the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Authorizes States, notwithstanding the provisions of paragraphs 3 (a), 3 (b) and 4 of resolution 661 (1990) and subsequent relevant resolutions, to permit the import of petroleum and petroleum products originating in Iraq, including financial and other essential transactions directly relating thereto, sufficient to produce a sum not exceeding a total of one billion United States dollars every 90 days for the purposes set out in this resolution and subject to the following conditions:

(a) Approval by the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990), in order to ensure the transparency of each transaction and its conformity with the other provisions of this resolution, after submission of an application by the State concerned, endorsed by the Government of Iraq, for each proposed purchase of Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products, including details of the purchase price at fair market value, the export route, the opening of a letter of credit payable to the escrow account to be established by the Secretary-General for the purposes of this resolution, and of any other directly related financial or other essential transaction;

(b) Payment of the full amount of each purchase of Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products directly by the purchaser in the State concerned into the escrow account to be established by the Secretary-General for the purposes of this resolution;

2. Authorizes Turkey, notwithstanding the provisions of paragraphs 3 (a), 3 (b) and 4 of resolution 661 (1990) and the provisions of paragraph 1 above, to permit the import of petroleum and petroleum products originating in Iraq sufficient, after the deduction of the percentage referred to in paragraph 8 (c) below for the Compensation Fund, to meet the pipeline tariff charges, verified as reasonable by the independent inspection agents referred to in paragraph 6 below, for the transport of Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products through the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline in Turkey authorized by paragraph 1 above;

[. . .]

6. Directs the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) to monitor the sale of petroleum and petroleum products to be exported by Iraq via the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline from Iraq to Turkey and from the Mina al-Bakr oil terminal, with the assistance of independent inspection agents appointed by the Secretary-General, who will keep the Committee informed of the amount of petroleum and petroleum products exported from Iraq after the date of entry into force of paragraph 1 of this resolution, and will verify that the purchase price of the petroleum and petroleum products is reasonable in the light of prevailing market conditions, and that, for the purposes of the arrangements set out in this resolution, the larger share of the petroleum and petroleum products is shipped via the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline and the remainder is exported from the Mina al-Bakr oil terminal;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to establish an escrow account for the purposes of this resolution, to appoint independent and certified public accountants to audit it, and to keep the Government of Iraq fully informed;

8. Decides that the funds in the escrow account shall be used to meet the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi population and for the following other purposes, and requests the Secretary-General to use the funds deposited in the escrow account:

(a) To finance the export to Iraq, in accordance with the procedures of the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990), of medicine, health supplies, foodstuffs, and materials and supplies for essential civilian needs, as referred to in paragraph 20 of resolution 687 (1991) provided that:

(i) Each export of goods is at the request of the Government of Iraq;

(ii) Iraq effectively guarantees their equitable distribution, on the basis of a plan submitted to and approved by the Secretary-General, including a description of the goods to be purchased;

(iii) The Secretary-General receives authenticated confirmation that the exported goods concerned have arrived in Iraq;

(b) To complement, in view of the exceptional circumstances prevailing in the three Governorates mentioned below, the distribution by the Government of Iraq of goods imported under this resolution, in order to ensure an equitable distribution of humanitarian relief to all segments of the Iraqi population throughout the country, by providing between 130 million and 150 million United States dollars every 90 days to the United Nations Inter-Agency Humanitarian Programme operating within the sovereign territory of Iraq in the three northern Governorates of Dihouk, Arbil and Suleimaniyeh, except that if less than one billion United States dollars worth of petroleum or petroleum products is sold during any 90 day period, the Secretary-General may provide a proportionately smaller amount for this purpose;

[. . .]

(g) To make available up to 10 million United States dollars every 90 days from the funds deposited in the escrow account for the payments envisaged under paragraph 6 of resolution 778 (1992) of 2 October 1992;

9. Authorizes States to permit, notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 3 (c) of resolution 661 (1990):

(a) The export to Iraq of the parts and equipment which are essential for the safe operation of the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline system in Iraq, subject to the prior approval by the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) of each export contract;

(b) Activities directly necessary for the exports authorized under subparagraph (a) above, including financial transactions related thereto;

10. Decides that, since the costs of the exports and activities authorized under paragraph 9 above are precluded by paragraph 4 of resolution 661 (1990) and by paragraph 11 of resolution 778 (1991) from being met from funds frozen in accordance with those provisions, the cost of such exports and activities may, until funds begin to be paid into the escrow account established for the purposes of this resolution, and following approval in each case by the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990), exceptionally be financed by letters of credit, drawn against future oil sales the proceeds of which are to be deposited in the escrow account;

11. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council 90 days after the date of entry into force of paragraph 1 above, and again prior to the end of the initial 180 day period, on the basis of observation by United Nations personnel in Iraq, and on the basis of consultations with the Government of Iraq, on whether Iraq has ensured the equitable distribution of medicine, health supplies, foodstuffs, and materials and supplies for essential civilian needs, financed in accordance with paragraph 8 (a) above, including in his reports any observations he may have on the adequacy of the revenues to meet Iraq's humanitarian needs, and on Iraq's capacity to export sufficient quantities of petroleum and petroleum products to produce the sum referred to in paragraph 1 above;

12. Requests the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990), in close coordination with the Secretary-General, to develop expedited procedures as necessary to implement the arrangements in paragraphs 1, 2, 6, 8, 9 and 10 of this resolution and to report to the Council 90 days after the date of entry into force of paragraph 1 above and again prior to the end of the initial 180 day period on the implementation of those arrangements;

13. Requests the Secretary-General to take the actions necessary to ensure the effective implementation of this resolution, authorizes him to enter into any necessary arrangements or agreements, and requests him to report to the Council when he has done so;

[. . .]

17. Affirms that nothing in this resolution affects Iraq's duty scrupulously to adhere to all of its obligations concerning servicing and repayment of its foreign debt, in accordance with the appropriate international mechanisms;

18. Also affirms that nothing in this resolution should be construed as infringing the sovereignty or territorial integrity of Iraq;

19. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Resolution 1051 (1996)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3644th meeting, on 27 March 1996

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 687 (1991) of 8 April 1991, and in particular section C thereof, its resolution 707 (1991) of 15 August 1991 and its resolution 715 (1991) of 11 October 1991 and the plans for ongoing monitoring and verification approved thereunder,

Recalling the request in paragraph 7 of its resolution 715 (1991) to the Committee established under resolution 661 (1990), the Special Commission and the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to develop in cooperation a mechanism for monitoring any future sales or supplies by other countries to Iraq of items relevant to the implementation of section C of resolution 687 (1991) and other relevant resolutions, including resolution 715 (1991) and the plans approved thereunder,

[. . .]

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Approves, pursuant to the relevant provisions of its resolutions 687 (1991) and 715 (1991), the provisions for the monitoring mechanism contained in annex I of the aforementioned letter of 7 December 1995 (S/1995/1017), subject to the terms of this resolution;

[. . .]

5. Decides, subject to paragraphs 4 and 7 of this resolution, that all States shall:

(a) Transmit to the joint unit constituted by the Special Commission and the Director General of the IAEA under paragraph 16 of the mechanism the notifications, with the data from potential exporters, and all other relevant information when available to the States, as requested in the mechanism on the intended sale or supply from their territories of any items or technologies which are subject to such notification in accordance with paragraphs 9, 11, 13, 24, 25, 27 and 28 of the mechanism;

(b) Report to the joint unit, in accordance with paragraphs 13, 24, 25, 27 and 28 of the mechanism, any information they may have at their disposal or may receive from suppliers in their territories of attempts to circumvent the mechanism or to supply Iraq with items prohibited to Iraq under the plans for ongoing monitoring and verification approved by resolution 715 (1991), or where the procedures for special exceptions laid down in paragraphs 24 and 25 of the mechanism have not been followed by Iraq;

6. Decides that the notifications required under paragraph 5 above shall be provided to the joint unit by Iraq, in respect of all items and technologies referred to in paragraph 12 of the mechanism, as from the date agreed upon between the Special Commission and the Director General of the IAEA and Iraq, and in any event not later than sixty days after the adoption of this resolution;

7. Decides that the notifications required under paragraph 5 above shall be provided to the joint unit by all other States as from the date the Secretary-General and the Director General of the IAEA, after their consultations with the members of the Council

and other interested States, report to the Council indicating that they are satisfied with the preparedness of States for the effective implementation of the mechanism;

[. . .]

12. Calls upon all States and international organizations to cooperate fully with the Committee established under resolution 661 (1990), the Special Commission and the Director General of the IAEA in the fulfilment of their tasks in connection with the mechanism, including supplying such information as may be sought by them in implementation of the mechanism;

13. Calls upon all States to adopt as soon as possible such measures as may be necessary under their national procedures to implement the mechanism;

14. Decides that all States shall, not later than 45 days after the adoption of this resolution, be provided by the Special Commission and the Director General of the IAEA with information necessary to make preparatory arrangements at the national level prior to the implementation of the provisions of the mechanism;

15. Demands that Iraq meet unconditionally all its obligations under the mechanism approved by this resolution and cooperate fully with the Special Commission and the Director General of the IAEA in the carrying out of their tasks under this resolution and the mechanism by such means as they may determine in accordance with their mandates from the Council;

Resolution 1060 (1996)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3672nd meeting on 12 June 1996

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions, and in particular its resolutions 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, 707 (1991) of 15 August 1991 and 715 (1991) of 11 October 1991,

[. . .]

Reiterating the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Kuwait and Iraq,

Recalling in this context the notes from the Secretary-General of 21 July 1993 (S/26127) and 1 December 1993 (S/26825),

Noting the progress made in the work of the Special Commission towards the elimination of Iraq's programmes of weapons of mass destruction, and outstanding problems, reported by the Chairman of the Special Commission,

Noting with concern the incidents on 11 and 12 June 1996, reported to members of the Council by the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission, when access by a Special Commission inspection team to sites in Iraq designated for inspection by the Commission was excluded by the Iraqi authorities,

Emphasizing the importance the Council attaches to full compliance by Iraq with its obligations under resolutions 687 (1991), 707 (1991) and 715 (1991) to permit immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to the Special Commission to any site which the Commission wishes to inspect,

Emphasizing the unacceptability of any attempts by Iraq to deny access to any such site,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Deplores the refusal of the Iraqi authorities to allow access to sites designated by the Special Commission, which constitutes a clear violation of the provisions of Security Council resolutions 687 (1991), 707 (1991) and 715 (1991);

2. Demands that Iraq cooperate fully with the Special Commission in accordance with the relevant resolutions; and that the Government of Iraq allow the Special Commission inspection teams immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to any and all areas, facilities, equipment, records and means of transportation which they wish to inspect;

3. Expresses its full support to the Special Commission in its efforts to ensure implementation of its mandate under the relevant resolutions of the Council;

4. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Resolution 1115 (1997)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3792nd meeting, on 21 June 1997

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions, and in particular its resolutions 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, 707 (1991) of 15 August 1991, 715 (1991) of 11 October 1991 and 1060 (1996) of 12 June 1996,

Recalling also the letter from the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission to the President of the Security Council of 12 June 1997

(S/1997/474), which reported to the Council the incidents on 10 and 12 June 1997 when access by a Special Commission inspection team to sites in Iraq designated for inspection by the Commission was excluded by the Iraqi authorities,

Determined to ensure full compliance by Iraq with its obligations under all previous resolutions, in particular resolutions 687 (1991), 707 (1991), 715 (1991) and 1060 (1996) to permit immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to the Special Commission to any site which the Commission wishes to inspect,

Stressing the unacceptability of any attempts by Iraq to deny access to any such site,

Reiterating the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Kuwait and Iraq,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Condemns the repeated refusal of the Iraqi authorities to allow access to sites designated by the Special Commission, which constitutes a clear and flagrant violation of the provisions of Security Council resolutions 687 (1991), 707 (1991), 715 (1991) and 1060 (1996);

2. Demands that Iraq cooperate fully with the Special Commission in accordance with the relevant resolutions; and that the Government of Iraq allow the Special Commission inspection teams immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to any and all areas, facilities, equipment, records and means of transportation which they wish to inspect in accordance with the mandate of the Special Commission;

3. Demands further that the Government of Iraq give immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to officials and other persons under the authority of the Iraqi Government whom the Special Commission wishes to interview, so that the Special Commission may fully discharge its mandate;

4. Requests the Chairman of the Special Commission to include in his consolidated progress reports under resolution 1051 (1996) an annex evaluating Iraq's compliance with paragraphs 2 and 3 of this resolution;

5. Decides not to conduct the reviews provided for in paragraphs 21 and 28 of resolution 687 (1991) until after the next consolidated progress report of the Special Commission, due on 11 October 1997, after which time those reviews will resume in accordance with resolution 687 (1991);

6. Expresses the firm intention, unless the Special Commission advises the Council in the report referred to in paragraphs 4 and 5 that Iraq is in substantial compliance with paragraphs 2 and 3 of this resolution, to impose additional measures on those categories of Iraqi officials responsible for the non-compliance;

7. Reaffirms its full support to the Special Commission in its efforts to ensure the implementation of its mandate under the relevant resolutions of the Council;

8. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Resolution 1134 (1997)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3826th meeting, on 23 October 1997

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions, and in particular its resolutions 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, 707 (1991) of 15 August 1991, 715 (1991)of 11 October 1991, 1060 (1996) of 12 June 1996, and 1115 (1997) of 21 June 1997,

Having considered the report of the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission dated 6 October 1997 (S/1997/774),

Expressing grave concern at the report of additional incidents since the adoption of resolution 1115 (1997) in which access by the Special Commission inspection teams to sites in Iraq designated for inspection by the Commission was again denied by the Iraqi authorities,

Stressing the unacceptability of any attempts by Iraq to deny access to such sites,

Taking note of the progress nevertheless achieved by the Special Commission, as set out in the report of the Executive Chairman, towards the elimination of Iraq's programme of weapons of mass destruction,

Reaffirming its determination to ensure full compliance by Iraq with all its obligations under all previous relevant resolutions and reiterating its demand that Iraq allow immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to the Special Commission to any site which the Commission wishes to inspect, and in particular allow the Special Commission and its inspection teams to conduct both fixed wing and helicopter flights throughout Iraq for all relevant purposes including inspection, surveillance, aerial surveys, transportation and logistics without interferences of any kind and upon such terms and conditions as may be determined by the Special Commission, and to make use of their own aircraft and such airfields in Iraq as they may determine are most appropriate for the work of the Commission,

Recalling that resolution 1115 (1997) expresses the Council's firm intention, unless the Special Commission has advised the Council that Iraq is in substantial compliance with paragraphs 2 and 3 of that resolution, to impose additional measures on those categories of Iraqi officials responsible for the non-compliance,

Reiterating the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Kuwait and Iraq,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Condemns the repeated refusal of the Iraqi authorities, as detailed in the report of the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission, to allow access to sites designated by the Special Commission, and especially Iraqi actions endangering the safety of Special Commission personnel, the removal and destruction of documents of interest to the Special Commission and interference with the freedom of movement of Special Commission personnel;

2. Decides that such refusals to cooperate constitute a flagrant violation of Security Council resolutions 687 (1991), 707 (1991), 715 (1991) and 1060 (1996), and notes that the Special Commission in the report of the Executive Chairman was unable to advise that Iraq was in substantial compliance with paragraphs 2 and 3 of resolution 1115 (1997);

3. Demands that Iraq cooperate fully with the Special Commission in accordance with the relevant resolutions, which constitute the governing standard of Iraqi compliance;

4. Demands in particular that Iraq without delay allow the Special Commission inspection teams immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to any and all areas, facilities, equipment, records and means of transportation which they wish to inspect in accordance with the mandate of the Special Commission, as well as to officials and other persons under the authority of the Iraqi Government whom the Special Commission wishes to interview so that the Special Commission may fully discharge its mandate;

5. Requests the Chairman of the Special Commission to include in all future consolidated progress reports prepared under resolution 1051 (1996) an annex evaluating Iraq's compliance with paragraphs 2 and 3 of resolution 1115 (1997);

6. Expresses the firm intention—if the Special Commission reports that Iraq is not in compliance with paragraphs 2 and 3 of resolution 1115 (1997) or if the Special Commission does not advise the Council in the report of the Executive Chairman due on 11 April 1998 that Iraq is in compliance with paragraphs 2 and 3 of resolution 1115 (1997)—to adopt measures which would oblige all States to prevent without delay the entry into or transit through their territories of all Iraqi officials and members of the Iraqi armed forces who are responsible for or participate in instances of non-compliance with paragraphs 2 and 3 of resolution 1115 (1997), provided that the entry of a person into a particular State on a specified date may be authorized by the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990), and provided that nothing in this paragraph shall oblige a State to refuse entry into its own territory to its own nationals or persons carrying out bona fide diplomatic assignments or missions;

7. Decides further, on the basis of all incidents related to the implementation of paragraphs 2 and 3 of resolution 1115 (1997), to begin to designate, in consultation with the Special Commission, individuals whose entry or transit would be prevented upon implementation of the measures set out in paragraph 6 above;

8. Decides not to conduct the reviews provided for in paragraphs 21 and 28 of resolution 687 (1991) until after the next consolidated progress report of the Special Commission, due on 11 April 1998, after which those reviews will resume in accordance with resolution 687 (1991), beginning on 26 April 1998;

9. Reaffirms its full support for the authority of the Special Commission under its Executive Chairman to ensure the implementation of its mandate under the relevant resolutions of the Council;

10. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Resolution 1137 (1997)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3831st meeting, on 12 November 1997

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions, and in particular its resolutions 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, 707 (1991) of 15 August 1991, 715 (1991) of 11 October 1991, 1060 (1996) of 12 June 1996, 1115 (1997) of 21 June 1997, and 1134 (1997) of 23 October 1997,

Taking note with grave concern of the letter of 29 October 1997 from the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq to the President of the Security Council (S/1997/829) conveying the unacceptable decision of the Government of Iraq to seek to impose conditions on its cooperation with the Special Commission, of the letter of 2 November 1997 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations to the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission (S/1997/837, annex) which reiterated the unacceptable demand that the reconnaissance aircraft operating on behalf of the Special Commission be withdrawn from use and which implicitly threatened the safety of such aircraft, and of the letter of 6 November 1997 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iraq to the

President of the Security Council (S/1997/855) admitting that Iraq has moved dual-capable equipment which is subject to monitoring by the Special Commission,

Also taking note with grave concern of the letters of 30 October 1997 (S/1997/830) and 2 November 1997 (S/1997/836) from the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission to the President of the Security Council advising that the Government of Iraq had denied entry to Iraq to two Special Commission officials on 30 October 1997 and 2 November 1997 on the grounds of their nationality, and of the letters of 3 November 1997 (S/1997/837), 4 November 1997 (S/1997/843), 5 November 1997 (S/1997/851) and 7 November 1997 (S/1997/864) from the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission to the President of the Security Council advising that the Government of Iraq had denied entry to sites designated for inspection by the Special Commission on 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 November 1997 to Special Commission inspectors on the grounds of their nationality, and of the additional information in the Executive Chairman's letter of 5 November 1997 to the President of the Security Council (S/1997/851) that the Government of Iraq has moved significant pieces of dual-capable equipment subject to monitoring by the Special Commission, and that monitoring cameras appear to have been tampered with or covered,

Welcoming the diplomatic initiatives, including that of the high-level mission of the Secretary-General, which have taken place in an effort to ensure that Iraq complies unconditionally with its obligations under the relevant resolutions,

Deeply concerned at the report of the high-level mission of the Secretary-General on the results of its meetings with the highest levels of the Government of Iraq,

Recalling that its resolution 1115 (1997) expressed its firm intention, unless the Special Commission advised the Council that Iraq is in substantial compliance with paragraphs 2 and 3 of that resolution, to impose additional measures on those categories of Iraqi officials responsible for the non-compliance,

Recalling also that its resolution 1134 (1997) reaffirmed its firm intention, if inter alia the Special Commission reports that Iraq is not in compliance with paragraphs 2 and 3 of resolution 1115 (1997), to adopt measures which would oblige States to refuse the entry into or transit through their territories of all Iraqi officials and members of the Iraqi armed forces who are responsible for or participate in instances of non-compliance with paragraphs 2 and 3 of resolution 1115 (1997),

Recalling further the Statement of its President of 29 October 1997 (S/PRST/1997/49) in which the Council condemned the decision of the Government of Iraq to try to dictate the terms of its compliance with its obligation to cooperate with the Special Commission, and warned of the serious consequences of Iraq's failure to comply immediately and fully and without conditions or restrictions with its obligations under the relevant resolutions,

Reiterating the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Kuwait and Iraq,

Determined to ensure immediate and full compliance without conditions or restrictions by Iraq with its obligations under the relevant resolutions,

Determining that this situation continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter,

1. Condemns the continued violations by Iraq of its obligations under the relevant resolutions to cooperate fully and unconditionally with the Special Commission in the fulfilment of its mandate, including its unacceptable decision of 29 October 1997 to seek to impose conditions on cooperation with the Special Commission, its refusal on 30 October 1997 and 2 November 1997 to allow entry to Iraq to two Special Commission officials on the grounds of their nationality, its denial of entry on 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 November 1997 to sites designated by the Special Commission for inspection to Special Commission inspectors on the grounds of their nationality, its implicit threat to the safety of the reconnaissance aircraft operating on behalf of the Special Commission, its removal of significant pieces of dual-use equipment from their previous sites, and its tampering with monitoring cameras of the Special Commission;

2. Demands that the Government of Iraq rescind immediately its decision of 29 October 1997;

3. Demands also that Iraq cooperate fully and immediately and without conditions or restrictions with the Special Commission in accordance with the relevant resolutions, which constitute the governing standard of Iraqi compliance;

4. Decides, in accordance with paragraph 6 of resolution 1134 (1997), that States shall without delay prevent the entry into or transit through their territories of all Iraqi officials and members of the Iraqi armed forces who were responsible for or participated in the instances of non-compliance detailed in paragraph 1 above, provided that the entry of a person into a particular State on a specified date may be authorized by the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990, and provided that nothing in this paragraph shall oblige a State to refuse entry into its own territory to its own nationals, or to persons carrying out bona fide diplomatic assignments, or missions approved by the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990);

5. Decides also, in accordance with paragraph 7 of resolution 1134 (1997), to designate in consultation with the Special Commission a list of individuals whose entry or transit will be prevented under the provisions of paragraph 4 above, and requests the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) to develop guidelines and procedures as appropriate for the implementation of the measures set out in paragraph 4 above, and to transmit copies of these guidelines and procedures, as well as a list of the individuals designated, to all Member States;

6. Decides that the provisions of paragraphs 4 and 5 above shall terminate one day after the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission reports to the Council that Iraq is allowing the Special Commission inspection teams immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to any and all areas, facilities, equipment, records and means of transportation which they wish to inspect in accordance with the mandate of the Special Commission, as well as to officials and other persons under the authority of the Iraqi Government whom the Special Commission wishes to interview so that the Special Commission may fully discharge its mandate;

7. Decides that the reviews provided for in paragraphs 21 and 28 of resolution 687 (1991) shall resume in April 1998 in accordance with paragraph 8 of resolution 1134 (1997), provided that the Government of Iraq shall have complied with paragraph 2 above;

8. Expresses the firm intention to take further measures as may be required for the implementation of this resolution;

9. Reaffirms the responsibility of the Government of Iraq under the relevant resolutions to ensure the safety and security of the personnel and equipment of the Special Commission and its inspection teams;

10. Reaffirms also its full support for the authority of the Special Commission under its Executive Chairman to ensure the implementation of its mandate under the relevant resolutions of the Council;

11. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Resolution 1154 (1998)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3858th meeting, on 2 March 1998

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions, which constitute the governing standard of Iraqi compliance,

Determined to ensure immediate and full compliance by Iraq without conditions or restrictions with its obligations under resolution 687 (1991) and the other relevant resolutions,

Reaffirming the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Iraq, Kuwait and the neighbouring States,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Commends the initiative by the Secretary-General to secure commitments from the Government of Iraq on compliance with its obligations under the relevant resolutions, and in this regard endorses the memorandum of understanding signed by the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq and the Secretary-General on 23 February 1998 (S/1998/166) and looks forward to its early and full implementation;

2. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council as soon as possible with regard to the finalization of procedures for Presidential sites in consultation with the Executive Chairman of the United Nations Special Commission and the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA);

3. Stresses that compliance by the Government of Iraq with its obligations, repeated again in the memorandum of understanding, to accord immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to the Special Commission and the IAEA in conformity with the relevant resolutions is necessary for the implementation of resolution 687 (1991), but that any violation would have severest consequences for Iraq;

4. Reaffirms its intention to act in accordance with the relevant provisions of resolution 687 (1991) on the duration of the prohibitions referred to in that resolution and notes that by its failure so far to comply with its relevant obligations Iraq has delayed the moment when the Council can do so;

5. Decides, in accordance with its responsibility under the Charter, to remain actively seized of the matter, in order to ensure implementation of this resolution, and to secure peace and security in the area.

Resolution 1194 (1998)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3924th meeting, on 9 September 1998

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions, and in particular its resolutions 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, 707 (1991) of 15 August

1991, 715 (1991) of 11 October 1991, 1060 (1996) of 12 June 1996, 1115 (1997) of 21 June 1997 and 1154 (1998) of 2 March 1998,

Noting the announcement by Iraq on 5 August 1998 that it had decided to suspend cooperation with the United Nations Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on all disarmament activities and restrict ongoing monitoring and verification activities at declared sites, and/or actions implementing the above decision,

Stressing that the necessary conditions do not exist for the modification of the measures referred to in section F of resolution 687 (1991),

Recalling the letter from the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission to the President of the Security Council of 12 August 1998 (S/1998/767), which reported to the Council that Iraq had halted all disarmament activities of the Special Commission and placed limitations on the rights of the Commission to conduct its monitoring operations,

Recalling also the letter from the Director General of the IAEA to the President of the Security Council of 11 August 1998 (S/1998/766) which reported the refusal by Iraq to cooperate in any activity involving investigation of its clandestine nuclear programme and other restrictions of access placed by Iraq on the ongoing monitoring and verification programme of the IAEA,

Noting the letters of 18 August 1998 from the President of the Security Council to the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission and the Director General of the IAEA (S/1998/769, S/1998/768), which expressed the full support of the Security Council for those organizations in the implementation of the full range of their mandated activities, including inspections,

Recalling the Memorandum of Understanding signed by the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq and the Secretary-General on 23 February 1998 (S/1998/166), in which Iraq reiterated its undertaking to cooperate fully with the Special Commission and the IAEA,

Noting that the announcement by Iraq of 5 August 1998 followed a period of increased cooperation and some tangible progress achieved since the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding,

Reiterating its intention to respond favourably to future progress made in the disarmament process and reaffirming its commitment to comprehensive implementation of its resolutions, in particular resolution 687 (1991),

Determined to ensure full compliance by Iraq with its obligations under all previous resolutions, in particular resolutions 687 (1991), 707 (1991), 715 (1991), 1060 (1996), 1115 (1997) and 1154 (1998), to permit immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to the Special Commission and the IAEA to all sites which they wish to inspect, and to provide the Special Commission and the IAEA with all the cooperation necessary for them to fulfil their mandates under those resolutions,

Stressing the unacceptability of any attempts by Iraq to deny access to any sites or to refuse to provide the necessary cooperation,

Expressing its readiness to consider, in a comprehensive review, Iraq's compliance with its obligations under all relevant resolutions once Iraq has rescinded its above-mentioned decision and demonstrated that it is prepared to fulfil all its obligations, including, in particular on disarmament issues, by resuming full cooperation with the Special Commission and the IAEA consistent with the Memorandum of Understanding, as endorsed by the Council in resolution 1154 (1998), and to that end welcoming the proposal of the Secretary-General for such a comprehensive review and inviting the Secretary-General to provide his views in that regard,

Reiterating the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Kuwait and Iraq,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Condemns the decision by Iraq of 5 August 1998 to suspend cooperation with the Special Commission and the IAEA, which constitutes a totally unacceptable contravention of its obligations under resolutions 687 (1991), 707 (1991), 715 (1991), 1060 (1996), 1115 (1997) and 1154 (1998), and the Memorandum of Understanding signed by the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq and the Secretary-General on 23 February 1998;

2. Demands that Iraq rescind its above-mentioned decision and cooperate fully with the Special Commission and the IAEA in accordance with its obligations under the relevant resolutions and the Memorandum of Understanding as well as resume dialogue with the Special Commission and the IAEA immediately;

3. Decides not to conduct the review scheduled for October 1998 provided for in paragraphs 21 and 28 of resolution 687 (1991), and not to conduct any further such reviews until Iraq rescinds its above-mentioned decision of 5 August 1998 and the Special Commission and the IAEA report to the Council that they are satisfied that they have been able to exercise the full range of activities provided for in their mandates, including inspections;

4. Reaffirms its full support for the Special Commission and the IAEA in their efforts to ensure the implementation of their mandates under the relevant resolutions of the Council;

5. Reaffirms its full support for the Secretary-General in his efforts to urge Iraq to rescind its above-mentioned decision;

6. Reaffirms its intention to act in accordance with the relevant provisions of resolution 687 (1991) on the duration of the prohibitions referred to in that resolution and notes that by its failure so far to comply with its relevant obligations Iraq has delayed the moment when the Council can do so;

7. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Resolution 1205 (1998)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3939th meeting, on 5 November 1998

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions on the situation in Iraq, in particular its resolution 1154 (1998) of 2 March 1998 and 1194 (1998) of 9 September 1998,

Noting with alarm the decision of Iraq on 31 October 1998 to cease cooperation with the United Nations Special Commission, and its continued restrictions on the work of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA),

Noting the letters from the Deputy Executive Chairman of the Special Commission of 31 October 1998 (S/1998/1023) and from the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission of 2 November 1998 (S/1998/1032) to the President of the Security Council, which reported to the Council the decision by Iraq and described the implications of that decision for the work of the Special Commission, and noting also the letter from the Director General of the IAEA of 3 November 1998 (S/1998/1033, annex) which described the implications of the decision for the work of the IAEA,

Determined to ensure immediate and full compliance by Iraq without conditions or restrictions with its obligations under resolution 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991 and the other relevant resolutions,

Recalling that the effective operation of the Special Commission and the IAEA is essential for the implementation of resolution 687 (1991),

Reaffirming its readiness to consider, in a comprehensive review, Iraq's compliance with its obligations under all relevant resolutions once Iraq has rescinded its above-mentioned decision and its decision of 5 August 1998 and demonstrated that it is prepared to fulfil all its obligations, including in particular on disarmament issues, by resuming full cooperation with the Special Commission and the IAEA consistent with the Memorandum of Understanding signed by the Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq and the Secretary-General on 23 February 1998 (S/1998/166), endorsed by the Council in resolution 1154 (1998),

Reiterating the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Kuwait and Iraq,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Condemns the decision by Iraq of 31 October 1998 to cease cooperation with the Special Commission as a flagrant violation of resolution 687 (1991) and other relevant resolutions;

2. Demands that Iraq rescind immediately and unconditionally the decision of 31 October 1998, as well as the decision of 5 August 1998, to suspend cooperation with the Special Commission and to maintain restrictions on the work of the IAEA, and that Iraq provide immediate, complete and unconditional cooperation with the Special Commission and the IAEA;

3. Reaffirms its full support for the Special Commission and the IAEA in their efforts to ensure the implementation of their mandates under the relevant resolutions of the Council;

4. Expresses its full support for the Secretary-General in his efforts to seek full implementation of the Memorandum of Understanding of 23 February 1998;

5. Reaffirms its intention to act in accordance with the relevant provisions of resolution 687 (1991) on the duration of the prohibitions referred to in that resolution, and notes that by its failure so far to comply with its relevant obligations Iraq has delayed the moment when the Council can do so;

6. Decides, in accordance with its primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, to remain actively seized of the matter.

Resolution 1284 (1999)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4084th meeting, on 17 December 1999

The Security Council,

Recalling its previous relevant resolutions. . . .

Stressing the importance of a comprehensive approach to the full implementation of all relevant Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq and the need for Iraqi compliance with these resolutions,

Recalling the goal of establishing in the Middle East a zone free from weapons of mass destruction and all missiles for their delivery and the objective of a global ban on chemical weapons as referred to in paragraph 14 of resolution 687 (1991),

Concerned at the humanitarian situation in Iraq, and *determined* to improve that situation,

Recalling with concern that the repatriation and return of all Kuwaiti and third country nationals or their remains, present in Iraq on or after 2 August 1990, pursuant to paragraph 2 (c) of resolution 686 (1991) of 2 March 1991 and paragraph 30 of resolution 687 (1991), have not yet been fully carried out by Iraq,

Recalling that in its resolutions 686 (1991) and 687 (1991) the Council demanded that Iraq return in the shortest possible time all Kuwaiti property it had seized, and *noting* with regret that Iraq has still not complied fully with this demand,

Acknowledging the progress made by Iraq towards compliance with the provisions of resolution 687 (1991), but *noting* that, as a result of its failure to implement the relevant Council resolutions fully, the conditions do not exist which would enable the Council to take a decision pursuant to resolution 687 (1991) to lift the prohibitions referred to in that resolution,

Reiterating the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Kuwait, Iraq and the neighbouring States,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, and *taking into account* that operative provisions of this resolution relate to previous resolutions adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter,

A.

1. *Decides* to establish, as a subsidiary body of the Council, the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) which replaces the Special Commission established pursuant to paragraph 9 (b) of resolution 687 (1991);

2. *Decides also* that UNMOVIC will undertake the responsibilities mandated to the Special Commission by the Council with regard to the verification of compliance by Iraq with its obligations under paragraphs 8, 9 and 10 of resolution 687 (1991) and other related resolutions, that UNMOVIC will establish and operate, as was recommended by the panel on disarmament and current and future ongoing monitoring and verification issues, a reinforced system of ongoing monitoring and verification, which will implement the plan approved by the Council in resolution 715 (1991) and address unresolved disarmament issues, and that UNMOVIC will identify, as necessary in accordance with its mandate, additional sites in Iraq to be covered by the reinforced system of ongoing monitoring and verification;

3. *Reaffirms* the provisions of the relevant resolutions with regard to the role of the IAEA in addressing compliance by Iraq with paragraphs 12 and 13 of resolution 687 (1991) and other related resolutions, and *requests* the Director General of the IAEA to maintain this role with the assistance and cooperation of UNMOVIC;

4. *Reaffirms* its resolutions 687 (1991), 699 (1991), 707 (1991), 715 (1991), 1051 (1996), 1154 (1998) and all other relevant resolutions and statements of its President, which establish the criteria for Iraqi compliance, *affirms* that the obligations of Iraq referred to in those resolutions and statements with regard to cooperation with the Special Commission, unrestricted access and provision of information will apply in respect of UNMOVIC, and *decides* in particular that Iraq shall allow UNMOVIC teams immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to any and all areas, facilities, equipment, records and means of transport which they wish to inspect in accordance with the mandate of UNMOVIC, as well as to all officials and other persons under the authority of the Iraqi Government whom UNMOVIC wishes to interview so that UNMOVIC may fully discharge its mandate;

[. . .]

7. *Decides* that UNMOVIC and the IAEA, not later than 60 days after they have both started work in Iraq, will each draw up, for approval by the Council, a work programme for the discharge of their mandates, which will include both the implementation of the reinforced system of ongoing monitoring and verification, and the key remaining disarmament tasks to be completed by Iraq pursuant to its obligations to comply with the disarmament requirements of resolution 687 (1991) and other related resolutions, which constitute the governing standard of Iraqi compliance, and *further decides* that what is required of Iraq for the implementation of each task shall be clearly defined and precise;

[. . .]

B.

13. *Reiterates* the obligation of Iraq, in furtherance of its commitment to facilitate the repatriation of all Kuwaiti and third country nationals referred to in paragraph 30 of resolution 687 (1991), to extend all necessary cooperation to the International Committee of the Red Cross, and *calls upon* the Government of Iraq to resume cooperation with the Tripartite Commission and Technical Subcommittee established to facilitate work on this issue;

14. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Council every four months on compliance by Iraq with its obligations regarding

the repatriation or return of all Kuwaiti and third country nationals or their remains, to report every six months on the return of all Kuwaiti property, including archives, seized by Iraq, and to appoint a high-level coordinator for these issues;

C.

15. *Authorizes* States, notwithstanding the provisions of paragraphs 3 (a), 3 (b) and 4 of resolution 661 (1990) and subsequent relevant resolutions, to permit the import of any volume of petroleum and petroleum products originating in Iraq, including financial and other essential transactions directly relating thereto, as required for the purposes and on the conditions set out in paragraph 1 (a) and (b) and subsequent provisions of resolution 986 (1995) and related resolutions;

16. *Underlines,* in this context, its intention to take further action, including permitting the use of additional export routes for petroleum and petroleum products, under appropriate conditions otherwise consistent with the purpose and provisions of resolution 986 (1995) and related resolutions;

17. *Directs* the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) to approve, on the basis of proposals from the Secretary-General, lists of humanitarian items, including foodstuffs, pharmaceutical and medical supplies, as well as basic or standard medical and agricultural equipment and basic or standard educational items, *decides,* notwithstanding paragraph 3 of resolution 661 (1990) and paragraph 20 of resolution 687 (1991), that supplies of these items will not be submitted for approval of that Committee, except for items subject to the provisions of resolution 1051 (1996), and will be notified to the Secretary-General and financed in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 8 (a) and 8 (b) of resolution 986 (1995), and *requests* the Secretary-General to inform the Committee in a timely manner of all such notifications received and actions taken;

18. *Requests* the Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) to appoint, in accordance with resolutions 1175 (1998) and 1210 (1998), a group of experts, including independent inspection agents appointed by the Secretary-General in accordance with paragraph 6 of resolution 986 (1995), *decides* that this group will be mandated to approve speedily contracts for the parts and the equipments necessary to enable Iraq to increase its exports of petroleum and petroleum products, according to lists of parts and equipments approved by that Committee for each individual project, and *requests* the Secretary-General to continue to provide for the monitoring of these parts and equipments inside Iraq;

19. *Encourages* Member States and international organizations to provide supplementary humanitarian assistance to Iraq and published material of an educational character to Iraq;

20. *Decides* to suspend, for an initial period of six months from the date of the adoption of this resolution and subject to review, the implementation of paragraph 8 (g) of resolution 986 (1995);

21. *Requests* the Secretary-General to take steps to maximize, drawing as necessary on the advice of specialists, including representatives of international humanitarian organizations, the effectiveness of the arrangements set out in resolution 986 (1995) and related resolutions including the humanitarian benefit to the Iraqi population in all areas of the country, and *further requests* the Secretary-General to continue to enhance as necessary the United Nations observation process in Iraq, ensuring that all supplies under the humanitarian programme are utilized as authorized, to bring to the attention of the Council any circumstances preventing or impeding effective and equitable distribution and to keep the Council informed of the steps taken towards the implementation of this paragraph;

[. . .]

27. *Calls upon* the Government of Iraq:

(i) to take all steps to ensure the timely and equitable distribution of all humanitarian goods, in particular medical supplies, and to remove and avoid delays at its warehouses;

(ii) to address effectively the needs of vulnerable groups, including children, pregnant women, the disabled, the elderly and the mentally ill among others, and to allow freer access, without any discrimination, including on the basis of religion or nationality, by United Nations agencies and humanitarian organizations to all areas and sections of the population for evaluation of their nutritional and humanitarian condition;

(iii) to prioritize applications for humanitarian goods under the arrangements set out in resolution 986 (1995) and related resolutions;

(iv) to ensure that those involuntarily displaced receive humanitarian assistance without the need to demonstrate that they have resided for six months in their places of temporary residence;

(v) to extend full cooperation to the United Nations Office for Project Services mine-clearance programme in the three northern Governorates of Iraq and to consider the initiation of the demining efforts in other Governorates;

28. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report on the progress made in meeting the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people and on the revenues necessary to meet those needs, including recommendations on necessary additions to the current allocation for oil spare parts and equipment, on the basis of a comprehensive survey of

the condition of the Iraqi oil production sector, not later than 60 days from the date of the adoption of this resolution and updated thereafter as necessary;

29. *Expresses* its readiness to authorize additions to the current allocation for oil spare parts and equipment, on the basis of the report and recommendations requested in paragraph 28 above, in order to meet the humanitarian purposes set out in resolution 986 (1995) and related resolutions;

30. *Requests* the Secretary-General to establish a group of experts, including oil industry experts, to report within 100 days of the date of adoption of this resolution on Iraq's existing petroleum production and export capacity and to make recommendations, to be updated as necessary, on alternatives for increasing Iraq's petroleum production and export capacity in a manner consistent with the purposes of relevant resolutions, and on the options for involving foreign oil companies in Iraq's oil sector, including investments, subject to appropriate monitoring and controls;

[. . .]

D.

33. *Expresses its intention,* upon receipt of reports from the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC and from the Director General of the IAEA that Iraq has cooperated in all respects with UNMOVIC and the IAEA in particular in fulfilling the work programmes in all the aspects referred to in paragraph 7 above, for a period of 120 days after the date on which the Council is in receipt of reports from both UNMOVIC and the IAEA that the reinforced system of ongoing monitoring and verification is fully operational, to suspend with the fundamental objective of improving the humanitarian situation in Iraq and securing the implementation of the Council's resolutions, for a period of 120 days renewable by the Council, and subject to the elaboration of effective financial and other operational measures to ensure that Iraq does not acquire prohibited items, prohibitions against the import of commodities and products originating in Iraq, and prohibitions against the sale, supply and delivery to Iraq of civilian commodities and products other than those referred to in paragraph 24 of resolution 687 (1991) or those to which the mechanism established by resolution 1051 (1996) applies;

34. *Decides* that in reporting to the Council for the purposes of paragraph 33 above, the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC will include as a basis for his assessment the progress made in completing the tasks referred to in paragraph 7 above;

35. *Decides* that if at any time the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC or the Director General of the IAEA reports that Iraq is not cooperating in all respects with UNMOVIC or the IAEA or if Iraq is in the process of acquiring any prohibited items, the suspension of the prohibitions referred to in paragraph 33 above shall terminate on the fifth working day following the report, unless the Council decides to the contrary;

36. *Expresses its intention* to approve arrangements for effective financial and other operational measures, including on the delivery of and payment for authorized civilian commodities and products to be sold or supplied to Iraq, in order to ensure that Iraq does not acquire prohibited items in the event of suspension of the prohibitions referred to in paragraph 33 above, to begin the elaboration of such measures not later than the date of the receipt of the initial reports referred to in paragraph 33 above, and to approve such arrangements before the Council decision in accordance with that paragraph;

37. *Further expresses its intention* to take steps, based on the report and recommendations requested in paragraph 30 above, and consistent with the purpose of resolution 986 (1995) and related resolutions, to enable Iraq to increase its petroleum production and export capacity, upon receipt of the reports relating to the cooperation in all respects with UNMOVIC and the IAEA referred to in paragraph 33 above;

38. *Reaffirms* its intention to act in accordance with the relevant provisions of resolution 687 (1991) on the termination of prohibitions referred to in that resolution;

39. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter and *expresses its intention* to consider action in accordance with paragraph 33 above no later than 12 months from the date of the adoption of this resolution provided the conditions set out in paragraph 33 above have been satisfied by Iraq.

Source: United Nations Security Council, "Resolutions," United Nations, http://www.un.org/documents/scres.htm.

92. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, Final Report, July 22, 2004 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In November 2002, slightly more than a year after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on targets in New York and Washington, D.C., Congress established a bipartisan commission to investigate all the circumstances surrounding these events. Congress was responding in part to public frustration, expressed in particular by the families of those killed on September 11, as to how the attacks could have taken place. The body was cochaired by Thomas Kean, the Republican former governor of New Jersey, and Lee Hamilton,

the Democratic former congressman from Indiana, and included five Republicans and five Democrats appointed by President George W. Bush with input from Congress. In the course of its deliberations, the commission interviewed more than 1,200 individuals and scrutinized more than 2.5 million pages of documentation, some of it top secret. The president and vice president gave evidence before the commission, although no transcript was kept of their interviews. Some critics, including families of the September 11 victims, claimed that the commission's members were too close to the inner circles of power and in some cases had business links to the Arab world. The report, more than 560 pages in length, gave a detailed account of the events of September 11, 2001, and the previous growth during the 1990s of Al Qaeda and other Islamic extremist groups targeting the United States; identified weaknesses in U.S. security procedures, which if remedied might have prevented the attacks; stated that measures that the U.S. government had taken prior to September 2001 to address the dangers that Al Qaeda presented had been inadequate; highlighted failures to mobilize or pool intelligence resources; and warned that although the Al Qaeda headquarters in Afghanistan had been destroyed and many of the organization's top leaders had been killed, the United States was still not safe from terrorist threats. The report called for the appointment of a national intelligence director to coordinate the various overlapping and competing intelligence agencies. On the international front, the 9/11 report urged that the U.S. government should not merely attack terrorists but should also mount a major propaganda initiative to win over the Islamic world to American ideals, providing assistance for education and economic development and encouraging the growth of democratic regimes and respect for human rights. The report also called for long-term American and international commitments to the futures of both Pakistan and Afghanistan and suggested that the United States should encourage internal reforms in its ally, Saudi Arabia.

Primary Source

THE 9/11 COMMISSION REPORT

Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

We present the narrative of this report and the recommendations that flow from it to the President of the United States, the United States Congress, and the American people for their consideration. Ten Commissioners—five Republicans and five Democrats chosen by elected leaders from our nation's capital at a time of great partisan division—have come together to present this report without dissent.

We have come together with a unity of purpose because our nation demands it. September 11, 2001, was a day of unprecedented shock and suffering in the history of the United States. The nation was unprepared.

A NATION TRANSFORMED

At 8:46 on the morning of September 11, 2001, the United States became a nation transformed.

An airliner traveling at hundreds of miles per hour and carrying some 10,000 gallons of jet fuel plowed into the North Tower of the World Trade Center in Lower Manhattan. At 9:03, a second airliner hit the South Tower. Fire and smoke billowed upward. Steel, glass, ash, and bodies fell below. The Twin Towers, where up to 50,000 people worked each day, both collapsed less than 90 minutes later.

At 9:37 that same morning, a third airliner slammed into the western face of the Pentagon. At 10:03, a fourth airliner crashed in a field in southern Pennsylvania. It had been aimed at the United States Capitol or the White House, and was forced down by heroic passengers armed with the knowledge that America was under attack.

More than 2,600 people died at the World Trade Center; 125 died at the Pentagon; 256 died on the four planes. The death toll surpassed that at Pearl Harbor in December 1941.

This immeasurable pain was inflicted by 19 young Arabs acting at the behest of Islamist extremists headquartered in distant Afghanistan. Some had been in the United States for more than a year, mixing with the rest of the population. Though four had training as pilots, most were not well-educated. Most spoke English poorly, some hardly at all. In groups of four or five, carrying with them only small knives, box cutters, and cans of Mace or pepper spray, they had hijacked the four planes and turned them into deadly guided missiles.

Why did they do this? How was the attack planned and conceived? How did the U.S. government fail to anticipate and prevent it? What can we do in the future to prevent similar acts of terrorism?

A Shock, Not a Surprise

The 9/11 attacks were a shock, but they should not have come as a surprise. Islamist extremists had given plenty of warning that they meant to kill Americans indiscriminately and in large numbers. Although Usama Bin Ladin himself would not emerge as a signal threat until the late 1990s, the threat of Islamist terrorism grew over the decade.

In February 1993, a group led by Ramzi Yousef tried to bring down the World Trade Center with a truck bomb. They killed six and wounded a thousand. Plans by Omar Abdel Rahman and others

to blow up the Holland and Lincoln tunnels and other New York City landmarks were frustrated when the plotters were arrested. In October 1993, Somali tribesmen shot down U.S. helicopters, killing 18 and wounding 73 in an incident that came to be known as "Black Hawk down." Years later it would be learned that those Somali tribesmen had received help from al Qaeda.

In early 1995, police in Manila uncovered a plot by Ramzi Yousef to blow up a dozen U.S. airliners while they were flying over the Pacific. In November 1995, a car bomb exploded outside the office of the U.S. program manager for the Saudi National Guard in Riyadh, killing five Americans and two others. In June 1996, a truck bomb demolished the Khobar Towers apartment complex in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 U.S. servicemen and wounding hundreds. The attack was carried out primarily by Saudi Hezbollah, an organization that had received help from the government of Iran.

Until 1997, the U.S. intelligence community viewed Bin Ladin as a financier of terrorism, not as a terrorist leader. In February 1998, Usama Bin Ladin and four others issued a self-styled fatwa, publicly declaring that it was God's decree that every Muslim should try his utmost to kill any American, military or civilian, anywhere in the world, because of American "occupation" of Islam's holy places and aggression against Muslims.

In August 1998, Bin Ladin's group, al Qaeda, carried out near-simultaneous truck bomb attacks on the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The attacks killed 224 people, including 12 Americans, and wounded thousands more.

In December 1999, Jordanian police foiled a plot to bomb hotels and other sites frequented by American tourists, and a U.S. Customs agent arrested Ahmed Ressam at the U.S. Canadian border as he was smuggling in explosives intended for an attack on Los Angeles International Airport.

In October 2000, an al Qaeda team in Aden, Yemen, used a motorboat filled with explosives to blow a hole in the side of a destroyer, the USS Cole, almost sinking the vessel and killing 17 American sailors.

The 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were far more elaborate, precise, and destructive than any of these earlier assaults. But by September 2001, the executive branch of the U.S. government, the Congress, the news media, and the American public had received clear warning that Islamist terrorists meant to kill Americans in high numbers.

Who Is the Enemy?

Who is this enemy that created an organization capable of inflicting such horrific damage on the United States? We now know that these attacks were carried out by various groups of Islamist extremists. The 9/11 attack was driven by Usama Bin Ladin.

In the 1980s, young Muslims from around the world went to Afghanistan to join as volunteers in a jihad (or holy struggle) against the Soviet Union. A wealthy Saudi, Usama Bin Ladin, was one of them. Following the defeat of the Soviets in the late 1980s, Bin Ladin and others formed al Qaeda to mobilize jihads elsewhere.

The history, culture, and body of beliefs from which Bin Ladin shapes and spreads his message are largely unknown to many Americans. Seizing on symbols of Islam's past greatness, he promises to restore pride to people who consider themselves the victims of successive foreign masters. He uses cultural and religious allusions to the holy Qur'an and some of its interpreters. He appeals to people disoriented by cyclonic change as they confront modernity and globalization. His rhetoric selectively draws from multiple sources—Islam, history, and the region's political and economic malaise.

Bin Ladin also stresses grievances against the United States widely shared in the Muslim world. He inveighed against the presence of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia, which is the home of Islam's holiest sites, and against other U.S. policies in the Middle East.

Upon this political and ideological foundation, Bin Ladin built over the course of a decade a dynamic and lethal organization. He built an infrastructure and organization in Afghanistan that could attract, train, and use recruits against ever more ambitious targets. He rallied new zealots and new money with each demonstration of al Qaeda's capability. He had forged a close alliance with the Taliban, a regime providing sanctuary for al Qaeda.

By September 11, 2001, al Qaeda possessed

- leaders able to evaluate, approve, and supervise the planning and direction of a major operation;
- a personnel system that could recruit candidates, indoctrinate them, vet them, and give them the necessary training;
- communications sufficient to enable planning and direction of operatives and those who would be helping them;
- an intelligence effort to gather required information and form assessments of enemy strengths and weaknesses;
- the ability to move people great distances; and
- the ability to raise and move the money necessary to finance an attack.

1998 to September 11, 2001

The August 1998 bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania established al Qaeda as a potent adversary of the United States.

After launching cruise missile strikes against al Qaeda targets in Afghanistan and Sudan in retaliation for the embassy bombings, the Clinton administration applied diplomatic pressure to try to persuade the Taliban regime in Afghanistan to expel Bin Ladin. The administration also devised covert operations to use CIA-paid foreign agents to capture or kill Bin Ladin and his chief lieutenants. These actions did not stop Bin Ladin or dislodge al Qaeda from its sanctuary.

By late 1998 or early 1999, Bin Ladin and his advisers had agreed on an idea brought to them by Khalid Sheikh Mohammed (KSM) called the "planes operation." It would eventually culminate in the 9/11 attacks. Bin Ladin and his chief of operations, Mohammed Atef, occupied undisputed leadership positions atop al Qaeda. Within al Qaeda, they relied heavily on the ideas and enterprise of strong-willed field commanders, such as KSM, to carry out worldwide terrorist operations.

KSM claims that his original plot was even grander than those carried out on 9/11—ten planes would attack targets on both the East and West coasts of the United States. This plan was modified by Bin Ladin, KSM said, owing to its scale and complexity. Bin Ladin provided KSM with four initial operatives for suicide plane attacks within the United States, and in the fall of 1999 training for the attacks began. New recruits included four from a cell of expatriate Muslim extremists who had clustered together in Hamburg, Germany. One became the tactical commander of the operation in the United States: Mohamed Atta.

U.S. intelligence frequently picked up reports of attacks planned by al Qaeda. Working with foreign security services, the CIA broke up some al Qaeda cells. The core of Bin Ladin's organization nevertheless remained intact. In December 1999, news about the arrests of the terrorist cell in Jordan and the arrest of a terrorist at the U.S.-Canadian border became part of a "millennium alert." The government was galvanized, and the public was on alert for any possible attack.

In January 2000, the intense intelligence effort glimpsed and then lost sight of two operatives destined for the "planes operation." Spotted in Kuala Lumpur, the pair were lost passing through Bangkok. On January 15, 2000, they arrived in Los Angeles.

Because these two al Qaeda operatives had spent little time in the West and spoke little, if any, English, it is plausible that they or KSM would have tried to identify, in advance, a friendly contact in the United States. We explored suspicions about whether these two operatives had a support network of accomplices in the United States. The evidence is thin—simply not there for some cases, more worrisome in others.

We do know that soon after arriving in California, the two al Qaeda operatives sought out and found a group of ideologically like-minded Muslims with roots in Yemen and Saudi Arabia, individuals mainly associated with a young Yemeni and others who attended a mosque in San Diego. After a brief stay in Los Angeles about which we know little, the al Qaeda operatives lived openly in San Diego under their true names. They managed to avoid attracting much attention.

By the summer of 2000, three of the four Hamburg cell members had arrived on the East Coast of the United States and had begun pilot training. In early 2001, a fourth future hijacker pilot, Hani Hanjour, journeyed to Arizona with another operative, Nawaf al Hazmi, and conducted his refresher pilot training there. A number of al Qaeda operatives had spent time in Arizona during the 1980s and early 1990s.

During 2000, President Bill Clinton and his advisers renewed diplomatic efforts to get Bin Ladin expelled from Afghanistan. They also renewed secret efforts with some of the Taliban's opponents—the Northern Alliance—to get enough intelligence to attack Bin Ladin directly. Diplomatic efforts centered on the new military government in Pakistan, and they did not succeed. The efforts with the Northern Alliance revived an inconclusive and secret debate about whether the United States should take sides in Afghanistan's civil war and support the Taliban's enemies. The CIA also produced a plan to improve intelligence collection on al Qaeda, including the use of a small, unmanned airplane with a video camera, known as the Predator.

After the October 2000 attack on the USS Cole, evidence accumulated that it had been launched by al Qaeda operatives, but without confirmation that Bin Ladin had given the order. The Taliban had earlier been warned that it would be held responsible for another Bin Ladin attack on the United States. The CIA described its findings as a "preliminary judgment"; President Clinton and his chief advisers told us they were waiting for a conclusion before deciding whether to take military action. The military alternatives remained unappealing to them.

The transition to the new Bush administration in late 2000 and early 2001 took place with the Cole issue still pending. President George W. Bush and his chief advisers accepted that al Qaeda was responsible for the attack on the Cole, but did not like the options available for a response.

Bin Ladin's inference may well have been that attacks, at least at the level of the Cole, were risk free.

The Bush administration began developing a new strategy with the stated goal of eliminating the al Qaeda threat within three to five years.

During the spring and summer of 2001, U.S. intelligence agencies received a stream of warnings that al Qaeda planned, as one report

put it, "something very, very, very big." Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet told us, "The system was blinking red."

Although Bin Ladin was determined to strike in the United States, as President Clinton had been told and President Bush was reminded in a Presidential Daily Brief article briefed to him in August 2001, the specific threat information pointed overseas. Numerous precautions were taken overseas. Domestic agencies were not effectively mobilized. The threat did not receive national media attention comparable to the millennium alert.

While the United States continued disruption efforts around the world, its emerging strategy to eliminate the al Qaeda threat was to include an enlarged covert action program in Afghanistan, as well as diplomatic strategies for Afghanistan and Pakistan. The process culminated during the summer of 2001 in a draft presidential directive and arguments about the Predator aircraft, which was soon to be deployed with a missile of its own, so that it might be used to attempt to kill Bin Ladin or his chief lieutenants. At a September 4 meeting, President Bush's chief advisers approved the draft directive of the strategy and endorsed the concept of arming the Predator. This directive on the al Qaeda strategy was awaiting President Bush's signature on September 11, 2001.

Though the "planes operation" was progressing, the plotters had problems of their own in 2001. Several possible participants dropped out; others could not gain entry into the United States (including one denial at a port of entry and visa denials not related to terrorism). One of the eventual pilots may have considered abandoning the planes operation. Zacarias Moussaoui, who showed up at a flight training school in Minnesota, may have been a candidate to replace him.

Some of the vulnerabilities of the plotters become clear in retrospect. Moussaoui aroused suspicion for seeking fast-track training on how to pilot large jet airliners. He was arrested on August 16, 2001, for violations of immigration regulations. In late August, officials in the intelligence community realized that the terrorists spotted in Southeast Asia in January 2000 had arrived in the United States.

These cases did not prompt urgent action. No one working on these late leads in the summer of 2001 connected them to the high level of threat reporting. In the words of one official, no analytic work foresaw the lightning that could connect the thundercloud to the ground.

As final preparations were under way during the summer of 2001, dissent emerged among al Qaeda leaders in Afghanistan over whether to proceed. The Taliban's chief, Mullah Omar, opposed attacking the United States. Although facing opposition from many of his senior lieutenants, Bin Ladin effectively overruled their objections, and the attacks went forward.

September 11, 2001

The day began with the 19 hijackers getting through a security checkpoint system that they had evidently analyzed and knew how to defeat. Their success rate in penetrating the system was 19 for 19. They took over the four flights, taking advantage of air crews and cockpits that were not prepared for the contingency of a suicide hijacking.

On 9/11, the defense of U.S. air space depended on close interaction between two federal agencies: the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) and North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD). Existing protocols on 9/11 were unsuited in every respect for an attack in which hijacked planes were used as weapons.

What ensued was a hurried attempt to improvise a defense by civilians who had never handled a hijacked aircraft that attempted to disappear, and by a military unprepared for the transformation of commercial aircraft into weapons of mass destruction.

A shootdown authorization was not communicated to the NORAD air defense sector until 28 minutes after United 93 had crashed in Pennsylvania. Planes were scrambled, but ineffectively, as they did not know where to go or what targets they were to intercept. And once the shootdown order was given, it was not communicated to the pilots. In short, while leaders in Washington believed that the fighters circling above them had been instructed to "take out" hostile aircraft, the only orders actually conveyed to the pilots were to "ID type and tail."

Like the national defense, the emergency response on 9/11 was necessarily improvised.

In New York City, the Fire Department of New York, the New York Police Department, the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, the building employees, and the occupants of the buildings did their best to cope with the effects of almost unimaginable events-unfolding furiously over 102 minutes. Casualties were nearly 100 percent at and above the impact zones and were very high among first responders who stayed in danger as they tried to save lives. Despite weaknesses in preparations for disaster, failure to achieve unified incident command, and inadequate communications among responding agencies, all but approximately one hundred of the thousands of civilians who worked below the impact zone escaped, often with help from the emergency responders.

At the Pentagon, while there were also problems of command and control, the emergency response was generally effective. The Incident Command System, a formalized management structure for emergency response in place in the National Capital Region, overcame the inherent complications of a response across local, state, and federal jurisdictions.

Operational Opportunities

We write with the benefit and handicap of hindsight. We are mindful of the danger of being unjust to men and women who made choices in conditions of uncertainty and in circumstances over which they often had little control.

Nonetheless, there were specific points of vulnerability in the plot and opportunities to disrupt it. Operational failures—opportunities that were not or could not be exploited by the organizations and systems of that time—included

- not watchlisting future hijackers Hazmi and Mihdhar, not trailing them after they traveled to Bangkok, and not informing the FBI about one future hijacker's U.S. visa or his companion's travel to the United States;
- not sharing information linking individuals in the Cole attack to Mihdhar;
- not taking adequate steps in time to find Mihdhar or Hazmi in the United States;
- not linking the arrest of Zacarias Moussaoui, described as interested in flight training for the purpose of using an airplane in a terrorist act, to the heightened indications of attack;
- not discovering false statements on visa applications;
- not recognizing passports manipulated in a fraudulent manner;
- not expanding no-fly lists to include names from terrorist watchlists;
- not searching airline passengers identified by the computer-based CAPPS screening system; and
- not hardening aircraft cockpit doors or taking other measures to prepare for the possibility of suicide hijackings.

GENERAL FINDINGS

Since the plotters were flexible and resourceful, we cannot know whether any single step or series of steps would have defeated them. What we can say with confidence is that none of the measures adopted by the U.S. government from 1998 to 2001 disturbed or even delayed the progress of the al Qaeda plot. Across the government, there were failures of imagination, policy, capabilities, and management.

Imagination

The most important failure was one of imagination. We do not believe leaders understood the gravity of the threat. The terrorist danger from Bin Ladin and al Qaeda was not a major topic for policy debate among the public, the media, or in the Congress. Indeed, it barely came up during the 2000 presidential campaign.

Al Qaeda's new brand of terrorism presented challenges to U.S. governmental institutions that they were not well-designed to meet. Though top officials all told us that they understood the danger, we believe there was uncertainty among them as to whether this was just a new and especially venomous version of the ordinary terrorist threat the United States had lived with for decades, or it was indeed radically new, posing a threat beyond any yet experienced.

As late as September 4, 2001, Richard Clarke, the White House staffer long responsible for counterterrorism policy coordination, asserted that the government had not yet made up its mind how to answer the question: "Is al Qida a big deal?"

A week later came the answer.

Policy

Terrorism was not the overriding national security concern for the U.S. government under either the Clinton or the pre-9/11 Bush administration.

The policy challenges were linked to this failure of imagination. Officials in both the Clinton and Bush administrations regarded a full U.S. invasion of Afghanistan as practically inconceivable before 9/11.

Capabilities

Before 9/11, the United States tried to solve the al Qaeda problem with the capabilities it had used in the last stages of the Cold War and its immediate aftermath. These capabilities were insufficient. Little was done to expand or reform them.

The CIA had minimal capacity to conduct paramilitary operations with its own personnel, and it did not seek a large-scale expansion of these capabilities before 9/11. The CIA also needed to improve its capability to collect intelligence from human agents.

At no point before 9/11 was the Department of Defense fully engaged in the mission of countering al Qaeda, even though this was perhaps the most dangerous foreign enemy threatening the United States.

America's homeland defenders faced outward. NORAD itself was barely able to retain any alert bases at all. Its planning scenarios occasionally considered the danger of hijacked aircraft being guided to American targets, but only aircraft that were coming from overseas.

The most serious weaknesses in agency capabilities were in the domestic arena. The FBI did not have the capability to link the

collective knowledge of agents in the field to national priorities. Other domestic agencies deferred to the FBI.

FAA capabilities were weak. Any serious examination of the possibility of a suicide hijacking could have suggested changes to fix glaring vulnerabilities—expanding no-fly lists, searching passengers identified by the CAPPS screening system, deploying federal air marshals domestically, hardening cockpit doors, alerting air crews to a different kind of hijacking possibility than they had been trained to expect. Yet the FAA did not adjust either its own training or training with NORAD to take account of threats other than those experienced in the past.

Management

The missed opportunities to thwart the 9/11 plot were also symptoms of a broader inability to adapt the way government manages problems to the new challenges of the twenty-first century. Action officers should have been able to draw on all available knowledge about al Qaeda in the government. Management should have ensured that information was shared and duties were clearly assigned across agencies, and across the foreign-domestic divide.

There were also broader management issues with respect to how top leaders set priorities and allocated resources. For instance, on December 4, 1998, DCI Tenet issued a directive to several CIA officials and the DDCI for Community Management, stating: "We are at war. I want no resources or people spared in this effort, either inside CIA or the Community." The memorandum had little overall effect on mobilizing the CIA or the intelligence community. This episode indicates the limitations of the DCI's authority over the direction of the intelligence community, including agencies within the Department of Defense.

The U.S. government did not find a way of pooling intelligence and using it to guide the planning and assignment of responsibilities for joint operations involving entities as disparate as the CIA, the FBI, the State Department, the military, and the agencies involved in homeland security.

SPECIFIC FINDINGS

Unsuccessful Diplomacy

Beginning in February 1997, and through September 11, 2001, the U.S. government tried to use diplomatic pressure to persuade the Taliban regime in Afghanistan to stop being a sanctuary for al Qaeda, and to expel Bin Ladin to a country where he could face justice. These efforts included warnings and sanctions, but they all failed.

The U.S. government also pressed two successive Pakistani governments to demand that the Taliban cease providing a sanctuary for Bin Ladin and his organization and, failing that, to cut off their support for the Taliban. Before 9/11, the United States could not find a mix of incentives and pressure that would persuade Pakistan to reconsider its fundamental relationship with the Taliban.

From 1999 through early 2001, the United States pressed the United Arab Emirates, one of the Taliban's only travel and financial outlets to the outside world, to break off ties and enforce sanctions, especially those related to air travel to Afghanistan. These efforts achieved little before 9/11.

Saudi Arabia has been a problematic ally in combating Islamic extremism. Before 9/11, the Saudi and U.S. governments did not fully share intelligence information or develop an adequate joint effort to track and disrupt the finances of the al Qaeda organization. On the other hand, government officials of Saudi Arabia at the highest levels worked closely with top U.S. officials in major initiatives to solve the Bin Ladin problem with diplomacy.

Lack of Military Options

In response to the request of policymakers, the military prepared an array of limited strike options for attacking Bin Ladin and his organization from May 1998 onward. When they briefed policymakers, the military presented both the pros and cons of those strike options and the associated risks. Policymakers expressed frustration with the range of options presented.

Following the August 20, 1998, missile strikes on al Qaeda targets in Afghanistan and Sudan, both senior military officials and policymakers placed great emphasis on actionable intelligence as the key factor in recommending or deciding to launch military action against Bin Ladin and his organization. They did not want to risk significant collateral damage, and they did not want to miss Bin Ladin and thus make the United States look weak while making Bin Ladin look strong. On three specific occasions in 1998–1999, intelligence was deemed credible enough to warrant planning for possible strikes to kill Bin Ladin. But in each case the strikes did not go forward, because senior policymakers did not regard the intelligence as sufficiently actionable to offset their assessment of the risks.

The Director of Central Intelligence, policymakers, and military officials expressed frustration with the lack of actionable intelligence. Some officials inside the Pentagon, including those in the special forces and the counterterrorism policy office, also expressed frustration with the lack of military action. The Bush administration began to develop new policies toward al Qaeda in 2001, but military plans did not change until after 9/11.

Problems within the Intelligence Community

The intelligence community struggled throughout the 1990s and up to 9/11 to collect intelligence on and analyze the phenomenon of transnational terrorism. The combination of an overwhelming number of priorities, flat budgets, an outmoded structure, and bureaucratic rivalries resulted in an insufficient response to this new challenge.

Many dedicated officers worked day and night for years to piece together the growing body of evidence on al Qaeda and to understand the threats. Yet, while there were many reports on Bin Laden and his growing al Qaeda organization, there was no comprehensive review of what the intelligence community knew and what it did not know, and what that meant. There was no National Intelligence Estimate on terrorism between 1995 and 9/11.

Before 9/11, no agency did more to attack al Qaeda than the CIA. But there were limits to what the CIA was able to achieve by disrupting terrorist activities abroad and by using proxies to try to capture Bin Ladin and his lieutenants in Afghanistan. CIA officers were aware of those limitations.

To put it simply, covert action was not a silver bullet. It was important to engage proxies in Afghanistan and to build various capabilities so that if an opportunity presented itself, the CIA could act on it. But for more than three years, through both the late Clinton and early Bush administrations, the CIA relied on proxy forces, and there was growing frustration within the CIA's Counterterrorist Center and in the National Security Council staff with the lack of results. The development of the Predator and the push to aid the Northern Alliance were products of this frustration.

Problems in the FBI

From the time of the first World Trade Center attack in 1993, FBI and Department of Justice leadership in Washington and New York became increasingly concerned about the terrorist threat from Islamist extremists to U.S. interests, both at home and abroad. Throughout the 1990s, the FBI's counterterrorism efforts against international terrorist organizations included both intelligence and criminal investigations. The FBI's approach to investigations was case-specific, decentralized, and geared toward prosecution. Significant FBI resources were devoted to after-the-fact investigations of major terrorist attacks, resulting in several prosecutions.

The FBI attempted several reform efforts aimed at strengthening its ability to prevent such attacks, but these reform efforts failed to implement organization-wide institutional change. On September 11, 2001, the FBI was limited in several areas critical to an effective preventive counterterrorism strategy. Those working counterterrorism matters did so despite limited intelligence collection and strategic analysis capabilities, a limited capacity to share information both internally and externally, insufficient training, perceived legal barriers to sharing information, and inadequate resources.

Permeable Borders and Immigration Controls

There were opportunities for intelligence and law enforcement to exploit al Qaeda's travel vulnerabilities. Considered collectively, the 9/11 hijackers

- included known al Qaeda operatives who could have been watchlisted;
- presented passports manipulated in a fraudulent manner;
- presented passports with suspicious indicators of extremism;
- made detectable false statements on visa applications;
- made false statements to border officials to gain entry into the United States; and
- violated immigration laws while in the United States.

Neither the State Department's consular officers nor the Immigration and Naturalization Service's inspectors and agents were ever considered full partners in a national counterterrorism effort. Protecting borders was not a national security issue before 9/11.

Permeable Aviation Security

Hijackers studied publicly available materials on the aviation security system and used items that had less metal content than a handgun and were most likely permissible. Though two of the hijackers were on the U.S. TIPOFF terrorist watchlist, the FAA did not use TIPOFF data. The hijackers had to beat only one layer of security—the security checkpoint process. Even though several hijackers were selected for extra screening by the CAPPS system, this led only to greater scrutiny of their checked baggage. Once on board, the hijackers were faced with aircraft personnel who were trained to be nonconfrontational in the event of a hijacking.

Financing

The 9/11 attacks cost somewhere between $400,000 and $500,000 to execute. The operatives spent more than $270,000 in the United States. Additional expenses included travel to obtain passports and visas, travel to the United States, expenses incurred by the plot leader and facilitators outside the United States, and expenses incurred by the people selected to be hijackers who ultimately did not participate.

The conspiracy made extensive use of banks in the United States. The hijackers opened accounts in their own names, using

passports and other identification documents. Their transactions were unremarkable and essentially invisible amid the billions of dollars flowing around the world every day.

To date, we have not been able to determine the origin of the money used for the 9/11 attacks. Al Qaeda had many sources of funding and a pre-9/11 annual budget estimated at $30 million. If a particular source of funds had dried up, al Qaeda could easily have found enough money elsewhere to fund the attack.

An Improvised Homeland Defense

The civilian and military defenders of the nation's airspace—FAA and NORAD—were unprepared for the attacks launched against them. Given that lack of preparedness, they attempted and failed to improvise an effective homeland defense against an unprecedented challenge.

The events of that morning do not reflect discredit on operational personnel. NORAD's Northeast Air Defense Sector personnel reached out for information and made the best judgments they could based on the information they received. Individual FAA controllers, facility managers, and command center managers were creative and agile in recommending a nationwide alert, ground-stopping local traffic, ordering all aircraft nationwide to land, and executing that unprecedented order flawlessly.

At more senior levels, communication was poor. Senior military and FAA leaders had no effective communication with each other. The chain of command did not function well. The President could not reach some senior officials. The Secretary of Defense did not enter the chain of command until the morning's key events were over. Air National Guard units with different rules of engagement were scrambled without the knowledge of the President, NORAD, or the National Military Command Center.

Emergency Response

The civilians, firefighters, police officers, emergency medical technicians, and emergency management professionals exhibited steady determination and resolve under horrifying, overwhelming conditions on 9/11. Their actions saved lives and inspired a nation.

Effective decisionmaking in New York was hampered by problems in command and control and in internal communications. Within the Fire Department of New York, this was true for several reasons: the magnitude of the incident was unforeseen; commanders had difficulty communicating with their units; more units were actually dispatched than were ordered by the chiefs; some units self-dispatched; and once units arrived at the World Trade Center, they were neither comprehensively accounted for nor coordinated. The Port Authority's response was hampered by the lack both of standard operating procedures and of radios capable of enabling multiple commands to respond to an incident in unified fashion. The New York Police Department, because of its history of mobilizing thousands of officers for major events requiring crowd control, had a technical radio capability and protocols more easily adapted to an incident of the magnitude of 9/11.

Congress

The Congress, like the executive branch, responded slowly to the rise of transnational terrorism as a threat to national security. The legislative branch adjusted little and did not restructure itself to address changing threats. Its attention to terrorism was episodic and splintered across several committees. The Congress gave little guidance to executive branch agencies on terrorism, did not reform them in any significant way to meet the threat, and did not systematically perform robust oversight to identify, address, and attempt to resolve the many problems in national security and domestic agencies that became apparent in the aftermath of 9/11.

So long as oversight is undermined by current congressional rules and resolutions, we believe the American people will not get the security they want and need. The United States needs a strong, stable, and capable congressional committee structure to give America's national intelligence agencies oversight, support, and leadership.

Are We Safer?

Since 9/11, the United States and its allies have killed or captured a majority of al Qaeda's leadership; toppled the Taliban, which gave al Qaeda sanctuary in Afghanistan; and severely damaged the organization. Yet terrorist attacks continue. Even as we have thwarted attacks, nearly everyone expects they will come. How can this be?

The problem is that al Qaeda represents an ideological movement, not a finite group of people. It initiates and inspires, even if it no longer directs. In this way it has transformed itself into a decentralized force. Bin Ladin may be limited in his ability to organize major attacks from his hideouts. Yet killing or capturing him, while extremely important, would not end terror. His message of inspiration to a new generation of terrorists would continue.

Because of offensive actions against al Qaeda since 9/11, and defensive actions to improve homeland security, we believe we are safer today. But we are not safe. We therefore make the following recommendations that we believe can make America safer and more secure.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Three years after 9/11, the national debate continues about how to protect our nation in this new era. We divide our recommendations into two basic parts: What to do, and how to do it.

WHAT TO DO? A GLOBAL STRATEGY

The enemy is not just "terrorism." It is the threat posed specifically by Islamist terrorism, by Bin Ladin and others who draw on a long tradition of extreme intolerance within a minority strain of Islam that does not distinguish politics from religion, and distorts both.

The enemy is not Islam, the great world faith, but a perversion of Islam. The enemy goes beyond al Qaeda to include the radical ideological movement, inspired in part by al Qaeda, that has spawned other terrorist groups and violence. Thus our strategy must match our means to two ends: dismantling the al Qaeda network and, in the long term, prevailing over the ideology that contributes to Islamist terrorism.

The first phase of our post-9/11 efforts rightly included military action to topple the Taliban and pursue al Qaeda. This work continues. But long-term success demands the use of all elements of national power: diplomacy, intelligence, covert action, law enforcement, economic policy, foreign aid, public diplomacy, and homeland defense. If we favor one tool while neglecting others, we leave ourselves vulnerable and weaken our national effort.

What should Americans expect from their government? The goal seems unlimited: Defeat terrorism anywhere in the world. But Americans have also been told to expect the worst: An attack is probably coming; it may be more devastating still.

Vague goals match an amorphous picture of the enemy. Al Qaeda and other groups are popularly described as being all over the world, adaptable, resilient, needing little higher-level organization, and capable of anything. It is an image of an omnipotent hydra of destruction. That image lowers expectations of government effectiveness.

It lowers them too far. Our report shows a determined and capable group of plotters. Yet the group was fragile and occasionally left vulnerable by the marginal, unstable people often attracted to such causes. The enemy made mistakes. The U.S. government was not able to capitalize on them.

No president can promise that a catastrophic attack like that of 9/11 will not happen again. But the American people are entitled to expect that officials will have realistic objectives, clear guidance, and effective organization. They are entitled to see standards for performance so they can judge, with the help of their elected representatives, whether the objectives are being met.

We propose a strategy with three dimensions: (1) attack terrorists and their organizations, (2) prevent the continued growth of Islamist terrorism, and (3) protect against and prepare for terrorist attacks.

Attack Terrorists and Their Organizations

- Root out sanctuaries. The U.S. government should identify and prioritize actual or potential terrorist sanctuaries and have realistic country or regional strategies for each, utilizing every element of national power and reaching out to countries that can help us.
- Strengthen long-term U.S. and international commitments to the future of Pakistan and Afghanistan.
- Confront problems with Saudi Arabia in the open and build a relationship beyond oil, a relationship that both sides can defend to their citizens and includes a shared commitment to reform.

Prevent the Continued Growth of Islamist Terrorism

In October 2003, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld asked if enough was being done "to fashion a broad integrated plan to stop the next generation of terrorists." As part of such a plan, the U.S. government should

- Define the message and stand as an example of moral leadership in the world. To Muslim parents, terrorists like Bin Ladin have nothing to offer their children but visions of violence and death. America and its friends have the advantage—our vision can offer a better future.
- Where Muslim governments, even those who are friends, do not offer opportunity, respect the rule of law, or tolerate differences, then the United States needs to stand for a better future.
- Communicate and defend American ideals in the Islamic world, through much stronger public diplomacy to reach more people, including students and leaders outside of government. Our efforts here should be as strong as they were in combating closed societies during the Cold War.
- Offer an agenda of opportunity that includes support for public education and economic openness.
- Develop a comprehensive coalition strategy against Islamist terrorism, using a flexible contact group of leading coalition governments and fashioning a common coalition approach on issues like the treatment of captured terrorists.
- Devote a maximum effort to the parallel task of countering the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

- Expect less from trying to dry up terrorist money and more from following the money for intelligence, as a tool to hunt terrorists, understand their networks, and disrupt their operations.

Protect against and Prepare for Terrorist Attacks

- Target terrorist travel, an intelligence and security strategy that the 9/11 story showed could be at least as powerful as the effort devoted to terrorist finance.
- Address problems of screening people with biometric identifiers across agencies and governments, including our border and transportation systems, by designing a comprehensive screening system that addresses common problems and sets common standards. As standards spread, this necessary and ambitious effort could dramatically strengthen the world's ability to intercept individuals who could pose catastrophic threats.
- Quickly complete a biometric entry-exit screening system, one that also speeds qualified travelers.
- Set standards for the issuance of birth certificates and sources of identification, such as driver's licenses.
- Develop strategies for neglected parts of our transportation security system. Since 9/11, about 90 percent of the nation's $5 billion annual investment in transportation security has gone to aviation, to fight the last war.
- In aviation, prevent arguments about a new computerized profiling system from delaying vital improvements in the "no-fly" and "automatic selectee" lists. Also, give priority to the improvement of checkpoint screening.
- Determine, with leadership from the President, guidelines for gathering and sharing information in the new security systems that are needed, guidelines that integrate safeguards for privacy and other essential liberties.
- Underscore that as government power necessarily expands in certain ways, the burden of retaining such powers remains on the executive to demonstrate the value of such powers and ensure adequate supervision of how they are used, including a new board to oversee the implementation of the guidelines needed for gathering and sharing information in these new security systems.
- Base federal funding for emergency preparedness solely on risks and vulnerabilities, putting New York City and Washington, D.C., at the top of the current list. Such assistance should not remain a program for general revenue sharing or pork-barrel spending.
- Make homeland security funding contingent on the adoption of an incident command system to strengthen teamwork in a crisis, including a regional approach. Allocate more radio spectrum and improve connectivity for public safety communications, and encourage widespread adoption of newly developed standards for private-sector emergency preparedness—since the private sector controls 85 percent of the nation's critical infrastructure.

HOW TO DO IT? A DIFFERENT WAY OF ORGANIZING GOVERNMENT

The strategy we have recommended is elaborate, even as presented here very briefly. To implement it will require a government better organized than the one that exists today, with its national security institutions designed half a century ago to win the Cold War. Americans should not settle for incremental, ad hoc adjustments to a system created a generation ago for a world that no longer exists.

Our detailed recommendations are designed to fit together. Their purpose is clear: to build unity of effort across the U.S. government. As one official now serving on the front lines overseas put it to us: "One fight, one team."

We call for unity of effort in five areas, beginning with unity of effort on the challenge of counterterrorism itself:

- unifying strategic intelligence and operational planning against Islamist terrorists across the foreign-domestic divide with a National Counterterrorism Center;
- unifying the intelligence community with a new National Intelligence Director;
- unifying the many participants in the counterterrorism effort and their knowledge in a network-based information sharing system that transcends traditional governmental boundaries;
- unifying and strengthening congressional oversight to improve quality and accountability; and
- strengthening the FBI and homeland defenders.

Unity of Effort: A National Counterterrorism Center

The 9/11 story teaches the value of integrating strategic intelligence from all sources into joint operational planning—with both dimensions spanning the foreign-domestic divide.

- In some ways, since 9/11, joint work has gotten better. The effort of fighting terrorism has flooded over many of the usual agency boundaries because of its sheer quantity and energy. Attitudes have changed. But the problems of coordination have multiplied. The Defense Department alone has three unified commands (SOCOM, CENTCOM, and NORTHCOM) that deal with terrorism as one of their principal concerns.
- Much of the public commentary about the 9/11 attacks has focused on "lost opportunities." Though characterized as problems of "watchlisting," "information sharing," or

"connecting the dots," each of these labels is too narrow. They describe the symptoms, not the disease.

- Breaking the older mold of organization stovepiped purely in executive agencies, we propose a National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) that would borrow the joint, unified command concept adopted in the 1980s by the American military in a civilian agency, combining the joint intelligence function alongside the operations work.
- The NCTC would build on the existing Terrorist Threat Integration Center and would replace it and other terrorism "fusion centers" within the government. The NCTC would become the authoritative knowledge bank, bringing information to bear on common plans. It should task collection requirements both inside and outside the United States.
- The NCTC should perform joint operational planning, assigning lead responsibilities to existing agencies and letting them direct the actual execution of the plans.
- Placed in the Executive Office of the President, headed by a Senate-confirmed official (with rank equal to the deputy head of a cabinet department) who reports to the National Intelligence Director, the NCTC would track implementation of plans. It would be able to influence the leadership and the budgets of the counterterrorism operating arms of the CIA, the FBI, and the departments of Defense and Homeland Security.
- The NCTC should not be a policymaking body. Its operations and planning should follow the policy direction of the president and the National Security Council.

Unity of Effort: A National Intelligence Director

Since long before 9/11—and continuing to this day—the intelligence community is not organized well for joint intelligence work. It does not employ common standards and practices in reporting intelligence or in training experts overseas and at home. The expensive national capabilities for collecting intelligence have divided management. The structures are too complex and too secret.

- The community's head—the Director of Central Intelligence—has at least three jobs: running the CIA, coordinating a 15-agency confederation, and being the intelligence analyst-in-chief to the president. No one person can do all these things.
- A new National Intelligence Director should be established with two main jobs: (1) to oversee national intelligence centers that combine experts from all the collection disciplines against common targets—like counterterrorism or nuclear proliferation; and (2) to oversee the agencies that contribute to the national intelligence program, a task that includes setting common standards for personnel and information technology.
- The national intelligence centers would be the unified commands of the intelligence world—a long-overdue reform for intelligence comparable to the 1986 Goldwater-Nichols law that reformed the organization of national defense. The home services—such as the CIA, DIA, NSA, and FBI—would organize, train, and equip the best intelligence professionals in the world, and would handle the execution of intelligence operations in the field.
- This National Intelligence Director (NID) should be located in the Executive Office of the President and report directly to the president, yet be confirmed by the Senate. In addition to overseeing the National Counterterrorism Center described above (which will include both the national intelligence center for terrorism and the joint operations planning effort), the NID should have three deputies:
  - For foreign intelligence (a deputy who also would be the head of the CIA)
  - For defense intelligence (also the under secretary of defense for intelligence)
  - For homeland intelligence (also the executive assistant director for intelligence at the FBI or the under secretary of homeland security for information analysis and infrastructure protection)
- The NID should receive a public appropriation for national intelligence, should have authority to hire and fire his or her intelligence deputies, and should be able to set common personnel and information technology policies across the intelligence community.
- The CIA should concentrate on strengthening the collection capabilities of its clandestine service and the talents of its analysts, building pride in its core expertise.
- Secrecy stifles oversight, accountability, and information sharing. Unfortunately, all the current organizational incentives encourage overclassification. This balance should change; and as a start, open information should be provided about the overall size of agency intelligence budgets.

Unity of Effort: Sharing Information

The U.S. government has access to a vast amount of information. But it has a weak system for processing and using what it has. The system of "need to know" should be replaced by a system of "need to share."

- The President should lead a government-wide effort to bring the major national security institutions into the information revolution, turning a mainframe system into a decentralized network. The obstacles are not technological. Official after official has urged us to call attention to problems with the unglamorous "back office" side of government operations.

- But no agency can solve the problems on its own—to build the network requires an effort that transcends old divides, solving common legal and policy issues in ways that can help officials know what they can and cannot do. Again, in tackling information issues, America needs unity of effort.

Unity of Effort: Congress

Congress took too little action to adjust itself or to restructure the executive branch to address the emerging terrorist threat. Congressional oversight for intelligence—and counterterrorism—is dysfunctional. Both Congress and the executive need to do more to minimize national security risks during transitions between administrations.

- For intelligence oversight, we propose two options: either a joint committee on the old model of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy or a single committee in each house combining authorizing and appropriating committees. Our central message is the same: the intelligence committees cannot carry out their oversight function unless they are made stronger, and thereby have both clear responsibility and accountability for that oversight.
- Congress should create a single, principal point of oversight and review for homeland security. There should be one permanent standing committee for homeland security in each chamber.
- We propose reforms to speed up the nomination, financial reporting, security clearance, and confirmation process for national security officials at the start of an administration, and suggest steps to make sure that incoming administrations have the information they need.

Unity of Effort: Organizing America's Defenses in the United States

We have considered several proposals relating to the future of the domestic intelligence and counterterrorism mission. Adding a new domestic intelligence agency will not solve America's problems in collecting and analyzing intelligence within the United States. We do not recommend creating one.

- We propose the establishment of a specialized and integrated national security workforce at the FBI, consisting of agents, analysts, linguists, and surveillance specialists who are recruited, trained, rewarded, and retained to ensure the development of an institutional culture imbued with a deep expertise in intelligence and national security.
- At several points we asked: Who has the responsibility for defending us at home? Responsibility for America's national defense is shared by the Department of Defense, with its new Northern Command, and by the Department of Homeland Security. They must have a clear delineation of roles, missions, and authority.
- The Department of Defense and its oversight committees should regularly assess the adequacy of Northern Command's strategies and planning to defend against military threats to the homeland.
- The Department of Homeland Security and its oversight committees should regularly assess the types of threats the country faces, in order to determine the adequacy of the government's plans and the readiness of the government to respond to those threats.

We call on the American people to remember how we all felt on 9/11, to remember not only the unspeakable horror but how we came together as a nation—one nation. Unity of purpose and unity of effort are the way we will defeat this enemy and make America safer for our children and grandchildren.

We look forward to a national debate on the merits of what we have recommended, and we will participate vigorously in that debate.

Source: National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report,* http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/index.htm.

93. President George W. Bush, Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People on the U.S. Response to the September 11 Terrorist Attacks, September 20, 2001 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Nine days after the airborne attacks that destroyed the World Trade Center in New York and damaged the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., President George W. Bush addressed a joint session of Congress. He first applauded the courage of those Americans who had helped to rescue the wounded and thanked Congress and foreign nations and citizens for their support. Bush then declared that the events of September 11, 2001, represented "an act of war against our country" and against "freedom itself." Al Qaeda, the group responsible for the attacks, was, he warned, only one of numerous Islamic terrorist organizations active in more than 60 countries. While stating his respect for the Muslim faith, Bush declared that the United States was declaring a "war on terror," not just against al Qaeda but against all other terrorist organizations, one that would "not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated." Bush called on the Taliban regime in Afghanistan,

which was providing the well-funded Al Qaeda organization with an operational base and training facilities, to dissociate itself from Al Qaeda, hand over to American authorities all its leaders currently in Afghanistan, and close down the group's training camps. Otherwise, the Taliban regime would itself face U.S. military intervention. Moreover, Bush warned, this would be only the beginning of a lengthy American campaign against terrorism. In perhaps rather overblown rhetoric, Bush declared that what was at stake was "not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight." The terrorists, he charged, "hate our freedoms—our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other." He asked the entire "civilized world" to rally to the side of the United States and proclaimed that "Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom—the great achievement of our time, and the great hope of every time—now depends on us." Bush's grandiose language and his depiction of the effort to eradicate international terrorism as a Manichaean battle between good and evil, the forces of light and the forces of darkness, recalled the rhetoric of the Cold War that had dominated so much of the 20th century.

Primary Source

[. . .]

In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this Chamber to report on the state of the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people.

We have seen it in the courage of passengers, who rushed terrorists to save others on the ground. . . .

We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion. We have seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own.

My fellow citizens, for the last 9 days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union, and it is strong.

Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done.

[. . .]

And on behalf of the American people, I thank the world for its outpouring of support. America will never forget the sounds of our national anthem playing at Buckingham Palace, on the streets of Paris, and at Berlin's Brandenburg Gate. We will not forget South Korean children gathering to pray outside our Embassy in Seoul, or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque in Cairo. We will not forget moments of silence and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and Latin America.

Nor will we forget the citizens of 80 other nations who died with our own: dozens of Pakistanis; more than 130 Israelis; more than 250 citizens of India; men and women from El Salvador, Iran, Mexico, and Japan; and hundreds of British citizens. America has no truer friend than Great Britain. Once again, we are joined together in a great cause—so honored the British Prime Minister [Tony Blair] has crossed an ocean to show his unity with America. Thank you for coming, friend.

On September 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars, but for the past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war, but not at the center of a great city on a peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks, but never before on thousands of civilians. All of this was brought upon us in a single day, and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack.

Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking, who attacked our country? The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as Al Qaida.

They are some of the murderers indicted for bombing American Embassies in Tanzania and Kenya and responsible for bombing the U.S.S. *Cole.* Al Qaida is to terror what the Mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money. Its goal is remaking the world and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.

The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics, a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam. The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans, and make no distinctions among military and civilians, including women and children.

This group and its leader, a person named Usama bin Laden, are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan, where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction.

The leadership of Al Qaida has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In

Afghanistan, we see Al Qaida's vision for the world. Afghanistan's people have been brutalized. Many are starving, and many have fled.

Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough.

The United States respects the people of Afghanistan—after all, we are currently its largest source of humanitarian aid—but we condemn the Taliban regime. It is not only repressing its own people; it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder.

And tonight the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban: Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of Al Qaida who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats, and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist and every person in their support structure to appropriate authorities. Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating.

These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate.

I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It's practiced freely by many millions of Americans and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah. The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself.

The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists and every government that supports them.

Our war on terror begins with Al Qaida, but it does not end there.

It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated.

Americans are asking, why do they hate us? They hate what we see right here in this Chamber, a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms—our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa.

These terrorists kill not merely to end lives but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us, because we stand in their way.

We are not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions, by abandoning every value except the will to power, they follow in the path of fascism and Nazism and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends, in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies.

Americans are asking, how will we fight and win this war? We will direct every resource at our command—every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war—to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network.

This war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo 2 years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat.

Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make: Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.

Our Nation has been put on notice: We are not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans.

Today dozens of Federal departments and agencies, as well as State and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security.

These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level.

So tonight I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me, the Office of Homeland Security. And tonight I also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort to strengthen American security, a military veteran, an effective Governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend, Pennsylvania's Tom Ridge. He will lead, oversee, and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy to safeguard our country against terrorism and respond to any attacks that may come.

These measures are essential. But the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it, and destroy it where it grows. Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents to intelligence operatives to the reservists we have called to active duty. All deserve our thanks, and all have our prayers. And tonight, a few miles from the damaged Pentagon, I have a message for our military:

Be ready. I've called the Armed Forces to alert, and there is a reason.

The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud.

This is not, however, just America's fight, and what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom.

We ask every nation to join us. We will ask, and we will need, the help of police forces, intelligence services, and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded with sympathy and with support, nations from Latin America to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world. Perhaps the NATO Charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on all.

The civilized world is rallying to America's side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror, unanswered, cannot only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And you know what? We're not going to allow it.

Americans are asking, what is expected of us? I ask you to live your lives and hug your children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat.

I ask you to uphold the values of America and remember why so many have come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith.

I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, libertyunites.org, to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you to give it.

I ask for your patience with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security and for your patience in what will be a long struggle.

I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy. Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity. They did not touch its source. America is successful because of the hard work and creativity and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy before September 11th, and they are our strengths today.

And finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform, and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead.

Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do. And ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives, for what you have already done and for what we will do together.

Tonight we face new and sudden national challenges. We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights and take new measures to prevent hijacking.

We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying, with direct assistance during this emergency.

We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities, to know the plans of terrorists before they act and find them before they strike. We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America's economy and put our people back to work.

[. . .]

After all that has just passed, all the lives taken and all the possibilities and hopes that died with them, it is natural to wonder if America's future is one of fear. Some speak of an age of terror. I know there are struggles ahead and dangers to face. But this country will define our times, not be defined by them. As long as the

United States of America is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world.

Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger, we have found our mission and our moment. Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom, the great achievement of our time and the great hope of every time, now depends on us. Our Nation—this generation—will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage. We will not tire; we will not falter; and we will not fail.

It is my hope that in the months and years ahead, life will return almost to normal. We'll go back to our lives and routines, and that is good. Even grief recedes with time and grace. But our resolve must not pass. Each of us will remember what happened that day and to whom it happened. We'll remember the moment the news came, where we were, and what we were doing. Some will remember an image of a fire or a story of rescue. Some will carry memories of a face and a voice gone forever.

And I will carry this: It is the police shield of a man named George Howard, who died at the World Trade Center trying to save others. It was given to me by his mom, Arlene [Arlene Howard], as a proud memorial to her son. It is my reminder of lives that ended and a task that does not end. I will not forget this wound to our country and those who inflicted it. I will not yield; I will not rest; I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people.

The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them.

Fellow citizens, we'll meet violence with patient justice, assured of the rightness of our cause and confident of the victories to come. In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom, and may He watch over the United States of America.

Source: "Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People," U.S. Department of Homeland Security, http://www.dhs.gov/xnews/speeches/speech_0016.shtm.

94. Project for the New American Century, "Lead the World to Victory," Open Letter to President George W. Bush, September 20, 2001

Introduction

Ten days after Al Qaeda operatives destroyed the World Trade Center in New York and seriously damaged the Pentagon building in Washington, D.C., the neoconservative think tank Project for the New American Century addressed an open letter to President George W. Bush. This document not only endorsed calls by the president and Secretary of State Colin Powell for the United States and its citizens to wage all-out "war on terror" but also renewed the organization's earlier appeals to his Democratic predecessor, Bill Clinton, to overthrow the government of President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. Even if there were no direct links between Iraq and Al Qaeda's recent operation, the letter argued, Hussein was nonetheless a leading terrorist, and the United States should "provide full military and financial support to the Iraqi opposition" and "back up [this] commitment . . . by all necessary means." While not necessarily endorsing full-scale war against Iraq, this statement certainly did not preclude such action. Other policies that the Project for the New American Century supported included military action in Afghanistan to eliminate Al Qaeda forces and the Taliban government; efforts to destroy the radical Islamic group Hezbollah and to persuade Iran and Syria to cease their assistance to it; strong backing for Israel, including American insistence that the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) move decisively against terrorism in areas it controlled; and major increases in defense spending. Prominent members of Project for the New American Century who now held office within the Bush administration were precluded from signing this letter but were in positions that would facilitate their implementation of its prescriptions. They included Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and his deputy, Paul Wolfowitz; Peter W. Rodman, assistance secretary of defense for international security affairs; Richard Perle, chairman of the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board; William Schneider Jr., chairman of the Pentagon's Defense Science Board; Elliott Abrams, National Security Council senior director for Near East, Southeast Asian, and North African affairs; Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage; John Bolton, undersecretary of state for arms control and international security; Paula Dobriansky, undersecretary of state for global affairs; Zalmay Khalilzad, special assistant to the president and senior director for Southwest Asia, Near East, and North African affairs at the National Security Council, who later successively became U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan, Iraq, and the United Nations (UN); and Robert B. Zoellick, U.S. trade representative.

Primary Source

The Honorable George W. Bush
President of the United States

Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President,

We write to endorse your admirable commitment to "lead the world to victory" in the war against terrorism. We fully support your call for "a broad and sustained campaign" against the "terrorist organizations and those who harbor and support them." We agree with Secretary of State Powell that the United States must find and punish the perpetrators of the horrific attack of September 11, and we must, as he said, "go after terrorism wherever we find it in the world" and "get it by its branch and root." We agree with the Secretary of State that U.S. policy must aim not only at finding the people responsible for this incident, but must also target those "other groups out there that mean us no good" and "that have conducted attacks previously against U.S. personnel, U.S. interests and our allies."

In order to carry out this "first war of the 21st century" successfully, and in order, as you have said, to do future "generations a favor by coming together and whipping terrorism," we believe the following steps are necessary parts of a comprehensive strategy.

Osama bin Laden

We agree that a key goal, but by no means the only goal, of the current war on terrorism should be to capture or kill Osama bin Laden, and to destroy his network of associates. To this end, we support the necessary military action in Afghanistan and the provision of substantial financial and military assistance to the anti-Taliban forces in that country.

Iraq

We agree with Secretary of State Powell's recent statement that Saddam Hussein "is one of the leading terrorists on the face of the Earth. . . ." It may be that the Iraqi government provided assistance in some form to the recent attack on the United States. But even if evidence does not link Iraq directly to the attack, any strategy aiming at the eradication of terrorism and its sponsors must include a determined effort to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq. Failure to undertake such an effort will constitute an early and perhaps decisive surrender in the war on international terrorism. The United States must therefore provide full military and financial support to the Iraqi opposition. American military force should be used to provide a "safe zone" in Iraq from which the opposition can operate. And American forces must be prepared to back up our commitment to the Iraqi opposition by all necessary means.

Hezbollah

Hezbollah is one of the leading terrorist organizations in the world. It is suspected of having been involved in the 1998 bombings of the American embassies in Africa, and implicated in the bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut in 1983. Hezbollah clearly falls in the category cited by Secretary Powell of groups "that mean us no good" and "that have conducted attacks previously against U.S. personnel, U.S. interests and our allies." Therefore, any war against terrorism must target Hezbollah. We believe the administration should demand that Iran and Syria immediately cease all military, financial, and political support for Hezbollah and its operations. Should Iran and Syria refuse to comply, the administration should consider appropriate measures of retaliation against these known state sponsors of terrorism.

Israel and the Palestinian Authority

Israel has been and remains America's staunchest ally against international terrorism, especially in the Middle East. The United States should fully support our fellow democracy in its fight against terrorism. We should insist that the Palestinian Authority put a stop to terrorism emanating from territories under its control and imprison those planning terrorist attacks against Israel. Until the Palestinian Authority moves against terror, the United States should provide it no further assistance.

U.S. Defense Budget

A serious and victorious war on terrorism will require a large increase in defense spending. Fighting this war may well require the United States to engage a well-armed foe, and will also require that we remain capable of defending our interests elsewhere in the world. We urge that there be no hesitation in requesting whatever funds for defense are needed to allow us to win this war.

There is, of course, much more that will have to be done. Diplomatic efforts will be required to enlist other nations' aid in this war on terrorism. Economic and financial tools at our disposal will have to be used. There are other actions of a military nature that may well be needed. However, in our judgement the steps outlined above constitute the minimum necessary if this war is to be fought effectively and brought to a successful conclusion. Our purpose in writing is to assure you of our support as you do what must be done to lead the nation to victory in this fight.

Sincerely,

William Kristol

Richard V. Allen	Gary Bauer	Jeffrey Bell
William J. Bennett	Rudy Boshwitz	Jeffrey Bergner
Eliot Cohen	Seth Cropsey	Midge Decter
Thomas Donnelly	Nicholas Eberstadt	Hillel Fradkin
Aaron Friedberg	Francis Fukuyama	Frank Gaffney
Jeffrey Gedmin	Reuel Marc Gerecht	Charles Hill
Bruce P. Jackson	Eli S. Jacobs	Michael Joyce
Donald Kagan	Robert Kagan	Jeane Kirkpatrick
Charles Krauthammer	John Lehman	Clifford May
Martin Peretz	Richard Perle	Norman Podhoretz
Stephen P. Rosen	Randy Scheunemann	Gary Schmitt
William Schneider, Jr.	Richard H. Shultz	Henry Sokolski
Stephen J. Solarz	Vin Weber	Leon Wieseltier
Marshall Wittmann		

Source: "Letter to President Bush on the War on Terrorism," Project for the New American Century, http://www.newamericancentury.org/Bushletter.htm.

95. Edward W. Said, "The Clash of Ignorance," October 2001 [Excerpts]

Introduction

To many observers, the attacks against symbolic American landmarks, including the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon building in Washington, D.C., that the Islamic terrorist organization Al Qaeda launched on September 11, 2001, seemed to validate the thesis put forward some years earlier by Harvard University professor Samuel Huntington that once the Cold War had ended, a "clash of civilizations" would dominate the international scene. The two "civilizations" that he believed were most likely to come into conflict were Islam and the Western Judeo-Christian culture. Writing in the intellectual journal of opinion *The Nation* in October 2001, another leading academic celebrity, the Palestinian-born Edward W. Said of Columbia University, dissented from this view. Said argued that depicting all Muslims as followers of Al Qaeda's leader Osama bin Laden and therefore adamantly opposed to the West was far too simplistic, and ignored the existence within Islam of strongly anti–Al Qaeda elements. Said drew attention to a long history of "exchange, cross-fertilization, and sharing" between the West and Islam, one as significant as that of "wars of religion and imperial conquest." Said took issue with the use of Manichaean rhetoric that divided the world into bad and good, "vast abstractions that may give momentary satisfaction but little self-knowledge or informed analysis." He also questioned the inclination by some right-wing American officials within the administration of U.S. president George W. Bush "to draw lines in the sand, to undertake crusades" against an abstract and near-omnipotent enemy that they tended to identify with Islam. Perceptive though it was, Said's analysis had far less impact than that of Huntington, and many in both the West and Islam continued to perceive world affairs in terms of an almost inevitable clash of civilizations.

Primary Source

"The Clash of Ignorance"

Edward W. Said

Samuel Huntington's article "The Clash of Civilizations?" appeared in the Summer 1993 issue of *Foreign Affairs,* where it immediately attracted a surprising amount of attention and reaction. Because the article was intended to supply Americans with an original thesis about "a new phase" in world politics after the end of the cold war, Huntington's terms of argument seemed compellingly large, bold, even visionary. He very clearly had his eye on rivals in the policy-making ranks, theorists such as Francis Fukuyama and his "end of history" ideas, as well as the legions who had celebrated the onset of globalism, tribalism and the dissipation of the state. But they, he allowed, had understood only some aspects of this new period. He was about to announce the "crucial, indeed a central, aspect" of what "global politics is likely to be in the coming years." Unhesitatingly he pressed on:

"It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. *Nation* states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future."

Most of the argument in the pages that followed relied on a vague notion of something Huntington called "civilization identity" and "the interactions among seven or eight [*sic*] major civilizations," of which the conflict between two of them, Islam and the West, gets the lion's share of his attention. In this belligerent kind of thought, he relies heavily on a 1990 article by the veteran Orientalist Bernard Lewis, whose ideological colors are manifest in its title, "The Roots of Muslim Rage." In both articles, the personification of enormous entities called "the West" and "Islam" is recklessly affirmed, as if hugely complicated matters like identity and culture existed in a cartoonlike world where Popeye and Pluto bash each other mercilessly, with one always more virtuous pugilist getting the upper hand over his adversary. Certainly neither Huntington nor Lewis has much time to spare for the internal dynamics and plurality of every civilization, or for the fact that the major contest in most modern cultures concerns the definition or interpretation of each culture, or for the unattractive possibility that a great deal of demagogy and down-right ignorance is involved in presuming to speak for a whole religion or civilization. No, the West is the West, and Islam Islam.

The challenge for Western policy-makers, says Huntington, is to make sure that the West gets stronger and fends off all the others, Islam in particular. More troubling is Huntington's assumption that his perspective, which is to survey the entire world from a perch outside all ordinary attachments and hidden loyalties, is the correct one, as if everyone else were scurrying around looking for the answers that he has already found. In fact, Huntington is an ideologist, someone who wants to make "civilizations" and "identities" into what they are not: shut-down, sealed-off entities that have been purged of the myriad currents and countercurrents that animate human history, and that over centuries have made it possible for that history not only to contain wars of religion and imperial conquest but also to be one of exchange, cross-fertilization and sharing. This far less visible history is ignored in the rush to highlight the ludicrously compressed and constricted warfare that "the clash of civilizations" argues is the reality. When he published his book by the same title in 1996, Huntington tried to give his argument a little more subtlety and many, many more footnotes; all he did, however, was confuse himself and demonstrate what a clumsy writer and inelegant thinker he was.

The basic paradigm of West versus the rest (the cold war opposition reformulated) remained untouched, and this is what has persisted, often insidiously and implicitly, in discussion since the terrible events of September 11. The carefully planned and horrendous, pathologically motivated suicide attack and mass slaughter by a small group of deranged militants has been turned into proof of Huntington's thesis. Instead of seeing it for what it is—the capture of big ideas (I use the word loosely) by a tiny band of crazed fanatics for criminal purposes—international luminaries from former Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto to Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi have pontificated about Islam's troubles, and in the latter's case have used Huntington's ideas to rant on about the West's superiority, how "we" have Mozart and Michelangelo and they don't. (Berlusconi has since made a half-hearted apology for his insult to "Islam.")

But why not instead see parallels, admittedly less spectacular in their destructiveness, for Osama bin Laden and his followers in cults like the Branch Davidians or the disciples of the Rev. Jim Jones at Guyana or the Japanese Aura Shinrikyo? Even the normally sober British weekly The *Economist,* in its issue of September 22–28, can't resist reaching for the vast generalization, praising Huntington extravagantly for his "cruel and sweeping, but nonetheless acute" observations about Islam. "Today," the journal says with unseemly solemnity, Huntington writes that "the world's billion or so Muslims are 'convinced of the superiority of their culture, and obsessed with the inferiority of their power.'" Did he canvas 100 Indonesians, 200 Moroccans, 500 Egyptians and fifty Bosnians? Even if he did, what sort of sample is that?

Uncountable are the editorials in every American and European newspaper and magazine of note adding to this vocabulary of gigantism and apocalypse, each use of which is plainly designed not to edify but to inflame the reader's indignant passion as a member of the "West" and what we need to do. Churchillian rhetoric is used inappropriately by self-appointed combatants in the West's, and especially America's, war against its haters, despoilers, destroyers, with scant attention to complex histories that defy such reductiveness and have seeped from one territory into another, in the process overriding the boundaries that are supposed to separate us all into divided armed camps.

This is the problem with unedifying labels like Islam and the West: They mislead and confuse the mind, which is trying to make sense of a disorderly reality that won't be pigeonholed or strapped down as easily as all that. I remember interrupting a man who, after a lecture I had given at a West Bank university in 1994, rose from the audience and started to attack my ideas as "Western," as opposed to the strict Islamic ones he espoused. "Why are you wearing a suit and tie?" was the first retort that came to mind. "They're Western too." He sat down with an embarrassed smile on his face, but I recalled the incident when information on the September 11 terrorists started to come in: how they had mastered all the technical details required to inflict their homicidal evil on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon and the aircraft they had commandeered. Where does one draw the line between "Western" technology and, as Berlusconi declared, "Islam's" inability to be a part of "modernity"?

One cannot easily do so, of course. How finally inadequate are the labels, generalizations and cultural assertions. At some level, for instance, primitive passions and sophisticated know-how converge in ways that give the lie to a fortified boundary not only between "West" and "Islam" but also between past and present, us and them, to say nothing of the very concepts of identity and nationality about which there is unending disagreement and debate. A unilateral decision made to draw lines in the sand, to undertake crusades, to oppose their evil with our good, to extirpate terrorism and, in Paul Wolfowitz's nihilistic vocabulary, to end nations entirely, doesn't make the supposed entities any easier to see; rather, it speaks to how much simpler it is to make bellicose statements for the purpose of mobilizing collective passions than to reflect, examine, sort out what it is we are dealing with in reality, the interconnectedness of innumerable lives, "ours" as well as "theirs."

[. . .]

For there are closer ties between apparently warring civilizations than most of us would like to believe; both Freud and Nietzsche showed how the traffic across carefully maintained, even policed boundaries moves with often terrifying ease. But then such fluid

ideas, full of ambiguity and skepticism about notions that we hold on to, scarcely furnish us with suitable, practical guidelines for situations such as the one we face now. Hence the altogether more reassuring battle orders (a crusade, good versus evil, freedom against fear, etc.) drawn out of Huntington's alleged opposition between Islam and the West, from which official discourse drew its vocabulary in the first days after the September 11 attacks. There's since been a noticeable de-escalation in that discourse, but to judge from the steady amount of hate speech and actions, plus reports of law enforcement efforts directed against Arabs, Muslims and Indians all over the country, the paradigm stays on.

One further reason for its persistence is the increased presence of Muslims all over Europe and the United States. Think of the populations today of France, Italy, Germany, Spain, Britain, America, even Sweden, and you must concede that Islam is no longer on the fringes of the West but at its center. But what is so threatening about that presence? Buried in the collective culture are memories of the first great Arab-Islamic conquests, which began in the seventh century and which, as the celebrated Belgian historian Henri Pirenne wrote in his landmark book *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (1939), shattered once and for all the ancient unity of the Mediterranean, destroyed the Christian-Roman synthesis and gave rise to a new civilization dominated by northern powers (Germany and Carolingian France) whose mission, he seemed to be saying, is to resume defense of the "West" against its historical-cultural enemies. What Pirenne left out, alas, is that in the creation of this new line of defense the West drew on the humanism, science, philosophy, sociology and historiography of Islam, which had already interposed itself between Charlemagne's world and classical antiquity. Islam is inside from the start, as even Dante, great enemy of Mohammed, had to concede when he placed the Prophet at the very heart of his Inferno.

Then there is the persisting legacy of monotheism itself, the Abrahamic religions, as Louis Massignon aptly called them. Beginning with Judaism and Christianity, each is a successor haunted by what came before; for Muslims, Islam fulfills and ends the line of prophecy. There is still no decent history or demystification of the many-sided contest among these three followers—not one of them by any means a monolithic, unified camp—of the most jealous of all gods, even though the bloody modern convergence on Palestine furnishes a rich secular instance of what has been so tragically irreconcilable about them. Not surprisingly, then, Muslims and Christians speak readily of crusades and jihads, both of them eliding the Judaic presence with often sublime insouciance. Such an agenda, says Eqbal Ahmad, is "very reassuring to the men and women who are stranded in the middle of the ford, between the deep waters of tradition and modernity."

But we are all swimming in those waters, Westerners and Muslims and others alike. And since the waters are part of the ocean of history, trying to plow or divide them with barriers is futile. These are tense times, but it is better to think in terms of powerful and powerless communities, the secular politics of reason and ignorance, and universal principles of justice and injustice, than to wander off in search of vast abstractions that may give momentary satisfaction but little self-knowledge or informed analysis. "The Clash of Civilizations" thesis is a gimmick like "The War of the Worlds," better for reinforcing defensive self-pride than for critical understanding of the bewildering inter-dependence of our time.

Labels like Islam and the West mislead and confuse the mind, which is trying to make sense of a disorderly reality.

The "Clash of Civilizations" thesis is better for reinforcing self-pride than for a critical understanding of the interdependence of our time.

Source: Edward W. Said, "The Clash of Ignorance," *Nation* 273(12) (2001): 11–13.

96. U.S. Congress, The USA Patriot Act (Summary), October 26, 2001 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Less than seven weeks after the September 11, 2001, attacks, Congress voted on the USA Patriot Act (P.L. 107-56), a major legislative package designed to enhance the ability of the United States to oppose terrorism at home and abroad. The Senate passed the bill by a 98 to 1 majority, and the House passed it by a massive though slightly less overwhelming vote of 357 to 66. The lengthy act, drafted at great speed and in stressful circumstances, dramatically expanded the authority of the government to gather data through wiretaps, electronic surveillance, and other means, often covertly, on individuals and organizations suspected of being threats to the security of the United States. The act also imposed strict financial controls on the international movement of funds and broadened the power of the U.S. government to monitor and investigate money laundering connected with the support of terrorism. In addition, the act tightened immigration controls on individuals entering the United States. Civil liberties organizations later successfully challenged in court various provisions of the act, including those making it an offense for recipients of subpoenas to disclose to the subjects of investigations the fact that government agencies were scrutinizing their records. In March 2006 Congress renewed and made permanent most of the Patriot Act's remaining surveillance provisions. As the initial impact of September 2001 receded, many Americans nonetheless feared that the legislation

was too broad and—while rather ironically proclaiming itself vital to maintaining freedom—imposed needless and undesirable restrictions on the civil liberties of both Americans and foreigners.

Primary Source

Summary as of:

10/24/2001—Passed House without amendment.

Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT ACT) Act of 2001—Title I: Enhancing Domestic Security Against Terrorism—Establishes in the Treasury the Counterterrorism Fund.

(Sec. 102) Expresses the sense of Congress that: (1) the civil rights and liberties of all Americans, including Arab Americans, must be protected, and that every effort must be taken to preserve their safety; (2) any acts of violence or discrimination against any Americans be condemned; and (3) the Nation is called upon to recognize the patriotism of fellow citizens from all ethnic, racial, and religious backgrounds.

(Sec. 103) Authorizes appropriations for the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Technical Support Center.

(Sec. 104) Authorizes the Attorney General to request the Secretary of Defense to provide assistance in support of Department of Justice (DOJ) activities relating to the enforcement of Federal criminal code (code) provisions regarding the use of weapons of mass destruction during an emergency situation involving a weapon (currently, chemical weapon) of mass destruction.

(Sec. 105) Requires the Director of the U.S. Secret Service to take actions to develop a national network of electronic crime task forces throughout the United States to prevent, detect, and investigate various forms of electronic crimes, including potential terrorist attacks against critical infrastructure and financial payment systems.

(Sec. 106) Modifies provisions relating to presidential authority under the International Emergency Powers Act to: (1) authorize the President, when the United States is engaged in armed hostilities or has been attacked by a foreign country or foreign nationals, to confiscate any property subject to U.S. jurisdiction of a foreign person, organization, or country that he determines has planned, authorized, aided, or engaged in such hostilities or attacks (the rights to which shall vest in such agency or person as the President may designate); and (2) provide that, in any judicial review of a determination made under such provisions, if the determination was based on classified information such information may be submitted to the reviewing court ex parte and in camera.

Title II: Enhanced Surveillance Procedures—Amends the Federal criminal code to authorize the interception of wire, oral, and electronic communications for the production of evidence of: (1) specified chemical weapons or terrorism offenses; and (2) computer fraud and abuse.

(Sec. 203) Amends rule 6 of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure (FRCrP) to permit the sharing of grand jury information that involves foreign intelligence or counterintelligence with Federal law enforcement, intelligence, protective, immigration, national defense, or national security officials (such officials), subject to specified requirements.

Authorizes an investigative or law enforcement officer, or an attorney for the Government, who, by authorized means, has obtained knowledge of the contents of any wire, oral, or electronic communication or evidence derived therefrom to disclose such contents to such officials to the extent that such contents include foreign intelligence or counterintelligence.

Directs the Attorney General to establish procedures for the disclosure of information (pursuant to the code and the FRCrP) that identifies a United States person, as defined in the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 (FISA).

Authorizes the disclosure of foreign intelligence or counterintelligence obtained as part of a criminal investigation to such officials.

(Sec. 204) Clarifies that nothing in code provisions regarding pen registers shall be deemed to affect the acquisition by the Government of specified foreign intelligence information, and that procedures under FISA shall be the exclusive means by which electronic surveillance and the interception of domestic wire and oral (current law) and electronic communications may be conducted.

(Sec. 205) Authorizes the Director of the FBI to expedite the employment of personnel as translators to support counter-terrorism investigations and operations without regard to applicable Federal personnel requirements. Requires: (1) the Director to establish such security requirements as necessary for such personnel; and (2) the Attorney General to report to the House and Senate Judiciary Committees regarding translators.

(Sec. 206) Grants roving surveillance authority under FISA after requiring a court order approving an electronic surveillance to direct any person to furnish necessary information, facilities, or technical assistance in circumstances where the Court finds that the actions of the surveillance target may have the effect of thwarting the identification of a specified person.

(Sec. 207) Increases the duration of FISA surveillance permitted for non-U.S. persons who are agents of a foreign power.

(Sec. 208) Increases (from seven to 11) the number of district court judges designated to hear applications for and grant orders approving electronic surveillance. Requires that no fewer than three reside within 20 miles of the District of Columbia.

(Sec. 209) Permits the seizure of voice-mail messages under a warrant.

(Sec. 210) Expands the scope of subpoenas for records of electronic communications to include the length and types of service utilized, temporarily assigned network addresses, and the means and source of payment (including any credit card or bank account number).

(Sec. 211) Amends the Communications Act of 1934 to permit specified disclosures to Government entities, except for records revealing cable subscriber selection of video programming from a cable operator.

(Sec. 212) Permits electronic communication and remote computing service providers to make emergency disclosures to a governmental entity of customer electronic communications to protect life and limb.

(Sec. 213) Authorizes Federal district courts to allow a delay of required notices of the execution of a warrant if immediate notice may have an adverse result and under other specified circumstances.

(Sec. 214) Prohibits use of a pen register or trap and trace devices in any investigation to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities that is conducted solely on the basis of activities protected by the first amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

(Sec. 215) Authorizes the Director of the FBI (or designee) to apply for a court order requiring production of certain business records for foreign intelligence and international terrorism investigations. Requires the Attorney General to report to the House and Senate Intelligence and Judiciary Committees semi-annually.

(Sec. 216) Amends the code to: (1) require a trap and trace device to restrict recoding or decoding so as not to include the contents of a wire or electronic communication; (2) apply a court order for a pen register or trap and trace devices to any person or entity providing wire or electronic communication service in the United States whose assistance may facilitate execution of the order; (3) require specified records kept on any pen register or trap and trace device on a packet-switched data network of a provider of electronic communication service to the public; and (4) allow a trap and trace device to identify the source (but not the contents) of a wire or electronic communication.

(Sec. 217) Makes it lawful to intercept the wire or electronic communication of a computer trespasser in certain circumstances.

(Sec. 218) Amends FISA to require an application for an electronic surveillance order or search warrant to certify that a significant purpose (currently, the sole or main purpose) of the surveillance is to obtain foreign intelligence information.

(Sec. 219) Amends rule 41 of the FRCrP to permit Federal magistrate judges in any district in which terrorism-related activities may have occurred to issue search warrants for searches within or outside the district.

(Sec. 220) Provides for nationwide service of search warrants for electronic evidence.

(Sec. 221) Amends the Trade Sanctions Reform and Export Enhancement Act of 2000 to extend trade sanctions to the territory of Afghanistan controlled by the Taliban.

(Sec. 222) Specifies that: (1) nothing in this Act shall impose any additional technical obligation or requirement on a provider of a wire or electronic communication service or other person to furnish facilities or technical assistance; and (2) a provider of such service, and a landlord, custodian, or other person who furnishes such facilities or technical assistance, shall be reasonably compensated for such reasonable expenditures incurred in providing such facilities or assistance.

(Sec. 223) Amends the Federal criminal code to provide for administrative discipline of Federal officers or employees who violate prohibitions against unauthorized disclosures of information gathered under this Act. Provides for civil actions against the United States for damages by any person aggrieved by such violations.

(Sec. 224) Terminates this title on December 31, 2005, except with respect to any particular foreign intelligence investigation beginning before that date, or any particular offense or potential offense that began or occurred before it.

(Sec. 225) Amends the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 to prohibit a cause of action in any court against a provider of a wire or electronic communication service, landlord, custodian, or any other person that furnishes any information, facilities, or technical assistance in accordance with a court order or request for emergency assistance under such Act (for example, with respect to a wiretap).

Title III: International Money Laundering Abatement and Anti-Terrorist Financing Act of 2001—International Money Laundering Abatement and Financial Anti-Terrorism Act of 2001—Sunsets

this Act after the first day of FY 2005 if Congress enacts a specified joint resolution to that effect.

Subtitle A: International Counter Money Laundering and Related Measures—Amends Federal law governing monetary transactions to prescribe procedural guidelines under which the Secretary of the Treasury (the Secretary) may require domestic financial institutions and agencies to take specified measures if the Secretary finds that reasonable grounds exist for concluding that jurisdictions, financial institutions, types of accounts, or transactions operating outside or within the United States, are of primary money laundering concern. Includes mandatory disclosure of specified information relating to certain correspondent accounts.

(Sec. 312) Mandates establishment of due diligence mechanisms to detect and report money laundering transactions through private banking accounts and correspondent accounts.

(Sec. 313) Prohibits U.S. correspondent accounts with foreign shell banks.

(Sec. 314) Instructs the Secretary to adopt regulations to encourage further cooperation among financial institutions, their regulatory authorities, and law enforcement authorities, with the specific purpose of encouraging regulatory authorities and law enforcement authorities to share with financial institutions information regarding individuals, entities, and organizations engaged in or reasonably suspected (based on credible evidence) of engaging in terrorist acts or money laundering activities. Authorizes such regulations to create procedures for cooperation and information sharing on matters specifically related to the finances of terrorist groups as well as their relationships with international narcotics traffickers.

Requires the Secretary to distribute annually to financial institutions a detailed analysis identifying patterns of suspicious activity and other investigative insights derived from suspicious activity reports and investigations by Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies.

(Sec. 315) Amends Federal criminal law to include foreign corruption offenses as money laundering crimes.

(Sec. 316) Establishes the right of property owners to contest confiscation of property under law relating to confiscation of assets of suspected terrorists.

(Sec. 317) Establishes Federal jurisdiction over: (1) foreign money launderers (including their assets held in the United States); and (2) money that is laundered through a foreign bank.

(Sec. 319) Authorizes the forfeiture of money laundering funds from interbank accounts. Requires a covered financial institution, upon request of the appropriate Federal banking agency, to make available within 120 hours all pertinent information related to anti-money laundering compliance by the institution or its customer. Grants the Secretary summons and subpoena powers over foreign banks that maintain a correspondent bank in the United States. Requires a covered financial institution to terminate within ten business days any correspondent relationship with a foreign bank after receipt of written notice that the foreign bank has failed to comply with certain judicial proceedings. Sets forth civil penalties for failure to terminate such relationship.

(Sec. 321) Subjects to record and report requirements for monetary instrument transactions: (1) any credit union; and (2) any futures commission merchant, commodity trading advisor, and commodity pool operator registered, or required to register, under the Commodity Exchange Act.

(Sec. 323) Authorizes Federal application for restraining orders to preserve the availability of property subject to a foreign forfeiture or confiscation judgment.

(Sec. 325) Authorizes the Secretary to issue regulations to ensure that concentration accounts of financial institutions are not used to prevent association of the identity of an individual customer with the movement of funds of which the customer is the direct or beneficial owner.

(Sec. 326) Directs the Secretary to issue regulations prescribing minimum standards for financial institutions regarding customer identity in connection with the opening of accounts.

Requires the Secretary to report to Congress on: (1) the most timely and effective way to require foreign nationals to provide domestic financial institutions and agencies with appropriate and accurate information; (2) whether to require foreign nationals to obtain an identification number (similar to a Social Security or tax identification number) before opening an account with a domestic financial institution; and (3) a system for domestic financial institutions and agencies to review Government agency information to verify the identities of such foreign nationals.

(Sec. 327) Amends the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 and the Federal Deposit Insurance Act to require consideration of the effectiveness of a company or companies in combating money laundering during reviews of proposed bank shares acquisitions or mergers.

(Sec. 328) Directs the Secretary take reasonable steps to encourage foreign governments to require the inclusion of the name of the originator in wire transfer instructions sent to the United States and other countries, with the information to remain with the transfer from its origination until the point of disbursement. Requires annual progress reports to specified congressional committees.

(Sec. 329) Prescribes criminal penalties for Federal officials or employees who seek or accept bribes in connection with administration of this title.

(Sec. 330) Urges U.S. negotiations for international cooperation in investigations of money laundering, financial crimes, and the finances of terrorist groups, including record sharing by foreign banks with U.S. law enforcement officials and domestic financial institution supervisors.

Subtitle B: Bank Secrecy Act Amendments and Related Improvements—Amends Federal law known as the Bank Secrecy Act to revise requirements for civil liability immunity for voluntary financial institution disclosure of suspicious activities. Authorizes the inclusion of suspicions of illegal activity in written employment references.

(Sec. 352) Authorizes the Secretary to exempt from minimum standards for anti-money laundering programs any financial institution not subject to certain regulations governing financial recordkeeping and reporting of currency and foreign transactions.

(Sec. 353) Establishes civil penalties for violations of geographic targeting orders and structuring transactions to evade certain recordkeeping requirements. Lengthens the effective period of geographic targeting orders from 60 to 180 days.

(Sec. 355) Amends the Federal Deposit Insurance Act to permit written employment references to contain suspicions of involvement in illegal activity.

(Sec. 356) Instructs the Secretary to: (1) promulgate regulations requiring registered securities brokers and dealers, futures commission merchants, commodity trading advisors, and commodity pool operators, to file reports of suspicious financial transactions; (2) report to Congress on the role of the Internal Revenue Service in the administration of the Bank Secrecy Act; and (3) share monetary instruments transactions records upon request of a U.S. intelligence agency for use in the conduct of intelligence or counterintelligence activities, including analysis, to protect against international terrorism.

(Sec. 358) Amends the Right to Financial Privacy Act to permit the transfer of financial records to other agencies or departments upon certification that the records are relevant to intelligence or counterintelligence activities related to international terrorism.

Amends the Fair Credit Reporting Act to require a consumer reporting agency to furnish all information in a consumer's file to a government agency upon certification that the records are relevant to intelligence or counterintelligence activities related to international terrorism.

(Sec. 359) Subjects to mandatory records and reports on monetary instruments transactions any licensed sender of money or any other person who engages as a business in the transmission of funds, including through an informal value transfer banking system or network (e.g., hawala) of people facilitating the transfer of money domestically or internationally outside of the conventional financial institutions system.

(Sec. 360) Authorizes the Secretary to instruct the United States Executive Director of each international financial institution to use his or her voice and vote to: (1) support the use of funds for a country (and its institutions) which contributes to U.S. efforts against international terrorism; and (2) require an auditing of disbursements to ensure that no funds are paid to persons who commit or support terrorism.

(Sec. 361) Makes the existing Financial Crimes Enforcement Network a bureau in the Department of the Treasury.

(Sec. 362) Directs the Secretary to establish a highly secure network in the Network that allows financial institutions to file certain reports and receive alerts and other information regarding suspicious activities warranting immediate and enhanced scrutiny.

(Sec. 363) Increases to $1 million the maximum civil penalties (currently $10,000) and criminal fines (currently $250,000) for money laundering. Sets a minimum civil penalty and criminal fine of double the amount of the illegal transaction.

(Sec. 364) Amends the Federal Reserve Act to provide for uniform protection authority for Federal Reserve facilities, including law enforcement officers authorized to carry firearms and make warrantless arrests.

(Sec. 365) Amends Federal law to require reports relating to coins and currency of more than $10,000 received in a nonfinancial trade or business.

(Sec. 366) Directs the Secretary to study and report to Congress on: (1) the possible expansion of the currency transaction reporting requirements exemption system; and (2) methods for improving financial institution utilization of the system as a way of reducing the submission of currency transaction reports that have little or no value for law enforcement purposes.

Subtitle C: Currency Crimes—Establishes as a bulk cash smuggling felony the knowing concealment and attempted transport (or transfer) across U.S. borders of currency and monetary instruments in excess of $10,000, with intent to evade specified currency reporting requirements.

(Sec. 372) Changes from discretionary to mandatory a court's authority to order, as part of a criminal sentence, forfeiture of

all property involved in certain currency reporting offenses. Leaves a court discretion to order civil forfeitures in money laundering cases.

(Sec. 373) Amends the Federal criminal code to revise the prohibition of unlicensed (currently, illegal) money transmitting businesses.

(Sec. 374) Increases the criminal penalties for counterfeiting domestic and foreign currency and obligations.

(Sec. 376) Amends the Federal criminal code to extend the prohibition against the laundering of money instruments to specified proceeds of terrorism.

(Sec. 377) Grants the United States extraterritorial jurisdiction where: (1) an offense committed outside the United States involves an access device issued, owned, managed, or controlled by a financial institution, account issuer, credit card system member, or other entity within U.S. jurisdiction; and (2) the person committing the offense transports, delivers, conveys, transfers to or through, or otherwise stores, secrets, or holds within U.S. jurisdiction any article used to assist in the commission of the offense or the proceeds of such offense or property derived from it.

Title IV: Protecting the Border—Subtitle A: Protecting the Northern Border—Authorizes the Attorney General to waive certain Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) personnel caps with respect to ensuring security needs on the Northern border.

(Sec. 402) Authorizes appropriations to: (1) triple the number of Border Patrol, Customs Service, and INS personnel (and support facilities) at points of entry and along the Northern border; and (2) INS and Customs for related border monitoring technology and equipment.

(Sec. 403) Amends the Immigration and Nationality Act to require the Attorney General and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to provide the Department of State and INS with access to specified criminal history extracts in order to determine whether or not a visa or admissions applicant has a criminal history. Directs the FBI to provide periodic extract updates. Provides for confidentiality.

Directs the Attorney General and the Secretary of State to develop a technology standard to identify visa and admissions applicants, which shall be the basis for an electronic system of law enforcement and intelligence sharing system available to consular, law enforcement, intelligence, and Federal border inspection personnel.

(Sec. 404) Amends the Department of Justice Appropriations Act, 2001 to eliminate certain INS overtime restrictions.

(Sec. 405) Directs the Attorney General to report on the feasibility of enhancing the Integrated Automated Fingerprint Identification System and other identification systems to better identify foreign individuals in connection with U.S. or foreign criminal investigations before issuance of a visa to, or permitting such person's entry or exit from, the United States. Authorizes appropriations.

Subtitle B: Enhanced Immigration Provisions—Amends the Immigration and Nationality Act to broaden the scope of aliens ineligible for admission or deportable due to terrorist activities to include an alien who: (1) is a representative of a political, social, or similar group whose political endorsement of terrorist acts undermines U.S. antiterrorist efforts; (2) has used a position of prominence to endorse terrorist activity, or to persuade others to support such activity in a way that undermines U.S. antiterrorist efforts (or the child or spouse of such an alien under specified circumstances); or (3) has been associated with a terrorist organization and intends to engage in threatening activities while in the United States.

(Sec. 411) Includes within the definition of "terrorist activity" the use of any weapon or dangerous device.

Redefines "engage in terrorist activity" to mean, in an individual capacity or as a member of an organization, to: (1) commit or to incite to commit, under circumstances indicating an intention to cause death or serious bodily injury, a terrorist activity; (2) prepare or plan a terrorist activity; (3) gather information on potential targets for terrorist activity; (4) solicit funds or other things of value for a terrorist activity or a terrorist organization (with an exception for lack of knowledge); (5) solicit any individual to engage in prohibited conduct or for terrorist organization membership (with an exception for lack of knowledge); or (6) commit an act that the actor knows, or reasonably should know, affords material support, including a safe house, transportation, communications, funds, transfer of funds or other material financial benefit, false documentation or identification, weapons (including chemical, biological, or radiological weapons), explosives, or training for the commission of a terrorist activity; to any individual who the actor knows or reasonably should know has committed or plans to commit a terrorist activity; or to a terrorist organization (with an exception for lack of knowledge).

Defines "terrorist organization" as a group: (1) designated under the Immigration and Nationality Act or by the Secretary of State; or (2) a group of two or more individuals, whether related or not, which engages in terrorist-related activities.

Provides for the retroactive application of amendments under this Act. Stipulates that an alien shall not be considered inadmissible or deportable because of a relationship to an organization that was not designated as a terrorist organization prior to enactment of

this Act. States that the amendments under this section shall apply to all aliens in exclusion or deportation proceedings on or after the date of enactment of this Act.

Directs the Secretary of State to notify specified congressional leaders seven days prior to designating an organization as a terrorist organization. Provides for organization redesignation or revocation.

(Sec. 412) Provides for mandatory detention until removal from the United States (regardless of any relief from removal) of an alien certified by the Attorney General as a suspected terrorist or threat to national security. Requires release of such alien after seven days if removal proceedings have not commenced, or the alien has not been charged with a criminal offense. Authorizes detention for additional periods of up to six months of an alien not likely to be deported in the reasonably foreseeable future only if release will threaten U.S. national security or the safety of the community or any person. Limits judicial review to habeas corpus proceedings in the U.S. Supreme Court, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, or any district court with jurisdiction to entertain a habeas corpus petition. Restricts to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia the right of appeal of any final order by a circuit or district judge.

(Sec. 413) Authorizes the Secretary of State, on a reciprocal basis, to share criminal- and terrorist-related visa lookout information with foreign governments.

(Sec. 414) Declares the sense of Congress that the Attorney General should: (1) fully implement the integrated entry and exit data system for airports, seaports, and land border ports of entry with all deliberate speed; and (2) begin immediately establishing the Integrated Entry and Exit Data System Task Force. Authorizes appropriations.

Requires the Attorney General and the Secretary of State, in developing the integrated entry and exit data system, to focus on the use of biometric technology and the development of tamper-resistant documents readable at ports of entry.

(Sec. 415) Amends the Immigration and Naturalization Service Data Management Improvement Act of 2000 to include the Office of Homeland Security in the Integrated Entry and Exit Data System Task Force.

(Sec. 416) Directs the Attorney General to implement fully and expand the foreign student monitoring program to include other approved educational institutions like air flight, language training, or vocational schools.

(Sec. 417) Requires audits and reports on implementation of the mandate for machine readable passports.

(Sec. 418) Directs the Secretary of State to: (1) review how consular officers issue visas to determine if consular shopping is a problem; and (2) if it is a problem, take steps to address it, and report on them to Congress.

[. . .]

Title V: Removing Obstacles to Investigating Terrorism—Authorizes the Attorney General to pay rewards from available funds pursuant to public advertisements for assistance to DOJ to combat terrorism and defend the Nation against terrorist acts, in accordance with procedures and regulations established or issued by the Attorney General, subject to specified conditions, including a prohibition against any such reward of $250,000 or more from being made or offered without the personal approval of either the Attorney General or the President.

(Sec. 502) Amends the State Department Basic Authorities Act of 1956 to modify the Department of State rewards program to authorize rewards for information leading to: (1) the dismantling of a terrorist organization in whole or significant part; and (2) the identification or location of an individual who holds a key leadership position in a terrorist organization. Raises the limit on rewards if the Secretary State determines that a larger sum is necessary to combat terrorism or defend the Nation against terrorist acts.

(Sec. 503) Amends the DNA Analysis Backlog Elimination Act of 2000 to qualify a Federal terrorism offense for collection of DNA for identification.

(Sec. 504) Amends FISA to authorize consultation among Federal law enforcement officers regarding information acquired from an electronic surveillance or physical search in terrorism and related investigations or protective measures.

(Sec. 505) Allows the FBI to request telephone toll and transactional records, financial records, and consumer reports in any investigation to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities only if the investigation is not conducted solely on the basis of activities protected by the first amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

(Sec. 506) Revises U.S. Secret Service jurisdiction with respect to fraud and related activity in connection with computers. Grants the FBI primary authority to investigate specified fraud and computer related activity for cases involving espionage, foreign counter-intelligence, information protected against unauthorized disclosure for reasons of national defense or foreign relations, or restricted data, except for offenses affecting Secret Service duties.

(Sec. 507) Amends the General Education Provisions Act and the National Education Statistics Act of 1994 to provide for disclosure

of educational records to the Attorney General in a terrorism investigation or prosecution.

[. . .]

Title VII: Increased Information Sharing for Critical Infrastructure Protection—Amends the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 to extend Bureau of Justice Assistance regional information sharing system grants to systems that enhance the investigation and prosecution abilities of participating Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies in addressing multi-jurisdictional terrorist conspiracies and activities. Authorizes appropriations.

Title VIII: Strengthening the Criminal Laws Against Terrorism—Amends the Federal criminal code to prohibit specific terrorist acts or otherwise destructive, disruptive, or violent acts against mass transportation vehicles, ferries, providers, employees, passengers, or operating systems.

(Sec. 802) Amends the Federal criminal code to: (1) revise the definition of "international terrorism" to include activities that appear to be intended to affect the conduct of government by mass destruction; and (2) define "domestic terrorism" as activities that occur primarily within U.S. jurisdiction, that involve criminal acts dangerous to human life, and that appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, to influence government policy by intimidation or coercion, or to affect government conduct by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping.

(Sec. 803) Prohibits harboring any person knowing or having reasonable grounds to believe that such person has committed or to be about to commit a terrorism offense.

(Sec. 804) Establishes Federal jurisdiction over crimes committed at U.S. facilities abroad.

(Sec. 805) Applies the prohibitions against providing material support for terrorism to offenses outside of the United States.

(Sec. 806) Subjects to civil forfeiture all assets, foreign or domestic, of terrorist organizations.

(Sec. 808) Expands: (1) the offenses over which the Attorney General shall have primary investigative jurisdiction under provisions governing acts of terrorism transcending national boundaries; and (2) the offenses included within the definition of the Federal crime of terrorism.

(Sec. 809) Provides that there shall be no statute of limitations for certain terrorism offenses if the commission of such an offense resulted in, or created a foreseeable risk of, death or serious bodily injury to another person.

(Sec. 810) Provides for alternative maximum penalties for specified terrorism crimes.

(Sec. 811) Makes: (1) the penalties for attempts and conspiracies the same as those for terrorism offenses; (2) the supervised release terms for offenses with terrorism predicates any term of years or life; and (3) specified terrorism crimes Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations statute predicates.

(Sec. 814) Revises prohibitions and penalties regarding fraud and related activity in connection with computers to include specified cyber-terrorism offenses.

(Sec. 816) Directs the Attorney General to establish regional computer forensic laboratories, and to support existing laboratories, to develop specified cyber-security capabilities.

(Sec. 817) Prescribes penalties for knowing possession in certain circumstances of biological agents, toxins, or delivery systems, especially by certain restricted persons.

Title IX: Improved Intelligence—Amends the National Security Act of 1947 to require the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) to establish requirements and priorities for foreign intelligence collected under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 and to provide assistance to the Attorney General (AG) to ensure that information derived from electronic surveillance or physical searches is disseminated for efficient and effective foreign intelligence purposes. Requires the inclusion of international terrorist activities within the scope of foreign intelligence under such Act.

(Sec. 903) Expresses the sense of Congress that officers and employees of the intelligence community should establish and maintain intelligence relationships to acquire information on terrorists and terrorist organizations.

[. . .]

(Sec. 905) Requires the AG or the head of any other Federal department or agency with law enforcement responsibilities to expeditiously disclose to the DCI any foreign intelligence acquired in the course of a criminal investigation.

(Sec. 906) Requires the AG, DCI, and Secretary of the Treasury to jointly report to Congress on the feasibility and desirability of reconfiguring the Foreign Asset Tracking Center and the Office of Foreign Assets Control to provide for the analysis and dissemination of foreign intelligence relating to the financial capabilities and resources of international terrorist organizations.

(Sec. 907) Requires the DCI to report to the appropriate congressional committees on the establishment and maintenance of

the National Virtual Translation Center for timely and accurate translation of foreign intelligence for elements of the intelligence community.

(Sec. 908) Requires the AG to provide a program of training to Government officials regarding the identification and use of foreign intelligence.

Title X: Miscellaneous—Directs the Inspector General of the Department of Justice to designate one official to review allegations of abuse of civil rights, civil liberties, and racial and ethnic profiling by government employees and officials.

(Sec. 1002) Expresses the sense of Congress condemning acts of violence or discrimination against any American, including Sikh-Americans. Calls upon local and Federal law enforcement authorities to prosecute to the fullest extent of the law all those who commit crimes.

(Sec. 1004) Amends the Federal criminal code with respect to venue in money laundering cases to allow a prosecution for such an offense to be brought in: (1) any district in which the financial or monetary transaction is conducted; or (2) any district where a prosecution for the underlying specified unlawful activity could be brought, if the defendant participated in the transfer of the proceeds of the specified unlawful activity from that district to the district where the financial or monetary transaction is conducted.

States that: (1) a transfer of funds from one place to another, by wire or any other means, shall constitute a single, continuing transaction; and (2) any person who conducts any portion of the transaction may be charged in any district in which the transaction takes place.

Allows a prosecution for an attempt or conspiracy offense to be brought in the district where venue would lie for the completed offense, or in any other district where an act in furtherance of the attempt or conspiracy took place.

(Sec. 1005) First Responders Assistance Act—Directs the Attorney General to make grants to State and local governments to improve the ability of State and local law enforcement, fire departments, and first responders to respond to and prevent acts of terrorism. Authorizes appropriations.

(Sec. 1006) Amends the Immigration and Nationality Act to make inadmissible into the United States any alien engaged in money laundering. Directs the Secretary of State to develop a money laundering watchlist which: (1) identifies individuals worldwide who are known or suspected of money laundering; and (2) is readily accessible to, and shall be checked by, a consular or other Federal official before the issuance of a visa or admission to the United States.

(Sec. 1007) Authorizes FY 2002 appropriations for regional antidrug training in Turkey by the Drug Enforcement Administration for police, as well as increased precursor chemical control efforts in South and Central Asia.

(Sec. 1008) Directs the Attorney General to conduct a feasibility study and report to Congress on the use of a biometric identifier scanning system with access to the FBI integrated automated fingerprint identification system at overseas consular posts and points of entry to the United States.

(Sec. 1009) Directs the FBI to study and report to Congress on the feasibility of providing to airlines access via computer to the names of passengers who are suspected of terrorist activity by Federal officials. Authorizes appropriations.

(Sec. 1010) Authorizes the use of Department of Defense funds to contract with local and State governments, during the period of Operation Enduring Freedom, for the performance of security functions at U.S. military installations.

[. . .]

(Sec. 1012) Amends the Federal transportation code to prohibit States from licensing any individual to operate a motor vehicle transporting hazardous material unless the Secretary of Transportation determines that such individual does not pose a security risk warranting denial of the license. Requires background checks of such license applicants by the Attorney General upon State request.

(Sec. 1013) Expresses the sense of the Senate on substantial new U.S. investment in bioterrorism preparedness and response.

(Sec. 1014) Directs the Office for State and Local Domestic Preparedness Support of the Office of Justice Programs to make grants to enhance State and local capability to prepare for and respond to terrorist acts. Authorizes appropriations for FY 2002 through 2007.

(Sec. 1015) Amends the Crime Identification Technology Act of 1998 to extend it through FY 2007 and provide for antiterrorism grants to States and localities. Authorizes appropriations.

(Sec. 1016) Critical Infrastructures Protection Act of 2001—Declares it is U.S. policy: (1) that any physical or virtual disruption of the operation of the critical infrastructures of the United States be rare, brief, geographically limited in effect, manageable, and minimally detrimental to the economy, human and government services, and U.S. national security; (2) that actions necessary to achieve this policy be carried out in a public-private partnership involving corporate and non-governmental organizations; and

(3) to have in place a comprehensive and effective program to ensure the continuity of essential Federal Government functions under all circumstances.

Establishes the National Infrastructure Simulation and Analysis Center to serve as a source of national competence to address critical infrastructure protection and continuity through support for activities related to counterterrorism, threat assessment, and risk mitigation.

Defines critical infrastructure as systems and assets, whether physical or virtual, so vital to the United States that their incapacity or destruction would have a debilitating impact on security, national economic security, national public health or safety, or any combination of those matters.

Authorizes appropriations.

Source: U.S. Congress, "USA PATRIOT Act, Summary," Library of Congress, THOMAS, http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d107:HR03162:@@@D&summ2=m&.

97. President George W. Bush, "The Axis of Evil," State of the Union Address, January 29, 2002 [Excerpts]

Introduction

By the time U.S. president George W. Bush delivered his first State of the Union address after September 11, 2001, coalition forces under U.S. leadership had invaded Afghanistan, removed that country's Taliban government, and driven the Al Qaeda elements there into the mountains. While acclaiming these successes, Bush sought to expand them dramatically. He warned that this was only the beginning of a long-term U.S. war against terror, one that would involve not just operations against terrorists themselves but also major campaigns "to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends and allies with weapons of mass destruction." Among these Bush highlighted three countries—North Korea, Iran, and Iraq—and claimed that such states "and their terrorist allies constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world." Should such nations obtain weapons of mass destruction, they were likely to pass these on to terrorists. Bush warned that the United States would not permit such nations to menace its security and that of the world and that the war on terror had "only begun." Bush called on Congress to approve major increases in defense spending and also to fund massive internal "homeland security" initiatives to safeguard the United States. To facilitate American recovery from the current domestic recession, he sought the mandating of major tax cuts and an economic stimulus spending program that would at least temporarily mean "small and short-term" deficit budgets. He also announced the creation of the USA Freedom Corps, asking every American to commit a lifetime 4,000 hours to some form of community service, an initiative that he claimed would mark the beginning of a new era of good citizenship in the United States but one that ultimately sank almost without a trace. In addition, he announced a new Peace Corps "effort to encourage development and education and opportunity in the Islamic world." Overall, Bush sought to rally Americans in support of a campaign to bring about "freedom's victory." The expansive foreign policy objectives that he charted had the potential to become almost unlimited commitments on the part of the United States.

Primary Source

THE PRESIDENT: . . . As we gather tonight, our nation is at war, our economy is in recession, and the civilized world faces unprecedented dangers. Yet the state of our Union has never been stronger. [Applause.]

We last met in an hour of shock and suffering. In four short months, our nation has comforted the victims, begun to rebuild New York and the Pentagon, rallied a great coalition, captured, arrested, and rid the world of thousands of terrorists, destroyed Afghanistan's terrorist training camps, saved a people from starvation, and freed a country from brutal oppression. [Applause.]

The American flag flies again over our embassy in Kabul. Terrorists who once occupied Afghanistan now occupy cells at Guantanamo Bay. [Applause.] And terrorist leaders who urged followers to sacrifice their lives are running for their own. [Applause.]

America and Afghanistan are now allies against terror. We'll be partners in rebuilding that country. . . . And this evening we welcome the distinguished interim leader of a liberated Afghanistan: Chairman Hamid Karzai. [Applause.]

The last time we met in this chamber, the mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today women are free, and are part of Afghanistan's new government. And we welcome the new Minister of Women's Affairs, Doctor Sima Samar. [Applause.]

Our progress is a tribute to the spirit of the Afghan people, to the resolve of our coalition, and to the might of the United States military. [Applause.] When I called our troops into action, I did so with complete confidence in their courage and skill. And tonight, thanks to them, we are winning the war on terror. [Applause.] The men and women of our Armed Forces have delivered a message now clear to every enemy of the United States: Even 7,000 miles away, across oceans and continents, on mountaintops and in caves—you will not escape the justice of this nation. [Applause.]

[. . .]

Our cause is just, and it continues. Our discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed our worst fears, and showed us the true scope of the task ahead. We have seen the depth of our enemies' hatred in videos, where they laugh about the loss of innocent life. And the depth of their hatred is equaled by the madness of the destruction they design. We have found diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities, and thorough descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world.

What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that, far from ending there, our war against terror is only beginning. Most of the 19 men who hijacked planes on September the 11th were trained in Afghanistan's camps, and so were tens of thousands of others. Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of murder, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without warning.

Thanks to the work of our law enforcement officials and coalition partners, hundreds of terrorists have been arrested. Yet, tens of thousands of trained terrorists are still at large. These enemies view the entire world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever they are. [Applause.] So long as training camps operate, so long as nations harbor terrorists, freedom is at risk. And America and our allies must not, and will not, allow it. [Applause.]

Our nation will continue to be steadfast and patient and persistent in the pursuit of two great objectives. First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice. And, second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world. [Applause.]

Our military has put the terror training camps of Afghanistan out of business, yet camps still exist in at least a dozen countries. A terrorist underworld—including groups like Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, Jaish-i-Mohammed—operates in remote jungles and deserts, and hides in the centers of large cities.

While the most visible military action is in Afghanistan, America is acting elsewhere. We now have troops in the Philippines, helping to train that country's armed forces to go after terrorist cells that have executed an American, and still hold hostages. Our soldiers, working with the Bosnian government, seized terrorists who were plotting to bomb our embassy. Our Navy is patrolling the coast of Africa to block the shipment of weapons and the establishment of terrorist camps in Somalia.

My hope is that all nations will heed our call, and eliminate the terrorist parasites who threaten their countries and our own. Many nations are acting forcefully. Pakistan is now cracking down on terror, and I admire the strong leadership of President Musharraf. [Applause.]

But some governments will be timid in the face of terror. And make no mistake about it: If they do not act, America will. [Applause.]

Our second goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends and allies with weapons of mass destruction. Some of these regimes have been pretty quiet since September the 11th. But we know their true nature. North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens.

Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom.

Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens—leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspections—then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world.

States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic.

We will work closely with our coalition to deny terrorists and their state sponsors the materials, technology, and expertise to make and deliver weapons of mass destruction. We will develop and deploy effective missile defenses to protect America and our allies from sudden attack. [Applause.] And all nations should know: America will do what is necessary to ensure our nation's security.

We'll be deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on events, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons. [Applause.]

Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun. This campaign may not be finished on our watch—yet it must be and it will be waged on our watch.

We can't stop short. If we stop now—leaving terror camps intact and terror states unchecked—our sense of security would be

false and temporary. History has called America and our allies to action, and it is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom's fight. [Applause.]

Our first priority must always be the security of our nation, and that will be reflected in the budget I send to Congress. My budget supports three great goals for America: We will win this war; we'll protect our homeland; and we will revive our economy.

September the 11th brought out the best in America, and the best in this Congress. And I join the American people in applauding your unity and resolve. [Applause.] Now Americans deserve to have this same spirit directed toward addressing problems here at home. I'm a proud member of my party—yet as we act to win the war, protect our people, and create jobs in America, we must act, first and foremost, not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans. [Applause.]

It costs a lot to fight this war. We have spent more than a billion dollars a month—over $30 million a day—and we must be prepared for future operations. Afghanistan proved that expensive precision weapons defeat the enemy and spare innocent lives, and we need more of them. We need to replace aging aircraft and make our military more agile, to put our troops anywhere in the world quickly and safely. Our men and women in uniform deserve the best weapons, the best equipment, the best training—and they also deserve another pay raise. [Applause.]

My budget includes the largest increase in defense spending in two decades—because while the price of freedom and security is high, it is never too high. Whatever it costs to defend our country, we will pay. [Applause.]

The next priority of my budget is to do everything possible to protect our citizens and strengthen our nation against the ongoing threat of another attack. Time and distance from the events of September the 11th will not make us safer unless we act on its lessons. America is no longer protected by vast oceans. We are protected from attack only by vigorous action abroad, and increased vigilance at home.

My budget nearly doubles funding for a sustained strategy of homeland security, focused on four key areas: bioterrorism, emergency response, airport and border security, and improved intelligence. We will develop vaccines to fight anthrax and other deadly diseases. We'll increase funding to help states and communities train and equip our heroic police and firefighters. [Applause.] We will improve intelligence collection and sharing, expand patrols at our borders, strengthen the security of air travel, and use technology to track the arrivals and departures of visitors to the United States. [Applause.]

Homeland security will make America not only stronger, but, in many ways, better. Knowledge gained from bioterrorism research will improve public health. Stronger police and fire departments will mean safer neighborhoods. Stricter border enforcement will help combat illegal drugs. [Applause.] And as government works to better secure our homeland, America will continue to depend on the eyes and ears of alert citizens.

[. . .]

Once we have funded our national security and our homeland security, the final great priority of my budget is economic security for the American people. [Applause.] To achieve these great national objectives—to win the war, protect the homeland, and revitalize our economy—our budget will run a deficit that will be small and short-term, so long as Congress restrains spending and acts in a fiscally responsible manner. [Applause.] We have clear priorities and we must act at home with the same purpose and resolve we have shown overseas: We'll prevail in the war, and we will defeat this recession. [Applause.]

[. . .]

Good jobs also depend on reliable and affordable energy. This Congress must act to encourage conservation, promote technology, build infrastructure, and it must act to increase energy production at home so America is less dependent on foreign oil. [Applause.]

Good jobs depend on expanded trade. Selling into new markets creates new jobs, so I ask Congress to finally approve trade promotion authority. [Applause.] On these two key issues, trade and energy, the House of Representatives has acted to create jobs, and I urge the Senate to pass this legislation. [Applause.]

Good jobs depend on sound tax policy. [Applause.] Last year, some in this hall thought my tax relief plan was too small; some thought it was too big. [Applause.] But when the checks arrived in the mail, most Americans thought tax relief was just about right. [Applause.] Congress listened to the people and responded by reducing tax rates, doubling the child credit, and ending the death tax. For the sake of long-term growth and to help Americans plan for the future, let's make these tax cuts permanent. [Applause.]

The way out of this recession, the way to create jobs, is to grow the economy by encouraging investment in factories and equipment, and by speeding up tax relief so people have more money to spend. For the sake of American workers, let's pass a stimulus package. [Applause.]

[. . .]

None of us would ever wish the evil that was done on September the 11th. Yet after America was attacked, it was as if our entire country looked into a mirror and saw our better selves. We were

reminded that we are citizens, with obligations to each other, to our country, and to history. We began to think less of the goods we can accumulate, and more about the good we can do.

For too long our culture has said, "If it feels good, do it." Now America is embracing a new ethic and a new creed: "Let's roll." [Applause.] In the sacrifice of soldiers, the fierce brotherhood of firefighters, and the bravery and generosity of ordinary citizens, we have glimpsed what a new culture of responsibility could look like. We want to be a nation that serves goals larger than self. We've been offered a unique opportunity, and we must not let this moment pass. [Applause.]

My call tonight is for every American to commit at least two years—4,000 hours over the rest of your lifetime—to the service of your neighbors and your nation. [Applause.] Many are already serving, and I thank you. If you aren't sure how to help, I've got a good place to start. To sustain and extend the best that has emerged in America, I invite you to join the new USA Freedom Corps. The Freedom Corps will focus on three areas of need: responding in case of crisis at home; rebuilding our communities; and extending American compassion throughout the world.

One purpose of the USA Freedom Corps will be homeland security. America needs retired doctors and nurses who can be mobilized in major emergencies; volunteers to help police and fire departments; transportation and utility workers well-trained in spotting danger.

Our country also needs citizens working to rebuild our communities. We need mentors to love children, especially children whose parents are in prison. And we need more talented teachers in troubled schools. USA Freedom Corps will expand and improve the good efforts of AmeriCorps and Senior Corps to recruit more than 200,000 new volunteers.

And America needs citizens to extend the compassion of our country to every part of the world. So we will renew the promise of the Peace Corps, double its volunteers over the next five years—[applause]—and ask it to join a new effort to encourage development and education and opportunity in the Islamic world. [Applause.]

This time of adversity offers a unique moment of opportunity—a moment we must seize to change our culture. Through the gathering momentum of millions of acts of service and decency and kindness, I know we can overcome evil with greater good. [Applause.] And we have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values that will bring lasting peace.

All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be educated, and live free from poverty and violence. No people on Earth yearn to be oppressed, or aspire to servitude, or eagerly await the midnight knock of the secret police.

If anyone doubts this, let them look to Afghanistan, where the Islamic "street" greeted the fall of tyranny with song and celebration. Let the skeptics look to Islam's own rich history, with its centuries of learning, and tolerance and progress. America will lead by defending liberty and justice because they are right and true and unchanging for all people everywhere. [Applause.]

No nation owns these aspirations, and no nation is exempt from them. We have no intention of imposing our culture. But America will always stand firm for the non-negotiable demands of human dignity: the rule of law; limits on the power of the state; respect for women; private property; free speech; equal justice; and religious tolerance. [Applause.]

America will take the side of brave men and women who advocate these values around the world, including the Islamic world, because we have a greater objective than eliminating threats and containing resentment. We seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror.

In this moment of opportunity, a common danger is erasing old rivalries. America is working with Russia and China and India, in ways we have never before, to achieve peace and prosperity. In every region, free markets and free trade and free societies are proving their power to lift lives. Together with friends and allies from Europe to Asia, and Africa to Latin America, we will demonstrate that the forces of terror cannot stop the momentum of freedom. [Applause.]

The last time I spoke here, I expressed the hope that life would return to normal. In some ways, it has. In others, it never will. Those of us who have lived through these challenging times have been changed by them. We've come to know truths that we will never question: evil is real, and it must be opposed. [Applause.] Beyond all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning together and facing danger together. Deep in the American character, there is honor, and it is stronger than cynicism. And many have discovered again that even in tragedy—especially in tragedy—God is near. [Applause.]

In a single instant, we realized that this will be a decisive decade in the history of liberty, that we've been called to a unique role in human events. Rarely has the world faced a choice more clear or consequential.

Our enemies send other people's children on missions of suicide and murder. They embrace tyranny and death as a cause and a creed. We stand for a different choice, made long ago, on the day of our founding. We affirm it again today. We choose freedom and the dignity of every life. [Applause.]

Steadfast in our purpose, we now press on. We have known freedom's price. We have shown freedom's power. And in this great conflict, my fellow Americans, we will see freedom's victory.

Source: George W. Bush, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush, 2002,* Book 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2002), 129–136.

98. President George W. Bush, "New Threats Require New Thinking," Remarks at the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, June 1, 2002 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Speaking to the graduating class of military officers of 2002 at the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, President George W. Bush described a new strategy involving preemptive strikes to eradicate threats from terrorists or from hostile powers before these could jeopardize American strategy. The Cold War policies of "deterrence and containment" could, he claimed, no longer always suffice to safeguard the security of the United States and its allies against "shadowy terrorist networks with no nation or citizens to defend" or "unbalanced dictators with weapons of mass destruction." The United States could not afford to put its "faith in the word of tyrants who solemnly sign nonproliferation treaties and then systematically break them." Instead, the United States needed to take action against such threats before they could "fully materialize." Americans needed to "be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and to defend our lives." To do so, the government would be ready to use all appropriate means, whether diplomatic or military. Increasingly, "civilized nations" were "united by common dangers of terrorist violence and chaos" and also by "common values." Bush proclaimed that the United States, whose military strength was already "beyond challenge," intended to maintain this position, making it pointless for other nations to try to match it. In words that might equally have been used by Bush's two presidential predecessors, Bill Clinton and George H. W. Bush, to support the "new world order" or "globalization," President Bush declared that his country would also seek to encourage and provide assistance to nations that supported American values and chose the path of "human progress, based on nonnegotiable demands of human dignity, the rule of law, limits on the power of the state, respect for women and private property and free speech and equal justice and religious tolerance." Bush's proclamation that the U.S. government reserved the right to take preemptive action against any group or country that it considered a potential threat to its own security or that of its allies proved highly controversial, particularly since it seemed that the U.S. government assigned to itself the responsibility of defining unilaterally both what constituted a threat and what the appropriate response might be. This strategic doctrine also opened the way for the United States to move against Iraq and potentially against Iran and North Korea, the two other nations that Bush had specifically placed on the "axis of evil" described in his January 2002 State of the Union address.

Primary Source

[. . .]

History has also issued its call to your generation. In your last year, America was attacked by a ruthless and resourceful enemy. You graduate from this Academy in a time of war, taking your place in an American military that is powerful and is honorable. Our war on terror is only begun, but in Afghanistan it was begun well.

[. . .]

This war will take many turns we cannot predict. Yet, I am certain of this: Wherever we carry it, the American flag will stand not only for our power but for freedom. Our Nation's cause has always been larger than our Nation's defense. We fight, as we always fight, for a just peace, a peace that favors human liberty. We will defend the peace against threats from terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. And we will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent.

Building this just peace is America's opportunity and America's duty. From this day forward, it is your challenge as well, and we will meet this challenge together. You will wear the uniform of a great and unique country. America has no empire to extend or utopia to establish. We wish for others only what we wish for ourselves, safety from violence, the rewards of liberty, and the hope for a better life.

In defending the peace, we face a threat with no precedent. Enemies in the past needed great armies and great industrial capabilities to endanger the American people and our Nation. The attacks of September the 11th required a few hundred thousand dollars in the hands of a few dozen evil and deluded men. All of the chaos and suffering they caused came at much less than the cost of a single tank. The dangers have not passed. This Government and the American people are on watch. We are ready, because we know the terrorists have more money and more men and more plans.

The gravest danger to freedom lies at the perilous crossroads of radicalism and technology. When the spread of chemical and biological and nuclear weapons, along with ballistic missile technology—when that occurs, even weak states and small groups could attain a catastrophic power to strike great nations. Our enemies have declared this very intention and have been caught seeking these terrible weapons. They want the capability to blackmail us

or to harm us or to harm our friends, and we will oppose them with all our power.

For much of the last century, America's defense relied on the cold war doctrines of deterrence and containment. In some cases, those strategies still apply, but new threats also require new thinking. Deterrence—the promise of massive retaliation against nations—means nothing against shadowy terrorist networks with no nation or citizens to defend. Containment is not possible when unbalanced dictators with weapons of mass destruction can deliver those weapons on missiles or secretly provide them to terrorist allies. We cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best. We cannot put our faith in the word of tyrants who solemnly sign nonproliferation treaties and then systemically break them. If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long.

Homeland defense and missile defense are part of stronger security; they're essential priorities for America. Yet, the war on terror will not be won on the defensive. We must take the battle to the enemy, disrupt his plans, and confront the worst threats before they emerge. In the world we have entered, the only path to safety is the path of action, and this Nation will act.

Our security will require the best intelligence to reveal threats hidden in caves and growing in laboratories. Our security will require modernizing domestic agencies such as the FBI, so they're prepared to act and act quickly against danger. Our security will require transforming the military you will lead, a military that must be ready to strike at a moment's notice in any dark corner of the world. And our security will require all Americans to be forward-looking and resolute, to be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and to defend our lives.

The work ahead is difficult. The choices we will face are complex. We must uncover terror cells in 60 or more countries, using every tool of finance, intelligence, and law enforcement. Along with our friends and allies, we must oppose proliferation and confront regimes that sponsor terror, as each case requires. Some nations need military training to fight terror, and we'll provide it. Other nations oppose terror but tolerate the hatred that leads to terror, and that must change. We will send diplomats where they are needed, and we will send you, our soldiers, where you're needed.

All nations that decide for aggression and terror will pay a price. We will not leave the safety of America and the peace of the planet at the mercy of a few mad terrorists and tyrants. We will lift this dark threat from our country and from the world.

Because the war on terror will require resolve and patience, it will also require firm moral purpose. In this way our struggle is similar to the cold war. Now, as then, our enemies are totalitarians, holding a creed of power with no place for human dignity. Now, as then, they seek to impose a joyless conformity, to control every life and all of life.

America confronted imperial communism in many different ways, diplomatic, economic, and military. Yet, moral clarity was essential to our victory in the cold war. When leaders like John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan refused to gloss over the brutality of tyrants, they gave hope to prisoners and dissidents and exiles and rallied free nations to a great cause.

Some worry that it is somehow undiplomatic or impolite to speak the language of right and wrong. I disagree. Different circumstances require different methods but not different moralities. Moral truth is the same in every culture, in every time, and in every place. Targeting innocent civilians for murder is always and everywhere wrong. Brutality against women is always and everywhere wrong. There can be no neutrality between justice and cruelty, between the innocent and the guilty. We are in a conflict between good and evil, and America will call evil by its name. By confronting evil and lawless regimes, we do not create a problem; we reveal a problem. And we will lead the world in opposing it.

As we defend the peace, we also have an historic opportunity to preserve the peace. We have our best chance since the rise of the nation-state in the 17th century to build a world where the great powers compete in peace instead of prepare for war. The history of the last century, in particular, was dominated by a series of destructive national rivalries that left battlefields and graveyards across the Earth. Germany fought France, the Axis fought the Allies, and then the East fought the West, in proxy wars and tense standoffs, against a backdrop of nuclear Armageddon.

Competition between great nations is inevitable, but armed conflict in our world is not. More and more, civilized nations find ourselves on the same side, united by common dangers of terrorist violence and chaos. America has and intends to keep military strengths beyond challenge, thereby making the destabilizing arms races of other eras pointless and limiting rivalries to trade and other pursuits of peace.

Today, the great powers are also increasingly united by common values, instead of divided by conflicting ideologies. The United States, Japan, and our Pacific friends, and now all of Europe, share a deep commitment to human freedom, embodied in strong alliances such as NATO. And the tide of liberty is rising in many other nations.

Generations of West Point officers planned and practiced for battles with Soviet Russia. I've just returned from a new Russia, now a country reaching toward democracy and our partner in the war against terror. Even in China, leaders are discovering that economic freedom is the only lasting source of national wealth. In time, they will find that social and political freedom is the only true source of national greatness.

When the great powers share common values, we are better able to confront serious regional conflicts together, better able to cooperate in preventing the spread of violence or economic chaos. In the past, great power rivals took sides in difficult regional problems, making divisions deeper and more complicated. Today, from the Middle East to South Asia, we are gathering broad international coalitions to increase the pressure for peace. We must build strong and great power relations when times are good to

help manage crisis when times are bad. America needs partners to preserve the peace, and we will work with every nation that shares this noble goal.

And finally, America stands for more than the absence of war. We have a great opportunity to extend a just peace by replacing poverty, repression, and resentment around the world with hope of a better day. Through most of history, poverty was persistent, inescapable, and almost universal. In the last few decades, we've seen nations from Chile to South Korea build modern economies and freer societies, lifting millions of people out of despair and want. And there's no mystery to this achievement.

The 20th century ended with a single surviving model of human progress, based on nonnegotiable demands of human dignity, the rule of law, limits on the power of the state, respect for women, and private property and free speech and equal justice and religious tolerance. America cannot impose this vision, yet we can support and reward governments that make the right choices for their own people. In our development aid, in our diplomatic efforts, in our international broadcasting, and in our educational assistance, the United States will promote moderation and tolerance and human rights. And we will defend the peace that makes all progress possible.

When it comes to the common rights and needs of men and women, there is no clash of civilizations. The requirements of freedom apply fully to Africa and Latin America and the entire Islamic world. The peoples of the Islamic nations want and deserve the same freedoms and opportunities as people in every nation. And their governments should listen to their hopes.

[. . .]

Source: George W. Bush, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush, 2002,* Book 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2002), 917–922.

99. Assistant U.S. Attorney General Jay S. Bybee, Memorandum to Alberto R. Gonzales, Counsel to the President, Standards of Conduct for Interrogation under 18 U.S.C. 2340–2340A, August 1, 2002 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Under President George W. Bush, U.S. officials demonstrated what many critics considered a disturbing readiness to ignore and discard the Geneva Convention and other accepted international humanitarian guidelines on the treatment of prisoners and civilians. The U.S. government had in the past signed not just the Geneva Convention but also the United Nations (UN) Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment. At the request of Alberto R. Gonzales, White House legal counsel to the president and later attorney general of the United States, in August 2002 the Justice Department submitted a memorandum purporting to define what constituted torture. The memorandum stated that "certain acts may be cruel, inhuman, or degrading, but still not produce pain and suffering of the requisite intensity" to classify them as torture. Torture must inflict "pain accompanying serious physical injury, such as organ failure, impairment of bodily function, or even death." With Gonzales' encouragement and approval, the Defense Department and other U.S. agencies, such as the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), apparently adopted these guidelines for the treatment of prisoners, whether military or civilian. Several months earlier, in January 2002, Gonzales had already given a legal opinion purporting that captured Taliban and Al Qaeda personnel in Afghanistan fell outside the bounds of the Geneva Convention, and so could be held incommunicado and subjected to treatment forbidden under the Geneva Convention. The Bush administration's unilateral reluctance to observe internationally accepted standards of humanitarian behavior even as it claimed to be fighting wars to defend "freedom" did great damage to its moral standing around the world. The demonstrated eagerness of top American officials to disregard such standards was considered to be one reason for subsequent pervasive abuses of Iraqi detainees by U.S. soldiers at Abu Ghraib, misconduct that when it became known greatly discredited the United States throughout the Arab world and beyond.

Primary Source

Memorandum for Alberto R. Gonzales, Counsel to the President

Re: Standards of Conduct for Interrogation under 18 U.S.C. §§ 2340–2340A

You have asked for our Office's views regarding the standards of conduct under the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment as implemented by Sections 2340–2340A of title 18 of the United States Code. As we understand it, this question has arisen in the context of the conduct of interrogations outside of the United States. We conclude below that Section 2340A proscribes acts inflicting, and that are specifically intended to inflict, severe pain or suffering, whether mental or physical. Those acts must be of an extreme nature to rise to the level of torture within the meaning of Section 2340A and the Convention. We further conclude that certain acts may be cruel, inhuman, or degrading, but still not produce pain and suffering of the requisite intensity to fall within Section 2340A's proscription against torture. We conclude by examining possible defenses that would negate any claim that certain interrogation methods violate the statute.

In Part I, we examine the criminal statute's text and history. We conclude that for an act to constitute torture as defined in Section 2340, it must inflict pain that is difficult to endure. Physical pain amounting to torture must be equivalent in intensity to the pain accompanying serious physical injury, such as organ failure, impairment of bodily function, or even death. For purely mental pain or suffering to amount to torture under Section 2340, it must result in significant psychological harm of significant duration, e.g., lasting for months or even years. We conclude that the mental harm also must result from one of the predicate acts listed in the statute, namely: threats of imminent death; threats of infliction of the kind of pain that would amount to physical torture; infliction of such physical pain as a means of psychological torture; use of drugs or other procedures designed to deeply disrupt the senses, or fundamentally alter an individual's personality; or threatening to do any of these things to a third party. The legislative history simply reveals that Congress intended for the statute's definition to track the Convention's definition of torture and the reservations, understandings, and declarations that the United States submitted with its ratification. We conclude that the statute, taken as a whole, makes plain that it prohibits only extreme acts.

In Part II, we examine the text, ratification history, and negotiating history of the Torture Convention. We conclude that the treaty's text prohibits only the most extreme acts by reserving criminal penalties solely for torture and declining to require such penalties for "cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment." This confirms our view that the criminal statute penalizes only the most egregious conduct. Executive branch interpretations and representations to the Senate at the time of ratification further confirm that the treaty was intended to reach only the most extreme conduct.

In Part III, we analyze the jurisprudence of the Torture Victims Protection Act, 28 U.S.C. §§ 1350 note (2000), which provides civil remedies for torture victims, to predict the standards that courts might follow in determining what actions reach the threshold of torture in the criminal context. We conclude from these cases that courts are likely to take a totality-of-the-circumstances approach, and will look to an entire course of conduct, to determine whether certain acts will violate Section 2340A. Moreover, these cases demonstrate that most often torture involves cruel and extreme physical pain. In Part IV, we examine international decisions regarding the use of sensory deprivation techniques. These cases make clear that while many of these techniques may amount to cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment, they do not produce pain or suffering of the necessary intensity to meet the definition of torture. From these decisions, we conclude that there is a wide range of such techniques that will not rise to the level of torture.

In Part V, we discuss whether Section 2340A may be unconstitutional if applied to interrogations undertaken of enemy combatants pursuant to the President's Commander-in-Chief powers. We find that in the circumstances of the current war against al Qaeda and its allies, prosecution under Section 2340A may be barred because enforcement of the statute would represent an unconstitutional infringement of the President's authority to conduct war. In Part VI, we discuss defenses to an allegation that an interrogation method might violate the statute. We conclude that, under the current circumstances, necessity or self-defense may justify interrogation methods that might violate Section 2340A.

[. . .]

Conclusion

For the foregoing reasons, we conclude that torture as defined in and proscribed by Sections 2340–2340A, covers only extreme acts. Severe pain is generally of the kind difficult for the victim to endure. Where the pain is physical, it must be of an intensity akin to that which accompanies serious physical injury such as death or organ failure. Severe mental pain requires suffering not just at the moment of infliction but it also requires lasting psychological harm, such as seen in mental disorders like post-traumatic stress disorder. Additionally, such severe mental pain can arise only from the predicate acts listed in Section 2340. Because the acts inflicting torture are extreme, there is significant range of acts that though they might constitute cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment fail to rise to the level of torture.

Further, we conclude that under the circumstances of the current war against al Qaeda and its allies, application, of Section 2340A to interrogations undertaken pursuant to the President's Commander-in-Chief powers may be unconstitutional. Finally, even if an interrogation method might violate Section 2340A, necessity or self-defense could provide justifications that would eliminate any criminal liability.

Please let us know if we can be of further assistance.

Jay S. Bybee, Assistant Attorney General

Source: "Memorandum for Alberto R. Gonzales, Counsel for the President," United States Department of Justice, http://www.justice.gov/olc/docs/memo-gonzales-aug2002.pdf.

100. Brent Scowcroft, "Don't Attack Saddam," August 15, 2002

Introduction

Republicans from the administration of President George H. W. Bush, who had chosen in late February 1991 not to invade Iraq

in an effort to overthrow President Saddam Hussein, were often uncomfortable with the growing enthusiasm that his son's administration displayed for war against Iraq. In August 2002 Brent Scowcroft, the elder Bush's national security adviser who had coauthored a foreign policy memoir with the former president, published an article in the conservative *Wall Street Journal* urging caution. Scowcroft admitted that Hussein was a "thoroughly evil" and brutal dictator, enamored of military force, who had in the past made war on his neighbors, and Scowcroft bluntly stated that "We will all be better off when he is gone." In Scowcroft's opinion, however, Hussein did not seek to attack the United States directly, only to "dominate the Persian Gulf, to control oil from the region, or both." His differences with the United States derived from the fact that it blocked these ambitions. He was unlikely to supply weapons to terrorist organizations he could not control, especially since such action was likely to bring the wrath of the United States down upon him. Scowcroft argued that while it might at some stage be desirable to bring about Hussein's overthrow, this would "undoubtedly be very expensive," and for some time to come the war on terror ought to the first priority for the United States. Invading Iraq would be likely to prove a major diversion from this objective, one that would make other states less willing to cooperate in the war against terror and might well destabilize other Middle Eastern regimes. Many Arab states would also resent such action, perceiving it as a deliberate downgrading of attempts to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Successes in prosecuting the war against terror and reaching an Israeli-Palestinian settlement would, by contrast, ultimately facilitate international support for efforts to drive Hussein from power. Scowcroft's warning received considerable publicity, but the very fact that he chose to make his case in the media, not behind closed doors as a trusted confidential adviser, was evidence that President George W. Bush and officials close to him did not wish to hear his message and proposed to ignore it.

Primary Source

"Don't Attack Saddam—It Would Undermine Our Anti-terror Efforts"

By Brent Scowcroft

Our nation is presently engaged in a debate about whether to launch a war against Iraq. Leaks of various strategies for an attack on Iraq appear with regularity. The Bush administration vows regime change, but states that no decision has been made whether, much less when, to launch an invasion.

It is beyond dispute that Saddam Hussein is a menace. He terrorizes and brutalizes his own people. He has launched war on two of his neighbors. He devotes enormous effort to rebuilding his military forces and equipping them with weapons of mass destruction. We will all be better off when he is gone.

That said, we need to think through this issue very carefully. We need to analyze the relationship between Iraq and our other pressing priorities—notably the war on terrorism—as well as the best strategy and tactics available were we to move to change the regime in Baghdad.

Saddam's strategic objective appears to be to dominate the Persian Gulf, to control oil from the region, or both. That clearly poses a real threat to key U.S. interests. But there is scant evidence to tie Saddam to terrorist organizations, and even less to the September 11 attacks. Indeed Saddam's goals have little in common with the terrorists who threaten us, and there is little incentive for him to make common cause with them.

He is unlikely to risk his investment in weapons of mass destruction, much less his country, by handing such weapons to terrorists who would use them for their own purposes and leave Baghdad as the return address. Threatening to use these weapons for blackmail—much less their actual use—would open him and his entire regime to a devastating response by the U.S. While Saddam is thoroughly evil, he is above all a power-hungry survivor.

Saddam is a familiar dictatorial aggressor, with traditional goals for his aggression. There is little evidence to indicate that the United States itself is an object of his aggression. Rather, Saddam's problem with the U.S. appears to be that we stand in the way of his ambitions. He seeks weapons of mass destruction not to arm terrorists, but to deter us from intervening to block his aggressive designs.

Given Saddam's aggressive regional ambitions, as well as his ruthlessness and unpredictability, it may at some point be wise to remove him from power. Whether and when that point should come ought to depend on overall U.S. national security priorities. Our pre-eminent security priority—underscored repeatedly by the president—is the war on terrorism. An attack on Iraq at this time would seriously jeopardize, if not destroy, the global counter-terrorist campaign we have undertaken.

The United States could certainly defeat the Iraqi military and destroy Saddam's regime. But it would not be a cakewalk. On the contrary, it undoubtedly would be very expensive—with serious consequences for the U.S. and global economy—and could as well be bloody. In fact, Saddam would be likely to conclude he had nothing left to lose, leading him to unleash whatever weapons of mass destruction he possesses.

Israel would have to expect to be the first casualty, as in 1991 when Saddam sought to bring Israel into the Gulf conflict. This time, using weapons of mass destruction, he might succeed, provoking Israel to respond, perhaps with nuclear weapons, unleashing an Armageddon in the Middle East. Finally, if we are to achieve our strategic objectives in Iraq, a military campaign very likely would have to be followed by a large-scale, long-term military occupation.

But the central point is that any campaign against Iraq, whatever the strategy, cost and risks, is certain to divert us for some indefinite period from our war on terrorism. Worse, there is a virtual consensus in the world against an attack on Iraq at this

time. So long as that sentiment persists, it would require the U.S. to pursue a virtual go-it-alone strategy against Iraq, making any military operations correspondingly more difficult and expensive. The most serious cost, however, would be to the war on terrorism. Ignoring that clear sentiment would result in a serious degradation in international cooperation with us against terrorism. And make no mistake, we simply cannot win that war without enthusiastic international cooperation, especially on intelligence.

Possibly the most dire consequences would be the effect in the region. The shared view in the region is that Iraq is principally an obsession of the U.S. The obsession of the region, however, is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. If we were seen to be turning our backs on that bitter conflict—which the region, rightly or wrongly, perceives to be clearly within our power to resolve—in order to go after Iraq, there would be an explosion of outrage against us. We would be seen as ignoring a key interest of the Muslim world in order to satisfy what is seen to be a narrow American interest.

Even without Israeli involvement, the results could well destabilize Arab regimes in the region, ironically facilitating one of Saddam's strategic objectives. At a minimum, it would stifle any cooperation on terrorism, and could even swell the ranks of the terrorists. Conversely, the more progress we make in the war on terrorism, and the more we are seen to be committed to resolving the Israel-Palestinian issue, the greater will be the international support for going after Saddam.

If we are truly serious about the war on terrorism, it must remain our top priority. However, should Saddam Hussein be found to be clearly implicated in the events of September 11, that could make him a key counterterrorist target, rather than a competing priority, and significantly shift world opinion toward support for regime change.

In any event, we should be pressing the United Nations Security Council to insist on an effective no-notice inspection regime for Iraq—anytime, anywhere, no permission required. On this point, senior administration officials have opined that Saddam Hussein would never agree to such an inspection regime. But if he did, inspections would serve to keep him off balance and under close observation, even if all his weapons of mass destruction capabilities were not uncovered. And if he refused, his rejection could provide the persuasive casus belli which many claim we do not now have. Compelling evidence that Saddam had acquired nuclear-weapons capability could have a similar effect.

In sum, if we will act in full awareness of the intimate interrelationship of the key issues in the region, keeping counterterrorism as our foremost priority, there is much potential for success across the entire range of our security interests—including Iraq. If we reject a comprehensive perspective, however, we put at risk our campaign against terrorism as well as stability and security in a vital region of the world.

Source: U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record,* 107th Cong., 2nd sess., 2002, 7763–7764.

101. United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan, "I Stand before You Today a Multilateralist," Speech Delivered to the United Nations General Assembly, September 12, 2002

Introduction

The prospect of an invasion of Iraq spearheaded by the United States left many other nations unenthusiastic. Few welcomed President George W. Bush's strategic doctrine whereby the United States claimed the right to take preemptive action against nations that it believed might at some subsequent date pose a threat to its own security. One year and a day after the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States, Bush made a speech before the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in New York. By this point, Bush administration officials were loudly proclaiming the right of the United States to take unilateral action in the international arena as and when it pleased. Welcoming the president to the General Assembly, UN secretary-general Kofi Annan himself addressed that gathering. Annan considered his speech so significant that he released it to the press in advance, hoping that this would give it additional impact. Annan spoke out forcefully in support of multilateral action as a means of resolving international problems, working through such institutions as the UN. He warned that governments "committed to the rule of law at home, must be committed also to the rule of law abroad" and that it was in the interest of every state "to uphold international law and maintain international order." The secretary-general highlighted several outstanding world problems whose resolution, he believed, required multilateral action through international organizations. They included the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, assistance to Afghanistan to strengthen its new government's authority in that country and implement postwar reconstruction policies, and the nuclear standoff between India and Pakistan. Second among the outstanding disputes listed by Annan was the situation in Iraq. He urged Iraq to comply with the UN Security Council resolutions and readmit weapons inspectors to that country, and he asked all nations that possessed any influence with Iraq to persuade its government to follow this course, which he hoped would finally lead to the end of UN sanctions on Iraq.

Primary Source

We cannot begin today without reflecting on yesterday's anniversary—and on the criminal challenge so brutally thrown in our faces on 11 September 2001.

The terrorist attacks of that day were not an isolated event. They were an extreme example of a global scourge, which requires a broad, sustained and global response.

Broad, because terrorism can be defeated only if all nations unite against it.

Sustained, because the battle against terrorism will not be won easily, or overnight. It requires patience and persistence.

And global, because terrorism is a widespread and complex phenomenon, with many deep roots and exacerbating factors.

Mr. President, I believe that such a response can only succeed if we make full use of multilateral institutions.

I stand before you today as a multilateralist—by precedent, by principle, by Charter and by duty.

I also believe that every government that is committed to the rule of law at home, must be committed also to the rule of law abroad. And all States have a clear interest, as well as clear responsibility, to uphold international law and maintain international order.

Our founding fathers, the statesmen of 1945, had learnt that lesson from the bitter experience of two world wars and a great depression.

They recognized that international security is not a zero-sum game. Peace, security and freedom are not finite commodities—like land, oil or gold—which one State can acquire at another's expense. On the contrary, the more peace, security and freedom any one State has, the more its neighbours are likely to have.

And they recognized that, by agreeing to exercise sovereignty together, they could gain a hold over problems that would defeat any one of them acting separately.

If those lessons were clear in 1945, should they not be much more so today, in the age of globalization?

On almost no item on our agenda does anyone seriously contend that each nation can fend for itself. Even the most powerful countries know that they need to work with others, in multilateral institutions, to achieve their aims.

Only by multilateral action can we ensure that open markets offer benefits and opportunities to all.

Only by multilateral action can we give people in the least developed countries the chance to escape the ugly misery of poverty, ignorance and disease.

Only by multilateral action can we protect ourselves from acid rain, or global warming; from the spread of HIV/AIDS, the illicit trade in drugs, or the odious traffic in human beings.

That applies even more to the prevention of terrorism. Individual States may defend themselves, by striking back at terrorist groups and at the countries that harbour or support them. But only concerted vigilance and cooperation among all States, with constant, systematic exchange of information, offers any real hope of denying the terrorists their opportunities.

On all these matters, for any one State—large or small—choosing to follow or reject the multilateral path must not be a simple matter of political convenience. It has consequences far beyond the immediate context.

When countries work together in multilateral institutions—developing, respecting, and when necessary enforcing international law—they also develop mutual trust, and more effective cooperation on other issues.

The more a country makes use of multilateral institutions—thereby respecting shared values, and accepting the obligations and restraints inherent in those values—the more others will trust and respect it, and the stronger its chance to exercise true leadership.

And among multilateral institutions, this universal Organization has a special place.

Any State, if attacked, retains the inherent right of self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter. But beyond that, when States decide to use force to deal with broader threats to international peace and security, there is no substitute for the unique legitimacy provided by the United Nations.

Member States attach importance, great importance in fact, to such legitimacy and to the international rule of law. They have shown—notably in the action to liberate Kuwait, 12 years ago—that they are willing to take actions under the authority of the Security Council, which they would not be willing to take without it.

The existence of an effective international security system depends on the Council's authority—and therefore on the Council having the political will to act, even in the most difficult cases, when agreement seems elusive at the outset. The primary criterion for putting an issue on the Council's agenda should not be the receptiveness of the parties, but the existence of a grave threat to world peace.

Let me now turn to four current threats to world peace, where true leadership and effective action are badly needed.

First, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Recently, many of us have been struggling to reconcile Israel's legitimate security concerns with Palestinian humanitarian needs.

But these limited objectives cannot be achieved in isolation from the wider political context. We must return to the search for a just and comprehensive solution, which alone can bring security and prosperity to both peoples, and indeed to the whole region.

The ultimate shape of a Middle East peace settlement is well known. It was defined long ago in Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and its Israeli-Palestinian components were spelt out even more clearly in Resolution 1397: land for peace; end to terror and to occupation; two States, Israel and Palestine, living side by side within secure and recognized borders.

Both parties accept this vision. But we can reach it only if we move rapidly and in parallel on all fronts. The so-called "sequential" approach has failed.

As we agreed at the Quartet meeting in Washington last May, an international peace conference is needed without delay, to set out a roadmap of parallel steps: steps to strengthen Israel's security, steps to strengthen Palestinian economic and political institutions, and steps to settle the details of the final peace agreement. Meanwhile, humanitarian steps to relieve Palestinian suffering must be intensified. The need is urgent.

Second, the leadership of Iraq continues to defy mandatory resolutions adopted by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter.

I have engaged Iraq in an in-depth discussion on a range of issues, including the need for arms inspectors to return, in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions.

Efforts to obtain Iraq's compliance with the Council's resolutions must continue. I appeal to all those who have influence with Iraq's leaders to impress on them the vital importance of accepting the weapons inspections. This is the indispensable first step towards assuring the world that all Iraq's weapons of mass destruction have indeed been eliminated, and—let me stress—towards the suspension and eventual ending of the sanctions that are causing so many hardships for the Iraqi people.

I urge Iraq to comply with its obligations—for the sake of its own people, and for the sake of world order. If Iraq's defiance continues, the Security Council must face its responsibilities.

Third, permit me to press all of you, as leaders of the international community, to maintain your commitment to Afghanistan.

I know I speak for all in welcoming President Karzai to this Assembly, and congratulating him on his escape from last week's vicious assassination attempt—a graphic reminder of how hard it is to uproot the remnants of terrorism in any country where it has taken root. It was the international community's shameful neglect of Afghanistan in the 1990s that allowed the country to slide into chaos, providing a fertile breeding ground for Al Qaeda.

Today, Afghanistan urgently needs help in two areas. The Government must be helped to extend its authority throughout the country. Without this, all else may fail. And donors must follow through on their commitments to help with rehabilitation, reconstruction and development. Otherwise the Afghan people will lose hope—and desperation, we know, breeds violence.

And finally, in South Asia the world has recently come closer than for many years past to a direct conflict between two countries with nuclear capability. The situation may now have calmed a little, but it remains perilous. The underlying cause must be addressed. If a fresh crisis erupts, the international community might have a role to play; though I gladly acknowledge—and indeed, strongly welcome—the efforts made by well-placed Member States to help the two leaders find a solution.

Excellencies, let me conclude by reminding you of your pledge two years ago, at the Millennium Summit, "to make the United Nations a more effective instrument" in the service of the peoples of the world.

Today I ask all of you to honour that pledge.

Let us all recognize, from now on—in each capital, in every nation, large and small—that the global interest is our national interest.

Source: Kofi Annan, "When Force Is Considered, There Is No Substitute for Legitimacy Provided," Speech before the United Nations General Assembly, SG/SM/8378, September 12, 2002, http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2002/SGSM8378.doc.htm.

102. President George W. Bush, Address before the United Nations General Assembly, September 12, 2002 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Speaking before the United Nations (UN) General Assembly immediately after UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan acclaimed the value of multilateral action, U.S. president George W. Bush challenged that organization to meet what he considered to be its responsibilities and enforce earlier Security Council resolutions against Iraq. Bush listed those Security Council resolutions that Iraq had to date ignored. He detailed President Saddam Hussein's human rights abuses against his internal Iraqi political opponents

and the regime's "all-pervasive" repression. Iraq, Bush charged, was still holding more than 600 prisoners from the 1991 war over Kuwait, including 1 American pilot. Bush charged Iraq with support for terrorist organizations that targeted Iran, Israel, and the West and claimed that it was sheltering Al Qaeda operatives who had escaped from Afghanistan. The final and, in the Bush administration's prewar rhetoric, the most serious breach of UN Security Council resolutions was Iraq's continued possession and manufacture of weapons of mass destruction, including biological and chemical weapons, missiles, and an ongoing nuclear program, whose existence Iraq's government had sought to conceal from UN and International Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA) inspection teams. Bush argued that the United States wished to ensure that all nations respected the authority of the UN, which would not be the case if nations felt free to blatantly ignore that body's resolutions. "If the Iraqi regime wishes peace," Bush proclaimed, it must immediately observe all provisions of the resolutions dealing with Iraq passed by the Security Council over the past decade. If Iraq did not do so, the United States would work with the UN Security Council to enforce respect for that organization's authority. He told the assembled delegates that if they failed to act, the people of Iraq would continue to live in fear under a brutally repressive regime that would destabilize the entire Middle East and promote terrorist attacks far worse than had occurred one year earlier. The United States would in any case, Bush declared, "stand up for our security and for the permanent rights and the hopes of mankind." He invited his audience to join his own country in taking that stand.

Primary Source

Mr. Secretary-General, Mr. President, distinguished delegates, and ladies and gentlemen: We meet one year and one day after a terrorist attack brought grief to my country and brought grief to many citizens of our world. Yesterday we remembered the innocent lives taken that terrible morning. Today we turn to the urgent duty of protecting other lives, without illusion and without fear.

We've accomplished much in the last year in Afghanistan and beyond. We have much yet to do in Afghanistan and beyond. Many nations represented here have joined in the fight against global terror, and the people of the United States are grateful.

The United Nations was born in the hope that survived a world war, the hope of a world moving toward justice, escaping old patterns of conflict and fear. The founding members resolved that the peace of the world must never again be destroyed by the will and wickedness of any man. We created a United Nations Security Council so that, unlike the League of Nations, our deliberations would be more than talk, our resolutions would be more than wishes. After generations of deceitful dictators and broken treaties and squandered lives, we dedicated ourselves to standards of human dignity shared by all and to a system of security defended by all.

[. . .]

Our common security is challenged by regional conflicts, ethnic and religious strife that is ancient but not inevitable. In the Middle East, there can be no peace for either side without freedom for both sides. America stands committed to an independent and democratic Palestine, living side by side with Israel in peace and security. Like all other people, Palestinians deserve a government that serves their interests and listens to their voices. My Nation will continue to encourage all parties to step up to their responsibilities as we seek a just and comprehensive settlement to the conflict.

Above all, our principles and our security are challenged today by outlaw groups and regimes that accept no law of morality and have no limit to their violent ambitions. In the attacks on America a year ago, we saw the destructive intentions of our enemies. This threat hides within many nations, including my own. In cells and camps, terrorists are plotting further destruction and building new bases for their war against civilization. And our greatest fear is that terrorists will find a shortcut to their mad ambitions when an outlaw regime supplies them with the technologies to kill on a massive scale.

In one place—in one regime—we find all these dangers in their most lethal and aggressive forms, exactly the kind of aggressive threat the United Nations was born to confront.

Twelve years ago, Iraq invaded Kuwait without provocation, and the regime's forces were poised to continue their march to seize other countries and their resources. Had Saddam Hussein been appeased instead of stopped, he would have endangered the peace and stability of the world. Yet this aggression was stopped by the might of coalition forces and the will of the United Nations.

To suspend hostilities, to spare himself, Iraq's dictator [Saddam Hussein] accepted a series of commitments. The terms were clear to him and to all, and he agreed to prove he is complying with every one of those obligations. He has proven instead only his contempt for the United Nations and for all his pledges. By breaking every pledge, by his deceptions, and by his cruelties, Saddam Hussein has made the case against himself.

In 1991, Security Council Resolution 688 demanded that the Iraqi regime cease at once the repression of its own people, including the systematic repression of minorities, which the Council said threatened international peace and security in the region. This demand goes ignored.

Last year, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights found that Iraq continues to commit extremely grave violations of human rights and that the regime's repression is all-pervasive. Tens of thousands of political opponents and ordinary citizens have been subjected to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, summary execution, and torture by beating and burning, electric shock, starvation, mutilation, and rape. Wives are tortured in front of their husbands, children in the presence of their parents, and all of these horrors concealed from the world by the apparatus of a totalitarian state.

In 1991, the U.N. Security Council, through Resolutions 686 and 687, demanded that Iraq return all prisoners from Kuwait and

other lands. Iraq's regime agreed. It broke this promise. Last year, the Secretary-General's high-level coordinator [Yuli Vorontsov] for this issue reported that Kuwaiti, Saudi, Indian, Syrian, Lebanese, Iranian, Egyptian, Bahraini, and Omani nationals remain unaccounted for—more than 600 people. One American pilot is among them.

In 1991, the U.N. Security Council, through Resolution 687, demanded that Iraq renounce all involvement with terrorism and permit no terrorist organizations to operate in Iraq. Iraq's regime agreed. It broke this promise. In violation of Security Council Resolution 1373, Iraq continues to shelter and support terrorist organizations that direct violence against Iran, Israel, and Western governments. Iraqi dissidents abroad are targeted for murder. In 1993, Iraq attempted to assassinate the Amir of Kuwait [Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir Al Sabah] and a former American President [George Bush]. Iraq's Government openly praised the attacks of September the 11th, and Al Qaida terrorists escaped from Afghanistan and are known to be in Iraq.

In 1991, the Iraqi regime agreed to destroy and stop developing all weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles and to prove to the world it has done so by complying with rigorous inspections. Iraq has broken every aspect of this fundamental pledge.

From 1991 to 1995, the Iraqi regime said it had no biological weapons. After a senior official in its weapons program defected and exposed this lie, the regime admitted to producing tens of thousands of liters of anthrax and other deadly biological agents for use with Scud warheads, aerial bombs, and aircraft spray tanks. U.N. inspectors believe Iraq has produced 2 to 4 times the amount of biological agents it declared and has failed to account for more than 3 metric tons of material that could be used to produce biological weapons. Right now, Iraq is expanding and improving facilities that were used for the production of biological weapons. United Nations inspections also revealed that Iraq likely maintains stockpiles of VX, mustard, and other chemical agents and that the regime is rebuilding and expanding facilities capable of producing chemical weapons.

And in 1995, after 4 years of deception, Iraq finally admitted it had a crash nuclear weapons program prior to the Gulf war. We know now, were it not for that war, the regime in Iraq would likely have possessed a nuclear weapon no later than 1993.

Today, Iraq continues to withhold important information about its nuclear program, weapons design, procurement logs, experiment data, an accounting of nuclear materials, and documentation of foreign assistance. Iraq employs capable nuclear scientists and technicians. It retains physical infrastructure needed to build a nuclear weapon. Iraq has made several attempts to buy high-strength aluminum tubes used to enrich uranium for a nuclear weapon. Should Iraq acquire fissile material, it would be able to build a nuclear weapon within a year. And Iraq's state-controlled media has reported numerous meetings between Saddam Hussein and his nuclear scientists, leaving little doubt about his continued appetite for these weapons.

Iraq also possesses a force of Scud-type missiles with ranges beyond the 150 kilometers permitted by the U.N. Work at testing and production facilities shows that Iraq is building more long-range missiles, that it can inflict mass death throughout the region.

In 1990, after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the world imposed economic sanctions on Iraq. Those sanctions were maintained after the war to compel the regime's compliance with Security Council resolutions. In time, Iraq was allowed to use oil revenues to buy food. Saddam Hussein has subverted this program, working around the sanctions to buy missile technology and military materials. He blames the suffering of Iraq's people on the United Nations, even as he uses his oil wealth to build lavish palaces for himself and to buy arms for his country. By refusing to comply with his own agreements, he bears full guilt for the hunger and misery of innocent Iraqi citizens.

In 1991, Iraq promised U.N. inspectors immediate and unrestricted access to verify Iraq's commitment to rid itself of weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles. Iraq broke this promise, spending 7 years deceiving, evading, and harassing U.N. inspectors before ceasing cooperation entirely. Just months after the 1991 ceasefire, the Security Council twice renewed its demand that the Iraqi regime cooperate fully with inspectors, condemning Iraq's serious violations of its obligations. The Security Council again renewed that demand in 1994 and twice more in 1996, deploring Iraq's clear violations of its obligations. The Security Council renewed its demand three more times in 1997, citing flagrant violations, and three more times in 1998, calling Iraq's behavior totally unacceptable. And in 1999, the demand was renewed yet again.

As we meet today, it's been almost 4 years since the last U.N. inspectors set foot in Iraq, 4 years for the Iraqi regime to plan and to build and to test behind the cloak of secrecy.

We know that Saddam Hussein pursued weapons of mass murder even when inspectors were in his country. Are we to assume that he stopped when they left? The history, the logic, and the facts lead to one conclusion: Saddam Hussein's regime is a grave and gathering danger. To suggest otherwise is to hope against the evidence. To assume this regime's good faith is to bet the lives of millions and the peace of the world in a reckless gamble. And this is a risk we must not take.

Delegates to the General Assembly, we have been more than patient. We've tried sanctions. We've tried the carrot of oil for food and the stick of coalition military strikes. But Saddam Hussein has defied all these efforts and continues to develop weapons of mass destruction. The first time we may be completely certain he has a—nuclear weapons is when, God forbids, he uses one. We owe it to all our citizens to do everything in our power to prevent that day from coming.

The conduct of the Iraqi regime is a threat to the authority of the United Nations and a threat to peace. Iraq has answered a decade of U.N. demands with a decade of defiance. All the world now faces a test and the United Nations a difficult and defining moment. Are

Security Council resolutions to be honored and enforced or cast aside without consequence? Will the United Nations serve the purpose of its founding, or will it be irrelevant?

The United States helped found the United Nations. We want the United Nations to be effective and respectful and successful. We want the resolutions of the world's most important multilateral body to be enforced. And right now those resolutions are being unilaterally subverted by the Iraqi regime. Our partnership of nations can meet the test before us by making clear what we now expect of the Iraqi regime.

If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will immediately and unconditionally forswear, disclose, and remove or destroy all weapons of mass destruction, long-range missiles, and all related material.

If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will immediately end all support for terrorism and act to suppress it, as all states are required to do by U.N. Security Council resolutions.

If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will cease persecution of its civilian population, including Shi'a, Sunnis, Kurds, Turkomans, and others, again as required by Security Council resolutions.

If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will release or account for all Gulf war personnel whose fate is still unknown. It will return the remains of any who are deceased, return stolen property, accept liability for losses resulting from the invasion of Kuwait, and fully cooperate with international efforts to resolve these issues, as required by Security Council resolutions.

If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will immediately end all illicit trade outside the oil-for-food program. It will accept U.N. administration of funds from that program, to ensure that the money is used fairly and promptly for the benefit of the Iraqi people.

If all these steps are taken, it will signal a new openness and accountability in Iraq. And it could open the prospect of the United Nations helping to build a government that represents all Iraqis, a government based on respect for human rights, economic liberty, and internationally supervised elections.

The United States has no quarrel with the Iraqi people. They've suffered too long in silent captivity. Liberty for the Iraqi people is a great moral cause and a great strategic goal. The people of Iraq deserve it; the security of all nations requires it. Free societies do not intimidate through cruelty and conquest, and open societies do not threaten the world with mass murder. The United States supports political and economic liberty in a unified Iraq.

We can harbor no illusions, and that's important today to remember. Saddam Hussein attacked Iran in 1980 and Kuwait in 1990. He's fired ballistic missiles at Iran and Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Israel. His regime once ordered the killing of every person between the ages of 15 and 70 in certain Kurdish villages in northern Iraq. He has gassed many Iranians and 40 Iraqi villages.

My Nation will work with the U.N. Security Council to meet our common challenge. If Iraq's regime defies us again, the world must move deliberately, decisively to hold Iraq to account. We will work with the U.N. Security Council for the necessary resolutions. But the purposes of the United States should not be doubted. The Security Council resolutions will be enforced, the just demands of peace and security will be met, or action will be unavoidable. And a regime that has lost its legitimacy will also lose its power.

Events can turn in one of two ways. If we fail to act in the face of danger, the people of Iraq will continue to live in brutal submission. The regime will have new power to bully and dominate and conquer its neighbors, condemning the Middle East to more years of bloodshed and fear. The regime will remain unstable—the region will remain unstable, with little hope of freedom, and isolated from the progress of our times. With every step the Iraqi regime takes toward gaining and deploying the most terrible weapons, our own options to confront that regime will narrow. And if an emboldened regime were to supply these weapons to terrorist allies, then the attacks of September the 11th would be a prelude to far greater horrors.

If we meet our responsibilities, if we overcome this danger, we can arrive at a very different future. The people of Iraq can shake off their captivity. They can one day join a democratic Afghanistan and a democratic Palestine, inspiring reforms throughout the Muslim world. These nations can show by their example that honest government and respect for women and the great Islamic tradition of learning can triumph in the Middle East and beyond. And we will show that the promise of the United Nations can be fulfilled in our time.

Neither of these outcomes is certain. Both have been set before us. We must choose between a world of fear and a world of progress. We cannot stand by and do nothing while dangers gather. We must stand up for our security and for the permanent rights and the hopes of mankind. By heritage and by choice, the United States of America will make that stand. And delegates to the United Nations, you have the power to make that stand as well.

Source: George W. Bush, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George W. Bush, 2002,* Book 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2003), 1572–1567.

103. Central Intelligence Agency Director George Tenet, Letter to Senator Bob Graham, October 7, 2002

Introduction

The centerpiece of the case for war against Iraq made by officials of President George W. Bush's administration during 2002 and early 2003 was the allegation that President Saddam Hussein already possessed militarily significant stockpiles of weapons of biological, chemical, and nuclear mass destruction and was well on the way to purchasing or manufacturing even greater destructive capabilities. Democratic senator Bob Graham, chairman of

the U.S. Senate's Select Committee on Intelligence, had scrutinized numerous classified intelligence reports on the subject and remained skeptical as to whether Hussein actually possessed such armaments and, even if he did, whether Iraq would be able to use these to attack the United States. In October 2002 Graham wrote to Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) director George Tenet requesting an assessment of how likely Hussein was to employ weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) against the United States. Tenet's reply cited classified CIA estimates that although Hussein was not currently authorizing the use of Iraqi weaponry for terrorist operations against the United States, if he believed he could not prevent "a U.S.-led attack" he might be willing to launch terrorist attacks with his own forces or to make WMDs available to anti-American terrorist groups. Tenet warned, however, that as Hussein's WMDs arsenal grew, he would be more likely to use such armaments for "blackmail" and "deterrence." Tenet claimed to have "solid evidence" of significant links between Iraq and Al Qaeda, including high-level contacts and discussions, and of the presence of Al Qaeda members and training camps within Iraq. Tenet also suggested that Hussein was becoming increasingly willing to support terrorists. Subsequent events revealed that at the time few if any consequential ties existed between Iraq and Al Qaeda and that Tenet had greatly exaggerated the potential threat of Iraqi-backed terrorist attacks on the United States.

Primary Source

In response to your letter of 4 October 2002, we have made unclassified material available to further the Senate's forthcoming open debate on a Joint Resolution concerning Iraq.

As always, our declassification efforts seek a balance between your need for unfettered debate and our need to protect sources and methods. We have also been mindful of a shared interest in not providing to Saddam a blueprint of our intelligence capabilities and shortcoming, or with insight into our expectation of how he will and will not act. The salience of such concerns is only heightened by the possibility for hostilities between the U.S. and Iraq.

These are some of the reasons why we did not include our classified judgments on Saddam's decision making regarding the use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in our recent unclassified paper on Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction. Viewing your request with those concerns in mind, however, we can declassify the following from the paragraphs you requested.

Baghdad for now appears to be drawing a line short of conducting terrorist attacks with conventional or CBW against the United States.

Should Saddam conclude that a US-led attack could no longer be deterred, he probably would become much less constrained in adopting terrorist actions. Such terrorism might involve conventional means, as with Iraq's unsuccessful attempt at a terrorist offensive in 1991, or CBW.

Saddam might decide that the extreme step of assisting Islamist terrorists in conducting a WMD attack against the United States would be his last chance to exact vengeance by taking a large number of victims with him.

Regarding the 2 October closed hearing, we can declassify the following dialogue.

Senator Levin: . . . If (Saddam) didn't feel threatened, did not feel threatened, is it likely that he would initiate an attack using a weapon of mass destruction?

Senior Intelligence Witness: . . . My judgment would be that the probability of him initiating an attack—let me put a time frame on it—in the foreseeable future, given the conditions we understand now, the likelihood I think would be low.

Senator Levin: Now if he did initiate an attack you've . . . indicated he would probably attempt clandestine attacks against us. . . . But what about his use of weapons of mass destruction? If we initiate an attack and he thought he was in extremis or otherwise, what's the likelihood in response to our attack that he would use chemical or biological weapons?

Senior Intelligence Witness: Pretty high, in my view.

In the above dialogue, the witness's qualifications—"in the foreseeable future, given the conditions we understand now"—were intended to underscore that the likelihood of Saddam using WMD for blackmail, deterrence, or otherwise grows as his arsenal builds. Moreover, if Saddam used WMD, it would disprove his repeated denials that he has such weapons.

Regarding Senator Bayh's question of Iraqi links to al-Qa'ida, Senators could draw from the following points for unclassified discussions:

Our understanding of the relationship between Iraq and al-Qa'ida is evolving and is based on sources of varying reliability. Some of the information we have received comes from detainees, including some of high rank.

We have solid reporting of senior level contacts between Iraq and al-Qa'ida going back a decade.

Credible information indicates that Iraq and al-Qa'ida have discussed safe haven and reciprocal non-aggression.

Since Operation Enduring Freedom, we have solid evidence of the presence in Iraq of al-Qa'ida members, including some that have been in Baghdad.

We have credible reporting that al-Qa'ida leaders sought contacts in Iraq who could help them acquire WMD capabilities. The reporting also stated that Iraq has provided training to al-Qa'ida members in the areas of poisons and gases and making conventional bombs.

Iraq's increasing support to extremist Palestinians, coupled with growing indications of a relationship with al-Qa'ida, suggest that Baghdad's links to terrorists will increase, even absent US military action.

Source: George Tenet, Letter to Senator Bob Graham, October 7, 2002, http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB80/wmd17.pdf.

104. U.S. Congress, Joint Resolution Authorizing the Use of Military Force against Iraq, October 16, 2002 [Excerpts]

Introduction

In October 2002 both U.S. Houses of Congress passed a resolution authorizing the president to employ military force against Iraq in order to safeguard U.S. national security and force that country to honor outstanding United Nations (UN) Security Council resolutions. The preamble to this resolution cited numerous reasons in justification of American military intervention. First and foremost were Iraq's efforts to acquire and produce weapons of mass destruction, which the resolution stated that Iraq possessed, threatening American national security and "international peace and security in the Persian Gulf region." The resolution also cited Iraq's attacks on American and coalition armed forces personnel in and near Iraq, including an alleged 1993 attempt to assassinate former president George H. W. Bush. The resolution specifically stated that Iraq was assisting international terrorist organizations, including Al Qaeda, and providing a safe haven for their operatives. The resolution referred to past statements by Congress supporting "the use of all necessary means to achieve the goals of the United Nations Security Council." In addition, the resolution appealed to the Iraq Liberation Act passed by Congress in 1998, mandating U.S. support for efforts to promote regime change in Iraq and the emergence of a democratic government there. Finally, Congress mentioned President George W. Bush's commitment to the UN the previous month that his country would work with that organization to ensure that Iraq honored its obligations under UN Security Council resolutions. The resolution issued by the U.S. Congress stated that Congress favored efforts by Bush to do so and to "obtain prompt and decisive action by the Security Council to ensure that Iraq" complied fully with all its demands. The resolution also authorized the president to use his country's armed forces as appropriate to defend the United States against the continuing threat from Iraq and to "enforce all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq." While requiring reports from the president every 60 days, Congress gave the president broad latitude to define and implement what action he considered was needed. If not quite a blank check on Iraq for Bush, the resolution nonetheless came fairly close to being one. On October 10, 2002, the House passed the resolution by a vote of 296 to 133, and the following day the Senate, by a vote of 77 to 23, did likewise. The substantial majorities it received, despite massive antiwar demonstrations around the world and in the United States and Europe, indicated how strongly the American political momentum for war was building. On October 16, 2002, a triumphant Bush signed the resolution into law.

Primary Source

H.J. Res. 114. A joint resolution to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against Iraq. October 16, 2002

AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF MILITARY FORCE AGAINST IRAQ RESOLUTION OF 2002

Public Law 107-243

107th Congress

Joint Resolution

To authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against Iraq.

Whereas in 1990 in response to Iraq's war of aggression against and illegal occupation of Kuwait, the United States forged a coalition of nations to liberate Kuwait and its people in order to defend the national security of the United States and enforce United Nations Security Council resolutions relating to Iraq;

Whereas after the liberation of Kuwait in 1991, Iraq entered into a United Nations sponsored cease-fire agreement pursuant to which Iraq unequivocally agreed, among other things, to eliminate its nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons programs and the means to deliver and develop them, and to end its support for international terrorism;

Whereas the efforts of international weapons inspectors, United States intelligence agencies, and Iraqi defectors led to the discovery that Iraq had large stockpiles of chemical weapons and a large scale biological weapons program, and that Iraq had an advanced nuclear weapons development program that was much closer to producing a nuclear weapon than intelligence reporting had previously indicated;

Whereas Iraq, in direct and flagrant violation of the cease-fire, attempted to thwart the efforts of weapons inspectors to identify and destroy Iraq's weapons of mass destruction stockpiles and development capabilities, which finally resulted in the withdrawal of inspectors from Iraq on October 31, 1998;

Whereas in Public Law 105-235 (August 14, 1998), Congress concluded that Iraq's continuing weapons of mass destruction programs threatened vital United States interests and international peace and security, declared Iraq to be in "material and unacceptable breach of its international obligations" and urged the President "to take appropriate action, in accordance with the Constitution and relevant laws of the United States, to bring Iraq into compliance with its international obligations";

Whereas Iraq both poses a continuing threat to the national security of the United States and international peace and security in the Persian Gulf region and remains in material and unacceptable breach of its international obligations by, among other things, continuing to possess and develop a significant chemical and biological weapons capability, actively seeking a nuclear weapons capability, and supporting and harboring terrorist organizations;

Whereas Iraq persists in violating resolutions of the United Nations Security Council by continuing to engage in brutal repression of its civilian population thereby threatening international peace and security in the region, by refusing to release, repatriate, or account for non-Iraqi citizens wrongfully detained by Iraq, including an American serviceman, and by failing to return property wrongfully seized by Iraq from Kuwait;

Whereas the current Iraqi regime has demonstrated its capability and willingness to use weapons of mass destruction against other nations and its own people;

Whereas the current Iraqi regime has demonstrated its continuing hostility toward, and willingness to attack, the United States, including by attempting in 1993 to assassinate former President Bush and by firing on many thousands of occasions on United States and Coalition Armed Forces engaged in enforcing the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council;

Whereas members of al Qaida, an organization bearing responsibility for attacks on the United States, its citizens, and interests, including the attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, are known to be in Iraq;

Whereas Iraq continues to aid and harbor other international terrorist organizations, including organizations that threaten the lives and safety of United States citizens;

Whereas the attacks on the United States of September 11, 2001, underscored the gravity of the threat posed by the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction by international terrorist organizations;

Whereas Iraq's demonstrated capability and willingness to use weapons of mass destruction, the risk that the current Iraqi regime will either employ those weapons to launch a surprise attack against the United States or its Armed Forces or provide them to international terrorists who would do so, and the extreme magnitude of harm that would result to the United States and its citizens from such an attack, combine to justify action by the United States to defend itself;

Whereas United Nations Security Council Resolution 678 (1990) authorizes the use of all necessary means to enforce United Nations Security Council Resolution 660 (1990) and subsequent relevant resolutions and to compel Iraq to cease certain activities that threaten international peace and security, including the development of weapons of mass destruction and refusal or obstruction of United Nations weapons inspections in violation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 687 (1991), repression of its civilian population in violation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 688 (1991), and threatening its neighbors or United Nations operations in Iraq in violation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 949 (1994);

Whereas in the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102-1), Congress has authorized the President "to use United States Armed Forces pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolution 678 (1990) in order to achieve implementation of Security Council Resolution 660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 669, 670, 674, and 677";

Whereas in December 1991, Congress expressed its sense that it "supports the use of all necessary means to achieve the goals of United Nations Security Council Resolution 687 as being consistent with the Authorization of Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution (Public Law 102-1)," that Iraq's repression of its civilian population violates United Nations Security Council Resolution 688 and "constitutes a continuing threat to the peace, security, and stability of the Persian Gulf region," and that Congress, "supports the use of all necessary means to achieve the goals of United Nations Security Council Resolution 688";

Whereas the Iraq Liberation Act of 1998 (Public Law 105-338) expressed the sense of Congress that it should be the policy of the United States to support efforts to remove from power the current Iraqi regime and promote the emergence of a democratic government to replace that regime;

Whereas on September 12, 2002, President Bush committed the United States to "work with the United Nations Security Council to meet our common challenge" posed by Iraq and to "work for the necessary resolutions," while also making clear that "the Security Council resolutions will be enforced, and the just demands of peace and security will be met, or action will be unavoidable";

Whereas the United States is determined to prosecute the war on terrorism and Iraq's ongoing support for international terrorist groups combined with its development of weapons of mass destruction in direct violation of its obligations under the 1991 cease-fire and other United Nations Security Council resolutions make clear that it is in the national security interests of the United States and in furtherance of the war on terrorism that all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions be enforced, including through the use of force if necessary;

Whereas Congress has taken steps to pursue vigorously the war on terrorism through the provision of authorities and funding requested by the President to take the necessary actions against international terrorists and terrorist organizations, including those nations, organizations, or persons who planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such persons or organizations;

Whereas the President and Congress are determined to continue to take all appropriate actions against international terrorists and terrorist organizations, including those nations, organizations, or persons who planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such persons or organizations;

Whereas the President has authority under the Constitution to take action in order to deter and prevent acts of international terrorism against the United States, as Congress recognized in the joint resolution on Authorization for Use of Military Force (Public Law 107-40); and Whereas it is in the national security interests of the United States to restore international peace and security to the Persian Gulf region:

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress [NOTE: Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002. 50 USC 1541 note] assembled,

[. . .]

SEC. 2. SUPPORT FOR UNITED STATES DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS.

The Congress of the United States supports the efforts by the President to—

(1) strictly enforce through the United Nations Security Council all relevant Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq and encourages him in those efforts; and
(2) obtain prompt and decisive action by the Security Council to ensure that Iraq abandons its strategy of delay, evasion and noncompliance and promptly and strictly complies with all relevant Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq.

SEC. 3. AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES.

(a) Authorization.—The President is authorized to use the Armed Forces of the United States as he determines to be necessary and appropriate in order to—

(1) defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq; and
(2) enforce all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq.

(b) Presidential Determination.—In connection with the exercise of the authority granted in subsection (a) to use force the President shall, prior to such exercise or as soon thereafter as may be feasible, but no later than 48 hours after exercising such authority, make available to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate his determination that—

(1) reliance by the United States on further diplomatic or other peaceful means alone either (A) will not adequately protect the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq or (B) is not likely to lead to enforcement of all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq; and
(2) acting pursuant to this joint resolution is consistent with the United States and other countries continuing to take the necessary actions against international terrorist and terrorist organizations, including those nations, organizations, or persons who planned, authorized, committed or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001.

(c) War Powers Resolution Requirements.—

(1) Specific statutory authorization.—Consistent with section 8(a)(1) of the War Powers Resolution, the Congress declares that this section is intended to constitute specific statutory authorization within the meaning of section 5(b) of the War Powers Resolution.
(2) Applicability of other requirements.—Nothing in this joint resolution supersedes any requirement of the War Powers Resolution.

[. . .]

Source: *Authorization for Use of Military Force against Iraq Resolution of 2002,* Public Law 107-243, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 116 (2002): 1498.

105. Osama bin Laden, "Letter to the American People," November 2002 [Excerpts]

Introduction

On September 11, 2001, 19 terrorists who belonged to the Al Qaeda network headed by the Islamic terrorist leader Osama bin Laden attacked the United States. Three hijacked civilian airliners flew

into the two towers of the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon building in Washington, D.C., headquarters of the U.S. Department of Defense, killing close to 3,000 people in all. Bin Laden, a fundamentalist Muslim militant from a wealthy Saudi family, had mounted several earlier attacks on American military installations and other facilities elsewhere and viewed the United States as the greatest enemy of Islam and was fanatically determined to wage a religious war, or jihad, against Americans and all allied with them. In several public statements, including the "Letter to the American People" published in Arabic on the Internet in 2002 and later translated into English, he enumerated what he viewed as American threats and enmity toward Islam. Bin Laden cited what he considered to be the immoral and irreligious character of American life, which was an affront to Muslim principles. Foremost among U.S. offenses, however, he placed American support for Israel, followed by its presence in the Persian Gulf and American opposition to various Muslim governments and groups around the world. After the September 11 attacks, U.S. president George W. Bush quickly declared that waging a global "war on terror" wherever it raised its head was now by far the most significant U.S. foreign policy priority. The links that bin Laden drew between his organization's attacks on American landmarks and other facilities and his adamant hostility to Israel meant that the U.S. government and the American people were likely to view Palestinian and other terrorist operations against that country and its citizens and Israeli measures designed to repress them in the context of worldwide international efforts to combat the threat of armed Islamic militancy.

Primary Source

[. . .]

Some American writers have published articles under the title 'On what basis are we fighting?' These articles have generated a number of responses, some of which adhered to the truth and were based on Islamic Law, and others which have not. Here we wanted to outline the truth—as an explanation and warning—hoping for Allah's reward, seeking success and support from Him.

While seeking Allah's help, we form our reply based on two questions directed at the Americans:

(Q1) Why are we fighting and opposing you?

(Q2)What are we calling you to, and what do we want from you?

As for the first question: Why are we fighting and opposing you? The answer is very simple:

(1) Because you attacked us and continue to attack us.

(a) You attacked us in Palestine:

(i) Palestine, which has sunk under military occupation for more than 80 years. The British handed over Palestine, with your help and your support, to the Jews, who have occupied it for more than 50 years; years overflowing with oppression, tyranny, crimes, killing, expulsion, destruction and devastation. The creation and continuation of Israel is one of the greatest crimes, and you are the leaders of its criminals. And of course there is no need to explain and prove the degree of American support for Israel. The creation of Israel is a crime which must be erased. Each and every person whose hands have become polluted in the contribution towards this crime must pay its price, and pay for it heavily.

(ii) It brings us both laughter and tears to see that you have not yet tired of repeating your fabricated lies that the Jews have a historical right to Palestine, as it was promised to them in the Torah. Anyone who disputes with them on this alleged fact is accused of anti-semitism. This is one of the most fallacious, widely-circulated fabrications in history. The people of Palestine are pure Arabs and original Semites. It is the Muslims who are the inheritors of Moses (peace be upon him) and the inheritors of the real Torah that has not been changed. Muslims believe in all of the Prophets, including Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad, peace and blessings of Allah be upon them all. If the followers of Moses have been promised a right to Palestine in the Torah, then the Muslims are the most worthy nation of this.

When the Muslims conquered Palestine and drove out the Romans, Palestine and Jerusalem returned to Islam, the religion of all the Prophets peace be upon them. Therefore, the call to a historical right to Palestine cannot be raised against the Islamic Ummah that believes in all the Prophets of Allah (peace and blessings be upon them)—and we make no distinction between them.

(iii) The blood pouring out of Palestine must be equally revenged. You must know that the Palestinians do not cry alone; their women are not widowed alone; their sons are not orphaned alone.

(b) You attacked us in Somalia; you supported the Russian atrocities against us in Chechnya, the Indian oppression against us in Kashmir, and the Jewish aggression against us in Lebanon.

(c) Under your supervision, consent and orders, the governments of our countries which act as your agents, attack us on a daily basis;

(i) These governments prevent our people from establishing the Islamic Shariah, using violence and lies to do so.

(ii) These governments give us a taste of humiliation, and places us in a large prison of fear and subdual.

(iii) These governments steal our Ummah's wealth and sell them to you at a paltry price.

(iv) These governments have surrendered to the Jews, and handed them most of Palestine, acknowledging the existence of their state over the dismembered limbs of their own people.

(v) The removal of these governments is an obligation upon us, and a necessary step to free the Ummah, to make the Shariah the supreme law and to regain Palestine. And our fight against these governments is not separate from our fight against you.

(d) You steal our wealth and oil at paltry prices because of you[r] international influence and military threats. This theft is indeed the biggest theft ever witnessed by mankind in the history of the world.

(e) Your forces occupy our countries; you spread your military bases throughout them; you corrupt our lands, and you besiege our sanctities, to protect the security of the Jews and to ensure the continuity of your pillage of our treasures.

(f) You have starved the Muslims of Iraq, where children die every day. It is a wonder that more than 1.5 million Iraqi children have died as a result of your sanctions, and you did not show concern. Yet when 3000 of your people died, the entire world rises and has not yet sat down.

(g) You have supported the Jews in their idea that Jerusalem is their eternal capital, and agreed to move your embassy there. With your help and under your protection, the Israelis are planning to destroy the Al-Aqsa mosque. Under the protection of your weapons, Sharon entered the Al-Aqsa mosque, to pollute it as a preparation to capture and destroy it.

(2) These tragedies and calamities are only a few examples of your oppression and aggression against us. It is commanded by our religion and intellect that the oppressed have a right to return the aggression. Do not await anything from us but Jihad, resistance and revenge. Is it in any way rational to expect that after America has attacked us for more than half a century, that we will then leave her to live in security and peace?!!

(3) You may then dispute that all the above does not justify aggression against civilians, for crimes they did not commit and offenses in which they did not partake:

(a) This argument contradicts your continuous repetition that America is the land of freedom, and its leaders in this world. Therefore, the American people are the ones who choose their government by way of their own free will; a choice which stems from their agreement to its policies. Thus the American people have chosen, consented to, and affirmed their support for the Israeli oppression of the Palestinians, the occupation and usurpation of their land, and its continuous killing, torture, punishment and expulsion of the Palestinians. The American people have the ability and choice to refuse the policies of their Government and even to change it if they want.

(b) The American people are the ones who pay the taxes which fund the planes that bomb us in Afghanistan, the tanks that strike and destroy our homes in Palestine, the armies which occupy our lands in the Arabian Gulf, and the fleets which ensure the blockade of Iraq. These tax dollars are given to Israel for it to continue to attack us and penetrate our lands. So the American people are the ones who fund the attacks against us, and they are the ones who oversee the expenditure of these monies in the way they wish, through their elected candidates.

(c) Also the American army is part of the American people. It is this very same people who are shamelessly helping the Jews fight against us.

(d) The American people are the ones who employ both their men and their women in the American Forces which attack us.

(e) This is why the American people cannot be not innocent of all the crimes committed by the Americans and Jews against us.

(f) Allah, the Almighty, legislated the permission and the option to take revenge. Thus, if we are attacked, then we have the right to attack back. Whoever has destroyed our villages and towns, then we have the right to destroy their villages and towns. Whoever has stolen our wealth, then we have the right to destroy their economy. And whoever has killed our civilians, then we have the right to kill theirs.

The American Government and press still refuses to answer the question:

Why did they attack us in New York and Washington?

If [Israeli prime minister Ariel] Sharon is a man of peace in the eyes of Bush, then we are also men of peace!!! America does not understand the language of manners and principles, so we are addressing it using the language it understands.

(Q2) As for the second question that we want to answer: What are we calling you to, and what do we want from you?

(1) The first thing that we are calling you to is Islam.

(a) The religion of the Unification of God; of freedom from associating partners with Him, and rejection of this; of complete love of Him, the Exalted; of complete submission to His Laws; and of the discarding of all the opinions, orders, theories and religions which contradict with the religion He sent down to His Prophet

Muhammad (peace be upon him). Islam is the religion of all the prophets, and makes no distinction between them—peace be upon them all.

It is to this religion that we call you; the seal of all the previous religions. It is the religion of Unification of God, sincerity, the best of manners, righteousness, mercy, honour, purity, and piety. It is the religion of showing kindness to others, establishing justice between them, granting them their rights, and defending the oppressed and the persecuted. It is the religion of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil with the hand, tongue and heart. It is the religion of Jihad in the way of Allah so that Allah's Word and religion reign Supreme. And it is the religion of unity and agreement on the obedience to Allah, and total equality between all people, without regarding their colour, sex, or language.

(b) It is the religion whose book—the Quran—will remained [*sic*] preserved and unchanged, after the other Divine books and messages have been changed. The Quran is the miracle until the Day of Judgment. Allah has challenged anyone to bring a book like the Quran or even ten verses like it.

(2) The second thing we call you to, is to stop your oppression, lies, immorality and debauchery that has spread among you.

(a) We call you to be a people of manners, principles, honour, and purity; to reject the immoral acts of fornication, homosexuality, intoxicants, gambling, and trading with interest.

We call you to all of this that you may be freed from that which you have become caught up in; that you may be freed from the deceptive lies that you are a great nation, that your leaders spread amongst you to conceal from you the despicable state to which you have reached.

(b) It is saddening to tell you that you are the worst civilization witnessed by the history of mankind:

(i) You are the nation who, rather than ruling by the Shariah of Allah in its Constitution and Laws, choose to invent your own laws as you will and desire. You separate religion from your policies, contradicting the pure nature which affirms Absolute Authority to the Lord and your Creator. You flee from the embarrassing question posed to you: How is it possible for Allah the Almighty to create His creation, grant them power over all the creatures and land, grant them all the amenities of life, and then deny them that which they are most in need of: knowledge of the laws which govern their lives?

(ii) You are the nation that permits Usury, which has been forbidden by all the religions. Yet you build your economy and investments on Usury. As a result of this, in all its different forms and guises, the Jews have taken control of your economy, through which they have then taken control of your media, and now control all aspects of your life making you their servants and achieving their aims at your expense; precisely what Benjamin Franklin warned you against.

(iii) You are a nation that permits the production, trading and usage of intoxicants. You also permit drugs, and only forbid the trade of them, even though your nation is the largest consumer of them.

(iv) You are a nation that permits acts of immorality, and you consider them to be pillars of personal freedom. You have continued to sink down this abyss from level to level until incest has spread amongst you, in the face of which neither your sense of honour nor your laws object.

Who can forget your President Clinton's immoral acts committed in the official Oval office? After that you did not even bring him to account, other than that he 'made a mistake', after which everything passed with no punishment. Is there a worse kind of event for which your name will go down in history and [be] remembered by nations?

(v) You are a nation that permits gambling in all its forms. The companies practice this as well, resulting in the investments becoming active and the criminals becoming rich.

(vi) You are a nation that exploits women like consumer products or advertising tools calling upon customers to purchase them. You use women to serve passengers, visitors, and strangers to increase your profit margins. You then rant that you support the liberation of women.

(vii) You are a nation that practices the trade of sex in all its forms, directly and indirectly. Giant corporations and establishments are established on this, under the name of art, entertainment, tourism and freedom, and other deceptive names you attribute to it.

(viii) And because of all this, you have been described in history as a nation that spreads diseases that were unknown to man in the past. Go ahead and boast to the nations of man, that you brought them AIDS as a Satanic American Invention.

(ix) You have destroyed nature with your industrial waste and gases more than any other nation in history. Despite this, you refuse to sign the Kyoto agreement so that you can secure the profit of your greedy companies and industries.

(x) Your law is the law of the rich and wealthy people, who hold sway in their political parties, and fund their election campaigns with their gifts. Behind them stand the Jews, who control your policies, media and economy.

(xi) That which you are singled out for in the history of mankind, is that you have used your force to destroy mankind more than any other nation in history; not to defend principles and values, but to hasten to secure your interests and profits. You who dropped a nuclear bomb on Japan, even though Japan was ready to negotiate an end to the war. How many acts of oppression, tyranny and injustice have you carried out, O callers to freedom?

(xii) Let us not forget one of your major characteristics: your duality in both manners and values; your hypocrisy in manners and principles. All manners, principles and values have two scales: one for you and one for the others.

(a) The freedom and democracy that you call to is for yourselves and for white race only; as for the rest of the world, you impose upon them your monstrous, destructive policies and Governments, which you call the 'American friends'. Yet you prevent them from establishing democracies. When the Islamic party in Algeria wanted to practice democracy and they won the election, you unleashed your agents in the Algerian army onto them, and to attack them with tanks and guns, to imprison them and torture them—a new lesson from the 'American book of democracy'!!!

(b) Your policy on prohibiting and forcibly removing weapons of mass destruction to ensure world peace: it only applies to those countries which you do not permit to possess such weapons. As for the countries you consent to, such as Israel, then they are allowed to keep and use such weapons to defend their security. Anyone else who you suspect might be manufacturing or keeping these kinds of weapons, you call them criminals and you take military action against them.

(c) You are the last ones to respect the resolutions and policies of International Law, yet you claim to want to selectively punish anyone else who does the same. Israel has for more than 50 years been pushing UN resolutions and rules against the wall with the full support of America.

(d) As for the war criminals which you censure and form criminal courts for—you shamelessly ask that your own are granted immunity!! However, history will not forget the war crimes that you committed against the Muslims and the rest of the world; those you have killed in Japan, Afghanistan, Somalia, Lebanon and Iraq will remain a shame that you will never be able to escape. It will suffice to remind you of your latest war crimes in Afghanistan, in which densely populated innocent civilian villages were destroyed, bombs were dropped on mosques causing the roof of the mosque to come crashing down on the heads of the Muslims praying inside. You are the ones who broke the agreement with the Mujahideen when they left Qunduz, bombing them in Jangi fort, and killing more than 1,000 of your prisoners through suffocation and thirst. Allah alone knows how many people have died by torture at the hands of you and your agents. Your planes remain in the Afghan skies, looking for anyone remotely suspicious.

(e) You have claimed to be the vanguards of Human Rights, and your Ministry of Foreign affairs issues annual reports containing statistics of those countries that violate any Human Rights. However, all these things vanished when the Mujahideen hit you, and you then implemented the methods of the same documented governments that you used to curse. In America, you captured thousands the Muslims and Arabs, took them into custody with neither reason, court trial, nor even disclosing their names. You issued newer, harsher laws.

What happens in Guantanamo is a historical embarrassment to America and its values, and it screams into your faces—you hypocrites, "What is the value of your signature on any agreement or treaty?"

(3) What we call you to thirdly is to take an honest stance with yourselves—and I doubt you will do so—to discover that you are a nation without principles or manners, and that the values and principles to you are something which you merely demand from others, not that which you yourself must adhere to.

(4) We also advise you to stop supporting Israel, and to end your support of the Indians in Kashmir, the Russians against the Chechens and to also cease supporting the Manila Government against the Muslims in Southern Philippines.

(5) We also advise you to pack your luggage and get out of our lands. We desire for you goodness, guidance, and righteousness, so do not force us to send you back as cargo in coffins.

(6) Sixthly, we call upon you to end your support of the corrupt leaders in our countries. Do not interfere in our politics and method of education. Leave us alone, or else expect us in New York and Washington.

(7) We also call you to deal with us and interact with us on the basis of mutual interests and benefits, rather than the policies of subdual, theft and occupation, and not to continue your policy of supporting the Jews because this will result in more disasters for you.

If you fail to respond to all these conditions, then prepare for fight with the Islamic Nation. The Nation of Monotheism, that puts complete trust on Allah and fears none other than Him. . . .

[. . .]

The Nation of Martyrdom; the Nation that desires death more than you desire life.

[. . .]

The Islamic Nation that was able to dismiss and destroy the previous evil Empires like yourself; the Nation that rejects your attacks, wishes to remove your evils, and is prepared to fight you. You are well aware that the Islamic Nation, from the very core of its soul, despises your haughtiness and arrogance.

If the Americans refuse to listen to our advice and the goodness, guidance and righteousness that we call them to, then be aware that you will lose this Crusade Bush began, just like the other previous Crusades in which you were humiliated by the hands of the Mujahideen, fleeing to your home in great silence and disgrace. If the Americans do not respond, then their fate will be that of the Soviets who fled from Afghanistan to deal with their military defeat, political breakup, ideological downfall, and economic bankruptcy.

This is our message to the Americans, as an answer to theirs. Do they now know why we fight them and over which form of ignorance, by the permission of Allah, we shall be victorious?

Source: Osama bin Laden, "Letter to the American People," GlobalSecurity.org, http://www.globalsecurity.org/security/library/report/2002/021120-ubl.htm.

106. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441, November 8, 2002 [Excerpt]

Introduction

Under pressure from the United States and Great Britain, which were moving toward a war with Iraq that they seemed to welcome, in November 2002 the United Nations (UN) Security Council passed a resolution that most of its members hoped would resolve the situation without hostilities. At this stage, the primary justification that the U.S. and British governments cited in favor of military intervention was their belief that Iraq was amassing large quantities of biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). Earlier 1991 resolutions mandated that as a condition of the restoration of peace, Iraq allow UN inspectors free access to all its weapons manufacturing and storage facilities in order to verify that the country was neither producing nor stockpiling WMDs, but since 1998 all such cooperation by Iraq had been lacking. The UN therefore demanded that Iraq address its failure to comply with earlier resolutions and put in place practical arrangements to restore unfettered access and inspections by appropriate personnel of both the International Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA) and the UN. The resolution specifically declared that it represented "a final opportunity" to allow Iraq to comply with its "disarmament obligations." Security Council members passed the resolution unanimously. Several members, notably Russia, China, and France, hoped that this would suffice to avert war. Even though Britain and the United States, which also voted for the resolution, undoubtedly believed that it would prove unavailing and ineffective, U.S. president George W. Bush and British prime minister Tony Blair felt it necessary to support the resolution, if only to demonstrate that before resorting to outright war, they had explored all other alternative avenues open to them. In December 2002 after the passage of this resolution, President Saddam Hussein of Iraq allowed personnel of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC), created in December 1999, to enter Iraq, where they remained until March 2003. During that time UNMOVIC inspectors failed to find any evidence that Iraq possessed significant WMDs.

Primary Source

The United Nations, International Law, and the War in Iraq S/RES/1441 (2002)

8 November 2002

UN Security Council Resolution 1441 (2002)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4644th meeting, on 8 November 2002

The Security Council, Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions, in particular its resolutions 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990, 678 (1990) of 29 November 1990, 686 (1991) of 2 March 1991, 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, 688 (1991) of 5 April 1991, 707 (1991) of 15 August 1991, 715 (1991) of 11 October 1991, 986 (1995) of 14 April 1995, and 1284 (1999) of 17 December 1999, and all the relevant statements of its President,

Recalling also its resolution 1382 (2001) of 29 November 2001 and its intention to implement it fully,

Recognizing the threat Iraq's non-compliance with Council resolutions and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles poses to international peace and security,

Recalling that its resolution 678 (1990) authorized Member States to use all necessary means to uphold and implement its resolution 660 (1990) of 2 August 1990 and all relevant resolutions subsequent to resolution 660 (1990) and to restore international peace and security in the area,

Further recalling that its resolution 687 (1991) imposed obligations on Iraq as a necessary step for achievement of its stated objective of restoring international peace and security in the area,

Deploring the fact that Iraq has not provided an accurate, full, final, and complete disclosure, as required by resolution 687

(1991), of all aspects of its programmes to develop weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles with a range greater than one hundred and fifty kilometres, and of all holdings of such weapons, their components and production facilities and locations, as well as all other nuclear programmes, including any which it claims are for purposes not related to nuclear-weapons-usable material,

Deploring further that Iraq repeatedly obstructed immediate, unconditional, and unrestricted access to sites designated by the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), failed to cooperate fully and unconditionally with UNSCOM and IAEA weapons inspectors, as required by resolution 687 (1991), and ultimately ceased all cooperation with UNSCOM and the IAEA in 1998,

Deploring the absence, since December 1998, in Iraq of international monitoring, inspection, and verification, as required by relevant resolutions, of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles, in spite of the Council's repeated demands that Iraq provide immediate, unconditional, and unrestricted access to the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC), established in resolution 1284 (1999) as the successor organization to UNSCOM, and the IAEA, and regretting the consequent prolonging of the crisis in the region and the suffering of the Iraqi people,

Deploring also that the Government of Iraq has failed to comply with its commitments pursuant to resolution 687 (1991) with regard to terrorism, pursuant to resolution 688 (1991) to end repression of its civilian population and to provide access by international humanitarian organizations to all those in need of assistance in Iraq, and pursuant to resolutions 686 (1991), 687 (1991), and 1284 (1999) to return or cooperate in accounting for Kuwaiti and third country nationals wrongfully detained by Iraq, or to return Kuwaiti property wrongfully seized by Iraq,

Recalling that in its resolution 687 (1991) the Council declared that a ceasefire would be based on acceptance by Iraq of the provisions of that resolution, including the obligations on Iraq contained therein,

Determined to ensure full and immediate compliance by Iraq without conditions or restrictions with its obligations under resolution 687 (1991) and other relevant resolutions and recalling that the resolutions of the Council constitute the governing standard of Iraqi compliance,

Recalling that the effective operation of UNMOVIC, as the successor organization to the Special Commission, and the IAEA is essential for the implementation of resolution 687 (1991) and other relevant resolutions,

Noting that the letter dated 16 September 2002 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq addressed to the Secretary-General is a necessary first step toward rectifying Iraq's continued failure to comply with relevant Council resolutions,

Noting further the letter dated 8 October 2002 from the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC and the Director-General of the IAEA to General Al-Saadi of the Government of Iraq laying out the practical arrangements, as a follow-up to their meeting in Vienna, that are prerequisites for the resumption of inspections in Iraq by UNMOVIC and the IAEA, and expressing the gravest concern at the continued failure by the Government of Iraq to provide confirmation of the arrangements as laid out in that letter,

Reaffirming the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq, Kuwait, and the neighbouring States,

Commending the Secretary-General and members of the League of Arab States and its Secretary-General for their efforts in this regard,

Determined to secure full compliance with its decisions, Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Decides that Iraq has been and remains in material breach of its obligations under relevant resolutions, including resolution 687 (1991), in particular through Iraq's failure to cooperate with United Nations inspectors and the IAEA, and to complete the actions required under paragraphs 8 to 13 of resolution 687 (1991);

2. Decides, while acknowledging paragraph 1 above, to afford Iraq, by this resolution, a final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations under relevant resolutions of the Council; and accordingly decides to set up an enhanced inspection regime with the aim of bringing to full and verified completion the disarmament process established by resolution 687 (1991) and subsequent resolutions of the Council;

3. Decides that, in order to begin to comply with its disarmament obligations, in addition to submitting the required biannual declarations, the Government of Iraq shall provide to UNMOVIC, the IAEA, and the Council, not later than 30 days from the date of this resolution, a currently accurate, full, and complete declaration of all aspects of its programmes to develop chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles, and other delivery systems such as unmanned aerial vehicles and dispersal systems designed for use on aircraft, including any holdings and precise locations of such weapons, components, subcomponents, stocks of agents, and related material and equipment, the locations and work of its research, development and production facilities, as well as all other chemical, biological, and nuclear programmes, including

any which it claims are for purposes not related to weapon production or material;

4. Decides that false statements or omissions in the declarations submitted by Iraq pursuant to this resolution and failure by Iraq at any time to comply with, and cooperate fully in the implementation of, this resolution shall constitute a further material breach of Iraq's obligations and will be reported to the Council for assessment in accordance with paragraphs 11 and 12 below;

5. Decides that Iraq shall provide UNMOVIC and the IAEA immediate, unimpeded, unconditional, and unrestricted access to any and all, including underground, areas, facilities, buildings, equipment, records, and means of transport which they wish to inspect, as well as immediate, unimpeded, unrestricted, and private access to all officials and other persons whom UNMOVIC or the IAEA wish to interview in the mode or location of UNMOVIC's or the IAEA's choice pursuant to any aspect of their mandates; further decides that UNMOVIC and the IAEA may at their discretion conduct interviews inside or outside of Iraq, may facilitate the travel of those interviewed and family members outside of Iraq, and that, at the sole discretion of UNMOVIC and the IAEA, such interviews may occur without the presence of observers from the Iraqi Government; and instructs UNMOVIC and requests the IAEA to resume inspections no later than 45 days following adoption of this resolution and to update the Council 60 days thereafter;

6. Endorses the 8 October 2002 letter from the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC and the Director-General of the IAEA to General Al-Saadi of the Government of Iraq, which is annexed hereto, and decides that the contents of the letter shall be binding upon Iraq;

7. Decides further that, in view of the prolonged interruption by Iraq of the presence of UNMOVIC and the IAEA and in order for them to accomplish the tasks set forth in this resolution and all previous relevant resolutions and notwithstanding prior understandings, the Council hereby establishes the following revised or additional authorities, which shall be binding upon Iraq, to facilitate their work in Iraq:

—UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall determine the composition of their inspection teams and ensure that these teams are composed of the most qualified and experienced experts available;

—All UNMOVIC and IAEA personnel shall enjoy the privileges and immunities, corresponding to those of experts on mission, provided in the Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations and the Agreement on the Privileges and Immunities of the IAEA;

—UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have unrestricted rights of entry into and out of Iraq, the right to free, unrestricted, and immediate movement to and from inspection sites, and the right to inspect any sites and buildings, including immediate, unimpeded, unconditional, and unrestricted access to Presidential Sites equal to that at other sites, notwithstanding the provisions of resolution 1154 (1998) of 2 March 1998;

—UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have the right to be provided by Iraq the names of all personnel currently and formerly associated with Iraq's chemical, biological, nuclear, and ballistic missile programmes and the associated research, development, and production facilities;

—Security of UNMOVIC and IAEA facilities shall be ensured by sufficient United Nations security guards;

—UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have the right to declare, for the purposes of freezing a site to be inspected, exclusion zones, including surrounding areas and transit corridors, in which Iraq will suspend ground and aerial movement so that nothing is changed in or taken out of a site being inspected;

—UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have the free and unrestricted use and landing of fixed- and rotary-winged aircraft, including manned and unmanned reconnaissance vehicles;

—UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have the right at their sole discretion verifiably to remove, destroy, or render harmless all prohibited weapons, subsystems, components, records, materials, and other related items, and the right to impound or close any facilities or equipment for the production thereof; and

—UNMOVIC and the IAEA shall have the right to free import and use of equipment or materials for inspections and to seize and export any equipment, materials, or documents taken during inspections, without search of UNMOVIC or IAEA personnel or official or personal baggage;

8. Decides further that Iraq shall not take or threaten hostile acts directed against any representative or personnel of the United Nations or the IAEA or of any Member State taking action to uphold any Council resolution;

9. Requests the Secretary-General immediately to notify Iraq of this resolution, which is binding on Iraq; demands that Iraq confirm within seven days of that notification its intention to comply fully with this resolution; and demands further that Iraq cooperate immediately, unconditionally, and actively with UNMOVIC and the IAEA;

10. Requests all Member States to give full support to UNMOVIC and the IAEA in the discharge of their mandates, including by providing any information related to prohibited programmes or

other aspects of their mandates, including on Iraqi attempts since 1998 to acquire prohibited items, and by recommending sites to be inspected, persons to be interviewed, conditions of such interviews, and data to be collected, the results of which shall be reported to the Council by UNMOVIC and the IAEA;

11. Directs the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC and the Director-General of the IAEA to report immediately to the Council any interference by Iraq with inspection activities, as well as any failure by Iraq to comply with its disarmament obligations, including its obligations regarding inspections under this resolution;

12. Decides to convene immediately upon receipt of a report in accordance with paragraphs 4 or 11 above, in order to consider the situation and the need for full compliance with all of the relevant Council resolutions in order to secure international peace and security;

13. Recalls, in that context, that the Council has repeatedly warned Iraq that it will face serious consequences as a result of its continued violations of its obligations;

14. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

[. . .]

Source: United Nations Security Council, S/Res/1441 (2002), November 8, 2002, http://www.worldpress.org/specials/iraq/unscr1441.htm.

107. U.S. Congress, The Homeland Security Act (Summary), November 25, 2002 [Excerpts]

Introduction

The U.S. Homeland Security Act (Public Law No. 107-296), passed a little more than a year after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, was a sweeping piece of antiterrorist legislation. The act established the Department of Homeland Security that was mandated to coordinate and facilitate all internal antiterrorist efforts and handle domestic emergencies within the United States. The new department, which by 2007 had around 184,000 employees, had overall responsibility for ensuring security in airports and other transportation facilities and for supervising immigration and customs controls, all of which became far more restrictive and cumbersome than in the past. Tighter security procedures in travel and the protection of public buildings that might be terrorist targets were the most visible aspect of the department's activities and were probably the area in which it most impinged on the lives of average Americans and visitors to the United States. The department was also charged with safeguarding the United States against attacks by either conventional weapons or biological, chemical, or nuclear agents. To facilitate its efforts, the department was given broad authority to monitor and scrutinize the activities of American citizens and others physically present in the United States and to detain such individuals without trial or access to outside assistance for lengthy periods. Domestically and internationally, these provisions provoked considerable uneasiness among many critics on the grounds that they contravened constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, religion, assembly, and privacy and the right to counsel and due process of law, values that American leaders claimed to be protecting at home and abroad. Conservatives, however, claimed that such curbs were essential to prevent further terrorist assaults on the United States and its citizens.

Primary Source

Summary as of:

11/19/2002—Passed Senate amended.

Homeland Security Act of 2002—**Title I: Department of Homeland Security**—(Sec. 101) Establishes a Department of Homeland Security (DHS) as an executive department of the United States, headed by a Secretary of Homeland Security (Secretary) appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to: (1) prevent terrorist attacks within the United States; (2) reduce the vulnerability of the United States to terrorism; (3) minimize the damage, and assist in the recovery, from terrorist attacks that occur within the United States; (4) carry out all functions of entities transferred to DHS; (5) ensure that the functions of the agencies and subdivisions within DHS that are not related directly to securing the homeland are not diminished or neglected except by a specific Act of Congress; (6) ensure that the overall economic security of the United States is not diminished by efforts, activities, and programs aimed at securing the homeland; and (7) monitor connections between illegal drug trafficking and terrorism, coordinate efforts to sever such connections, and otherwise contribute to efforts to interdict illegal drug trafficking. Vests primary responsibility for investigating and prosecuting acts of terrorism in Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies with proper jurisdiction except as specifically provided by law with respect to entities transferred to DHS under this Act.

(Sec. 102) Directs the Secretary to appoint a Special Assistant to carry out specified homeland security liaison activities between DHS and the private sector.

(Sec. 103) Creates the following: (1) a Deputy Secretary of Homeland Security; (2) an Under Secretary for Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection; (3) an Under Secretary for Science and Technology; (4) an Under Secretary for Border and Transportation Security; (5) an Under Secretary for Emergency Preparedness

and Response; (6) a Director of the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services; (7) an Under Secretary for Management; (8) not more than 12 Assistant Secretaries; and (9) a General Counsel. Establishes an Inspector General (to be appointed under the Inspector General Act of 1978). Requires the following individuals to assist the Secretary in the performance of the Secretary's functions: (1) the Commandant of the Coast Guard; (2) the Director of the Secret Service; (3) a Chief Information Officer; (4) a Chief Human Capital Officer; (5) a Chief Financial Officer; and (6) an Officer for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties.

Title II: Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection—Subtitle A: Directorate for Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection; Access to Information—(Sec. 201) Establishes in the Department: (1) a Directorate for Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection, headed by an Under Secretary for Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection; (2) an Assistant Secretary for Information Analysis; and (3) an Assistant Secretary for Infrastructure Protection.

Requires the Under Secretary to: (1) access, receive, and analyze law enforcement and intelligence information from Federal, State, and local agencies and the private sector to identify the nature, scope, and identity of terrorist threats to the United States, as well as potential U.S. vulnerabilities; (2) carry out comprehensive assessments of vulnerabilities of key U.S. resources and critical infrastructures; (3) integrate relevant information, analyses, and vulnerability assessments to identify protection priorities; (4) ensure timely and efficient Department access to necessary information for discharging responsibilities; (5) develop a comprehensive national plan for securing key U.S. resources and critical infrastructures; (6) recommend necessary measures to protect such resources and infrastructure in coordination with other entities; (7) administer the Homeland Security Advisory System; (8) review, analyze, and make recommendations for improvements in policies and procedures governing the sharing of law enforcement, intelligence, and intelligence-related information and other information related to homeland security within the Federal Government and between the Federal Government and State and local government agencies and authorities; (9) disseminate Department homeland security information to other appropriate Federal, State, and local agencies; (10) consult with the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) and other appropriate Federal intelligence, law enforcement, or other elements to establish collection priorities and strategies for information relating the terrorism threats; (11) consult with State and local governments and private entities to ensure appropriate exchanges of information relating to such threats; (12) ensure the protection from unauthorized disclosure of homeland security and intelligence information; (13) request additional information from appropriate entities relating to threats of terrorism in the United States; (14) establish and utilize a secure communications and information technology infrastructure for receiving and analyzing data; (15) ensure the compatibility and privacy protection of shared information databases and analytical tools; (16) coordinate training and other support to facilitate the identification and sharing of information; (17) coordinate activities with elements of the intelligence community, Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies, and the private sector; and (18) provide intelligence and information analysis and support to other elements of the Department. Provides for: (1) staffing, including the use of private sector analysts; and (2) cooperative agreements for the detail of appropriate personnel.

Transfers to the Secretary the functions, personnel, assets, and liabilities of the following entities: (1) the National Infrastructure Protection Center of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (other than the Computer Investigations and Operations Section); (2) the National Communications System of the Department of Defense; (3) the Critical Infrastructure Assurance Offices of the Department of Commerce; (4) the National Infrastructure Simulation and Analysis Center of the Department of Energy and its energy security and assurance program; and (5) the Federal Computer Incident Response Center of the General Services Administration.

Amends the National Security Act of 1947 to include as elements of the intelligence community the Department elements concerned with analyses of foreign intelligence information.

(Sec. 202) Gives the Secretary access to all reports, assessments, analyses, and unevaluated intelligence relating to threats of terrorism against the United States, and to all information concerning infrastructure or other vulnerabilities to terrorism, whether or not such information has been analyzed. Requires all Federal agencies to promptly provide to the Secretary: (1) all reports, assessments, and analytical information relating to such threats and to other areas of responsibility assigned to the Secretary; (2) all information concerning the vulnerability of U.S. infrastructure or other U.S. vulnerabilities to terrorism, whether or not it has been analyzed; (3) all other information relating to significant and credible threats of terrorism, whether or not it has been analyzed; and (4) such other information or material as the President may direct. Requires the Secretary to be provided with certain terrorism-related information from law enforcement agencies that is currently required to be provided to the DCI.

Subtitle B: Critical Infrastructure Information—Critical Infrastructure Information Act of 2002—(Sec. 213) Allows a critical infrastructure protection program to be so designated by either the President or the Secretary.

(Sec. 214) Exempts from the Freedom of Information Act and other Federal and State disclosure requirements any critical infrastructure information that is voluntarily submitted to a covered Federal agency for use in the security of critical infrastructure and

protected systems, analysis, warning, interdependency study, recovery, reconstitution, or other informational purpose when accompanied by an express statement that such information is being submitted voluntarily in expectation of such nondisclosure protection. Requires the Secretary to establish specified procedures for the receipt, care, and storage by Federal agencies of critical infrastructure information voluntarily submitted. Provides criminal penalties for the unauthorized disclosure of such information.

Authorizes the Federal Government to issue advisories, alerts, and warnings to relevant companies, targeted sectors, other governmental entities, or the general public regarding potential threats to critical infrastructure.

Subtitle C: Information Security—(Sec. 221) Requires the Secretary to establish procedures on the use of shared information that: (1) limit its re-dissemination to ensure it is not used for an unauthorized purpose; (2) ensure its security and confidentiality; (3) protect the constitutional and statutory rights of individuals who are subjects of such information; and (4) provide data integrity through the timely removal and destruction of obsolete or erroneous names and information.

(Sec. 222) Directs the Secretary to appoint a senior Department official to assume primary responsibility for information privacy policy.

(Sec. 223) Directs the Under Secretary to provide: (1) to State and local government entities and, upon request, to private entities that own or operate critical information systems, analysis and warnings related to threats to and vulnerabilities of such systems, as well as crisis management support in response to threats to or attacks upon such systems; and (2) technical assistance, upon request, to private sector and other government entities with respect to emergency recovery plans to respond to major failures of such systems.

(Sec. 224) Authorizes the Under Secretary to establish a national technology guard (known as NET Guard) to assist local communities to respond to and recover from attacks on information systems and communications networks.

(Sec. 225) Cyber Security Enhancement Act of 2002—Directs the U.S. Sentencing Commission to review and amend Federal sentencing guidelines and otherwise address crimes involving fraud in connection with computers and access to protected information, protected computers, or restricted data in interstate or foreign commerce or involving a computer used by or for the Federal Government. Requires a Commission report to Congress on actions taken and recommendations regarding statutory penalties for violations. Exempts from criminal penalties any disclosure made by an electronic communication service to a Federal, State, or local governmental entity if made in the good faith belief that an emergency involving danger of death or serious physical injury to any person requires disclosure without delay. Requires any government entity receiving such a disclosure to report it to the Attorney General.

Amends the Federal criminal code to: (1) prohibit the dissemination by electronic means of any such protected information; (2) increase criminal penalties for violations which cause death or serious bodily injury; (3) authorize the use by appropriate officials of emergency pen register and trap and trace devices in the case of either an immediate threat to a national security interest or an ongoing attack on a protected computer that constitutes a crime punishable by a prison term of greater than one year; (4) repeal provisions which provide a shorter term of imprisonment for certain offenses involving protection from the unauthorized interception and disclosure of wire, oral, or electronic communications; and (5) increase penalties for repeat offenses in connection with unlawful access to stored communications.

Subtitle D: Office of Science and Technology—(Sec. 231) Establishes within the Department of Justice (DOJ) an Office of Science and Technology whose mission is to: (1) serve as the national focal point for work on law enforcement technology (investigative and forensic technologies, corrections technologies, and technologies that support the judicial process); and (2) carry out programs that improve the safety and effectiveness of such technology and improve technology access by Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies. Sets forth Office duties, including: (1) establishing and maintaining technology advisory groups and performance standards; (2) carrying out research, development, testing, evaluation, and cost-benefit analyses for improving the safety, effectiveness, and efficiency of technologies used by Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies; and (3) operating the regional National Law Enforcement and Corrections Technology Centers (established under this Subtitle) and establishing additional centers. Requires the Office Director to report annually on Office activities.

(Sec. 234) Authorizes the Attorney General to transfer to the Office any other DOJ program or activity determined to be consistent with its mission. Requires a report from the Attorney General to the congressional judiciary committees on the implementation of this Subtitle.

(Sec. 235) Requires the Office Director to operate and support National Law Enforcement and Corrections Technology Centers and, to the extent necessary, establish new centers through a merit-based, competitive process. Requires such Centers to: (1) support research and development of law enforcement technology; (2) support the transfer and implementation of such

technology; (3) assist in the development and dissemination of guidelines and technological standards; and (4) provide technology assistance, information, and support for law enforcement, corrections, and criminal justice purposes. Requires the Director to: (1) convene an annual meeting of such Centers; and (2) report to Congress assessing the effectiveness of the Centers and identifying the number of Centers necessary to meet the technology needs of Federal, State, and local law enforcement in the United States.

(Sec. 237) Amends the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 to require the National Institute of Justice to: (1) research and develop tools and technologies relating to prevention, detection, investigation, and prosecution of crime; and (2) support research, development, testing, training, and evaluation of tools and technology for Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies.

Title III: Science and Technology in Support of Homeland Security—(Sec. 301) Establishes in DHS a Directorate of Science and Technology, headed by an Under Secretary for Science and Technology, to be responsible for: (1) advising the Secretary regarding research and development (R&D) efforts and priorities in support of DHS missions; (2) developing a national policy and strategic plan for identifying priorities, goals, objectives and policies for, and coordinating the Federal Government's civilian efforts to identify and develop countermeasures to chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear, and other emerging terrorist threats; (3) supporting the Under Secretary for Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection by assessing and testing homeland security vulnerabilities and possible threats; (4) conducting basic and applied R&D activities relevant to DHS elements, provided that such responsibility does not extend to human health-related R&D activities; (5) establishing priorities for directing, funding, and conducting national R&D and procurement of technology systems for preventing the importation of chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear, and related weapons and material and for detecting, preventing, protecting against, and responding to terrorist attacks; (6) establishing a system for transferring homeland security developments or technologies to Federal, State, and local government and private sector entities; (7) entering into agreements with the Department of Energy (DOE) regarding the use of the national laboratories or sites and support of the science and technology base at those facilities; (8) collaborating with the Secretary of Agriculture and the Attorney General in the regulation of certain biological agents and toxins as provided in the Agricultural Bioterrorism Protection Act of 2002; (9) collaborating with the Secretary of Health and Human Services and the Attorney General in determining new biological agents and toxins that shall be listed as select agents in the Code of Federal Regulations; (10) supporting U.S. leadership in science and technology; (11) establishing and administering the primary R&D activities of DHS; (12) coordinating and integrating all DHS R&D activities; (13) coordinating with other appropriate executive agencies in developing and carrying out the science and technology agenda of DHS to reduce duplication and identify unmet needs; and (14) developing and overseeing the administration of guidelines for merit review of R&D projects throughout DHS and for the dissemination of DHS research.

(Sec. 303) Transfers to the Secretary: (1) specified DOE functions, including functions related to chemical and biological national security programs, nuclear smuggling programs and activities within the proliferation detection program, the nuclear assessment program, designated life sciences activities of the biological and environmental research program related to microbial pathogens, the Environmental Measurements Laboratory, and the advanced scientific computing research program at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory; and (2) the National Bio-Weapons Defense Analysis Center of DOD.

(Sec. 304) Requires the HHS Secretary, with respect to civilian human health-related R&D activities relating to HHS countermeasures for chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear and other emerging terrorist threats, to: (1) set priorities, goals, objectives, and policies and develop a coordinated strategy for such activities in collaboration with the Secretary to ensure consistency with the national policy and strategic plan; and (2) collaborate with the Secretary in developing specific benchmarks and outcome measurements for evaluating progress toward achieving such priorities and goals.

[. . .]

(Sec. 305) Authorizes the Secretary, acting through the Under Secretary, to establish or contract with one or more federally funded R&D centers to provide independent analysis of homeland security issues or to carry out other responsibilities under this Act.

[. . .]

(Sec. 307) Establishes the Homeland Security Advanced Research Projects Agency to be headed by a Director who shall be appointed by the Secretary and who shall report to the Under Secretary. Requires the Director to administer the Acceleration Fund for Research and Development of Homeland Security Technologies (established by this Act) to award competitive, merit-reviewed grants, cooperative agreements, or contracts to public or private entities to: (1) support basic and applied homeland security research to promote revolutionary changes in technologies that would promote homeland security; (2) advance the development, testing and evaluation, and deployment of critical homeland security technologies; and (3) accelerate the prototyping and deployment of technologies that would address homeland security vulnerabilities. Allows the Director to solicit proposals to address

specific vulnerabilities. Requires the Director to periodically hold homeland security technology demonstrations to improve contact among technology developers, vendors, and acquisition personnel.

Authorizes appropriations to the Fund. Earmarks ten percent of such funds for each fiscal year through FY 2005 for the Under Secretary, through joint agreement with the Commandant of the Coast Guard, to carry out R&D of improved ports, waterways, and coastal security surveillance and perimeter protection capabilities to minimize the possibility that Coast Guard cutters, aircraft, helicopters, and personnel will be diverted from non-homeland security missions to the ports, waterways, and coastal security mission.

(Sec. 308) Requires the Secretary, acting through the Under Secretary, to: (1) operate extramural R&D programs to ensure that colleges, universities, private research institutes, and companies (and consortia thereof) from as many areas of the United States as practicable participate; and (2) establish a university-based center or centers for homeland security which shall establish a coordinated, university-based system to enhance the Nation's homeland security. Authorizes the Secretary, through the Under Secretary, to: (1) draw upon the expertise of any Government laboratory; and (2) establish a headquarters laboratory for DHS and additional laboratory units.

[. . .]

Establishes within the Directorate of Science and Technology an Office for National Laboratories which shall be responsible for the coordination and utilization of DOE national laboratories and sites in a manner to create a networked laboratory system to support DHS missions.

(Sec. 310) Directs the Secretary of Agriculture to transfer to the Secretary the Plum Island Animal Disease Center of the Department of Agriculture and provides for continued Department of Agriculture access to such Center.

(Sec. 311) Establishes within DHS a Homeland Security Science and Technology Advisory Committee to make recommendations with respect to the activities of the Under Secretary.

(Sec. 312) Directs the Secretary to establish the Homeland Security Institute, a federally funded R&D center. Includes among authorized duties for the Institute: (1) determination of the vulnerabilities of the Nation's critical infrastructures; (2) assessment of the costs and benefits of alternative approaches to enhancing security; and (3) evaluation of the effectiveness of measures deployed to enhance the security of institutions, facilities, and infrastructure that may be terrorist targets.

(Sec. 313) Requires the Secretary to establish and promote a program to encourage technological innovation in facilitating the mission of DHS, to include establishment of: (1) a centralized Federal clearinghouse to further the dissemination of information on technologies; and (2) a technical assistance team to assist in screening submitted proposals.

Title IV: Directorate of Border and Transportation Security—Subtitle A: Under Secretary for Border and Transportation Security—(Sec. 401) Establishes in DHS a Directorate of Border and Transportation Security to be headed by an Under Secretary for Border and Transportation Security. Makes the Secretary, acting through the Under Secretary for Border and Transportation Security, responsible for: (1) preventing the entry of terrorists and the instruments of terrorism into the United States; (2) securing the borders, territorial waters, ports, terminals, waterways, and air, land, and sea transportation systems of the United States; (3) carrying out the immigration enforcement functions vested by statute in, or performed by, the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization immediately before their transfer to the Under Secretary; (4) establishing and administering rules governing the granting of visas or other forms of permission to enter the United States to individuals who are not citizens or aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence in the United States; (5) establishing national immigration enforcement policies and priorities; (6) administering the customs laws of the United States (with certain exceptions); (7) conducting the inspection and related administrative functions of the Department of Agriculture transferred to the Secretary; and (8) ensuring the speedy, orderly, and efficient flow of lawful traffic and commerce in carrying out the foregoing responsibilities.

(Sec. 403) Transfers to the Secretary the functions, personnel, assets, and liabilities of: (1) the U.S. Customs Service; (2) the Transportation Security Administration; (3) the Federal Protective Service of the General Services Administration (GSA); (4) the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center of the Department of the Treasury; and (5) the Office for Domestic Preparedness of the Office of Justice Programs of the Department of Justice (DOJ).

[. . .]

Subtitle C: Miscellaneous Provisions

[. . .]

(Sec. 425) Amends Federal aviation law to require the Under Secretary of Transportation for Security to take certain action, if, in his discretion or at the request of an airport, he determines that the Transportation Security Administration is not able to deploy explosive detection systems at all airports required to have them by December 31, 2002. Requires the Under Secretary, in such circumstances, to: (1) submit to specified congressional committees

a detailed plan for the deployment of explosive detection systems at such airport by December 31, 2003; and (2) take all necessary action to ensure that alternative means of screening all checked baggage is implemented.

(Sec. 426) Replaces the Secretary of Transportation with the Secretary of Homeland Security as chair of the Transportation Security Oversight Board. Requires the Secretary of Transportation to consult with the Secretary before approving airport development project grants relating to security equipment or the installation of bulk explosive detection systems.

(Sec. 427) Directs the Secretary, in coordination with the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, and the head of each other department or agency determined to be appropriate by the Secretary, to ensure that appropriate information concerning inspections of articles that are imported or entered into the United States, and are inspected or regulated by one or more affected agencies, is timely and efficiently exchanged between the affected agencies. Requires the Secretary to report to Congress on the progress made in implementing this section.

(Sec. 428) Grants the Secretary exclusive authority to issue regulations with respect to, administer, and enforce the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) and all other immigration and nationality laws relating to the functions of U.S. diplomatic and consular officers in connection with the granting or refusal of visas, and authority to refuse visas in accordance with law and to develop programs of homeland security training for consular officers, which authorities shall be exercised through the Secretary of State. Denies the Secretary authority, however, to alter or reverse the decision of a consular officer to refuse a visa to an alien.

Grants the Secretary authority also to confer or impose upon any U.S. officer or employee, with the consent of the head of the executive agency under whose jurisdiction such officer or employee is serving, any of these specified functions.

Authorizes the Secretary of State to direct a consular officer to refuse a visa to an alien if the Secretary of State deems such refusal necessary or advisable in the foreign policy or security interests of the United States.

Authorizes the Secretary to assign employees of DHS to any diplomatic and consular posts abroad to review individual visa applications and provide expert advice and training to consular officers regarding specific security threats relating to such applications and to conduct investigations with respect to matters under the Secretary's jurisdiction.

Directs the Secretary to study and report to Congress on the role of foreign nationals in the granting or refusal of visas and other documents authorizing entry of aliens into the United States.

Requires the Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy to report to Congress on how the provisions of this section will affect procedures for the issuance of student visas.

Terminates after enactment of this Act all third party screening visa issuance programs in Saudi Arabia. Requires on-site personnel of DHS to review all visa applications prior to adjudication.

(Sec. 429) Requires visa denial information to be entered into the electronic data system as provided for in the Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act of 2002. Prohibits an alien denied a visa from being issued a subsequent visa unless the reviewing consular officer makes specified findings concerning waiver of ineligibility.

(Sec. 430) Establishes within the Directorate of Border and Transportation Security the Office for Domestic Preparedness to: (1) coordinate Federal preparedness for acts of terrorism, working with all State, local, tribal, county, parish, and private sector emergency response providers; (2) coordinate or consolidate systems of communications relating to homeland security at all levels of government; (3) direct and supervise Federal terrorism preparedness grant programs for all emergency response providers; and (4) perform specified other related duties.

Subtitle D: Immigration Enforcement Functions—(Sec. 441) Transfers from the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization to the Under Secretary for Border and Transportation Security all functions performed under the following programs, and all personnel, assets, and liabilities pertaining to such programs, immediately before such transfer occurs: (1) the Border Patrol program; (2) the detention and removal program; (3) the intelligence program; (4) the investigations program; and (5) the inspections program.

(Sec. 442) Establishes in the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) the Bureau of Border Security, headed by the Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of Border Security who shall: (1) report directly to the Under Secretary; (2) establish and oversee the policies for performing functions transferred to the Under Secretary and delegated to the Assistant Secretary by the Under Secretary; and (3) advise the Under Secretary with respect to any policy or operation of the Bureau that may affect the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services.

Directs the Assistant Secretary to: (1) administer the program to collect information relating to nonimmigrant foreign students and other exchange program participants; and (2) implement a managerial rotation program.

Establishes the position of Chief of Policy and Strategy for the Bureau of Border Security, who shall: (1) make immigration

enforcement policy recommendations; and (2) coordinate immigration policy issues with the Chief of Policy and Strategy for the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services.

[. . .]

will enforce relevant INA provisions.

(Sec. 446) Expresses the sense of Congress that completing the 14-mile border fence project near San Diego, California, mandated by the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 should be a priority for the Secretary.

Subtitle E: Citizenship and Immigration Services—(Sec. 451) Establishes in DHS a Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services, headed by the Director of the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services, who shall: (1) establish the policies for performing and administering transferred functions; (2) establish national immigration services policies and priorities; and (3) implement a managerial rotation program.

Authorizes the Director to implement pilot initiatives to eliminate the backlog of immigration benefit applications.

Transfers all Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) adjudications and related personnel and funding to the Director.

[. . .]

Subtitle F: General Immigration Provisions—(Sec. 471) Abolishes INS upon completion of all transfers from it as provided for by this Act.

[. . .]

Title V: Emergency Preparedness and Response—(Sec. 501) Establishes in DHS a Directorate of Emergency Preparedness and Response, headed by an Under Secretary.

(Sec. 502) Requires the responsibilities of the Secretary, acting through the Under Secretary, to include: (1) helping to ensure the effectiveness of emergency response providers to terrorist attacks, major disasters, and other emergencies; (2) with respect to the Nuclear Incident Response Team, establishing and certifying compliance with standards, conducting joint and other exercises and training, and providing funds to the Department of Energy and the Environmental Protection Agency for homeland security planning, training, and equipment; (3) providing the Federal Government's response to terrorist attacks and major disasters; (4) aiding recovery from terrorist attacks and major disasters; (5) building a comprehensive national incident management system with Federal, State, and local governments to respond to such attacks and disasters; (6) consolidating existing Federal Government emergency response plans into a single, coordinated national response plan; and (7) developing comprehensive programs for developing interoperative communications technology and helping to ensure that emergency response providers acquire such technology.

(Sec. 503) Transfers to the Secretary the functions, personnel, assets, and liabilities of: (1) the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA); (2) the Integrated Hazard Information System of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, which shall be renamed FIRESAT; (3) the National Domestic Preparedness Office of the FBI; (4) the Domestic Emergency Support Teams of DOJ; (5) the Office of Emergency Preparedness, the National Disaster Medical System, and the Metropolitan Medical Response System of HHS; and (6) the Strategic National Stockpile of HHS.

(Sec. 504) Requires the Nuclear Incident Response Team, at the direction of the Secretary (in connection with an actual or threatened terrorist attack, major disaster, or other emergency in the United States), to operate as an organizational unit of DHS under the Secretary's authority and control.

(Sec. 505) Provides that, with respect to all public health-related activities to improve State, local, and hospital preparedness and response to chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear and other emerging terrorist threats carried out by HHS (including the Public Health Service), the Secretary of HHS shall set priorities and preparedness goals and further develop a coordinated strategy for such activities in collaboration with the Secretary.

[. . .]

Title VIII: Coordination With Non-Federal Entities; Inspector General; United States Secret Service; Coast Guard; General Provisions—Subtitle A: Coordination with Non-Federal Entities—(Sec. 801) Establishes within the Office of the Secretary the Office for State and Local Government Coordination to oversee and coordinate Department homeland security programs for and relationships with State and local governments.

[. . .]

Subtitle C: United States Secret Service—(Sec. 821) Transfers to the Secretary the functions of the United States Secret Service, which shall be maintained as a distinct entity within DHS.

Subtitle D: Acquisitions—(Sec. 831) Authorizes the Secretary to carry out a five-year pilot program under which the Secretary may exercise specified authorities in carrying out: (1) basic, applied, and advanced research and development projects for response to existing or emerging terrorist threats; and (2) defense prototype projects. . . .

[. . .]

(Sec. 878) Directs the Secretary to appoint a senior DHS official to assume primary responsibility for coordinating policy and operations within DHS and between DHS and other Federal departments and agencies with respect to interdicting the entry of illegal drugs into the United States and tracking and severing connections between illegal drug trafficking and terrorism.

(Sec. 879) Establishes within the Office of the Secretary an Office of International Affairs, headed by a Director, to: (1) promote information and education exchange on homeland security best practices and technologies with friendly nations; (2) identify areas for homeland security information and training exchange where the United States has a demonstrated weakness and another friendly nation has a demonstrated expertise; (3) plan and undertake international conferences, exchange programs, and training activities; and (4) manage international activities within DHS in coordination with other Federal officials with responsibility for counter-terrorism matters.

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(Sec. 885) Authorizes the Secretary to establish a permanent Joint Interagency Homeland Security Task Force, composed of representatives from military and civilian agencies, for the purpose of anticipating terrorist threats and taking actions to prevent harm to the United States.

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(Sec. 895) Amends the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure to treat as contempt of court any knowing violation of guidelines jointly issued by the Attorney General and DCI with respect to disclosure of grand jury matters otherwise prohibited. Allows disclosure to appropriate Federal, State, local, or foreign government officials of grand jury matters involving a threat of grave hostile acts of a foreign power, domestic or international sabotage or terrorism, or clandestine intelligence gathering activities by an intelligence service or network of a foreign power (threat), within the United States or elsewhere. Permits disclosure to appropriate foreign government officials of grand jury matters that may disclose a violation of the law of such government. Requires State, local, and foreign officials to use disclosed information only in conformity with guidelines jointly issued by the Attorney General and the DCI.

(Sec. 896) Amends the Federal criminal code to authorize Federal investigative and law enforcement officers conducting communications interception activities, who have obtained knowledge of the contents of any intercepted communication or derivative evidence, to disclose such contents or evidence to: (1) a foreign investigative or law enforcement officer if the disclosure is appropriate to the performance of the official duties of the officer making or receiving the disclosure; and (2) any appropriate Federal, State, local, or foreign government official if the contents or evidence reveals such a threat, for the purpose of preventing or responding to such threat. Provides guidelines for the use and disclosure of the information.

(Sec. 897) Amends the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act (USA PATRIOT ACT) of 2001 to make lawful the disclosure to appropriate Federal, State, local, or foreign government officials of information obtained as part of a criminal investigation that reveals such a threat.

(Sec. 898) Amends the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 to allow Federal officers who conduct electronic surveillance and physical searches in order to acquire foreign intelligence information to consult with State and local law enforcement personnel to coordinate efforts to investigate or protect against such a threat.

Title IX: National Homeland Security Council—(Sec. 901) Establishes within the Executive Office of the President the Homeland Security Council to advise the President on homeland security matters.

(Sec. 903) Includes as members of the Council: (1) the President; (2) the Vice President; (3) the Secretary; (4) the Attorney General; and (5) the Secretary of Defense.

(Sec. 904) Requires the Council to: (1) assess the objectives, commitments, and risks of the United States in the interest of homeland security and make recommendations to the President; and (2) oversee and review Federal homeland security policies and make policy recommendations to the President.

(Sec. 906) Authorizes the President to convene joint meetings of the Homeland Security Council and the National Security Council.

[. . .]

Title XIV: Arming Pilots Against Terrorism—Arming Pilots Against Terrorism Act—(Sec. 1402) Amends Federal law to direct the Under Secretary of Transportation for Security (in the Transportation Security Administration) to establish a two-year pilot program to: (1) deputize volunteer pilots of air carriers as Federal law enforcement officers to defend the flight decks of aircraft against acts of criminal violence or air piracy (Federal flight deck officers); and (2) provide training, supervision, and equipment for such officers.

Requires the Under Secretary to begin the process of training and deputizing qualified pilots to be Federal flight deck officers under

the program. Allows the Under Secretary to request another Federal agency to deputize such officers.

Directs the Under Secretary to authorize flight deck officers to carry firearms and to use force, including lethal force, according to standards and circumstances the Under Secretary prescribes. Shields air carriers from liability for damages in Federal or State court arising out of a Federal flight deck officer's use of or failure to use a firearm. Shields flight deck officers from liability for acts or omissions in defending the flight deck of an aircraft against acts of criminal violence or air piracy, except in cases of gross negligence or willful misconduct.

[. . .]

Declares the sense of Congress that the Federal air marshal program is critical to aviation security, and that nothing in this Act shall be construed as preventing the Under Secretary from implementing and training Federal air marshals.

(Sec. 1403) Directs the Under Secretary, in updating the guidance for training flight and cabin crews, to issue a rule to: (1) require both classroom and effective hands-on situational training in specified elements of self-defense; (2) require training in the proper conduct of a cabin search, including the duty time required to conduct it; (3) establish the required number of hours of training and the qualifications for training instructors; (4) establish the intervals, number of hours, and elements of recurrent training; (5) ensure that air carriers provide the initial training within 24 months of the enactment of this Act. Directs the Under Secretary to designate an official in the Transportation Security Administration to be responsible for overseeing the implementation of the training program; and (6) ensure that no person is required to participate in any hands-on training activity that such person believes will have an adverse impact on his or her health or safety.

Amends the Aviation and Transportation Security Act to authorize the Under Secretary to take certain enhanced security measures, including to require that air carriers provide flight attendants with a discreet, hands-free, wireless method of communicating with the pilot of an aircraft.

Directs the Under Secretary to study and report to Congress on the benefits and risks of providing flight attendants with nonlethal weapons to aide in combating air piracy and criminal violence on commercial airlines.

(Sec. 1404) Directs the Secretary of Transportation to study and report within six months to Congress on: (1) the number of armed Federal law enforcement officers (other than Federal air marshals) who travel on commercial airliners annually, and the frequency of their travel; (2) the cost and resources necessary to provide such officers with supplemental aircraft anti-terrorism training comparable to the training that Federal air marshals receive; (3) the cost of establishing a program at a Federal law enforcement training center for the purpose of providing new Federal law enforcement recruits with standardized training comparable to Federal air marshal training; (4) the feasibility of implementing a certification program designed to ensure that Federal law enforcement officers have completed aircraft anti-terrorism training, and track their travel over a six-month period; and (5) the feasibility of staggering the flights of such officers to ensure the maximum amount of flights have a certified trained Federal officer on board.

(Sec. 1405) Amends Federal aviation law to require the Under Secretary to respond within 90 days of receiving a request from an air carrier for authorization to allow pilots of the air carrier to carry less-than-lethal weapons.

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(Sec. 1514) Provides that nothing in this Act shall be construed to authorize the development of a national identification system or card.

[. . .]

Title XVI: Corrections to Existing Law Relating to Airline Transportation Security—(Sec. 1601) Amends Federal aviation law to require the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), along with the Under Secretary of Transportation for Security, to each conduct research (including behavioral research) and development activities to develop, modify, test, and evaluate a system, procedure, facility, or device to protect passengers and property against acts of criminal violence, aircraft piracy, and terrorism and to ensure security.

[. . .]

Title XVII: Conforming and Technical Amendments. . . .

(Sec. 1706) Transfers from the Administrator of General Services to the Secretary of Homeland Security law enforcement authority for the protection of Federal property.

(Sec. 1708) Establishes in DOD a National Bio-Weapons Defense Analysis Center to develop countermeasures to potential attacks by terrorists using weapons of mass destruction.

[. . .]

Source: U.S. Congress, "Homeland Security Act of 2002," Library of Congress, THOMAS, http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d107:HR05005:@@@D&summ2=m&.

108. U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, "Old Europe," Press Conference Briefing at the Foreign Press Center, January 22, 2003 [Excerpts]

Introduction

In late 2002 and early 2003 major European nations, most notably France and Germany, did not share the obvious eagerness for war with Iraq of several top American and British leaders, including President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair, together with U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld. To American officials' chagrin as the probability of war increased, France and Germany refused to contribute troops to "the coalition of the willing" nations assembled to undertake any such venture. Several formerly communist East European, Baltic, and Balkan states, including Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Croatia, Slovenia, Albania, Macedonia, Romania, and Bulgaria, were by contrast enthusiastic supporters and contributed troops, in part because they wished to burnish their credentials for membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU). Rumsfeld stirred up considerable controversy when, in a January 2003 press conference, he contrasted what he implied were the effete and tired states of "old Europe" with the more dynamic and vigorous "new Europe" that had just escaped from communist rule. He compounded the offense by stating that "Germany has been a problem, and France has been a problem," while suggesting that within Europe the "center of gravity is shifting to the east." French and German leaders responded with outrage. When France condemned the eventual U.S. invasion of Iraq two months later, Franco-American relations plummeted to an even lower ebb as American politicians and pundits called for boycotts of French wines and suggested that french fries be renamed "freedom fries."

Primary Source

[. . .]

Q: Mr. Secretary, Carl Hanlon, Global Television, Canada. Sir, Canada's foreign minister stated again today that the United States must get United Nations approval to go to war with Iraq. Are you still hoping that Canada would support President Bush's so-called "coalition of the willing" if you end up going to war with Iraq without the U.N.?

Rumsfeld: You know, the United States and Canada are close friends and allies and neighbors, and we've participated together in so many activities across the globe, [we] currently are with respect to the global war on terror, allies in NATO. It's up to Canada to decide what it wishes to do. Each country has a somewhat different circumstance, a somewhat different history, a somewhat different perspective, and I think each country is inevitably going to do that which they feel is appropriate to them.

I can say this: that there are a very large number of countries who have said, regardless of whether there is a second resolution in the United Nations, that they are anxious and willing and ready to join a coalition of the willing. There is a very large number of countries also that are prepared in the event there is a second resolution regardless—almost regardless of what it says. It might simply say that in fact the Iraqis have not been cooperative, or it might go the extra step and say that they haven't been cooperative and therefore the United Nations recommends the use of all appropriate force. I don't know what—how that will play out; it's not knowable.

But it seems to me it's asking a lot for other countries to step forward publicly and say where they are on this until and unless the case has been fully made, and the president has indicated that he's concluded that force must be used. And at that moment, people then will be making their judgments and participating or not, as they and their people feel is appropriate. And as far as I'm concerned, I think that's the way it ought to work. Every country is a sovereign nation.

[. . .]

Q: Thank you. This is Hasan Hazar, *Turkey Daily*. . . . Although the United States does very intensive public diplomacy campaigns to the Islamic world, anti-Americanism is growing all over the world. What is the reason, what is the reaction of that?

Rumsfeld: Well, I would have to say that the United States is not very effective in public diplomacy. We have wonderful people working on it, and they work hard on it, and they're talented and they do a good job. But what they're up against is a flow of information that's coming out of these extremists that are trying to hijack that religion, and feeding people in the madrassas schools a line that the West and other religions are against them and that, therefore, they should engage in terrorist acts.

And it seems to me that we have a task, not just the United States, but the world. I would think—you cast it as though it's the United States and the Moslem world, or the United States and people who are anti–United States. I think that's a bit of an oversimplification. I think there's a real struggle taking place in the Moslem faith. There are an awful lot of people who are unhappy that extremists and small groups of clerics are teaching young people things that aren't true; teaching people that the best thing they can do is not learn a language, not learn mathematics, not learn how they can provide for themselves in the world, instead, filling their heads with hate against the West and against progress, and encouraging them to conduct suicide campaigns.

Now, that religion needs to take back its religion from people who are teaching that. The whole world is part of this process; it's not just the United States.

Let me just say something that I feel very deeply. It's the year 2003. Here we are, we're all sitting here and we're safe and sound. And there isn't anybody when they walk out of this place who is afraid they're going to get shot, or blown up, or face a biological attack, or a chemical attack or a nuclear attack. What's taking place in the world today in—with the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, biological weapons, nuclear weapons, is so pervasive that as you look out over the horizon—you guess—five years? ten years?—there are going to be three, four, five more nuclear powers, and they're not going to be countries like the United Kingdom or France or the United States; they're going to be countries like North Korea; they're going to be terrorist states; and they're going to be states that have relationships with terrorist organizations. The ease of transporting and developing biologicals that can kill hundreds of thousands of human beings is easy; it does not take a genius to do that. They're easy to make, they're easy to transport and they're easy to deliver. And that's the kind of a world we're living in.

Now, that is not a problem for the United States only. It's a problem for the whole world. And at some point, the people of the world are going to be so shocked and jarred by events like 9/11 that they're going to make a judgment that they need to do something differently; that they can't sit back and say, "Oh, what about all this anti-Americanism? Or what about all this stuff? Or why doesn't the United States do this or that?"

They're going to be deeply concerned because they're going to have every right in the world to be deeply concerned. And the time to get ahead of that is now, before it all happens, not after. Let there be no doubt.

[. . .]

Q: Sir, a question about the mood among European allies. You were talking about the Islamic world a second ago. But now the European allies. If you look at, for example, France, Germany, also a lot of people in my own country—I'm from Dutch public TV, by the way—it seems that a lot of Europeans rather give the benefit of the doubt to Saddam Hussein than President George Bush. These are U.S. allies. What do you make of that?

Rumsfeld: Well, it's—what do I make of it?

Q: They have no clerics. They have no Muslim clerics there.

Rumsfeld: . . . What do I think about it? Well, there isn't anyone alive who wouldn't prefer unanimity. I mean, you just always would like everyone to stand up and say, Way to go! That's the right to do, United States.

Now, we rarely find unanimity in the world. I was ambassador to NATO, and I—when we would go in and make a proposal, there wouldn't be unanimity. There wouldn't even be understanding. And we'd have to be persuasive. We'd have to show reasons. We'd have to—have to give rationales. We'd have to show facts. And, by golly, I found that Europe on any major issue is given—if there's leadership and if you're right, and if your facts are persuasive, Europe responds. And they always have.

Now, you're thinking of Europe as Germany and France. I don't. I think that's old Europe. If you look at the entire NATO Europe today, the center of gravity is shifting to the east. And there are a lot of new members. And if you just take the list of all the members of NATO and all of those who have been invited in recently—what is it? Twenty-six, something like that?—you're right. Germany has been a problem, and France has been a problem.

Q: But opinion polls—

Rumsfeld: But—just a minute. Just a minute. But you look at vast numbers of other countries in Europe. They're not with France and Germany on this, they're with the United States.

Now, you cite public opinion polls. Fair enough. Political leaders have to interest themselves in where the public is, and talk to them, and think about that, and then—and provide leadership to them. . . .

And that's—that's what political leaders are supposed to do, is to lead. And they—they're responsible for engaging facts and making assessments and then going out before their people and telling them their honest conviction as to what their country ought to do. And if a country doesn't agree with us, heck, that's happened lots of times in history.

[. . .]

Source: Donald Rumsfeld, "Secretary Rumsfeld Briefs at the Foreign Press Center," U.S. Department of Defense, http://www.defense.gov/Transcripts/Transcript.aspx?TranscriptID=1330.

109. Hans Blix, Report to United Nations Security Council, February 14, 2003 [Excerpts]

Introduction

In November 2002 Saddam Hussein, alarmed by the passage of United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1441 and by the obvious eagerness with which American and British leaders

contemplated invading Iraq, allowed weapons inspectors from the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) and the International Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA) to reenter Iraq after a four-year hiatus. Reporting to the UN in February 2003, UNMOVIC chairman Hans Blix described his organization's efforts to inspect weapons facilities in Iraq. He stated that 250 UNMOVIC and IAEA inspectors and support staff drawn from 60 countries were at that time present in Iraq. Iraqi officials had proved cooperative in allowing inspectors access to more than 300 sites, most of them "performed without notice." Blix stated that to date UNMOVIC had not located any "weapons of mass destruction and related proscribed items and programs." Blix did warn that open questions remained over large quantities of chemical agents that Iraq's government had not yet accounted for and stated that Iraq itself, whose officials claimed that many such materials had been "poured into the ground years ago," must "squarely tackle" the task of providing evidence of what had happened to these materials. Iraq still possessed missiles capable of being configured to a range of more than 150 miles, which were proscribed under UN Security Council resolutions, and Blix intended to take this matter up with Iraq's government. UNMOVIC had begun to interview Iraqi officials in private, with no government minders present. UNMOVIC was also improving its surveillance capabilities and was planning to use U-2 long-range reconnaissance aircraft to monitor the movement of Iraqi weapons and changes in known weapon sites. Though condemning Iraq's past efforts to evade cooperation with weapons inspection teams for most of the 1990s, Blix's tone was one of guarded optimism, stating that although ongoing open-ended monitoring of the cessation of weapons programs would probably be required, the time needed to complete disarmament inspections and ascertain Iraq's compliance with Security Resolution 1441 of November 2002 could be relatively short if Iraq gave "active and unconditional cooperation."

Primary Source

Since I reported to the Security Council on 27 January, UNMOVIC has had two further weeks of operational and analytical work in New York and active inspections in Iraq. This brings the total period of inspections so far to 11 weeks. Since then, we have also listened on 5 February to the presentation to the Council by the US Secretary of State and the discussion that followed. Lastly, Dr. ElBaradei and I have held another round of talks in Baghdad with our counterparts and with Vice President Ramadan on 8 and 9 February.

Let me begin today's briefing with a short account of the work being performed by UNMOVIC in Iraq.

[. . .]

Since we arrived in Iraq, we have conducted more than 400 inspections covering more than 300 sites. All inspections were performed without notice, and access was almost always provided promptly. In no case have we seen convincing evidence that the Iraqi side knew in advance that the inspectors were coming.

The inspections have taken place throughout Iraq at industrial sites, ammunition depots, research centres, universities, presidential sites, mobile laboratories, private houses, missile production facilities, military camps and agricultural sites. At all sites which had been inspected before 1998, re-baselining activities were performed. This included the identification of the function and contents of each building, new or old, at a site. It also included verification of previously tagged equipment, application of seals and tags, taking samples and discussions with the site personnel regarding past and present activities. At certain sites, ground-penetrating radar was used to look for underground structures or buried equipment.

Through the inspections conducted so far, we have obtained a good knowledge of the industrial and scientific landscape of Iraq, as well as of its missile capability but, as before, we do not know every cave and corner. Inspections are effectively helping to bridge the gap in knowledge that arose due to the absence of inspections between December 1998 and November 2002.

More than 200 chemical and more than 100 biological samples have been collected at different sites. Three-quarters of these have been screened using our own analytical laboratory capabilities at the Baghdad Centre (BOMVIC). The results to date have been consistent with Iraq's declarations.

We have now commenced the process of destroying approximately 50 litres of mustard gas declared by Iraq that was being kept under UNMOVIC seal at the Muthanna site. One-third of the quantity has already been destroyed. The laboratory quantity of thiodiglycol, a mustard gas precursor, which we found at another site, has also been destroyed.

[. . .]

In my 27 January update to the Council, I said that it seemed from our experience that Iraq had decided in principle to provide cooperation on process, most importantly prompt access to all sites and assistance to UNMOVIC in the establishment of the necessary infrastructure. This impression remains, and we note that access to sites has so far been without problems, including those that had never been declared or inspected, as well as to Presidential sites and private residences.

In my last updating, I also said that a decision to cooperate on substance was indispensable in order to bring, through inspection, the disarmament task to completion and to set the monitoring system on a firm course. Such cooperation, as I have noted, requires

more than the opening of doors. In the words of resolution 1441 (2002)—it requires immediate, unconditional and active efforts by Iraq to resolve existing questions of disarmament—either by presenting remaining proscribed items and programmes for elimination or by presenting convincing evidence that they have been eliminated. In the current situation, one would expect Iraq to be eager to comply. . . .

How much, if any, is left of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and related proscribed items and programmes? So far, UNMOVIC has not found any such weapons, only a small number of empty chemical munitions, which should have been declared and destroyed. Another matter—and one of great significance—is that many proscribed weapons and items are not accounted for. To take an example, a document, which Iraq provided, suggested to us that some 1,000 tonnes of chemical agent were "unaccounted for." One must not jump to the conclusion that they exist. However, that possibility is also not excluded. If they exist, they should be presented for destruction. If they do not exist, credible evidence to that effect should be presented.

We are fully aware that many governmental intelligence organizations are convinced and assert that proscribed weapons, items and programmes continue to exist. The US Secretary of State presented material in support of this conclusion. Governments have many sources of information that are not available to inspectors. Inspectors, for their part, must base their reports only on evidence, which they can, themselves, examine and present publicly. Without evidence, confidence cannot arise.

In my earlier briefings, I have noted that significant outstanding issues of substance were listed in two Security Council documents from early 1999 (S/1999/94 and S/1999/356) and should be well known to Iraq. I referred, as examples, to the issues of anthrax, the nerve agent VX and long-range missiles, and said that such issues "deserve to be taken seriously by Iraq rather than being brushed aside." . . . The declaration submitted by Iraq on 7 December last year, despite its large volume, missed the opportunity to provide the fresh material and evidence needed to respond to the open questions. This is perhaps the most important problem we are facing. Although I can understand that it may not be easy for Iraq in all cases to provide the evidence needed, it is not the task of the inspectors to find it. Iraq itself must squarely tackle this task and avoid belittling the questions.

[. . .]

At the meeting in Baghdad on 8 and 9 February, the Iraqi side addressed some of the important outstanding disarmament issues and gave us a number of papers, e.g., regarding anthrax and growth material, the nerve agent VX and missile production. Experts who were present from our side studied the papers during the evening of 8 February and met with Iraqi experts in the morning of 9 February for further clarifications. Although no new evidence was provided in the papers and no open issues were closed through them or the expert discussions, the presentation of the papers could be indicative of a more active attitude focusing on important open issues.

The Iraqi side suggested that the problem of verifying the quantities of anthrax and two VX-precursors, which had been declared unilaterally destroyed, might be tackled through certain technical and analytical methods. Although our experts are still assessing the suggestions, they are not very hopeful that it could prove possible to assess the quantities of material poured into the ground years ago. Documentary evidence and testimony by staff that dealt with the items still appears to be needed.

Not least against this background, a letter of 12 February from Iraq's National Monitoring Directorate may be of relevance. It presents a list of 83 names of participants "in the unilateral destruction in the chemical field, which took place in the summer of 1991." As the absence of adequate evidence of that destruction has been and remains an important reason why quantities of chemicals have been deemed "unaccounted for," the presentation of a list of persons who can be interviewed about the actions appears useful and pertains to cooperation on substance. I trust that the Iraqi side will put together a similar list of names of persons who participated in the unilateral destruction of other proscribed items, notably in the biological field.

The Iraqi side also informed us that the commission, which had been appointed in the wake of our finding 12 empty chemical weapons warheads, had had its mandate expanded to look for any still existing proscribed items. This was welcomed.

A second commission, we learnt, has now been appointed with the task of searching all over Iraq for more documents relevant to the elimination of proscribed items and programmes. It is headed by the former Minister of Oil, General Amer Rashid, and is to have very extensive powers of search in industry, administration and even private houses.

The two commissions could be useful tools to come up with proscribed items to be destroyed and with new documentary evidence. They evidently need to work fast and effectively to convince us, and the world, that it is a serious effort.

The matter of private interviews was discussed at length during our meeting in Baghdad. The Iraqi side confirmed the commitment, which it made to us on 20 January, to encourage persons asked to accept such interviews, whether in or out of Iraq. So far, we have only had interviews in Baghdad. A number of persons have declined to be interviewed, unless they were allowed to have

an official present or were allowed to tape the interview. Three persons that had previously refused interviews on UNMOVIC's terms, subsequently accepted such interviews just prior to our talks in Baghdad on 8 and 9 February. These interviews proved informative. No further interviews have since been accepted on our terms. I hope this will change. We feel that interviews conducted without any third party present and without tape recording would provide the greatest credibility.

At the recent meeting in Baghdad, as on several earlier occasions, my colleague Dr. ElBaradei and I have urged the Iraqi side to enact legislation implementing the UN prohibitions regarding weapons of mass destruction. This morning we had a message that a Presidential decree has now been issued containing prohibitions with regard to importation and production of biological, chemical and nuclear weapons. We have not yet had time to study the details of the text of the decree.

Intelligence

Mr. President, I should like to make some comments on the role of intelligence in connection with inspections in Iraq.

A credible inspection regime requires that Iraq provide full cooperation on "process"—granting immediate access everywhere to inspectors—and on substance, providing full declarations supported by relevant information and material and evidence. However, with the closed society in Iraq of today and the history of inspections there, other sources of information, such as defectors and government intelligence agencies are required to aid the inspection process.

I remember myself how, in 1991, several inspections in Iraq, which were based on information received from a Government, helped to disclose important parts of the nuclear weapons programme. It was realized that an international organization authorized to perform inspections anywhere on the ground could make good use of information obtained from governments with eyes in the sky, ears in the ether, access to defectors, and both eyes and ears on the market for weapons-related material. It was understood that the information residing in the intelligence services of governments could come to very active use in the international effort to prevent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. This remains true and we have by now a good deal of experience in the matter.

International organizations need to analyse such information critically and especially benefit when it comes from more than one source. The intelligence agencies, for their part, must protect their sources and methods. Those who provide such information must know that it will be kept in strict confidence and be known to very few people. UNMOVIC has achieved good working relations with intelligence agencies and the amount of information provided has been gradually increasing. However, we must recognize that there are limitations and that misinterpretations can occur.

Intelligence information has been useful for UNMOVIC. In one case, it led us to a private home where documents mainly relating to laser enrichment of uranium were found. In other cases, intelligence has led to sites where no proscribed items were found. Even in such cases, however, inspection of these sites were useful in proving the absence of such items and in some cases the presence of other items—conventional munitions. It showed that conventional arms are being moved around the country and that movements are not necessarily related to weapons of mass destruction.

The presentation of intelligence information by the US Secretary of State suggested that Iraq had prepared for inspections by cleaning up sites and removing evidence of proscribed weapons programmes. I would like to comment only on one case, which we are familiar with, namely, the trucks identified by analysts as being for chemical decontamination at a munitions depot. This was a declared site, and it was certainly one of the sites Iraq would have expected us to inspect. We have noted that the two satellite images of the site were taken several weeks apart. The reported movement of munitions at the site could just as easily have been a routine activity as a movement of proscribed munitions in anticipation of imminent inspection. Our reservation on this point does not detract from our appreciation of the briefing.

Plans for the immediate future

Yesterday, UNMOVIC informed the Iraqi authorities of its intention to start using the U-2 surveillance aircraft early next week under arrangements similar to those UNSCOM had followed. We are also in the process of working out modalities for the use of the French Mirage aircraft starting late next week and for the drones supplied by the German Government. The offer from Russia of an Antonov aircraft, with night vision capabilities, is a welcome one and is next on our agenda for further improving UNMOVIC's and IAEA's technical capabilities. These developments are in line with suggestions made in a non-paper recently circulated by France, suggesting a further strengthening of the inspection capabilities.

It is our intention to examine the possibilities for surveying ground movements, notably by trucks. In the face of persistent intelligence reports for instance about mobile biological weapons production units, such measures could well increase the effectiveness of inspections.

[. . .]

UNMOVIC is not infrequently asked how much more time it needs to complete its task in Iraq. The answer depends upon which task

one has in mind—the elimination of weapons of mass destruction and related items and programmes, which were prohibited in 1991—the disarmament task—or the monitoring that no new proscribed activities occur. The latter task, though not often focused upon, is highly significant—and not controversial. It will require monitoring, which is "ongoing," that is, open-ended until the Council decides otherwise.

By contrast, the task of "disarmament" foreseen in resolution 687 (1991) and the progress on "key remaining disarmament tasks" foreseen in resolution 1284 (1999) as well as the "disarmament obligations," which Iraq was given a "final opportunity to comply with" under resolution 1441 (2002), were always required to be fulfilled in a shorter time span. Regrettably, the high degree of cooperation required of Iraq for disarmament through inspection was not forthcoming in 1991. Despite the elimination, under UNSCOM and IAEA supervision, of large amounts of weapons, weapons-related items and installations over the years, the task remained incomplete, when inspectors were withdrawn almost 8 years later at the end of 1998.

If Iraq had provided the necessary cooperation in 1991, the phase of disarmament—under resolution 687 (1991)—could have been short and a decade of sanctions could have been avoided. Today, three months after the adoption of resolution 1441 (2002), the period of disarmament through inspection could still be short, if "immediate, active and unconditional cooperation" with UNMOVIC and the IAEA were to be forthcoming.

Source: Hans Blix, "Briefing of the Security Council, 14 February 2003: An Update on Inspections," United Nations, http://www.un.org/Depts/unmovic/new/pages/security_council_briefings.asp#6.

110. France, Germany, and Russia, Memorandum on Iraqi Sanctions, Submitted to the United Nations Security Council, March 5, 2003

Introduction

The governments of France, Germany, and Russia were all unenthusiastic over the Anglo-American drive toward war with Iraq and refused to join the coalition for that purpose. In late February 2003 Britain, the United States, and Spain submitted a draft resolution to the United Nations (UN) Security Council declaring that Iraq had failed to comply with Resolution 1441 of November 2003 and thus had forfeited its "final opportunity" to avoid action by the Security Council. France and Russia were both permanent Security Council members, entitled to veto any resolution with which they disagreed, and at that time Germany was also a nonpermanent Security Council member. Responding to the Anglo-American draft resolution, the foreign ministers of these three countries—Dominique de Villepin of France, Ivan S. Ivanov of Russia, and Joschka Fischer of Germany—released a joint statement, which they also submitted to the Security Council. This declared that the new inspection measures in Iraq undertaken by the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) and the International Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA) were producing encouraging results and should continue. The statement called on Iraq's government to provide fuller cooperation with UNMOVIC and the IAEA and to speed up the timetable for inspections. In addition, the statement called for a definite and detailed time schedule for inspections of each program. In conclusion, Russia and France uncompromisingly stated that since there was now a good chance of reaching a peaceful settlement on Iraq and other Middle Eastern issues, they would "not let a proposed resolution pass that would authorize the use of force." Both stated that if necessary they would veto such a resolution. Their stance meant that the Security Council was deadlocked on the use of force in Iraq, making it impossible for the United States and Great Britain to obtain a resolution specifically authorizing their invasion of Iraq. Anglo-American efforts in the first half of March to craft a compromise failed. The war that began on March 20, 2003, therefore lacked outright UN endorsement.

Primary Source

Joint statement by Mr. de Villepin, Mr. Ivanov and Mr. Fischer

(Paris, 5 March 2003)

Our common objective remains the full and effective disarmament of Iraq, in compliance with resolution 1441 (2002).

We consider that this objective can be achieved by the peaceful means of the inspections.

We moreover observe that these inspections are producing increasing encouraging results:

- The destruction of the Al-Samoud missiles has started and is making progress;
- Iraqis are providing biological and chemical information;
- The interviews with Iraqi scientists are continuing.

Russia, Germany and France resolutely support Messrs. Blix and ElBaradei and consider the meeting of the Security Council on 7 March to be an important step in the process put in place.

We firmly call for the Iraqi authorities to cooperate more actively with the inspectors to fully disarm their country. These inspections cannot continue indefinitely.

We consequently ask that the inspections now be speeded up, in keeping with the proposals put forward in the memorandum submitted to the Security Council by our three countries. We must:

- Specify and prioritize the remaining issues, programme by programme;
- Establish, for each point, detailed timelines.

Using this method, the inspectors have to present without any delay their work programme accompanied by regular progress reports to the Security Council. This programme could provide for a meeting clause to enable the Council to evaluate the overall results of this process.

In these circumstances, we will not let a proposed resolution pass that would authorize the use of force.

Russia and France, as permanent members of the Security Council, will assume all their responsibilities on this point.

We are at a turning point. Since our goal is the peaceful and full disarmament of Iraq, we have today the chance to obtain through peaceful means a comprehensive settlement for the Middle East, starting with a move forward in the peace process, by:

- Publishing and implementing the roadmap;
- Putting together a general framework for the Middle East, based on stability and security, renunciation of force, arms control and trust-building measures.

Source: United Nations Security Council, S/2003/253, March 5, 2003, http://www.un.int/france/documents_anglais/030305_mae_france_irak.htm.

111. Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States, Draft Resolution on Iraq, March 7, 2003

Introduction

Before embarking on outright war against Iraq, the United States and British governments hoped to obtain a United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution specifically authorizing them to do so. British prime minister Tony Blair was particularly eager for such a resolution because such a mandate would significantly enhance his position within his own ruling Labour Party, whose members were badly divided over the desirability of invading Iraq. In late February 2003 the United States, Britain, and Spain, another member of the "coalition of the willing" that were preparing to invade Iraq, submitted a draft resolution to the Security Council. This document stated that the declaration that Iraq had submitted to the Security Council detailing its progress toward disarmament contained "false statements and omissions" and that Iraq had therefore declined to comply with Resolution 1441 of November 2002. This, in turn, meant that Iraq had "failed to take the final opportunity afforded it in Resolution 1441." While the resolution did not specifically call for military intervention against Iraq, it represented the strongest endorsement that the three powers thought they were likely to win from the Security Council. As events transpired, they failed to obtain even this level of support. France, a permanent Security Council member, expressed its readiness to veto any such resolution and, together with Russia and Germany, submitted a statement affirming confidence in the weapons inspection process then under way in Iraq and seeking its acceleration. Britain then proposed a resolution offering six conditions that Hussein would have to meet expeditiously in order to avoid war but could not obtain even 9 of 15 Security Council votes favoring such action. Permanent members Russia and China were particularly unenthusiastic, fearing that an authorization for preemptive action against Iraq might set an undesirable precedent whereby, at some future date, the United States or other powers might move against themselves. Eventually, the United States, Britain, and other coalition members decided to make war on Iraq without the mandate of a further UN Security Council resolution specifically countenancing such action.

Primary Source

Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions, in particular its resolutions 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990, 678 (1990) of 29 November 1990, 686 (1991) of 2 March 1991, 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, 688 (1991) of 5 April 1991, 707 (1991) of 15 August 1991, 715 (1991) of 11 October 1991, 986 (1995) of 14 April 1995, and 1284 (1999) of 17 December 1999, and 1441 (2002) of 8 November all the relevant statements of its president,

Recalling that in its resolution 687 (1991) the council declared that a cease-fire would be based on acceptance by Iraq of the provisions of that resolution, including the obligations on Iraq contained therein,

Recalling that its resolution 1441 (2002), while acknowledging that Iraq has been and remains in material breach of its obligations, afforded Iraq a final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations under relevant resolutions,

Recalling that in its resolution 1441 (2002) the council decided that false statements or omissions in the declaration submitted by Iraq pursuant to that resolution and failure by Iraq at any time to comply with and cooperate fully in the implementation of, that resolution, would constitute a further material breach,

Noting, that in that context, that in its resolution 1441 (2002), the council recalled that it has repeatedly warned Iraq that it will face serious consequences as a result of its continued violations of its obligations,

Noting that Iraq has submitted a declaration pursuant to its resolution 1441 (2002) containing false statements and omissions and has failed to comply with, and cooperate fully in the implementation of, that resolution,

Reaffirming the commitment of all member states to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq, Kuwait, and the neighboring states,

Mindful of its primary responsibility under the charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Recognizing the threat Iraq's noncompliance with council resolutions and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and long-range missiles poses to international peace and security,

Determined to secure full compliance with its decisions and to restore international peace and security in the area,

Acting under Chapter VII of the charter of the United Nations,

Decides that Iraq has failed to take the final opportunity afforded to it in resolution 1441 (2002).

Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Source: United Nations Security Council, S/2003/215, March 7, 2003, http://www.nuclearinfo.org/documents/singh.pdf.

112. President George W. Bush, Remarks at the American Enterprise Institute Annual Dinner, February 26, 2003 [Excerpt]

Introduction

By early 2003, many officials in the administration of U.S. president George W. Bush saw war against Iraq not just as a means of removing an unpleasant Middle Eastern dictator who was antagonistic to the United States but also as a catalyst for bringing about radical change throughout the entire Persian Gulf region. In a speech to the American Enterprise Institute, a leading Washington-based neoconservative think tank that had provided much of the personnel and intellectual underpinning for his foreign policy initiatives, Bush laid out the rationale for this perspective toward regime change in Iraq. Once again Bush stressed the dangers that, in his view, President Saddam Hussein's government in Iraq posed to the United States and its allies. Bush also highlighted the repressive nature of Hussein's rule. The U.S. president then argued that establishing a democratic, stable, and free government in Iraq "would serve as a dramatic and inspiring example of freedom for other nations in the region," encouraging their governments and populations to implement similar reforms. This, in turn, would bring a new era of peace and economic development. The overthrow of Hussein would, in addition, demonstrate that the international community would not tolerate the existence of governments that supported and encouraged terrorist movements, which the president hoped would persuade those currently guilty of providing such assistance to cease doing so. The removal of external support for terrorism would, he believed, enhance the position of moderate Palestinians, facilitating a lasting settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian dispute. Bush was speaking to a sympathetic audience, which included a number of individuals who had been instrumental in developing the Middle Eastern strategy that he himself was laying out before them.

Primary Source

[. . .]

We meet here during a crucial period in the history of our Nation and of the civilized world. Part of that history was written by others; the rest will be written by us. On a September morning, threats that had gathered for years, in secret and far away, led to murder in our country on a massive scale. As a result, we must look at security in a new way, because our country is a battlefield in the first war of the 21st century.

We learned a lesson: The dangers of our time must be confronted actively and forcefully, before we see them again in our skies and in our cities. And we set a goal: We will not allow the triumph of hatred and violence in the affairs of men.

Our coalition of more than 90 countries is pursuing the networks of terror with every tool of law enforcement and with military power. We have arrested or otherwise dealt with many key commanders of Al Qaida. Across the world, we are hunting down the killers one by one. We are winning. And we're showing them the definition of American justice. And we are opposing the greatest danger in the war on terror, outlaw regimes arming with weapons of mass destruction.

In Iraq, a dictator is building and hiding weapons that could enable him to dominate the Middle East and intimidate the civilized world, and we will not allow it. This same tyrant has close ties to terrorist organizations and could supply them with the terrible means to strike this country, and America will not permit it. The danger posed by Saddam Hussein and his weapons cannot be ignored or wished away. The danger must be confronted. We hope

that the Iraqi regime will meet the demands of the United Nations and disarm, fully and peacefully. If it does not, we are prepared to disarm Iraq by force. Either way, this danger will be removed.

The safety of the American people depends on ending this direct and growing threat. Acting against the danger will also contribute greatly to the long-term safety and stability of our world. The current Iraqi regime has shown the power of tyranny to spread discord and violence in the Middle East. A liberated Iraq can show the power of freedom to transform that vital region, by bringing hope and progress into the lives of millions. America's interests in security and America's belief in liberty both lead in the same direction, to a free and peaceful Iraq.

The first to benefit from a free Iraq would be the Iraqi people themselves. Today they live in scarcity and fear under a dictator who has brought them nothing but war and misery and torture. Their lives and their freedom matter little to Saddam Hussein, but Iraqi lives and freedom matter greatly to us.

Bringing stability and unity to a free Iraq will not be easy. Yet that is no excuse to leave the Iraqi regime's torture chambers and poison labs in operation. Any future the Iraqi people choose for themselves will be better than the nightmare world that Saddam Hussein has chosen for them.

If we must use force, the United States and our coalition stand ready to help the citizens of a liberated Iraq. We will deliver medicine to the sick, and we are now moving into place nearly 3 million emergency rations to feed the hungry. We'll make sure that Iraq's 55,000 food distribution sites, operating under the oil-for-food program, are stocked and open as soon as possible. The United States and Great Britain are providing tens of millions of dollars to the U.N. High Commission on Refugees and to such groups as the World Food Program and UNICEF to provide emergency aid to the Iraqi people.

We will also lead in carrying out the urgent and dangerous work of destroying chemical and biological weapons. We will provide security against those who try to spread chaos or settle scores or threaten the territorial integrity of Iraq. We will seek to protect Iraq's natural resources from sabotage by a dying regime and ensure those resources are used for the benefit of the owners, the Iraqi people.

The United States has no intention of determining the precise form of Iraq's new Government. That choice belongs to the Iraqi people. Yet, we will ensure that one brutal dictator is not replaced by another. All Iraqis must have a voice in the new Government, and all citizens must have their rights protected.

Rebuilding Iraq will require a sustained commitment from many nations, including our own. We will remain in Iraq as long as necessary and not a day more. America has made and kept this kind of commitment before, in the peace that followed a World War. After defeating enemies, we did not leave behind occupying armies; we left constitutions and parliaments. We established an atmosphere of safety, in which responsible, reform-minded local leaders could build lasting institutions of freedom. In societies that once bred fascism and militarism, liberty found a permanent home.

There was a time when many said that the cultures of Japan and Germany were incapable of sustaining democratic values. Well, they were wrong. Some say the same of Iraq today. They are mistaken. The nation of Iraq, with its proud heritage, abundant resources, and skilled and educated people, is fully capable of moving toward democracy and living in freedom.

The world has a clear interest in the spread of democratic values, because stable and free nations do not breed the ideologies of murder. They encourage the peaceful pursuit of a better life. And there are hopeful signs of a desire for freedom in the Middle East. Arab intellectuals have called on Arab governments to address the "freedom gap" so their peoples can fully share in the progress of our times. Leaders in the region speak of a new Arab charter that champions internal reform, greater political participation, economic openness, and free trade. And from Morocco to Bahrain and beyond, nations are taking genuine steps toward political reform. A new regime in Iraq would serve as a dramatic and inspiring example of freedom for other nations in the region.

It is presumptuous and insulting to suggest that a whole region of the world, or the one-fifth of humanity that is Muslim, is somehow untouched by the most basic aspirations of life. Human cultures can be vastly different, yet the human heart desires the same good things everywhere on Earth. In our desire to be safe from brutal and bullying oppression, human beings are the same. In our desire to care for our children and give them a better life, we are the same. For these fundamental reasons, freedom and democracy will always and everywhere have greater appeal than the slogans of hatred and the tactics of terror.

Success in Iraq could also begin a new stage for Middle Eastern peace and set in motion progress towards a truly democratic Palestinian state. The passing of Saddam Hussein's regime will deprive terrorist networks of a wealthy patron that pays for terrorist training and offers rewards to families of suicide bombers. And other regimes will be given a clear warning that support for terror will not be tolerated.

Without this outside support for terrorism, Palestinians who are working for reform and long for democracy will be in a better position to choose new leaders, true leaders who strive for peace, true leaders who faithfully serve the people. A Palestinian state must be a reformed and peaceful state that abandons forever the use of terror.

For its part, the new Government of Israel, as the terror threat is removed and security improves, will be expected to support the creation of a viable Palestinian state and to work as quickly as possible toward a final status agreement. As progress is made toward peace, settlement activity in the occupied territories must end. And the Arab states will be expected to meet their responsibilities to oppose terrorism, to support the emergence of a peaceful and democratic Palestine, and state clearly they will live in peace with Israel.

The United States and other nations are working on a roadmap for peace. We are setting out the necessary conditions for progress toward the goal of two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security. It is the commitment of our Government and my personal commitment to implement the roadmap and to reach that goal. Old patterns of conflict in the Middle East can be broken, if all concerned will let go of bitterness and hatred and violence and get on with the serious work of economic development and political reform and reconciliation. America will seize every opportunity in pursuit of peace. And the end of the present regime in Iraq would create such an opportunity.

In confronting Iraq, the United States is also showing our commitment to effective international institutions. We are a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. We helped to create the Security Council. We believe in the Security Council so much that we want its words to have meaning.

The global threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction cannot be confronted by one nation alone. The world needs today and will need tomorrow international bodies with the authority and the will to stop the spread of terror and chemical and biological and nuclear weapons. A threat to all must be answered by all. High-minded pronouncements against proliferation mean little unless the strongest nations are willing to stand behind them and use force if necessary. After all, the United Nations was created, as Winston Churchill said, to "make sure that the force of right will, in the ultimate issue, be protected by the right of force."

Another resolution is now before the Security Council. If the Council responds to Iraq's defiance with more excuses and delays, if all its authority proves to be empty, the United Nations will be severely weakened as a source of stability and order. If the members rise to this moment, then the Council will fulfill its founding purpose.

I've listened carefully as people and leaders around the world have made known their desire for peace. All of us want peace. The threat to peace does not come from those who seek to enforce the just demands of the civilized world. The threat to peace comes from those who flout those demands. If we have to act, we will act to restrain the violent and defend the cause of peace. And by acting, we will signal to outlaw regimes that in this new century, the boundaries of civilized behavior will be respected.

Protecting those boundaries carries a cost. If war is forced upon us by Iraq's refusal to disarm, we will meet an enemy [Saddam Hussein] who hides his military forces behind civilians, who has terrible weapons, who is capable of any crime. The dangers are real, as our soldiers and sailors, airmen and marines fully understand. Yet, no military has ever been better prepared to meet these challenges.

Members of our Armed Forces also understand why they may be called to fight. They know that retreat before a dictator guarantees even greater sacrifices in the future. They know that America's cause is right and just, liberty for an oppressed people and security for the American people. And I know something about these men and women who wear our uniform: They will complete every mission they are given with skill and honor and courage.

Much is asked of America in this year 2003. The work ahead is demanding. It will be difficult to help freedom take hold in a country that has known three decades of dictatorship, secret police, internal divisions, and war. It will be difficult to cultivate liberty and peace in the Middle East, after so many generations of strife. Yet the security of our Nation and the hope of millions depend on us, and Americans do not turn away from duties because they are hard. We have met great tests in other times, and we will meet the tests of our time.

We go forward with confidence, because we trust in the power of human freedom to change lives and nations. By the resolve and purpose of America and of our friends and allies, we will make this an age of progress and liberty. Free people will set the course of history, and free people will keep the peace of the world.

Source: George W. Bush, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George Bush, 2003,* Book 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2003), 216–220.

113. President George W. Bush, Address to the Nation on Iraq, March 17, 2003

Introduction

With Anglo-American efforts to obtain a United Nations (UN) Security Council mandate for war against Iraq deadlocked, on March 17, 2003, U.S. president George W. Bush announced to the American people his administration's decision to use force against Iraq. Once more he stated that Iraq possessed biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction and was developing a nuclear capability, which made it a threat already to the United States, one that would only grow in the future and that within a few years would be far more menacing. Bush also claimed that Iraq provided sanctuary, funding, and safe haven to terrorist organizations, including Al Qaeda. The UN, Bush rather provocatively claimed, had failed to meet its responsibility to deal with President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, but the United States and its coalition of allies would do so. Bush told Hussein that only if he and his sons left Iraq within 48 hours could war be avoided. Bush appealed to the Iraqi military to abandon Hussein and offer no resistance to invading coalition forces. Bush also warned Iraqi officials against destroying the country's oil industry, "a source of wealth that belongs to the Iraqi people," and to disobey any orders instructing them to utilize weapons of mass destruction against the invaders or their own people. The U.S. president promised the Iraqi people that once Hussein and his followers had been ousted, they themselves would enjoy the benefits of democracy and "set an example

to all the Middle East of a vital and peaceful and self-governing nation." Although Bush claimed that his country had no feasible alternative except war, his administration had clearly sought this conflict despite much international opposition. Major demonstrations in protest took place around the world, although in the United States early polls showed public support for Bush's policies on Iraq peaking at more than 70 percent in the war's early days, and even former critics of the intervention tended to mute their misgivings and rally around their country's armed forces.

Primary Source

My fellow citizens, events in Iraq have now reached the final days of decision. For more than a decade, the United States and other nations have pursued patient and honorable efforts to disarm the Iraqi regime without war. That regime pledged to reveal and destroy all its weapons of mass destruction as a condition for ending the Persian Gulf war in 1991.

Since then, the world has engaged in 12 years of diplomacy. We have passed more than a dozen resolutions in the United Nations Security Council. We have sent hundreds of weapons inspectors to oversee the disarmament of Iraq. Our good faith has not been returned.

The Iraqi regime has used diplomacy as a ploy to gain time and advantage. It has uniformly defied Security Council resolutions demanding full disarmament. Over the years, U.N. weapon inspectors have been threatened by Iraqi officials, electronically bugged, and systematically deceived. Peaceful efforts to disarm the Iraqi regime have failed again and again because we are not dealing with peaceful men.

Intelligence gathered by this and other governments leaves no doubt that the Iraq regime continues to possess and conceal some of the most lethal weapons ever devised. This regime has already used weapons of mass destruction against Iraq's neighbors and against Iraq's people.

The regime has a history of reckless aggression in the Middle East. It has a deep hatred of America and our friends. And it has aided, trained, and harbored terrorists, including operatives of Al Qaida.

The danger is clear: Using chemical, biological or, one day, nuclear weapons obtained with the help of Iraq, the terrorists could fulfill their stated ambitions and kill thousands or hundreds of thousands of innocent people in our country or any other.

The United States and other nations did nothing to deserve or invite this threat. But we will do everything to defeat it. Instead of drifting along toward tragedy, we will set a course toward safety. Before the day of horror can come, before it is too late to act, this danger will be removed.

The United States of America has the sovereign authority to use force in assuring its own national security. That duty falls to me as Commander in Chief, by the oath I have sworn, by the oath I will keep.

Recognizing the threat to our country, the United States Congress voted overwhelmingly last year to support the use of force against Iraq. America tried to work with the United Nations to address this threat because we wanted to resolve the issue peacefully. We believe in the mission of the United Nations. One reason the U.N. was founded after the Second World War was to confront aggressive dictators actively and early, before they can attack the innocent and destroy the peace.

In the case of Iraq, the Security Council did act in the early 1990s. Under Resolutions 678 and 687, both still in effect, the United States and our allies are authorized to use force in ridding Iraq of weapons of mass destruction. This is not a question of authority. It is a question of will.

Last September, I went to the U.N. General Assembly and urged the nations of the world to unite and bring an end to this danger. On November 8th, the Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1441, finding Iraq in material breach of its obligations and vowing serious consequences if Iraq did not fully and immediately disarm.

Today, no nation can possibly claim that Iraq has disarmed, and it will not disarm so long as Saddam Hussein holds power. For the last 4 1/2 months, the United States and our allies have worked within the Security Council to enforce that Council's longstanding demands. Yet, some permanent members of the Security Council have publicly announced they will veto any resolution that compels the disarmament of Iraq. These governments share our assessment of the danger but not our resolve to meet it.

Many nations, however, do have the resolve and fortitude to act against this threat to peace, and a broad coalition is now gathering to enforce the just demands of the world. The United Nations Security Council has not lived up to its responsibilities, so we will rise to ours.

In recent days, some governments in the Middle East have been doing their part. They have delivered public and private messages urging the dictator to leave Iraq, so that disarmament can proceed peacefully. He has thus far refused.

All the decades of deceit and cruelty have now reached an end. Saddam Hussein and his sons must leave Iraq within 48 hours. Their refusal to do so will result in military conflict, commenced at a time of our choosing. For their own safety, all foreign nationals, including journalists and inspectors, should leave Iraq immediately.

Many Iraqis can hear me tonight in a translated radio broadcast, and I have a message for them: If we must begin a military campaign, it will be directed against the lawless men who rule your country and not against you. As our coalition takes away their power, we will deliver the food and medicine you need. We will tear down the apparatus of terror, and we will help you to build a new Iraq that is prosperous and free. In a free Iraq, there will be no more wars of aggression against your neighbors, no more poison factories, no more executions of dissidents, no more torture

chambers and rape rooms. The tyrant will soon be gone. The day of your liberation is near.

It is too late for Saddam Hussein to remain in power. It is not too late for the Iraqi military to act with honor and protect your country by permitting the peaceful entry of coalition forces to eliminate weapons of mass destruction. Our forces will give Iraqi military units clear instructions on actions they can take to avoid being attacked and destroyed. I urge every member of the Iraqi military and intelligence services: If war comes, do not fight for a dying regime that is not worth your own life.

And all Iraqi military and civilian personnel should listen carefully to this warning: In any conflict, your fate will depend on your actions. Do not destroy oil wells, a source of wealth that belongs to the Iraqi people. Do not obey any command to use weapons of mass destruction against anyone, including the Iraqi people. War crimes will be prosecuted. War criminals will be punished. And it will be no defense to say, "I was just following orders."

Should Saddam Hussein choose confrontation, the American people can know that every measure has been taken to avoid war and every measure will be taken to win it. Americans understand the costs of conflict because we have paid them in the past. War has no certainty, except the certainty of sacrifice. Yet, the only way to reduce the harm and duration of war is to apply the full force and might of our military, and we are prepared to do so.

If Saddam Hussein attempts to cling to power, he will remain a deadly foe until the end. In desperation, he and terrorist groups might try to conduct terrorist operations against the American people and our friends. These attacks are not inevitable. They are, however, possible. And this very fact underscores the reason we cannot live under the threat of blackmail. The terrorist threat to America and the world will be diminished the moment that Saddam Hussein is disarmed.

Our Government is on heightened watch against these dangers. Just as we are preparing to ensure victory in Iraq, we are taking further actions to protect our homeland. In recent days, American authorities have expelled from the country certain individuals with ties to Iraqi intelligence services. Among other measures, I have directed additional security of our airports and increased Coast Guard patrols of major seaports. The Department of Homeland Security is working closely with the Nation's Governors to increase armed security at critical facilities across America.

Should enemies strike our country, they would be attempting to shift our attention with panic and weaken our morale with fear. In this, they would fail. No act of theirs can alter the course or shake the resolve of this country. We are a peaceful people. Yet we're not a fragile people, and we will not be intimidated by thugs and killers. If our enemies dare to strike us, they and all who have aided them will face fearful consequences.

We are now acting because the risks of inaction would be far greater. In 1 year, or 5 years, the power of Iraq to inflict harm on all free nations would be multiplied many times over. With these capabilities, Saddam Hussein and his terrorist allies could choose the moment of deadly conflict when they are strongest. We choose to meet that threat now, where it arises, before it can appear suddenly in our skies and cities.

The cause of peace requires all free nations to recognize new and undeniable realities. In the 20th century, some chose to appease murderous dictators, whose threats were allowed to grow into genocide and global war. In this century, when evil men plot chemical, biological, and nuclear terror, a policy of appeasement could bring destruction of a kind never before seen on this Earth.

Terrorists and terror states do not reveal these threats with fair notice, in formal declarations. And responding to such enemies only after they have struck first is not self-defense; it is suicide. The security of the world requires disarming Saddam Hussein now.

As we enforce the just demands of the world, we will also honor the deepest commitments of our country. Unlike Saddam Hussein, we believe the Iraqi people are deserving and capable of human liberty. And when the dictator has departed, they can set an example to all the Middle East of a vital and peaceful and self-governing nation.

The United States, with other countries, will work to advance liberty and peace in that region. Our goal will not be achieved overnight, but it can come over time. The power and appeal of human liberty is felt in every life and every land. And the greatest power of freedom is to overcome hatred and violence and turn the creative gifts of men and women to the pursuits of peace.

That is the future we choose. Free nations have a duty to defend our people by uniting against the violent. And tonight, as we have done before, America and our allies accept that responsibility.

Source: George W. Bush, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George Bush, 2003,* Book 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2003), 277–280.

114. President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan, State of the Nation Speech, Radio Afghanistan, Kabul, Afghanistan, April 8, 2003 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Transitional president Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan, the internationally well-regarded Pashtun tribal aristocrat who headed Afghanistan's government from late 2001 onward, displayed some apprehension that the new American war against Iraq would divert U.S. attention and resources from Afghanistan's continuing problems. In a remarkably frank State of the Union address that he delivered to his people in April 2003, 10 months after he was chosen provisional president, Karzai showed himself very much

aware that while progress had been made, Afghanistan's many difficult issues still remained unresolved. His address celebrated progress that had been made in reconstructing the country's economy, infrastructure, educational, and health care systems as well as in international relations and facilitating the return of refugees but also mentioned some major "shortcomings and flaws." Creation and training of a national army and police force had gone slowly, and these institutions were still inadequate, while many nongovernment militias around the country still possessed arms, and "[t]he rule of the gun has not been wiped out in all parts of the country." Bribery and corruption remained rife in government departments, and officials often expropriated private property. Provincial administrations frequently declined to transfer revenues to the capital in Kabul. Government officials were still selected and promoted largely on the basis of personal connections, and there was little transparency in administration. Three hundred thousand Afghans were still living in camps for displaced persons. Karzai announced that in the coming year he hoped to take "[t]ough measures" to remedy these situations and enforce law and order throughout the country while training young men who would be able to provide the nucleus of new army and police forces. If successful, these initiatives would enable Karzai's government to strengthen its authority over all Afghanistan.

Primary Source

[. . .]

I promised you my compatriots during my speech of congratulations on Nowruz that I would shortly inform you about the activities of the Transitional Islamic State of Afghanistan over the last year and I would tell you what we have done and what we have not done. Now I am keeping my promise by presenting the government's report.

Security and defence

Peace, stability and security:

The conflicts ended generally across the country in the solar year 1381 (2002–2003), and it was because the establishment of the new regime put an end to the reasons for the conflicts. Fighting was eliminated across the country. However, there can be no doubt that occasionally clashes have taken place among some groups and commanders, or the remnants of Taleban and Al-Qa'idah have had clashes with the counter-terrorism coalition in some areas of the country. But generally, the rule and influence of the terrorists of Al-Qa'idah and other monsters are diminishing day by day. It is because the public at large in Afghanistan and the vast sections of the people hate war. They want to live in peace, in security, within their country. They want their fields and gardens to flourish and to shape their lives that have been shattered for 23 years. They are seeking to settle in their houses, villages and cities honourably and respectably.

It is noteworthy that the memories of the sacrifices rendered by our people and countrymen of Afghanistan in their struggle to safeguard security in the country and in securing the country's frontiers and fighting against Al-Qa'idah and other anti-Afghan militant evils. Our people have rendered similar services in history, which could be compared with their struggle against the terrorists and Al-Qa'idah at the present time. All we Afghans are determined that from now on, no one should play with our lives and fate. We would not let them disrupt the peace in our country and force us to leave our country and take refuge in other countries.

We witnessed the convention of the Emergency Loya Jerga last year in the month of Saratan (June–July), comprising Afghans of every class and tribe, including representatives of the refugee Afghans. The discussion lasted for seven days. They carried out the duties assigned to them in an independent, peaceful and brotherly environment. The council concluded with unity and accord.

The convening of the Loya Jerga in the country, after the years of unrest, war and destitution, is a manifestation of the existence of political stability. The government ministries and the institutions that are responsible for safeguarding peace and security have also made progress in the formation of the National Army, the police force, and in security affairs last year. . . .

[. . .]

Law and order

Various aspects of reconstruction work:

Afghanistan needs general reconstruction in the economic, social, political, administrative and cultural fields. Businessmen, investors, governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the United Nations and other international organizations commenced this reconstruction work on a different level last year. But it is impossible to rehabilitate all of the devastation in Afghanistan in one or two years. Thus we should be patient, as we do not have the resources and the opportunities. Every project we undertake is dependent on assistance.

Our most important work in the reconstruction process was that we activated the deadlocked administration in Afghanistan. However it still has flaws and shortcomings. The good point is that the doors of the government departments opened to people across the country. . . .

[. . .]

What's happening in the economy

Economic performance:

Out of the aid given to Afghanistan by donor countries last year, 25.5 billion afghani currency have been given to the UN, 21.6 billion Afghani to international and Afghani NGOs and some has been given to emigrants abroad and international organizations, and only 13.3 billion afghani have been given to the Afghan government. The ordinary budget of Afghanistan for last year was 460 million dollars, which is equal to 20.7 billion new afghani currency. A very small amount of this budget, approximately 60 million dollars have been obtained from state revenues, and the rest of it was dependent on foreign aid. The customs revenues of some provinces have been transferred to the central account, but complete revenues have not reached the capital. However, the state has done some important work in other economic sectors, the important ones of which are the following:

Banking and monetary reforms:

One of the prominent achievements of the Transitional Islamic State of Afghanistan last year was printing new afghani banknotes, including reforms in the banking system. The new afghani banknotes have strong backup and it is evident that this currency is competing with foreign currencies on the market. With the printing of the new afghani banknotes, inflation and a currency crisis was prevented in the country. A single currency unit was established all over the country and our people, who were facing the problem of foreign currencies and different afghani currencies, were freed of these problems. Some problems that still exist in some provinces will be eliminated, God willing, after reforms in the banking system this year.

Commerce:

Last year, Afghanistan's trade at home and abroad was gradually improving. Afghan exports to foreign countries started again. The sanctions that had been imposed on the export of Afghan commodities to foreign markets under the Taleban have been lifted now. Afghan commodities such as rugs and carpets, dried and fresh fruit, herbal remedies, Astrakhan fur hats and other animal skins, different handicrafts, light industry and other products, have made their way to the markets of America, Europe and Asia. The United States of America and the European Union countries have eased their custom duties on Afghan exports and the Indian government has taken a similar step and some Afghan export commodities have been exempted from customs duties.

To develop trade even further, joint chambers of commerce have been set up by Afghan businessmen and some foreign countries such as America, Britain, Iran, India and Japan. Inside and outside the country, Afghans have expressed their interest in setting up trading companies. Last year, 2,602 trade companies and 97 individuals were given business permits.

[. . .]

Preservation of human rights

Preservation of the rights of masses and the rights of women:

The government sent high-ranking government authorities to all of the provinces in the country last year to prevent the injustice, cruelty, and lawlessness caused by gunmen and some other officials in the country's provinces. The delegations observed closely the affairs in every province and its districts and examined the security of the highways. They presented detailed reports to the government. And the council of the ministers removed some of the corrupt people from their posts, based on the reports and they took measures to remove all of the factors that caused trouble to people.

In addition to that, the members of the judiciary and justice departments of the government and the law-enforcement and human rights agencies were sent to examine the conditions of the prisoners and all of the minor and major, visible and hidden, male and female jails in the country. Some of them are still engaged in examining the jails.

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Foreign relations

The country's foreign relations:

Thanks be to God Almighty that after many years of political isolation, Afghanistan once again joined the international community as a solid and respectable member last year and established relations with the countries of the world. At the present time, more than 65 countries and international institutions have political agencies in our country. The political agencies of Afghanistan are active in some countries. Seven embassies and four consulates have been added to the structure of the Foreign Ministry of Afghanistan. During the Year 1381 (solar year 2002–2003), 94 senior delegations and heads of different countries visited Afghanistan. Similarly, senior delegations of the Afghan government made visits to different countries. The national and international prestige of Afghanistan has been regained and the nations of the world respect our country and people today and now the Afghan passport is valued all over the world.

The country's foreign policy is based on mutual respect, noninterference in others' affairs, respecting the stability, territorial

integrity, political sovereignty, national recognition and maintaining friendly relations with all the countries of the world. Afghanistan desires strong and transparent friendly relations with all the countries of the world, particularly the neighbouring countries and the Islamic countries.

We have established friendly relations with many countries of the world for reconstruction, development and bolstering the country's economic, political, social and cultural institutions of the country and for attraction of aid and cooperation and we give great priority to establishment of relations in every sector with our neighbours. We assure all our neighbours that Afghanistan will observe peaceful norms of coexistence and good neighbourliness and would always remain a genuine friend to its neighbours. We expect our neighbours to behave in a similar manner. The Kabul declaration, which was passed at the conference of foreign ministers of the neighbours of Afghanistan in the month of Jadi (December–January) last year, was a positive and effective step towards bolstering friendly relations with our neighbours. We believe that our neighbours will respect the declaration.

Government shortcomings

Dear countrymen,

I am putting the achievements of the Transitional Islamic State of Afghanistan in words very briefly and precisely and making you aware about everything in general. All the ministries and independent departments have prepared their progress reports in detail and will be publishing them in the Annual Publication of Afghanistan, which has resumed its publication after an interval of 10-years pause, to further inform our countrymen. Similarly, the ministers would give their own progress reports to the nation. The report that I presented to you dear countrymen was a report on the work done by government bodies. I should mention that last year the government performance also had shortcomings and flaws. It is my responsibility to inform my countrymen about the shortcomings.

The process of forming the National Army proceeded slowly last year. As you know, the training of the young recruits to the National Army started during the interim administration, but it had not produced results that could meet the expectations of people.

Our work to reform the police system and establish a national police force had many flaws. We could not put together a single skilled and professional police battalion to prevent demonstrations and in the past year two tragic incidents involving harsh police behaviour with regard to students have occurred. One occurred at the Polytechnic institute and the other with students of Kabul University during Ramadan the Islamic month of fasting, which still troubles my soul.

The collection of arms from irresponsible forces has continued in many parts of the count[r]y, but this procedure has not been satisfactory.

The government has not managed to do anything to reform the civil administration! Bribery has continued in all government departments, municipalities and security agencies and several customs institutions with full effect, and the law-enforcement and public rights agencies have failed to stop bribery.

The rule of the gun has not been wiped out in all parts of the country. We witnessed that robbers and thieves used uniforms and security posts and had established checkpoints on the public highways and extorted money from passengers and tradesman. They have caused people trouble and appropriated state revenues. Despite all the many efforts made by the state, still state revenues from across Afghanistan are not being transferred to the capital.

Commissions have been set up to improve the affairs of different sections of the departments and the government institutions, but they have failed to achieve anything.

There has not been any significant progress made within the government when it comes to cadres either. Personal relations still count for more than rules and regulation when selecting cadres, appointing and transferring them. And the assessment of performance at government institutions has been critically weak with respect to government cadres and it still is.

Still some of the persecutors have illegally snatched the shops, flats, residences, and land of a number of our compatriots. Departments of preserving the rights of the masses could not return the properties to their original owners.

Cutting down the woodland continued last year, and effective measures were not taken to prevent this action. Lawlessness, violation of the rules and regulations continued in the provinces and the capital city. And all those unfair activities, harmful to the nation, have marred the process of promoting the governance and dominance of the government departments. A number of NGOs, that work in different walks of life and are supported by donor countries and international organizations, which allows them to render services in the country, have worked on useful projects. But we still have no clear way of and solution for coordinating and improving their performance, and having transparent statistics for the Afghan nation.

Regrettably, for various reasons 300,000 of our destitute compatriots are living a miserable life in displaced persons' camps inside the country, especially in the western and southwestern regions. However, the government and our international coordinators provided them with urgent humanitarian assistance last year,

including food, clothing, fuel and medical services. They still have not yet been returned to their homes.

In conclusion

Dear sisters and brothers, as you know, we had achievements, but also some aspects of our affairs were flawed and defective last year. Despite the difficulties that are hindering us, our vision for the construction of an independent, prosperous, honoured, respected and affluent country is still firm. Tough measures will be taken this year to achieve this target. Our major target is to enforce the law and order situation, peace and stability, and the dominance of the democratic system on a national level. The lack of absolute security and peace has been the factor holding back reconstruction in the country. The government has taken measures to enforce countrywide security and liberate people from evil warlords.

The enforcement of disarmament, demilitarization and the participation of militant personnel in the affairs of society, will be announced this year. Their financial resources, which are over 125 million dollars, are also to be determined. It is planned that before 15 Sowr (5 May) their relevant offices will be ready. From the 15 Sowr (5 May) till the end of Jawza (May), the equipment and their accessories will be ready and the foundation work on the programme would start on the 1st Saratan (22 June). The programme that is supported by Japan and the United Nations will be implemented countrywide in several stages. It will shortly be started in two or three provinces, and arms will be collected by 100,000 armed people, including all of the armed forces and the existing government forces.

The implementation of this programme would play a key role in ensuring the peace process. The course of training the youngsters in the National Army, which will be supported by the United States of America, will be stepped up. Most of the donor countries have expressed complete support in this respect. The proposals on the reform of the police and frontier forces would be implemented with the assistance of Germany according to a decree that was signed this week.

The police training centre with a capacity of 7,000 police personnel has been taken into account, which will gradually provide to capital city and other provinces with professional and experienced forces.

A well equipped radio communications system between the capital city and all of the other provinces will be established this year, which will enable the capital to learn about the events happening in every corner of the country as soon as possible.

The comprehensive modification and equipping of the national security forces are included in the country's foundation programmes this year. Subordinated to the security issue, another of the government's basic priorities is the rehabilitation of the war-ravaged government institutions. The government has received only 30 percent of the pledged assistance last year. It is planned that most of the assistance would be transferred directly to the government this year, and that would be spent on reconstruction in the country with due consent.

The reconstruction of the highways in Kabul will be seriously undertaken this year. Attention to the reconstruction of the irrigation system and the dams, restoring the major irrigation projects and hydropower generation are among our priorities.

The government is to pay particular attention to the special sector for improving the standard of living of the masses, and the provision of employment. The government will remain committed to all of its pledges to attract internal and foreign investments, will provide the opportunity for work and activities across the country for the special investors and internal and foreign capitalists. I am hopeful that those who have obtained commercial and manufacturing license would start their work this year.

By the grace of the Almighty, the abundance of snowfall and rain has reduced the various problems of the farmers and gardeners all over the country. The government will support farmers and market gardeners who practice mechanized agriculture, clear the dams, canals and brooks, campaign against the animal illnesses and the plant pests.

The programme of national unanimity is one of the government's major programmes. This programme was started in five provinces in the country to ensure the rights of every Afghan village in the reconstruction and expansion. I hope that the programme will start in the next three to four months. The point is that within the next three to four years something like 1 million afghanis will be allocated, so that people will be able to propose and implement small reconstruction and expansion programmes based on common consent. For the improvement of the lives of government personnel, the government will reshuffle the civil departments. The first stage of the survey in the country will be completed by the end of this year to obtain the required information and to improve the economic, social and political development in the country.

The ordinary budget of the government this year has been estimated at 24.7 billion afghanis. We are hopeful that 9 billion afghanis will be generated from the internal sources, and the rest, 15.7 billion afghanis, will be transferred from foreign assistance. The government is striving to get the internal revenues transferred to the capital city from across the country this year, so that the money that has been expected from the internal sources will be obtained in full in this way.

Government enterprises are in the worst conditions, and in most of the cases they are a burden on the government. The government will take some effective measures to enhance and reshuffle the system of the enterprises.

The government has appropriated a notable amount for education, to improve the state of education this year.

The government is planning to enhance the ability of the Ministry of Health and other health departments to expand medical services and improve public health and the campaign against the fatal and epidemic diseases, so that in emergencies they will be able to assist our compatriots. The number of clinics will be expanded, and our hospitals will be equipped with machinery and medicines and it has also been planned to set up mobile clinics for nomads. The government, with the assistance of friendly countries especially England, has taken tough measures to prevent poppy cultivation and the production of narcotics, and will implement practical programmes to safeguard the environment.

[. . .]

Source: Hamid Karzai, "State-of-the-Nation Speech," Radio Afghanistan (Dari and Pashto), Kabul, Afghanistan, April 8, 2003.

115. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and General Richard B. Myers, "Stuff Happens," Department of Defense News Briefing, April 11, 2003 [Excerpts]

Introduction

The quick victory in April 2003 of the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq sparked a brief period of near-euphoria among American officials. As American forces entered Baghdad, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld confidently expected the reestablishment of order in Iraq to be swift and relatively unproblematic. In a press conference at the Defense Department's Pentagon headquarters, he jubilantly highlighted photographs of cheering Iraqis waving American flags and welcoming the coalition forces "not as invaders or occupiers, but as liberators." This would, he exulted, convince Arabs that "America is a friend of Arab people." Rumsfeld declared that the process of establishing an interim Iraqi government "chosen by the Iraqi people, not by anyone else, and based on democratic principles" would shortly begin. He clearly expected the transition to be easy and painless. Quizzed by journalists as to whether law and order had broken down in Iraq and whether accounts that widespread "looting" of museums, archives, government offices, and private homes had occurred were symptoms of "anarchy" and "lawlessness," Rumsfeld and General Richard B. Myers, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), minimized the significance of such episodes. In words that soon became notorious, Rumsfeld proclaimed: "Stuff happens! . . . . And it's untidy, and freedom's untidy, and free people are free to make mistakes and commit crimes and do bad things. They're also free to live their lives and do wonderful things, and that's what's going to happen here." Rumsfeld's optimism soon seemed misplaced and shortsighted. The subsequent protracted inability of either the occupying forces or the coalition-sponsored Iraqi government to restore order and stability in the country and reconcile competing political forces there was a major factor behind the abrasive Rumsfeld's resignation in December 2006 as secretary of defense.

Primary Source

Rumsfeld: . . . The scenes we've witnessed in Baghdad and other free Iraqi cities belie the widespread early commentary suggesting that Iraqis were ambivalent or even opposed to the coalition's arrival in their country. I think it's fair to say that they were not ambivalent or opposed, but they were understandably frightened of the regime of Saddam Hussein and the retaliation or retribution that they could have suffered. And now, as their fear of the former Iraqi dictator lessens, the true sentiments of a large majority, I believe, of the Iraqi people are surfacing. And I think it's increasingly clear that most welcome coalition forces and see them not as invaders or occupiers, but as liberators.

The images of thousands of cheering Iraqis, celebrating and embracing coalition forces, are being broadcast throughout the world, including the Arab world. And possibly for the first time, Arab people are seeing the people of Iraq waving American flags and thanking the men and women in uniform for risking their lives to free them from tyranny. I think it's important that that message be seen, for America is a friend of Arab people. And now, finally, Arab people are hearing the same message, not from U.S. officials, but from their fellow Arabs, the liberated people of Iraq.

Meanwhile, we're working to expand the flow of free information to the Iraqi people. We're moving a ground station to Baghdad to expand the coverage area for radio and television broadcasts. We've begun broadcasting a one-hour news program and are moving to restore Iraqi radio and television networks. We're doing this because access to free information is critical to building a free society.

At the same time, we're working with free Iraqis, those in liberated areas, and those who have returned from abroad, to establish—begin the process of establishing—an interim authority which will help pave the way for a new Iraqi government, a government that will be chosen by the Iraqi people, not by anyone else, and based

on democratic principles and peaceful coexistence with its neighbors and with the world. The makeup of this interim authority and the government that emerges from it will be decided by the free Iraqi people.

In areas where the war is winding down, coalition forces are bringing humanitarian aid and are working with a number of international organizations in other countries to deliver food, water, medicine and other necessities.

[. . .]

Q: Mr. Secretary, you spoke of the television pictures that went around the world earlier of Iraqis welcoming U.S. forces with open arms. But now television pictures are showing looting and other signs of lawlessness. Are you, sir, concerned that what's being reported from the region as anarchy in Baghdad and other cities might wash away the goodwill the United States has built? And, are U.S. troops capable of or inclined to be police forces in Iraq?

Rumsfeld: Well, I think the way to think about that is that if you go from a repressive regime that has—it's a police state, where people are murdered and imprisoned by the tens of thousands—and then you go to something other than that—a liberated Iraq—that you go through a transition period. And in every country, in my adult lifetime, that's had the wonderful opportunity to do that, to move from a repressed dictatorial regime to something that's freer, we've seen in that transition period there is untidiness, and there's no question but that that's not anyone's choice.

On the other hand, if you think of those pictures, very often the pictures are pictures of people going into the symbols of the regime—into the palaces, into the boats, and into the Ba'ath Party headquarters, and into the places that have been part of that repression. And, while no one condones looting, on the other hand, one can understand the pent-up feelings that may result from decades of repression and people who have had members of their family killed by that regime, for them to be taking their feelings out on that regime.

With respect to the second part of your question, we do feel an obligation to assist in providing security, and the coalition forces are doing that. They're patrolling in various cities. Where they see looting, they're stopping it, and they will be doing so. The second step, of course, is to not do that on a permanent basis but, rather, to find Iraqis who can assist in providing police support in those cities and various types of stabilizing and security assistance, and we're in the process of doing that.

Q: How quickly do you hope to do that? Isn't that a pressing problem?

Rumsfeld: Wait. Wait. But in answer to your—direct answer to your question—are we concerned that this would offset it, the feeling of liberation—suggests that, "Gee, maybe they were better off repressed." And I don't think there's anyone in any of those pictures, or any human being who's not free, who wouldn't prefer to be free, and recognize that you pass through a transition period like this and accept it as part of the price of getting from a repressed regime to freedom.

[. . .]

Rumsfeld: Let me say one other thing. The images you are seeing on television you are seeing over, and over, and over, and it's the same picture of some person walking out of some building with a vase, and you see it 20 times, and you think, "My goodness, were there that many vases?" [Laughter.] "Is it possible that there were that many vases in the whole country?"

Q: Do you think that the words "anarchy" and "lawlessness" are ill-chosen—

Rumsfeld: Absolutely. I picked up a newspaper today and I couldn't believe it. I read eight headlines that talked about chaos, violence, unrest. And it just was Henny Penny—"The sky is falling." I've never seen anything like it! And here is a country that's being liberated, here are people who are going from being repressed and held under the thumb of a vicious dictator, and they're free. And all this newspaper could do, with eight or 10 headlines, they showed a man bleeding, a civilian, who they claimed we had shot—one thing after another. It's just unbelievable how people can take that away from what is happening in that country!

Do I think those words are unrepresentative? Yes.

Q: Mr. Secretary, could I follow that up?

[. . .]

Q: I think the question is, if you—if a foreign military force came into your neighborhood and did away with the police, and left you at the mercy of criminals, how long would you feel liberated?

Rumsfeld: Well, that's a fair question. First of all, the foreign military force came into their neighborhood and did not do away with any police. There may have been some police who fled, because the people didn't like them, and because they'd been doing things to the people in the local community that the people wanted to have a word with them about. But we haven't gone in and done away with any police. In fact, we're looking for police in those villages and towns who can, in fact, assist in providing order, to the extent there are people who can do it in a manner that's consistent with our values.

[. . .]

Q: Given how predictable the lack of law and order was, as you said, from past conflicts, was there part of General Franks' plan to deal with it? And—

Rumsfeld: Of course.

Q: Well, what is it?

Rumsfeld: This is fascinating. This is just fascinating. From the very beginning, we were convinced that we would succeed, and that means that that regime would end. And we were convinced that as we went from the end of that regime to something other than that regime, there would be a period of transition. And, you cannot do everything instantaneously; it's never been done, everything instantaneously. We did, however, recognize that there was at least a chance of catastrophic success, if you will, to reverse the phrase, that you could in a given place or places have a victory that occurred well before reasonable people might have expected it, and that we needed to be ready for that; we needed to be ready with medicine, with food, with water. And, we have been.

And, you say, "Well, what was it in the plan?" The plan is a complex set of conclusions or ideas that then have a whole series of alternative excursions that one can do, depending on what happens. And, they have been doing that as they've been going along. And, they've been doing a darn good job.

Q: Yes, but Mr. Secretary, I'm asking about what plan was there to restore law and order?

Rumsfeld: Well, let's just take a city. Take the port city, Umm Qasr—what the plan was. Well, the British went in, they built a pipeline bringing water in from Kuwait; they cleared the mine of ports [*sic*]; they brought ships in with food; they've been providing security. In fact, they've done such a lousy job, that the city has gone from 15,000 to 40,000. Now think of that. Why would people vote with their feet and go into this place that's so bad? The reason they're going in is because there's food, there's water, there's medicine and there's jobs. That's why. The British have done a fantastic job. They've done an excellent job.

And, does that mean you couldn't go in there and take a television camera or get a still photographer and take a picture of something that was imperfect, untidy? I could do that in any city in America. Think what's happened in our cities when we've had riots, and problems, and looting. Stuff happens! But in terms of what's going on in that country, it is a fundamental misunderstanding to see those images over, and over, and over again of some boy walking out with a vase and say, "Oh, my goodness, you didn't have a plan." That's nonsense. They know what they're doing, and they're doing a terrific job. And it's untidy, and freedom's untidy, and free people are free to make mistakes and commit crimes and do bad things. They're also free to live their lives and do wonderful things, and that's what's going to happen here.

[. . .]

Q: There's some additional specificity here. While you have just expressed yet again your dismay at the international news media, in fact, the reporting does factually show there are some certain number of Iraqi citizens that have spoken on-camera quite directly about their own concerns about the safety and security in Baghdad and that situation. There have also been absolutely verified reports that it is not just regime targets but indeed hospitals, banks, other facilities essential to society. The ICRC has been on TV today saying that hospitals are being looted, not regime targets you're speaking of, and that they can't even get there to resupply these essential hospitals.

Now, my question is, General Brooks said this morning that the military—U.S. military—did not want to reconstruct the Iraqi police force in Baghdad because the feeling of the U.S. military is that that the Iraqi police force has been operating against the U.S. military. He didn't feel that was a secure solution. So with some specificity, what type of Iraqi force can you bring to bear in Baghdad to have Iraqis help restore security? And, what types of specific tasks are you now going to assign the U.S. military to do to help restore the situation, which the people of Baghdad appear to be concerned about?

[. . .]

Rumsfeld: Well, hospitals. No, let's go back to what you said about people.

You could take a camera and a microphone, and stick it in front of a thousand people in Iraq today, and you could find someone saying every single thing you've said and every single thing I've said. You're going to find it all across the spectrum. You know, it's the facts on the ground where a person is that determines how they feel about it. And, there are some very dangerous places in that country and some very difficult situations.

And, there is no question but there is a hospital that was looted. There also is this fact. The Saddam Hussein regime and the Ba'ath Party put their headquarters in hospitals all over that country. They have been doing it systematically. Have we been complaining about that? Have we been photographing that? Have we been bemoaning that? No! Why? Because there wasn't a free press. You couldn't get in to do it; you'd get thrown out. You'd get thrown in jail if you were an Iraqi and you tried to do it.

A hundred and twenty-three schools were Ba'ath Party headquarters. Is that a good thing to do to a school? Is that a good thing to do to a hospital? No. But was there any complaint about it? No, there was no complaint. Is it true that a hospital was looted? Yes. Is that unfortunate? Yes. Do we have medicines and medical supplies coming in behind to help the people in those situations? You bet we do.

Q: But I guess what I'm not hearing here is, either one of you gentlemen, what tasks, with some specificity if you can, what U.S. military forces in Baghdad will now be doing to help calm the situation, or do you just—

Rumsfeld: They're already doing it. They're already going to hospitals that are being looted and stopping it. If you look carefully, you'll see images of people being arrested for looting, and they're walking out with those little white things on their wrists and said "Don't do that." And, they take them out of there and they tell them to go someplace else. And, that's happening all over the place.

[. . .]

Rumsfeld: Our folks are operating to the extent they can in Baghdad in creating a presence and dissuading people from looting. And, for suddenly the biggest problem in the world to be looting is really notable.

[. . .]

Q: If I may, Secretary Rumsfeld—Terry Call from the [inaudible word] Newspaper Group—let me ask a question that is relevant to your duties as Secretary of Defense, of—and General Myers, as the chairman, for a very successful military operation. And, that relevant question is, could both of you address how consistent with your optimistic and most hopeful results has the military operation been to date? And correspondingly, do you and General Myers have the same confidence, in a straightforward way, that the rebuilding of Iraq as a successful society, with American assistance, will be consistent, as you've tried to describe to the group here? Are we—[off mike]—militarily, sir, as you expect in six months we may be regarding the civil affairs matters?

[Pause.]

Rumsfeld: I had a list, a long list, of three or four, five, six pages of things that could go wrong, because I tend to be conservative and cautious. And I looked it over this morning, and a number, a large number, haven't happened bad.

[. . .]

Some of them are still open—that could still go bad. There's no question about that. There's still some tough stuff ahead, and—but one has to say that the speed that was used and the care that was used in the targeting, and the tactical surprise that was achieved by starting the ground war before the air war, undoubtedly contributed to the fact that a number of those things didn't happen bad. The oil wells weren't all blown up, and there's not a major humanitarian crisis, despite the fact that someone's looting someplace. There were not large refugee numbers. There were not large internally displaced people numbers. So we feel good about that.

The task we've got ahead of us now is an awkward one, because you have to go from a transition—from a repressed regime to an unrepressed regime that is free to do good things and also do bad things, and we're going to see both. And, we expect that, and we also expect people to report both. That's fine.

But as we go through this, I feel that we've got a group of wonderful people who have thought this through, that are engaged in the process, that have done the planning that will see that the kinds of food, and medicine, and water, and assistance that are needed will happen. Will it be perfect? No. Will it be bumpy? Sure. How do you go from—take a—look at every other country that's done this. Look at East Germany, and Romania, and the Soviet Union, pieces of that—it isn't an easy thing to do. And, we can't do it for them; the Iraqi people are going to have to do this, in the last analysis. We can help, and we want to create an environment that is as secure as possible, and that is as stable as possible, so that they can find their sea legs, if you will, and get themselves on a path to the future.

[. . .]

Q: Mr. Secretary, why don't you just update us a little bit on what progress you're making, if any, on some of the unfinished missions you outlined the other day, specifically accounting for senior regime leadership, such as the ones on these playing cards that were distributed today, the search for weapons of mass destruction, and what about the American prisoners of war? Can you tell us you're making any progress on any of those three fronts?

Rumsfeld: I think, I hope when I spoke those words that I prefaced it by saying the first task is to prevail in this conflict and to stop the forces of Saddam Hussein in the areas that they continue to operate in, and to reduce the violence. That is the principal assignment. And, then to point out how much work was still ahead of us, I listed all of these six, eight, 10 things that are on our priority list. They will, of necessity, follow along behind, although, as I said, when there happens to be a weapon of mass destruction suspect site in an area that we occupy, and if people have time, they'll look at it. And, then they'll send things out to be examined and looked at. We clearly have people dedicated to trying to find the prisoners of war, ours and others from the '91 war. And as we are successful in any of those things, we'll report them. Undoubtedly, there will be embedded reporters there when they happen and will report them.

But I don't have anything particular to note, except that there are documentations that have been retrieved and they are being looked at. We are looking for people. We continue to look for people who can help us find the people we want to find, and people who can help us find the weapon sites of interest and people who can help us find records, for example, of Ba'ath Party members and the like. But I don't have anything of note to report.

[. . .]

Q: Sir, I had a follow-up on the weapons of mass destruction issue. We keep hearing "results are pending, results are pending" of these early finds. What can—

Rumsfeld: Of which one of this—

Q: Well, the finding weapons of mass destruction. Here's my question: What can you guarantee the U.S. public and a skeptical world that U.S. soldiers will eventually find, without any shadow of a doubt in your mind, by way of raw agents, weapons facilities? And how long should they wait before they start making conclusions that maybe the U.S. didn't have the evidence in the first place?

[. . .]

Rumsfeld: You said how long should they wait, how should they—before they lose—I've got a lot of confidence in the American people. . . .

Secretary Powell presented a presentation to the United Nations and the world. He laid out intelligence community estimates from the Central Intelligence Agency, and there is not a doubt but that we will, over a period of time, find people who can tell us where to go look for those things. We are not going to find them, in my view, just as I never believed the inspectors would, by running around seeing if they can open a door and surprise somebody and find something, because these people have learned that they can live in an inspection environment—the Iraqis did; they functioned in that environment, they designed their workplaces to do that. Things were mobile, things were underground, things were in tunnels, things were hidden, things were dispersed. Now, are we going to find that? No. It's a big country. What we're going to do is we're going to find the people who will tell us that, and we're going to find ways to encourage them to tell us that.

[. . .]

Source: "DoD News Briefing—Secretary Rumsfeld and Gen. Myers," United States Department of Defense, http://www.defense.gov/Transcripts/Transcript.aspx?TranscriptID=2367.

116. Summary of Letter Purportedly Sent by Iran to the U.S. Government, Spring 2003

Introduction

The administration of U.S. president George W. Bush was hostile to Iran. In his January 2002 State of the Union speech, Bush went so far as to proclaim Iran part of an "axis of evil" of rogue states, its other members being North Korea and Iraq, that sponsored terrorism, sought to develop weapons of mass destruction, and had the potential to destabilize the peace of the world. As U.S. pressure on Iran to renounce plans to develop nuclear weapons and refrain from assisting Shiite insurgents with Iraq intensified during 2006 and 2007, old rumors that Iranian policy had not always been so decidedly intransigent as American officials suggested resurfaced. Several former U.S. diplomats claimed that in the spring of 2003 Iran made overtures to the United States through Mohammad Javad Zarif, Iranian ambassador to the United Nations (UN) in New York. In late April or early May 2003 the Swiss ambassador to Tehran, Tim Guldimann, then allegedly handed American officials in Washington a letter making concrete proposals for the improvement of relations. Allegedly, this letter reached Guldimann through Sadegh Kharazi, Iranian ambassador to France and the nephew of Kamal Kharazi, Iran's foreign minister. Reports further suggested that it had the blessing of all major Iranian leaders, including Ayatollah Ali Khameini, the regime's supreme leader. Alarm at the swift American overthrow of Saddam Hussein and military conquest of Iraq and the apprehensions that Iran might be next were believed to be major reasons impelling Iranian officials to make these overtures to the United States. American recipients in the Bush administration, however, reportedly rejected the proposals and even complained to the Swiss government that those diplomats who had forwarded it to Washington had exceeded their authority. In late 2006 the Western media reproduced what purported to be the gist of these proposals, a memorandum that may have originally been attached to a cover letter. The document suggested that Iran and the United States open a dialogue based on "mutual respect." Iranian objectives in this dialogue would include the restoration of normal diplomatic relations with the United States, the ending of American and international sanctions on Iran, the establishment of a democratic government in Iraq that would accept Iranian interests in that nation and claims for compensation, access to advanced technology for peaceful purposes, recognition of Iranian regional security interests, and the ending of foreign support for the anti-Iranian People's Mujahedin of Iran terrorist group, which sought to overthrow the existing Iranian government. In return Iran would renounce all efforts to develop weapons of mass destruction; act decisively against terrorists, especially Al Qaeda, within its borders; support Iraq's political stabilization under a nonreligious government; and acquiesce in the Arab-Israeli peace process while ending its support both for

Palestinian opposition groups committed to violent methods and for radical anti-Israeli Hezbollah guerrillas in Lebanon. The memorandum suggested a schedule of steps and stages in which this program might be achieved. Although over the next three years the Bush administration moved to normalize relations with Libya, a longtime Middle Eastern opponent of the United States that had for many years supported terrorist organizations and operations, including some that targeted Americans, the administration was less accommodating toward Iran. Critics later charged that in light of the major problems and tensions that by 2006 had soured relations between Iran and the United States to the point that they were almost unworkable, the Iranian initiative of 2003 represented a major lost opportunity to reach a workable understanding with a former enemy.

Primary Source

Iran has communicated to the US its readiness to open direct talks about its nuclear programme as a first step towards tackling other issues, such as terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but US officials say the Bush administration is keeping the door closed.

Iranian aims:

(The US accepts a dialogue **"in mutual respect"** and agrees that Iran puts the following aims on the agenda)

- **Halt in US hostile behavior and rectification of status of Iran in the US:** (interference in internal or external relations, "axis of evil", terrorism list.)
- Abolishment of all sanctions: commercial sanctions, frozen assets, judgments (FSIA), impediments in international trade and financial institutions
- Iraq: democratic and fully representative government in Iraq, support of Iranian claims for Iraqi reparations, respect for Iranian national interests in Iraq and religious links to Najaf/Karbal.
- **Full access to peaceful nuclear technology, biotechnology and chemical technology**
- Recognition of **Iran's legitimate security interests in the region** with according defense capacity.
- Terrorism: pursuit of anti-Iranian terrorists, above all MKO and support for repatriation of their members in Iraq, decisive action against anti Iranian terrorists, above all MKO and affiliated organizations in the US

US aims: (Iran accepts a dialogue "**in mutual respect**" and agrees that the US puts the following aims on the agenda)

1. **WMD:** full transparency for security that there are no Iranian endeavors to develop or possess WMD, full cooperation with IAEA based on Iranian adoption of all relevant instruments (93+2 and all further IAEA protocols)
2. **Terrorism:** decisive action against any terrorists (above all Al Qaida) on Iranian territory, full cooperation and exchange of all relevant information.
3. **Iraq:** coordination of Iranian influence for activity supporting political stabilization and the establishment of democratic institutions and a non-religious government.
4. **Middle East:**
   1) stop of any material support to Palestinian opposition groups (Hamas, Jihad etc.) from Iranian territory, pressure on these organizations to stop violent action against civilians within borders of 1967.
   2) action on Hizbollah to become a mere political organization within Lebanon
   3) acceptance of the Arab League Beirut declaration (Saudi initiative, two-states-approach)

Steps:

I. Communication of mutual agreement on the following procedure
II. Mutual simultaneous statements "We have always been ready for direct and authoritative talks with the US/with Iran in good faith and with the aim of discussing—in mutual respect—our common interests and our mutual concerns based on merits and objective realities, but we have always made it clear that, such talks can only be held, if genuine progress for a solution of our own concerns can be achieved."
III. A first direct meeting on the appropriate level (for instance in Paris) will be held with the previously agreed aims
   a. of a **decision on the first mutual steps**
      - **Iraq:** establishment of a common group, active Iranian support for Iraq stabilization, US-commitment to actively support Iranian reparation claims within the discussions on Iraq foreign debts.
      - **Terorrism:** US-commitment to disarm and remove MKO from Iraq and take action in accordance with SCR1373 against its leadership, Iranian commitment for enhanced action against Al Qaida members in Iran, agreement on cooperation and information exchange
      - Iranian general statement "to support a peaceful solution in the Middle East involving the parties concerned"
      - US general statement that "Iran did not belong to 'the axis of evil'"
      - US-acceptance to halt its impediments against Iran in international financial and trade institutions
   b. of the establishment **of the parallel working groups** on disarmament, regional security and economic cooperation. Their **aim is an agreement on three**

parallel road maps, for the discussions of these working groups, each side accepts that the other side's aims (see above) are put on the agenda:

1) **Disarmament:** road map, which combines the mutual aims of, on the one side, full transparency by international commitments and guarantees to abstain from WMD with, on the other side, full access to western technology (in the three areas),
2) **Terrorism and regional security:** road map for above mentioned aims on the Middle east and terrorism
3) **Economic cooperation:** road map for the abolishment of the sanctions, rescinding of judgments, and un-freezing of assets

c. of agreement on a time-table for implementation
d. and of **a public statement after this first meeting on the achieved agreements**

Source: "Purported Iranian Letter of 2003 Proposing Cooperation with USA," MidEast Web, http://www.mideastweb.org/iranian_letter_of_2003.htm.

117. President George W. Bush, "Major Combat Operations in Iraq Have Ended," Address to the Nation on Iraq from USS *Abraham Lincoln*, May 1, 2003 [Excerpt]

Introduction

On March 20, 2003, the invasion of Iraq by allied forces from a "coalition of the willing" led by the United States began. Six weeks later, an ebullient U.S. president George W. Bush was in the copilot's seat when a S-3B Viking plane landed on the deck of the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier USS *Abraham Lincoln,* then cruising off the California coast. Speaking under a huge banner that declared "Mission Accomplished," words that would later come back to haunt him, the euphoric president declared that "Major combat operations in Iraq have ended." Bush exulted in well-publicized incidents, quickly broadcast around the world, in which Iraqis had welcomed allied forces with celebrations and toppled massive statues of former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. The American military, he proclaimed, radiated "strength and kindness and good will" and were "the best of our country." Bush happily declared that the nature of war had changed and that "new tactics and precision weapons" made it possible "to free a nation" from "a dangerous and aggressive regime" and do so "without directing violence against civilians." He announced that coalition forces would remain in Iraq until order had been restored and the "transition from dictatorship to democracy" had been accomplished but would then leave. Victory in Iraq was, the triumphant president stated, just one success in an ongoing war on terror that had not yet been completed but nonetheless represented the "turning of the tide" in that conflict. He told his audience of servicemen and women that after a battle, American troops "want nothing more than to return home." As his presidency ended several years later, with more American military personnel dead in Iraq since the supposed ending of major hostilities than before that date, prospects for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from that country had come to seem decidedly elusive.

Primary Source

Thank you all very much. Admiral Kelly, Captain Card, officers and sailors of the U.S.S. *Abraham Lincoln,* my fellow Americans: Major combat operations in Iraq have ended. In the battle of Iraq, the United States and our allies have prevailed. And now our coalition is engaged in securing and reconstructing that country.

In this battle, we have fought for the cause of liberty and for the peace of the world. Our Nation and our coalition are proud of this accomplishment; yet it is you, the members of the United States military, who achieved it. Your courage, your willingness to face danger for your country and for each other, made this day possible. Because of you, our Nation is more secure. Because of you, the tyrant [Saddam Hussein] has fallen, and Iraq is free.

Operation Iraqi Freedom was carried out with a combination of precision and speed and boldness the enemy did not expect and the world had not seen before. From distant bases or ships at sea, we sent planes and missiles that could destroy an enemy division or strike a single bunker. Marines and soldiers charged to Baghdad across 350 miles of hostile ground, in one of the swiftest advances of heavy arms in history. You have shown the world the skill and the might of the American Armed Forces.

This Nation thanks all the members of our coalition who joined in a noble cause. We thank the Armed Forces of the United Kingdom, Australia, and Poland, who shared in the hardships of war. We thank all the citizens of Iraq who welcomed our troops and joined in the liberation of their own country. And tonight I have a special word for Secretary Rumsfeld [Donald H. Rumsfeld] for General Franks [Tommy R. Franks] and for all the men and women who wear the uniform of the United States: America is grateful for a job well done.

The character of our military through history—the daring of Normandy, the fierce courage of Iwo Jima, the decency and idealism that turned enemies into allies—is fully present in this generation. When Iraqi civilians looked into the faces of our service men and women, they saw strength and kindness and good will. When I look at the members of the United States military, I see the best of our country, and I'm honored to be your Commander in Chief.

In the images of fallen statues, we have witnessed the arrival of a new era. For a hundred years of war, culminating in the nuclear age, military technology was designed and deployed to

inflict casualties on an ever-growing scale. In defeating Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, Allied forces destroyed entire cities, while enemy leaders who started the conflict were safe until the final days. Military power was used to end a regime by breaking a nation.

Today, we have the greater power to free a nation by breaking a dangerous and aggressive regime. With new tactics and precision weapons, we can achieve military objectives without directing violence against civilians. No device of man can remove the tragedy from war; yet it is a great advance when the guilty have far more to fear from war than the innocent.

In the images of celebrating Iraqis, we have also seen the ageless appeal of human freedom. Decades of lies and intimidation could not make the Iraqi people love their oppressors or desire their own enslavement. Men and women in every culture need liberty like they need food and water and air. Everywhere that freedom arrives, humanity rejoices, and everywhere that freedom stirs, let tyrants fear.

We have difficult work to do in Iraq. We're bringing order to parts of that country that remain dangerous. We're pursuing and finding leaders of the old regime, who will be held to account for their crimes. We've begun the search for hidden chemical and biological weapons and already know of hundreds of sites that will be investigated. We're helping to rebuild Iraq, where the dictator [Saddam Hussein] built palaces for himself instead of hospitals and schools. And we will stand with the new leaders of Iraq as they establish a Government of, by, and for the Iraqi people.

The transition from dictatorship to democracy will take time, but it is worth every effort. Our coalition will stay until our work is done. And then we will leave, and we will leave behind a free Iraq.

The battle of Iraq is one victory in a war on terror that began on September the 11th, 2001, and still goes on. That terrible morning, 19 evil men, the shock troops of a hateful ideology, gave America and the civilized world a glimpse of their ambitions. They imagined, in the words of one terrorist, that September the 11th would be the "beginning of the end of America." By seeking to turn our cities into killing fields, terrorists and their allies believed that they could destroy this Nation's resolve and force our retreat from the world. They have failed.

In the battle of Afghanistan, we destroyed the Taliban, many terrorists, and the camps where they trained. We continue to help the Afghan people lay roads, restore hospitals, and educate all of their children. Yet we also have dangerous work to complete. As I speak, a Special Operations task force, led by the 82d Airborne, is on the trail of the terrorists and those who seek to undermine the free Government of Afghanistan. America and our coalition will finish what we have begun.

From Pakistan to the Philippines to the Horn of Africa, we are hunting down Al Qaida killers. Nineteen months ago, I pledged that the terrorists would not escape the patient justice of the United States. And as of tonight, nearly one-half of Al Qaida's senior operatives have been captured or killed.

The liberation of Iraq is a crucial advance in the campaign against terror. We've removed an ally of Al Qaida and cut off a source of terrorist funding. And this much is certain: No terrorist network will gain weapons of mass destruction from the Iraqi regime, because the regime is no more.

In these 19 months that changed the world, our actions have been focused and deliberate and proportionate to the offense. We have not forgotten the victims of September the 11th—the last phone calls, the cold murder of children, the searches in the rubble. With those attacks, the terrorists and their supporters declared war on the United States, and war is what they got.

Our war against terror is proceeding according to the principles that I have made clear to all: Any person involved in committing or planning terrorist attacks against the American people becomes an enemy of this country and a target of American justice; any person, organization, or government that supports, protects, or harbors terrorists is complicit in the murder of the innocent and equally guilty of terrorist crimes; any outlaw regime that has ties to terrorist groups and seeks or possesses weapons of mass destruction is a grave danger to the civilized world and will be confronted; and anyone in the world, including the Arab world, who works and sacrifices for freedom has a loyal friend in the United States of America.

Our commitment to liberty is America's tradition, declared at our founding, affirmed in Franklin Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, asserted in the Truman Doctrine and in Ronald Reagan's challenge to an evil empire. We are committed to freedom in Afghanistan, in Iraq, and in a peaceful Palestine. The advance of freedom is the surest strategy to undermine the appeal of terror in the world. Where freedom takes hold, hatred gives way to hope. When freedom takes hold, men and women turn to the peaceful pursuit of a better life. American values and American interests lead in the same direction: We stand for human liberty.

The United States upholds these principles of security and freedom in many ways, with all the tools of diplomacy, law enforcement, intelligence, and finance. We're working with a broad coalition of nations that understand the threat and our shared responsibility to meet it. The use of force has been and remains our last resort. Yet all can know, friend and foe alike, that our Nation has a mission: We will answer threats to our security, and we will defend the peace.

Our mission continues. Al Qaida is wounded, not destroyed. The scattered cells of the terrorist network still operate in many nations, and we know from daily intelligence that they continue to plot against free people. The proliferation of deadly weapons remains a serious danger. The enemies of freedom are not idle, and neither are we. Our Government has taken unprecedented measures to defend the homeland, and we will continue to hunt down the enemy before he can strike.

The war on terror is not over, yet it is not endless. We do not know the day of final victory, but we have seen the turning of the tide. No act of the terrorists will change our purpose or weaken

our resolve or alter their fate. Their cause is lost. Free nations will press on to victory.

[. . .]

Source: George W. Bush, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George Bush, 2003,* Book 1 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2003), 410–413.

118. United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1483, 1490, 1500, 1511, May 22–October 16, 2003

Introduction

With the 2003 Iraq War officially declared to have ended, the United Nations (UN) sought to reaffirm its authority over Iraq and provide for that country's political and economic reconstruction and its reintegration into the international community. The UN finally lifted nonmilitary sanctions on Iraq. In addition, the UN recognized the United States and Great Britain, the key nations in the military coalition that had defeated Iraq, as "Occupying Powers," jointly termed "the Authority," and urged them to work "towards the restoration of conditions of security and stability and the creation of conditions in which the Iraqi people can freely determine their own future." All parties involved were urged to respect the Geneva Conventions regarding the treatment of prisoners of war and civilian populations in occupied territories. The UN secretary-general was urged to appoint a special representative for Iraq who would direct and coordinate UN activities and agencies in that country, with the objective of assisting the people of Iraq by providing humanitarian assistance, facilitating the restoration and establishment of effective governmental and legal institutions and reforms, encouraging economic reconstruction, and protecting human rights. An interim Iraqi administration was to be established as soon as possible as a transitional step on the road to the establishment of a representative government that would take over the responsibilities of the Authority. A Development Fund for Iraq was also to be established, and all monies remaining in escrow from the Oil-for-Food Program would be transferred to this fund. In July 2003 Security Council Resolution 1490 disbanded the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) and ended the 15-kilometer demilitarized zone separating Kuwait and Iraq. In August 2003 Resolution 1500 welcomed the establishment of "the broadly representative Governing Council of Iraq" as an important transitional step toward full Iraqi self-government and established the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq. The more comprehensive Resolution 1511, cosponsored by the United States, Great Britain, Spain, and Cameroon, four of the nations that had been members of the coalition that fought the 2003 war, offered a more extensive roadmap for the restoration of civilian government in Iraq. This resolution was presented in the aftermath of several terrorist attacks within Iraq since August 2003 against such targets as the Jordanian and Turkish embassies in Baghdad, the Imam Ali Mosque in Najaf, and the UN Mission in Baghdad. In the latter truck bombing, 22 people, including the popular UN envoy Sergio Vieira de Mello, had died, and the hold of the occupying powers on Iraq was already beginning to seem tenuous. Resolution 1511 welcomed the decision of Iraq's new Governing Council to take speedy steps to draft a new constitution and recognized that body as the interim government of Iraq. The Authority was directed to return responsibility for Iraq's government to the Iraqi people "as soon as practicable." The Governing Council was invited to formulate a timetable and program to draft a new Iraqi constitution and hold national democratic elections no later than mid-December 2003. The UN requested all member states to provide Iraq with further humanitarian assistance. The resolution promised the good offices of the UN in promoting "national dialogue and consensus-building" in Iraq. The resolution also authorized the creation of a multinational security force to help maintain order in Iraq until that country's own police and security forces were trained and equipped to do so themselves. All UN member states were directed to prevent the entry of terrorist operatives or armaments into Iraq. In hindsight, within three years, much of the program envisaged in this resolution, especially the anticipated speedy progress toward the restoration of peace and order within Iraq, would come to seem unduly optimistic and unrealistic.

Primary Source

Security Council Resolution 1483 (2003) [On Lifting the Economic Sanctions on Iraq Imposed by Resolution 661 (1990)]. May 22, 2003.

Resolution 1483 (2003)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4761st meeting, on 22 May 2003

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions,

Reaffirming the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq,

Reaffirming also the importance of the disarmament of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction and of eventual confirmation of the disarmament of Iraq,

Stressing the right of the Iraqi people freely to determine their own political future and control their own natural resources, welcoming the commitment of all parties concerned to support the creation of an environment in which they may do so as soon as possible, and expressing resolve that the day when Iraqis govern themselves must come quickly,

Encouraging efforts by the people of Iraq to form a representative government based on the rule of law that affords equal rights and justice to all Iraqi citizens without regard to ethnicity, religion,

or gender, and, in this connection, recalls resolution 1325 (2000) of 31 October 2000,

Welcoming the first steps of the Iraqi people in this regard, and noting in this connection the 15 April 2003 Nasiriyah statement and the 28 April 2003 Baghdad statement,

Resolved that the United Nations should play a vital role in humanitarian relief, the reconstruction of Iraq, and the restoration and establishment of national and local institutions for representative governance,

Noting the statement of 12 April 2003 by the Ministers of Finance and Central Bank Governors of the Group of Seven Industrialized Nations in which the members recognized the need for a multilateral effort to help rebuild and develop Iraq and for the need for assistance from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in these efforts,

Welcoming also the resumption of humanitarian assistance and the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General and the specialized agencies to provide food and medicine to the people of Iraq,

Welcoming the appointment by the Secretary-General of his Special Adviser on Iraq,

Affirming the need for accountability for crimes and atrocities committed by the previous Iraqi regime,

Stressing the need for respect for the archaeological, historical, cultural, and religious heritage of Iraq, and for the continued protection of archaeological, historical, cultural, and religious sites, museums, libraries, and monuments,

Noting the letter of 8 May 2003 from the Permanent Representatives of the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the President of the Security Council (S/2003/538) and recognizing the specific authorities, responsibilities, and obligations under applicable international law of these states as occupying powers under unified command (the "Authority"),

Noting further that other States that are not occupying powers are working now or in the future may work under the Authority,

Welcoming further the willingness of Member States to contribute to stability and security in Iraq by contributing personnel, equipment, and other resources under the Authority,

Concerned that many Kuwaitis and Third-State Nationals still are not accounted for since 2 August 1990,

Determining that the situation in Iraq, although improved, continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Appeals to Member States and concerned organizations to assist the people of Iraq in their efforts to reform their institutions and rebuild their country, and to contribute to conditions of stability and security in Iraq in accordance with this resolution;
2. Calls upon all Member States in a position to do so to respond immediately to the humanitarian appeals of the United Nations and other international organizations for Iraq and to help meet the humanitarian and other needs of the Iraqi people by providing food, medical supplies, and resources necessary for reconstruction and rehabilitation of Iraq's economic infrastructure;
3. Appeals to Member States to deny safe haven to those members of the previous Iraqi regime who are alleged to be responsible for crimes and atrocities and to support actions to bring them to justice;
4. Calls upon the Authority, consistent with the Charter of the United Nations and other relevant international law, to promote the welfare of the Iraqi people through the effective administration of the territory, including in particular working towards the restoration of conditions of security and stability and the creation of conditions in which the Iraqi people can freely determine their own political future;
5. Calls upon all concerned to comply fully with their obligations under international law including in particular the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Hague Regulations of 1907;
6. Calls upon the Authority and relevant organizations and individuals to continue efforts to locate, identify, and repatriate all Kuwaiti and Third-State Nationals or the remains of those present in Iraq on or after 2 August 1990, as well as the Kuwaiti archives, that the previous Iraqi regime failed to undertake, and, in this regard, directs the High-Level Coordinator, in consultation with the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Tripartite Commission and with the appropriate support of the people of Iraq and in coordination with the Authority, to take steps to fulfil his mandate with respect to the fate of Kuwaiti and Third-State National missing persons and property;
7. Decides that all Member States shall take appropriate steps to facilitate the safe return to Iraqi institutions of Iraqi cultural property and other items of archaeological, historical, cultural, rare scientific, and religious importance illegally removed from the Iraq National Museum, the National Library, and other locations in Iraq since the adoption of resolution 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990, including by establishing a prohibition on trade in or transfer of such items and items with respect to which reasonable suspicion exists that they have been illegally removed, and calls upon the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Interpol, and other international organizations, as appropriate, to assist in the implementation of this paragraph;
8. Requests the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative for Iraq whose independent responsibilities shall involve reporting regularly to the Council on his activities under this resolution, coordinating activities of the United Nations in post-conflict processes in Iraq, coordinating

among United Nations and international agencies engaged in humanitarian assistance and reconstruction activities in Iraq, and, in coordination with the Authority, assisting the people of Iraq through:

(a) coordinating humanitarian and reconstruction assistance by United Nations agencies and between United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations;
(b) promoting the safe, orderly, and voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons;
(c) working intensively with the Authority, the people of Iraq, and others concerned to advance efforts to restore and establish national and local institutions for representative governance, including by working together to facilitate a process leading to an internationally recognized, representative government of Iraq;
(d) facilitating the reconstruction of key infrastructure, in cooperation with other international organizations;
(e) promoting economic reconstruction and the conditions for sustainable development, including through coordination with national and regional organizations, as appropriate, civil society, donors, and the international financial institutions;
(f) encouraging international efforts to contribute to basic civilian administration functions;
(g) promoting the protection of human rights;
(h) encouraging international efforts to rebuild the capacity of the Iraqi civilian police force; and
(i) encouraging international efforts to promote legal and judicial reform;

9. Supports the formation, by the people of Iraq with the help of the Authority and working with the Special Representative, of an Iraqi interim administration as a transitional administration run by Iraqis, until an internationally recognized, representative government is established by the people of Iraq and assumes the responsibilities of the Authority;
10. Decides that, with the exception of prohibitions related to the sale or supply to Iraq of arms and related materiel other than those arms and related materiel required by the Authority to serve the purposes of this and other related resolutions, all prohibitions related to trade with Iraq and the provision of financial or economic resources to Iraq established by resolution 661 (1990) and subsequent relevant resolutions, including resolution 778 (1992) of 2 October 1992, shall no longer apply;
11. Reaffirms that Iraq must meet its disarmament obligations, encourages the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America to keep the Council informed of their activities in this regard, and underlines the intention of the Council to revisit the mandates of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency as set forth in resolutions 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, 1284 (1999) of 17 December 1999, and 1441 (2002) of 8 November 2002;
12. Notes the establishment of a Development Fund for Iraq to be held by the Central Bank of Iraq and to be audited by independent public accountants approved by the International Advisory and Monitoring Board of the Development Fund for Iraq and looks forward to the early meeting of that International Advisory and Monitoring Board, whose members shall include duly qualified representatives of the Secretary-General, of the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, of the Director-General of the Arab Fund for Social and Economic Development, and of the President of the World Bank;
13. Notes further that the funds in the Development Fund for Iraq shall be disbursed at the direction of the Authority, in consultation with the Iraqi interim administration, for the purposes set out in paragraph 14 below;
14. Underlines that the Development Fund for Iraq shall be used in a transparent manner to meet the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people, for the economic reconstruction and repair of Iraq's infrastructure, for the continued disarmament of Iraq, and for the costs of Iraqi civilian administration, and for other purposes benefiting the people of Iraq;
15. Calls upon the international financial institutions to assist the people of Iraq in the reconstruction and development of their economy and to facilitate assistance by the broader donor community, and welcomes the readiness of creditors, including those of the Paris Club, to seek a solution to Iraq's sovereign debt problems;
16. Requests also that the Secretary-General, in coordination with the Authority, continue the exercise of his responsibilities under Security Council resolution 1472 (2003) of 28 March 2003 and 1476 (2003) of 24 April 2003, for a period of six months following the adoption of this resolution, and terminate within this time period, in the most cost effective manner, the ongoing operations of the "Oil-for-Food" Programme (the "Programme"), both at headquarters level and in the field, transferring responsibility for the administration of any remaining activity under the Programme to the Authority, including by taking the following necessary measures:

(a) to facilitate as soon as possible the shipment and authenticated delivery of priority civilian goods as identified by the Secretary-General and representatives designated by him, in coordination with the Authority and the Iraqi interim administration, under approved and funded contracts previously concluded by the previous Government of Iraq, for the humanitarian relief of the people of Iraq, including,

as necessary, negotiating adjustments in the terms or conditions of these contracts and respective letters of credit as set forth in paragraph 4 (d) of resolution 1472 (2003);

(b) to review, in light of changed circumstances, in coordination with the Authority and the Iraqi interim administration, the relative utility of each approved and funded contract with a view to determining whether such contracts contain items required to meet the needs of the people of Iraq both now and during reconstruction, and to postpone action on those contracts determined to be of questionable utility and the respective letters of credit until an internationally recognized, representative government of Iraq is in a position to make its own determination as to whether such contracts shall be fulfilled;

(c) to provide the Security Council within 21 days following the adoption of this resolution, for the Security Council's review and consideration, an estimated operating budget based on funds already set aside in the account established pursuant to paragraph 8 (d) of resolution 986 (1995) of 14 April 1995, identifying:

(i) all known and projected costs to the United Nations required to ensure the continued functioning of the activities associated with implementation of the present resolution, including operating and administrative expenses associated with the relevant United Nations agencies and programmes responsible for the implementation of the Programme both at Headquarters and in the field;

(ii) all known and projected costs associated with termination of the Programme;

(iii) all known and projected costs associated with restoring Government of Iraq funds that were provided by Member States to the Secretary-General as requested in paragraph 1 of resolution 778 (1992); and

(iv) all known and projected costs associated with the Special Representative and the qualified representative of the Secretary-General identified to serve on the International Advisory and Monitoring Board, for the six month time period defined above, following which these costs shall be borne by the United Nations;

(d) to consolidate into a single fund the accounts established pursuant to paragraphs 8 (a) and 8 (b) of resolution 986 (1995);

(e) to fulfil all remaining obligations related to the termination of the Programme, including negotiating, in the most cost effective manner, any necessary settlement payments, which shall be made from the escrow accounts established pursuant to paragraphs 8 (a) and 8 (b) of resolution 986 (1995), with those parties that previously have entered into contractual obligations with the Secretary-General under the Programme, and to determine, in coordination with the Authority and the Iraqi interim administration, the future status of contracts undertaken by the United Nations and related United Nations agencies under the accounts established pursuant to paragraphs 8 (b) and 8 (d) of resolution 986 (1995);

(f) to provide the Security Council, 30 days prior to the termination of the Programme, with a comprehensive strategy developed in close coordination with the Authority and the Iraqi interim administration that would lead to the delivery of all relevant documentation and the transfer of all operational responsibility of the Programme to the Authority;

17. Requests further that the Secretary-General transfer as soon as possible to the Development Fund for Iraq 1 billion United States dollars from unencumbered funds in the accounts established pursuant to paragraphs 8 (a) and 8 (b) of resolution 986 (1995), restore Government of Iraq funds that were provided by Member States to the Secretary-General as requested in paragraph 1 of resolution 778 (1992), and decides that, after deducting all relevant United Nations expenses associated with the shipment of authorized contracts and costs to the Programme outlined in paragraph 16 (c) above, including residual obligations, all surplus funds in the escrow accounts established pursuant to paragraphs 8 (a), 8 (b), 8 (d), and 8 (f) of resolution 986 (1995) shall be transferred at the earliest possible time to the Development Fund for Iraq;

18. Decides to terminate effective on the adoption of this resolution the functions related to the observation and monitoring activities undertaken by the Secretary-General under the Programme, including the monitoring of the export of petroleum and petroleum products from Iraq;

19. Decides to terminate the Committee established pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 661 (1990) at the conclusion of the six month period called for in paragraph 16 above and further decides that the Committee shall identify individuals and entities referred to in paragraph 23 below;

20. Decides that all export sales of petroleum, petroleum products, and natural gas from Iraq following the date of the adoption of this resolution shall be made consistent with prevailing international market best practices, to be audited by independent public accountants reporting to the International Advisory and Monitoring Board referred to in paragraph 12 above in order to ensure transparency, and decides further that, except as provided in paragraph 21 below, all proceeds from such sales shall be deposited into the Development Fund for Iraq until such time as an

internationally recognized, representative government of Iraq is properly constituted;

21. Decides further that 5 percent of the proceeds referred to in paragraph 20 above shall be deposited into the Compensation Fund established in accordance with resolution 687 (1991) and subsequent relevant resolutions and that, unless an internationally recognized, representative government of Iraq and the Governing Council of the United Nations Compensation Commission, in the exercise of its authority over methods of ensuring that payments are made into the Compensation Fund, decide otherwise, this requirement shall be binding on a properly constituted, internationally recognized, representative government of Iraq and any successor thereto;
22. Noting the relevance of the establishment of an internationally recognized, representative government of Iraq and the desirability of prompt completion of the restructuring of Iraq's debt as referred to in paragraph 15 above, further decides that, until December 31, 2007, unless the Council decides otherwise, petroleum, petroleum products, and natural gas originating in Iraq shall be immune, until title passes to the initial purchaser from legal proceedings against them and not be subject to any form of attachment, garnishment, or execution, and that all States shall take any steps that may be necessary under their respective domestic legal systems to assure this protection, and that proceeds and obligations arising from sales thereof, as well as the Development Fund for Iraq, shall enjoy privileges and immunities equivalent to those enjoyed by the United Nations except that the above-mentioned privileges and immunities will not apply with respect to any legal proceeding in which recourse to such proceeds or obligations is necessary to satisfy liability for damages assessed in connection with an ecological accident, including an oil spill, that occurs after the date of adoption of this resolution;
23. Decides that all Member States in which there are:
    (a) funds or other financial assets or economic resources of the previous Government of Iraq or its state bodies, corporations, or agencies, located outside Iraq as of the date of this resolution, or
    (b) funds or other financial assets or economic resources that have been removed from Iraq, or acquired, by Saddam Hussein or other senior officials of the former Iraqi regime and their immediate family members, including entities owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by them or by persons acting on their behalf or at their direction, shall freeze without delay those funds or other financial assets or economic resources and, unless these funds or other financial assets or economic resources are themselves the subject of a prior judicial, administrative, or arbitral lien or judgement, immediately shall cause their transfer to the Development Fund for Iraq, it being understood that, unless otherwise addressed, claims made by private individuals or non-government entities on those transferred funds or other financial assets may be presented to the internationally recognized, representative government of Iraq; and decides further that all such funds or other financial assets or economic resources shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities, and protections as provided under paragraph 22;
24. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council at regular intervals on the work of the Special Representative with respect to the implementation of this resolution and on the work of the International Advisory and Monitoring Board and encourages the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America to inform the Council at regular intervals of their efforts under this resolution;
25. Decides to review the implementation of this resolution within twelve months of adoption and to consider further steps that might be necessary;
26. Calls upon Member States and international and regional organizations to contribute to the implementation of this resolution;
27. Decides to remain seized of this matter.

Security Council Resolution 1490 (2003) [On Extension of the Mandate of the UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM)]. July 3, 2003.

Resolution 1490 (2003)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4783rd meeting, on 3 July 2003

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions, including resolutions 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991, 689 (1991) of 9 April 1991, 806 (1993) of 5 February 1993, 833 (1993) of 27 May 1993 and 1483 (2003) of 22 May 2003,

Taking note of the Secretary-General's report of 17 June 2003 (S/2003/656) on the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM),

Reaffirming the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq and Kuwait,

Recognizing that the continued operation of UNIKOM and a demilitarized zone established under resolution 687 (1991) are no longer necessary to protect against threats to international security posed by Iraqi actions against Kuwait,

Expressing its appreciation for the substantial voluntary contributions made to the Observation Mission by the Government of Kuwait,

Commending the superior role played by UNIKOM and Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) personnel, and noting also that UNIKOM successfully fulfilled its mandate from 1991 to 2003,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Decides to continue the mandate of UNIKOM for a final period until 6 October 2003;
2. Directs the Secretary-General to negotiate the transfer of UNIKOM's non-removable property and of those assets that cannot be disposed otherwise to the States of Kuwait and Iraq, as appropriate;
3. Decides to end the demilitarized zone extending 10 kilometres into Iraq and 5 kilometres into Kuwait from the Iraq-Kuwait border at the end of UNIKOM's mandate on 6 October 2003;
4. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council on the completion of UNIKOM's mandate;
5. Expresses its appreciation of the decision of the Government of Kuwait to defray since 1 November 1993 two thirds of the cost of the Observation Mission;
6. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Security Council Resolution 1500 (2003) [On Establishment of the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq]. August 14, 2003.

Resolution 1500 (2003)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4808th meeting, on 14 August 2003

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous relevant resolutions, in particular resolution 1483 (2003) of 22 May 2003,

Reaffirming the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq,

Reaffirming also the vital role for the United Nations in Iraq which was set out in relevant paragraphs of resolution 1483 (2003),

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 15 July 2003 (S/2003/715),

1. Welcomes the establishment of the broadly representative Governing Council of Iraq on 13 July 2003, as an important step towards the formation by the people of Iraq of an internationally recognized, representative government that will exercise the sovereignty of Iraq;
2. Decides to establish the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq to support the Secretary-General in the fulfilment of his mandate under resolution 1483 in accordance with the structure and responsibilities set out in his report of 15 July 2003, for an initial period of twelve months;
3. Decides to remain seized of this matter.

Security Council Resolution 1511 (2003) [On Authorizing a Multinational Force under Unified Command to Take All Necessary Measures to Contribute to the Maintenance of Security and Stability in Iraq]. October 16, 2003.

Resolution 1511 (2003)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4844th meeting, on 16 October 2003

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its previous resolutions on Iraq, including resolution 1483 (2003) of 22 May 2003 and 1500 (2003) of 14 August 2003, and on threats to peace and security caused by terrorist acts, including resolution 1373 (2001) of 28 September 2001, and other relevant resolutions,

Underscoring that the sovereignty of Iraq resides in the State of Iraq, reaffirming the right of the Iraqi people freely to determine their own political future and control their own natural resources, reiterating its resolve that the day when Iraqis govern themselves must come quickly, and recognizing the importance of international support, particularly that of countries in the region, Iraq's neighbours, and regional organizations, in taking forward this process expeditiously,

Recognizing that international support for restoration of conditions of stability and security is essential to the well-being of the people of Iraq as well as to the ability of all concerned to carry out their work on behalf of the people of Iraq, and welcoming Member State contributions in this regard under resolution 1483 (2003),

Welcoming the decision of the Governing Council of Iraq to form a preparatory constitutional committee to prepare for a constitutional conference that will draft a constitution to embody the aspirations of the Iraqi people, and urging it to complete this process quickly,

Affirming that the terrorist bombings of the Embassy of Jordan on 7 August 2003, of the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad on 19 August 2003, of the Imam Ali Mosque in Najaf on 29 August 2003, and of the Embassy of Turkey on 14 October 2003, and the murder of a Spanish diplomat on 9 October 2003 are attacks on the people of Iraq, the United Nations, and the international community, and deploring the assassination of Dr. Akila al-Hashimi, who died on 25 September 2003, as an attack directed against the future of Iraq,

In that context, recalling and reaffirming the statement of its President of 20 August 2003 (S/PRST/2003/13) and resolution 1502 (2003) of 26 August 2003,

Determining that the situation in Iraq, although improved, continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Reaffirms the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq, and underscores, in that context, the temporary nature

of the exercise by the Coalition Provisional Authority (Authority) of the specific responsibilities, authorities, and obligations under applicable international law recognized and set forth in resolution 1483 (2003), which will cease when an internationally recognized, representative government established by the people of Iraq is sworn in and assumes the responsibilities of the Authority, inter alia through steps envisaged in paragraphs 4 through 7 and 10 below;

2. Welcomes the positive response of the international community, in fora such as the Arab League, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the United Nations General Assembly, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, to the establishment of the broadly representative Governing Council as an important step towards an internationally recognized, representative government;
3. Supports the Governing Council's efforts to mobilize the people of Iraq, including by the appointment of a cabinet of ministers and a preparatory constitutional committee to lead a process in which the Iraqi people will progressively take control of their own affairs;
4. Determines that the Governing Council and its ministers are the principal bodies of the Iraqi interim administration, which, without prejudice to its further evolution, embodies the sovereignty of the State of Iraq during the transitional period until an internationally recognized, representative government is established and assumes the responsibilities of the Authority;
5. Affirms that the administration of Iraq will be progressively undertaken by the evolving structures of the Iraqi interim administration;
6. Calls upon the Authority, in this context, to return governing responsibilities and authorities to the people of Iraq as soon as practicable and requests the Authority, in cooperation as appropriate with the Governing Council and the Secretary-General, to report to the Council on the progress being made;
7. Invites the Governing Council to provide to the Security Council, for its review, no later than 15 December 2003, in cooperation with the Authority and, as circumstances permit, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, a timetable and a programme for the drafting of a new constitution for Iraq and for the holding of democratic elections under that constitution;
8. Resolves that the United Nations, acting through the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, and the United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq, should strengthen its vital role in Iraq, including by providing humanitarian relief, promoting the economic reconstruction of and conditions for sustainable development in Iraq, and advancing efforts to restore and establish national and local institutions for representative government;
9. Requests that, as circumstances permit, the Secretary-General pursue the course of action outlined in paragraphs 98 and 99 of the report of the Secretary-General of 17 July 2003 (S/2003/715);
10. Takes note of the intention of the Governing Council to hold a constitutional conference and, recognizing that the convening of the conference will be a milestone in the movement to the full exercise of sovereignty, calls for its preparation through national dialogue and consensus-building as soon as practicable and requests the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, at the time of the convening of the conference or, as circumstances permit, to lend the unique expertise of the United Nations to the Iraqi people in this process of political transition, including the establishment of electoral processes;
11. Requests the Secretary-General to ensure that the resources of the United Nations and associated organizations are available, if requested by the Iraqi Governing Council and, as circumstances permit, to assist in furtherance of the programme provided by the Governing Council in paragraph 7 above, and encourages other organizations with expertise in this area to support the Iraqi Governing Council, if requested;
12. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on his responsibilities under this resolution and the development and implementation of a timetable and programme under paragraph 7 above;
13. Determines that the provision of security and stability is essential to the successful completion of the political process as outlined in paragraph 7 above and to the ability of the United Nations to contribute effectively to that process and the implementation of resolution 1483 (2003), and authorizes a multinational force under unified command to take all necessary measures to contribute to the maintenance of security and stability in Iraq, including for the purpose of ensuring necessary conditions for the implementation of the timetable and programme as well as to contribute to the security of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, the Governing Council of Iraq and other institutions of the Iraqi interim administration, and key humanitarian and economic infrastructure;
14. Urges Member States to contribute assistance under this United Nations mandate, including military forces, to the multinational force referred to in paragraph 13 above;
15. Decides that the Council shall review the requirements and mission of the multinational force referred to in paragraph 13 above not later than one year from the date of this resolution, and that in any case the mandate of the force shall expire upon the completion of the political process

as described in paragraphs 4 through 7 and 10 above, and expresses readiness to consider on that occasion any future need for the continuation of the multinational force, taking into account the views of an internationally recognized, representative government of Iraq;

16. Emphasizes the importance of establishing effective Iraqi police and security forces in maintaining law, order, and security and combating terrorism consistent with paragraph 4 of resolution 1483 (2003), and calls upon Member States and international and regional organizations to contribute to the training and equipping of Iraqi police and security forces;
17. Expresses deep sympathy and condolences for the personal losses suffered by the Iraqi people and by the United Nations and the families of those United Nations personnel and other innocent victims who were killed or injured in these tragic attacks;
18. Unequivocally condemns the terrorist bombings of the Embassy of Jordan on 7 August 2003, of the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad on 19 August 2003, and of the Imam Ali Mosque in Najaf on 29 August 2003, and of the Embassy of Turkey on 14 October 2003, the murder of a Spanish diplomat on 9 October 2003, and the assassination of Dr. Akila al-Hashimi, who died on 25 September 2003, and emphasizes that those responsible must be brought to justice;
19. Calls upon Member States to prevent the transit of terrorists to Iraq, arms for terrorists, and financing that would support terrorists, and emphasizes the importance of strengthening the cooperation of the countries of the region, particularly neighbours of Iraq, in this regard;
20. Appeals to Member States and the international financial institutions to strengthen their efforts to assist the people of Iraq in the reconstruction and development of their economy, and urges those institutions to take immediate steps to provide their full range of loans and other financial assistance to Iraq, working with the Governing Council and appropriate Iraqi ministries;
21. Urges Member States and international and regional organizations to support the Iraq reconstruction effort initiated at the 24 June 2003 United Nations Technical Consultations, including through substantial pledges at the 23–24 October 2003 International Donors Conference in Madrid;
22. Calls upon Member States and concerned organizations to help meet the needs of the Iraqi people by providing resources necessary for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Iraq's economic infrastructure;
23. Emphasizes that the International Advisory and Monitoring Board (IAMB) referred to in paragraph 12 of resolution 1483 (2003) should be established as a priority, and reiterates that the Development Fund for Iraq shall be used in a transparent manner as set out in paragraph 14 of resolution 1483 (2003);
24. Reminds all Member States of their obligations under paragraphs 19 and 23 of resolution 1483 (2003) in particular the obligation to immediately cause the transfer of funds, other financial assets and economic resources to the Development Fund for Iraq for the benefit of the Iraqi people;
25. Requests that the United States, on behalf of the multinational force as outlined in paragraph 13 above, report to the Security Council on the efforts and progress of this force as appropriate and not less than every six months;
26. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Source: United Nations Security Council, S/Res/1483(2003), May 22, 2003; S/Res/1490(2003), July 3, 2003; S/Res/1500(2003), August 14, 2003; and S/Res/1511(2003), October 16, 2003.

119. "A Strike at Europe's Heart," Madrid, Spain, *Time*, Sunday, March 14, 2004 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Al Qaeda and related Muslim militant organizations sometimes succeeded in carrying through on threats to retaliate against those nations that participated in military intervention against Afghanistan and Iraq. On March 11, 2004, 10 explosions took place within four minutes on four commuter trains traveling into Madrid, the Spanish capital, killing 191 people and seriously injuring another 2,000 people. The Spanish government initially blamed the bombings on the Basque separatist movement, but that organization denied all responsibility. Eventually 29 individuals, Algerian, Syrian, and Moroccan Islamic extremists from the Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group (MICG) and some Spanish sympathizers, were charged with the bombings; another 5 to 8 suspects were believed to have evaded capture. The MICG was a North African–based organization loosely linked to Al Qaeda, an indication of the difficulties that antiterrorist governments faced in tracking down a highly fragmented militant movement with numerous different groups and factions that often acted independently of each other. In national elections held a few days after the Madrid bombings, the Spanish people responded by voting their existing Conservative government out of power. Despite pleas from American and British officials to stand firm, its Socialist successor quickly withdrew all the 1,300 Spanish military personnel then in Iraq. Critics charged that by demonstrating that terrorist tactics could provoke dramatic reverses in policy, this decision only encouraged further such attacks on civilians.

Primary Source

A Strike at Europe's Heart

He was one of hundreds of rescue workers who combed through the wreckage Thursday, looking for survivors in the scorched and twisted compartments of a commuter train at Madrid's El Pozo del Tío Raimundo station. When he came across an unremarkable sports bag, he assumed it belonged to one of the victims and put it aside; at some point amid the grim triage the bag was taken to a local police station, where it was added to a mountain of unclaimed personal possessions—purses, briefcases, shoes, coats, laptop computers. In the chaotic aftermath of the Madrid bomb attacks, no one thought to open the bag.

And then it rang. At 7:40 p.m., exactly 12 hours after a series of bombs had gone off on four trains, a mobile phone in the sports bag sounded an alarm, according to the Madrid daily *El País*. When investigators looked inside for the phone, they found it attached to two copper detonators, which were connected to 10 kg of a gelatinous dynamite. The bag was stuffed with nails and screws to heighten the bomb's power. For some reason, the device did not detonate. Instead, it became the biggest break yet in the hunt for those responsible for the massacre.

A mobile-phone bomb is a simple but effective way to commit mass murder from a distance. The tactic worked 10 times during the Thursday-morning rush hour in Madrid, as powerful explosives ripped open carriages, killing at least 200 commuters and wounding more than 1,500 others. Two similar devices were destroyed by police in controlled explosions. But thanks to a terrorist's mistake and a rescue worker's accidental discovery, the final bomb survived. It proved to be lucky 13 for the investigators: the Motorola handset and its SIM card supplied the vital clues that led to the arrests on Saturday afternoon of five suspects—three Moroccans and two Indian nationals. The five were held in connection with illegal manipulation of the phone and its SIM card.

Two Spanish citizens of Indian origin were also questioned by the police. According to a Spanish government official, at least two and possibly all four of the Indians ran a shop in Madrid where they sold—not always legally—prepaid SIM cards. Spanish defense analyst Rafael L. Bardají suggests they may have been unwitting collaborators in the train bombings. "Perhaps the poor guys were only the people who prepared the illegal phones," he says. "The question is: To whom did they sell the phones?"

In announcing the detentions, Interior Minister Angel Acebes said, "We're continuing to work on all fronts," referring to the possibility that the Basque terrorist group ETA may have been behind the attacks, "although these arrests open an important new avenue of investigation." It was a far cry from even earlier that day when the Minister still considered ETA the prime suspect. Spanish and French authorities say the Moroccans may be linked to the synchronized suicide bombings that killed 33 innocent people in Casablanca last May. Government sources in Morocco are more emphatic, telling *TIME* that there was evidence that all three had connections to the extremist groups believed to have directed those attacks, Salafia Jihadia and its offshoot cell, Assirat al Moustaqim (Straight Path). These groups, Moroccan sources say, are associated with Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda network. The Casablanca operation loosely resembled the Madrid massacre: there were well-orchestrated blasts in five locations, and in each instance the explosives were carried in bags or rucksacks. One important difference: the Casablanca attacks were all suicide bombings. So far, Spanish investigators have found no evidence that suicide bombers were at work in Madrid. "They were in Spain for a reason," says independent terrorism expert Roland Jacquard. "The thesis now is . . . they've been continuing work there to replicate the Casablanca strike in even bolder form."

The Islamic connection got another boost late on Saturday night when Acebes announced that the Spanish government had retrieved a videotaped message from a man purporting to be al-Qaeda's military spokesman in Europe. The local Madrid television station TeleMadrid received a call from a man with an Arab accent saying a tape had been placed in a wastebasket near the city's main mosque and the municipal morgue. Police secured the area, picked up the tape and translated it. According to Acebes, a man speaking Arabic with a Moroccan accent identifies himself as Abu Dujan al-Afghani, the al-Qaeda military spokesman, and says: "We declare our responsibility for what happened in Madrid . . . It is a response to your collaboration with the criminals Bush and his allies . . . There will be more if God wills it. You love life and we love death . . . if you don't put an end to your injustices more and more blood will run." Spanish law-enforcement officials are checking the tape's authenticity.

This was, in fact, the second claim of responsibility from a group related to al-Qaeda. On Thursday night, the London-based al-Quds al-Arabi received an e-mail from the Abu Hafs al-Masri Brigades, named for an al-Qaeda leader killed in a U.S. missile attack in Afghanistan. The message said one of its "death squads" had planted the bombs to settle "old accounts with Spain . . . America's ally in its war against Islam." The statement went on: "The death squad succeeded in penetrating the crusader European depths and striking one of the pillars of the crusader alliance" and warned that another attack against the U.S. is "90% ready—and coming soon." The New York City Police Department sent—and Morocco planned to send—teams of investigators to Madrid, and the FBI also offered assistance; all hoped to gather intelligence they might need at home.

The Brigades had made bogus claims before, including authorship of last summer's power outage in the northeastern U.S. But the

Brigades also claimed to have carried out November's bombings of synagogues and British targets in Istanbul, in which 61 died, and the August bombing of the U.N. headquarters in Baghdad, in which 22 died. Some intelligence experts take the Brigades seriously—they could be "the new military wing of al-Qaeda in charge of external jihad," says Mustafa Alani, Middle East security expert at the London-based Royal United Services Institute for Defense and Security Studies—but no one has yet verified its role in these attacks. Even so, there is no question that the November bombings of the British consulate and a British-based bank in Istanbul had shown that bin Laden's disciples were able to target Western interests at Europe's doorstep. If Madrid turns out to be the Islamic extremist's handiwork, it means al-Qaeda has blasted open the door and stormed inside.

The arrests seemed finally to clear the confusion that had descended on Madrid in the aftermath of the attacks. Before anyone knew what was in the sports bag, most Spaniards instinctively fingered the Basque terror group ETA, which has killed more than 800 people in a campaign of terror against the Spanish state spanning four decades. Just hours after the attacks, Acebes was adamant that there was "no cause for doubt" that ETA was to blame. Government officials and members of the ruling Popular Party (PP) pointed to what they said were hallmarks of ETA involvement: the bombings took place just three days before Sunday's general election, which ETA had vowed to disrupt; ETA had targeted the railway system before; and only last month Spanish police had foiled ETA attempts to transport large quantities of explosives into Madrid.

But the train blasts also differed from the Basque group's traditional modus operandi in important ways: the absence of a warning, which ETA usually gives, the deliberate targeting of civilians and the sheer scale of the operation. Despite the government's professed certainty of ETA's guilt, doubts began to creep in. Then, on Thursday evening, Acebes announced that in Alcalá de Henares, a town 30 km northeast of Madrid where three of the ill-fated trains originated and the fourth passed through, police had found an abandoned white Renault Kangoo van containing seven copper detonators and a tape of Koranic verses recited in Arabic. The discovery harked back to the hours after the attacks in New York City and Washington on Sept. 11, 2001, when a rental car was found in the parking lot of Boston's Logan airport, containing flight manuals in Arabic. That vehicle was the start of the trail that led American investigators to al-Qaeda. The van in Alcalá de Henares was another piece of evidence that pointed to Islamic radicals rather than Basque terrorists.

If there had been no warning from ETA, there had certainly been a declaration of intent from al-Qaeda. A tape aired in October—the voice purported to be bin Laden's—had singled out Spain for retribution because of its government's staunch support for the war in Iraq. And documents on an Arabic website studied by Norwegian defense researchers in recent months indicated that al-Qaeda was considering attacks on Madrid ahead of the election. The 42-page document, titled "Jihad's Iraq," had been submitted to the discussion forum of a politically oriented website that no longer exists, according to Brynjar Lia of the Norwegian Defense Research Establishment. The section of the report devoted to Spain read in part: "We must exploit to the maximum the proximity of the election in Spain . . . We believe that the Spanish government cannot tolerate more than two or three attacks before it will be forced to pull out" of Iraq. According to Lia, the document seems authentic, though he emphasizes that it contains no specific attack orders: "It's an overall guideline for strategies that the jihadis should pursue in the future." If that was all speculation, the van and the sports bag now provided Spanish investigators with real, physical evidence.

And it didn't take them long to connect the dots. Nearly 24 hours before Acebes announced the arrests, Spanish authorities were warning French security services that the Madrid blasts could indeed be the work of an Islamic group. Sources tell *Time* that this was one of the reasons the French government boosted its security status to red, the second-highest state of alert. Paris was already concerned about the possibility of an attack by an Islamic terror group. In a recent taped message bin Laden's deputy, Ayman al-Zawahiri, explicitly warned of retribution against France's ban on Muslim head scarves in public schools. The Spanish intelligence forced France to consider itself in the crosshairs, according to a French security official. "We know if we're not next, we're after the ones who are next," he said. "And that's what everyone in Europe is thinking to themselves today."

Back in Madrid, news of the arrests brought about a shift in the political mood just hours ahead of the general election. Until then, analysts had believed that widespread anger at ETA would favor the Popular Party of departing Prime Minister José María Aznar, which has advocated a hard line against the Basque group. Some opponents charged the government with exaggerating the evidence against ETA and downplaying the al-Qaeda theory for political gain. On Thursday, Foreign Minister Ana Palacio had sent out a dispatch to all Spanish ambassadors requesting that they "take advantage of any occasions that present themselves to confirm ETA's responsibility for these brutal attacks." Analysts suggested that if voters believed al-Qaeda was responsible, they might take their anger out on the PP, which had put Spain on bin Laden's hit list by signing up for the war in Iraq.

There certainly was anger in the air outside the PP headquarters in Madrid as Acebes announced the arrests. The spontaneous antigovernment demonstrations that started at 6 p.m. in front of PP headquarters in Madrid grew substantially. By the early hours of Sunday morning, there were an estimated 5,000 people gathering

close to Atocha station. Angry over what they see as government manipulation, many demonstrators blamed Aznar for provoking the attacks. "Yesterday, we were marching in mourning. Tonight it's out of revulsion at the politics that produced this terrorism," said Francisco Rodríguez, a middle-aged insurance-firm employee. "I hold the government responsible for the deaths on Thursday because we went out to support an unjust war."

[. . .]

Even before al-Qaeda's claims of responsibility, intelligence experts in Washington saw bin Laden's fingerprints in the wreckage. "There's no doubt in my mind it's al-Qaeda," said one senior counterterror veteran at the FBI. Wherever this investigation leads, the war on terror has taken yet another deadly new turn. As one U.S. intelligence official notes, the absence of suicide bombers in Madrid is a sobering development. "You don't have to kill yourself to blow something up," this official says. Since suicide bombers are a finite resource, terrorists could be more inspired than ever to mount devastating attacks by remote control. In other words, Madrid rolled out an innovation that other terrorists will surely copy, says Tarine Fairman, who retired last month as a top international counterterrorism agent at the FBI. "They've introduced a technique that we knew about and were concerned about," he warns, "but are not prepared to deal with."

Source: "A Strike at Europe's Heart," Time Europe Online, March 14, 2004, http://www.time.com/time/europe/html/040322/story.html.

120. Lieutenant General Anthony Jones and Major General George R. Fay, Executive Summary of Report, Investigation of Intelligence Activities at Abu Ghraib, August 23, 2004

Introduction

In the spring of 2004 repeated reports of widespread abuse and torture of civilian detainees in the Iraqi prison camp of Abu Ghraib began circulating in the international media. Abu Ghraib held between 6,000 and 7,000 Iraqi prisoners, most of whom had been arrested on suspicion of insurgent activities. Brigadier General Janis Karpinski, who commanded the prison at this time, later stated that around 90 percent of such prisoners were innocent of any wrongdoing. Credible reports, buttressed by graphic photographs, appeared on television and in the *New Yorker* magazine in late April and early May 2004. U.S. Defense Department officials were already aware of these allegations and in early 2004 had instructed Lieutenant General Ricardo S. Sanchez to investigate them. The task ultimately fell to Major General Antonio M. Taguba, whose report appeared in early May. Although the report was marked "Secret/No Foreign Dissemination," large portions of it appeared almost immediately on the Internet and in the media. The Taguba Report drew on the testimony of numerous witnesses to describe pervasive physical, psychological, and sexual abuse of prisoners at the prison camp in October and November 2003, mistreatment that amounted to torture and contravened the Geneva Conventions governing behavior toward prisoners. The report also depicted an understaffed prison camp manned by poorly trained and ignorant American military personnel, whom the military police and intelligence officers deliberately encouraged to abuse prisoners as a means of softening up such captives for subsequent interrogation. The Sanchez Report recommended the suspension from duty of Karpinski, who commanded the camp at this time, and she was later demoted to colonel. Sixteen other soldiers were also suspended from duty, and 7 low-ranking soldiers directly responsible for abuses were subsequently court-martialed. The incidents seriously damaged the international image of the United States, undercutting its claims that it represented the cause of human rights and freedom in Iraq and around the world and bringing condemnation from the United Nations (UN). Photographs of the torture, terrorization, humiliation, and sexual abuse of naked and terrified prisoners were shown repeatedly on Arab television and posted on the Internet. In May 2004 President George W. Bush and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld publicly apologized for these events. Critics nonetheless claimed that the incidents at Abu Ghraib were symptomatic of a broader readiness by senior Bush administration officials to discard and ignore the Geneva Conventions and sanction the illegal detention and torture of prisoners as and when it suited their own convenience.

Public criticism of the Taguba Report on abuses against Iraqi detainees held at the Abu Ghraib prison facility by American troops centered on suggestions that the document had been too narrowly focused in terms of ascribing blame only to low-level personnel and had concentrated too exclusively on the army while ignoring the role of military intelligence. Many who condemned the mistreatment of prisoners at Abu Ghraib felt that the court-martials and censure of relatively low-ranking military personnel allowed higher-level officials, such as Bush and Rumsfeld, to evade responsibility for crimes whose root cause lay in policies that top Bush administration figures had enthusiastically initiated and encouraged. In June 2004 two senior officers, Lieutenant General Anthony Jones and Major General George R. Fay, began a further investigation into the role that efforts to obtain intelligence information from detainees had played in provoking abuses. Their report stated that military forces at Abu Ghraib had found themselves "severely under-resourced," lacking "adequate personnel and equipment," and operating in a hostile environment they had not anticipated. When President George W. Bush declared the end of major hostilities in Iraq, American forces were only holding

600 Iraqi prisoners, but in the autumn of 2003 "the number of detainees rose exponentially" as the result of tactical counterinsurgency operations. The report found that although the majority of incidents of abuse had not been related to interrogations, 27 military intelligence personnel also repeatedly encouraged or participated in the abuse of detainees. Senior-level officers were faulted for poor leadership in failing to issue clear and consistent guidelines on interrogation and the treatment of prisoners and for being slow in responding to reports on abuses submitted to them by the International Committee of the Red Cross. The report claimed, however, that had Defense Department and U.S. Army doctrine been properly followed abuses would not have occurred and suggested that many of the problems encountered arose from the fact that military personnel had been "[w]orking alongside non-DoD organizations/agencies in detention facilities." To many critics, it seemed that the military still sought to protect its own and was unwilling to address the issue of whether official U.S. policies on the treatment of prisoners now contravened internationally accepted standards and conventions.

Primary Source

Executive Summary

Investigation of Intelligence Activities At Abu Ghraib. August 23, 2004.

Background

This investigation was ordered initially by LTG Ricardo S. Sanchez, Commander, Combined Joint Task Force Seven (CJTF-7). LTG Sanchez appointed MG George R. Fay as investigating officer under the provisions of Army Regulation 381-10, Procedure 15. MG Fay was appointed to investigate allegations that members of the 205th Military Intelligence Brigade (205 MI BDE) were involved in detainee abuse at the Abu Ghraib Detention Facility. Specifically, MG Fay was to determine whether 205 MI BDE personnel requested, encouraged, condoned, or solicited Military Police (MP) personnel to abuse detainees and whether MI personnel comported with established interrogation procedures and applicable laws and regulations.

On 16 June 2004, Acting Secretary of the Army R. L. Brownlee appointed General Paul J. Kern, Commander, US Army Materiel Command (AMC), as the new Procedure 15 appointing authority. On 25 June 2004, GEN Kern appointed LTG Anthony R. Jones, Deputy Commanding General, US Army Training and Doctrine Command, as an additional Procedure 15 investigating officer. MG Fay was retained as an investigating officer.

Without reinvestigating areas reviewed by MG Fay, LTG Jones was specifically directed to focus on whether organizations or personnel higher than the 205th MI BDE chain of command, or events and circumstances outside of the 205th MI Brigade, were involved, directly or indirectly, in the questionable activities regarding alleged detainee abuse at Abu Ghraib prison.

The investigative teams conducted a comprehensive review of all available background documents and statements pertaining to Abu Ghraib from a wide variety of sources. These sources included the reports written by MG Geoffrey Miller, MG Donald Ryder, MG Antonio Taguba and the Department of Army Inspector General. LTG Jones interviewed LTG Sanchez and MG Barbara Fast, the CJTF-7 Senior Intelligence Staff Officer. MG Fay's team conducted over 170 interviews concerning the interviewees' knowledge of interrogation and detention operations at Abu Ghraib and/or their knowledge of and involvement in detainee abuse. MG Fay's interviews included interviews with MG Fast, MG Walter Wojdakowski, MG Geoffrey Miller, MG Thomas Miller, and BG Janis Karpinski.

Operational Environment

The events at Abu Ghraib cannot be understood in a vacuum. Three interrelated aspects of the operational environment played important roles in the abuses that occurred at Abu Ghraib. First, from the time V Corps transitioned to become CJTF-7, and throughout the period under investigation, it was not resourced adequately to accomplish the missions of the CJTF: stability and support operations (SASO) and support to the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA). The CJTF-7 headquarters lacked adequate personnel and equipment. In addition, the military police and military intelligence units at Abu Ghraib were severely under-resourced. Second, providing support to the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) required greater resources than envisioned in operational plans. Third, operational plans envisioned that CJTF-7 would execute SASO and provide support to the CPA in a relatively non-hostile environment. In fact, opposition was robust and hostilities continued throughout the period under investigation. Therefore, CJTF-7 had to conduct tactical counter-insurgency operations, while also executing its planned missions.

These three circumstances delayed establishment of an intelligence architecture and degraded the ability of the CJTF-7 staff to execute its assigned tasks, including oversight of interrogation and detention operations at Abu Ghraib.

When hostilities were declared over, US forces had control of only 600 Enemy Prisoners of War (EPW) and Iraqi criminals. In the fall of 2003, the number of detainees rose exponentially due to tactical operations to capture counter-insurgents dangerous to U.S. forces and Iraqi civilians. At that time, the CJTF-7 commander believed he had no choice but to use Abu Ghraib as the central detention facility.

Command and staff actions and inaction must be understood in the context of the operational environment discussed above.

In light of the operational environment, and CJTF-7 staff and subordinate unit's under-resourcing and increased missions, the CJTF-7 Commander had to prioritize efforts. CJTF-7 devoted its resources to fighting the counter-insurgency and supporting the CPA, thereby saving Coalition and civilian Iraqi lives and assisting in the transition to Iraqi self-rule. In the over-all scheme of OIF, the CJTF-7 Commander and staff performed above expectations.

Abuse

Clearly abuses occurred at the prison at Abu Ghraib. There is no single, simple explanation for why this abuse at Abu Ghraib happened. The primary causes are misconduct (ranging from inhumane to sadistic) by a small group of morally corrupt soldiers and civilians, a lack of discipline on the part of the leaders and Soldiers of the 205th MI BDE and a failure or lack of leadership by multiple echelons within CJTF-7.

Contributing factors can be traced to issues affecting Command and Control, Doctrine, Training, and the experience of the Soldiers we asked to perform this vital mission.

For purposes of this report, abuse is defined as treatment of detainees that violated U.S. criminal law or international law or treatment that was inhumane or coercive without lawful justification. Whether the Soldier or contractor knew, at the time of the acts, that the conduct violated any law or standard, is not an element of the definition.

The abuses at Abu Ghraib primarily fall into two categories: a) intentional violent or sexual abuse and, b) abusive actions taken based on misinterpretations or confusion regarding law or policy.

LTG Jones found that while senior level officers did not commit the abuse at Abu Ghraib they did bear responsibility for lack of oversight of the facility, failing to respond in a timely manner to the reports from the International Committee of the Red Cross and for issuing policy memos that failed to provide clear, consistent guidance for execution at the tactical level.

MG Fay has found that from 25 July 2003 to 6 February 2004, twenty-seven 205 MI BDE Personnel allegedly requested, encouraged, condoned or solicited Military Police (MP) personnel to abuse detainees and/or participated in detainee abuse and/or violated established interrogation procedures and applicable laws and regulations during interrogation operations at Abu Ghraib.

Most, though not all, of the violent or sexual abuses occurred separately from scheduled interrogations and did not focus on persons held for intelligence purposes. No policy, directive or doctrine directly or indirectly caused violent or sexual abuse. In these cases, Soldiers knew they were violating the approved techniques and procedures.

Confusion about what interrogation techniques were authorized resulted from the proliferation of guidance and information from other theaters of operation; individual interrogator experiences in other theaters; and, the failure to distinguish between interrogation operations in other theaters and Iraq. This confusion contributed to the occurrence of some of the non-violent and non-sexual abuses.

MG Taguba and MG Fay reviewed the same photographs as supplied by the US Army Criminal Investigation Command (CID). MG Fay identified one additional photograph depicting abuse by MI personnel that had not been previously identified by MG Taguba. MG Fay also identified other abuse that had not been photographed.

Alleged incidents of abuse by military personnel have been referred to the CID for criminal investigation and the chain of command for disciplinary action. Alleged incidents of abuse by civilian contractors have been referred through the Department of Defense to the Department of Justice.

Discipline and Leadership

Military Intelligence and Military Police units had missions throughout the Iraqi Theater of Operations (ITO), however, 205th MI Brigade and 800th Military Police Brigade leaders at Abu Ghraib failed to execute their assigned responsibilities. The leaders from units located at Abu Ghraib or with supervision over Soldiers and units at Abu Ghraib, failed to supervise subordinates or provide direct oversight of this important mission. These leaders failed to properly discipline their Soldiers. These leaders failed to learn from prior mistakes and failed to provide continued mission-specific training. The 205th MI Brigade Commander did not assign a specific subordinate unit to be responsible for interrogations at Abu Ghraib and did not ensure that a Military Intelligence chain of command at Abu Ghraib was established. The absence of effective leadership was a factor in not sooner discovering and taking actions to prevent both the violent/sexual abuse incidents and the misinterpretation/confusion incidents.

Neither Department of Defense nor Army doctrine caused any abuses. Abuses would not have occurred had doctrine been followed and mission training conducted.

Nonetheless, certain facets of interrogation and detention operations doctrine need to be updated, refined or expanded, including, the concept, organization, and operations of a Joint Interrogation and Debriefing Center (JIDC); guidance for interrogation techniques at both tactical and strategic levels; the roles, responsibilities and relationships between Military Police and Military

Intelligence personnel at detention facilities; and, the establishment and organization of a Joint Task Force structure and, in particular, its intelligence architecture.

Other Contributing Factors

Demands on the Human Intelligence (HUMINT) capabilities in a counterinsurgency and in the future joint operational environment will continue to tax tactical and strategic assets. The Army needs trained and experienced tactical HUMINT personnel.

Working alongside non-DOD organizations/agencies in detention facilities proved complex and demanding. The perception that non-DOD agencies had different rules regarding interrogation and detention operations was evident. Interrogation and detention policies and limits of authority should apply equally to all agencies in the Iraqi Theater of Operations.

"Ghost Detainees"

The appointing authority and investigating officers made a specific finding regarding the issue of "ghost detainees" within Abu Ghraib. It is clear that the interrogation practices of other government agencies led to a loss of accountability at Abu Ghraib. DoD must document and enforce adherence by other government agencies with established DoD practices and procedures while conducting detainee interrogation operations at DoD facilities. This matter requires further investigation and, in accordance with the provisions of AR 381-10, Part 15, is being referred to the DoD Inspector General, as the DoD liaison with other government agencies for appropriate investigation and evaluation. Soldiers/Sailors/Airmen/Marines should never be put in a position that potentially puts them at risk for noncompliance with the Geneva Convention or Laws of Land Warfare.

Conclusion

Leaders and Soldiers throughout Operation Iraqi Freedom were confronted with a complex and dangerous operational environment. Although a clear breakdown in discipline and leadership, the events at Abu Ghraib should not blind us from the noble conduct of the vast majority of our Soldiers. We are a values based profession in which the clear majority of our Soldiers and leaders take great pride.

A clear vote of confidence should be extended by the senior leadership to the leaders and Soldiers who continue to perform extraordinarily in supporting our Nation's wartime mission. Many of our Soldiers have paid the ultimate sacrifice to preserve the freedoms and liberties that America and our Army represent throughout the world.

23 August 2004

Source: "Executive Summary: Investigation of Intelligence Activities at Abu Ghraib," United States Department of Defense, http://www.defense.gov/news/aug2004/d20040825fay.pdf.

121. White House Press Statement on Lifting of Sanctions on Libya, September 20, 2004

Introduction

American military success in invading Iraq and removing President Saddam Hussein from power made other longtime opponents of the United States exceptionally nervous. For more than 30 years since taking power in Libya in 1969 as head of a radical Islamic regime, Colonel Muammar Qaddafi had headed an Arab regime militantly hostile toward the United States. He had been a dedicated supporter of extremist elements within the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which took refuge in Tripoli, Libya's capital, after its 1982 expulsion from Beirut, and had financed and provided asylum to other terrorist groups, especially the Abu Nidal organization that launched spectacular assaults on Israel and the West. The United States broke diplomatic relations with Libya in 1980, and in 1981 and again in 1986 U.S. president Ronald Reagan ordered heavy airstrikes against Libya in retaliation for specific terrorist operations. For decades, the two states remained on deeply antagonistic terms. In late 2003, however, Qaddafi responded to Saddam Hussein's downfall by moving to improve Libya's relationship with the United States. Libya agreed to end its program to develop weapons of mass destruction, including measures to enrich uranium to fuel nuclear armaments; to open all its weapons facilities to international inspection; and to destroy all suspect materials or hand them over to the United Nations (UN). Qaddafi also agreed not to facilitate efforts to acquire weapons of mass destruction in countries whose proliferation efforts were the subject of international concern. In addition, Qaddafi agreed to renounce his support for terrorist activities and to pay compensation to the families of victims of Pan Am Flight 103, which exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland, in December 1988, killing 270 people, an episode for which Libya accepted responsibility. President George W. Bush's administration rewarded Qaddafi in September 2004 by ending the state of U.S. national emergency against Libya in place since 1986 and removing a wide range of economic sanctions on that country. U.S. trade with Libya was now permitted, as were direct air flights, and U.S. commerce with Libya was now eligible for funding from U.S. government programs to finance foreign trade. The Bush administration hinted that if Libya made more progress on such issues as human rights, further concessions might follow. As the icy atmosphere of U.S.-Libyan dealings slowly thawed, in May 2006 the United States and Libya resumed full diplomatic relations. It was no secret that by this juncture the Bush

administration hoped that this demonstration of the potential for even a longtime enemy to normalize its relations with the United States by renouncing efforts to develop weapons of mass destruction might induce Iran to cease its program to enrich uranium and acquire nuclear armaments.

Primary Source

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

September 20, 2004

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

Today, the United States has reached another milestone in the President's effort to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the means of their delivery. Over the last nine months, Libya has worked with international organizations and the United States and United Kingdom to eliminate its WMD and longer-range missile programs in a transparent and verifiable manner. Libya's efforts open the path to better relations with the United States and other free nations.

These accomplishments are significant. Libya facilitated the removal of all significant elements of its declared nuclear weapons program, signed the IAEA Additional Protocol, began a process of converting the Rabta facility to a pharmaceutical plant, destroyed chemical munitions and secured chemical agent for destruction under international supervision, declared its chemical agents to the Organization for the Prevention of Chemical Weapons, eliminated its Scud-C missile force, and agreed to eliminate its Scud-B missiles. Libya turned over nuclear weapons documentation, removed highly enriched uranium for its research reactor and equipment for uranium enrichment, allowed international personnel site access, and pledged to halt all military trade with countries of proliferation concern. Revelations by Libya greatly aided the international community's effort to understand and cripple the global black market in the world's most dangerous technologies.

Libya has also agreed to an ongoing trilateral arrangement in which the United States, the United Kingdom and Libya will address any other WMD-related issues as well as to further projects for mutual cooperation such as redirection of Libyan WMD personnel. The progress in US-Libyan relations reflects the cooperation and support exhibited by Libyan officials and experts over the last nine months. As a result, concerns over weapons of mass destruction no longer pose a barrier to the normalization of US-Libyan relations.

At the beginning of this process, the President committed to respond to concrete Libyan actions in good faith, noting that Libya "can regain a secure and respected place among the nations and, over time, better relations with the United States." In recognition of these achievements and our assessment that Libya has continued to meet the standard it set on December 19 to eliminate WMD and MTCR-class missiles and other developments, the President has:

—Terminated the national emergency declared in 1986 under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA), and revoked related Executive Orders. This rescinds the remaining economic sanctions under IEEPA and ends the need for Treasury Department licences for trade with Libya. It also permits direct air service and regular charter flights, subject to standard safety and other regulatory requirements. This action also unblocks assets belonging to Libyan and non-Libyan entities that were frozen when the national emergency was imposed.

—Adopted, as a general policy, the strategy of providing a level playing field for US business in Libya through the use of U.S. Government programs such as those administered by the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce, the Export-Import Bank, Overseas Private Insurance Corporation, and Trade Development Agency, as well as to waive the prohibitions on the availability of foreign tax credits. This policy will be furthered through the use of statutory waiver authorities where necessary and in some cases through proposed legislative relief from sanctions that would otherwise stand in the way.

As a result, we expect the families of the victims of Pan Am 103 to receive over $1 billion in additional compensation from Libya. The determination and courage of the Pan Am 103 families, in almost sixteen years of efforts to hold Libya accountable before the world, contributed greatly to efforts to secure an agreement under which Libya agreed to end all its WMD programs and pledged to end all connections with terrorism.

In conjunction with U.S. action to unblock frozen assets, with respect to the remaining cases brought against it by U.S. victims of terrorism Libya has reaffirmed to us that it has a policy and practice of carrying out agreed settlements and responding in good faith to legal cases brought against it, including court judgments and arbitral awards. We expect Libya to honor this commitment.

The US will continue its dialogue with Libya on human rights, political and economic modernization, and regional political developments. We welcome Libya's engagement with Amnesty International. We also share the European Community's concern over the plight of the Bulgarian medics. Diplomatic engagement and cooperation in education, health care, and scientific training can build the foundation for stronger relations. The United States supports Libya's efforts to reap the benefits of engagement, including prosperity and security for its citizens. As the President stated in December, 2003, "Should Libya pursue internal reform, America will be ready to help its people to build a more free and

prosperous country." None of today's actions change Libya's status as a State Sponsor of Terrorism. We remain seriously concerned by the allegations of Libyan involvement in an assassination plot against Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia and we have raised our concerns with the Libyan government. These concerns must be addressed. We welcome Libya's formal renunciation of terrorism and Libyan support in the global war against terrorism, but we must establish confidence that Libya has made a strategic decision that is being carried out in practice by all Libyan agencies and officials.

Source: "Bush Lifts Trade, Transportation Sanctions on Libya," U.S. Department of State, http://www.america.gov/st/washfile-english/2004/September/20040920184448ndyblehs0.3003351.html.

122. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1566 Condemning the Use of Terror, October 8, 2004

Introduction

In 2004 the United Nations (UN) Security Council for the first time passed a resolution uncompromisingly condemning the use of terror against civilians, whatever the circumstances. Russia, which in the past had declined to endorse such blanket denunciations of terrorist tactics, introduced this resolution, impelled by the massacre by Chechnyan gunmen in September 2004 of several hundred children and adults held hostage at a school in Beslan, Ossetia. Terrorist operations had also recently killed hundreds in Baghdad, Iraq, including the head of the UN mission there, and Israelis, Russians, and Egyptians had died in attacks in the Sinai. China, France, Germany, Romania, Spain (where Islamic terrorists had placed bombs on trains in Madrid in retaliation for Spanish participation in the Iraq war), the United Kingdom, and the United States all cosponsored the resolution. States were urged to cooperate with each other and with regional and international organizations, including the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee and the "'Al Qaida/Taliban Sanctions Committee,'" in combating terror by all means possible. The resolution also emphasized the need to "enhanc[e] dialogue" and broaden "understanding among civilizations" and to address "unresolved regional conflicts" and "global issues, including development issues," provisions to which Pakistan drew particular attention. As with most UN resolutions, there were no provisions for enforcement, but the fact that the Security Council had passed this declaration was evidence that even states that had once endorsed or at least turned a blind eye to the use of terrorist tactics now considered these unacceptable.

Primary Source

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolutions 1267 (1999) of 15 October 1999 and 1373 (2001) of 28 September 2001 as well as its other resolutions concerning threats to international peace and security caused by terrorism,

Recalling in this regard its resolution 1540 (2004) of 28 April 2004,

Reaffirming also the imperative to combat terrorism in all its forms and manifestations by all means, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and international law,

Deeply concerned by the increasing number of victims, including children, caused by acts of terrorism motivated by intolerance or extremism in various regions of the world,

Calling upon States to cooperate fully with the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) established pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001), including the recently established Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED), the "Al-Qaida/Taliban Sanctions Committee" established pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999) and its Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team, and the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1540 (2004), and *further calling* upon such bodies to enhance cooperation with each other,

Reminding States that they must ensure that any measures taken to combat terrorism comply with all their obligations under international law, and should adopt such measures in accordance with international law, in particular international human rights, refugee, and humanitarian law,

Reaffirming that terrorism in all its forms and manifestations constitutes one of the most serious threats to peace and security,

Considering that acts of terrorism seriously impair the enjoyment of human rights and threaten the social and economic development of all States and undermine global stability and prosperity,

Emphasizing that enhancing dialogue and broadening the understanding among civilizations, in an effort to prevent the indiscriminate targeting of different religions and cultures, and addressing unresolved regional conflicts and the full range of global issues, including development issues, will contribute to international cooperation, which by itself is necessary to sustain the broadest possible fight against terrorism,

Reaffirming its profound solidarity with victims of terrorism and their families,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Condemns* in the strongest terms all acts of terrorism irrespective of their motivation, whenever and by whomsoever committed, as one of the most serious threats to peace and security;

2. *Calls upon* States to cooperate fully in the fight against terrorism, especially with those States where or against whose citizens terrorist acts are committed, in accordance with their obligations under international law, in order to find, deny safe haven and bring to justice, on the basis of the principle to extradite or prosecute, any person who supports, facilitates, participates or attempts to participate in the financing, planning, preparation or commission of terrorist acts or provides safe havens;

3. *Recalls* that criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act, which constitute offences within the scope of and as defined in the international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism, are under no circumstances justifiable by considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other similar nature, and *calls upon* all States to prevent such acts and, if not prevented, to ensure that such acts are punished by penalties consistent with their grave nature;

4. *Calls upon* all States to become party, as a matter of urgency, to the relevant international conventions and protocols whether or not they are a party to regional conventions on the matter;

5. *Calls upon* Member States to cooperate fully on an expedited basis in resolving all outstanding issues with a view to adopting by consensus the draft comprehensive convention on international terrorism and the draft international convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism;

6. *Calls upon* relevant international, regional and subregional organizations to strengthen international cooperation in the fight against terrorism and to intensify their interaction with the United Nations and, in particular, the CTC with a view to facilitating full and timely implementation of resolution 1373 (2001);

7. *Requests* the CTC in consultation with relevant international, regional and subregional organizations and the United Nations bodies to develop a set of best practices to assist States in implementing the provisions of resolution 1373 (2001) related to the financing of terrorism;

8. *Directs* the CTC, as a matter of priority and, when appropriate, in close cooperation with relevant international, regional and subregional organizations to start visits to States, with the consent of the States concerned, in order to enhance the monitoring of the implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) and facilitate the provision of technical and other assistance for such implementation;

9. *Decides* to establish a working group consisting of all members of the Security Council to consider and submit recommendations to the Council on practical measures to be imposed upon individuals, groups or entities involved in or associated with terrorist activities, other than those designated by the Al-Qaida/Taliban Sanctions Committee, including more effective procedures considered to be appropriate for bringing them to justice through prosecution or extradition, freezing of their financial assets, preventing their movement through the territories of Member States, preventing supply to them of all types of arms and related material, and on the procedures for implementing these measures;

10. *Requests* further the working group, established under paragraph 9 to consider the possibility of establishing an international fund to compensate victims of terrorist acts and their families, which might be financed through voluntary contributions, which could consist in part of assets seized from terrorist organizations, their members and sponsors, and submit its recommendations to the Council;

11. *Requests* the Secretary-General to take, as a matter of urgency, appropriate steps to make the CTED fully operational and to inform the Council by 15 November 2004;

12. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Source: United Nations Security Council Official Records, S/RES/1566, October 8, 2004.

123. President George W. Bush, Address to the American People on the Iraqi Elections, January 30, 2005

Introduction

In January 2005 national elections for a 275-member transitional Iraqi National Assembly were held in Iraq, the first occasion in Iraq's history in which open polling to decide on its government had taken place. The assembly was expected to draft a new constitution, under which further elections would then be held to decide on a long-term Iraqi government. Most parties representing Iraq's minority Arab Sunni Muslim community boycotted the elections, and on the election day itself at least 44 people died in 9 incidents around Iraq as opponents of the polls sought to intimidate other Iraqis from voting by mounting more than 100 attacks on polling places. Even so, about 58 percent of Iraqis, 8.4 million altogether, went to the polls. Representatives of the Shiite Muslim community won a majority of seats, with the United Iraqi Alliance, effectively supported by Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, Iraq's highest

Shiite Muslim cleric, in first place, with 48 percent of the votes, followed by the Democratic Patriotic Alliance of Kurdistan, which received 26 percent. The boycott by Arab Sunni parties, groups associated in the past with deposed Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, who argued that the safety of those voting for them could not be guaranteed, meant that those organizations had extremely limited representation in the assembly, but they were nonetheless assured that their views on the new constitution would be taken into account. International observers who monitored the polls felt that the elections had on the whole been fair and free. The holding of the elections brought a brief burst of international optimism over the future of Iraq. An exultant U.S. president George W. Bush acclaimed them as the first step on the road to a free and democratic Iraq capable of governing itself and maintaining domestic peace, stability, and order. In December 2005 the president greeted the result of national elections for a permanent Iraqi National Assembly based on proportional representation with similar enthusiasm and welcomed the eventual establishment in May 2006 of a coalition government headed by Shia politician Nouri al-Maliki. Over the next year, the resurgence of bitter and increasingly violent sectarian conflict within Iraq and the inability of successive Iraqi leaders to resolve internal divisions would make such short-lived hopes seem increasingly illusory and unrealistic.

Primary Source

The President: Today the people of Iraq have spoken to the world, and the world is hearing the voice of freedom from the center of the Middle East.

In great numbers, and under great risk, Iraqis have shown their commitment to democracy. By participating in free elections, the Iraqi people have firmly rejected the anti-democratic ideology of the terrorists. They have refused to be intimidated by thugs and assassins. And they have demonstrated the kind of courage that is always the foundation of self-government.

Some Iraqis were killed while exercising their rights as citizens. We also mourn the American and British military personnel who lost their lives today. Their sacrifices were made in a vital cause of freedom, peace in a troubled region, and a more secure future for us all.

The Iraqi people, themselves, made this election a resounding success. Brave patriots stepped forward as candidates. Many citizens volunteered as poll workers. More than 100,000 Iraqi security force personnel guarded polling places and conducted operations against terrorist groups. One news account told of a voter who had lost a leg in a terror attack last year, and went to the polls today, despite threats of violence. He said, "I would have crawled here if I had to. I don't want terrorists to kill other Iraqis like they tried to kill me. Today I am voting for peace."

Across Iraq today, men and women have taken rightful control of their country's destiny, and they have chosen a future of freedom and peace. In this process, Iraqis have had many friends at their side. The European Union and the United Nations gave important assistance in the election process. The American military and our diplomats, working with our coalition partners, have been skilled and relentless, and their sacrifices have helped to bring Iraqis to this day. The people of the United States have been patient and resolute, even in difficult days.

The commitment to a free Iraq now goes forward. This historic election begins the process of drafting and ratifying a new constitution, which will be the basis of a fully democratic Iraqi government. Terrorists and insurgents will continue to wage their war against democracy, and we will support the Iraqi people in their fight against them. We will continue training Iraqi security forces so this rising democracy can eventually take responsibility for its own security.

There's more distance to travel on the road to democracy. Yet Iraqis are proving they're equal to the challenge. On behalf of the American people, I congratulate the people of Iraq on this great and historic achievement.

Source: "President Congratulates Iraqis on Election," The White House, President George W. Bush, http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2005/01/20050130-2.html.

124. Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction, Report to the President, March 31, 2005

Introduction

The primary rationale that U.S. and British leaders put forth in advance of hostilities to justify their determination to go to war against Saddam Hussein was that under his leadership, Iraq was developing formidable stockpiles of biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons of mass destruction that posed a major threat to regional stability and were also likely to be made available to terrorists for operations against Western powers. American officials also alleged that close links existed between Saddam Hussein and the Al Qaeda terrorist organization that had masterminded the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States and several other assaults on U.S. military and diplomatic targets abroad during the 1990s. In September 2002 the British government published a dossier, which later was demonstrated to have been based on inaccurate

information, claiming that Iraq already had substantial arsenals of such weapons and was in the process of producing more. In a February 2003 presentation to the United Nations (UN), the initially skeptical U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell cited the existence of major quantities of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq as a fact. To the considerable embarrassment of both British and American leaders, the invasion coalition forces failed to locate any appreciable amounts of weapons of mass destruction, and it was determined that Hussein's nuclear program had been rudimentary and unlikely to pose any threat for the foreseeable future. Under pressure from Congress, in February 2004 U.S. president George W. Bush established a public commission to investigate how and why his country's intelligence agencies had provided top officials with such misleading information on Hussein's preinvasion weapons program. The commission was cochaired by former Virginia governor and senator Charles Robb, a Democrat, and the Republican judge Laurence Silberman, and its members included Senator John McCain of Arizona, a staunch supporter of the war in Iraq and potential Republican presidential candidate who later won his party's 2008 nomination, plus several well-connected former officials from the defense and intelligence apparatus. The report concluded that a major intelligence failure had indeed occurred in this case and that the intelligence community was not only fragmented and poorly coordinated but also had based its assessments of the Iraq weapons situation on inadequate and unreliable data. The report's authors also identified another problem: the fact that at some point intelligence analysts realized that the government officials who were the ultimate recipients of their estimates would not welcome skeptical views, a climate of opinion that at least subconsciously helped to shape their own conclusions.

Primary Source

Mr. President:

With this letter, we transmit the report of the Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction. Our unanimous report is based on a lengthy investigation, during which we interviewed hundreds of experts from inside and outside the Intelligence Community and reviewed thousands of documents. Our report offers 74 recommendations for improving the U.S. Intelligence Community (all but a handful of which we believe can be implemented without statutory change). But among these recommendations a few points merit special emphasis.

We conclude that the Intelligence Community was dead wrong in almost all of its pre-war judgments about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. This was a major intelligence failure. Its principal causes were the Intelligence Community's inability to collect good information about Iraq's WMD programs, serious errors in analyzing what information it could gather, and a failure to make clear just how much of its analysis was based on assumptions, rather than good evidence. On a matter of this importance, we simply cannot afford failures of this magnitude.

After a thorough review, the Commission found no indication that the Intelligence Community distorted the evidence regarding Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. What the intelligence professionals told you about Saddam Hussein's programs was what they believed. They were simply wrong.

As you asked, we looked as well beyond Iraq in our review of the Intelligence Community's capabilities. We conducted case studies of our intelligence agencies' recent performance assessing the risk of WMD in Libya and Afghanistan, and our current capabilities with respect to several of the world's most dangerous state and non-state proliferation threats. Out of this more comprehensive review, we report both bad news and good news. The bad news is that we still know disturbingly little about the weapons programs and even less about the intentions of many of our most dangerous adversaries.

The good news is that we have had some solid intelligence successes—thanks largely to innovative and multi-agency collection techniques.

Our review has convinced us that the best hope for preventing future failures is dramatic change. We need an Intelligence Community that is truly integrated, far more imaginative and willing to run risks, open to a new generation of Americans, and receptive to new technologies.

We have summarized our principal recommendations for the entire Intelligence Community in the Overview of the report. Here, we focus on recommendations that we believe only you can effect if you choose to implement them:

Give the DNI powers—and backing—to match his responsibilities.

In your public statement accompanying the announcement of Ambassador Negroponte's nomination as Director of National Intelligence (DNI), you have already moved in this direction. The new intelligence law makes the DNI responsible for integrating the 15 independent members of the Intelligence Community. But it gives him powers that are only relatively broader than before. The DNI cannot make this work unless he takes his legal authorities over budget, programs, personnel, and priorities to the limit. It won't be easy to provide this leadership to the intelligence components of the Defense Department, or to the CIA. They are some of the government's most headstrong agencies. Sooner or later, they will try to run around—or over—the DNI. Then, only your determined backing will convince them that we cannot return to the old ways.

Bring the FBI all the way into the Intelligence Community.

The FBI is one of the proudest and most independent agencies in the United States Government. It is on its way to becoming an effective intelligence agency, but it will never arrive if it insists on using only its own map. We recommend that you order an organizational reform of the Bureau that pulls all of its intelligence capabilities into one place and subjects them to the coordinating authority of the DNI—the same authority that the DNI exercises over Defense Department intelligence agencies. Under this recommendation, the counterterrorism and counterintelligence resources of the Bureau would become a single National Security Service inside the FBI. It would of course still be subject to the Attorney General's oversight and to current legal rules. The intelligence reform act almost accomplishes this task, but at crucial points it retreats into ambiguity.

Without leadership from the DNI, the FBI is likely to continue escaping effective integration into the Intelligence Community.

Demand more of the Intelligence Community.

The Intelligence Community needs to be pushed. It will not do its best unless it is pressed by policymakers—sometimes to the point of discomfort. Analysts must be pressed to explain how much they don't know; the collection agencies must be pressed to explain why they don't have better information on key topics. While policymakers must be prepared to credit intelligence that doesn't fit their preferences, no important intelligence assessment should be accepted without sharp questioning that forces the community to explain exactly how it came to that assessment and what alternatives might also be true. This is not "politicization"; it is a necessary part of the intelligence process.

And in the end, it is the key to getting the best from an Intelligence Community that, at its best, knows how to do astonishing things.

Rethink the President's daily brief.

The daily intelligence briefings given to you before the Iraq war were flawed.

Through attention-grabbing headlines and repetition of questionable data, these briefings overstated the case that Iraq was rebuilding its WMD programs. There are many other aspects of the daily brief that deserve to be reconsidered as well, but we are reluctant to make categorical recommendations on a process that in the end must meet your needs, not our theories. On one point, however, we want to be specific: while the DNI must be ultimately responsible for the content of your daily briefing, we do not believe that the DNI ought to prepare, deliver, or even attend every briefing. For if the DNI is consumed by current intelligence, the long-term needs of the Intelligence Community will suffer.

There is no more important intelligence mission than understanding the worst weapons that our enemies possess, and how they intend to use them against us. These are their deepest secrets, and unlocking them must be our highest priority. So far, despite some successes, our Intelligence Community has not been agile and innovative enough to provide the information that the nation needs. Other commissions and observers have said the same. We should not wait for another commission or another Administration to force widespread change in the Intelligence Community.

Very respectfully,

Laurence H. Silberman
Co-Chairman

Charles S. Robb
Co-Chairman

Richard C. Levin

John McCain

Henry S. Rowen

Walter B. Slocombe

William 0. Studeman

Patricia M. Wald

Charles M. Vest

Lloyd Cutler

Source: "Unclassified Version of the Report of the Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction," GPO Access, http://www.gpoaccess.gov/wmd/index.html.

125. British Prime Minister Tony Blair, Speech on the London Bombings, July 16, 2005

Introduction

On July 7, 2005, 4 British Muslim suicide bombers detonated bombs, three on the London underground and one on a bus, killing 52 people and seriously injuring 500 others. It was believed that the explosions in the British capital were undertaken by several Muslim terrorist sympathizers from towns in West Yorkshire in retribution for the country's involvement in military

operations against Iraq and Afghanistan. Speaking to the Labour Party political conference 10 days later, British prime minister Tony Blair, who against the wishes of his own party had strongly supported both military interventions, emphasized that Britain, unlike Spain, would not reduce its commitments in either Iraq or Afghanistan in response to attacks that randomly targeted its own civilians. Blair remained resolute in his determination to stay the course against what he termed "an evil ideology" spearheaded by Al Qaeda, which demanded the establishment of fundamentalist Muslim states ruled by Sharia law throughout the Arab world, the "elimination of Israel," and the withdrawal of all Westerners from the Middle East. Such "fanaticism," Blair warned, "can't be moderated" and "has to be stood up to." Blair explicitly stated that such "barbaric ideas" were repulsive to most Muslims and were a perversion of Muslim ideology. He stated his intention of working with prominent British Muslim figures in efforts to "confront" such "extremists" and to encourage mutual understanding between different faiths. Blair's reaction to terrorist attacks on his country's capital differed from that of Spain the previous year, which also experienced bombings of commuter railway lines in Madrid, its own capital, shortly before a general election and soon responded by withdrawing its military forces from Iraq. Further terrorist attacks took place in Britain two years later, in the summer of 2007, shortly after Gordon Brown replaced Blair as prime minister, with several failed attempts to explode car bombs in London and a car bombing attack on Glasgow Airport in Scotland.

Primary Source

The greatest danger is that we fail to face up to the nature of the threat we are dealing with. What we witnessed in London last Thursday week was not an aberrant act.

It was not random. It was not a product of particular local circumstances in West Yorkshire.

Senseless though any such horrible murder is, it was not without sense for its organizers. It had a purpose. It was done according to a plan. It was meant.

What we are confronting here is an evil ideology.

It is not a clash of civilizations—all civilized people, Muslim or other, feel revulsion at it. But it is a global struggle and it is a battle of ideas, hearts and minds, both within Islam and outside it.

This is the battle that must be won, a battle not just about the terrorist methods but their views. Not just their barbaric acts, but their barbaric ideas. Not only what they do but what they think and the thinking they would impose on others.

This ideology and the violence that is inherent in it did not start a few years ago in response to a particular policy. Over the past 12 years, Al-Qaeda and its associates have attacked 26 countries, killed thousands of people, many of them Muslims.

They have networks in virtually every major country and thousands of fellow travelers. They are well-financed. Look at their websites.

They aren't unsophisticated in their propaganda. They recruit however and whoever they can and with success.

Neither is it true that they have no demands. They do. It is just that no sane person would negotiate on them.

They demand the elimination of Israel; the withdrawal of all Westerners from Muslim countries, irrespective of the wishes of people and government; the establishment of effectively Taliban states and Sharia law in the Arab world en route to one caliphate of all Muslim nations.

We don't have to wonder what type of country those states would be. Afghanistan was such a state. Girls put out of school.

Women denied even rudimentary rights. People living in abject poverty and oppression. All of it justified by reference to religious faith.

The 20th century showed how powerful political ideologies could be. This is a religious ideology, a strain within the world-wide religion of Islam, as far removed from its essential decency and truth as Protestant gunmen who kill Catholics, or vice versa, are from Christianity. But do not let us underestimate it or dismiss it.

Those who kill in its name believe genuinely that in doing it, they do God's work; they go to paradise.

From the mid-1990s onwards, statements from Al-Qaeda gave very clear expression to this ideology: "Every Muslim, the minute he can start differentiating, carries hatred towards the Americans, Jews and Christians. This is part of our ideology. The creation of Israel is a crime and it has to be erased.

"You should know that targeting Americans and Jews and killing them anywhere you find them on the earth is one of the greatest duties and one of the best acts of piety you can offer to God Almighty." Just as great is their hatred for so-called apostate governments in Muslim countries. This is why mainstream Muslims are also regarded as legitimate targets.

At last year's (Labour) party conference, I talked about this ideology in these terms.

Its roots are not superficial, but deep, in the madrassas of Pakistan, in the extreme forms of Wahabi doctrine in Saudi Arabia, in the former training camps of Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan; in the cauldron

of Chechnya; in parts of the politics of most countries of the Middle East and many in Asia; in the extremist minority that now in every European city preach hatred of the West and our way of life.

This is what we are up against. It cannot be beaten except by confronting it, symptoms and causes, head-on. Without compromise and without delusion.

The extremist propaganda is cleverly aimed at their target audience. It plays on our tolerance and good nature.

It exploits the tendency to guilt of the developed world, as if it is our behaviour that should change, that if we only tried to work out and act on their grievances, we could lift this evil, that if we changed our behaviour, they would change theirs. This is a misunderstanding of a catastrophic order.

Their cause is not founded on an injustice. It is founded on a belief, one whose fanaticism is such it can't be moderated. It can't be remedied. It has to be stood up to.

And, of course, they will use any issue that is a matter of dissent within our democracy. But we should lay bare the almost-devilish logic behind such manipulation.

If it is the plight of the Palestinians that drives them, why, every time it looks as if Israel and Palestine are making progress, does the same ideology perpetrate an outrage that turns hope back into despair?

If it is Afghanistan that motivates them, why blow up innocent Afghans on their way to their first ever election? If it is Iraq that motivates them, why is the same ideology killing Iraqis by terror in defiance of an elected Iraqi government?

What was September 11, 2001 the reprisal for? Why even after the first Madrid bomb and the election of a new Spanish government, were they planning another atrocity when caught?

Why if it is the cause of Muslims that concerns them, do they kill so many with such callous indifference?

We must pull this up by its roots. Within Britain, we must join up with our Muslim community to take on the extremists. Worldwide, we should confront it everywhere it exists.

Next week I and other party leaders will meet key members of the Muslim community. Out of it I hope we can get agreed action to take this common fight forward. I want also to work with other nations to promote the true face of Islam worldwide.

Round the world, there are conferences already being held, numerous inter-faith dialogues in place, but we need to bring all of these activities together and give them focus.

We must be clear about how we win this struggle. We should take what security measures we can. But let us not kid ourselves.

In the end, it is by the power of argument, debate, true religious faith and true legitimate politics that we will defeat this threat.

That means not just arguing against their terrorism, but their politics and their perversion of religious faith. It means exposing as the rubbish it is, the propaganda about America and its allies wanting to punish Muslims or eradicate Islam.

It means championing our values of freedom, tolerance and respect for others. It means explaining why the suppression of women and the disdain for democracy are wrong.

The idea that elected governments are the preserve of those of any other faith or culture is insulting and wrong. Muslims believe in democracy just as much as any other faith and, given the chance, show it.

We must step up the urgency of our efforts. Here and abroad, the times the terrorists have succeeded are all too well known.

Less known are the times they have been foiled. The human life destroyed we can see. The billions of dollars every nation now spends is huge and growing. And they kill without limit.

They murdered over 50 innocent people (in London) last week. But it could have been over 500. And had it been, they would have rejoiced.

The spirit of our age is one in which the prejudices of the past are put behind us, where our diversity is our strength. It is this which is under attack. Moderates are not moderate through weakness but through strength. Now is the time to show it in defense of our common values.

Source: Tony Blair, Speech, Labour Party National Conference, London, July 16, 2005, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/4689363.stm.

126. Iranian President Mahmood Ahmadinejad to U.S. President George W. Bush, May 8, 2006 [Excerpts]

Introduction

In response to repeated U.S. demands that Iran cease all efforts to enrich uranium and develop nuclear weapons and that it end support for insurgent groups in Iraq, Iranian president Mahmood Ahmadinejad, who took office in August 2005, sent a lengthy

letter to U.S. president George W. Bush. Ahmadinejad, who had a doctorate in civil engineering and was known for his modest lifestyle, undiplomatically took Bush to task for betraying the ideals not just of Islam but also of Christianity. Ahmadinejad accused Bush of hypocrisy for waging war against Iraq and occupying that country at an enormous cost in both lives and money. The Iranian president assailed the human rights record of the United States, especially its extralegal detention of terrorist suspects at Guantánamo Bay and in secret prisons in Europe. He also attacked U.S. support for Israel and the Bush administration's efforts to pressure the new Hamas-dominated Palestinian government into accepting Israel's existence. Such policies, Ahmadinejad claimed, were damaging the popularity of the United States throughout the Middle East. He proclaimed Iran's right to utilize whatever scientific and technological knowledge was available to it, whether for military or peaceful purposes. He also attacked the record of the United States in supporting nondemocratic governments in Latin America and exploiting African material resources before turning to the lengthy U.S. history of intervention in Iran's affairs, which he considered equally reprehensible. He reminded Bush that after September 11, 2001, Iran had "declared its disgust with the perpetrators." Even so, Ahmadinejad suggested that the success of these massive attacks on American lives and property suggested that rogue elements within the U.S. intelligence and security services must have been implicated. Slightly paradoxically, Ahmadinejad then warned that the U.S. government's role in emphasizing the war on terror had encouraged unnecessary fear, panic, and insecurity among its citizens. He questioned the stated justification for the wars against both Afghanistan and Iraq. Bringing up the issue of social justice, Ahmadinejad also attacked Bush for spending vast amounts on war and armaments and violating human rights while millions of people in his own country and others lived in abject poverty. Ahmadinejad charged that the money devoted to military policies could and should have been spent on health, education, disaster relief, conflict mediation, and peaceful development. As it was, "global hatred of the American government" was increasing, and "[l]iberalism and Western Style democracy" had "failed." Ahmadinejad's letter was reminiscent of the missives and speeches of left-wing Third World leaders of the 1950s and 1960s. Its apocalyptic tone, theological references, and use of broad and sweeping concepts to depict the international arena also bore some resemblances to President Bush's own rhetorical style.

Primary Source

For some time now I have been thinking, how one can justify the undeniable contradictions that exist in the international arena—which are being constantly debated, especially in political forums and amongst university students. Many questions remain unanswered. These have prompted me to discuss some of the contradictions and questions, in the hopes that it might bring about an opportunity to redress them.

Can one be a follower of Jesus Christ (PBUH [Peace Be Upon Him]), the great Messenger of God,

Feel obliged to respect human rights,

Present liberalism as a civilization model,

Announce one's opposition to the proliferation of nuclear weapons and WMDs,

Make "War on Terror" his slogan, and finally,

Work towards the establishment of a unified international community—a community which Christ and the virtuous of the Earth will one day govern,

But at the same time,

Have countries attacked; The lives, reputations and possessions of people destroyed and on the slight chance of the presence of a few criminals in a village, city, or convoy for example, the entire village, city or convoy set ablaze.

Or because of the possibility of the existence of WMDs in one country, it is occupied, around one hundred thousand people killed, its water sources, agriculture and industry destroyed, close to 180,000 foreign troops put on the ground, sanctity of private homes of citizens broken, and the country pushed back perhaps fifty years. At what price? Hundreds of billions of dollars spent from the treasury of one country and certain other countries and tens of thousands of young men and women—as occupation troops—put in harm's way, taken away from family and loved ones, their hands stained with the blood of others, subjected to so much psychological pressure that everyday some commit suicide and those returning home suffer depression, become sickly and grapple with all sorts of ailments; while some are killed and their bodies handed to their families.

On the pretext of the existence of WMDs, this great tragedy came to engulf both the peoples of the occupied and the occupying country. Later it was revealed that no WMDs existed to begin with.

Of course Saddam was a murderous dictator. But the war was not waged to topple him; the announced goal of the war was to find and destroy weapons of mass destruction. He was toppled along the way towards another goal; nevertheless the people of the region are happy about it. I point out that throughout the many years of the imposed war on Iran Saddam was supported by the West.

Mr. President,

You might know that I am a teacher. My students ask me how can these actions be reconciled with the values outlined at the beginning of this letter and duty to the tradition of Jesus Christ (PBUH), the Messenger of peace and forgiveness?

There are prisoners in Guantanamo Bay that have not been tried, have no legal representation, their families cannot see them and are obviously kept in a strange land outside their own country. There is no international monitoring of their conditions and fate. No one knows whether they are prisoners, POWs, accused or criminals.

European investigators have confirmed the existence of secret prisons in Europe too. I could not correlate the abduction of a person, and him or her being kept in secret prisons, with the provisions of any judicial system. For that matter, I fail to understand how such actions correspond to the values outlined in the beginning of this letter, i.e., the teachings of Jesus Christ (PBUH), human rights and liberal values.

Young people, university students, and ordinary people have many questions about the phenomenon of Israel. I am sure you are familiar with some of them.

Throughout history many countries have been occupied, but I think the establishment of a new country with a new people, is a new phenomenon that is exclusive to our times.

Students are saying that sixty years ago such a country did not exist. They show old documents and globes and say try as we have, we have not been able to find a country named Israel.

I tell them to study the history of WWI and II. One of my students told me that during WWII, which more than tens of millions of people perished in, news about the war was quickly disseminated by the warring parties. Each touted their victories and the most recent battlefront defeat of the other party. After the war they claimed that six million Jews had been killed. Six million people that were surely related to at least two million families.

Again let us assume that these events are true. Does that logically translate into the establishment of the state of Israel in the Middle East or support for such a state? How can this phenomenon be rationalized or explained?

Mr. President,

I am sure you know how—and at what cost—Israel was established:

—Many thousands were killed in the process.

—Millions of indigenous people were made refugees.

—Hundreds of thousands of hectares of farmland, olive plantations, towns and villages were destroyed.

This tragedy is not exclusive to the time of establishment; unfortunately it has been ongoing for sixty years now.

A regime has been established which does not show mercy even to kids, destroys houses while the occupants are still in them, announces beforehand its list and plans to assassinate Palestinian figures, and keeps thousands of Palestinians in prison. Such a phenomenon is unique—or at the very least extremely rare—in recent memory.

Another big question asked by the people is "why is this regime being supported?"

Is support for this regime in line with the teachings of Jesus Christ (PBUH) or Moses (PBUH) or liberal values?

Or are we to understand that allowing the original inhabitants of these lands—inside and outside Palestine—whether they are Christian, Moslem or Jew, to determine their fate, runs contrary to principles of democracy, human rights and the teachings of prophets? If not, why is there so much opposition to a referendum?

The newly elected Palestinian administration recently took office. All independent observers have confirmed that this government represents the electorate. Incredibly, they have put the elected government under pressure and have advised it to recognize the Israeli regime, abandon the struggle and follow the programs of the previous government.

If the current Palestinian government had run on the above platform, would the Palestinian people have voted for it? Again, can such position taken in opposition to the Palestinian government be reconciled with the values outlined earlier? The people are also asking "why are all UNSC resolutions in condemnation of Israel vetoed?"

Mr. President,

As you are well aware, I live amongst the people and am in constant contact with them—many people from around the Middle East manage to contact me as well. They do not have faith in these dubious policies either. There is evidence that the people of the region are becoming increasingly angry with such policies.

It is not my intention to pose too many questions, but I need to refer to other points as well.

Why is it that any technological and scientific achievement reached in the Middle East region is translated into and portrayed as a threat to the Zionist regime? Is not scientific Research & Development one of the basic rights of nations?

You are familiar with history. Aside from the Middle Ages, in what other point in history has scientific and technical progress been a crime? Can the possibility of scientific achievements being utilized for military purposes be reason enough to oppose science and technology altogether? If such a supposition is true, then all scientific disciplines, including physics, chemistry, mathematics, medicine, engineering, etc. must be opposed.

Lies were told in the Iraqi matter. What was the result? I have no doubt that telling lies is reprehensible in any culture, and you do not like to be lied to.

Mr. President,

Don't Latin Americans have the right to ask why their elected governments are being opposed and coup leaders supported? Or, why must they constantly be threatened and live in fear?

The people of Africa are hardworking, creative and talented. They can play an important and valuable role in providing for the needs of humanity and contribute to its material and spiritual progress. Poverty and hardship in large parts of Africa are preventing this from happening. Don't they have the right to ask why their enormous wealth—including minerals—is being looted, despite the fact that they need it more than others?

Again, do such actions correspond to the teachings of Christ and the tenets of human rights?

The brave and faithful people of Iran too have many questions and grievances, including: the coup d'etat of 1953 and the subsequent toppling of the legal government of the day, opposition to the Islamic revolution, transformation of an Embassy into a headquarters supporting the activities of those opposing the Islamic Republic (many thousands of pages of documents corroborate this claim), support for Saddam in the war waged against Iran, the shooting down of the Iranian passenger plane, freezing the assets of the Iranian nation, increasing threats, anger and displeasure vis-à-vis the scientific and nuclear progress of the Iranian nation (just when all Iranians are jubilant and celebrating their country's progress), and many other grievances that I will not refer to in this letter.

Mr. President,

September Eleven was a horrendous incident. The killing of innocents is deplorable and appalling in any part of the world. Our government immediately declared its disgust with the perpetrators and offered its condolences to the bereaved and expressed its sympathies.

All governments have a duty to protect the lives, property and good standing of their citizens. Reportedly your government employs extensive security, protection and intelligence systems—and even hunts its opponents abroad. September Eleven was not a simple operation. Could it be planned and executed without coordination with intelligence and security services—or their extensive infiltration? Of course this is just an educated guess. Why have the various aspects of the attacks been kept secret? Why are we not told who botched their responsibilities? And, why aren't those responsible and the guilty parties identified and put on trial?

All governments have a duty to provide security and peace of mind for their citizens. For some years now, the people of your country and neighbors of world trouble spots do not have peace of mind. After 9/11, instead of healing and tending to the emotional wounds of the survivors and the American people—who had been immensely traumatized by the attacks—some Western media only intensified the climate of fear and insecurity—some constantly talked about the possibility of new terror attacks and kept the people in fear. Is that service to the American people? Is it possible to calculate the damages incurred from fear and panic?

American citizens lived in constant fear of fresh attacks that could come at any moment and in any place. They felt insecure in the streets, in their place of work and at home. Who would be happy with this situation? Why was the media, instead of conveying a feeling of security and providing peace of mind, giving rise to a feeling of insecurity?

Some believe that the hype paved the way—and was the justification—for an attack on Afghanistan. Again I need to refer to the role of media.

In media charters, correct dissemination of information and honest reporting of a story are established tenets. I express my deep regret about the disregard shown by certain Western media for these principles. The main pretext for an attack on Iraq was the existence of WMDs. This was repeated incessantly—for the public to finally believe—and the ground set for an attack on Iraq.

Will the truth not be lost in a contrived and deceptive climate?

Again, if the truth is allowed to be lost, how can that be reconciled with the earlier mentioned values?

Is the truth known to the Almighty lost as well?

Mr. President,

In countries around the world, citizens provide for the expenses of governments so that their governments in turn are able to serve them.

The question here is "what has the hundreds of billions of dollars, spent every year to pay for the Iraqi campaign, produced for the citizens?"

As Your Excellency is aware, in some states of your country, people are living in poverty. Many thousands are homeless and unemployment is a huge problem. Of course these problems exist—to a larger or lesser extent—in other countries as well. With these conditions in mind, can the gargantuan expenses of the campaign—paid from the public treasury—be explained and be consistent with the aforementioned principles?

What has been said, are some of the grievances of the people around the world, in our region and in your country. But my main contention—which I am hoping you will agree to some of it—is:

Those in power have a specific time in office and do not rule indefinitely, but their names will be recorded in history and will be constantly judged in the immediate and distant futures.

The people will scrutinize our presidencies.

Did we manage to bring peace, security and prosperity for the people or insecurity and unemployment?

Did we intend to establish justice or just support especial interest groups, and by forcing many people to live in poverty and hardship, made a few people rich and powerful—thus trading the approval of the people and the Almighty with theirs?

Did we defend the rights of the underprivileged or ignore them?

Did we defend the rights of all people around the world or imposed wars on them, interfered illegally in their affairs, established hellish prisons and incarcerated some of them?

Did we bring the world peace and security or raised the specter of intimidation and threats?

Did we tell the truth to our nation and others around the world or presented an inverted version of it?

Were we on the side of people or the occupiers and oppressors?

Did our administrations set out to promote rational behavior, logic, ethics, peace, fulfilling obligations, justice, service to the people, prosperity, progress and respect for human dignity or the force of guns, intimidation, insecurity, disregard for the people, delaying the progress and excellence of other nations, and trample on people's rights?

And finally, they will judge us on whether we remained true to our oath of office—to serve the people, which is our main task, and the traditions of the prophets—or not?

Mr. President,

How much longer can the world tolerate this situation?

Where will this trend lead the world to?

How long must the people of the world pay for the incorrect decisions of some rulers?

How much longer will the specter of insecurity—raised from the stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction—haunt the people of the world?

How much longer will the blood of innocent men, women and children be spilled on the streets, and people's houses destroyed over their heads?

Are you pleased with the current condition of the world?

Do you think present policies can continue?

If billions of dollars spent on security, military campaigns and troop movement were instead spent on investment and assistance for poor countries, promotion of health, combating different diseases, education and improvement of mental and physical fitness, assistance to the victims of natural disasters, creation of employment opportunities and production, development projects and poverty alleviation, establishment of peace, mediation between disputing states, and extinguishing the flames of racial, ethnic and other conflicts, where would the world be today? Would not your government and people be justifiably proud?

Would not your administration's political and economic standing have been stronger?

And I am most sorry to say, would there have been an ever increasing global hatred of the American government?

Mr. President, it is not my intention to distress anyone.

If Prophet Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Ishmael, Joseph, or Jesus Christ (PBUH) were with us today, how would they have judged such behavior? Will we be given a role to play in the promised world, where justice will become universal and Jesus Christ (PBUH) will be present? Will they even accept us?

My basic question is this: Is there no better way to interact with the rest of the world? Today there are hundreds of millions of Christians, hundreds of millions of Moslems and millions of people who follow the teachings of Moses (PBUH). All divine religions share and respect one word and that is "monotheism" or belief in a single God and no other in the world.

[. . .]

Mr. President,

According to divine verses, we have all been called upon to worship one God and follow the teachings of divine Prophets.

[. . .]

We believe a return to the teachings of the divine prophets is the only road leading to salvation. I have been told that Your Excellency follows the teachings of Jesus (PBUH) and believes in the divine promise of the rule of the righteous on Earth.

We also believe that Jesus Christ (PBUH) was one of the great prophets of the Almighty. He has been repeatedly praised in the Koran. . . .

[. . .]

Divine prophets have promised:

The day will come when all humans will congregate before the court of the Almighty, so that their deeds are examined. The good will be directed towards Heaven and evildoers will meet divine retribution. I trust both of us believe in such a day, but it will not be easy to calculate the actions of rulers, because we must be answerable to our nations and all others whose lives have been directly or indirectly affected by our actions.

All prophets, speak of peace and tranquility for man—based on monotheism, justice and respect for human dignity.

Do you not think that if all of us come to believe in and abide by these principles, that is, monotheism, worship of God, justice, respect for the dignity of man, belief in the Last Day, we can overcome the present problems of the world—that are the result of disobedience to the Almighty and the teachings of prophets—and improve our performance?

Do you not think that belief in these principles promotes and guarantees peace, friendship and justice?

Do you not think that the aforementioned written or unwritten principles are universally respected?

Will you not accept this invitation? That is, a genuine return to the teachings of prophets, to monotheism and justice, to preserve human dignity and obedience to the Almighty and His prophets?

Mr. President,

History tells us that repressive and cruel governments do not survive. God has entrusted the fate of men to them. The Almighty has not left the universe and humanity to their own devices. Many things have happened contrary to the wishes and plans of governments. These tell us that there is a higher power at work and all events are determined by Him.

Can one deny the signs of change in the world today?

Is the situation of the world today comparable to that of ten years ago? Changes happen fast and come at a furious pace.

The people of the world are not happy with the status quo and pay little heed to the promises and comments made by a number of influential world leaders. Many people around the world feel insecure and oppose the spreading of insecurity and war and do not approve of and accept dubious policies.

The people are protesting the increasing gap between the haves and the have-nots and the rich and poor countries.

The people are disgusted with increasing corruption.

The people of many countries are angry about the attacks on their cultural foundations and the disintegration of families. They are equally dismayed with the fading of care and compassion. The people of the world have no faith in international organizations, because their rights are not advocated by these organizations.

Liberalism and Western style democracy have not been able to help realize the ideals of humanity. Today these two concepts have failed. Those with insight can already hear the sounds of the shattering and fall of the ideology and thoughts of the Liberal democratic systems.

We increasingly see that people around the world are flocking towards a main focal point—that is the Almighty God. Undoubtedly through faith in God and the teachings of the prophets, the people will conquer their problems. My question for you is: "Do you not want to join them?"

[. . .]

Source: "Full Text Letter of Islamic Republic of Iran President to American President," MidEastWeb, http://www.mideastweb.org/ahmadinejad_letter_to_bush.htm.

127. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1696, July 31, 2006

Introduction

Iran's continuing efforts to develop nuclear weapons were a subject of persistent international concern, as were those of North Korea. In both cases, major powers feared that should a regime whose leaders they considered erratic possess such weapons, this might destabilize the entire surrounding region. In July 2006 the United Nations (UN) Security Council passed Resolution 1696, proposed by China, France, Germany, Russia, Britain, and the United States, demanding that Iran halt its program of nuclear enrichment of uranium no later than August 31, 2006. Iran had previously announced its intention of resuming such activities after two years, during which they had been suspended while negotiations were in progress. The resolution passed by 14 votes to 1, with only the small Arab emirate of Qatar, which may have feared retribution from Iran, opposed, on the grounds that the situation in the region was "inflamed" and it would do no harm to wait a few days, until Iran had given an answer to earlier proposals by the six sponsoring powers. The Iranian representative to the UN deplored the resolution, stating that Iran had the right to enrich uranium for peaceful purposes and intended to exercise this right. The United States, on the other hand, publicly welcomed the resolution as a strong signal by the Security Council that the international community would not tolerate Iran's continued attempts to obtain nuclear weapons. Privately, however, at least some top officials in the administration of President George W. Bush believed that only military force would in the end prevent Iran from acquiring such armaments.

Primary Source

Resolution 1696 (*2006*)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 5500th meeting, on 31 July 2006

The Security Council,

Recalling the Statement of its President, S/PRST/2006/15, of 29 March 2006,

Reaffirming its commitment to the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and recalling the right of States Party, in conformity with Articles I and II of that Treaty, to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination,

Noting with serious concern the many reports of the IAEA Director General and resolutions of the IAEA Board of Governors related to Iran's nuclear programme, reported to it by the IAEA Director General, including IAEA Board resolution GOV/2006/14,

Noting with serious concern that the IAEA Director General's report of 27 February 2006 (GOV/2006/15) lists a number of outstanding issues and concerns on Iran's nuclear programme, including topics which could have a military nuclear dimension, and that the IAEA is unable to conclude that there are no undeclared nuclear materials or activities in Iran,

Noting with serious concern the IAEA Director General's report of 28 April 2006 (GOV/2006/27) and its findings, including that, after more than three years of Agency efforts to seek clarity about all aspects of Iran's nuclear programme, the existing gaps in knowledge continue to be a matter of concern, and that the IAEA is unable to make progress in its efforts to provide assurances about the absence of undeclared nuclear material and activities in Iran,

Noting with serious concern that, as confirmed by the IAEA Director General's report of 8 June 2006 (GOV/2006/38) Iran has not taken the steps required of it by the IAEA Board of Governors, reiterated by the Council in its statement of 29 March and which are essential to build confidence, and in particular Iran's decision to resume enrichment-related activities, including research and development, its recent expansion of and announcements about such activities, and its continued suspension of cooperation with the IAEA under the Additional Protocol,

Emphasizing the importance of political and diplomatic efforts to find a negotiated solution guaranteeing that Iran's nuclear programme is exclusively for peaceful purposes, and *noting* that such a solution would benefit nuclear non-proliferation elsewhere,

Welcoming the statement by the Foreign Minister of France, Philippe Douste-Blazy, on behalf of the Foreign Ministers of China, France, Germany, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, the United States and the High Representative of the European Union, in Paris on 12 July 2006 (S/2006/573),

Concerned by the proliferation risks presented by the Iranian nuclear programme, *mindful* of its primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, and *being determined* to prevent an aggravation of the situation,

Acting under Article 40 of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations in order to make mandatory the suspension required by the IAEA,

1. *Calls upon* Iran without further delay to take the steps required by the IAEA Board of Governors in its resolution GOV/2006/14, which are essential to build confidence in the exclusively peaceful purpose of its nuclear programme and to resolve outstanding questions;

2. *Demands,* in this context, that Iran shall suspend all enrichment-related and reprocessing activities, including research and development, to be verified by the IAEA;

3. *Expresses* the conviction that such suspension as well as full, verified Iranian compliance with the requirements set out by the IAEA Board of Governors, would contribute to a diplomatic, negotiated solution that guarantees Iran's nuclear programme is for exclusively peaceful purposes, *underlines* the willingness of the international community to work positively for such a solution, *encourages* Iran, in conforming to the above provisions, to re-engage with the international community and with the IAEA, and *stresses* that such engagement will be beneficial to Iran;

4. *Endorses,* in this regard, the proposals of China, France, Germany, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States, with the support of the European Union's High Representative, for a long-term comprehensive arrangement which would allow for the development of relations and cooperation with Iran based on mutual respect and the establishment of international confidence in the exclusively peaceful nature of Iran's nuclear programme (S/2006/521);

5. *Calls upon* all States, in accordance with their national legal authorities and legislation and consistent with international law, to exercise vigilance and prevent the transfer of any items, materials, goods and technology that could contribute to Iran's enrichment-related and reprocessing activities and ballistic missile programmes;

6. *Expresses* its determination to reinforce the authority of the IAEA process, strongly supports the role of the IAEA Board of Governors, *commends and encourages* the Director General of the IAEA and its secretariat for their ongoing professional and impartial efforts to resolve all remaining outstanding issues in Iran within the framework of the Agency, *underlines* the necessity of the IAEA continuing its work to clarify all outstanding issues relating to Iran's nuclear programme, and *calls upon* Iran to act in accordance with the provisions of the Additional Protocol and to implement without delay all transparency measures as the IAEA may request in support of its ongoing investigations;

7. *Requests* by 31 August a report from the Director General of the IAEA primarily on whether Iran has established full and sustained suspension of all activities mentioned in this resolution, as well as on the process of Iranian compliance with all the steps required by the IAEA Board and with the above provisions of this resolution, to the IAEA Board of Governors and in parallel to the Security Council for its consideration;

8. *Expresses* its intention, in the event that Iran has not by that date complied with this resolution, then to adopt appropriate measures under Article 41 of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations to persuade Iran to comply with this resolution and the requirements of the IAEA, and *underlines* that further decisions will be required should such additional measures be necessary;

9. *Confirms* that such additional measures will not be necessary in the event that Iran complies with this resolution;

10. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

Source: United Nations Security Council Official Records, S/RES/1696, July 31, 2006.

128. President George W. Bush, "The War on Terror," Speech to the Military Officers Association of America, Capital Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C., September 5, 2006 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Almost five years after the attacks of September 11, 2001, U.S. president George W. Bush addressed an audience of military officers, setting forth at length what he perceived was the nature of the war on terror in which the United States was still engaged. He affirmed that the United States would "accept nothing less than complete victory" in this battle. Bush depicted a world in which Al Qaeda and its supporters sought to reestablish an Islamic Sunni "Caliphate . . . encompassing all current and former Muslim lands, stretching from Europe to North Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia," one that would reject peaceful coexistence with the non-Muslim world. The United States was, according to Bush, the "main obstacle" that prevented Osama bin Laden and his followers from accomplishing this goal, and they would use every means available to them to force the United States to withdraw. This made it essential for the United States to stand firm in both Afghanistan and Iraq. Shiite Muslims, such as the Lebanon-based Hezbollah group, who could count on support from Iran's Shiite leaders, who sought to equip their country with nuclear weapons, were equally hostile to the United States. Representing "different faces of the same threat," the Sunni and Shiite extremists intended to overthrow moderate Islamic governments and "impose a dark vision of violent radicalism across the Middle East." If they accomplished this, they would use their oil resources and nuclear weapons to "blackmail the free world." Describing how the United States would combat these threats, Bush summarized the official document, the "National Strategy for Combating Terrorism," released that day. First, the U.S. government was moving aggressively against terrorist groups and individuals at home and

abroad. Second, it would "deny weapons of mass destruction to outlaw regimes and terrorists." Third, it would prevent terrorists from receiving support from "outlaw regimes." Fourth, the U.S. government was "determined to deny terrorist networks control of any nation, or territory within a nation." Finally, the United States would combat the ideological appeal of terrorists to new recruits by encouraging the spread of democracy and liberty throughout the Middle East. In the president's view, this was a global struggle between the forces of light and those of darkness, just as World War II and the Cold War had been, one in which "freedom is once again contending with the forces of darkness and tyranny." His speech gave a striking portrayal of a world where the United States was locked in an unavoidable but vital Manichaean contest, one in which "[a]ll civilized nations are bound together in this struggle between moderation and extremism."

Primary Source

THE PRESIDENT: . . . I'm proud to be here with active members of the United States military. Thank you for your service. I'm proud to be your Commander-in-Chief. [Applause.]

I am pleased also to stand with members of the diplomatic corps, including many representing nations that have been attacked by al Qaeda and its terrorist allies since September the 11th, 2001. [Applause.] Your presence here reminds us that we're engaged in a global war against an enemy that threatens all civilized nations. And today the civilized world stands together to defend our freedom; we stand together to defeat the terrorists; and were working to secure the peace for generations to come.

[. . .]

Next week, America will mark the fifth anniversary of September the 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks. As this day approaches, it brings with it a flood of painful memories. We remember the horror of watching planes fly into the World Trade Center, and seeing the towers collapse before our eyes. We remember the sight of the Pentagon, broken and in flames. We remember the rescue workers who rushed into burning buildings to save lives, knowing they might never emerge again. We remember the brave passengers who charged the cockpit of their hijacked plane, and stopped the terrorists from reaching their target and killing more innocent civilians. We remember the cold brutality of the enemy who inflicted this harm on our country—an enemy whose leader, Osama bin Laden, declared the massacre of nearly 3,000 people that day—I quote—"an unparalleled and magnificent feat of valor, unmatched by any in humankind before them."

In five years since our nation was attacked, al Qaeda and terrorists it has inspired have continued to attack across the world. They've killed the innocent in Europe and Africa and the Middle East, in Central Asia and the Far East, and beyond. Most recently, they attempted to strike again in the most ambitious plot since the attacks of September the 11th—a plan to blow up passenger planes headed for America over the Atlantic Ocean.

Five years after our nation was attacked, the terrorist danger remains. We're a nation at war—and America and her allies are fighting this war with relentless determination across the world. Together with our coalition partners, we've removed terrorist sanctuaries, disrupted their finances, killed and captured key operatives, broken up terrorist cells in America and other nations, and stopped new attacks before they're carried out. We're on the offense against the terrorists on every battlefront—and we'll accept nothing less than complete victory. [Applause.]

In the five years since our nation was attacked, we've also learned a great deal about the enemy we face in this war. We've learned about them through videos and audio recordings, and letters and statements they've posted on websites. We've learned about them from captured enemy documents that the terrorists have never meant for us to see. Together, these documents and statements have given us clear insight into the mind of our enemies—their ideology, their ambitions, and their strategy to defeat us.

We know what the terrorists intend to do because they've told us—and we need to take their words seriously. So today I'm going to describe—in the terrorists' own words, what they believe . . . what they hope to accomplish, and how they intend to accomplish it. I'll discuss how the enemy has adapted in the wake of our sustained offensive against them, and the threat posed by different strains of violent Islamic radicalism. I'll explain the strategy we're pursuing to protect America, by defeating the terrorists on the battlefield, and defeating their hateful ideology in the battle of ideas.

The terrorists who attacked us on September the 11th, 2001, are men without conscience—but they're not madmen. They kill in the name of a clear and focused ideology, a set of beliefs that are evil, but not insane. These al Qaeda terrorists and those who share their ideology are violent Sunni extremists. They're driven by a radical and perverted vision of Islam that rejects tolerance, crushes all dissent, and justifies the murder of innocent men, women and children in the pursuit of political power. They hope to establish a violent political utopia across the Middle East, which they call a "Caliphate"—where all would be ruled according to their hateful ideology. Osama bin Laden has called the 9/11 attacks—in his words—"a great step towards the unity of Muslims and establishing the Righteous . . . [Caliphate]."

This caliphate would be a totalitarian Islamic empire encompassing all current and former Muslim lands, stretching from Europe to North Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. We know this because al Qaeda has told us. About two months ago, the terrorist Zawahiri—he's al Qaeda's second in command—declared

that al Qaeda intends to impose its rule in "every land that was a home for Islam, from [Spain] to Iraq. He went on to say, "The whole world is an open field for us."

We know what this radical empire would look like in practice, because we saw how the radicals imposed their ideology on the people of Afghanistan. Under the rule of the Taliban and al Qaeda, Afghanistan was a totalitarian nightmare—a land where women were imprisoned in their homes, men were beaten for missing prayer meetings, girls could not go to school, and children were forbidden the smallest pleasures like flying kites. Religious police roamed the streets, beating and detaining civilians for perceived offenses. Women were publicly whipped. Summary executions were held in Kabul's soccer stadium in front of cheering mobs. And Afghanistan was turned into a launching pad for horrific attacks against America and other parts of the civilized world—including many Muslim nations.

The goal of these Sunni extremists is to remake the entire Muslim world in their radical image. In pursuit of their imperial aims, these extremists say there can be no compromise or dialogue with those they call "infidels"—a category that includes America, the world's free nations, Jews, and all Muslims who reject their extreme vision of Islam. They reject the possibility of peaceful coexistence with the free world. Again, hear the words of Osama bin Laden earlier this year: "Death is better than living on this Earth with the unbelievers among us."

These radicals have declared their uncompromising hostility to freedom. It is foolish to think that you can negotiate with them. [Applause.] We see the uncompromising nature of the enemy in many captured terrorist documents. Here are just two examples: After the liberation of Afghanistan, coalition forces searching through a terrorist safe house in that country found a copy of the al Qaeda charter. This charter states that "there will be continuing enmity until everyone believes in Allah. We will not meet [the enemy] halfway. There will be no room for dialogue with them." Another document was found in 2000 by British police during an anti-terrorist raid in London—a grisly al Qaeda manual that includes chapters with titles such as "Guidelines for Beating and Killing Hostages." This manual declares that their vision of Islam "does not . . . make a truce with unbelief, but rather confronts it. The confrontation . . . calls for . . . the dialogue of bullets, the ideals of assassination, bombing, and destruction, and the diplomacy of the cannon and machine gun."

Still other captured documents show al Qaeda's strategy for infiltrating Muslim nations, establishing terrorist enclaves, overthrowing governments, and building their totalitarian empire. We see this strategy laid out in a captured al Qaeda document found during a recent raid in Iraq, which describes their plans to infiltrate and take over Iraq's western Anbar Province. The document lays out an elaborate al Qaeda governing structure for the region that includes an Education Department, a Social Services Department, a Justice Department, and an "Execution Unit" responsible for "Sorting out, Arrest, Murder, and Destruction."

According to their public statements, countries that have—they have targeted stretch from the Middle East to Africa, to Southeast Asia. Through this strategy, al Qaeda and its allies intend to create numerous, decentralized operating bases across the world, from which they can plan new attacks, and advance their vision of a unified, totalitarian Islamic state that can confront and eventually destroy the free world.

These violent extremists know that to realize this vision, they must first drive out the main obstacle that stands in their way—the United States of America. According to al Qaeda, their strategy to defeat America has two parts: First, they're waging a campaign of terror across the world. They're targeting our forces abroad, hoping that the American people will grow tired of casualties and give up the fight. And they're targeting America's financial centers and economic infrastructure at home, hoping to terrorize us and cause our economy to collapse.

Bin Laden calls this his "bleed-until-bankruptcy plan." And he cited the attacks of 9/11 as evidence that such a plan can succeed. With the 9/11 attacks, Osama bin Laden says, "al Qaeda spent $500,000 on the event, while America . . . lost—according to the lowest estimate—$500 billion. . . . Meaning that every dollar of al Qaeda defeated a million dollars" of America. Bin Laden concludes from this experience that "America is definitely a great power, with . . . unbelievable military strength and a vibrant economy, but all of these have been built on a very weak and hollow foundation." He went on to say, "Therefore, it is very easy to target the flimsy base and concentrate on their weak points, and even if we're able to target one-tenth of these weak points, we will be able [to] crush and destroy them."

Secondly, along with this campaign of terror, the enemy has a propaganda strategy. Osama bin Laden laid out this strategy in a letter to the Taliban leader, Mullah Omar, that coalition forces uncovered in Afghanistan in 2002. In it, bin Laden says that al Qaeda intends to "[launch]," in his words, "a media campaign . . . to create a wedge between the American people and their government." This media campaign, bin Laden says, will send the American people a number of messages, including "that their government [will] bring them more losses, in finances and casualties." And he goes on to say that "they are being sacrificed . . . to serve . . . the big investors, especially the Jews." Bin Laden says that by delivering these messages, al Qaeda "aims at creating pressure from the American people on the American government to stop their campaign against Afghanistan."

Bin Laden and his allies are absolutely convinced they can succeed in forcing America to retreat and causing our economic collapse. They believe our nation is weak and decadent, and lacking in patience and resolve. And they're wrong. . . . [Applause.]

These terrorists hope to drive America and our coalition out of Afghanistan, so they can restore the safe haven they lost when coalition forces drove them out five years ago. But they've made clear that the most important front in their struggle against America is Iraq—the nation bin Laden has declared the "capital of the Caliphate." Hear the words of bin Laden: "I now address . . . the whole . . . Islamic nation: Listen and understand. . . . The most . . . serious issue today for the whole world is this Third World War . . . [that] is raging in [Iraq]." He calls it "a war of destiny between infidelity and Islam." He says, "The whole world is watching this war," and that it will end in "victory and glory or misery and humiliation." For al Qaeda, Iraq is not a distraction from their war on America—it is the central battlefield where the outcome of this struggle will be decided.

Here is what al Qaeda says they will do if they succeed in driving us out of Iraq: The terrorist Zawahiri has said that al Qaeda will proceed with "several incremental goals. The first stage: Expel the Americans from Iraq. The second stage: Establish an Islamic authority or amirate, then develop it and support it until it achieves the level of Caliphate. . . . The third stage: Extend the jihad wave to the secular countries neighboring Iraq. And the fourth stage: . . . the clash with Israel."

These evil men know that a fundamental threat to their aspirations is a democratic Iraq that can govern itself, sustain itself, and defend itself. They know that given a choice, the Iraqi people will never choose to live in the totalitarian state the extremists hope to establish. And that is why we must not, and we will not, give the enemy victory in Iraq by deserting the Iraqi people. [Applause.]

Last year, the terrorist Zarqawi declared in a message posted on the Internet that democracy "is the essence of infidelity and deviation from the right path." The Iraqi people disagree. Last December, nearly 12 million Iraqis from every ethnic and religious community turned out to vote in their country's third free election in less than a year. Iraq now has a unity government that represents Iraq's diverse population—and al Qaeda's top commander in Iraq breathed his last breath. [Applause.]

Despite these strategic setbacks, the enemy will continue to fight freedom's advance in Iraq, because they understand the stakes in this war. Again, hear the words of bin Laden, in a message to the American people earlier this year. He says: "The war is for you or for us to win. If we win it, it means your defeat and disgrace forever."

Now, I know some of our country hear the terrorists' words, and hope that they will not, or cannot, do what they say. History teaches that underestimating the words of evil and ambitious men is a terrible mistake. In the early 1900s, an exiled lawyer in Europe published a pamphlet called "What Is To Be Done?"—in which he laid out his plan to launch a communist revolution in Russia. The world did not heed Lenin's words, and paid a terrible price. The Soviet Empire he established killed tens of millions, and brought the world to the brink of thermonuclear war. In the 1920s, a failed Austrian painter published a book in which he explained his intention to build an Aryan super-state in Germany and take revenge on Europe and eradicate the Jews. The world ignored Hitler's words, and paid a terrible price. His Nazi regime killed millions in the gas chambers, and set the world aflame in war, before it was finally defeated at a terrible cost in lives.

Bin Laden and his terrorist allies have made their intentions as clear as Lenin and Hitler before them. The question is: Will we listen? Will we pay attention to what these evil men say? America and our coalition partners have made our choice. We're taking the words of the enemy seriously. We're on the offensive, and we will not rest, we will not retreat, and we will not withdraw from the fight, until this threat to civilization has been removed. [Applause.]

Five years into this struggle, it's important to take stock of what's been accomplished—and the difficult work that remains. Al Qaeda has been weakened by our sustained offensive against them, and today it is harder for al Qaeda's leaders to operate freely, to move money, or to communicate with their operatives and facilitators. Yet al Qaeda remains dangerous and determined. Bin Laden and Zawahiri remain in hiding in remote regions of this world. Al Qaeda continues to adapt in the face of our global campaign against them. Increasingly, al Qaeda is taking advantage of the Internet to disseminate propaganda, and to conduct "virtual recruitment" and "virtual training" of new terrorists. Al Qaeda's leaders no longer need to meet face-to-face with their operatives. They can find new suicide bombers, and facilitate new terrorist attacks, without ever laying eyes on those they're training, financing, or sending to strike us.

As al Qaeda changes, the broader terrorist movement is also changing, becoming more dispersed and self-directed. More and more, we're facing threats from locally established terrorist cells that are inspired by al Qaeda's ideology and goals, but do not necessarily have direct links to al Qaeda, such as training and funding. Some of these groups are made up of "homegrown" terrorists, militant extremists who were born and educated in Western nations, were indoctrinated by radical Islamists or attracted to their ideology, and joined the violent extremist cause. These locally established cells appear to be responsible for a number of attacks and plots, including those in Madrid, and Canada, and other countries across the world.

As we continue to fight al Qaeda and these Sunni extremists inspired by their radical ideology, we also face the threat posed by

Shia extremists, who are learning from al Qaeda, increasing their assertiveness, and stepping up their threats. Like the vast majority of Sunnis, the vast majority of Shia across the world reject the vision of extremists—and in Iraq, millions of Shia have defied terrorist threats to vote in free elections, and have shown their desire to live in freedom. The Shia extremists want to deny them this right. This Shia strain of Islamic radicalism is just as dangerous, and just as hostile to America, and just as determined to establish its brand of hegemony across the broader Middle East. And the Shia extremists have achieved something that al Qaeda has so far failed to do: In 1979, they took control of a major power, the nation of Iran, subjugating its proud people to a regime of tyranny, and using that nation's resources to fund the spread of terror and pursue their radical agenda.

Like al Qaeda and the Sunni extremists, the Iranian regime has clear aims: They want to drive America out of the region, to destroy Israel, and to dominate the broader Middle East. To achieve these aims, they are funding and arming terrorist groups like Hezbollah, which allow them to attack Israel and America by proxy. Hezbollah, the source of the current instability in Lebanon, has killed more Americans than any terrorist organization except al Qaeda. Unlike al Qaeda, they've not yet attacked the American homeland. Yet they're directly responsible for the murder of hundreds of Americans abroad. It was Hezbollah that was behind the 1983 bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut that killed 241 Americans. And Saudi Hezbollah was behind the 1996 bombing of Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia that killed 19 Americans, an attack conducted by terrorists who we believe were working with Iranian officials.

Just as we must take the words of the Sunni extremists seriously, we must take the words of the Shia extremists seriously. Listen to the words of Hezbollah's leader, the terrorist Nasrallah, who has declared his hatred of America. He says, "Let the entire world hear me. Our hostility to the Great Satan [America] is absolute. . . . Regardless of how the world has changed after 11 September, Death to America will remain our reverberating and powerful slogan: Death to America."

Iran's leaders, who back Hezbollah, have also declared their absolute hostility to America. Last October, Iran's President declared in a speech that some people ask—in his words—"whether a world without the United States and Zionism can be achieved. . . . I say that this . . . goal is achievable." Less than three months ago, Iran's President declared to America and other Western powers: "open your eyes and see the fate of pharaoh . . . if you do not abandon the path of falsehood . . . your doomed destiny will be annihilation." Less than two months ago, he warned: "The anger of Muslims may reach an explosion point soon. If such a day comes . . . [America and the West] should know that the waves of the blast will not remain within the boundaries of our region." He also delivered this message to the American people: "If you would like to have good relations with the Iranian nation in the future . . . bow down before the greatness of the Iranian nation and surrender. If you don't accept [to do this], the Iranian nation will . . . force you to surrender and bow down."

America will not bow down to tyrants. [Applause.]

The Iranian regime and its terrorist proxies have demonstrated their willingness to kill Americans—and now the Iranian regime is pursuing nuclear weapons. The world is working together to prevent Iran's regime from acquiring the tools of mass murder. The international community has made a reasonable proposal to Iran's leaders, and given them the opportunity to set their nation on a better course. So far, Iran's leaders have rejected this offer. Their choice is increasingly isolating the great Iranian nation from the international community, and denying the Iranian people an opportunity for greater economic prosperity. It's time for Iran's leaders to make a different choice. And we've made our choice. We'll continue to work closely with our allies to find a diplomatic solution. The world's free nations will not allow Iran to develop a nuclear weapon. [Applause.]

The Shia and Sunni extremists represent different faces of the same threat. They draw inspiration from different sources, but both seek to impose a dark vision of violent Islamic radicalism across the Middle East. They oppose the advance of freedom, and they want to gain control of weapons of mass destruction. If they succeed in undermining fragile democracies, like Iraq, and drive the forces of freedom out of the region, they will have an open field to pursue their dangerous goals. Each strain of violent Islamic radicalism would be emboldened in their efforts to topple moderate governments and establish terrorist safe havens.

Imagine a world in which they were able to control governments, a world awash with oil and they would use oil resources to punish industrialized nations. And they would use those resources to fuel their radical agenda, and pursue and purchase weapons of mass murder. And armed with nuclear weapons, they would blackmail the free world, and spread their ideologies of hate, and raise a mortal threat to the American people. If we allow them to do this, if we retreat from Iraq, if we don't uphold our duty to support those who are desirous to live in liberty, 50 years from now history will look back on our time with unforgiving clarity, and demand to know why we did not act.

I'm not going to allow this to happen—and no future American President can allow it either. America did not seek this global struggle, but we're answering history's call with confidence and a clear strategy. Today we're releasing a document called the "National Strategy for Combating Terrorism." This is an unclassified version of the strategy we've been pursuing since September

the 11th, 2001. This strategy was first released in February 2003; it's been updated to take into account the changing nature of this enemy. This strategy document is posted on the White House website—whitehouse.gov. And I urge all Americans to read it.

Our strategy for combating terrorism has five basic elements:

First, we're determined to prevent terrorist attacks before they occur. So we're taking the fight to the enemy. The best way to protect America is to stay on the offense. Since 9/11, our coalition has captured or killed al Qaeda managers and operatives, and scores of other terrorists across the world. The enemy is living under constant pressure, and we intend to keep it that way—and this adds to our security. When terrorists spend their days working to avoid death or capture, it's harder for them to plan and execute new attacks.

We're also fighting the enemy here at home. We've given our law enforcement and intelligence professionals the tools they need to stop the terrorists in our midst. We passed the Patriot Act to break down the wall that prevented law enforcement and intelligence from sharing vital information. We created the Terrorist Surveillance Program to monitor the communications between al Qaeda commanders abroad and terrorist operatives within our borders. If al Qaeda is calling somebody in America, we need to know why, in order to stop attacks. [Applause.]

. . . And over the last five years, federal, state, and local law enforcement have used those tools to break up terrorist cells, and to prosecute terrorist operatives and supporters in New York, and Oregon, and Virginia, and Texas, and New Jersey, and Illinois, Ohio, and other states. By taking the battle to the terrorists and their supporters on our own soil and across the world, we've stopped a number of al Qaeda plots.

Second, we're determined to deny weapons of mass destruction to outlaw regimes and terrorists who would use them without hesitation. Working with Great Britain and Pakistan and other nations, the United States shut down the world's most dangerous nuclear trading cartel, the AQ Khan network. This network had supplied Iran and Libya and North Korea with equipment and know-how that advanced their efforts to obtain nuclear weapons. And we launched the Proliferation Security Initiative, a coalition of more than 70 nations that is working together to stop shipments related to weapons of mass destruction on land, at sea, and in the air. The greatest threat this world faces is the danger of extremists and terrorists armed with weapons of mass destruction—and this is a threat America cannot defeat on her own. We applaud the determined efforts of many nations around the world to stop the spread of these dangerous weapons. Together, we pledge we'll continue to work together to stop the world's most dangerous men from getting their hands on the world's most dangerous weapons. [Applause.]

Third, we're determined to deny terrorists the support of outlaw regimes. After September the 11th, I laid out a clear doctrine: America makes no distinction between those who commit acts of terror, and those that harbor and support them, because they're equally guilty of murder. Thanks to our efforts, there are now three fewer state sponsors of terror in the world than there were on September the 11th, 2001. Afghanistan and Iraq have been transformed from terrorist states into allies in the war on terror. And the nation of Libya has renounced terrorism, and given up its weapons of mass destruction programs, and its nuclear materials and equipment. Over the past five years, we've acted to disrupt the flow of weapons and support from terrorist states to terrorist networks. And we have made clear that any government that chooses to be an ally of terror has also chosen to be an enemy of civilization. [Applause.]

Fourth, we're determined to deny terrorist networks control of any nation, or territory within a nation. So, along with our coalition and the Iraqi government, we'll stop the terrorists from taking control of Iraq, and establishing a new safe haven from which to attack America and the free world. And we're working with friends and allies to deny the terrorists the enclaves they seek to establish in ungoverned areas across the world. By helping governments reclaim full sovereign control over their territory, we make ourselves more secure.

Fifth, we're working to deny terrorists new recruits, by defeating their hateful ideology and spreading the hope of freedom—by spreading the hope of freedom across the Middle East. For decades, American policy sought to achieve peace in the Middle East by pursuing stability at the expense of liberty. The lack of freedom in that region helped create conditions where anger and resentment grew, and radicalism thrived, and terrorists found willing recruits. And we saw the consequences on September the 11th, when the terrorists brought death and destruction to our country. The policy wasn't working.

The experience of September the 11th made clear, in the long run, the only way to secure our nation is to change the course of the Middle East. So America has committed its influence in the world to advancing freedom and liberty and democracy as the great alternatives to repression and radicalism. [Applause.] We're taking the side of democratic leaders and moderates and reformers across the Middle East. We strongly support the voices of tolerance and moderation in the Muslim world. We're standing with Afghanistan's elected government against al Qaeda and the Taliban remnants that are trying to restore tyranny in that country. We're standing with Lebanon's young democracy against the foreign forces that are seeking to undermine the country's sovereignty and independence. And we're standing with the leaders of Iraq's unity government as they work to defeat the enemies of freedom, and chart a more hopeful course for their people. This is

why victory is so important in Iraq. By helping freedom succeed in Iraq, we will help America, and the Middle East, and the world become more secure.

During the last five years we've learned a lot about this enemy. We've learned that they're cunning and sophisticated. We've witnessed their ability to change their methods and their tactics with deadly speed—even as their murderous obsessions remain unchanging. We've seen that it's the terrorists who have declared war on Muslims, slaughtering huge numbers of innocent Muslim men and women around the world.

We know what the terrorists believe, we know what they have done, and we know what they intend to do. And now the world's free nations must summon the will to meet this great challenge. The road ahead is going to be difficult, and it will require more sacrifice. Yet we can have confidence in the outcome, because we've seen freedom conquer tyranny and terror before. In the 20th century, free nations confronted and defeated Nazi Germany. During the Cold War, we confronted Soviet communism, and today Europe is whole, free and at peace.

And now, freedom is once again contending with the forces of darkness and tyranny. This time, the battle is unfolding in a new region—the broader Middle East. This time, we're not waiting for our enemies to gather in strength. This time, we're confronting them before they gain the capacity to inflict unspeakable damage on the world, and we're confronting their hateful ideology before it fully takes root.

We see a day when people across the Middle East have governments that honor their dignity, and unleash their creativity, and count their votes. We see a day when across this region citizens are allowed to express themselves freely, women have full rights, and children are educated and given the tools necessary to succeed in life. And we see a day when all the nations of the Middle East are allies in the cause of peace.

We fight for this day, because the security of our own citizens depends on it. This is the great ideological struggle of the 21st century—and it is the calling of our generation. All civilized nations are bound together in this struggle between moderation and extremism. By coming together, we will roll back this grave threat to our way of life. We will help the people of the Middle East claim their freedom, and we will leave a safer and more hopeful world for our children and grandchildren.

Source: George W. Bush, "President Discusses Global War on Terror," The White House, President George W. Bush, http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2006/09/20060905-4.html.

129. The Iraq Study Group Report, Executive Summary, December 6, 2006

Introduction

By early 2006, both Republicans and Democrats in the U.S. Congress were concerned that the situation in Iraq was apparently deteriorating, while the administration of President George W. Bush apparently had no definite exit strategy. With bipartisan support, in March 2006 Congress therefore established a blue-ribbon independent study group, cochaired by former Republican secretary of state James A. Baker III and former Democratic congressman Lee Hamilton, two widely respected political figures. Ten individuals, 5 Republicans and 5 Democrats, served on the Iraq Study Group. Congress appropriated $1 million to fund the panel's expenses. The study group established four expert working groups, focusing on economy and reconstruction, military and security, political development, and strategic environment, plus a panel of senior military advisers. Study group members visited Iraq in August and September and consulted with 170 people in all before preparing its report, interviewing top U.S. and Iraqi government officials, including President George W. Bush, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, and Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld. The appearance of what became known as the Baker Report in December 2006 created something of a public sensation. The authors began by bluntly warning that "The situation in Iraq is grave and deteriorating." While frankly admitting that there was no guarantee of success, they recommended that the United States launch enhanced political and diplomatic efforts to stabilize Iraq, especially by working with neighboring states including Iran and Syria, countries with which American relations were problematic, and the broader international community, especially the European states, Russia, and the United Nations (UN). The Baker Report also called for a new and lasting American commitment to negotiating a permanent Arab-Israeli peace settlement, which the authors regarded as the key to peace in the Middle East. Within Iraq, the Baker Report called for a stronger Iraqi commitment to national reconciliation. The report considered but rejected a massive increase of 100,000 to 200,000 American troops in Iraq but endorsed a possible smaller short-term surge in U.S. armed forces there, with the objective of stabilizing the situation in Baghdad, Iraq's capital, or accelerating the emergence of a strong and credible Iraqi military that could control the situation. The Baker Report envisaged the withdrawal of all American troops from Iraq by the spring of 2008. The Bush administration treated the Baker Report and its authors with ostensible respect but, except for the surge in military personnel, which Bush endorsed in his January 2007 State of the Union speech, showed little enthusiasm for implementing most of the document's recommendations.

Primary Source

The situation in Iraq is grave and deteriorating. There is no path that can guarantee success, but the prospects can be improved.

In this report, we make a number of recommendations for actions to be taken in Iraq, the United States, and the region. Our most important recommendations call for new and enhanced diplomatic and political efforts in Iraq and the region, and a change in the primary mission of U.S. forces in Iraq that will enable the United States to begin to move its combat forces out of Iraq responsibly. We believe that these two recommendations are equally important and reinforce one another. If they are effectively implemented, and if the Iraqi government moves forward with national reconciliation, Iraqis will have an opportunity for a better future, terrorism will be dealt a blow, stability will be enhanced in an important part of the world, and America's credibility, interests, and values will be protected.

The challenges in Iraq are complex. Violence is increasing in scope and lethality. It is fed by a Sunni Arab insurgency, Shiite militias and death squads, al Qaeda, and widespread criminality. Sectarian conflict is the principal challenge to stability.

The Iraqi people have a democratically elected government, yet it is not adequately advancing national reconciliation, providing basic security, or delivering essential services. Pessimism is pervasive.

If the situation continues to deteriorate, the consequences could be severe. A slide toward chaos could trigger the collapse of Iraq's government and a humanitarian catastrophe. Neighboring countries could intervene. Sunni-Shia clashes could spread. Al Qaeda could win a propaganda victory and expand its base of operations. The global standing of the United States could be diminished. Americans could become more polarized.

During the past nine months we have considered a full range of approaches for moving forward. All have flaws. Our recommended course has shortcomings, but we firmly believe that it includes the best strategies and tactics to positively influence the outcome in Iraq and the region.

External Approach

The policies and actions of Iraq's neighbors greatly affect its stability and prosperity. No country in the region will benefit in the long term from a chaotic Iraq. Yet Iraq's neighbors are not doing enough to help Iraq achieve stability. Some are undercutting stability.

The United States should immediately launch a new diplomatic offensive to build an international consensus for stability in Iraq and the region. This diplomatic effort should include every country that has an interest in avoiding a chaotic Iraq, including all of Iraq's neighbors. Iraq's neighbors and key states in and outside the region should form a support group to reinforce security and national reconciliation within Iraq, neither of which Iraq can achieve on its own.

Given the ability of Iran and Syria to influence events within Iraq and their interest in avoiding chaos in Iraq, the United States should try to engage them constructively. In seeking to influence the behavior of both countries, the United States has disincentives and incentives available. Iran should stem the flow of arms and training to Iraq, respect Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and use its influence over Iraqi Shia groups to encourage national reconciliation. The issue of Iran's nuclear programs should continue to be dealt with by the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council plus Germany. Syria should control its border with Iraq to stem the flow of funding, insurgents, and terrorists in and out of Iraq.

The United States cannot achieve its goals in the Middle East unless it deals directly with the Arab-Israeli conflict and regional instability. There must be a renewed and sustained commitment by the United States to a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace on all fronts: Lebanon, Syria, and President Bush's June 2002 commitment to a two-state solution for Israel and Palestine. This commitment must include direct talks with, by, and between Israel, Lebanon, Palestinians (those who accept Israel's right to exist), and Syria.

As the United States develops its approach toward Iraq and the Middle East, the United States should provide additional political, economic, and military support for Afghanistan, including resources that might become available as combat forces are moved out of Iraq.

Internal Approach

The most important questions about Iraq's future are now the responsibility of Iraqis. The United States must adjust its role in Iraq to encourage the Iraqi people to take control of their own destiny.

The Iraqi government should accelerate assuming responsibility for Iraqi security by increasing the number and quality of Iraqi Army brigades. While this process is under way, and to facilitate it, the United States should significantly increase the number of U.S. military personnel, including combat troops, imbedded in and supporting Iraqi Army units. As these actions proceed, U.S. combat forces could begin to move out of Iraq.

The primary mission of U.S. forces in Iraq should evolve to one of supporting the Iraqi army, which would take over primary

responsibility for combat operations. By the first quarter of 2008, subject to unexpected developments in the security situation on the ground, all combat brigades not necessary for force protection could be out of Iraq. At that time, U.S. combat forces in Iraq could be deployed only in units embedded with Iraqi forces, in rapid-reaction and special operations teams, and in training, equipping, advising, force protection, and search and rescue. Intelligence and support efforts would continue. A vital mission of those rapid reaction and special operations forces would be to undertake strikes against al Qaeda in Iraq.

It is clear that the Iraqi government will need assistance from the United States for some time to come, especially in carrying out security responsibilities. Yet the United States must make it clear to the Iraqi government that the United States could carry out its plans, including planned redeployments, even if the Iraqi government did not implement their planned changes. The United States must not make an open-ended commitment to keep large numbers of American troops deployed in Iraq.

As redeployment proceeds, military leaders should emphasize training and education of forces that have returned to the United States in order to restore the force to full combat capability. As equipment returns to the United States, Congress should appropriate sufficient funds to restore the equipment over the next five years.

The United States should work closely with Iraq's leaders to support the achievement of specific objectives—or milestones—on national reconciliation, security, and governance. Miracles cannot be expected, but the people of Iraq have the right to expect action and progress. The Iraqi government needs to show its own citizens—and the citizens of the United States and other countries—that it deserves continued support.

Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki, in consultation with the United States, has put forward a set of milestones critical for Iraq. His list is a good start, but it must be expanded to include milestones that can strengthen the government and benefit the Iraqi people. President Bush and his national security team should remain in close and frequent contact with the Iraqi leadership to convey a clear message: there must be prompt action by the Iraqi government to make substantial progress toward the achievement of these milestones.

If the Iraqi government demonstrates political will and makes substantial progress toward the achievement of milestones on national reconciliation, security, and governance, the United States should make clear its willingness to continue training, assistance, and support for Iraq's security forces and to continue political, military, and economic support. If the Iraqi government does not make substantial progress toward the achievement of milestones on national reconciliation, security, and governance, the United States should reduce its political, military, or economic support for the Iraqi government.

Our report makes recommendations in several other areas. They include improvements to the Iraqi criminal justice system, the Iraqi oil sector, the U.S. reconstruction efforts in Iraq, the U.S. budget process, the training of U.S. government personnel, and U.S. intelligence capabilities.

Conclusion

It is the unanimous view of the Iraq Study Group that these recommendations offer a new way forward for the United States in Iraq and the region. They are comprehensive and need to be implemented in a coordinated fashion. They should not be separated or carried out in isolation. The dynamics of the region are as important to Iraq as events within Iraq.

The challenges are daunting. There will be difficult days ahead. But by pursuing this new way forward, Iraq, the region, and the United States of America can emerge stronger.

Source: James Baker et al., "Iraq Study Group: The Report," United States Institute of Peace, http://www.usip.org/isg/iraq_study_group_report/report/1206/index.html.

130. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1737 Imposing Sanctions on Iran, December 23, 2006 [Excerpts]

Introduction

In July 2006 the United Nations (UN) Security Council passed Resolution 1696, proposed by China, France, Germany, Russia, Britain, and the United States, demanding that Iran halt its program of nuclear enrichment of uranium by August 31, 2006. Five months later, after Iran failed to comply with Resolution 1696 and rejected economic incentives offered by the UN should it do so, the Security Council passed Resolution 1737, sponsored by France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, subjecting Iran to sanctions. All UN members were forbidden to provide Iran with materials, equipment, or other assistance that might facilitate this program. All overseas assets of Iranian organizations and individuals involved in the nuclear program were frozen. Iran was also directed to grant representatives of the International Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA) access to all its nuclear facilities in order to verify whether it had complied with this resolution. China and Russia initially objected to this resolution, considering it too strong, but finally voted for it, though Russia continued to supply Iran with surface-to-air missiles after its passage. Iran's defiance of the UN

continued, and on March 24, 2007, the Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1747, submitted by France, Germany, and Britain, tightening sanctions on Iran. The British government was particularly incensed by Iran's seizure in the Shatt al-Arab waterway a few days earlier and continuing detention of 15 British naval personnel, whom Iranian officials claimed had entered Iranian territorial waters without permission. Sales and transfers of Iranian arms to all other countries were prohibited, a measure targeting Iran's suspected role in supplying weaponry to Shiite insurgents in Iraq and Hezbollah militants in Lebanon. Resolution 1747 urged all states to "exercise vigilance and restraint" in providing Iran with any major armaments or financing for these and to refuse to make any new grants or loans to Iran. The list of individuals and organizations involved in the Iranian nuclear program whose assets were to be frozen was expanded. Sanctions on Iran would be suspended should Iran suspend its own nuclear program. Critics immediately charged that as with previous resolutions, enforcement of the new sanctions depended almost entirely on the goodwill of UN member states.

Primary Source

Adopted by the Security Council at its 5612th meeting, on 23 December 2006

The Security Council,

Recalling the Statement of its President, S/PRST/2006/15, of 29 March 2006, and its resolution 1696 (2006) of 31 July 2006,

Reaffirming its commitment to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and recalling the right of States Party, in conformity with Articles I and II of that Treaty, to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination,

Reiterating its serious concern over the many reports of the IAEA Director General and resolutions of the IAEA Board of Governors related to Iran's nuclear programme, reported to it by the IAEA Director General, including IAEA Board resolution GOV/2006/14,

Reiterating its serious concern that the IAEA Director General's report of 27 February 2006 (GOV/2006/15) lists a number of outstanding issues and concerns on Iran's nuclear programme, including topics which could have a military nuclear dimension, and that the IAEA is unable to conclude that there are no undeclared nuclear materials or activities in Iran,

Reiterating its serious concern over the IAEA Director General's report of 28 April 2006 (GOV/2006/27) and its findings, including that, after more than three years of Agency efforts to seek clarity about all aspects of Iran's nuclear programme, the existing gaps in knowledge continue to be a matter of concern, and that the IAEA is unable to make progress in its efforts to provide assurances about the absence of undeclared nuclear material and activities in Iran,

Noting with serious concern that, as confirmed by the IAEA Director General's reports of 8 June 2006 (GOV/2006/38), 31 August 2006 (GOV/2006/53) and 14 November 2006 (GOV/2006/64), Iran has not established full and sustained suspension of all enrichment-related and reprocessing activities as set out in resolution 1696 (2006), nor resumed its cooperation with the IAEA under the Additional Protocol, nor taken the other steps required of it by the IAEA Board of Governors, nor complied with the provisions of Security Council resolution 1696 (2006) and which are essential to build confidence, and *deploring* Iran's refusal to take these steps,

Emphasizing the importance of political and diplomatic efforts to find a negotiated solution guaranteeing that Iran's nuclear programme is exclusively for peaceful purposes, and *noting* that such a solution would benefit nuclear nonproliferation elsewhere, and *welcoming* the continuing commitment of China, France, Germany, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States, with the support of the European Union's High Representative to seek a negotiated solution,

Determined to give effect to its decisions by adopting appropriate measures to persuade Iran to comply with resolution 1696 (2006) and with the requirements of the IAEA, and also to constrain Iran's development of sensitive technologies in support of its nuclear and missile programmes, until such time as the Security Council determines that the objectives of this resolution have been met,

Concerned by the proliferation risks presented by the Iranian nuclear programme and, in this context, by Iran's continuing failure to meet the requirements of the IAEA Board of Governors and to comply with the provisions of Security Council resolution 1696 (2006), *mindful* of its primary responsibility under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Acting under Article 41 of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Affirms* that Iran shall without further delay take the steps required by the IAEA Board of Governors in its resolution GOV/2006/14, which are essential to build confidence in the exclusively peaceful purpose of its nuclear programme and to resolve outstanding questions;

2. *Decides,* in this context, that Iran shall without further delay suspend the following proliferation sensitive nuclear activities:

(a) all enrichment-related and reprocessing activities, including research and development, to be verified by the IAEA; and

(b) work on all heavy water–related projects, including the construction of a research reactor moderated by heavy water, also to be verified by the IAEA;

3. *Decides* that all States shall take the necessary measures to prevent the supply, sale or transfer directly or indirectly from their territories, or by their nationals or using their flag vessels or aircraft to, or for the use in or benefit of, Iran, and whether or not originating in their territories, of all items, materials, equipment, goods and technology which could contribute to Iran's enrichment-related, reprocessing or heavy water-related activities, or to the development of nuclear weapon delivery systems, namely:

(a) those set out in sections B.2, B.3, B.4, B.5, B.6 and B.7 of INFCIRC/254/Rev.8/Part 1 in document S/2006/814;

(b) those set out in sections A.1 and B.1 of INFCIRC/254/Rev.8/Part 1 in document S/2006/814, except the supply, sale or transfer of:

(i) equipment covered by B.1 when such equipment is for light water reactors; (ii) low-enriched uranium covered by A.1.2 when it is incorporated in assembled nuclear fuel elements for such reactors;

(c) those set out in document S/2006/815, except the supply, sale or transfer of items covered by 19.A.3 of Category II;

(d) any additional items, materials, equipment, goods and technology, determined as necessary by the Security Council or the Committee established by paragraph 18 below (herein "the Committee"), which could contribute to enrichment-related, or reprocessing, or heavy water–related activities, or to the development of nuclear weapon delivery systems;

4. *Decides* that all States shall take the necessary measures to prevent the supply, sale or transfer directly or indirectly from their territories, or by their nationals or using their flag vessels or aircraft to, or for the use in or benefit of, Iran, and whether or not originating in their territories, of the following items, materials, equipment, goods and technology:

(a) those set out in INFCIRC/254/Rev.7/Part2 of document S/2006/814 if the State determines that they would contribute to enrichment-related, reprocessing or heavy water–related activities;

(b) any other items not listed in documents S/2006/814 or S/2006/815 if the State determines that they would contribute to enrichment-related, reprocessing or heavy water–related activities, or to the development of nuclear weapon delivery systems;

(c) any further items if the State determines that they would contribute to the pursuit of activities related to other topics about which the IAEA has expressed concerns or identified as outstanding;

5. *Decides* that, for the supply, sale or transfer of all items, materials, equipment, goods and technology covered by documents S/2006/814 and S/2006/815 the export of which to Iran is not prohibited by subparagraphs 3 (b), 3 (c) or 4 (a) above, States shall ensure that:

(a) the requirements, as appropriate, of the Guidelines as set out in documents S/2006/814 and S/2006/985 have been met; and

(b) they have obtained and are in a position to exercise effectively a right to verify the end-use and end-use location of any supplied item; and

(c) they notify the Committee within ten days of the supply, sale or transfer; and

(d) in the case of items, materials, equipment, goods and technology contained in document S/2006/814, they also notify the IAEA within ten days of the supply, sale or transfer;

6. *Decides* that all States shall also take the necessary measures to prevent the provision to Iran of any technical assistance or training, financial assistance, investment, brokering or other services, and the transfer of financial resources or services, related to the supply, sale, transfer, manufacture or use of the prohibited items, materials, equipment, goods and technology specified in paragraphs 3 and 4 above;

7. *Decides* that Iran shall not export any of the items in documents S/2006/814 and S/2006/815 and that all Member States shall prohibit the procurement of such items from Iran by their nationals, or using their flag vessels or aircraft, and whether or not originating in the territory of Iran;

8. *Decides* that Iran shall provide such access and cooperation as the IAEA requests to be able to verify the suspension outlined in paragraph 2 and to resolve all outstanding issues, as identified in IAEA reports, and *calls upon* Iran to ratify promptly the Additional Protocol;

9. *Decides* that the measures imposed by paragraphs 3, 4 and 6 above shall not apply where the Committee determines in advance and on a case-by-case basis that such supply, sale, transfer or provision of such items or assistance would clearly not contribute to the development of Iran's technologies in support of its proliferation sensitive nuclear activities and of development of nuclear weapon delivery systems, including where such items or assistance are for food, agricultural, medical or other humanitarian purposes, provided that:

(a) contracts for delivery of such items or assistance include appropriate end-user guarantees; and

(b) Iran has committed not to use such items in proliferation sensitive nuclear activities or for development of nuclear weapon delivery systems;

10. *Calls upon* all States to exercise vigilance regarding the entry into or transit through their territories of individuals who are engaged in, directly associated with or providing support for Iran's proliferation sensitive nuclear activities or for the development of nuclear weapon delivery systems, and *decides* in this regard that all States shall notify the Committee of the entry into or transit through their territories of the persons designated in the Annex to this resolution (herein "the Annex"), as well as of additional persons designated by the Security Council or the Committee as being engaged in, directly associated with or providing support for Iran's proliferation sensitive nuclear activities and for the development of nuclear weapon delivery systems, including through the involvement in procurement of the prohibited items, goods, equipment, materials and technology specified by and under the measures in paragraphs 3 and 4 above, except where such travel is for activities directly related to the items in subparagraphs 3 (b) (i) and (ii) above;

11. *Underlines* that nothing in the above paragraph requires a State to refuse its own nationals entry into its territory, and that all States shall, in the implementation of the above paragraph, take into account humanitarian considerations as well as the necessity to meet the objectives of this resolution, including where Article XV of the IAEA Statute is engaged;

12. *Decides* that all States shall freeze the funds, other financial assets and economic resources which are on their territories at the date of adoption of this resolution or at any time thereafter, that are owned or controlled by the persons or entities designated in the Annex, as well as those of additional persons or entities designated by the Security Council or by the Committee as being engaged in, directly associated with or providing support for Iran's proliferation sensitive nuclear activities or the development of nuclear weapon delivery systems, or by persons or entities acting on their behalf or at their direction, or by entities owned or controlled by them, including through illicit means, and that the measures in this paragraph shall cease to apply in respect of such persons or entities if, and at such time as, the Security Council or the Committee removes them from the Annex, and *decides further* that all States shall ensure that any funds, financial assets or economic resources are prevented from being made available by their nationals or by any persons or entities within their territories, to or for the benefit of these persons and entities;

[. . .]

16. *Decides* that technical cooperation provided to Iran by the IAEA or under its auspices shall only be for food, agricultural, medical, safety or other humanitarian purposes, or where it is necessary for projects directly related to the items specified in subparagraphs 3 (b) (i) and (ii) above, but that no such technical cooperation shall be provided that relates to the proliferation sensitive nuclear activities set out in paragraph 2 above;

17. *Calls upon* all States to exercise vigilance and prevent specialized teaching or training of Iranian nationals, within their territories or by their nationals, of disciplines which would contribute to Iran's proliferation sensitive nuclear activities and development of nuclear weapon delivery systems;

18. *Decides* to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of its provisional rules of procedure, a Committee of the Security Council consisting of all the members of the Council, to undertake the following tasks:

(a) to seek from all States, in particular those in the region and those producing the items, materials, equipment, goods and technology referred to in paragraphs 3 and 4 above, information regarding the actions taken by them to implement effectively the measures imposed by paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10 and 12 of this resolution and whatever further information it may consider useful in this regard;

(b) to seek from the secretariat of the IAEA information regarding the actions taken by the IAEA to implement effectively the measures imposed by paragraph 16 of this resolution and whatever further information it may consider useful in this regard;

(c) to examine and take appropriate action on information regarding alleged violations of measures imposed by paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10 and 12 of this resolution;

(d) to consider and decide upon requests for exemptions set out in paragraphs 9, 13 and 15 above;

(e) to determine as may be necessary additional items, materials, equipment, goods and technology to be specified for the purpose of paragraph 3 above;

(f) to designate as may be necessary additional individuals and entities subject to the measures imposed by paragraphs 10 and 12 above;

(g) to promulgate guidelines as may be necessary to facilitate the implementation of the measures imposed by this resolution and include in such guidelines a requirement on States to provide information where possible as to why any individuals and/or entities meet the criteria set out in paragraphs 10 and 12 and any relevant identifying information;

(h) to report at least every 90 days to the Security Council on its work and on the implementation of this resolution, with its observations and recommendations, in particular on ways to strengthen the effectiveness of the measures imposed by paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10 and 12 above;

19. *Decides* that all States shall report to the Committee within 60 days of the adoption of this resolution on the steps they have taken with a view to implementing effectively paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12 and 17 above;

20. *Expresses* the conviction that the suspension set out in paragraph 2 above as well as full, verified Iranian compliance with the requirements set out by the IAEA Board of Governors, would contribute to a diplomatic, negotiated solution that guarantees Iran's nuclear programme is for exclusively peaceful purposes, *underlines* the willingness of the international community to work positively for such a solution, *encourages* Iran, in conforming to the above provisions, to re-engage with the international community and with the IAEA, and *stresses* that such engagement will be beneficial to Iran;

21. *Welcomes* the commitment of China, France, Germany, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States, with the support of the European Union's High Representative, to a negotiated solution to this issue and encourages Iran to engage with their June 2006 proposals (S/2006/521), which were endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 1696 (2006), for a long-term comprehensive agreement which would allow for the development of relations and cooperation with Iran based on mutual respect and the establishment of international confidence in the exclusively peaceful nature of Iran's nuclear programme;

22. *Reiterates* its determination to reinforce the authority of the IAEA, strongly supports the role of the IAEA Board of Governors, *commends* and *encourages* the Director General of the IAEA and its secretariat for their ongoing professional and impartial efforts to resolve all remaining outstanding issues in Iran within the framework of the IAEA, *underlines* the necessity of the IAEA continuing its work to clarify all outstanding issues relating to Iran's nuclear programme;

23. *Requests* within 60 days a report from the Director General of the IAEA on whether Iran has established full and sustained suspension of all activities mentioned in this resolution, as well as on the process of Iranian compliance with all the steps required by the IAEA Board and with the other provisions of this resolution, to the IAEA Board of Governors and in parallel to the Security Council for its consideration;

24. *Affirms* that it shall review Iran's actions in the light of the report referred to in paragraph 23 above, to be submitted within 60 days, and:

(a) that it shall suspend the implementation of measures if and for so long as Iran suspends all enrichment-related and reprocessing activities, including research and development, as verified by the IAEA, to allow for negotiations;

(b) that it shall terminate the measures specified in paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10 and 12 of this resolution as soon as it determines that Iran has fully complied with its obligations under the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and met the requirements of the IAEA Board of Governors, as confirmed by the IAEA Board;

(c) that it shall, in the event that the report in paragraph 23 above shows that Iran has not complied with this resolution, adopt further appropriate measures under Article 41 of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations to persuade Iran to comply with this resolution and the requirements of the IAEA, and underlines that further decisions will be required should such additional measures be necessary;

25. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

Source: United Nations Security Council Official Records, S/RES/1737, December 23, 2006.

131. Human Rights Watch, Press Release on Saddam Hussein's Execution, December 30, 2006

Introduction

The trial and eventual execution in late 2006 of former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein sparked real international unease over the state of that country. Few doubted that Hussein had been responsible for numerous atrocities, including many others besides the killings of tens of thousands of Kurds in 1988 for which he was tried and hanged. Human rights organizations, including Human Rights Watch, nonetheless expressed concern over serious procedural flaws in his trial and appeal. The manner of Hussein's execution also enhanced the former dictator's reputation while tarnishing that of his enemies. The Iraqi government, which had custody of Hussein, insisted that he be put to death before the end of 2006 and was responsible for the arrangements for his execution. The hanging took place in private, witnessed by assorted Iraqi and international officials. Some of those attending secretly filmed it on cell phones, and the videos were quickly circulated in the world's media. They revealed that while Hussein faced his death with dignity and courage, some of the Iraqi guards and officials taunted and insulted him immediately before his execution. While those responsible or their families had probably suffered severely during Hussein's rule, the failure of the Iraqi authorities to prevent such disorderly behavior

attracted heavy and embarrassing international criticism. So too did the botched execution a few days later of two other Hussein-era Iraqi officials, one of whom, a half brother of Hussein, was decapitated during his hanging. Iraq's Sunni population hailed Hussein as a martyr, and the manner of the once-hated dictator's death won him grudging posthumous respect from many of his foreign opponents. U.S. president George W. Bush, British prime minister Tony Blair, and other leading international figures publicly deplored the way in which Hussein's execution had been staged and appealed to the Iraqi government to insist that any future such events should be organized according to internationally accepted standards of human rights.

Primary Source

Iraq: Saddam Hussein Put to Death

Hanging after Flawed Trial Undermines Rule of Law

(New York, December 30, 2006)—The execution of former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein following a deeply flawed trial for crimes against humanity marks a significant step away from respect for human rights and the rule of law in Iraq, Human Rights Watch said today.

Human Rights Watch has for more than 15 years documented the human rights crimes committed by Hussein's former government, and has campaigned to bring the perpetrators to justice. These crimes include the killing of more than 100,000 Iraqi Kurds in Northern Iraq as part of the 1988 Anfal campaign.

"Saddam Hussein was responsible for massive human rights violations, but that can't justify giving him the death penalty, which is a cruel and inhuman punishment," said Richard Dicker, director of Human Rights Watch's International Justice Program.

The Iraqi High Tribunal sentenced Saddam Hussein and two others to death in November for the killing of 148 men and boys from the town of Dujail in 1982. The tribunal's statute prohibits, contrary to international law, the possibility of commuting a death sentence. It also requires that the execution take place within 30 days of the final appeal.

Human Rights Watch opposes the death penalty in all circumstances. Increasingly, governments are abolishing the death penalty in domestic law.

"The test of a government's commitment to human rights is measured by the way it treats its worst offenders," said Dicker. "History will judge these actions harshly."

A report issued in November 2006 by Human Rights Watch identified numerous serious flaws in the trial of Hussein for the Dujail executions. The 97-page report, "Judging Dujail: The First Trial Before the Iraqi High Tribunal," was based on 10 months of observation and dozens of interviews with judges, prosecutors and defense lawyers.

The report found, among other defects, that the Iraqi High Tribunal was undermined from the outset by Iraqi government actions that threatened the independence and perceived impartiality of the court. It outlined serious flaws in the trial, including failures to disclose key evidence to the defense, violations of the defendants' right to question prosecution witnesses, and the presiding judge's demonstrations of bias.

Hussein's defense lawyers had 30 days to file an appeal from the November 5 verdict. However, the trial judgment was only made available to them on November 22, leaving just two weeks to respond. The Appeals Chamber announced its confirmation of the verdict and the death sentence on December 26.

"It defies imagination that the Appeals Chamber could have thoroughly reviewed the 300-page judgment and the defense's written arguments in less than three weeks' time," said Dicker. "The appeals process appears even more flawed than the trial."

At the time of his hanging, Saddam Hussein and others were on trial for genocide for the 1988 Anfal campaign. The victims, including women, children and the elderly, were selected because they were Kurds who remained on their traditional lands in zones outside of areas controlled by Baghdad. Hussein's execution will therefore jeopardize the trial of these most serious crimes.

Source: "Iraq: Saddam Hussein Put to Death," Human Rights Watch, http://www.hrw.org/legacy/english/docs/2006/12/30/iraq14950_txt.htm.

132. White House Fact Sheet, "The New Way Forward in Iraq," January 10, 2007

Introduction

The administration of U.S. president George W. Bush responded promptly to the bipartisan December 2006 Iraq Study Group report, which called for a major new international and Iraqi effort to stabilize the country and prevent its breakdown into civil war. The National Security Council immediately began a review of U.S. policies toward Iraq, completed in early January 2007. When completed, the new review, a summary of which the White House issued as a press release, called for a major initiative to strengthen the Iraqi leadership and political, military, security, and economic

institutions and forces so that the country's government would have the authority and power to win and maintain control of the nation. The strategy review openly acknowledged that the situation in Iraq "could not be graver" and that the position of the United States throughout the entire Middle East was in jeopardy. To facilitate efforts to regain control and restore order and stability, the United States promised Iraq additional troops and economic resources while building up Iraqi capabilities to handle the situation. All moderate Iraqi political forces were expected to work together in a coalition to combat extremism. While the new blueprint mentioned "efforts to counter Iranian and Syrian influence inside Iraq," conspicuously absent from the new strategy were the Iraq Study Group report's recommendations that the United States should "try to engage [Iran and Syria] constructively" and win their cooperation in stabilizing Iraq, through a "diplomatic effort . . . [aimed at] every country that has an interest in avoiding a chaotic Iraq, including all of Iraq's neighbors." The Bush administration clearly preferred to downplay such diplomatic initiatives in favor of concentrating on "strengthen[ing] defense ties with partner states in the region" and increasing the coalition's regional military presence and Middle Eastern support for the Global War on Terror. The same evening that this press release appeared, Bush addressed the nation, setting out the new strategy. The most controversial aspect of his speech was his pledge to dispatch an additional 20,000 American troops to Iraq, a surge that would, he claimed, enable coalition and Iraqi forces to regain control of Baghdad and surrounding areas. Bush stated that Iraq's prime minister, Nouri al-Maliki, had pledged that they would have a free hand in tackling all insurgents of every political or sectarian affiliation, something that had not been the case before. American troops would serve as military advisers, embedded in all units of the Iraqi security and military forces to train them and enhance their effectiveness. Bush told Americans that the Iraqi government would also institute major economic reforms and reintegrate former supporters of Saddam Hussein's regime into the political community. U.S. forces intended to move aggressively against Al Qaeda elements active in Iraq and also against their Iranian and Syrian sponsors. Bush intended to deploy an additional naval carrier strike group to the Middle East. In addition, the United States would launch diplomatic initiatives, in collaboration with Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, and the Gulf states, to bring peace to Iraq and also to resolve the decades-old Palestinian-Israeli dispute. Bush's new strategy incorporated a few elements from the Iraq Study Group's report but largely ignored its emphasis on collective international action involving all Iraq's neighbors and such institutions as the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU). Many observers, including leading generals who had served in Iraq, remained skeptical that the new surge in American troop strength would suffice to restore order in the country and permit the Maliki government to regain control.

Primary Source

The President's New Iraq Strategy Is Rooted In Six Fundamental Elements:

1. Let the Iraqis lead;
2. Help Iraqis protect the population;
3. Isolate extremists;
4. Create space for political progress;
5. Diversify political and economic efforts; and
6. Situate the strategy in a regional approach.
   - **Iraq Could Not Be Graver—The War On Terror Cannot Be Won If We Fail In Iraq.** Our enemies throughout the Middle East are trying to defeat us in Iraq. If we step back now, the problems in Iraq will become more lethal, and make our troops fight an uglier battle than we are seeing today.

Key Elements Of The New Approach: Security

Iraqi:

- Publicly acknowledge all parties are responsible for quelling sectarian violence.
- Work with additional Coalition help to regain control of the capital and protect the Iraqi population.
- Deliver necessary Iraqi forces for Baghdad and protect those forces from political interference.
- Commit to intensify efforts to build balanced security forces throughout the nation that provide security even-handedly for all Iraqis.
- Plan and fund eventual demobilization program for militias.

Coalition:

- Agree that helping Iraqis to provide population security is necessary to enable accelerated transition and political progress.
- Provide additional military and civilian resources to accomplish this mission.
- Increase efforts to support tribes willing to help Iraqis fight Al Qaeda in Anbar.
- Accelerate and expand the embed program while minimizing risk to participants.

Both Coalition And Iraqi:

- Continue counter-terror operations against Al Qaeda and insurgent organizations.
- Take more vigorous action against death squad networks.
- Accelerate transition to Iraqi responsibility and increase Iraqi ownership.

- Increase Iraqi security force capacity—both size and effectiveness—from 10 to 13 Army divisions, 36 to 41 Army Brigades, and 112 to 132 Army Battalions.
  - Establish a National Operations Center, National Counterterrorism Force, and National Strike Force.
  - Reform the Ministry of Interior to increase transparency and accountability and transform the National Police.

Key Elements Of The New Approach: Political

Iraqi:

- The Government of Iraq commits to:
  - Reform its cabinet to provide even-handed service delivery.
  - Act on promised reconciliation initiatives (oil law, de-Baathification law, Provincial elections).
  - Give Coalition and ISF authority to pursue ALL extremists.
- All Iraqi leaders support reconciliation.
- Moderate coalition emerges as strong base of support for unity government.

Coalition:

- Support political moderates so they can take on the extremists.
  - Build and sustain strategic partnerships with moderate Shi'a, Sunnis, and Kurds.
- Support the national compact and key elements of reconciliation with Iraqis in the lead.
- Diversify U.S. efforts to foster political accommodation outside Baghdad (more flexibility for local commanders and civilian leaders).
  - Expand and increase the flexibility of the Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) footprint.
  - Focus U.S. political, security, and economic resources at local level to open space for moderates, with initial priority to Baghdad and Anbar.

Both Coalition And Iraqi:

- Partnership between Prime Minister Maliki, Iraqi moderates, and the United States where all parties are clear on expectations and responsibilities.
- Strengthen the rule of law and combat corruption.
- Build on security gains to foster local and national political accommodations.
- Make Iraqi institutions even-handed, serving all of Iraq's communities on an impartial basis.

Key Elements Of The New Approach: Economic

Iraqi:

- Deliver economic resources and provide essential services to all areas and communities.
- Enact hydrocarbons law to promote investment, national unity, and reconciliation.
- Capitalize and execute jobs-producing programs.
- Match U.S. efforts to create jobs with longer term sustainable Iraqi programs.
- Focus more economic effort on relatively secure areas as a magnet for employment and growth.

Coalition:

- Refocus efforts to help Iraqis build capacity in areas vital to success of the government (e.g. budget execution, key ministries).
- Decentralize efforts to build Iraqi capacities outside the Green Zone.
  - Double the number of PRTs and civilians serving outside the Green Zone.
  - Establish PRT-capability within maneuver Brigade Combat Teams (BCTs).
- Greater integration of economic strategy with military effort.
  - Joint civil-military plans devised by PRT and BCT.
  - Remove legal and bureaucratic barriers to maximize cooperation and flexibility.

Key Elements Of The New Approach: Regional

Iraqi:

- Vigorously engage Arab states.
- Take the lead in establishing a regional forum to give support and help from the neighborhood.
- Counter negative foreign activity in Iraq.
- Increase efforts to counter PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party).

Coalition:

- Intensify efforts to counter Iranian and Syrian influence inside Iraq.
- Increase military presence in the region.
- Strengthen defense ties with partner states in the region.
- Encourage Arab state support to Government of Iraq.
- Continue efforts to help manage relations between Iraq and Turkey.

- Continue to seek the region's full support in the War on Terror.

Both Coalition And Iraqi:

- Focus on the International Compact.
- Retain active U.N. engagement in Iraq—particularly for election support and constitutional review.

Source: "Fact Sheet: The New Way Forward in Iraq," The White House, President George W. Bush, http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2007/01/20070110-3.html.

133. President George W. Bush, State of the Union Address, January 23, 2007 [Excerpts]

Introduction

The month after he received the Baker Report from the Iraq Study Group recommending major changes of strategy on Iraq, President George W. Bush gave his annual State of the Union address to Congress. For the first time in his presidency, the Democrats had won back control of Congress, where they now had a small majority in each House, meaning that the Republican Bush would now have to work with a Congress that would probably be less cooperative than in the past. Bush began his address with a plea for bipartisan support. Although he asked for a major domestic program to overhaul the expensive and increasingly strained Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid entitlement programs, improve education and access to health care, and reform the immigration system, foreign policy, particularly the situation in Iraq, was the major focus of Bush's address. He presented America's battle with terrorist extremists, both Sunni and Shia Muslims, as "a decisive ideological struggle," which could only be won by "help[ing] men and women in the Middle East to build free societies and share in the rights of all humanity," thereby destroying the appeal to others of such groups as Al Qaeda and Hezbollah. Such groups, he argued, sought to "force our country to retreat from the world and abandon the cause of liberty." Should the United States withdraw prematurely from Iraq, this would mean that terrorists had won and would embolden them to seek further victories. Since the Iraqi government was not yet itself strong enough to "stop the sectarian violence in its capital" of Baghdad and elsewhere in the country, a temporary increase in American troop levels was necessary while Iraq's government built up and trained its own security forces to the point where they could maintain order themselves. Should the United States at this point choose to draw down its forces, civil war between Sunni and Shia extremists was likely, and the contagion of this "chaos" was likely to spread throughout the Middle East, ultimately encouraging further terrorist attacks on American citizens and territory. Bush called for increases in the size of the U.S. military. He also sought to reduce American dependence on foreign oil by encouraging the development and use of alternative energy sources and increasing domestic oil production. Despite Bush's efforts to depict continuing and enhanced American military involvement in Iraq as vital to his country's own security, Congress remained skeptical. The following months would see repeated though unsuccessful attempts by legislators to begin the process of reducing U.S. troop commitments in Iraq.

Primary Source

The President: . . . The rite of custom brings us together at a defining hour—when decisions are hard and courage is needed. We enter the year 2007 with large endeavors underway, and others that are ours to begin. In all of this, much is asked of us. We must have the will to face difficult challenges and determined enemies—and the wisdom to face them together.

[. . .]

Extending hope and opportunity depends on a stable supply of energy that keeps America's economy running and America's environment clean. For too long our nation has been dependent on foreign oil. And this dependence leaves us more vulnerable to hostile regimes, and to terrorists—who could cause huge disruptions of oil shipments, and raise the price of oil, and do great harm to our economy.

It's in our vital interest to diversify America's energy supply—the way forward is through technology. We must continue changing the way America generates electric power, by even greater use of clean coal technology, solar and wind energy, and clean, safe nuclear power. [Applause.] We need to press on with battery research for plug-in and hybrid vehicles, and expand the use of clean diesel vehicles and biodiesel fuel. [Applause.] We must continue investing in new methods of producing ethanol—[applause]—using everything from wood chips to grasses, to agricultural wastes.

We made a lot of progress, thanks to good policies here in Washington and the strong response of the market. And now even more dramatic advances are within reach. Tonight, I ask Congress to join me in pursuing a great goal. Let us build on the work we've done and reduce gasoline usage in the United States by 20 percent in the next 10 years. [Applause.] When we do that we will have cut our total imports by the equivalent of three-quarters of all the oil we now import from the Middle East.

To reach this goal, we must increase the supply of alternative fuels, by setting a mandatory fuels standard to require 35 billion gallons

of renewable and alternative fuels in 2017—and that is nearly five times the current target. [Applause.] At the same time, we need to reform and modernize fuel economy standards for cars the way we did for light trucks—and conserve up to 8.5 billion more gallons of gasoline by 2017.

Achieving these ambitious goals will dramatically reduce our dependence on foreign oil, but it's not going to eliminate it. And so as we continue to diversify our fuel supply, we must step up domestic oil production in environmentally sensitive ways. [Applause.] And to further protect America against severe disruptions to our oil supply, I ask Congress to double the current capacity of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. [Applause.]

America is on the verge of technological breakthroughs that will enable us to live our lives less dependent on oil. And these technologies will help us be better stewards of the environment, and they will help us to confront the serious challenge of global climate change. [Applause.]

[. . .]

For all of us in this room, there is no higher responsibility than to protect the people of this country from danger. Five years have come and gone since we saw the scenes and felt the sorrow that the terrorists can cause. We've had time to take stock of our situation. We've added many critical protections to guard the homeland. We know with certainty that the horrors of that September morning were just a glimpse of what the terrorists intend for us—unless we stop them.

With the distance of time, we find ourselves debating the causes of conflict and the course we have followed. Such debates are essential when a great democracy faces great questions. Yet one question has surely been settled: that to win the war on terror we must take the fight to the enemy. [Applause.]

From the start, America and our allies have protected our people by staying on the offense. The enemy knows that the days of comfortable sanctuary, easy movement, steady financing, and free flowing communications are long over. For the terrorists, life since 9/11 has never been the same.

Our success in this war is often measured by the things that did not happen. We cannot know the full extent of the attacks that we and our allies have prevented, but here is some of what we do know: We stopped an al Qaeda plot to fly a hijacked airplane into the tallest building on the West Coast. We broke up a Southeast Asian terror cell grooming operatives for attacks inside the United States. We uncovered an al Qaeda cell developing anthrax to be used in attacks against America. And just last August, British authorities uncovered a plot to blow up passenger planes bound for America over the Atlantic Ocean. For each life saved, we owe a debt of gratitude to the brave public servants who devote their lives to finding the terrorists and stopping them. [Applause.]

Every success against the terrorists is a reminder of the shoreless ambitions of this enemy. The evil that inspired and rejoiced in 9/11 is still at work in the world. And so long as that's the case, America is still a nation at war.

In the mind of the terrorist, this war began well before September the 11th, and will not end until their radical vision is fulfilled. And these past five years have given us a much clearer view of the nature of this enemy. Al Qaeda and its followers are Sunni extremists, possessed by hatred and commanded by a harsh and narrow ideology. Take almost any principle of civilization, and their goal is the opposite. They preach with threats, instruct with bullets and bombs, and promise paradise for the murder of the innocent.

Our enemies are quite explicit about their intentions. They want to overthrow moderate governments, and establish safe havens from which to plan and carry out new attacks on our country. By killing and terrorizing Americans, they want to force our country to retreat from the world and abandon the cause of liberty. They would then be free to impose their will and spread their totalitarian ideology. Listen to this warning from the late terrorist Zarqawi: "We will sacrifice our blood and bodies to put an end to your dreams, and what is coming is even worse." Osama bin Laden declared: "Death is better than living on this Earth with the unbelievers among us."

These men are not given to idle words, and they are just one camp in the Islamist radical movement. In recent times, it has also become clear that we face an escalating danger from Shia extremists who are just as hostile to America, and are also determined to dominate the Middle East. Many are known to take direction from the regime in Iran, which is funding and arming terrorists like Hezbollah—a group second only to al Qaeda in the American lives it has taken.

The Shia and Sunni extremists are different faces of the same totalitarian threat. Whatever slogans they chant, when they slaughter the innocent they have the same wicked purposes. They want to kill Americans, kill democracy in the Middle East, and gain the weapons to kill on an even more horrific scale.

In the sixth year since our nation was attacked, I wish I could report to you that the dangers had ended. They have not. And so it remains the policy of this government to use every lawful and proper tool of intelligence, diplomacy, law enforcement, and military action to do our duty, to find these enemies, and to protect the American people. [Applause.]

This war is more than a clash of arms—it is a decisive ideological struggle, and the security of our nation is in the balance. To prevail, we must remove the conditions that inspire blind hatred, and drove 19 men to get onto airplanes and to come and kill us. What every terrorist fears most is human freedom—societies where men and women make their own choices, answer to their own conscience, and live by their hopes instead of their resentments. Free people are not drawn to violent and malignant ideologies—and most will choose a better way when they're given a chance. So we advance our own security interests by helping moderates and reformers and brave voices for democracy. The great question of our day is whether America will help men and women in the Middle East to build free societies and share in the rights of all humanity. And I say, for the sake of our own security, we must. [Applause.]

In the last two years, we've seen the desire for liberty in the broader Middle East—and we have been sobered by the enemy's fierce reaction. In 2005, the world watched as the citizens of Lebanon raised the banner of the Cedar Revolution; they drove out the Syrian occupiers and chose new leaders in free elections. In 2005, the people of Afghanistan defied the terrorists and elected a democratic legislature. And in 2005, the Iraqi people held three national elections, choosing a transitional government, adopting the most progressive, democratic constitution in the Arab world, and then electing a government under that constitution. Despite endless threats from the killers in their midst, nearly 12 million Iraqi citizens came out to vote in a show of hope and solidarity that we should never forget. [Applause.]

A thinking enemy watched all of these scenes, adjusted their tactics, and in 2006 they struck back. In Lebanon, assassins took the life of Pierre Gemayel, a prominent participant in the Cedar Revolution. Hezbollah terrorists, with support from Syria and Iran, sowed conflict in the region and are seeking to undermine Lebanon's legitimately elected government. In Afghanistan, Taliban and al Qaeda fighters tried to regain power by regrouping and engaging Afghan and NATO forces. In Iraq, al Qaeda and other Sunni extremists blew up one of the most sacred places in Shia Islam—the Golden Mosque of Samarra. This atrocity, directed at a Muslim house of prayer, was designed to provoke retaliation from Iraqi Shia—and it succeeded. Radical Shia elements, some of whom receive support from Iran, formed death squads. The result was a tragic escalation of sectarian rage and reprisal that continues to this day.

This is not the fight we entered in Iraq, but it is the fight we're in. Every one of us wishes this war were over and won. Yet it would not be like us to leave our promises unkept, our friends abandoned, and our own security at risk. [Applause.] Ladies and gentlemen: On this day, at this hour, it is still within our power to shape the outcome of this battle. Let us find our resolve, and turn events toward victory. [Applause.]

We're carrying out a new strategy in Iraq—a plan that demands more from Iraq's elected government, and gives our forces in Iraq the reinforcements they need to complete their mission. Our goal is a democratic Iraq that upholds the rule of law, respects the rights of its people, provides them security, and is an ally in the war on terror.

In order to make progress toward this goal, the Iraqi government must stop the sectarian violence in its capital. But the Iraqis are not yet ready to do this on their own. So we're deploying reinforcements of more than 20,000 additional soldiers and Marines to Iraq. The vast majority will go to Baghdad, where they will help Iraqi forces to clear and secure neighborhoods, and serve as advisers embedded in Iraqi Army units. With Iraqis in the lead, our forces will help secure the city by chasing down the terrorists, insurgents, and the roaming death squads. And in Anbar Province, where al Qaeda terrorists have gathered and local forces have begun showing a willingness to fight them, we're sending an additional 4,000 United States Marines, with orders to find the terrorists and clear them out. [Applause.] We didn't drive al Qaeda out of their safe haven in Afghanistan only to let them set up a new safe haven in a free Iraq.

The people of Iraq want to live in peace, and now it's time for their government to act. Iraq's leaders know that our commitment is not open-ended. They have promised to deploy more of their own troops to secure Baghdad—and they must do so. They pledged that they will confront violent radicals of any faction or political party—and they need to follow through, and lift needless restrictions on Iraqi and coalition forces, so these troops can achieve their mission of bringing security to all of the people of Baghdad. Iraq's leaders have committed themselves to a series of benchmarks—to achieve reconciliation, to share oil revenues among all of Iraq's citizens, to put the wealth of Iraq into the rebuilding of Iraq, to allow more Iraqis to re-enter their nation's civic life, to hold local elections, and to take responsibility for security in every Iraqi province. But for all of this to happen, Baghdad must be secure. And our plan will help the Iraqi government take back its capital and make good on its commitments.

My fellow citizens, our military commanders and I have carefully weighed the options. We discussed every possible approach. In the end, I chose this course of action because it provides the best chance for success. Many in this chamber understand that America must not fail in Iraq, because you understand that the consequences of failure would be grievous and far-reaching.

If American forces step back before Baghdad is secure, the Iraqi government would be overrun by extremists on all sides. We could expect an epic battle between Shia extremists backed by Iran, and Sunni extremists aided by al Qaeda and supporters of the old regime. A contagion of violence could spill out across the

country—and in time, the entire region could be drawn into the conflict.

For America, this is a nightmare scenario. For the enemy, this is the objective. Chaos is the greatest ally—their greatest ally in this struggle. And out of chaos in Iraq would emerge an emboldened enemy with new safe havens, new recruits, new resources, and an even greater determination to harm America. To allow this to happen would be to ignore the lessons of September the 11th and invite tragedy. Ladies and gentlemen, nothing is more important at this moment in our history than for America to succeed in the Middle East, to succeed in Iraq and to spare the American people from this danger. [Applause.]

This is where matters stand tonight, in the here and now. I have spoken with many of you in person. I respect you and the arguments you've made. We went into this largely united, in our assumptions and in our convictions. And whatever you voted for, you did not vote for failure. Our country is pursuing a new strategy in Iraq, and I ask you to give it a chance to work. And I ask you to support our troops in the field, and those on their way. [Applause.]

The war on terror we fight today is a generational struggle that will continue long after you and I have turned our duties over to others. And that's why it's important to work together so our nation can see this great effort through. Both parties and both branches should work in close consultation. It's why I propose to establish a special advisory council on the war on terror, made up of leaders in Congress from both political parties. We will share ideas for how to position America to meet every challenge that confronts us. We'll show our enemies abroad that we are united in the goal of victory.

And one of the first steps we can take together is to add to the ranks of our military so that the American Armed Forces are ready for all the challenges ahead. [Applause.] Tonight I ask the Congress to authorize an increase in the size of our active Army and Marine Corps by 92,000 in the next five years. [Applause.] A second task we can take on together is to design and establish a volunteer Civilian Reserve Corps. Such a corps would function much like our military reserve. It would ease the burden on the Armed Forces by allowing us to hire civilians with critical skills to serve on missions abroad when America needs them. It would give people across America who do not wear the uniform a chance to serve in the defining struggle of our time.

Americans can have confidence in the outcome of this struggle because we're not in this struggle alone. We have a diplomatic strategy that is rallying the world to join in the fight against extremism. In Iraq, multinational forces are operating under a mandate from the United Nations. We're working with Jordan and Saudi Arabia and Egypt and the Gulf States to increase support for Iraq's government.

The United Nations has imposed sanctions on Iran, and made it clear that the world will not allow the regime in Tehran to acquire nuclear weapons. [Applause.] With the other members of the Quartet—the U.N., the European Union, and Russia—we're pursuing diplomacy to help bring peace to the Holy Land, and pursuing the establishment of a democratic Palestinian state living side-by-side with Israel in peace and security. [Applause.] In Afghanistan, NATO has taken the lead in turning back the Taliban and al Qaeda offensive—the first time the Alliance has deployed forces outside the North Atlantic area. Together with our partners in China, Japan, Russia, and South Korea, we're pursuing intensive diplomacy to achieve a Korean Peninsula free of nuclear weapons. [Applause.]

We will continue to speak out for the cause of freedom in places like Cuba, Belarus, and Burma—and continue to awaken the conscience of the world to save the people of Darfur.

[. . .]

Source: George W. Bush, "President Bush Delivers State of the Union Address," The White House, George W. Bush, http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2007/01/20070123-2.html.

134. Lorenzo Cremonesi, Interview with Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki, January 18, 2007, Published in *Corriere della Sera,* January 23, 2007

Introduction

In early January 2007 U.S. president George W. Bush, responding in part to pressures arising from publication the previous month of the report of the Iraq Study Group, a high-level panel sponsored by the U.S. Congress, announced increases in American troop levels in Iraq and the implementation of a new strategy, which would require greater initiative and effectiveness on the part of Iraq's own government in encouraging national reconciliation through political, social, and economic reform and winning back control of the country from sectarian militia groups. Despite public commitments by the American president to Iraqi prime minister Nouri al-Maliki, influential officials within the Bush administration, including Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, openly doubted whether Maliki had the ability or strength to handle the complicated and demanding Iraqi situation. The Bush administration and much international public opinion also deplored the Maliki government's conduct of the execution of deposed president Saddam Hussein in a hanging at which the condemned former dictator

displayed dignity while subjected to taunts and harassment by bitter enemies who now held high positions in the new administration. Speaking to an Italian journalist, Maliki showed annoyance at such criticisms and suggested that Bush, whose Republican Party had lost control of Congress in the recent American midterm elections, was "caving in to internal pressures." Maliki complained that he himself had become the target of an unfair U.S. media campaign and that American officials rather than Iraq's government were the ones who were now "moribund." He also complained that in equipping the new Iraqi security forces, the United States had given too little too late and that had the Americans provided far more weapons and equipment at an earlier juncture to Iraqi personnel, far fewer civilians and U.S. troops would have died in Iraq. Maliki rejected claims that he was personally too close to Shiite Iraqi militia leader Moqtada al-Sadr and affirmed that the country's government would "rein in all the militias" and "must have a monopoly on force." In a sign that even American clients might resent overly mighty patrons, the prime minister also reminded his interviewer that Iraq's "foreign policy is independent from that of the United States." Maliki's interview might well have been designed to reassure critics within Iraq who considered him too close to the United States and sought to characterize him as an American puppet. The interview also demonstrated that despite earlier affirmations to the contrary, the ties linking the U.S. and Iraqi governments were becoming somewhat frayed.

Primary Source

Q. Mr. Prime Minister, once again, in the last few hours, President Bush has repeated that the way in which the execution of Saddam Hussein was conducted was a sectarian vendetta. And in Italy and elsewhere, calls to abolish the death penalty have increased. Wouldn't it have been better to have spared the life of Saddam Hussein?

The world forgets that we were victims of the pitiless regime of Saddam Hussein for decades. Tens of thousands of innocents were sent to their death after unmentionable torture. The elderly, women, and children died from chemical weapons. The world has forgotten the terror and brutality of the Ba'athist dictatorship. More than 160 members of my clan lost their lives, not to mention thousands in my political party (Da'wa). All were innocent and killed for their political ideas. But regardless, I want to repeat that the trial of Saddam and his accomplices was conducted correctly. The law was observed to the letter. It had nothing to do with sectarian vendetta. Following the execution I personally ordered the washing of the remains according to Muslim ritual and had them placed in a dignified wooden coffin. No victim of Saddam ever received such treatment. Of course, I am well aware that errors were committed during the hanging of Saddam and I've ordered the arrest and prosecution of the officer who shouted abuse and slogans.

But George Bush is criticizing you and Romano Prodi has asked the United Nations to launch a campaign against the death penalty.

It seems to me that Bush is caving in to internal pressures and is overwhelmed by the media and politicians. Perhaps he has lost control of the situation. And I'm sorry to see that because, in general, George Bush has a strong character. As to Prodi, I need only to remind you how Italy treated Mussolini. Before being executed, there was no trial. His executioners told him only to state his name and admit to his identity. I'm saying that the world should respect our laws, our history and our culture. The death penalty is allowed by our Constitution. Moreover, the Koran permits the death sentence and there's a verse that says that with death one creates life. Islamic religious law affirms that putting criminals to death protects human society.

Recently the US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, stated publicly that your government is moribund. She suggested that you will not finish serving your term. Are you going to resign?

There is a media campaign deployed against me. And I certainly understand that the current US Administration is in great difficulty after its defeat at the polls a few weeks ago. And I've mentioned the weakness of George Bush. It seems to me it is the people in Washington who are moribund, not here in Baghdad. Our government functions better than many others. And I would advise Condoleezza Rice to avoid statements that only help the terrorists. These statements only encourage them. I would like to add that the terrorists may have delivered a defeat to America, but our government has not.

What is your opinion of the new US plan of intervention? And when do you think that Washington can begin to withdraw its troops from Iraq?

I will always be grateful to the Americans for having liberated Iraq from tyranny. It is thanks to the United States that we live in a climate of freedom and democracy, even if it is a work in progress. And our relationship will continue over the long term on economic, political and military issues. Having said this, I believe that the situation would have been far better had the United States immediately given our law enforcement authorities the weapons and equipment they need. If they had done this sooner, we would have had far fewer civilian and US troop casualties. We'll have to wait and see. I would not exclude a drastically improved situation that, within three to six months, would permit most US troops to leave.

You've promised a crackdown on the militias over the next few days. But you are suspected of connivance with Iran

and of being a staunch ally of Moqtada al-Sadr and the Mahdi Army.

We will rein in all the militias. We will display no discrimination or preference. All armed groups will be reined in, whether Sunni, Shi'ite or Kurdish. We will hit them everywhere, every base and every group. The law will be equally applied to all. The State must have a monopoly on force and this is the sole possible premise on which a functioning state can be built. We wish to have normal and good relations with our neighbors. Our foreign policy is independent from that of the United States. I personally met with Moqtada al-Sadr twice in the last four years. And in the last few days, the police have rounded up more than 400 members of the Mahdi Army. I think that is sufficient proof to show that I don't have a special relationship with any militia or political faction.

Do you agree that the violence in Iraq has degenerated into ethnic cleansing?

There are violent elements within the former Iraqi intelligence apparatus and groups that are led by ignorant people that are pursuing ethnic cleansing. This has been taking place among Shi'ites as well as Sunnis. But I don't believe that we will lapse into civil war. Peaceful coexistence triumphed in the past and I am confident that we will defeat the extremists. This is our plan: to wage war against terrorism. Forever—no matter how long it takes and without exception. If we fail the first time then we will try again.

Source: "Interview with Iraqi Prime Minister al-Maliki," Nur al-Cubicle, http://nuralcubicle.blogspot.com/2007/01/interview-with-iraqi-prime-minister-al_23.html.

135. Benazir Bhutto, Speech to the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, August 15, 2007

Introduction

Since September 2001, Pakistan had been a key U.S. ally in the war against Al Qaeda and Taliban forces in neighboring Afghanistan. By late 2007, however, the government of President Pervez Musharraf, a military man who had seized power in a coup in 1999, found it increasingly difficult to restrain radical Islamist elements within Pakistan. Taliban and Al Qaeda personnel had been able to regroup within Pakistan, in the mountainous provinces bordering Afghanistan, and used these as a safe haven for ever-fiercer efforts to destabilize and win control of Afghanistan. Many ordinary Pakistanis disliked their own government's pro-Western stance. There were also strong suspicions that at least some members of Pakistan's powerful military, security, and intelligence services had strong sympathies for fundamentalist Muslim perspectives and therefore acquiesced in and perhaps even assisted in these ventures. Given these problematic circumstances, officials in President George W. Bush's administration began to cast around for a political leader who might be willing to move more decisively to check the growing power of radical Islam within Pakistan. Increasingly, they turned to former Pakistani prime minister Benazir Bhutto, the Oxford-educated daughter of a politically prominent family, who had twice been removed from office on charges of corruption and had been living in exile for several years. In such influential forums for policy makers as the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, Bhutto publicly affirmed her determination to oppose extremist Muslim forces within Pakistan and Afghanistan and sought to link the restoration of democracy in Pakistan with the country's ability to combat terrorism. With support from top American officials, in late 2007 Bhutto reached an understanding with Musharraf, who granted her amnesty from all the charges against her, allowing her to return to Pakistan without facing arrest and to campaign once again for the premiership in impending general elections. On December 27, 2007, she was assassinated while speaking at a political rally in Rawalpindi. Al Qaeda claimed responsibility for her murder, in which many suspected that the Pakistani security services were implicated. The following September, President Musharraf resigned from office as a means of avoiding charges of impeachment, and Bhutto's widower, Asif Ali Zardari, who had by then been cleared of numerous outstanding corruption charges against him, was elected president of Pakistan. Zardari had already announced his intention of combating fundamentalist Islamic forces within Pakistan and assisting the United States in the Global War on Terror and had also requested substantial economic and military aid for Pakistan from the United States and other Western countries. While Zardari appeared willing to serve as a pliable ally in the American-led campaign against Al Qaeda and the Taliban, it was less clear whether he possessed sufficient authority or political clout to deliver on his commitments to Western powers.

Primary Source

Ladies and gentlemen, it's a privilege for me to be here this afternoon as the guest of the Council on Foreign Relations. Thank you for inviting me.

And as I come here to have a conversation with you, I find that my country, Pakistan, is once again in a crisis, and it's a crisis that threatens not only my nation and region, but possibly could have repercussions on the entire world.

It's a crisis that has its roots almost half a century ago, when the military in my country first seized power, in 1958. Four military dictatorships—and most recently those of General Zia ul-Haq in

the '80s and now General Musharraf—have ruled my nation for the last 30 years, except for a few years of civilian government. And so I believe that democracy has never really been given a chance to grow or nurture in my homeland.

As an example, I was only allowed to govern for five of the 10 years that my people elected me to govern. And now Pakistan has changed dramatically from the days when I left office, in 1996, for now, from areas previously controlled by my government, pro-Taliban forces linked to al Qaeda launch regular attacks on NATO troops across the border in Afghanistan.

In the view of my party, military dictatorship, first in the '80s and now again, under General Musharraf, has fueled the forces of extremism, and military dictatorship puts into place a government that is unaccountable, that is unrepresentative, undemocratic, and disconnected from the ordinary people in the country, disconnected from the aspirations of the people who make up Pakistan. Moreover, military dictatorship is born from the power of the gun, and so it undermines the concept of the rule of law and gives birth to a culture of might, a culture of weapons, violence and intolerance.

The suppression of democracy in my homeland has had profound institutional consequences. The major infrastructure building blocks of democracy have been weakened, political parties have been marginalized, NGOs are dismantled, judges sacked and civil society undermined. And by undermining the infrastructure of democracy, the regime that is in place to date was a regime put into place by the intelligence agencies after the flawed elections of 2002. This regime has not allowed the freedom of association, the freedom of movement, the freedom of speech for moderate political forces, and so by default, the mosques and the madrassas have become the only outlet of permitted political expression in the country.

And so just as the—we've seen the emergence of the religious parties, we've seen the emergence of the extremist groups, and just as the military dictatorship of the '80s used the so-called Islamic card to promote a military dictatorship while demonizing political parties, so too the present military establishment of this century has used the so-called Islamist card to pressurize the international community into supporting military dictatorship once again.

But I am here this afternoon to tell you that as far as we, the Pakistan People's Party, is concerned, the choice in Pakistan is not really between military dictatorship and religious parties; the choice for Pakistan is indeed between dictatorship and democracy. And I feel that the real choice that the world also faces today is the choice between dictatorship and democracy, and in the choice that we make between dictatorship and democracy lies the outcome of the battle between extremism and moderation in Pakistan.

The U.S. intelligence recent threat assessment stated that, and I quote, "Al Qaeda and the Taliban seem to be fairly well-settled into the safe haven spaces of Pakistan. We see more training, we see more money, we see more communications, we see that activity rising." That's the most recent U.S. national intelligence threat assessment. And so it's often surprising to those of us in Pakistan who see the international community back the present regime. But this backing continues, despite the regime's failure to stop the Taliban and al Qaeda reorganizing after they were defeated, demoralized and dispersed following the events of 9/11.

This is a regime under which the religious parties have risen, for the first time, to power, and they run two of Pakistan's four federating units—two most critical states of Pakistan, those that border Afghanistan. And even while the military dictatorship has allowed the religious parties to govern two of Pakistan's most critical four provinces, it has exiled the moderate leadership of the country, it has weakened internal law enforcement and allowed for a very bloody suppression of people's human rights.

The military operation in Baluchistan is an example of the brutality of the suppression. The killings that took place in Karachi on May 12th, where 48 peaceful political activists were gunned down in the streets of Karachi, and not one person has been arrested for those murders that were actually televised, shows the level to which the regime permits the suppression of the political opposition. And most recently, 17 members of my party were killed in Islamabad on July 17 at the hands of a suicide bomber.

The weakness of law enforcement has led to a series of suicide bombings, roadside bombings. To give you an example, since last July, 300 people have fallen victim to suicide bombers within Pakistan. Disappearances, too, which were unheard of in our country's history, have become the order of the day. And even as I speak to you, a Pak[istani] -origin American, Dr. Sarki, has disappeared, not because he supports extremists, but because he's a nationalist, and the level of intolerance for differing views is so high that people can disappear simply for supporting nationalism.

The West's close association with a military dictatorship, in my humble view, is alienating Pakistan's people and is playing into the hands of those hardliners who blame the West for the ills of the region. And it need not be this way. A people inspired by democracy, human rights and economic opportunity will turn their back decisively against extremism.

There is a silver lining on the clouds. The recent restoration of the chief justice of Pakistan to the Supreme Court has given hope to people of Pakistan that the unchecked power of the military will now finally come under a degree of scrutiny by the highest judicial institutions in the country. We in the PPP have kept the doors of dialogue open with the military regime to facilitate the transfer of

democracy. This hasn't been a popular move, but we've done it because we think the stability of Pakistan is important to our own security as well as to regional security.

However, without progress on the issue of fair elections, this dialogue could founder. And now, as we approach the autumn, time is running out.

Ladies and gentlemen, I plan to return later this year to Pakistan to lead a democratic movement for the restoration of democracy. I seek to lead a democratic Pakistan which is free from the yoke of military dictatorship and that will cease to be a haven, the very petri dish of international terrorism. A democratic Pakistan that would help stabilize Afghanistan, relieving pressure on NATO troops. A democratic Pakistan that would pursue the drug barons and bust up the drug cartel that today is funding terrorism. A Pakistan where the rule of law is established so that no one has the permission to establish, recruit, train and run private armies and private militias. A democratic Pakistan that puts the welfare of its people as the centerpiece of its national policy.

And as I plan to return to Pakistan, I put my faith in the people of my country who have stood by my party and by myself through this long decade—more than a decade, 11 years since the PPP government was ousted—because they believe that the PPP can eliminate terrorism and give them security, and security will bring in the economic investment that can help us reverse the tide of rising poverty in the country, and by so doing, it will certainly undermine the forces of militancy and extremism.

Source: Benazir Bhutto, "A Conversation with Benazir Bhutto," August 15, 2007, http://www.cfr.org/publication/14041/.

136. General David H. Petraeus, Report to Congress on the Situation in Iraq, September 10–11, 2007 [Excerpt]

Introduction

In January 2007, President George W. Bush picked General David H. Petraeus as commander of the Multi-National Force in Iraq, with the mission to implement the policies of winning control of Iraq and handing over responsibility for the country's security and administration to Iraqi forces. Petraeus, a military intellectual, was one of the foremost experts on counterinsurgency, with a wide experience of nation-building operations in Bosnia and Haiti, who had previously commanded occupation forces in the Iraqi city of Mosul and headed the Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq. By early 2007 many members of the once-acquiescent U.S. Congress had become increasingly disillusioned with the war. Resolutions to cut off funding for the war and set a timetable for the withdrawal of U.S. forces won strong support in Congress, although the president eventually vetoed them, meaning that the anticipated rate of progress toward greater security in Iraq would attract fierce congressional monitoring and scrutiny. In September 2007 Petraeus delivered a detailed report to Congress on the situation in Iraq. He summarized his findings in personal testimony before Congress, describing a country where the Multi-National Force and the Iraq government's own security personnel were gradually eliminating Al Qaeda and independent militia elements, reducing violence, and regaining control of ever-growing areas of Iraq. Petraeus expected to begin withdrawing American troops from Iraq by mid-2008. He was widely respected in Congress, and his report and recommendations were broadly accepted. As Petraeus came to the end of this assignment one year later in September 2008, levels of violence had fallen dramatically from the peak of early 2007. By that time Petraeus himself was modestly optimistic about the future prospects for Iraq, although he readily admitted that the situation was still fragile and that many tough challenges remained to be met.

Primary Source

[. . .]

At the outset, I would like to note that this is my testimony. Although I have briefed my assessment and recommendations to my chain of command, I wrote this testimony myself. It has not been cleared by, nor shared with, anyone in the Pentagon, the White House, or Congress.

As a bottom line up front, the military objectives of the surge are, in large measure, being met. In recent months, in the face of tough enemies and the brutal summer heat of Iraq, Coalition and Iraqi Security Forces have achieved progress in the security arena. Though the improvements have been uneven across Iraq, the overall number of security incidents in Iraq has declined in 8 of the past 12 weeks, with the numbers of incidents in the last two weeks at the lowest levels seen since June 2006.

One reason for the decline in incidents is that Coalition and Iraqi forces have dealt significant blows to Al Qaeda-Iraq. Though Al Qaeda and its affiliates in Iraq remain dangerous, we have taken away a number of their sanctuaries and gained the initiative in many areas.

We have also disrupted Shia militia extremists, capturing the head and numerous other leaders of the Iranian-supported Special Groups, along with a senior Lebanese Hezbollah operative supporting Iran's activities in Iraq.

Coalition and Iraqi operations have helped reduce ethno-sectarian violence, as well, bringing down the number of ethno-sectarian

deaths substantially in Baghdad and across Iraq since the height of the sectarian violence last December. The number of overall civilian deaths has also declined during this period, although the numbers in each area are still at troubling levels.

Iraqi Security Forces have also continued to grow and to shoulder more of the load, albeit slowly and amid continuing concerns about the sectarian tendencies of some elements in their ranks. In general, however, Iraqi elements have been standing and fighting and sustaining tough losses, and they have taken the lead in operations in many areas.

Additionally, in what may be the most significant development of the past 8 months, the tribal rejection of Al Qaeda that started in Anbar Province and helped produce such significant change there has now spread to a number of other locations as well.

Based on all this and on the further progress we believe we can achieve over the next few months, I believe that we will be able to reduce our forces to the pre-surge level of brigade combat teams by next summer without jeopardizing the security gains that we have fought so hard to achieve.

Beyond that, while noting that the situation in Iraq remains complex, difficult, and sometimes downright frustrating, I also believe that it is possible to achieve our objectives in Iraq over time, though doing so will be neither quick nor easy.

Having provided that summary, I would like to review the nature of the conflict in Iraq, recall the situation before the surge, describe the current situation, and explain the recommendations I have provided to my chain of command for the way ahead in Iraq.

The Nature of the Conflict

The fundamental source of the conflict in Iraq is competition among ethnic and sectarian communities for power and resources. This competition *will* take place, and its resolution is key to producing long-term stability in the new Iraq. The question is whether the competition takes place more—or less—violently. This chart shows the security challenges in Iraq. Foreign and home-grown terrorists, insurgents, militia extremists, and criminals all push the ethno-sectarian competition toward violence. Malign actions by Syria and, especially, by Iran fuel that violence. Lack of adequate governmental capacity, lingering sectarian mistrust, and various forms of corruption add to Iraq's challenges.

The Situation in December 2006 and the Surge

In our recent efforts to look to the future, we found it useful to revisit the past. In December 2006, during the height of the ethno-sectarian violence that escalated in the wake of the bombing of the Golden Dome Mosque in Samarra, the leaders in Iraq at that time—General George Casey and Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad—concluded that the coalition was failing to achieve its objectives. Their review underscored the need to protect the population and reduce sectarian violence, especially in Baghdad. As a result, General Casey requested additional forces to enable the Coalition to accomplish these tasks, and those forces began to flow in January.

In the ensuing months, our forces and our Iraqi counterparts have focused on improving security, especially in Baghdad and the areas around it, wresting sanctuaries from Al Qaeda control, and disrupting the efforts of the Iranian-supported militia extremists. We have employed counterinsurgency practices that underscore the importance of units living among the people they are securing, and accordingly, our forces have established dozens of joint security stations and patrol bases manned by Coalition and Iraqi forces in Baghdad and in other areas across Iraq.

In mid-June, with all the surge brigades in place, we launched a series of offensive operations focused on: expanding the gains achieved in the preceding months in Anbar Province; clearing Baqubah, several key Baghdad neighborhoods, the remaining sanctuaries in Anbar Province, and important areas in the so-called "belts" around Baghdad; and pursuing Al Qaeda in the Diyala River Valley and several other areas.

Throughout this period, as well, we engaged in dialogue with insurgent groups and tribes, and this led to additional elements standing up to oppose Al Qaeda and other extremists. We also continued to emphasize the development of the Iraqi Security Forces and we employed non-kinetic means to exploit the opportunities provided by the conduct of our kinetic operations—aided in this effort by the arrival of additional Provincial Reconstruction Teams.

Current Situation and Trends

The progress our forces have achieved with our Iraqi counterparts has, as I noted at the outset, been substantial. While there have been setbacks as well as successes and tough losses along the way, overall, our tactical commanders and I see improvements in the security environment. We do not, however, just rely on gut feel or personal observations; we also conduct considerable data collection and analysis to gauge progress and determine trends. We do this by gathering and refining data from coalition *and* Iraqi operations centers, using a methodology that has been in place for well over a year and that has benefited over the past seven months from the increased presence of our forces living among the Iraqi people. We endeavor to ensure our analysis of that data is conducted with rigor and consistency, as our ability to achieve a nuanced understanding of the security environment is dependent

on collecting and analyzing data in a consistent way over time. Two US intelligence agencies recently reviewed our methodology, and they concluded that the data we produce is the most accurate and authoritative in Iraq.

As I mentioned up front, and as the chart before you reflects, the level of security incidents has decreased significantly since the start of the surge of offensive operations in mid-June, declining in 8 of the past 12 weeks, with the level of incidents in the past two weeks the lowest since June 2006 and with the number of *attacks* this past week the lowest since April 2006.

Civilian deaths of *all* categories, less natural causes, have also declined considerably, by over 45% Iraq-wide since the height of the sectarian violence in December. This is shown by the top line on this chart, and the decline by some 70% in Baghdad is shown by the bottom line. Periodic mass casualty attacks by Al Qaeda have tragically added to the numbers outside Baghdad, in particular. Even without the sensational attacks, however, the level of civilian deaths is clearly still too high and continues to be of serious concern.

As the next chart shows, the number of *ethno-sectarian* deaths, an important subset of the overall civilian casualty figures, has also declined significantly since the height of the sectarian violence in December. Iraq-wide, as shown by the top line on this chart, the number of ethno-sectarian deaths has come down by over 55%, and it would have come down much further were it not for the casualties inflicted by barbaric Al Qaeda bombings attempting to reignite sectarian violence. In Baghdad, as the bottom line shows, the number of ethno-sectarian deaths has come down by some 80% since December. This chart also displays the density of sectarian incidents in various Baghdad neighborhoods and it both reflects the progress made in reducing ethno-sectarian violence in the Iraqi capital and identifies the areas that remain the most challenging.

As we have gone on the offensive in former Al Qaeda and insurgent sanctuaries, and as locals have increasingly supported our efforts, we have found a substantially increased number of arms, ammunition, and explosives caches. As this chart shows, we have, so far this year, already found and cleared over 4,400 caches, nearly 1,700 more than we discovered in all of last year. This may be a factor in the reduction in the number of overall improvised explosive device attacks in recent months, which as this chart shows, has declined sharply, by about one-third, since June.

The change in the security situation in Anbar Province has, of course, been particularly dramatic. As this chart shows, monthly attack levels in Anbar have declined from some 1,350 in October 2006 to a bit over 200 in August of this year. This dramatic decrease reflects the significance of the local rejection of Al Qaeda and the newfound willingness of local Anbaris to volunteer to serve in the Iraqi Army and Iraqi Police Service. As I noted earlier, we are seeing similar actions in other locations, as well.

To be sure, trends have not been uniformly positive across Iraq, as is shown by this chart depicting violence levels in several key Iraqi provinces. The trend in Ninevah Province, for example, has been much more up and down, until a recent decline, and the same is true in Sala ad Din Province, though recent trends there and in Baghdad have been in the right direction. In any event, the overall trajectory in Iraq—a steady decline of incidents in the past three months—*is* still quite significant.

The number of car bombings and suicide attacks has also declined in each of the past 5 months, from a high of some 175 in March, as this chart shows, to about 90 this past month. While this trend in recent months has been heartening, the number of high profile attacks is still too high, and we continue to work hard to destroy the networks that carry out these barbaric attacks.

Our operations have, in fact, produced substantial progress against Al Qaeda and its affiliates in Iraq. As this chart shows, in the past 8 months, we have considerably reduced the areas in which Al Qaeda enjoyed sanctuary. We have also neutralized 5 media cells, detained the senior Iraqi leader of Al Qaeda-Iraq, and killed or captured nearly 100 other key leaders and some 2,500 rank-and-file fighters. Al Qaeda is certainly not defeated; however, it is off balance and we are pursuing its leaders and operators aggressively. Of note, as the recent National Intelligence Estimate on Iraq explained, these gains against Al Qaeda are a result of the synergy of actions by: conventional forces to deny the terrorists sanctuary; intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance assets to find the enemy; and special operations elements to conduct targeted raids. A combination of these assets is necessary to prevent the creation of a terrorist safe haven in Iraq.

In the past six months we have also targeted Shia militia extremists, capturing a number of senior leaders and fighters, as well as the deputy commander of Lebanese Hezbollah Department 2800, the organization created to support the training, arming, funding, and, in some cases, direction of the militia extremists by the Iranian Republican Guard Corps' Qods Force. These elements have assassinated and kidnapped Iraqi governmental leaders, killed and wounded our soldiers with advanced explosive devices provided by Iran, and indiscriminately rocketed civilians in the International Zone and elsewhere. It is increasingly apparent to both Coalition and Iraqi leaders that Iran, through the use of the Qods Force, seeks to turn the Iraqi Special Groups into a Hezbollah-like force to serve its interests and fight a proxy war against the Iraqi state and coalition forces in Iraq.

The most significant development in the past six months likely has been the increasing emergence of tribes and local citizens

rejecting Al Qaeda and other extremists. This has, of course, been most visible in Anbar Province. A year ago the province was assessed as "lost" politically. Today, it is a model of what happens when local leaders and citizens decide to oppose Al Qaeda and reject its Taliban-like ideology. While Anbar is unique and the model it provides cannot be replicated everywhere in Iraq, it does demonstrate the dramatic change in security that is possible with the support and participation of local citizens. As this chart shows, other tribes have been inspired by the actions of those in Anbar and have volunteered to fight extremists as well. We have, in coordination with the Iraqi government's National Reconciliation Committee, been engaging these tribes and groups of local citizens who want to oppose extremists and to contribute to local security. Some 20,000 such individuals are already being hired for the Iraqi Police, thousands of others are being assimilated into the Iraqi Army, and thousands more are vying for a spot in Iraq's Security Forces.

Iraqi Security Forces

As I noted earlier, Iraqi Security Forces have continued to grow, to develop their capabilities, and to shoulder more of the burden of providing security for their country. Despite concerns about sectarian influence, inadequate logistics and supporting institutions, and an insufficient number of qualified commissioned and non-commissioned officers, Iraqi units are engaged around the country.

As this chart shows, there are now nearly 140 Iraqi Army, National Police, and Special Operations Forces Battalions in the fight, with about 95 of those capable of taking the lead in operations, albeit with some coalition support. Beyond that, all of Iraq's battalions have been heavily involved in combat operations that often result in the loss of leaders, soldiers, and equipment. These losses are among the shortcomings identified by operational readiness assessments, but we should not take from these assessments the impression that Iraqi forces are not in the fight and contributing. Indeed, despite their shortages, many Iraqi units across Iraq now operate with minimal coalition assistance.

As counterinsurgency operations require substantial numbers of boots on the ground, we are helping the Iraqis expand the size of their security forces. Currently, there are some 445,000 individuals on the payrolls of Iraq's Interior and Defense Ministries. Based on recent decisions by Prime Minister Maliki, the number of Iraq's security forces will grow further by the end of this year, possibly by as much as 40,000. Given the security challenges Iraq faces, we support this decision, and we will work with the two security ministries as they continue their efforts to expand their basic training capacity, leader development programs, logistical structures and elements, and various other institutional capabilities to support the substantial growth in Iraqi forces.

Significantly, in 2007, Iraq will, as in 2006, spend more on its security forces than it will receive in security assistance from the United States. In fact, Iraq is becoming one of the United States' larger foreign military sales customers, committing some $1.6 billion to FMS already, with the possibility of up to $1.8 billion more being committed before the end of this year. And I appreciate the attention that some members of Congress have recently given to speeding up the FMS process for Iraq.

To summarize, the security situation in Iraq is improving, and Iraqi elements are slowly taking on more of the responsibility for protecting their citizens. Innumerable challenges lie ahead; however, Coalition and Iraqi Security Forces have made progress toward achieving sustainable security. As a result, the United States will be in a position to reduce its forces in Iraq in the months ahead.

Recommendations

Two weeks ago I provided recommendations for the way ahead in Iraq to the members of my chain of command and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The essence of the approach I recommended is captured in its title: "Security While Transitioning: From Leading to Partnering to Overwatch." This approach seeks to build on the security improvements our troopers and our Iraqi counterparts have fought so hard to achieve in recent months. It reflects recognition of the importance of securing the population *and* the imperative of transitioning responsibilities to Iraqi institutions and Iraqi forces as quickly as possible, but without rushing to failure. It includes substantial support for the continuing development of Iraqi Security Forces. It also stresses the need to continue the counterinsurgency strategy that we have been employing, but with Iraqis gradually shouldering more of the load. And it highlights the importance of regional and global diplomatic approaches. Finally, in recognition of the fact that this war is not only being fought on the ground in Iraq but also in cyberspace, it also notes the need to contest the enemy's growing use of that important medium to spread extremism.

The recommendations I provided were informed by operational and strategic considerations. The *operational* considerations include recognition that:

- military aspects of the surge have achieved progress and generated momentum;
- Iraqi Security Forces have continued to grow and have slowly been shouldering more of the security burden in Iraq;
- a mission focus on either population security or transition alone will not be adequate to achieve our objectives;
- success against Al Qaeda–Iraq and Iranian-supported militia extremists requires conventional forces as well as special operations forces; and

- the security and local political situations will enable us to draw down the surge forces.

My recommendations also took into account a number of *strategic* considerations:

- political progress will take place only if sufficient security exists;
- long-term US ground force viability will benefit from force reductions as the surge runs its course;
- regional, global, and cyberspace initiatives are critical to success; and
- Iraqi leaders understandably want to assume greater sovereignty in their country, although, as they recently announced, they do desire continued presence of coalition forces in Iraq in 2008 under a new UN Security Council Resolution and, following that, they want to negotiate a long term security agreement with the United States and other nations.

Based on these considerations, and having worked the battlefield geometry with Lieutenant General Ray Odierno to ensure that we retain and build on the gains for which our troopers have fought, I have recommended a drawdown of the surge forces from Iraq. In fact, later this month, the Marine Expeditionary Unit deployed as part of the surge will depart Iraq. Beyond that, if my recommendations are approved, that unit's departure will be followed by the withdrawal of a brigade combat team without replacement in mid-December and the further redeployment without replacement of four other brigade combat teams and the two surge Marine battalions in the first 7 months of 2008, until we reach the pre-surge level of 15 brigade combat teams by mid-July 2008.

I would also like to discuss the period beyond next summer. Force reductions *will* continue beyond the pre-surge levels of brigade combat teams that we will reach by mid-July 2008; however, in my professional judgment, it would be premature to make recommendations on the pace of such reductions at this time. In fact, our experience in Iraq has repeatedly shown that projecting too far into the future is not just difficult, it can be misleading and even hazardous. The events of the past six months underscore that point. When I testified in January, for example, no one would have dared to forecast that Anbar Province would have been transformed the way it has in the past 6 months. Nor would anyone have predicted that volunteers in one-time Al Qaeda strongholds like Ghazaliyah in western Baghdad or in Adamiya in eastern Baghdad would seek to join the fight against Al Qaeda. Nor would we have anticipated that a Shia-led government would accept significant numbers of Sunni volunteers into the ranks of the local police force in Abu Ghraib. Beyond that, on a less encouraging note, none of us earlier this year appreciated the extent of Iranian involvement in Iraq, something about which we and Iraq's leaders all now have greater concern.

In view of this, I do not believe it is reasonable to have an adequate appreciation for the pace of further reductions and mission adjustments beyond the summer of 2008 until about mid-March of next year. We will, no later than that time, consider factors similar to those on which I based the current recommendations, having by then, of course, a better feel for the security situation, the improvements in the capabilities of our Iraqi counterparts, and the enemy situation. I will then, as I did in developing the recommendations I have explained here today, also take into consideration the demands on our Nation's ground forces, although I believe that that consideration should once again inform, not drive, the recommendations I make.

This chart captures the recommendations I have described, showing the recommended reduction of brigade combat teams as the surge runs its course and illustrating the concept of our units adjusting their missions and transitioning responsibilities to Iraqis, as the situation and Iraqi capabilities permit. It also reflects the no-later-than date for recommendations on force adjustments beyond next summer and provides a possible approach we have considered for the future force structure and mission set in Iraq.

One may argue that the best way to speed the process in Iraq is to change the MNF-I mission from one that emphasizes population security, counter-terrorism, and transition, to one that is strictly focused on transition and counter-terrorism. Making that change now would, in our view, be premature. We have learned before that there is a real danger in handing over tasks to the Iraqi Security Forces before their capacity and local conditions warrant. In fact, the drafters of the recently released National Intelligence Estimate on Iraq recognized this danger when they wrote, and I quote, "We assess that changing the mission of Coalition forces from a primarily counterinsurgency and stabilization role to a primary combat support role for Iraqi forces and counterterrorist operations to prevent AQI from establishing a safe haven would erode security gains achieved thus far."

In describing the recommendations I have made, I should note again that, like Ambassador Crocker, I believe Iraq's problems will require a long-term effort. There are no easy answers or quick solutions. And though we both believe this effort can succeed, it will take time. Our assessments underscore, in fact, the importance of recognizing that a premature drawdown of our forces would likely have devastating consequences.

That assessment is supported by the findings of a 16 August Defense Intelligence Agency report on the implications of a rapid withdrawal of US forces from Iraq. Summarizing it in an unclassified fashion, it concludes that a rapid withdrawal would result in the further release of the strong centrifugal forces in Iraq and produce a number of dangerous results, including a high risk of disintegration of the Iraqi Security Forces; rapid deterioration of

local security initiatives; Al Qaeda–Iraq regaining lost ground and freedom of maneuver; a marked increase in violence and further ethno-sectarian displacement and refugee flows; alliances of convenience by Iraqi groups with internal and external forces to gain advantages over their rivals; and exacerbation of already challenging regional dynamics, especially with respect to Iran.

Lieutenant General Odierno and I share this assessment and believe that the best way to secure our national interests and avoid an unfavorable outcome in Iraq is to continue to focus our operations on securing the Iraqi people while targeting terrorist groups and militia extremists and, as quickly as conditions are met, transitioning security tasks to Iraqi elements.

[. . .]

Source: General David H. Petraeus, "Report to Congress on the Situation in Iraq," U.S. Department of Defense, http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/Petraeus-Testimony20070910.pdf.

137. Gordon Brown, Statement on Iraq, October 7, 2007 [Excerpts]

Introduction

Since 2001, Britain had steadily backed U.S.-led interventions in both Afghanistan and Iraq, contributing more troops than any other U.S. ally to the coalition forces in each war. In June 2007 the Labour politician Gordon Brown replaced Tony Blair as British prime minister. While Blair had been enthusiastic in pushing for war with Iraq, it was widely believed that Brown, despite publicly supporting Blair's policies during 10 years as chancellor of the exchequer, privately doubted the wisdom of British involvement in Iraq. The ongoing conflict was widely unpopular in Britain, and opinion polls showed that majorities of the general public favored withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan as the casualty figures among British forces in both theaters of war crept steadily upward. The new prime minister affirmed his country's commitment to securing a lasting settlement in both Iraq and Afghanistan. He also began a policy of reducing the number of British troops in Iraq and handing over responsibility for security to Iraqi forces. Since 2003 British forces had occupied the city of Basra, controlling the surrounding area. In September 2007 they withdrew from the city to barracks elsewhere. Despite U.S. objections, Brown began reducing the number of British troops in Iraq, announcing in October 2007 that he planned to withdraw about 2,500 of the 5,000 British soldiers there. An outbreak of violence in Basra aborted these plans, and in mid-2008 there were still 4,000 British troops in Iraq and 8,000 in Afghanistan. While accepting that they would probably keep some forces in Afghanistan for several years, in July 2008 top British military officials announced their intention of bringing these numbers down to "sustainable" levels. By early 2009 media speculation was rife that Brown might refuse anticipated requests from Barack Obama, the newly installed U.S. president, to send additional British troops to Afghanistan. Brown's attitude and his determination to devise an exit strategy were symptomatic of a growing weariness among U.S. allies with the protracted, wearing, and costly military interventions.

Primary Source

Mr. Speaker, the statement I wish to make today is to set out detailed proposals for political reconciliation and economic reconstruction in Iraq, for the security of the Iraqi people, the future configuration, equipment for and security of our own armed forces, and about the obligations we owe to the local Iraqi staff who have supported us in our efforts.

[. . .]

Mr. Speaker, our strategy as a Government has been:

- first, to work to bring together the political groupings in Basra and across Iraq;
- second, to ensure that the security of the Iraqi people and the new Iraqi democracy is properly safeguarded, as well as the security of our own armed forces;
- and third, to work for an economy in Iraq where people have a stake in the future.

Our strategy is founded on the UN mandate renewed last November in UN Security Council Resolution 1723. Whatever disagreements there have been about our decision to go to war, there can be little disagreement about the unanimous UN position affirming the right of the Iraqi people freely to determine their own political future, calling upon "the International Community, particularly countries in the region and Iraq's neighbours, to support the Iraqi people in their pursuit of peace, stability, security, democracy and prosperity."

And so let me affirm: as I told Prime Minister Maliki last week—and as I have agreed with President Bush and our other allies—we will meet our obligations, honour our commitments and discharge our duties to the international community and to the people of Iraq.

The future depends first of all upon sustained progress on political reconciliation. That is why when I met Prime Minister Maliki and Vice President Hashemi in Baghdad last week, I said it was vital—and they agreed—that the 3 plus 1 leadership group of the Prime Minister and Presidency Council meet to take the political process forward; that key legislation be passed on sharing oil revenues, deba'athification, the constitutional review and provincial elections; that the government must reach out to disaffected groups, as well as decide on next steps on detainees; and that local elections go

ahead in early 2008 making Provincial Councils more representative. And our message to the Government of Iraq—and to the leaders of all Iraq's communities and parties—is that they must make the long-term decisions needed to achieve reconciliation.

Mr. Speaker, the support of Iraq's neighbours—including a commitment to prevent financing and support for militias and insurgent groups—is also critical to ensuring security and political reconciliation.

I urge all nations to implement the International Compact to renew Iraq's economy, to participate in the Neighbours Conferences to boost cooperation and surmount divisions in the region, and to support the enhanced mission of the United Nations in Iraq. I renew our call that Iran and Syria play a more constructive role by halting their support for terrorists and armed groups operating in Iraq, by continuing to improve border security and by arresting and detaining foreign fighters trying to reach Iraq.

And we must all act against the presence of Al Qaeda in Iraq. When the people and security forces stand up to Al Qaeda as in Anbar province, which they had declared to be their base, they can be driven out.

[. . .]

As the Petraeus-Crocker report set out, the security gains made by the multinational forces this year have been significant. And as important as improving current security is building the capacity of the Iraqi forces so they can achieve our aim: that Iraqis step up and progressively take over security themselves.

In 2004 it was agreed with the Iraqi Government that in each of the country's 18 provinces security responsibility would progressively be returned to the Iraqi authorities as and when the conditions were right. Now we are in a position to announce further progress.

Over the past four years the UK has helped train over 13,000 Iraqi Army troops, including 10,000 now serving with the 10th Division which has been conducting operations in Basra and across the south of the country without the requirement for Coalition ground support. As we tackle corruption, 15,000 police officers are also now trained and equipped in Southern Iraq. And the Iraqi Army 14th Division—with around 11,000 men—are in the process of joining them and have already taken on responsibility for Basra City—bringing security forces in the south to almost 30,000 now and over 35,000 by June next year.

Since we handed over our base in Basra City in early September the present security situation has been calmer. Indeed in the last month there have been five indirect fire attacks on Basra Air Station compared with 87 in July. And while the four southern provinces have around 20 percent of the Iraqi people they still account for less than 5 percent of the overall violence in Iraq.

Mr. Speaker, during our engagement in Iraq we have always made clear that all our decisions must be made on the basis of the assessments of our military commanders and actual conditions on the ground. As a result of the progress made in Southern Iraq, US, UK and Iraqi commanders judged over the last 15 months that three out of the four provinces in the UK's area of control in Southern Iraq were suitable for transition back to the Iraqis—and these have subsequently been transferred to Iraqi control.

As part of the process of putting the Iraqi forces in the lead in Basra, we have just gone through a demanding operation which involved consolidating our forces at Basra airport. This was successfully completed, as planned, early last month.

The next important stage in delivering our strategy to hand over security to the Iraqis is to move from a combat role in the rest of Basra province to "overwatch" which will itself have two distinct stages. In the first, the British forces that remain in Iraq will have the following tasks:

- training and mentoring the Iraqi army and police force;
- securing supply routes and policing the Iran-Iraq border;
- and the ability to come to the assistance of the Iraqi security forces when called upon.

Then, in the spring of next year—and guided as always by the advice of our military commanders—we plan to move to a second stage of "overwatch" where the Coalition would maintain a more limited re-intervention capacity and where the main focus will be on training and mentoring.

And I want now to explain how—after detailed discussions with our military commanders, a meeting of the National Security Committee, discussions with the Iraqi Government and our allies, and subject to conditions on the ground—we plan, from next spring, to reduce force numbers in southern Iraq to a figure of 2,500.

The first stage begins now. With the Iraqis already assuming greater security responsibility, we expect to:

- establish Provincial Iraqi Control in Basra province in the next two months as announced by the Prime Minister of Iraq,
- move to the first stage of "overwatch,"
- reduce numbers in southern Iraq from the 5,500 at the start of September to 4,500 immediately after Provincial Iraqi Control and then to 4,000,
- and then in the second stage of "overwatch," from the spring—and guided as always by the advice of our military

commanders—reduce to around 2,500 troops, with a further decision about the next phase made then. In both stages of "overwatch" around 500 logistics and support personnel will be based outside Iraq elsewhere in the region.

At all times achieving our long term aim of handing over security to the Iraqi armed forces and police, honouring our obligations to the Iraqi people and to their security, and ensuring the safety of our forces.

[. . .]

The purpose of economic reconstruction is to ensure ordinary Iraqis have an economic stake in the future. And so as a result of the work I launched with Prime Minister Maliki in July, the Provincial Council have created the Basra Investment Promotion Agency to stimulate private sector development and is forming a Basra Development Fund—financed by $30 million dollars from the Iraqi Finance Ministry—to help small businesses access finance and kick start economic growth.

And as announced this morning by the Government of Iraq, we have agreed on the need for a new Basra Development Commission which will bring national, regional and international business knowledge together to provide advice on how to increase investment and economic growth. The Commission will host a business leadership conference to strengthen the engagement of the UK private sector in Iraq and enhance regional investment networks. And it will help the Provincial authorities coordinate projects to strengthen Basra's position as an economic hub, including the development of Basra International Airport and the renovation of Umm Quasr Port.

And I can tell the House that in addition to our support for humanitarian assistance being announced by the Department for International Development today, Deputy Iraqi Prime Minster Barham Saleh has announced over $300 million dollars for investment in Basra from the 2007 Iraqi national budget, and this will be increased again in 2008, ensuring economic reconstruction can make real progress.

[. . .]

Mr. Speaker, I am convinced after my visit to the region that progress cannot be fully achieved without progress on Israeli-Palestinian issues. A few days ago this Government published its proposals for an economic road map to underpin the peace process, a programme for economic and social support for the rebuilding of the Palestinian economy and the reduction of the high levels of unemployment and poverty amongst the Palestinian people.

My Rt Hon. Friend the Foreign Secretary and I believe—as does the whole international community including the US, the EU and the Arab League—that current dialogue between President Abbas and Prime Minister Olmert offers the best chance of final status negotiations since 2000. The next step is a meeting with the parties and key international players, hosted by the Americans, in November at which we would like to see an agreement that puts the Israelis and Palestinians on a path to real negotiations in 2008 leading to a final settlement of two states living side by side in peace and security.

There will also be a donors' conference in December, through which the international community will work with Prime Minister Fayyad to strengthen the economy and institutions of a future Palestinian state. And I welcome Tony Blair's work as Quartet Envoy on this. The UK will continue to support the political process and to provide support for humanitarian assistance and economic development. And I assure the House of my personal commitment to doing all we can to ensure progress.

Mr. Speaker, working for a successful conclusion to the Middle East Peace Process, taking on Al Qaeda terrorism and ensuring a more secure Iraq are all key to the future stability of the region.

As I have made clear, we have made commitments to the Iraqi people, through the United Nations, and we will honour these obligations.

We will continue to be actively engaged in Iraq's political and economic development.

We will continue to assist the Iraqi Government and its security forces to help build their capabilities—military, civilian and economic—so that they can take full responsibility for the security of their own country.

And we will never shirk from but continue to discharge our duties to them and to the international community.

[. . .]

Source: Gordon Brown, "Statement on Iraq," Number10.gov.uk, http://www.number10.gov.uk/Page13450.

138. Barack Obama, Plan for Ending the War in Iraq, Obama/Biden Campaign Website, 2008

Introduction

Senator Barack Obama of Illinois, the eventual Democratic presidential nominee in 2008, took a position on the war in Iraq very

different from that of his rival for the presidency, Republican senator John W. McCain of Arizona, and incumbent president George W. Bush. Although McCain, a former naval aviator who had been a prisoner of war in Vietnam, differed from Bush on many issues, he was at one with the president in supporting the war against Iraq. Obama, by contrast, voted against U.S. intervention in Iraq in 2003 and argued that American forces should be withdrawn from that country as soon as possible. In early 2007 he introduced legislation in the U.S. Senate calling for an end to American military intervention in Iraq within the next year to 18 months. The real challenge to U.S. national security, Obama argued, was in Afghanistan, where the Bush administration's preoccupation with Iraq had starved occupying allied forces of the men and resources they needed to consolidate the initial victory of late 2001 against the Taliban and Al Qaeda. Obama therefore pledged that if elected, he would remove all American troops from Iraq as soon as possible while boosting U.S. forces in Afghanistan and pressuring other countries contributing to the anti-Taliban coalition in Afghanistan to increase their commitments too. Ironically, his proposals were not that far removed from the policies that Bush administration officials followed in practice during the last two years of Bush's presidency, as the troop surge of 2007 and associated political moves brought a new, unaccustomed, and still fragile stability to Iraq, allowing for the redeployment of some American forces to Afghanistan. In the first half of 2008 the number of U.S. military personnel in Afghanistan rose dramatically, numbering 26,607 in January and 48,250 in June, an increase of more than 80 percent. In September 2008 Bush announced that he intended to deploy a further 4,500 American soldiers in Afghanistan. In December, Bush signed a Status of Forces Agreement with Iraq, which anticipated the withdrawal of all American troops from that country by the end of 2011. Once he took office as president, Obama himself announced that he planned to continue the new Bush policies, with further increases to U.S. forces deployed in Afghanistan.

Primary Source

Plan for Ending the War in Iraq

The Problem

Inadequate Security and Political Progress in Iraq: Since the surge began, more than 1,000 American troops have died, and despite the improved security situation, the Iraqi government has not stepped forward to lead the Iraqi people and to reach the genuine political accommodation that was the stated purpose of the surge. Our troops have heroically helped reduce civilian casualties in Iraq to early 2006 levels. This is a testament to our military's hard work, improved counterinsurgency tactics, and enormous sacrifice by our troops and military families. It is also a consequence of the decision of many Sunnis to turn against al Qaeda in Iraq, and a lull in Shia militia activity. But the absence of genuine political accommodation in Iraq is a direct result of President Bush's failure to hold the Iraqi government accountable.

Strains on the Military: More than 1.75 million servicemen and women have served in Iraq or Afghanistan; more than 620,000 troops have completed multiple deployments. Military members have endured multiple deployments taxing both them and their families. Additionally, military equipment is wearing out at nine times the normal rate after years of constant use in Iraq's harsh environment. As Army Chief of Staff General George Casey said in March, "Today's Army is out of balance. The current demand for our forces in Iraq and Afghanistan exceeds the sustainable supply and limits our ability to provide ready forces for other contingencies."

Resurgent Al Qaeda in Afghanistan: The decision to invade Iraq diverted resources from the war in Afghanistan, making it harder for us to kill or capture Osama Bin Laden and others involved in the 9/11 attacks. Nearly seven years later, the Taliban has reemerged in southern Afghanistan while Al Qaeda has used the space provided by the Iraq war to regroup, train and plan for another attack on the United States. 2007 was the most violent year in Afghanistan since the invasion in 2001. The scale of our deployments in Iraq continues to set back our ability to finish the fight in Afghanistan, producing unacceptable strategic risks.

A New Strategy Needed: The Iraq war has lasted longer than World War I, World War II, and the Civil War. More than 4,000 Americans have died. More than 60,000 have been injured and wounded. The United States may spend $2.7 trillion on this war and its aftermath, yet we are less safe around the globe and more divided at home. With determined ingenuity and at great personal cost, American troops have found the right tactics to contain the violence in Iraq, but we still have the wrong strategy to press Iraqis to take responsibility at home, and restore America's security and standing in the world.

Barack Obama and Joe Biden's Plan

Judgment You Can Trust

In 2002, as the conventional thinking in Washington lined up with President Bush for war, Obama had the judgment and courage to speak out against going to war, and to warn of "an occupation of undetermined length, with undetermined costs, and undetermined consequences." He and Joe Biden are fully committed to ending the war in Iraq as president.

A Responsible, Phased Withdrawal

Barack Obama and Joe Biden believe we must be as careful getting out of Iraq as we were careless getting in. Immediately upon

taking office, Obama will give his Secretary of Defense and military commanders a new mission in Iraq: ending the war. The removal of our troops will be responsible and phased, directed by military commanders on the ground and done in consultation with the Iraqi government. Military experts believe we can safely redeploy combat brigades from Iraq at a pace of 1 to 2 brigades a month that would remove them in 16 months. That would be the summer of 2010—more than 7 years after the war began.

Under the Obama-Biden plan, a residual force will remain in Iraq and in the region to conduct targeted counter-terrorism missions against al Qaeda in Iraq and to protect American diplomatic and civilian personnel. They will not build permanent bases in Iraq, but will continue efforts to train and support the Iraqi security forces as long as Iraqi leaders move toward political reconciliation and away from sectarianism.

Encouraging Political Accommodation

Barack Obama and Joe Biden believe that the U.S. must apply pressure on the Iraqi government to work toward real political accommodation. There is no military solution to Iraq's political differences, but the Bush Administration's blank check approach has failed to press Iraq's leaders to take responsibility for their future or to substantially spend their oil revenues on their own reconstruction.

Obama and Biden's plan offers the best prospect for lasting stability in Iraq. A phased withdrawal will encourage Iraqis to take the lead in securing their own country and making political compromises, while the responsible pace of redeployment called for by the Obama-Biden plan offers more than enough time for Iraqi leaders to get their own house in order. As our forces redeploy, Obama and Biden will make sure we engage representatives from all levels of Iraqi society—in and out of government—to forge compromises on oil revenue sharing, the equitable provision of services, federalism, the status of disputed territories, new elections, aid to displaced Iraqis, and the reform of Iraqi security forces.

Surging Diplomacy

Barack Obama and Joe Biden will launch an aggressive diplomatic effort to reach a comprehensive compact on the stability of Iraq and the region. This effort will include all of Iraq's neighbors—including Iran and Syria, as suggested by the bi-partisan Iraq Study Group Report. This compact will aim to secure Iraq's borders; keep neighboring countries from meddling inside Iraq; isolate al Qaeda; support reconciliation among Iraq's sectarian groups; and provide financial support for Iraq's reconstruction and development.

Preventing Humanitarian Crisis

Barack Obama and Joe Biden believe that America has both a moral obligation and a responsibility for security that demands we confront Iraq's humanitarian crisis—more than five million Iraqis are refugees or are displaced inside their own country. Obama and Biden will form an international working group to address this crisis. They will provide at least $2 billion to expand services to Iraqi refugees in neighboring countries, and ensure that Iraqis inside their own country can find sanctuary. Obama and Biden will also work with Iraqi authorities and the international community to hold the perpetrators of potential war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide accountable. They will reserve the right to intervene militarily, with our international partners, to suppress potential genocidal violence within Iraq.

The Status of Forces Agreement

Obama and Biden believe any Status of Forces Agreement, or any strategic framework agreement, should be negotiated in the context of a broader commitment by the U.S. to begin withdrawing its troops and forswearing permanent bases. Obama and Biden also believe that any security accord must be subject to Congressional approval. It is unacceptable that the Iraqi government will present the agreement to the Iraqi parliament for approval—yet the Bush administration will not do the same with the U.S. Congress. The Bush administration must submit the agreement to Congress or allow the next administration to negotiate an agreement that has bipartisan support here at home and makes absolutely clear that the U.S. will not maintain permanent bases in Iraq.

Source: "Plan for Ending the War in Iraq," Organizing for America, http://www.barackobama.com/issues/iraq/index_campaign.php.

139. Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Iraq on the Withdrawal of United States Forces from Iraq and the Organization of Their Activities during Their Temporary Presence in Iraq, November 17, 2008 [Excerpts]

Introduction

United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1790 of December 18, 2007, extended the mandate of coalition security forces in Iraq until the end of December 2008. As political pressure for

withdrawal from Iraq mounted in the United States and a level of stability gradually came to prevail within Iraq following the U.S. troop surge of early 2007, American and Iraqi officials negotiated a formal agreement for the eventual withdrawal of all U.S. military forces. It was anticipated that this would take place at the end of 2011. Iraq's cabinet approved the agreement in November 2008, and the Iraqi parliament ratified it later that month. Under the agreement, it was expected that coalition troops would have withdrawn from Iraqi cities and into their bases by the end of June 2009. Coalition military personnel were subject to Iraqi jurisdiction if they committed serious crimes outside their own bases but not for offenses committed on base or in the course of their military duties, a provision that many Iraqis resented. It was expected that Iraqis would hold a referendum on the new agreement in mid-June 2009, which might lead to the withdrawal of forces as early as the middle of June 2010. There were also provisions for the extension of their period of stay should the Iraqi government request this on the grounds that domestic political instability required it. Some Iraqis, including the influential cleric Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Ali al-Sistani, argued that the pact placed Iraq in a position of neocolonial dependence, since for its duration the Iraqi government could not control the entry or exit of foreign forces and military equipment into Iraq. When Bush visited Baghdad in mid-December 2008 to sign the agreement and held a press conference with his hosts to mark the occasion, one Iraqi journalist made his displeasure with its terms clear by throwing his shoes at Bush, an action that made him an immediate hero throughout the Muslim world. Most Americans welcomed the agreement as tangible evidence that the situation in Iraq had improved and that all their country's troops would eventually be withdrawn. Eventually, a deadline of August 31, 2010, was set for the withdrawal of U.S. combat forces, though it was expected that a "transitional force" of 35,000 to 50,000 would still remain in place after that date, its mission restricted to training and assisting Iraqi units.

Primary Source

Preamble

The United States of America and the Republic of Iraq, referred to hereafter as "the Parties":

Recognizing the importance of: strengthening their joint security, contributing to world peace and stability, combating terrorism in Iraq, and cooperating in the security and defense spheres, thereby deterring aggression and threats against the sovereignty, security, and territorial integrity of Iraq and against its democratic, federal, and constitutional system;

Affirming that such cooperation is based on full respect for the sovereignty of each of them in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter;

Out of a desire to reach a common understanding that strengthens cooperation between them;

Without prejudice to Iraqi sovereignty over its territory, waters, and airspace; and

Pursuant to joint undertakings as two sovereign, independent, and coequal countries;

Have agreed to the following:

Article 1

Scope and Purpose

This Agreement shall determine the principal provisions and requirements that regulate the temporary presence, activities, and withdrawal of the United States Forces from Iraq.

[. . .]

Article 3

Laws

1. While conducting military operations pursuant to this Agreement, it is the duty of members of the United States Forces and of the civilian component to respect Iraqi laws, customs, traditions, and conventions and to refrain from any activities that are inconsistent with the letter and spirit of this Agreement. It is the duty of the United States to take all necessary measures for this purpose.

[. . .]

Article 4

Missions

1. The Government of Iraq requests the temporary assistance of the United States Forces for the purposes of supporting Iraq in its efforts to maintain security and stability in Iraq, including cooperation in the conduct of operations against al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups, outlaw groups, and remnants of the former regime.

2. All such military operations that are carried out pursuant to this Agreement shall be conducted with the agreement of the Government of Iraq. Such operations shall be fully coordinated with Iraqi authorities. The coordination of all such military operations shall be overseen by a Joint Military Operations Coordination Committee (JMOCC) to be established pursuant to this Agreement. Issues

regarding proposed military operations that cannot be resolved by the JMOCC shall be forwarded to the Joint Ministerial Committee.

3. All such operations shall be conducted with full respect for the Iraqi Constitution and the laws of Iraq. Execution of such operations shall not infringe upon the sovereignty of Iraq and its national interests, as defined by the Government of Iraq. It is the duty of the United States Forces to respect the laws, customs, and traditions of Iraq and applicable international law.

4. The Parties shall continue their efforts to cooperate to strengthen Iraq's security capabilities including, as may be mutually agreed, on training, equipping, supporting, supplying, and establishing and upgrading logistical systems, including transportation, housing, and supplies for Iraqi Security Forces.

5. The Parties retain the right to legitimate self defense within Iraq, as defined in applicable international law.

Article 5

Property Ownership

1. Iraq owns all buildings, non-relocatable structures, and assemblies connected to the soil that exist on agreed facilities and areas, including those that are used, constructed, altered, or improved by the United States Forces.

2. Upon their withdrawal, the United States Forces shall return to the Government of Iraq all the facilities and areas provided for the use of the combat forces of the United States, based on two lists. The first list of agreed facilities and areas shall take effect upon the entry into force of the Agreement. The second list shall take effect no later than June 30, 2009, the date for the withdrawal of combat forces from the cities, villages, and localities. The Government of Iraq may agree to allow the United States Forces the use of some necessary facilities for the purposes of this Agreement on withdrawal.

[. . .]

5. Upon the discovery of any historical or cultural site or finding any strategic resource in agreed facilities and areas, all works of construction, upgrading, or modification shall cease immediately and the Iraqi representatives at the Joint Committee shall be notified to determine appropriate steps in that regard.

6. The United States shall return agreed facilities and areas and any non-relocatable structures and assemblies on them that it had built, installed, or established during the term of this Agreement, according to mechanisms and priorities set forth by the Joint Committee. Such facilities and areas shall be handed over to the Government of Iraq free of any debts and financial burdens.

7. The United States Forces shall return to the Government of Iraq the agreed facilities and areas that have heritage, moral, and political significance and any non-relocatable structures and assemblies on them that it had built, installed, or established, according to mechanisms, priorities, and a time period as mutually agreed by the Joint Committee, free of any debts or financial burdens.

8. The United States Forces shall return the agreed facilities and areas to the Government of Iraq upon the expiration or termination of this Agreement, or earlier as mutually agreed by the Parties, or when such facilities are no longer required as determined by the JMOCC, free of any debts or financial burdens.

9. The United States Forces and United States contractors shall retain title to all equipment, materials, supplies, relocatable structures, and other movable property that was legitimately imported into or legitimately acquired within the territory of Iraq in connection with this Agreement.

Article 6

Use of Agreed Facilities and Areas

1. With full respect for the sovereignty of Iraq, and as part of exchanging views between the Parties pursuant to this Agreement, Iraq grants access and use of agreed facilities and areas to the United States Forces, United States contractors, United States contractor employees, and other individuals or entities as agreed upon by the Parties.

2. In accordance with this Agreement, Iraq authorizes the United States Forces to exercise within the agreed facilities and areas all rights and powers that may be necessary to establish, use, maintain, and secure such agreed facilities and areas. The Parties shall coordinate and cooperate regarding exercising these rights and powers in the agreed facilities and areas of joint use.

3. The United States Forces shall assume control of entry to agreed facilities and areas that have been provided for its exclusive use. The Parties shall coordinate the control of entry into agreed facilities and areas for joint use and in accordance with mechanisms set forth by the JMOCC. The Parties shall coordinate guard duties in areas adjacent to agreed facilities and areas through the JMOCC.

[. . .]

Article 9

Movement of Vehicles, Vessels, and Aircraft

1. With full respect for the relevant rules of land and maritime safety and movement, vessels and vehicles operated by or at the

time exclusively for the United States Forces may enter, exit, and move within the territory of Iraq for the purposes of implementing this Agreement. The JMOCC shall develop appropriate procedures and rules to facilitate and regulate the movement of vehicles.

2. With full respect for relevant rules of safety in aviation and air navigation, United States Government aircraft and civil aircraft that are at the time operating exclusively under a contract with the United States Department of Defense are authorized to overfly, conduct airborne refueling exclusively for the purposes of implementing this Agreement over, and land and take off within, the territory of Iraq for the purposes of implementing this Agreement. The Iraqi authorities shall grant the aforementioned aircraft permission every year to land in and take off from Iraqi territory exclusively for the purposes of implementing this Agreement. United States Government aircraft and civil aircraft that are at the time operating exclusively under a contract with the United States Department of Defense, vessels, and vehicles shall not have any party boarding them without the consent of the authorities of the United States Forces. The Joint Sub-Committee concerned with this matter shall take appropriate action to facilitate the regulation of such traffic.

3. Surveillance and control over Iraqi airspace shall transfer to Iraqi authority immediately upon entry into force of this Agreement.

4. Iraq may request from the United States Forces temporary support for the Iraqi authorities in the mission of surveillance and control of Iraqi air space.

5. United States Government aircraft and civil aircraft that are at the time operating exclusively under contract to the United States Department of Defense shall not be subject to payment of any taxes, duties, fees, or similar charges, including overflight or navigation fees, landing, and parking fees at government airfields. Vehicles and vessels owned or operated by or at the time exclusively for the United States Forces shall not be subject to payment of any taxes, duties, fees, or similar charges, including for vessels at government ports. Such vehicles, vessels, and aircraft shall be free from registration requirements within Iraq.

6. The United States Forces shall pay fees for services requested and received.

[. . .]

Article 12

Jurisdiction

Recognizing Iraq's sovereign right to determine and enforce the rules of criminal and civil law in its territory, in light of Iraq's request for temporary assistance from the United States Forces set forth in Article 4, and consistent with the duty of the members of the United States Forces and the civilian component to respect Iraqi laws, customs, traditions, and conventions, the Parties have agreed as follows:

Iraq shall have the primary right to exercise jurisdiction over members of the United States Forces and of the civilian component for the grave premeditated felonies enumerated pursuant to paragraph 8, when such crimes are committed outside agreed facilities and areas and outside duty status.

Iraq shall have the primary right to exercise jurisdiction over United States contractors and United States contractor employees.

The United States shall have the primary right to exercise jurisdiction over members of the United States Forces and of the civilian component for matters arising inside agreed facilities and areas; during duty status outside agreed facilities and areas; and in circumstances not covered by paragraph 1.

At the request of either Party, the Parties shall assist each other in the investigation of incidents and the collection and exchange of evidence to ensure the due course of justice.

Members of the United States Forces and of the civilian component arrested or detained by Iraqi authorities shall be notified immediately to United States Forces authorities and handed over to them within 24 hours from the time of detention or arrest. Where Iraq exercises jurisdiction pursuant to paragraph 1 of this Article, custody of an accused member of the United States Forces or of the civilian component shall reside with United States Forces authorities. United States Forces authorities shall make such accused persons available to the Iraqi authorities for purposes of investigation and trial.

The authorities of either Party may request the authorities of the other Party to waive its primary right to jurisdiction in a particular case. The Government of Iraq agrees to exercise jurisdiction under paragraph 1 above, only after it has determined and notifies the United States in writing within 21 days of the discovery of an alleged offense, that it is of particular importance that such jurisdiction be exercised.

7. Where the United States exercises jurisdiction pursuant to paragraph 3 of this Article, members of the United States Forces and of the civilian component shall be entitled to due process standards and protections pursuant to the Constitution and laws of the United States. Where the offense arising under paragraph 3 of this Article may involve a victim who is not a member of the United States Forces or of the civilian component, the Parties shall establish procedures through the Joint Committee to keep such persons

informed as appropriate of: the status of the investigation of the crime; the bringing of charges against a suspected offender; the scheduling of court proceedings and the results of plea negotiations; opportunity to be heard at public sentencing proceedings, and to confer with the attorney for the prosecution in the case; and, assistance with filing a claim under Article 21 of this Agreement. As mutually agreed by the Parties, United States Forces authorities shall seek to hold the trials of such cases inside Iraq. If the trial of such cases is to be conducted in the United States, efforts will be undertaken to facilitate the personal attendance of the victim at the trial.

8. Where Iraq exercises jurisdiction pursuant to paragraph 1 of this Article, members of the United States Forces and of the civilian component shall be entitled to due process standards and protections consistent with those available under United States and Iraqi law. The Joint Committee shall establish procedures and mechanisms for implementing this Article, including an enumeration of the grave premeditated felonies that are subject to paragraph 1 and procedures that meet such due process standards and protections. Any exercise of jurisdiction pursuant to paragraph 1 of this Article may proceed only in accordance with these procedures and mechanisms.

9. Pursuant to paragraphs 1 and 3 of this Article, United States Forces authorities shall certify whether an alleged offense arose during duty status. In those cases where Iraqi authorities believe the circumstances require a review of this determination, the Parties shall consult immediately through the Joint Committee, and United States Forces authorities shall take full account of the facts and circumstances and any information Iraqi authorities may present bearing on the determination by United States Forces authorities.

10. The Parties shall review the provisions of this Article every 6 months including by considering any proposed amendments to this Article taking into account the security situation in Iraq, the extent to which the United States Forces in Iraq are engaged in military operations, the growth and development of the Iraqi judicial system, and changes in United States and Iraqi law.

Article 13

Carrying Weapons and Apparel

Members of the United States Forces and of the civilian component may possess and carry weapons that are owned by the United States while in Iraq according to the authority granted to them under orders and according to their requirements and duties.

Members of the United States Forces may also wear uniforms during duty in Iraq.

[. . .]

Article 24

Withdrawal of the United States Forces from Iraq

Recognizing the performance and increasing capacity of the Iraqi Security Forces, the assumption of full security responsibility by those Forces, and based upon the strong relationship between the Parties, an agreement on the following has been reached:

1. All the United States Forces shall withdraw from all Iraqi territory no later than December 31, 2011.

2. All United States combat forces shall withdraw from Iraqi cities, villages, and localities no later than the time at which Iraqi Security Forces assume full responsibility for security in an Iraqi province, provided that such withdrawal is completed no later than June 30, 2009.

3. United States combat forces withdrawn pursuant to paragraph 2 above shall be stationed in the agreed facilities and areas outside cities, villages, and localities to be designated by the JMOCC before the date established in paragraph 2 above.

4. The United States recognizes the sovereign right of the Government of Iraq to request the departure of the United States Forces from Iraq at any time. The Government of Iraq recognizes the sovereign right of the United States to withdraw the United States Forces from Iraq at any time.

5. The Parties agree to establish mechanisms and arrangements to reduce the number of the United States Forces during the periods of time that have been determined, and they shall agree on the locations where the United States Forces will be present.

Article 25

Measures to Terminate the Application of Chapter VII to Iraq

Acknowledging the right of the Government of Iraq not to request renewal of the Chapter VII authorization for and mandate of the multinational forces contained in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1790 (2007) that ends on December 31, 2008;

Taking note of the letters to the UN Security Council from the Prime Minister of Iraq and the Secretary of State of the United States dated December 7 and December 10, 2007, respectively, which are annexed to Resolution 1790;

Taking note of section 3 of the Declaration of Principles for a Long-Term Relationship of Cooperation and Friendship, signed

by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Iraq on November 26, 2007, which memorialized Iraq's call for extension of the above-mentioned mandate for a final period, to end not later than December 31, 2008:

Recognizing also the dramatic and positive developments in Iraq, and noting that the situation in Iraq is fundamentally different than that which existed when the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 661 in 1990, and in particular that the threat to international peace and security posed by the Government of Iraq no longer exists, the Parties affirm in this regard that with the termination on December 31, 2008 of the Chapter VII mandate and authorization for the multinational force contained in Resolution 1790, Iraq should return to the legal and international standing that it enjoyed prior to the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 661 (1990), and that the United States shall use its best efforts to help Iraq take the steps necessary to achieve this by December 31, 2008.

Article 26

Iraqi Assets

1. To enable Iraq to continue to develop its national economy through the rehabilitation of its economic infrastructure, as well as providing necessary essential services to the Iraqi people, and to continue to safeguard Iraq's revenues from oil and gas and other Iraqi resources and its financial and economic assets located abroad, including the Development Fund for Iraq, the United States shall ensure maximum efforts to:

a. Support Iraq to obtain forgiveness of international debt resulting from the policies of the former regime.

b. Support Iraq to achieve a comprehensive and final resolution of outstanding reparation claims inherited from the previous regime, including compensation requirements imposed by the UN Security Council on Iraq.

2. Recognizing and understanding Iraq's concern with claims based on actions perpetrated by the former regime, the President of the United States has exercised his authority to protect from United States judicial process the Development Fund for Iraq and certain other property in which Iraq has an interest. The United States shall remain fully and actively engaged with the Government of Iraq with respect to continuation of such protections and with respect to such claims.

3. Consistent with a letter from the President of the United States to be sent to the Prime Minister of Iraq, the United States remains committed to assist Iraq in connection with its request that the UN Security Council extend the protections and other arrangements established in Resolution 1483 (2003) and Resolution 1546 (2003) for petroleum, petroleum products, and natural gas originating in Iraq, proceeds and obligations from sale thereof, and the Development Fund for Iraq.

Article 27

Deterrence of Security Threats

In order to strengthen security and stability in Iraq and to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and stability, the Parties shall work actively to strengthen the political and military capabilities of the Republic of Iraq to deter threats against its sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity, and its constitutional federal democratic system. To that end, the Parties agree as follows:

In the event of any external or internal threat or aggression against Iraq that would violate its sovereignty, political independence, or territorial integrity, waters, airspace, its democratic system or its elected institutions, and upon request by the Government of Iraq, the Parties shall immediately initiate strategic deliberations and, as may be mutually agreed, the United States shall take appropriate measures, including diplomatic, economic, or military measures, or any other measure, to deter such a threat.

The Parties agree to continue close cooperation in strengthening and maintaining military and security institutions and democratic political institutions in Iraq, including, as may be mutually agreed, cooperation in training, equipping, and arming the Iraqi Security Forces, in order to combat domestic and international terrorism and outlaw groups, upon request by the Government of Iraq.

Iraqi land, sea, and air shall not be used as a launching or transit point for attacks against other countries.

Article 28

The Green Zone

Upon entry into force of this Agreement the Government of Iraq shall have full responsibility for the Green Zone. The Government of Iraq may request from the United States Forces limited and temporary support for the Iraqi authorities in the mission of security for the Green Zone. Upon such request, relevant Iraqi authorities shall work jointly with the United States Forces authorities on security for the Green Zone during the period determined by the Government of Iraq.

Article 29

Implementing Mechanisms

Whenever the need arises, the Parties shall establish appropriate mechanisms for implementation of Articles of this Agreement,

including those that do not contain specific implementation mechanisms.

Article 30

The Period for which the Agreement is Effective

1. This Agreement shall be effective for a period of three years, unless terminated sooner by either Party pursuant to paragraph 3 of this Article.

[. . .]

Source: "Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Iraq on the Withdrawal of United States Forces from Iraq and the Organization of Their Activities during Their Temporary Presence in Iraq," The White House, President George W. Bush, http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/iraq/SE_SOFA.pdf.

140. President Barack Obama, Remarks at the State Department, January 22, 2009 [Excerpts]

Introduction

To liberals in the United States and around the world, Barack Obama's election as president seemed to promise a new era of American foreign policies that would be less unilateral, brash, and inhumane than those of former president George W. Bush's administration and more sensitive to concerns over human rights and internationally accepted standards of behavior. Two days after taking office, Obama switched his attention from the almost overwhelming domestic and global economic problems preoccupying him to focus on other international issues. In a visit to the State Department, he announced that from then on the United States would refrain from torturing suspects and close the infamous detention center at Guantánamo Bay in Cuba. Even though Obama did not renounce the extralegal rendition of terrorist suspects from other nations by U.S. operatives to third countries, where such individuals might be held indefinitely without trial and subjected to torture by non-Americans, Obama's new orders were a symbolic break with the Bush administration's readiness to sanction almost any extralegal activity in the name of antiterrorism. Obama stated his intention of moving forcefully to seek a solution of the perennial Israeli-Palestinian crisis, exacerbated in previous weeks as violence erupted between Israel and Hamas forces over Gaza. Moving from this immediate crisis, Obama expressed his determination to support efforts to eradicate the threat from fundamentalist Islamic forces in Afghanistan and also in neighboring Pakistan, which Taliban and Al Qaeda elements were using as a base for military attacks on Afghanistan, destabilizing the fragile hold of civil authorities on the country. Shortly afterward, the White House announced that the administration was embarking on a full-scale strategy review for Afghanistan. Even before this was completed, in mid-February 2009 Obama decided to boost American forces in Afghanistan, already more than 50,000 strong, by dispatching an additional 12,000 combat troops and 5,000 support troops to Afghanistan by the early summer of 2009. This went some way toward meeting a request several months earlier by General David Kiernan, commander of U.S. forces in Afghanistan, for four more brigade combat teams and an additional aviation combat brigade. It was also evidence that Obama had been in earnest when making campaign pledges to devote more resources to Afghanistan if he was elected.

Primary Source

[. . .]

The inheritance of our young century demands a new era of American leadership. We must recognize that America's strength comes not just from the might of our arms or the scale of our wealth, but from our enduring values. And for the sake of our national security and the common aspirations of people around the globe, this era has to begin now.

This morning I signed three Executive orders. First, I can say without exception or equivocation that the United States will not torture. Second, we will close the Guantanamo Bay detention camp and determine how to deal with those who have been held there. And third, we will immediately undertake a comprehensive review to determine how to hold and try terrorism suspects to best protect our nation and the rule of law.

The world needs to understand that America will be unyielding in its defense of its security and relentless in its pursuit of those who would carry out terrorism or threaten the United States. And that's why, in this twilight struggle, we need a durable framework. The orders that I signed today should send an unmistakable signal that our actions in defense of liberty will be just as our cause, and that we the people will uphold our fundamental values as vigilantly as we protect our security. Once again, America's moral example must be the bedrock and the beacon of our global leadership.

We are confronted by extraordinary, complex, and interconnected global challenges: the war on terror, sectarian division, and the spread of deadly technology. We did not ask for the burden that history has asked us to bear, but Americans will bear it. We must bear it. Progress will not come quickly or easily, nor can we promise to right every single wrong around the world.

But we can pledge to use all elements of American power to protect our people and to promote our interests and ideals, starting with principled, focused, and sustained American diplomacy. . . .

It will be the policy of my administration to actively and aggressively seek a lasting peace between Israel and the Palestinians, as well as Israel and its Arab neighbors. To help us pursue these goals, Secretary Clinton and I have asked George Mitchell to serve as Special Envoy for Middle East Peace.

[. . .]

No one doubts the difficulty of the road ahead, and George outlined some of those difficulties. The tragic violence in Gaza and southern Israel offers a sobering reminder of the challenges at hand and the setbacks that will inevitably come.

It must also instill in us, though, a sense of urgency, as history shows us that strong and sustained American engagement can bridge divides and build the capacity that supports progress. And that is why we will be sending George to the region as soon as possible to help the parties ensure that the cease-fire that has been achieved is made durable and sustainable.

Let me be clear: America is committed to Israel's security, and we will always support Israel's right to defend itself against legitimate threats. For years, Hamas has launched thousands of rockets at innocent Israeli citizens. No democracy can tolerate such danger to its people, nor should the international community. And neither should the Palestinian people themselves, whose interests are only set back by acts of terror.

To be a genuine party to peace, the Quartet has made it clear that Hamas must meet clear conditions: recognize Israel's right to exist, renounce violence, and abide by past agreements.

Going forward, the outline for a durable cease-fire is clear. Hamas must end its rocket fire. Israel will complete the withdrawal of its forces from Gaza. The United States and our partners will support a credible anti-smuggling and interdiction regime so that Hamas cannot rearm.

Yesterday I spoke to President Mubarak and expressed my appreciation for the important role that Egypt played in achieving a cease-fire, and we look forward to Egypt's continued leadership and partnership in laying a foundation for a broader peace through a commitment to end smuggling from within its borders.

Now, just as the terror of rocket fire aimed at innocent Israelis is intolerable, so too is a future without hope for the Palestinians. I was deeply concerned by the loss of Palestinian and Israeli life in recent days and by the substantial suffering and humanitarian needs in Gaza. Our hearts go out to Palestinian civilians who are in need of immediate food, clean water, and basic medical care, and who have faced suffocating poverty for far too long.

Now we must extend a hand of opportunity to those who seek peace. As part of a lasting cease-fire, Gaza's border crossings should be opened to allow the flow of aid and commerce, with an appropriate monitoring regime with the international and Palestinian Authority participating.

Relief efforts must be able to reach innocent Palestinians who depend on them. The United States will fully support an international donors conference to seek short-term humanitarian assistance and long-term reconstruction for the Palestinian economy. This assistance will be provided to, and guided by, the Palestinian Authority.

Lasting peace requires more than a long cease-fire. And that's why I will sustain an active commitment to seek two states living side by side in peace and security. Senator Mitchell will carry forward this commitment, as well as the effort to help Israel reach a broader peace with the Arab world that recognizes its rightful place in the community of nations.

I should add that the Arab Peace Initiative contains constructive elements that could help advance these efforts. Now is the time for Arab states to act on the initiatives promised by supporting the Palestinian Government under President Abbas and Prime Minister Fayyad, taking steps towards normalizing relations with Israel, and by standing up to extremism that threatens us all.

Jordan's constructive role in training Palestinian security forces and nurturing its relations with Israel provide a model for these efforts. And going forward, we must make it clear to all countries in the region that external support for terrorist organizations must stop.

Another urgent threat to global security is the deteriorating situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan. This is the central front in our enduring struggle against terrorism and extremism. There, as in the Middle East, we must understand that we cannot deal with our problems in isolation. There is no answer in Afghanistan that does not confront the Al Qaida and Taliban bases along the border, and there will be no lasting peace unless we expand spheres of opportunity for the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan. This is truly an international challenge of the highest order.

That's why Secretary Clinton and I are naming Ambassador Richard Holbrooke to be Special Representative for Afghanistan and

Pakistan. Ambassador Holbrooke is one of the most talented diplomats of his generation. Over several decades, he served on different continents and as an outstanding Ambassador to the United Nations. He has strengthened ties with our allies, tackled the toughest negotiations, and helped deliver a hard-earned peace as an architect of the Dayton Accords. He will help lead our effort to forge and implement a strategic and sustainable approach to this critical region.

The American people and the international community must understand that the situation is perilous and progress will take time. Violence is up dramatically in Afghanistan. A deadly insurgency has taken deep root. The opium trade is far and away the largest in the world. The Afghan Government has been unable to deliver basic services. Al Qaida and the Taliban strike from bases embedded in rugged, tribal terrain along the Pakistani border. And while we have yet to see another attack on our soil since 9/11, Al Qaida terrorists remain at large and remain plotting.

Going forward, we must set clear priorities in pursuit of achievable goals that contribute to our collective security. My administration is committed to refocusing attention and resources on Afghanistan and Pakistan and to spending those resources wisely. And that's why we are pursuing a careful review of our policy. We will seek stronger partnerships with the governments of the region, sustained cooperation with our NATO allies, deeper engagement with the Afghan and Pakistani people, and a comprehensive strategy to combat terror and extremism. We will provide the strategic guidance to meet our objectives. And we pledge to support the extraordinary Americans serving in Afghanistan, both military and civilian, with the resources that they need.

These appointments add to a team that will work with energy and purpose to meet the challenges of our time and to define a future of expanding security and opportunity. Difficult days lie ahead. As we ask more of ourselves, we will seek new partnerships and ask more of our friends, and more of people around the globe, because security in the 21st century is shared. But let there be no doubt about America's commitment to lead. We can no longer afford drift, and we can no long afford delay. Nor can we cede ground to those who seek destruction. A new era of American leadership is at hand, and the hard work has just begun.

[. . .]

Source: Barack Obama, "Remarks at the State Department, January 22, 2009," GPO Access, http://www.gpoaccess.gov/presdocs/2009/DCPD200900014.htm.

141. General David H. Petraeus, "The Future of the Alliance and the Mission in Afghanistan," Remarks for Panel Discussion, 45th Munich Security Conference, February 8, 2009 [Excerpts]

Introduction

As President Barack Obama settled into the Oval Office, he sought to implement the strategy, laid out during his campaign, of steadily withdrawing U.S. forces from Iraq while boosting the U.S. commitment to Afghanistan, where the military and political situation was widely considered precarious. In doing so, he turned for advice to General David H. Petraeus, regarded by most as the architect of the policies in Iraq that since the troop surge of early 2007 had brought greater stability to that country. In September 2008 Petraeus had become commander in chief of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), covering 20 countries and extending from Egypt to Pakistan. Policy makers hoped that Petraeus could repeat this accomplishment in Afghanistan. In a speech in Munich, Germany, in February 2009 Petraeus laid out his prescriptions for establishing comparable order in Afghanistan so that credible elections could be held in that country in August 2009. To do so would, in his view, demand an increased short-term military commitment by the United States and its allies to provide the improved security umbrella that he considered the necessary precondition for the implementation of internal political and economic reforms, including the elimination of corruption, designed to enhance the legitimacy of the existing Afghan government. Widely publicized and apparently well-founded allegations that the government of Hamid Karzai had practiced electoral fraud in the 2009 presidential contest and that close relatives of the president were implicated in narcotics trading and financial corruption did little to enhance its standing or credibility. In the first half of 2010 President Barack Obama deployed an additional 34,000 American troops in Afghanistan, in addition to close to 60,000 already in the country, to counter a growing Taliban threat. In late June 2010, with the military situation in Afghanistan nonetheless increasingly critical, well-authenticated media reports of complaints against Obama by General Stanley McChrystal, the U.S. commander in Afghanistan, caused the president to fire McChrystal and replace him with Petraeus. The hope was that Petraeus would prove as successful in winning over or eradicating Taliban opponents in Afghanistan as he had proved in waging counterinsurgency operations in Iraq.

Primary Source

[. . .]

This morning's topic is Afghanistan, which Secretary of Defense Gates recently described to the US Congress as posing "our greatest military challenge right now." As he noted, our fundamental objective in Afghanistan is to ensure that transnational terrorists are not able to reestablish the sanctuaries they enjoyed prior to 9/11. It was to eliminate such sanctuaries that we took action in Afghanistan in 2001. And preventing their reestablishment remains an imperative today—noting, to be sure, that achievement of that objective inevitably requires accomplishment of other interrelated tasks as well. . . .

Afghanistan has been a very tough endeavor. Certainly, there have been important achievements there over the past seven years—agreement on a constitution, elections, and establishment of a government; increased access to education, health care, media, and telecommunications; construction of a significant number of infrastructure projects; development of the Afghan National Army; and others.

But in recent years the resurgence of the Taliban and Al Qaeda has led to an increase in violence, especially in the southern and eastern parts of the country. Numerous other challenges have emerged as well, among them: difficulties in the development of governmental institutions that achieve legitimacy in the eyes of the Afghan people; corruption; expansion—until last year—of poppy production and the illegal narcotics industry; and difficulties in the establishment of the Afghan police.

In fact, there has been nothing easy about Afghanistan. And, as Senator Lieberman observed in a recent speech to the Brookings Institution, "Reversing Afghanistan's slide into insecurity will not come quickly, easily, or cheaply." Similarly, Secretary Gates told Congress, "This will undoubtedly be a long and difficult fight." I agree. In fact, I think it is important to be clear eyed about the challenges that lie ahead, while also remembering the importance of our objectives in Afghanistan and the importance of the opportunity that exists if we all intensify our efforts and work together to achieve those objectives.

Many observers have noted that there are no purely military solutions in Afghanistan. That is correct. Nonetheless, military action, while not sufficient by itself, is absolutely necessary, for security provides the essential foundation for the achievement of progress in all the other so-called lines of operation—recognizing, of course, that progress in other areas made possible by security improvements typically contributes to further progress in the security arena—creating an upward spiral in which improvements in one area reinforce progress in another.

Arresting and then reversing the downward spiral in security in Afghanistan thus will require not just additional military forces, but also more civilian contributions, greater unity of effort between civilian and military elements and with our Afghan partners, and a comprehensive approach, as well as sustained commitment and a strategy that addresses the situations in neighboring countries.

This morning, I'd like to describe in very general terms the resource requirements that are under discussion in Washington and various other national capitals. Then I'll describe briefly a few of the ideas that helped us in Iraq and that, properly adapted for Afghanistan, can help guide GEN McKiernan and ISAF.

THE NEED FOR MORE FORCES, ENABLERS, AND TRAINERS

In recent months, our President and many others have highlighted the need for additional forces in Afghanistan to reverse the downward spiral in security, help Afghan forces provide security for the elections on August 20th, and enable progress in the tasks essential to achievement of our objectives. Indeed, as has been announced in recent months, more US forces are entering operations as part of ISAF in Afghanistan now, more have been ordered to deploy, and the deployment of others is under consideration. Beyond that, the number of Afghan soldiers to be trained and equipped has been increased, and many of the other troop contributing nations will deploy additional forces, as well, with a number of commitments under discussion. And I would be remiss if I did not ask individual countries to examine what forces and other contributions they can provide as ISAF intensifies its efforts in preparation for the elections in August.

It is, of course not just additional combat forces that are required. ISAF also needs more so-called enablers to support the effort in Afghanistan—more intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance platforms and the connectivity to exploit the capabilities they bring; more military police, engineers, and logistics elements; additional special operations forces and civil affairs units; more lift and attack helicopters and fixed wing aircraft; additional air medevac assets; increases in information operations capabilities; and so on. Also required are more Embedded Training Teams, Operational Mentoring and Liaison Teams, and Police Mentoring Teams, all elements that are essential to building capable Afghan National Security Forces. . . .

As Senator Lieberman highlighted in his Brookings speech, a surge in civilian capacity is needed to match the increase in military forces in order to field adequate numbers of provincial reconstruction teams and other civilian elements—teams and personnel that are essential to help our Afghan partners expand their capabilities in key governmental areas, to support basic economic development, and to assist in the development of various important aspects of the rule of law, including initiatives to support the development of police and various judicial initiatives.

It is also essential, of course, that sufficient financial resources be provided for the effort in Afghanistan. It is hugely important that nations deliver on pledges of economic development assistance, that the Afghan National Army and Law and Order Trust Funds be fully financed, that support be maintained for the Afghan Reconstruction Trust Fund, and that resources continue to be provided for the projects conducted by our military units and PRTs at local levels. . . .

Of course, just more troops, civilians, dollars and Euros won't be enough. As students of history, we're keenly aware that Afghanistan has, over the years, been known as the graveyard of empires. It is, after all, a country that has never taken kindly to outsiders bent on conquering it. We cannot take that history lightly. And our awareness of it should caution us to recognize that, while additional forces are essential, their effectiveness will depend on how they are employed, as that, in turn, will determine how they are seen by the Afghan population.

COUNTERINSURGENCY FOR AFGHANISTAN

What I'd like to discuss next, then, are some of the concepts that our commanders have in mind as plans are refined to employ additional forces. . . . So here are some of those ideas:

First and foremost, our forces and those of our Afghan partners have to strive to secure and serve the population. We have to recognize that the Afghan people are the decisive "terrain." And together with our Afghan partners, we have to work to provide the people security, to give them respect, to gain their support, and to facilitate the provision of basic services, the development of the Afghan Security Forces in the area, the promotion of local economic development, and the establishment of governance that includes links to the traditional leaders in society and is viewed as legitimate in the eyes of the people.

Securing and serving the people requires that our forces be good neighbors. While it may be less culturally acceptable to live among the people in certain parts of Afghanistan than it was in Iraq, it is necessary to locate Afghan and ISAF forces where they can establish a persistent security presence. You can't commute to work in the conduct of counterinsurgency operations. Positioning outposts and patrol bases, then, requires careful thought, consultation with local leaders, and the establishment of good local relationships to be effective.

Positioning near those we and our Afghan partners are helping to secure also enables us to understand the neighborhood. A nuanced appreciation of the local situation is essential. Leaders and troopers have to understand the tribal structures, the power brokers, the good guys and the bad guys, local cultures and history, and how systems are supposed to work and do work. This requires listening and being respectful of local elders and mullahs, and farmers and shopkeepers—and it also requires, of course, many cups of tea.

It is also essential that we achieve unity of effort, that we coordinate and synchronize the actions of all ISAF and Afghan forces—and those of our Pakistani partners across the border—and that we do the same with the actions of our embassy and international partners, our Afghan counterparts, local governmental leaders, and international and non-governmental organizations. Working to a common purpose is essential in the conduct of counterinsurgency operations.

We also, in support of and in coordination with our Afghan partners, need to help promote local reconciliation, although this has to be done very carefully and in accordance with the principles established in the Afghan Constitution. In concert with and in support of our Afghan partners, we need to identify and separate the "irreconcilables" from the "reconcilables," striving to create the conditions that can make the reconcilables part of the solution, even as we kill, capture, or drive out the irreconcilables. In fact, programs already exist in this area and careful application of them will be essential in the effort to fracture and break off elements of the insurgency in order to get various groups to put down their weapons and support the legitimate constitution of Afghanistan.

Having said that, we must pursue the enemy relentlessly and tenaciously. True irreconcilables, again, must be killed, captured, or driven out of the area. And we cannot shrink from that any more than we can shrink from being willing to support Afghan reconciliation with those elements that show a willingness to reject the insurgents and help Afghan and ISAF forces.

To ensure that the gains achieved endure, ISAF and Afghan forces have to hold areas that have been cleared. Once we fight to clear and secure an area, we must ensure that it is retained. The people—and local security forces—need to know that we will not abandon them. Additionally, we should look for ways to give local citizens a stake in the success of the local security effort and in the success of the new Afghanistan more broadly as well. To this end, a reformed, capable Afghan National Police force—with the necessary support from the international community and the alliance—is imperative to ensuring the ability to protect the population. And the new Afghan Population Protection Program announced by MOI Atmar holds considerable promise and deserves our support as well.

On a related note, to help increase the legitimacy of the Afghan government, we need to help our Afghan partners give the people a reason to support the government and their local authorities. This includes helping enable Afghan solutions to Afghan problems. And on a related note, given the importance of Afghan solutions and governance being viewed as legitimate by the people and in

view of allegations of corruption, such efforts likely should feature support for what might be called an "Afghan accountability offensive" as well. That will be an important effort.

In all that we do as we perform various missions, we need to live our values. While our forces should not hesitate to engage and destroy an enemy, our troopers must also stay true to the values we hold dear. This is, after all, an important element that distinguishes us from the enemy, and it manifests itself in many ways, including making determined efforts to reduce to the absolute minimum civilian casualties—an effort furthered significantly by the tactical direction and partnering initiatives developed by GEN McKiernan with our Afghan counterparts.

We also must strive to be first with the truth. We need to beat the insurgents and extremists to the headlines and to pre-empt rumors. We can do that by getting accurate information to the chain of command, to our Afghan partners, and to the press as soon as is possible. Integrity is critical to this fight. Thus, when situations are bad, we should freely acknowledge that fact and avoid temptations to spin. Rather, we should describe the setbacks and failures we suffer and then state what we've learned from them and how we'll adjust to reduce the chances of similar events in the future.

Finally, we always must strive to learn and adapt. The situation in Afghanistan has changed significantly in the past several years and it continues to evolve. This makes it incumbent on us to assess the situation continually and to adjust our plans, operations, and tactics as required. We should share good ideas and best practices, but we also should never forget that what works in an area today may not work there tomorrow, and that what works in one area may not work in another.

IT WILL GET HARDER BEFORE IT GETS EASIER

In conclusion, allow me to reiterate the key points I've sought to make. We have a hugely important interest in ensuring that Afghanistan does not once again become a sanctuary for transnational terrorists. Achieving that core objective, in turn, requires the accomplishment of several other significant tasks. Although there have been impressive achievements in Afghanistan since 2001, the security situation has deteriorated markedly in certain areas in the past two years. Reversing that trend is necessary to improve security for the population, to permit the conduct of free and fair elections in August, and to enable progress in other important areas. Achieving security improvements will require more ISAF and Afghan security forces of all types—combat, combat support, logistics, trainers and advisors, special operations, and so on. Some additional forces are already deploying, further increases have been ordered or pledged, and more are under discussion. To be effective, the additional military forces will need to be employed in accordance with counterinsurgency concepts applied by leaders who have a nuanced understanding of their areas of operation. And to complement and capitalize on the increased military resources, more civilian assets, adequate financial resources, close civil-military cooperation, and a comprehensive approach that encompasses regional states will be necessary. None of this will be easy. Indeed, as Vice President Biden observed recently, Afghanistan likely will get harder before it gets easier. And sustained progress will require sustained commitment. But, again, our objectives are of enormous importance, a significant opportunity is at hand, and we all need to summon the will and the resources necessary to make the most of it. . . .

Source: Gen. David H. Petraeus, "The Future of the Alliance and the Mission in Afghanistan," United States Central Command, http://www.centcom.mil/from-the-commander/commanders-remarks-at-45th-munich-security-conference.

142. President Barack Obama, Address at Cairo University, June 4, 2009 [Excerpts]

Introduction

During his presidential campaign, Barack Obama stated his intention, if he was elected, of reaching out to the Muslim world in a spirit of conciliation and partnership. In his early months in office the new president was preoccupied with immediate problems. In early June 2009 at Cairo University in Egypt, Obama finally delivered a major and much-anticipated comprehensive address on relations between the United States and the Muslim world.

Primary Source

Remarks by the President on a New Beginning

Cairo University
Cairo, Egypt

PRESIDENT OBAMA: . . . I am honored to be in the timeless city of Cairo, and to be hosted by two remarkable institutions. For over a thousand years, Al-Azhar has stood as a beacon of Islamic learning; and for over a century, Cairo University has been a source of Egypt's advancement. And together, you represent the harmony between tradition and progress. . . .

We meet at a time of great tension between the United States and Muslims around the world—tension rooted in historical forces that go beyond any current policy debate. The relationship between Islam and the West includes centuries of coexistence and cooperation, but also conflict and religious wars. More recently,

tension has been fed by colonialism that denied rights and opportunities to many Muslims, and a Cold War in which Muslim-majority countries were too often treated as proxies without regard to their own aspirations. Moreover, the sweeping change brought by modernity and globalization led many Muslims to view the West as hostile to the traditions of Islam.

Violent extremists have exploited these tensions in a small but potent minority of Muslims. The attacks of September 11, 2001 and the continued efforts of these extremists to engage in violence against civilians has led some in my country to view Islam as inevitably hostile not only to America and Western countries, but also to human rights. All this has bred more fear and more mistrust.

So long as our relationship is defined by our differences, we will empower those who sow hatred rather than peace, those who promote conflict rather than the cooperation that can help all of our people achieve justice and prosperity. And this cycle of suspicion and discord must end.

I've come here to Cairo to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world, one based on mutual interest and mutual respect, and one based upon the truth that America and Islam are not exclusive and need not be in competition. Instead, they overlap, and share common principles—principles of justice and progress; tolerance and the dignity of all human beings.

I do so recognizing that change cannot happen overnight. I know there's been a lot of publicity about this speech, but no single speech can eradicate years of mistrust, nor can I answer in the time that I have this afternoon all the complex questions that brought us to this point. But I am convinced that in order to move forward, we must say openly to each other the things we hold in our hearts and that too often are said only behind closed doors. . . . There must be a sustained effort to listen to each other; to learn from each other; to respect one another; and to seek common ground. As the Holy Koran tells us, "Be conscious of God and speak always the truth." [Applause.] That is what I will try to do today—to speak the truth as best I can, humbled by the task before us, and firm in my belief that the interests we share as human beings are far more powerful than the forces that drive us apart.

Now part of this conviction is rooted in my own experience. I'm a Christian, but my father came from a Kenyan family that includes generations of Muslims. As a boy, I spent several years in Indonesia and heard the call of the azaan at the break of dawn and at the fall of dusk. As a young man, I worked in Chicago communities where many found dignity and peace in their Muslim faith.

As a student of history, I also know civilization's debt to Islam. It was Islam—at places like Al-Azhar—that carried the light of learning through so many centuries, paving the way for Europe's Renaissance and Enlightenment. It was innovation in Muslim communities—[applause]—it was innovation in Muslim communities that developed the order of algebra; our magnetic compass and tools of navigation; our mastery of pens and printing; our understanding of how disease spreads and how it can be healed. Islamic culture has given us majestic arches and soaring spires; timeless poetry and cherished music; elegant calligraphy and places of peaceful contemplation. And throughout history, Islam has demonstrated through words and deeds the possibilities of religious tolerance and racial equality. [Applause.]

I also know that Islam has always been a part of America's story. The first nation to recognize my country was Morocco. In signing the Treaty of Tripoli in 1796, our second President, John Adams, wrote, "The United States has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion or tranquility of Muslims." And since our founding, American Muslims have enriched the United States. They have fought in our wars, they have served in our government, they have stood for civil rights, they have started businesses, they have taught at our universities, they've excelled in our sports arenas, they've won Nobel Prizes, built our tallest building, and lit the Olympic Torch. And when the first Muslim American was recently elected to Congress, he took the oath to defend our Constitution using the same Holy Koran that one of our Founding Fathers—Thomas Jefferson—kept in his personal library. [Applause.]

So I have known Islam on three continents before coming to the region where it was first revealed. That experience guides my conviction that partnership between America and Islam must be based on what Islam is, not what it isn't. And I consider it part of my responsibility as President of the United States to fight against negative stereotypes of Islam wherever they appear. [Applause.]

But that same principle must apply to Muslim perceptions of America. [Applause.] Just as Muslims do not fit a crude stereotype, America is not the crude stereotype of a self-interested empire. The United States has been one of the greatest sources of progress that the world has ever known. We were born out of revolution against an empire. We were founded upon the ideal that all are created equal, and we have shed blood and struggled for centuries to give meaning to those words—within our borders, and around the world. We are shaped by every culture, drawn from every end of the Earth, and dedicated to a simple concept: E pluribus unum—"Out of many, one."

Now, much has been made of the fact that an African American with the name Barack Hussein Obama could be elected President. [Applause.] But my personal story is not so unique. The dream of opportunity for all people has not come true for everyone in America, but its promise exists for all who come to our shores—and that includes nearly 7 million American Muslims in our country

today who, by the way, enjoy incomes and educational levels that are higher than the American average. [Applause.]

Moreover, freedom in America is indivisible from the freedom to practice one's religion. That is why there is a mosque in every state in our union, and over 1,200 mosques within our borders. That's why the United States government has gone to court to protect the right of women and girls to wear the hijab and to punish those who would deny it. [Applause.]

So let there be no doubt: Islam is a part of America. And I believe that America holds within her the truth that regardless of race, religion, or station in life, all of us share common aspirations—to live in peace and security; to get an education and to work with dignity; to love our families, our communities, and our God. These things we share. This is the hope of all humanity.

Of course, recognizing our common humanity is only the beginning of our task. Words alone cannot meet the needs of our people. These needs will be met only if we act boldly in the years ahead; and if we understand that the challenges we face are shared, and our failure to meet them will hurt us all.

[. . .]

Now, that does not mean we should ignore sources of tension. Indeed, it suggests the opposite: We must face these tensions squarely. And so in that spirit, let me speak as clearly and as plainly as I can about some specific issues that I believe we must finally confront together.

The first issue that we have to confront is violent extremism in all of its forms.

In Ankara, I made clear that America is not—and never will be—at war with Islam. [Applause.] We will, however, relentlessly confront violent extremists who pose a grave threat to our security—because we reject the same thing that people of all faiths reject: the killing of innocent men, women, and children. And it is my first duty as President to protect the American people.

The situation in Afghanistan demonstrates America's goals, and our need to work together. Over seven years ago, the United States pursued al Qaeda and the Taliban with broad international support. We did not go by choice; we went because of necessity. I'm aware that there's still some who would question or even justify the events of 9/11. But let us be clear: Al Qaeda killed nearly 3,000 people on that day. The victims were innocent men, women and children from America and many other nations who had done nothing to harm anybody. And yet al Qaeda chose to ruthlessly murder these people, claimed credit for the attack, and even now states their determination to kill on a massive scale. They have affiliates in many countries and are trying to expand their reach. These are not opinions to be debated; these are facts to be dealt with.

Now, make no mistake: We do not want to keep our troops in Afghanistan. We see no military—we seek no military bases there. It is agonizing for America to lose our young men and women. It is costly and politically difficult to continue this conflict. We would gladly bring every single one of our troops home if we could be confident that there were not violent extremists in Afghanistan and now Pakistan determined to kill as many Americans as they possibly can. But that is not yet the case.

And that's why we're partnering with a coalition of 46 countries. And despite the costs involved, America's commitment will not weaken. Indeed, none of us should tolerate these extremists. They have killed in many countries. They have killed people of different faiths—but more than any other, they have killed Muslims. Their actions are irreconcilable with the rights of human beings, the progress of nations, and with Islam. The Holy Koran teaches that whoever kills an innocent is as—it is as if he has killed all mankind. [Applause.] And the Holy Koran also says whoever saves a person, it is as if he has saved all mankind. [Applause.] The enduring faith of over a billion people is so much bigger than the narrow hatred of a few. Islam is not part of the problem in combating violent extremism—it is an important part of promoting peace.

Now, we also know that military power alone is not going to solve the problems in Afghanistan and Pakistan. That's why we plan to invest $1.5 billion each year over the next five years to partner with Pakistanis to build schools and hospitals, roads and businesses, and hundreds of millions to help those who've been displaced. That's why we are providing more than $2.8 billion to help Afghans develop their economy and deliver services that people depend on.

Let me also address the issue of Iraq. Unlike Afghanistan, Iraq was a war of choice that provoked strong differences in my country and around the world. Although I believe that the Iraqi people are ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein, I also believe that events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and build international consensus to resolve our problems whenever possible. . . .

Today, America has a dual responsibility: to help Iraq forge a better future—and to leave Iraq to Iraqis. And I have made it clear to the Iraqi people—[applause]—I have made it clear to the Iraqi people that we pursue no bases, and no claim on their territory or resources. Iraq's sovereignty is its own. And that's why I ordered the removal of our combat brigades by next August. That is why we will honor our agreement with Iraq's democratically elected government to remove combat troops from Iraqi cities by July, and to remove all of our troops from Iraq by 2012. [Applause.] We

will help Iraq train its security forces and develop its economy. But we will support a secure and united Iraq as a partner, and never as a patron.

And finally, just as America can never tolerate violence by extremists, we must never alter or forget our principles. Nine-eleven was an enormous trauma to our country. The fear and anger that it provoked was understandable, but in some cases, it led us to act contrary to our traditions and our ideals. We are taking concrete actions to change course. I have unequivocally prohibited the use of torture by the United States, and I have ordered the prison at Guantanamo Bay closed by early next year. [Applause.]

So America will defend itself, respectful of the sovereignty of nations and the rule of law. And we will do so in partnership with Muslim communities which are also threatened. The sooner the extremists are isolated and unwelcome in Muslim communities, the sooner we will all be safer.

The second major source of tension that we need to discuss is the situation between Israelis, Palestinians and the Arab world.

America's strong bonds with Israel are well known. This bond is unbreakable. It is based upon cultural and historical ties, and the recognition that the aspiration for a Jewish homeland is rooted in a tragic history that cannot be denied.

Around the world, the Jewish people were persecuted for centuries, and anti-Semitism in Europe culminated in an unprecedented Holocaust. Tomorrow, I will visit Buchenwald, which was part of a network of camps where Jews were enslaved, tortured, shot and gassed to death by the Third Reich. Six million Jews were killed—more than the entire Jewish population of Israel today. Denying that fact is baseless, it is ignorant, and it is hateful. Threatening Israel with destruction—or repeating vile stereotypes about Jews—is deeply wrong, and only serves to evoke in the minds of Israelis this most painful of memories while preventing the peace that the people of this region deserve.

On the other hand, it is also undeniable that the Palestinian people—Muslims and Christians—have suffered in pursuit of a homeland. For more than 60 years they've endured the pain of dislocation. Many wait in refugee camps in the West Bank, Gaza, and neighboring lands for a life of peace and security that they have never been able to lead. They endure the daily humiliations—large and small—that come with occupation. So let there be no doubt: The situation for the Palestinian people is intolerable. And America will not turn our backs on the legitimate Palestinian aspiration for dignity, opportunity, and a state of their own. [Applause.]

For decades then, there has been a stalemate: two peoples with legitimate aspirations, each with a painful history that makes compromise elusive. It's easy to point fingers—for Palestinians to point to the displacement brought about by Israel's founding, and for Israelis to point to the constant hostility and attacks throughout its history from within its borders as well as beyond. But if we see this conflict only from one side or the other, then we will be blind to the truth: The only resolution is for the aspirations of both sides to be met through two states, where Israelis and Palestinians each live in peace and security. [Applause.]

That is in Israel's interest, Palestine's interest, America's interest, and the world's interest. And that is why I intend to personally pursue this outcome with all the patience and dedication that the task requires. [Applause.] The obligations—the obligations that the parties have agreed to under the road map are clear. For peace to come, it is time for them—and all of us—to live up to our responsibilities.

Palestinians must abandon violence. Resistance through violence and killing is wrong and it does not succeed. For centuries, black people in America suffered the lash of the whip as slaves and the humiliation of segregation. But it was not violence that won full and equal rights. It was a peaceful and determined insistence upon the ideals at the center of America's founding. This same story can be told by people from South Africa to South Asia; from Eastern Europe to Indonesia. It's a story with a simple truth: that violence is a dead end. It is a sign neither of courage nor power to shoot rockets at sleeping children, or to blow up old women on a bus. That's not how moral authority is claimed; that's how it is surrendered.

Now is the time for Palestinians to focus on what they can build. The Palestinian Authority must develop its capacity to govern, with institutions that serve the needs of its people. Hamas does have support among some Palestinians, but they also have to recognize they have responsibilities. To play a role in fulfilling Palestinian aspirations, to unify the Palestinian people, Hamas must put an end to violence, recognize past agreements, recognize Israel's right to exist.

At the same time, Israelis must acknowledge that just as Israel's right to exist cannot be denied, neither can Palestine's. The United States does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements. [Applause.] This construction violates previous agreements and undermines efforts to achieve peace. It is time for these settlements to stop. [Applause.]

And Israel must also live up to its obligation to ensure that Palestinians can live and work and develop their society. Just as it devastates Palestinian families, the continuing humanitarian crisis in Gaza does not serve Israel's security; neither does the continuing lack of opportunity in the West Bank. Progress in the daily lives of the Palestinian people must be a critical part of a road to peace, and Israel must take concrete steps to enable such progress.

And finally, the Arab states must recognize that the Arab Peace Initiative was an important beginning, but not the end of their responsibilities. The Arab-Israeli conflict should no longer be used to distract the people of Arab nations from other problems. Instead, it must be a cause for action to help the Palestinian people develop the institutions that will sustain their state, to recognize Israel's legitimacy, and to choose progress over a self-defeating focus on the past.

America will align our policies with those who pursue peace, and we will say in public what we say in private to Israelis and Palestinians and Arabs. [Applause.] We cannot impose peace. But privately, many Muslims recognize that Israel will not go away. Likewise, many Israelis recognize the need for a Palestinian state. It is time for us to act on what everyone knows to be true.

Too many tears have been shed. Too much blood has been shed. All of us have a responsibility to work for the day when the mothers of Israelis and Palestinians can see their children grow up without fear; when the Holy Land of the three great faiths is the place of peace that God intended it to be; when Jerusalem is a secure and lasting home for Jews and Christians and Muslims, and a place for all of the children of Abraham to mingle peacefully together as in the story of Isra—[applause]—as in the story of Isra, when Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, peace be upon them, joined in prayer. [Applause.]

The third source of tension is our shared interest in the rights and responsibilities of nations on nuclear weapons.

This issue has been a source of tension between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran. For many years, Iran has defined itself in part by its opposition to my country, and there is in fact a tumultuous history between us. In the middle of the Cold War, the United States played a role in the overthrow of a democratically elected Iranian government. Since the Islamic Revolution, Iran has played a role in acts of hostage-taking and violence against U.S. troops and civilians. This history is well known. Rather than remain trapped in the past, I've made it clear to Iran's leaders and people that my country is prepared to move forward. The question now is not what Iran is against, but rather what future it wants to build.

I recognize it will be hard to overcome decades of mistrust, but we will proceed with courage, rectitude, and resolve. There will be many issues to discuss between our two countries, and we are willing to move forward without preconditions on the basis of mutual respect. But it is clear to all concerned that when it comes to nuclear weapons, we have reached a decisive point. This is not simply about America's interests. It's about preventing a nuclear arms race in the Middle East that could lead this region and the world down a hugely dangerous path.

I understand those who protest that some countries have weapons that others do not. No single nation should pick and choose which nation holds nuclear weapons. And that's why I strongly reaffirmed America's commitment to seek a world in which no nations hold nuclear weapons. [Applause.] And any nation—including Iran—should have the right to access peaceful nuclear power if it complies with its responsibilities under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. That commitment is at the core of the treaty, and it must be kept for all who fully abide by it. And I'm hopeful that all countries in the region can share in this goal.

The fourth issue that I will address is democracy. [Applause.]

I know—I know there has been controversy about the promotion of democracy in recent years, and much of this controversy is connected to the war in Iraq. So let me be clear: No system of government can or should be imposed upon one nation by any other.

That does not lessen my commitment, however, to governments that reflect the will of the people. Each nation gives life to this principle in its own way, grounded in the traditions of its own people. America does not presume to know what is best for everyone, just as we would not presume to pick the outcome of a peaceful election. But I do have an unyielding belief that all people yearn for certain things: the ability to speak your mind and have a say in how you are governed; confidence in the rule of law and the equal administration of justice; government that is transparent and doesn't steal from the people; the freedom to live as you choose. These are not just American ideas; they are human rights. And that is why we will support them everywhere. [Applause.]

Now, there is no straight line to realize this promise. But this much is clear: Governments that protect these rights are ultimately more stable, successful and secure. Suppressing ideas never succeeds in making them go away. America respects the right of all peaceful and law-abiding voices to be heard around the world, even if we disagree with them. And we will welcome all elected, peaceful governments—provided they govern with respect for all their people.

This last point is important because there are some who advocate democracy only when they're out of power; once in power, they are ruthless in suppressing the rights of others. [Applause.] So no matter where it takes hold, government of the people and by the people sets a single standard for all who would hold power: You must maintain your power through consent, not coercion; you must respect the rights of minorities, and participate with a spirit of tolerance and compromise; you must place the interests of your people and the legitimate workings of the political process above your party. Without these ingredients, elections alone do not make true democracy.

The fifth issue that we must address together is religious freedom.

Islam has a proud tradition of tolerance. We see it in the history of Andalusia and Cordoba during the Inquisition. I saw it firsthand as a child in Indonesia, where devout Christians worshiped freely in an overwhelmingly Muslim country. That is the spirit we need today. People in every country should be free to choose and live their faith based upon the persuasion of the mind and the heart and the soul. This tolerance is essential for religion to thrive, but it's being challenged in many different ways.

Among some Muslims, there's a disturbing tendency to measure one's own faith by the rejection of somebody else's faith. The richness of religious diversity must be upheld—whether it is for Maronites in Lebanon or the Copts in Egypt. [Applause.] And if we are being honest, fault lines must be closed among Muslims, as well, as the divisions between Sunni and Shia have led to tragic violence, particularly in Iraq.

Freedom of religion is central to the ability of peoples to live together. We must always examine the ways in which we protect it. For instance, in the United States, rules on charitable giving have made it harder for Muslims to fulfill their religious obligation. That's why I'm committed to working with American Muslims to ensure that they can fulfill zakat.

Likewise, it is important for Western countries to avoid impeding Muslim citizens from practicing religion as they see fit—for instance, by dictating what clothes a Muslim woman should wear. We can't disguise hostility towards any religion behind the pretence of liberalism.

In fact, faith should bring us together. And that's why we're forging service projects in America to bring together Christians, Muslims, and Jews. That's why we welcome efforts like Saudi Arabian King Abdullah's interfaith dialogue and Turkey's leadership in the Alliance of Civilizations. Around the world, we can turn dialogue into interfaith service, so bridges between peoples lead to action—whether it is combating malaria in Africa, or providing relief after a natural disaster.

The sixth issue—the sixth issue that I want to address is women's rights. [Applause.] I know—I know—and you can tell from this audience, that there is a healthy debate about this issue. I reject the view of some in the West that a woman who chooses to cover her hair is somehow less equal, but I do believe that a woman who is denied an education is denied equality. [Applause.] And it is no coincidence that countries where women are well educated are far more likely to be prosperous.

Now, let me be clear: Issues of women's equality are by no means simply an issue for Islam. In Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, we've seen Muslim-majority countries elect a woman to lead. Meanwhile, the struggle for women's equality continues in many aspects of American life, and in countries around the world.

I am convinced that our daughters can contribute just as much to society as our sons. [Applause.] Our common prosperity will be advanced by allowing all humanity—men and women—to reach their full potential. I do not believe that women must make the same choices as men in order to be equal, and I respect those women who choose to live their lives in traditional roles. But it should be their choice. And that is why the United States will partner with any Muslim-majority country to support expanded literacy for girls, and to help young women pursue employment through micro-financing that helps people live their dreams. [Applause.]

Finally, I want to discuss economic development and opportunity.

I know that for many, the face of globalization is contradictory. The Internet and television can bring knowledge and information, but also offensive sexuality and mindless violence into the home. Trade can bring new wealth and opportunities, but also huge disruptions and change in communities. In all nations—including America—this change can bring fear. Fear that because of modernity we lose control over our economic choices, our politics, and most importantly our identities—those things we most cherish about our communities, our families, our traditions, and our faith.

But I also know that human progress cannot be denied. There need not be contradictions between development and tradition. Countries like Japan and South Korea grew their economies enormously while maintaining distinct cultures. The same is true for the astonishing progress within Muslim-majority countries from Kuala Lumpur to Dubai. In ancient times and in our times, Muslim communities have been at the forefront of innovation and education.

And this is important because no development strategy can be based only upon what comes out of the ground, nor can it be sustained while young people are out of work. Many Gulf states have enjoyed great wealth as a consequence of oil, and some are beginning to focus it on broader development. But all of us must recognize that education and innovation will be the currency of the 21st century—(applause)—and in too many Muslim communities, there remains underinvestment in these areas. I'm emphasizing such investment within my own country. And while America in the past has focused on oil and gas when it comes to this part of the world, we now seek a broader engagement.

On education, we will expand exchange programs, and increase scholarships, like the one that brought my father to America.

[Applause.] At the same time, we will encourage more Americans to study in Muslim communities. And we will match promising Muslim students with internships in America; invest in online learning for teachers and children around the world; and create a new online network, so a young person in Kansas can communicate instantly with a young person in Cairo.

On economic development, we will create a new corps of business volunteers to partner with counterparts in Muslim-majority countries. And I will host a Summit on Entrepreneurship this year to identify how we can deepen ties between business leaders, foundations and social entrepreneurs in the United States and Muslim communities around the world.

On science and technology, we will launch a new fund to support technological development in Muslim-majority countries, and to help transfer ideas to the marketplace so they can create more jobs. We'll open centers of scientific excellence in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia, and appoint new science envoys to collaborate on programs that develop new sources of energy, create green jobs, digitize records, clean water, grow new crops. Today I'm announcing a new global effort with the Organization of the Islamic Conference to eradicate polio. And we will also expand partnerships with Muslim communities to promote child and maternal health.

All these things must be done in partnership. Americans are ready to join with citizens and governments; community organizations, religious leaders, and businesses in Muslim communities around the world to help our people pursue a better life.

The issues that I have described will not be easy to address. But we have a responsibility to join together on behalf of the world that we seek—a world where extremists no longer threaten our people, and American troops have come home; a world where Israelis and Palestinians are each secure in a state of their own, and nuclear energy is used for peaceful purposes; a world where governments serve their citizens, and the rights of all God's children are respected. Those are mutual interests. That is the world we seek. But we can only achieve it together.

I know there are many—Muslim and non-Muslim—who question whether we can forge this new beginning. Some are eager to stoke the flames of division, and to stand in the way of progress. Some suggest that it isn't worth the effort—that we are fated to disagree, and civilizations are doomed to clash. Many more are simply skeptical that real change can occur. There's so much fear, so much mistrust that has built up over the years. But if we choose to be bound by the past, we will never move forward. And I want to particularly say this to young people of every faith, in every country—you, more than anyone, have the ability to reimagine the world, to remake this world.

[. . .]

We have the power to make the world we seek, but only if we have the courage to make a new beginning, keeping in mind what has been written.

The Holy Koran tells us: "O mankind! We have created you male and female; and we have made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another."

The Talmud tells us: "The whole of the Torah is for the purpose of promoting peace."

The Holy Bible tells us: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God." [Applause.]

The people of the world can live together in peace. We know that is God's vision. Now that must be our work here on Earth.

[. . .]

Source: Barack Obama, "Remarks by the President on a New Beginning," The White House, http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-at-Cairo-University-6-04-09/.

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